Ua se ana

The Promise of Equity

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education, The University of Auckland, 2012.

Abstract

This project is concerned with differential education outcomes for Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand. This study argues that the reality and representation of Pacific people in New Zealand stems from racist and exclusionary dispositions and practices established by New Zealand administrators as colonial powers. Pacific peoples' presence in Aotearoa New Zealand is underpinned by the inequalities of a relationship of convenience; insofar that large-scale Pacific migration was encouraged to meet an economic imperative for New Zealand. The process of migration can be seen to fix Pacific people in a position of disadvantage within New Zealand society. The position of Pacific people as semi or unskilled labour restricts opportunities for them as a group to engage in culture-contact which would increase their knowledge and potential transfer of Western cultural capital, expediting their ability for upward mobility. The Pacific state of crisis is thus argued as a systemic, rather than ethnic failure. The current typical Pacific learning identity is 'the tail' which depicts and positions Pacific learners at the bottom of the achievement ladder. In this way, the issue of Pacific education is constructed almost entirely in deficit terms, locating Pacific peoples as the source of deprivation. This project challenges the representation of Pacific deprivation and offers a reading of equity policy and programmes as a product of colonisation, and at the same time, as a site of hybridity, in which Pacific learners can produce new learning identities and deploy different forms of capital to their advantage through reciprocity.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my profound gratitude and appreciation to my supervisors, Dr Georgina Stewart and Associate Professor Barbara Grant from the Faculty of Education. I am privileged to have benefited from your skills as teachers and writers, and your wisdom, patience and encouragement. Special thanks to Georgina for a dedicated weekend wānanga, final supervision mercy dash, and an attention to detail which approaches a state of grace. *Fa'afetai tele.*

I would like to acknowledge the University of Auckland Faculty of Arts and Equity team and students, and Professor Alison Jones for talking and walking equity with me. I am so grateful to you all.

I could not have completed this project without the love and support of friends and family. Thank you all, with special acknowledgement to Emma Howard-Smith, Kev Griffiths and the wonderful Julia Mekkelholt for lifesaving childcare interventions. Thanks to Jo Mane, Mercia Smith, Teina Piripi and Lorna McCraith for insightful conversation and wading through drafts with me. Thanks also to Catherine Scully (Dunphy) who generously shared her writing at the outset of this project.

My deepest thanks are my family, who got up early and stayed up late, supporting me in every way possible. Daniel, Amelia and Oli – you are always the apple of my eye.

For my parents,

Ulugia Owen and Teresa Stanley

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CHAPTER ONE: Introduction and Methodology

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā karangatanga maha, tēnā koutou katoa.

Ka tika me mihi ki te iwi Māori, kōia te iwi tuakana o ngā iwi katoa o te Moanānui-a-Kiwa e noho

mai ana ki Aotearoa nei.

Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā anō tātou katoa.

Ma le agaga fa'amaulalo,

ou te fa'a feiloai ma fa'atalofa atu i le paia ma le mamalu ua aofia.

Le paia i aiga, tupu ma e'e, tamali'i ma failuga, faletua ma tausi, tulou, tulou, tulou.

Introductions speak of location and orientation, signalling that we are people of the I or the we; people of the sea; people connected or separated. My introduction speaks to the people, places and spaces which shape the ongoing production of my personal identity, and, subsequently, how I approach this research.

In 2002 I moved from Auckland to Ahipara, at the southern end of Ninety Mile Beach in the Far North of Aotearoa. My first day at my new job was marked by a small whakatau. Several of my co-workers, Māori and non-Māori, spoke in te reo; and in response, I gave my own rusty and formulaic mihi, last used on a school trip in the 1980s to Te Tii, a remote Māori community in the Bay of Islands. After my admission that my place of origin was the Very Far North "engari, nō Ngāti Hāmoa ahau (but, I am Samoan)" I segued into learned phrases of Samoan, picked up by eavesdropping on my father, but these soon ran out. At a loss, I padded out my speech with the words of a well-known Samoan children's song, declaiming slowly while looking meaningfully at my new team: "Minoi...minoi...minoi, minoi pe o se loi, a siva siva ua gaoioi[1]..." concluding lamely with thanks, in English. At the time, my best hope was that no-one understood Samoan, and it was only much later that I realised the aptness of this hybridised mash of language, place and practice and unintentional, off-the-cuff waiata, as an expression of the multiplicity that marks my being in the world.

Most of the themes which arise in this study are framed by my own or my parents' experiences, providing perspective and added personal meaning to the project. A recurring theme in this study is, who are we? How do we come to inhabit this space in which we identify ourselves, and how do we move within and outside it? The following section traces a part of my history to help illustrate these concerns.

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[1] "Move, move, move like an ant when you dance."

My parents trace their ancestry from the villages of Vaigaga, in Upolu and Sapapali'i in Savaii, but my father was born in Wellington at the end of the 1940s, going to Samoa as an infant and returning to Aotearoa as an adolescent in the 1960s to live with relatives. My mother and her family migrated to Aotearoa around the same time, following my grandmother's parents, brothers and sisters. These migrations complicate a linear production of identity, placing my parents in "interrogatory, interstitial space" (Bhabha, 2004) between cultures. As early as during the boat trip to New Zealand, my mother's experience and sense of self was extended enormously: she was amazed to meet Fijian people, at once markedly different yet recognisably similar to herself; to eat a wide range of new and different foods compared with those available in Samoa; to act and be treated in ways other than what she was used to at home. My father arrived at Auckland Airport to find palagi doing manual work - far removed from the exclusively professional roles they assumed in Samoa. He found this so novel that he deliberately dropped cigarette ash near the person wielding a broom, checking to make sure that his rubbish was included in the general clean-up. My parents' identities encompass many conflicting positions: NZ-born, island-born, villager, urbanite, privileged, disadvantaged, Samoan, Pacific Islander, family member, individual. Although they came to Aotearoa in search of opportunity, neither of my parents fit the pattern of limited participation which is typical of first-generation Pacific Island immigrants, 'working factory floors' to establish themselves and their families. Due to their educational opportunities, they were fluent English speakers and as a result their experience of life in New Zealand was more like that of second-generation Samoan New Zealanders.

As my parents' lives are inscribed with difference and affinity, reflecting the spaces they have left, made, encroached on and inhabited, so too with mine. I was born in Auckland and grew up in Epsom, where ours was the only Samoan family in our street, school and community. This placement was significant: although extended family played a regular and important role in my life, I did not experience being Samoan, Pacific or Polynesian in the way my cousins did, living in suburbs with high Pacific populations such as in Ponsonby, Grey Lynn and Mangere. In this way, my family and I lived simultaneously within and outside the space where identity (cultural values and behaviour) is primarily formed by being a member of the dominant group in New Zealand (Bell & Matthewman, 2004) and within and outside the space where identity is supported by being a member of minority communally-oriented cultural group, namely Samoan.

Because of my family experiences, I grew up internalising a complex sense of identity, and I approach this research from a perspective of social hybridity, without the assumed authority of essentialised identity. Both my parents are Samoan and so am I, but I do not fulfil many of the cultural practices associated with the representation of Samoan identity: I don't speak Samoan fluently; I didn't grow up with Samoan peers or attend a Samoan church. My concept of what it is to 'fill' this space is not underpinned by these things. Rather, I am located in a particular part of

Aotearoa and recognise the connection to my place of residence as strongly as to my place of origin; an ambivalence I trace to my parents' aspirations and choices for my siblings and myself, based on the effect of migration on their construction of identity.

To extend this narrative of identity, I would like to present two vignettes from my time working in equity at the University of Auckland. These stories are representative of Pacific student experience in equity and sketch the limitations of equity policy and programmes, highlighting my sense of personal and systemic failure in the sometimes gaping chasm between perception of and delivery to equity students, and students' lived reality.

Sio

Sio, a NZ-born Pacific student, visited to ask for my support for his application for re-enrolment in the faculty. This application followed a period of suspension for unsatisfactory academic progress. Sio and I talked about his desire to re-enrol and complete his degree, and it was apparent that his family played a large role in motivating this completion. Sio was adamant that only the University of Auckland would do, that he and his family were not prepared to settle for enrolling at AUT or Massey University, even as a short-term measure towards improved academic performance which he might then use as grounds for an application for re-admission. Sio's academic record, however, was woeful and I felt I could not support his re-enrolment application. Before suspension, he had passed very few courses and failed more than a year's worth of fulltime study. I felt that the regulations had been correctly applied to exclude him from further academic failure. I explained that I felt he was not adequately prepared for degree-level study, and that while this could be addressed through academic bridging and support learning it was highly unlikely that his application for re-admittance would be successful. I asked why he thought his previous studies had been unsuccessful, and what he thought needed to change in order for him to succeed. Sio said that he had taken time to adjust to the university environment, that sometimes his family and church commitments had clashed with or overridden his study obligations. He talked about the effect of limited finances on his ability to give time and focus to his studies. Sio explained that his study had been funded by a student loan, and we added up the debt he had incurred so far. Sio agreed that his loan was a significant millstone, but pointed out that by being allowed to re-enrol and complete his degree, his loan would be more likely to be repaid rather than an ongoing liability with nothing to show in return. Sio was profoundly unhappy when I refused to sign his application supporting documents. I asked if his family would take his failure to re-enrol badly, and he confirmed that they would, and that he would probably get a hiding. Over the next two months, as we continued to exchange emails, texts and phone calls, the level of parental pressure on Sio to attend and graduate from the University of Auckland was clear in his increasing urgency and despair at not being accepted for re-enrolment. How could active involvement in our equity programme end in this way?

I met Sieni as part of an initiative which aimed to increase Māori and Pacific recipients of highly competitive faculty summer scholarships. Sieni's major was in a department with few equity students and no Māori or Pacific staff. She was one of only two students to have gained entry to the University from her high school. Although she said she had worked 'hard', attending class and completing coursework, Sieni recognised that her grades were not at the same level as some of her peers, and would not qualify for scholarship selection, and associated postgraduate and employment opportunities. This was a serious disadvantage: Sieni's career aim was to work in foreign affairs, so a strong academic record was important; yet for the previous two years she had augmented her student loan living cost payment by working close to full-time hours in a retail store. A summer scholarship would enable Sieni to engage in higher-paid, better targeted employment at her place of study, potentially improving both her grades and her living conditions. Like Sio, Sieni had been part of the Tuākana programme since beginning her degree, and because she had taken the maximum number of Stage One courses allowed, had been mentored by a range of students. Despite this support, her own and her tutors' efforts, Sieni was unsuccessful in gaining a summer scholarship place, and like Sio, Sieni was left questioning the shortfall of the equity promise.

Research question

This question driving this research is why equity initiatives for Pacific students at The University of Auckland fail to produce the expected results for students like Sio and Sieni, and the many others whose stories theirs represent. Why do institutions find it so difficult to provide meaningful and appropriate opportunities for success (or, framed another way, the recognition, transfer and acquisition of capital) in university settings? Why do Pacific students experience such difficulty in acquiring capital at secondary school to improve their opportunities for success at university?

There is a small but growing body of literature relating to Pacific student experience in New Zealand. Baseline research includes the Ministry of Education reports *Auckland Pasifika Education Research Guidelines* (Anae, Coxon, Wendt-Samu, Finau, 2001); Anae, Anderson, Bensemann and Coxon's *Pacific peoples and tertiary education: issues of participation Issues of Participation* (2002) and Gorinski and Fraser's 2006 *Literature Review on the Effective Engagement of Pasifika Parents & Communities in Education.* Several pieces of literature examine the experiences of specific groups, and the effect of mentoring programmes on student success. Focus areas for these studies include pharmacy (Norris & Tobata, 2006); sub-degree business studies (Cowley, Dabb, Jones, 2001); initial teacher education (Alipia, Gill, Seaborne, Tuafuti, Airini, 2005) and e-learning.

Having identified a lack of literature relating to Pacific equity programmes at degree level and above, I initially planned to interview postgraduate Pacific students. In the course of these interviews I hoped to discover the practices, skills and relationships students need to master in order to succeed at

university, and to identify individual skills and motivations which underpin student success for under-represented groups. This approach seemed to me a natural progression from my work and interest in equity: having come from an applied situation, working on equity programmes such as Tuākana, I felt sure these investigations would provide practical 'answers' to the 'problem' of Pacific university education in Aotearoa.

Once the thesis research was underway, however, I soon found that my concerns were both more wide-ranging and more philosophical than I had initially understood. As I began to read the background literature, I realised that my questions about educational equity required consideration of much more fundamental questions, such as those inherent within the formation of modern Pacific identity. This project therefore takes a wide view of identity as complex and multi-dimensional, shaped by significant cultural, historical and political events, and based on institutional, national and global structural understandings, while recognising that a Pacific view regards "all aspects of life as inseparable parts" (Hereniko & Bell 1999, p.138).

My growing understanding of the theoretical basis of terms such as 'ethnicity' and 'culture' led to an emerging sense of my original conceptions of the research project as formulated within the technocratic rationalistic paradigm which characterises typical current understandings of equity problems, and hence directs the response to such problems by institutions such as The University of Auckland. This research seeks to explicate how the limitations of such an approach also help to explain their lack of success.

The thesis project interrogates representations of Pacific learning identity in Aotearoa, and how these representations contribute to the ways equity policy and programmes work either to reduce or to reinforce educational inequality. This study applies Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social space to a consideration of 'Pacific academic habitus', which is comprised of dispositions or sets of identifications acquired and conveyed through formal education and other social contexts (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979). It considers the problem of 'Pacific student under-representation and underachievement' both as a 'fact' and as a contemporary discourse, underpinned by an historically unequal relationship based on the processes of colonisation and migration.

Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative methodological framework to investigate and analyse how language, space and capital define and delimit social relations of power and domination in the relationships between accounts and hierarchies, representation and identity. Qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive, and rejects the notion of 'value-free' research (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Traditionally, social science research has been linked to imperialism and colonialism in the way in which "knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented...back to the West" (Smith, 1999, p.1). Interpretive research frameworks and practices "turn the world into a series

of performances and representations" bringing researchers and research participants into a "shared, critical space, a space where the work of resistance, critique and empowerment can occur" (Denzin, 2008 2008, p.5). Shared space does not necessarily equate to a shared understanding however, and this project is recognised as a subjective and specific reading of the research context and problematic.

The primary research methodology used in this thesis is critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis aims to show how institutions, practices and individuals can be understood as being produced through the workings of discourse (Punch, 2009). Discourse is a set of historically and culturally located systems of knowledge/power, which both reflect and constitute human experience: ideas, statements, implicit knowledge and ways of seeing, categorising and reacting to the social world in everyday practices (Judd, 1996).

The nature of my research question assumes conflict and hierarchy between practices, discourses and the exercise of power. This study begins from the premise that Western explanatory frameworks are the dominant form of university discourse, critically reading a series of public texts which constitute and produce Pacific academic identity at The University of Auckland. These texts include selected physical aspects of the University of Auckland as equity responses to Pacific participation; the work of selected Pacific scholars on Pacific capital and academic identity; institutional policy documents and Nuhisifa Williams' doctoral thesis on the University's Maori and Pacific Leadership Programme, Tuākana. These critical readings pay attention to issues of language, position and practice, explicating priorities, goals and processes to make connections between language and socio-political context. In keeping with this approach, this project reflects the current University usage of the plural form of the word Tuākana, for the title of the Māori and Pacific mentoring programme, but it is worth noting that the use of the plural form for a generic or category noun contravenes standard rules of grammar for te reo Māori.

Naming and claiming the 'Pacific'

This section discusses the use of ethnicity labels for the population who are the focus of this research. The term 'Pacific' is used in this study to describe both a discourse and a people(s). Some Pacific scholars argue for the use of the transliteration 'Pasifika' (Wendt-Samu, 2007; Mila-Schaaf, 2010) to encapsulate both the unity and the diversity of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand, and to provide a Pan-Pacific perspective that encompasses a range of ethnic-specific alternatives such as 'Pasefika' (Pacific from a Samoan perspective) and 'Pasifiki' (Pacific from a Tongan perspective), or indigenous terminology such as 'Tangata o te Moana nui' (Macpherson, Spoonley, Anae, 2001). It is also argued that 'Pasifika' signals a politics of reclamation by self-naming in a language other than that of the European colonial powers in the Pacific (mainly English, German and French). I would argue, however, that the use of 'Pasifika', 'Oceanic' or 'Moanan' blurs and conceals the specific contexts of time, place and social conditions. New Zealand is in the Pacific, but for more than 150

years has had an immigrant Pakeha majority population which traditionally sees its "Anglo-Celtic offshoot" (Bell, 2004) culture as having far more in common 'across the ditch', with Australia. This view reduces Pacific islands to a cheap and convenient holiday playground, and their inhabitants and descendants as 'Pacific Islanders' a label which logically could also apply to inhabitants of Aotearoa, islands in the Pacific, but in practice does not. Similarly, the University of Auckland is in the world's largest Polynesian city, but historically has encouraged links with institutions outside the Pacific region that it considers share common paradigms and priorities.

By using Pacific I wish also to acknowledge the specific historical conditions which contribute to the contemporary identity of Pacific. The orientalising of Pacific people as South Seas Islanders whose bodies were inscribed by difference as objects of desire or entertainment (Chiu, 2004) is concealed by the assertion of 'Pasifika' as an ahistorical, purely self-determined category. Pacific people have long occupied subordinate social and economic positions in New Zealand. If representation is "a site for the construction and constitution of identities, then of specific relevance to the social identities of Samoans is the way Western culture has long traded on images of Polynesian Otherness." (Grainger, 2008). The associations of 'Pasifika' in Aotearoa, and particularly in Auckland, are problematic. *Pasifika* is strongly associated with unthreatening aspects of culture, such as concerts and dancing, which domesticate diversity and promote a sense of multiculturalism, whilst contributing to social amnesia and masking the one-sidedness of power relations between social groups in the contemporary milieu.

Thirdly, I argue for the usage of 'Pacific' as a linguistic signal and symbol of the site of self-definition and self-determination. A far-flung set of small islands depends on the Pacific as an ocean of possibility and meaning. In this way the Pacific acts as a space we all negotiate, acknowledging Pacific peoples' sea-faring past as accomplished navigators (Henry, 1979), and their present and future life in Aotearoa and beyond. 'Navigators' in this sense acts as a placeholder for 'agent' or 'active body' with these terms' connotations, yet remains grounded in a Pacific worldview: journeys, known and unknown, undertaken on the basis of generations of valued and valuable indigenous wayfinding and boat-building knowledge. This study uses 'Pacific' as a choice of identity label that acknowledges this inherent Pacific capital and practice, and simultaneous (co)construction by and location within the Western academy in a New Zealand context, recognising the productive and constitutive nature of discourse.

As for Pacific/Pasifika, a parallel pair of identity claims is implicit in the use of both Aotearoa and New Zealand as the label for the other end of the migratory journey that, literally and metaphorically, forms a central concern of this thesis. I will use both of these names for the country in which this study is situated according to the demand of the contextual argument.

Thesis Overview

The next five chapters present critical discourse analyses of the various aspects of the research question, followed by a concluding chapter.

Chapter Two begins the process by considering Pacific peoples' presence in New Zealand, and reviewing the historical and social factors that influence the ways their identity is, and has been, represented. The first section discusses assimilatory practices within the Samoan experience of colonisation and migration. While the analysis focuses specifically on Samoan experience, these are likely to reflect Pacific experiences overall. This discussion is grounded in an historical overview of indigenous self-assertion and raises possibilities for emancipatory action and effect through hybridity. Next, discussion moves to consider economic influences on Pacific migration and representation. Migration models and associated migrant 'identities' are discussed, which provide a rationale for a 'snapshot' of Pacific peoples in Aotearoa. This snapshot takes the form of a statistical illustration of Pacific peoples' position of social inequity, based on statistics drawn from the most recent census data available.

Chapter Three moves from a broad analysis of historical and social influences to focus on contemporary Pacific identity. The first section considers inequality as an influence on Pacific presence and representation, and examines the work of Pierre Bourdieu, Homi Bhabha and Stuart Hall, and their influence on representations of identity. The chapter examines links between representation and engagement in the New Zealand education system, and makes a claim for the deployment of a diasporic identity as the main influence on a Pacific learning habitus, resisting a respect-based identity as hierarchized, limiting and not reflective of most Pacific learners' reality in Aotearoa. For this reason, the acceptance of 'respect' as a founding value for negotiating social relationships is called into question. This discussion posits that 'respect' in this context creates a binary of inferior/superior, highlighting and increasing the power differential between people. A more adequate model to encompass the positive aspects of respect, while allowing for possibilities of exchange, is 'reciprocity'.

Chapter Four considers social explanations for Pacific peoples' position of disadvantage and identification as "the tail" of achievement in the New Zealand education system. This discussion examines Pacific participation rates in the early childhood, compulsory and tertiary sectors. New Zealand tertiary participation policy is evaluated to identify further assimilatory contradictions within representations of Pacific people from an economically-centred, widening participation perspective.

Chapter Five discusses Pacific representation in specific spaces at the University of Auckland and considers the range of meanings, often contradictory, which emerge from the juxtaposition of Pacific symbols in Western settings. The Fale, C Space and the University of Auckland Pacific Islands

Students Association are presented as multi-dimensional spaces, linking physical, mental and social spaces.

Chapter Six considers widening participation and equity policy from deficit-approach and strengths-based perspectives, and the effects of these approaches on the way institutions represent and respond to Pacific learners. The University of Auckland Māori and Pacific Leadership Programme (Tuākana) is used as a case study, and the Tuākana section of Nuhisifa Williams' unpublished doctoral thesis (Williams, 2009) is used as a basis for analysis. Accounts of my own experiences working in equity provide an additional lens for this section. Homi Bhabha's work on hybridity is used to frame an analysis of Māori learning relationships applied to Pacific learners. Pierre Bourdieu's work on capital and field are also applied to help discuss this kind of cultural transfer. The chapter offers a reading of Tuākana as a 'civilising mission', comparing assimilatory colonisation practices and equity policy and practice. It is argued that the inherent contradiction of assimilatory colonisation (that 'race', ability, capital and habitus are fixed by biology and yet ability, capital and habitus can and should be learned) underpins the rationale and implementation of equity policy. This fundamental contradiction means that equity programmes are a site of interminable struggle. The analysis then moves to the Tuākana programmes as a strengths-based initiative, suggesting that tuākana mentors, rather than teina (mentees) are the focus and direct beneficiaries of the programme.

This thesis reflects my attempt to better understand the problem of limited success in improving Pacific participation and achievement in university education. At the outset of the research process I sought practical 'answers' to the issue of Pacific participation. Recognising and accepting my need to embark on the difficult job of developing a more nuanced understanding of equity, ethnicity, culture and identity was and remains arduous. The multiplicity which marks my introduction is reflected in this study, which moves between a series of perspectives and positions to approach that nuanced understanding. Equity is not an easy road, and I have found no easy answers, yet I am hopeful. The conversation continues.

CHAPTER TWO: Pacific People in New Zealand

This chapter provides an historical overview of how Pacific people have become positioned within New Zealand society and in relation to their home nations and each other. Based on a literature review of statistical information and recordings of Pacific histories, this discussion examines both the specificity and heterogeneity of Pacific experience.

Pacific is a contested term for people and their place of origin when used in New Zealand. Pacific people in New Zealand are represented by at least 13 distinct languages and cultural groups and include people born in the Pacific Islands as well as in New Zealand (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2011). The truism that Pacific Islanders are born at Auckland Airport refers to the fact that, before arrival in Aotearoa, most if not all Pacific people identify themselves by a specific ethnicity, for instance as Samoan, Cook Island Māori or Tongan, and within that national identity to complex personal identities, linking people to "nuclear families, extended families, villages, districts and religious faith" (Macpherson, Spoonley, Anae, 2001, p.70). However once arrived, these Samoans, Tongans and Cook Island Māori are externally grouped by their similarity rather than their difference: the language and location which separates them from one another is superseded by assumed similarities in their values, cultural practice and perhaps most of all, their appearance, and they are rechristened as Pacific.

This construction of identity is problematic in several ways. The process of renaming echoes the colonisation experience of Māori at first contact with Pakeha when their identity shifted from the direct connection and control of whanau/hapu/iwi to 'Māori' (Durie, 1988, cited in Adams , Clark, Codd, O'Neill, Openshaw, Waitere-Ang, 2000). Bell (2004) contends that naming in this way means that contemporary relationships between Māori and Pakeha carry traces (contaminants) of that unequal relationship. Some first and second generation immigrants' resistance to and resentment of this labelling suggests dissonance to external and imposed identification (Mila-Schaaf, 2010) although Fairburn-Dunlop makes a claim for some early Pacific migrants forgoing national pride for the comfort and security of pan-ethnic identification (Fairburn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003). Recent studies of identity suggest that younger, urbanised people of Pacific extraction welcome and adopt a pan-Pacific identity and identification (Tupuola, 2004). In this way, New Zealand can be seen as the site where Pacific people define and construct and are defined and constructed by multiple subjectivities and identities.

A relationship based on colonisation

Pacific peoples' presence in Aotearoa is longstanding, with reports of South Seas Island seafarers visiting and working in this country dating from the early 19th century (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2011). However the migration and subsequent presence of Pacific peoples in significant

numbers is strongly influenced by their colonial history as British and New Zealand protectorates and territories. Five of the six largest groups of Pacific peoples in New Zealand are or have been colonial states, which can be argued affects the subjectivity of Samoan, Niuean, Cook Island Māori, Tokelauan and Fijian people in particular, and Pacific people in general.

The Samoan experience of colonisation provides an insight to the ongoing relational disruptions between Pacific island nations and New Zealand, and the almost taken-for-granted acceptance of Pacific peoples' position of disadvantage in an ongoing relationship of inequality in Aotearoa. Samoan colonisation dates from the end of the nineteenth century, when Samoa was partitioned into Eastern and Western divisions, acquired by the United States and Germany respectively. These imperialist manoeuvres can be attributed to economic expansion, but Smith points out that colonisation also acted as a "fort and port" of imperialism, (1999, p.23) creating sites which represented an image of Western 'civilisation'. In Samoa the mission of civilisation predated formal colonisation, dating from the 1830 arrival of London Missionary Society representatives in Savaii (Davidson, 1967). With the introduction of Christianity, "the history of Old Samoa came to a close... many of the ancient customs disappeared and new ones took their place" (Henry, 1979, p.142). The civilising mission, motivated by expansion, Christianity, or both, was predicated on a belief in essentialised European racial superiority.

Bell (2004) traces essentialist thinking about cultural identities to race theory, the belief that people belong to distinct biological races, which fix and determine ability and cultural practice. Some 'races' were seen as more developed than others: white Europeans were regarded as the full realisation of humanity; Pacific people were categorised as 'primitive' and 'savages', and other indigenous groups were considered as even less than human. In this way, colonisation was intended as a process of assimilation by which Samoan 'Natives' could experience and adopt the benefits of white Western culture. As Bell points out, the idea that the "culture of savages was fixed by their biology, co-existed with the idea that they could and should change to become like Europeans" (2004, p.124). This contradiction was further complicated by the belief that while indigenous people could and should adopt European ways, their assimilation attempts would be ultimately unsuccessful, alienating them from both their own and Western culture. The implications of these practices and beliefs in relation to equity programmes are discussed in Chapter Six below.

At the outset of World War I, New Zealand invaded and annexed (Western) Samoa on behalf of Britain and governed by League of Nations mandate and United Nations territory provisions until Samoa achieved independence in 1962. Until Independence, Samoa was governed by New Zealand Administrators and High Commissioners with responsibility for education, health and justice systems modelled on those of New Zealand. This relationship was not without incident: two critical occurrences mark failures in the New Zealand administration which have coloured the kinship

relationship between Samoa and New Zealand. These are the introduction and mismanagement of influenza, following World War I, in which approximately one fifth of the population died; and the attempt to suppress the Mau movement for Samoan independence in the 1920s (Field, 1984; Masterman, 1958).

The Mau

There are a number of recorded instances of protest and formal resistance by Samoans to German rule (Field, 1984). However the most significant rejection of colonial rule based on the claim Samoa mo Samoa, *Samoa for Samoans,* occurred in the 1920s. Colonial resistance originally took the form of petitions, but soon activated into formal organisation, the League of Samoa, known as O le Mau a Samoa, *the strong belief of Samoa.* Passive resistance campaigns and peaceful public demonstrations culminated in the events of Black Saturday 1929, where police opened fire on Mau members, resulting in eight deaths (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2011).

In the context of colonial resistance, the Mau movement might be linked to a series of counter-narratives of minority identity and rejection of Western intellectual hegemony and domination. Négritude developed amongst expatriate African poets Leon Damas, Aime Cesire and Leopold Seder Senghor in the 1930s as "an attempt to plunge deeper than the reactive identity blacks had formed" (D. Jones, 2010) in response to African peoples' experience of colonisation by French settlement and assumption of political control of their countries and lives. This attempt depended on the assertion of common black roots through shared ancestry, despite different countries of origin and varying cultural practice, and the valorising of African peoples' history, tradition and beliefs.

Māoritanga, or 'the way of the Māori', emerged in New Zealand in the 1920s as another counter-narrative of indigenous identity against prevailing assimilationist cultural deficit constructions (Nash, 1983, cited in Webster, 1998). Theories of Māoritanga attempted to document and valorise Māori identity and cultural practice. Māoritanga developed primarily as an anthropological theory: key shapers including Apirana Ngata, George Pitt-Rivers, Felix Keesing, and Raymond Firth; anthropologists and administrators rather than educationists and administrators. The difference is significant because theories of Māoritanga are characterised by divisions between 'mind and spirit' and 'hands and feet'; or the "key ideological juxtaposition between Māori 'culture' and Māori work" (Webster, 1998, p.95). Culture as used in this definition depends on an ahistorical, essentialised understanding of Māori cultural distinctiveness based on tribal identity and localised, consistent cultural practice. Instead, Webster claims that the economic reality for most Māori was suppression "at the most subordinate levels of society, in hugely disproportionate numbers" (Simon, cited in Webster, 1998, p.76) resulting in a transient and destitute underclass characterised not (only) by cultural practice or belief but by the experience of poverty and subjugation. Theories of Māoritanga can be considered in this way as external cultural constructions.

The Samoan Mau movement is marked by a number of significant differences from Māoritanga and négritude. The first of these is in its power base. Both the catalyst and impetus for the Mau arose from indigenous structures such as fono, villages and community groups rather than intellectuals and academics, so that resistance was implicitly a rejection of colonisation and Western hegemony. Matai as rangatira or chiefly leaders of families and villages, acted as 'thought-leaders' (Webster, 1998) reinforcing the legitimacy and power of fa'a Samoa, *the Samoan way* and by so doing, gained widespread indigenous support. Négritude and Māoritanga can be seen in contrast as constructions by an academic elite on behalf of a distanced and largely illiterate populace unable to participate in or critique that (written) construction, and whose actual commonality stemmed largely from the experience of poverty. In the case of the Mau, Samoan cultural practice and colonial experience was not antagonised so that Samoans appeared as entirely subjugated, rather, fa'a Samoa was valorised as a preferred way of life and Samoans positioned as people of privilege within the colonial relationship as deriving authority and support from the power base of fa'a Samoa. This power base retained strength from existing rather than imposed commonality, supported by the weight of history and tradition, still in practice at the time of the Mau and today.

A second striking difference is the acknowledged and active involvement of women in the Mau movement. Although women could be involved via the office of matai, most took part in groups specifically set up for and by women, such as mafutaga tina, *Women's Committees*, and their involvement in leadership, organisation and demonstration was within these parameters. Rather than a gender division which relegated women to a second class of resistance, this role is seen to echo the Mau's foundation on o le malo, established structures and practices of fa'a Samoa, in effect, privileging cultural practice for participation.

The influence of race-based assimilatory constructions of Samoan identity is reflected in New Zealand administration's response to Mau resistance:

> At the present moment he [the Samoan] is in the position of a sulky and insubordinate child who has deliberately disobeyed his father, as the administrator is generally termed, and no peaceful persuasion will induce him to submit.... force is the only thing which will appeal to the Samoan. (Meleisea, 1987, p.138).

One of the New Zealand administration's responses to Mau resistance provides parallels to the New Zealand Government's way of dealing with Pacific migrants in the 1970s. In districts which strongly supported the Mau movement, night raids were a regular occurrence as a method to apprehend Mau supporters and sympathisers. My great-grandmother Josephine related instances in which the men of the village would leave at nightfall for the safety of the bush, leaving women and children at home (Masterman, 1958; Stanley, 2011). On several occasions, she was woken by the sound of boots on the concrete steps of her house, the sound of soldiers (police) shouting, torchlight in hers and her children's eyes and pointed bayonets and rifles scooping back the mosquito nets around their bed to

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check the occupants (Stanley, 2011). The recurrence and singular application of dawn raids as a technique for one ethnic 'group' by the New Zealand Government can be seen as a demonstration of the deep-seated, taken for granted inequalities and 'contaminants' in the New Zealand-Pacific relationship.

The counter-narrative of Samoa mo Samoa depended on an indigenous belief in the validity and effectiveness of exercising agency within the colonial relationship. Language as well as politics played an essential role in establishing and communicating agency. Although members of the Mau recognised their position as less powerful in relation to the New Zealand administration this was only in the context of Western political structures and language. Historically, Samoans had exercised agency against colonial rule by withholding labour for plantations, again through traditional village structures such as matai veto, resulting in the German introduction of Chinese labourers to work in Samoans' stead. As a general rule, under colonial rule, orders given in Samoan by Samoans in the village context trumped orders given in Samoan or English or German by non-Samoans. Field (1984) notes that speeches and letters written by Samoans and translated by New Zealanders for official documents pertaining to the Mau movement are often poorly translated, giving a false impression of these speakers and writers as "simple children" (Field, 1984, p.xvii) which cannot now be altered as none of the original source material remains from which to make a more accurate translation. Again, this gap can be viewed as an exercise of indigenous agency. In the 1920s (and now) Samoan language acts as a border control check-point for participation and communication of what those speakers and writers truly said and meant. In this way, Mau members then and now privileged and protected native knowledge, particularly Gagana Samoa, Samoan *language*, over other kinds of knowledge and the practice of oral culture, face to face transmission over recorded communication.

Bourdieu contends that all social meaning and identifications are constructed in a relational context – power dynamics privilege and reproduce certain constructions. Knowledge of the social world, and, more precisely, the categories that make it possible, are "the stakes par excellence of political struggle, the inextricably theoretical and practical struggle for the power to conserve or transform the social world by conserving or transforming the categories through which it is perceived" (Bourdieu, 1985, p.730). Conservation or subversion thus depends on one's position. The symbolic struggle is what occurs when that which is centred is subject to heterodoxy, counter-narrative and competing ideas and discourse. In terms of equity, this is the challenge to participation based on human capital rather than the morality of fairness – the former accepts doxa, or 'taken for granted' beliefs which petrify social limits. In terms of Pacific identity, this might be challenging the degree of influence of Pakeha as the main constitutive Other; and re-evaluating the role of Māori as significant Other (Mila-Schaaf, 2010). Resistance and subversion as a response to colonial rule is evident in Mau practice. The following section considers education in Samoa as another site of struggle.

Assimilation and hybridity in a colonial education context

Education provides an example of how colonising assimilatory practices affected participation historically, and continues to affect how Samoans are represented in education contexts and internalise a learning habitus. Under the New Zealand administration, a two-tier system was introduced which provided separate schools for Samoan children, in villages; and European children and 'local European', i.e. Samoan/European children, with European surnames, in town, such as Leififi School (Sutter, 1989; Fairburn-Dunlop, 1996, Stanley, 2011). Village schools are reported as being poorly resourced, and competition was strong for the few available places at town schools for Samoan students (P. Fairburn-Dunlop, 1996). Competition for places can be seen in the context of a relationship of colonisation as an acquired belief in the currency and 'profit' (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979) of the capital inherent in a Western education, in a colonised society. Differentiated provision supports Adams *et al* (2000) in their assertion that access without 'improved opportunity' does not address wider social inequalities. New Zealand administrators could argue that they had made provision for universal access in Samoan education, but this access did not provide equality of opportunity – equal resources, teaching and administrative expertise, in other words, the opportunity to acquire hierarchized Western capital.

At a personal level, although my father grew up in the village, he attended Leififi School. He was able to enrol at and attend Leififi because he had a European surname, from a palagi ancestor who had arrived in Samoa several generations previously. Cousins with Samoan surnames changed them in order to attend Leififi. These assimilatory practices illustrate power relations in Samoan education, which dictated who could participate and who could not, creating binaries of European/Samoan, included/excluded. These practices also provide an example of hybridity. In the place of culture contact, New Zealand administrators can be seen to operate from a race theory perspective that controls participation (and by association, achievement) on the basis of blood quantum, or 'proof' of whiteness. Blood quantum theories define identity in terms of the 'degree' of ancestry for an individual of a specific ethnic group, tracing degrees from a point of 'pure' ethnicity and can be seen as a colonial construct used for exclusion and "hastening indigenous assimilation" (Kēhaulani Kauanui, 2008). Samoans responded by subverting the 'rules' of blood quantum theory, gaining access to schools like Leififi by external changes, such as their surnames, and in this process, producing new knowledge by resisting clear-cut binaries such as included/excluded. Hybridity is demonstrated by the way 'afakasi' was enlarged beyond the definition of 'a person with one Samoan and one non-Samoan parent' to 'a Samoan person with a European surname'. Thus Leififi became a school for "Europeans, afakasi and those who had palagi surnames" (Fairburn-Dunlop, 1996, p.54). The moment of utterance as 'half-caste' is repeated and re-interpreted as 'afakasi'. Bhabha characterises this difference that is "almost the same, but not quite" as mimicry, a double articulation

which appropriates and disrupts (Bhabha, 2004, p.122) through repetition with slippage between first and second meanings. This ambivalence allows for and illustrates the circulation of power inherent in hybridity through the act of contact, representation and altering meaning.

The assertion of Oceania can be seen as an instance of altering meaning through representation. The Pacific colonisation process is widely read as the reconceptualisation of a related and connected "sea of islands" (Waddell, 1993) into fragmented and tiny empire outposts, separated rather than connected by the Pacific. In this reading, islands, as contained territories (and communities), take on an important aspect as determinants of identity. Grainger (2008) suggests that colonial powers highlighted Pacific nations' island existence, emphasising the isolation and insularity imposed by island geography. This insularity can also be applied to Western administrations' understanding of Pacific identity and culture as essentialist and fixed, and their use of stereotypes as an attempt to fix Pacific people in subordinate relation to themselves. Epeli Hau'ofa's assertion of Oceania as a reconceptualisation of the Pacific Ocean and peoples as connected, rather than separated by water, and the sea as so much more than an "empty signifier" (Bell & Matthewman, 2004, p.49)can be seen as a direct refutation to this view. This emphasis on connection references the history of Pacific peoples as navigators, which provides it with authenticity from the perspective of indigenous Pacific cultures. It can be seen as a call to localised universalism (Fairburn-Dunlop, 2008) underlining affinity rather than difference between cultures; and as a counter-narrative to a mainstream colonial view of Pacific peoples as small and passive island states and groups of people. In this way, the assertion of Oceania can be considered as part of a wider move of indigeneity and affirmation of minority identity, and more specifically, as an ongoing response to subjugated colonial and exploitative relationships between Western powers and Pacific island peoples, most notably in the case of Samoa's history of opposition to colonial rule.

From the 1940s, New Zealand was the main destination for high achieving students to pursue further and higher State-sponsored education. These students were typically sent to boarding schools in small towns, and followed their compulsory schooling with stints at training college or university (Fairburn-Dunlop, 1996; Wood, 1989). It was clearly understood that these students were being trained in order to return home and benefit their home communities (Fairburn-Dunlop, 1996) rather than to stay in New Zealand. As well as displaying an inherent system of stratification, this 'sending' of small and isolated groups to New Zealand might be seen to reinforce these peoples' ethnic-specific idea of themselves as Samoan rather than Pacific because their scholarship time was so clearly communicated as an interregnum between real life as students and teachers, reinforcing their role as sons and daughters for the return home. However, as discussed earlier, Fairburn-Dunlop disagrees, citing early migrants' choice to "put aside their pride in nation and [seek] identity through shared PI institutions" (Fairburn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003, p.15).

New Zealand-based training was not confined to formal education but to aspects of state services – my grandfather moved to Wellington in the late 1940s for secondment to the New Zealand Customs Service. This exchange also worked in reverse: because of the colonial relationship, Samoa acted as a natural recruiting ground for blue-collar workers during New Zealand's industrial boom of the 1950s and 60s. During this time, increasing numbers of Samoan workers and their families immigrated to New Zealand for good. Although they maintained links with family, visited home and played an important ongoing economic role through the sending of remittances, the balance between home and away, Samoa and New Zealand, Samoan and Pacific Islander, had shifted. By the 1970s, Samoan and Pacific people as a wider group had come to occupy the lower rungs of New Zealand society, under-represented in education and income comparative to other groups and over-represented in negative health and other social indicators. By 2006 60% of Pacific people in New Zealand were born in this country and were growing up here (Department of Statistics, 2011).

Adams *et al* (2000) cite Keesing & Strathern's (1998) "economics of racism" which contends that "economic strategies often support and reinforce ideologies of racism" (p.105). Capitalist expansion provides the rationale for colonisation in the first place, extending countries' range of economic opportunity. Expansion underpinned New Zealand Government changes in the 1950s and 1960s which encouraged a large migrant influx from Pacific nations, a shift from previous 'White New Zealand' policy (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2011). Although this cheap labour was welcome in boom times, by the economic downturn of the 1970s Pacific migrants were targeted as a problem in New Zealand society. This backlash identified Pacific people as taking the jobs of legitimate, i.e. white New Zealanders, and as responsible for law and order problems. As a result the then Labour Government approved identification and deportation policies for Pacific overstayers, culminating in early morning raids on houses to catch people before they left for work. Dawn raids are a recurring feature of New Zealand Government intervention in the lives of Pacific people. New Zealand Police raids made on the houses of Mau members and supporters in Samoa are discussed earlier in this chapter, and illustrate differences in how Pacific and Samoan people were treated compared to other migrant groups. Pacific migrants were further targeted by reactionary National Party election advertising which portrayed them as angry, violent and unwelcome (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2011).

Migration
The movement of Pacific people is acknowledged as an historical and cultural practice, but the migration discussed in this section refers specifically to the migration period from the 1950s onward. Pacific migration from this time can be considered against three models, immigration assimilation; diasporic and pan-ethnicity. These models and associated representations of identity are considered

alongside Pacific people's socio-economic position in New Zealand, and how this affects educational participation.

Classical immigration assimilation is generally accepted to refer to an initial period of migration, prompted by economic shifts and openings in work opportunities. The process of assimilation follows that of colonisation, the "incorporation of indigenous individuals into an homogenous community which conducts its affairs according to one set of social, political and cultural mores" (O'Sullivan, 2007, p.16) and can thus be seen to emphasise the needs and views of the receiving country/economy as the dominating influence. First-generation migrants' representations of cultural identity appear to follow two main trends: a retreat into ethnic-specific identification, resisting their labelling as a "single entity... 'Pacific Islanders' 'islanders' or 'coconuts'" (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999, cited in Macpherson, Spoonley, Anae, 2001, p.71) or the embracing of a wider 'PI' identity in what might be seen as solidarity against the enormous contrast of Western Pakeha culture (Fairburn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003). Macpherson identifies chain migration as the basis for the formation of "residential and occupation concentrations" (Trlin, 1971, Ongley, 1991, 1996, cited in Macpherson, Spoonley, Anae, 2001, p.70). The resulting ethnic enclaves allowed for the reproduction of Pacific island social spaces, ways of seeing and being in the world. In these enclaves, ways of being Pacific were supported by shared working and social lives, underpinned by transplanted institutions such as the church and shared priorities such as sending remittances to home countries. Although these areas of concentration are geographically located in the new country, first-generation migrants' hearts, minds and practices can be seen as based on affinity with other Pacific people, rather than difference, and turned towards a home across the sea.

The transnational or diasporic migration model is premised on dispersed communities. This model acknowledges the existence of two or more communities of influence, physical locations where migrants are placed, and "significant networks which exist and are maintained across borders, and by virtue of their intensity and importance... actually change the very nature of their nation-states" (Spoonley, p.82 in Macpherson, Spoonley, Anae, 2001). Forms of diasporic identities are usually applied to second-generation migrants, born in a different country from their parents, and whose conception and representation of identity is divided between their place of origin and place of residence. This division makes space for diasporic migrant identities to construct and be constructed by different social and economic environments from their parents. Macpherson (2001) traces some of the social and demographic features of these environments which allow for transformation within the diasporic identity. The shift in power, from a small group of elders in an island context, to a wider group of others who control access to land, resources and employment opportunities in the New Zealand context, is identified as the catalyst for change in diasporic experience, and identity formation. The pan-ethnicity migration model can be seen as a development of diasporic migration

experience in that it recognises further shifts in influence from place of origin to place of belonging. As ethnic enclaves develop into widely dispersed ethnoburbs and beyond, a particular local flavour develops, based on the multiple influences, intermarriage and globalised context third-generation migrants' experience.

Pacific People – a census snapshot

From South Seas to Pacific Islanders, people from the Pacific have come to be known in Aotearoa as *Pacific peoples*. Like *Pacific*, this is a contested term as the pan-Pacific grouping can be considered a convenient umbrella for many diverse cultures which emphasises homogeneity by over-simplification (Macpherson, Spoonley, Anae, 2001, p.96). Use of the term *Pacific peoples* by government entities such as the Ministries of Pacific Islands Affairs, Education and Health structures and reports has percolated into wider use, and is rationalised by the acknowledgement that there are multiple Pacific ethnicities. These ethnicities are represented primarily by Samoan, Cook Islands, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian and Tokelauan groups, with smaller numbers from Tuvalu, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and the small island states of Micronesia.

At the time of the 2006 Census, Pacific peoples were a growing ethnic group, with 265,974 people of Pacific ethnicity living in New Zealand in 2006, an increase of nearly 60% since 1991 (Department of Statistics, 2011). The largest ethnic-specific group within Pacific peoples was Samoan, with 131,103 people of Samoan ethnicity, an increase of 14 percent (16,083 people) since the 2001 Census. Statistics New Zealand reports that nearly one in two people of Pacific ethnicity were of Samoan ethnicity, followed by Cook Islands Māori (58,011) Tongan (50,478) Niuean (22,476) Tokelauan (6,822) and Tuvaluan (2,625).   Demographically, the Pacific peoples group is has a relatively settled immigrant status in Aotearoa New Zealand with more than half of this group being New Zealand born; and almost a third of overseas-born Pacific people having arrived in New Zealand 20 or more years ago.

Age

Pacific peoples are a youthful population. The median age of Pacific peoples in 2006 was just over 21 years, about 15 years lower than the median age of the New Zealand population overall. Replacement rates are an important factor in this trend, which is also affected by poor health outcomes for Pacific people that reduce overall life expectancy both in the Pacific and Aotearoa New Zealand. High youth rates contribute to Pacific peoples' vulnerability in times of economic downturn, when unskilled employment for young people is particularly scarce.

Employment

Pacific peoples are over-represented in unskilled and semi-skilled employment in the manufacturing sector, a weighting which dates back to the original 'blue-collar' post-war migration period. In 2006,

Pacific men's work centred on three occupations: labourers, machine operators and drivers, and technician/trade work. Pacific women's work profile showed similar bias toward manual work, and 10% of the overall Pacific population was reported as unemployed (Department of Statistics, 2011). Although some literature suggests the development of a Pacific middle class (Macpherson, Spoonley, Anae, 2001) this group is so small as not to feature in census-based statistical reports. Over-representation in unskilled employment places Pacific people in a marginalised position within the labour market. In this way they are vulnerable to changes due to recurring economic downturns, and restructuring, as in the 1980s and 90s. Vulnerability extends to income, as semi and unskilled labour generates low income, affecting Pacific peoples' access to housing, and associated living costs, including health and education services.

Income

In 2006, the median annual income for Pacific adults was $20,500, approximately $5000 lower than the median annual income for New Zealand overall. The Department of Statistics attributes this difference to age, pointing out that "the Pacific ethnic group has higher proportions of people in the younger age groups than the overall New Zealand population, and people in the younger age groups tend to have lower incomes than people in the older age groups" (Department of Statistics, 2011). However Ministry of Education reports suggest that degree-level qualifications are a larger contributing factor (Earle, 2010). One fifth of Pacific peoples aged 15 years and over had a post-school qualification, and a low percentage (4.5%) held degree-level qualifications compared to the rest of New Zealand (11.2%). OECD research indicates that successful completion of a tertiary education qualification early in adult life provides better employment opportunities and income, subsequently improving quality of life. Diploma or degree-level qualifications provide the greatest benefits. Statistics New Zealand reports that Pacific people who complete bachelor's degrees get greater benefits in the level of their income than Pakeha (Department of Statistics, 2011).

Location

In 2011 Pacific peoples were estimated to make up almost 14% of Auckland's population, with Samoan reported as its second most commonly spoken language (Auckland District Health Board, 2011). More than two-thirds of Pacific peoples (177,933 people) live in the Auckland region, a stable population with the same proportion as five years earlier, although ethnic-specific populations within the larger definition have increased. The Auckland region's predominance as a base for Pacific peoples in New Zealand can be attributed to its position as New Zealand's largest city, historical location as point of arrival, and Pacific peoples' tendency to practice chain and cluster migration. These patterns of settling with and near family members to establish original enclaves discussed as a feature of the assimilation migratory model, developed into a series of 'ethnoburbs' within the greater Auckland region, that is, ethnic clusters with high concentrations of a minority group (Li, 2005) in more widely distributed areas. Although Pacific people historically settled closer to the inner-city in areas such as Grey Lynn and Ponsonby, Pacific peoples are now also concentrated in West and South

Auckland, with one in three Pacific people living in Manukau. In this way, Manukau, now subsumed into the Auckland 'super' city, might be seen as the 'capital' of the Pacific. The largest concentrations of Pacific peoples are in Mangere, Otara, Manurewa and Papatoetoe, which are also the fastest growing areas of the Manukau region (Manukau City Council, 2009). Similar concentrations of Pacific people in other principal cities and in some smaller centres emphasise the fact of 60 years of migration and settlement – the Pacific is within Aotearoa, "not only 'there' but 'here'" (Macpherson, Spoonley, Anae, 2001, p.83)

Socio-economic position

Pacific people are over-represented at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum compared with the general population.   This inequality mirrors migration and settlement experiences. "Economically, Pacific people have always faced considerable difficulties in New Zealand...they have been over-represented among the unemployed, lower-skilled workers and low income earners. The restructuring of the late 1980s and early 1990s... had a disproportionate effect on Pacific people, many of whom... bore the brunt of job losses" (Department of Statistics, 2002). Pacific peoples' position in New Zealand can be understood as a cycle of disadvantage. Originally recruited to fill unskilled labour needs, first-generation migrants' low incomes and practice of sending remittances to their home countries restricted the kinds of housing and areas in which they could live. "Socio-economic disadvantage is closely linked with poor health status. Overcrowding and poor quality housing is a major social and public health problem for Pacific families [and] is more likely to result from economic hardship than cultural practice" (New Zealand Medical Council, 2009, p.68). This social and public health problem extends to participation and achievement in education. More than a third of Pacific people aged 15 and over do not hold a formal qualification, restricting their employment and further learning opportunities.

Inequality is the historical cornerstone of the Pacific-Aotearoa New Zealand relationship. Pacific people in island nations and New Zealand were made subordinate by the process of colonisation, located in at-risk positions in the wider social system. Although movements such as the Mau can be read as robust responses to operations of power which fix that knowledge of the social world, Pacific people's habitus and reality is at the bottom of the academic, social and economic pile. How then to move beyond these apparently fixed positions of power to try to effect some degree of change or reassertion? The following chapter discusses possibilities for ambivalence, resistance and counter-narrative beyond binary divisions of power by considering the formation of contemporary Pacific identity in Aotearoa.

CHAPTER THREE: Contemporary Pacific identity

This chapter introduces and discusses theoretical concepts related to identity formation and social positioning in both empirical and discursive realms. It links to the preceding discussions of Pacific socio-political and historical trajectories by examining different approaches to and perspectives of inequality. The first section considers "habits and dispositions" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979) which comprise a personal resource for advantage, or disadvantage, and how these are acquired and conveyed through formal education and other social contexts. The second section of this chapter considers Pacific assertions of identity based on connection and relationship, and concludes by discussing alternative concepts for the relationship between Pacific and Western cultures in New Zealand.

Social science-derived explanations for inequality can be classified as structural-functionalist and social-conflict perspectives. Structural-functionalist explanations rest on social efficiency theory, which supports an opportunity structure that accepts or demands differentiated outcomes for different groups. As coach Sue Sylvester puts it: "Not everyone can be champions. Not everyone should be champions. We *need* fry cooks. Bus drivers" (Ono & Monji, 2010, p.1). The entrenchment of Pacific people in positions of social and economic disadvantage is thus seen as a necessary fact of life in a contemporary capitalist society, in which society and social institutions are enslaved to the 'needs of the economy'. This latter phrase is placed in scare quotes to acknowledge the thesis advanced by critical social commentators that, in a globalised world, 'the economy' has come to serve as a code-word for the economic elite (Devine, 2000). As a market-oriented approach, the social efficiency perspective sees the purpose of the education system primarily in terms of preparing learners for their differentiated roles in the economy; roles dictated by social reproduction and restricted access to resources. A central challenge for the cogency of this perspective is to argue for the possibility of an opportunity structure which is fair and free from favouritism (Adams *et al*, 2000).

In protest against the market-derived approach of social efficiency theory, the social-conflict perspective has a basis in notions of socio-political democracy, and therefore privileges the morality of fairness. From this perspective, the above 'opportunity structure' is understood as part of the structured inequality that is endemic within capitalism. Under this view, the 'opportunity structure' is maintained and controlled by dominant groups who perpetuate an unequal distribution of resources by policing and restricting access to the administrative, economic and social structures within their influence, simultaneously controlling and generating a discourse which seeks to persuade disadvantaged social groups that their position of inequality is fair and reasonable – indeed, natural and inevitable.

Discourse and Identity: Habitus and capital

As a conflict-thinker, Bourdieu's main interest is in social reproduction, defined as how different social classes adopt particular practices to maintain broad patterns of reproduction. According to Roy Nash, Bourdieu seeks to provide social explanations within

> an account in which system properties, habituated dispositions, and effective practices are all included. The analytical scheme must move, in reverse order, from the observed practices of agents, to their interests and intentions, and, finally, to the social structures in which they are formed. It is almost as simple as this: social positions generate socialised dispositions and socialised dispositions generate practice (Nash, 2002).

These socialised dispositions are termed 'habitus' and refer to "the set of embodied social, emotional, and cognitive dispositions... so organised as to generate unreflective practices that have the effect of maintaining the overall tendency of society to reproduce its necessary structures" (Nash, 1997, p.30, cited in Adams *et al*, 2000). These descriptions make it clear that the notion of habitus, and its central role in Bourdieu's explanatory schema, builds upon Foucault's seminal understanding of the workings of discourse as power/knowledge in the structures of society (Callewaert, 2006). Habitus might be simplistically described as a subconscious learned/learning identity, by and through which a person understands and experiences the social world. One's habitus is, in part, shaped and informed by the values and social positions held by one's significant others; one's habitus in turn predisposes, constitutes and contributes to the reality of that world. The multi-layered nature of the concept of habitus is revealed in the variety of ways it is described: in ontological terms habitus is viewed as a "basic or meta-disposition... towards ways of perceiving, knowing and appreciating the world" (Fowler, 1996, p.10 cited in Nash, 2002) which is elaborated into what might be termed an ethical habitus, or "set of generative structural principles" (Nash, 2002, p.278) by which to act.

Bourdieu developed the concept of social and cultural 'capital' as a result of his investigations into the pervasive disparity in achievement between children of different social classes. Bourdieu's notion of capital is named by analogy to economic capital, with which it shares many properties: it takes the form of 'habits and dispositions', which taken together comprise a resource capable of being deployed to generate social profit in their appropriate field of practice (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979). Bourdieu thus distinguishes three types of capital: economic capital, consisting of ownership of resources such as cash and assets; social capital, defined as resources derived from group membership, relationships and networks of influence; and cultural capital, which refers to forms of skills, knowledge and education which provide personal advantage and confer status. The centrality of education in the latter concept of cultural capital, and the close links between all three capital forms, explain why Bourdieu's notion of capital has become so dominant in contemporary educational theory, and social theory more generally.

Cultural capital has three sub-types: embodied, objectified and institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986). Embodied cultural capital is defined as a skill, ability or competence developed over time, held by and

attributed to an individual. An example of embodied cultural capital is the characteristics (fluency, accent, idiom) of one's speech, by which the hearer immediately identifies one's social background and status. Objectified cultural capital allows for objects to act as capital, insofar as their use or consumption requires embodied cultural capital. An example might be computer literacy, dependent upon both knowledge and access to the technological device, and the related habitus labels such as 'digital immigrant' and 'digital native'. Institutionalised cultural capital works through systems of qualifications and credentials, which are formal recognition of individuals' learned skills and competencies, i.e. embodied cultural capital (Weininger, 2007). Institutionalised cultural capital is epitomised by the educational qualifications, including school qualifications that determine entry into university and the degrees awarded as endpoints of successful university study, which are at the centre of this research project and its concern with Pacific student equity programmes. The aspirations held by Pacific parents for their children to attain these educational qualifications, despite the oppositional forces of history and socioeconomic disadvantage, signal their implicit understanding of institutional cultural capital.

The priority placed by Pacific people on education is commonly understood as a driver for migration from home island nation-states to New Zealand (Schoeffel, Meleisea, David, Kalauni, Kalolo, Kingi, Taumoefolau, Vuetibau, Williams, 1996). Research reports that Pacific students are strongly motivated by parental expectations to 'do well at school' (A. Jones, 1991; Tuafuti, 2010). These factors can be seen in the context of a relationship of colonisation and inequality as belief in the 'currency' and 'profit'(Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979) of the capital inherent in acquiring a Western education. Educational participation and achievement, however, is not a simple matter of attending school and being 'good'. Learning beyond a basic level within a social structure other than one's home culture means requires the ability to negotiate multiple and often contradictory social systems and contexts. Bourdieu regards schools as institutions that reproduce social patterns of inequality by recognising and privileging forms of social and cultural capital held by the socially elite group, in the process disregarding any other. In this way, academic success

> is not a simple matter of curricular competence or acquiring technical skills. In order to access the socially constructed founts of knowledge, children outside the norm are dependent on their tenacity to decode the so-called neutral cultural logic of the dominant group (Adams *et al*, 2000, p.298).

Bourdieu thus comments on the potential for education to enact symbolic violence on students from non-elite societal groups: "certain ways of knowing the world are validated and others 'violently' negated" (ibid, p.270). Pacific parents' enthusiasm for education is often grounded in general notions of 'doing well' at school, which in turn is linked to employment – 'so you can get a good job'. These

statements are noticeably open-ended and broad: terms such as 'do well', 'good job', 'succeed', etc, are simultaneously meaningless and loaded with meaning. Although the message conveyed and received is very clear – acquire capital (status, social mobility, money, life choices) – the message is also unhelpfully non-specific, and the result is that not only the parents but also the students involved remain uncertain of exactly what beliefs, behaviours and practices will achieve those ends. The recent Starpath publication "Towards University" documents this uncertainty for Pacific students and their parents (Madjar, McKinley, Jensen, Van der Merwe, 2009). The student vignettes related in Chapter One illustrate the frustration of this uncertainty and failure at university level.

Pacific Identity Discourse

This section considers the response by Pacific scholars to questions concerning contemporary Pacific knowledge and identity, with reference to the work of cultural theorists Homi Bhabha (1983, 1999, 2004) and Stuart Hall (1993, 1997, 1998). There is a growing body of educational research literature published by scholars who identify as Pacific people, which asserts both a reconceptualisation of the Pacific and representations of Pacific identity which depend on indigenous concepts of self and space.

The rise of Oceanian identity discourse is discussed in the previous chapter, and draws on widely acknowledged 'first-generation' Oceanic scholars Epeli Hau'ofa, Ron Crocombe and Albert Wendt (Wendt-Samu, 2010). Developed from an Oceanic, Pacific-centric approach, the dominant concept in contemporary Pacific scholarship on identity is that of the'va', the notion social space as the basis for connection and relationship to others, inextricable from the self, and thus, the basis for identity. Albert Wendt's description of the va as "the space between, not empty space that separates, but social space that relates" (Wendt, 1996, p.2) is widely quoted, and while there are overarching similarities it is important to distinguish between different Pacific cultures' understandings of the va, and differences in the way the va is applied and understood within individual cultures.

In a Samoan context, questions relating to the va are prefaced by the definition of terms: "what va are you talking about?" (Tuagalu, 2008, p.110). Although the va is widely 'understood' by the phrase teu le va *look after the va, care for the relationship(s)*, Tuagalu identifies at least 37 different va relationships, including va tapuia, *worshipful space*; va fealoaloa'i*, respectful space*; va fealofani, *fraternal relationship*; va fealoa'i, *protocols of meeting*; and va tagata, *relational space* (ibid.).

Okustitino Mahina contends that ta and va are uniquely Moanan (and Tongan) concepts of time and space, which affect spatio-temporal and substantial/formal understandings of reality. Ta 'marks' or beats time through the marking of space or social acts, so that relationships are social and spatial, contained within an ontology of mutuality (Jesson, Carpenter, McLean, Stephenson, Airini, 2010). As

people who live in a colonised world, in daily contact with the Other, whether that other is coloniser or fellow indigene, a claim for purity and fixedness of either culture or identity is difficult to credit.

Primordial understandings of ethnicity

Bhabha argues that in the act of utterance, proclaiming our difference (ta va, teu le va, kaupapa Māori) we engage in the process of hybridity and create an ambivalence in that very (essentialist) form of knowledge and meaning we strive to disseminate and preserve. In that hybrid third space, cultural meaning and representation have no primordial unity or fixity and must be negotiated according to context. Primordial understandings of ethnicity and 'pure' culture-based ways of thinking about teaching and learning derive their authority from history and place of origin. This preoccupation with the past is open to question: the essentialised 'fixedness' of ethnicity as biological 'fact' on which a primordial understanding of ethnicity depends is the same fixedness which underpins colonial theories of assimilation. Stuart Hall considers the effect of stasis when contrasting imperialised diasporic 'ethnicity' and reclaimed counter-hegemonic diasporic identity. He describes hegemonised diasporic groups as "scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even if that means pushing other people into the sea" (1994, p.401). Identity in this sense is based on critical set points of deep and significant difference, whereas Hall's claim for modern diasporic identity is tuned to the population away from the homeland, addressing their concerns about advancement in their country of residence and articulation of experience and identity which is defined:

> Not by essence or purity, but by a recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference, by *hybridity*. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference... the subversive force of this hybridising tendency is most apparent at the level of language itself where creoles, patois and black English decentre, destabilise and carnivalise the linguistic domination of 'English'... through strategic inflections, re-accentuations and other performative moves (Hall, 1998, p.236)

In this way, ethnicity and identity emerge as situational and negotiated; transformation, difference and reproduction occurring through ongoing socio-historical relationships with others, in ever-changing spaces and contexts.

Bhabha's critique of hybridity is a claim for the production of new knowledge in the contact and articulation of difference between cultures, as well as reclamation of this previously derogatory term for mixing between cultures. His concentration on the in-between spaces begins by asking for increased awareness of subject positions that inhabit any claim to identity in the modern world, including race, gender, generation, institutional location, geopolitical locale and sexual orientation. He then argues for a focus on the "moments or processes" (Bhabha, 2004,p.2) rather than a

positive/negative separation of images. In doing so, Bhabha challenges the binary relationship between the subject positions of Self and Other, and presents alternatives in subject positions and power relations.

Hybridity works in two ways, as the 'act' or moment(s) of encounter between subject positions or cultures and as the process of knowledge and meaning making which arises from that encounter, and the articulation of cultural difference which takes place within it. The first working of hybridity is liminality, the place where cultures meet, and the second is the site of ambivalence, where hybridity or mixing of cultural forms refutes the 'purity' or 'fixedness' of each subject position, creates "new transcultural forms within the contact zone" (Ashcroft, 2007, p.118) and by so doing, alters the authority of power. Bhabha claims that colonial hybridity produced ambivalence in colonisers by the articulation of cultural difference, the attempt to state and 'fix' knowledge and meaning. He argues that an important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness. For colonisers, this fixity invariably took the form of stereotype, intended as a defence of the position of mastery. However Bhabha claims that this attempt to construct the other "within an apparatus of power which contains, in both sense of the word, an 'other' knowledge" (Bhabha, 1983, p.30) is what allows for ambivalence. He argues that fetishistic identification, as well as asserting a kind of discriminatory knowledge also opens up a space of negotiation where the articulation of power is equivocal. The very act of repeating a stereotype which cannot be proven destabilises claims for normalised or generalised knowledge, signifying anxiety in the act of utterance. Negotiation extends to interpretation, because articulation is open to interpretation by an audience which may be different from the originator's intent – in essence, once the words have left them, so has control of their meaning and this vacillation of meaning allows for ambivalence. Inability to 'fix' identity and culture affects both coloniser and colonised, speaker and audience. In this way hybridity poses a challenge to essentialist notions of culture and identity by refuting the possibility of pure and unmixed culture, destabilising the binary division between 'us' and 'them'. In this way, hybridity can be seen as a third space for the production of knowledge and meaning-making, where peoples (or those occupying that subject position) colonised might exercise agency, in negotiating and altering meaning and disrupting the flow of authority.

Alison Jones suggests that there is a "commonsense view of secondary schooling: it makes an offer to all; it offers knowledge and credentials (potential job qualifications) in exchange for ability, hard work and motivation. Social mobility is open to everyone, schooling a key for that mobility, built around the idea of universal opportunity" (A. Jones, 1991). She argues that Pacific students and their families accept this offer at face value, exchanging 'hard work' for the externalities inherent in that opportunity. Jones goes on to refute the myth of universal opportunity, and her work is further built on by Nuhisifa Williams (2009) who investigates the history of egalitarianism in New Zealand education and the negative effects for Pacific learners of the pervasive myth of meritocracy. Jones

applies a direct reading of Bourdieu to classroom practice as social reproduction of unequal power relations: "what happens in the classroom must be understood as an expression of the interaction between the culture(s) of social classes, and the culture of the school. It is the relationship... between class cultures and school culture which is not only crucial for understanding schooling, but which is central to the school's contribution to the ongoing 'transmission of power and privileges' to the already privileged" (Jones, 1991, p.184). In this way, classroom practice can be examined as the result of habitus and dispositions (accumulation of capital) according to privileged subject position, meaning that the possibilities for education as a transformational intervention are limited at best. Unless and until Pacific people experience significant change in their position as social and economically dependent and subordinate Other, they will be on the wrong side of the equation which links capital and privileged subject position and the power to "determine, delimit and define the always open meaning of the present" (Bourdieu, 1985, p.728).

Williams' analysis of equal educational programmes at the University of Auckland is discussed in Chapter Six. Williams concludes her work by proposing a Pacific student support system located within the framework of ta va, based on Mahina's work in this area. Williams cites Albert Wendt's assertion that the va is "the space between, not ... space that separates...social space that relates" (1996, p.2). The nature of this relational space is open to question – Williams' description of the roles of taokete and tehina, older and younger sibling, make it clear that the breadth of the va between the two is far wider than that between tuākana and teina. Tuākana and teina relationships are characterised by a lower power differential enabled by mutuality which is not dependent on age. An example of this differential at work is the identification of Te Kohanga Reo *language nests* as the tuākana of Kura Kaupapa Māori *Māori medium schooling*, and by association, kohanga children as the tuākana in this sense of their elders at primary and secondary school.

Although Williams acknowledges the conflicts and contradictions inherent in this hierarchized relationship when she describes the behaviours expected of tehina towards taokete such as obedience and deference, she does not examine ways these responses lessen tehina's agency within or ability to navigate the va, or what role the va plays in establishing and maintaining power differential. Mahina claims mutuality as a functioning of ta va, either for harmonious relationships, or dissonant and unresolved interaction (Jesson *et al*, 2010, p.88). In the instance of tehina and taokete, a traditional conception of the va enables the exercise of situational power, precluding mobility, challenge and the exchange and circulation of power, except by the passage of time, and gaining of seniority. In this way, seniority is the basis for full participation - Schoeffel *et al* point out that the orientation of Pacific socialisation is to "produce conformity and the acceptance by the child of its place at the lowest level of a hierarchy of status based on age" (1996, p.7). More seriously, the va negates the mutuality established through ako, supporting Williams' claim that Māori and Pacific frameworks and values are a problematic and sometimes uneasy fit. Although I acknowledge the role of Māori as a

significant constitutive Other for Pacific people, their role is simultaneously fellow indigene and competitor, in terms of their separate and privileged status within Aotearoa as tangata whenua, and treaty partner. This negation of mutuality also raises questions about the suitability and effectiveness of learning and widening participation programmes using values and understandings based on the concept of the va.

A potential weakness in the appropriation of the va as an ontological framework for learning is the sometimes unacknowledged gap between an ideological and lived view of Pacific identity. Airini, Anae, Mila-Schaaf, Coxon, Mara and Sanga (2010) and Anae (2010) write extensively of the changing needs of the rapidly growing Pacific population in New Zealand, and estimate that two thirds of Pacific people in Aotearoa are New Zealand born yet the values and practices explicated and espoused in ta va and Samoan conception of the va are both traditional and island based. Anae claims that an in-depth knowledge of fa'a Samoa is required in order to properly apply understand and apply teu le va as an adequate and meaningful framework (Tuagalu, 2008). This retreat into indigenous specificities seems counter-productive for a proposed framework for Pacific research and educational advancement in Aotearoa, primarily for NZ born Pacific learners. Macpherson *et al* (2000) and Schoeffel *et al* (1996) note the fundamental differences in constitutive influences on island-born and NZ born which work to produce first-generation and diasporic identities. Siteine (2010) cites teacher interviews to illustrate the "division or fragmentation between the ways in which first generation New Zealanders experienced their Pasifika identity, in comparison with their immigrant parents" (p.7) and compares this fragmentation to Toon Van Meijl's (2006) research examining students' set of ideological criteria for Māori identity (traditional knowledge, knowledge of marae protocol, speaking Māori) against their lived ethnicity. Siteine claims that this experience is common to many Pacific students, that "many New Zealand born Pasifika people do not know their village affiliation, are ignorant of their family connections, cannot converse in their heritage language" (2010, p.7). Schoeffel *et al* also report migrant Pacific parents' concerns about New Zealand education as a means of diluting home influences and cultural values (1996, p.4). Cultural reproduction is a significant matter for Pacific identity, raising issues of essentialism, authenticity and hybridity.

Melani Anae can be seen to support Williams' claim for connectedness an alternate Pacific indigenous methodology for negotiating learning relationships. Anae cites teu le va as the basis of this framework, claiming it as "a cultural reference, which focuses on the centrality of reciprocal 'relationships' ... used to offer a conceptual reference and methodology for future Pacific educational research in New Zealand" (Anae, 2010, p.2). Like Mahina, Anae identifies teu le va as social and spatial, a site:

> The teu le va cultural reference point is the single most important aspect in
> moving beyond just the identification of and procrastination about the state of

things, to a place/space/site of action — that is, to getting things done, in a win-win situation which benefits all stakeholders and which upholds the moral, ethical, spiritual dimensions of social relationships for all participants/people/stakeholders involved in these relationships (Airini *et al*, 2010).

and a relationship, a connectedness across that space:

exposing, understanding and reconciling our va with each other in reciprocal relationships in the research process - For example, the people and groups we meet and have relationships and relational arrangements with all have specific biographies (a whole plethora of ethnicities and agendas, as well as gender, class, age differences, etc), whether they are researchers, family members, colleagues, leaders, or others. To teu le va means to be committed to take all these different biographies into account in the context in which these relationships are occurring (ibid).

Anae bases her interpretation of le va on the proverb 'teu le va' which she conveys as "value, cherish, nurture and take care of ...if necessary, tidy the va" (p.3). She quotes extensively from Aiono Fana'afi Le Tagaloa (1996) and Setefano (2002) to illustrate her definition of va tapuia, the sacred relationship which extends to all Samoan relations between human beings. Anae describes the understandings beneath this relationship as "key regulators" in le va, and posits receivers as well as transmitters as "responsible for recognising and understanding" the va tapuia and the "proscribed and prescribed behaviour" which follows (Anae, 2010, p.4). Anae summarises teu le va as a Pacific "philosophical and methodological turning point in education research praxis" as follows:

centrality of the communal group, focussing on the collective rather than the individual;
centrality of the concept of *fa'aaloalo (respect)* as face-to-face conducting of relational arrangements manifested and performed formally and informally;
the *va fealoa'i* is both physical and metaphysical;
that relationships have boundaries guarded by tapu;
that the infringing of tapu introduces risk and offence to the guardians of tapu;
that body language (facial expressions and gestures, proxemics) in terms of physical and social distance can teu le va (2010, pp.12-13).

This comprehensive summary speaks to the limitations of teu le va framework for student support. An example is the cited value for the concept of fa'aaloalo, respect. Anae refers to recognising "the centrality of context as a holistic environment" (p.2) but the context which underpins the distributed leadership practice inherent in the fluidity and power sharing in the tuākana/teina learning relationship does not transfer to a heroic leadership model based on hierarchy and high power differential embedded in position, as described above in privileging the collective, fa'aaloalo, protocol and etiquette and tapu-protected boundaries in relationships. 'Respect' in this context is the submission of

an inferior to a superior, in direct contradiction to an imagined democracy of a meeting of equals in a negotiated space. In the example provided above, practice of fa'aaloalo extends to proxemics, the observance of distance between people. In this case, in order to teu le va, required proxemics are the bending of an inferior's body to occupy a literally (as well as metaphorically) lower position than a superior. In this way, the process of teu le va acts as a constraint of personal assertion of identity for the subordinate interlocutor. My own experience and understanding of the effect of teu le va in learning relationships is similar to the tehina behaviours Williams describes, and, like Anae, derives from a NZ-born Samoan understanding of teu le va. This understanding is conveyed in the phrases 'te'u le va' (*look after the va*) and 'Iloa le va' (*know the va*). The va as understood in these contexts is a space within relationships which depends on the reciprocity between people to recognise and operate within constraints of respect and often silence, particularly for the subordinate, usually younger person, in that relationship. 'Protecting the va' in this context may well contravene person rights via unequal treatment, restriction of expression and movement and unequal access to participation in decision making in social institutions such as the fono or church, or in everyday interactions within families such as Williams describes.

These readings suggest that contrary to promoting open and effective learning and research relationships, the va might promote a culture of silence for subordinates. Tuafuti writes about the ontological significance of in Pacific cultures, describing it as "an active and a living component of Pasifika culture... one of the basic components of cultural and communicative competence in the Pasifika is to know when, where and how to speak or be silent in various contexts. Silence is a symbolic and fundamental structure of communication, and can be argued to enact symbolic and actual violence. Pasifika peoples, especially elders, comprehend the whole framework that constitutes its meaning." (Tuafuti, 2010, p.4). She supports this claim by quoting extensively from interviews with Pacific parents following parent teacher interviews, where parents make repeated claims for silence as the behaviour which enacts respect for status (p.9).

In this way, respect, fa'aaloalo, can be seen not only as a boundary marker in relationships, but as a silencer for those of lower status. Williams' description of the taokete/tehina relationship in her family makes clear that tehina and the wider family are complicit in the silencing because, as Tuafuti states " a child's behaviour does not reflect him as an individual, but reflects the whole aiga *(*extended family)" (p.4). Schoeffel *et al* support this view of connectedness as an expression of social and spatial collectivity. "Cultural values shape the way the children of Pacific Islands migrants learn. As Ochs (1988) points out in her study of early childhood language acquisition among Samoan children, the child is trained to observe unobtrusively, in order to be sensitised to and accommodate other people. Knowledge, in Polynesian societies, is not something that everyone has an automatic right to; it is restricted because it is associated with authority and privilege. Children learn that it is impertinent

to question others or to contradict their elders. They learn that it is unacceptable to draw attention to oneself, to speak out of turn or "above your age" (Schoeffel *et al*, 1996, p.10).

Tuafuti cites Dauenhauer's (1980) study of silence to claim some instances of silence as "an act of 'mitigated autonomy' (an act that we call in Samoan *musu),* refusal or resistance" and silence as a "demonstrator in a 'peculiar' manner in that its "yielding binds and joins participants" (p.3). She illustrates these behaviours by describing the way many Pacific children learn societal norms, usually in a religious context. What Tuafuti describes is not just how children absorb societal norms, but how they learn how to learn; how to behave while learning. This can be compared with Ritchie's identification of necessary capital for schooling success: "the language, the skills, the concepts and the good health" (Ritchie, 1975, n.p). Although she does not identify it explicitly, Tuafuti describes Pacific children learning to negotiate the va. The values and understandings detailed by Anae (2010) such as respect, collectivity and the importance of sometimes abasing proxemics are evident in these claims:

> Children are to be seen but not heard. To listen and obey without question is the traditional dictum and to question an authority is a sign of disrespect and impoliteness...When children challenge their parents, such discourse is considered unacceptable and seen as disrespectful. Thus, when children go to school they are often reminded to honour thy teacher and do as they are told. The origin of such behaviour lies in people's cultural relationships, and children's behaviour is a consequence of being responsive to the parents or elders of the family... Pasifika students show respect when they lower themselves and walk with silence in front of seniors (Tuafuti, 2010, p.4).

Tuafuti cites Jones' (1991) study of Pacific students at Auckland Girls' Grammar School to 'place' students practising constraining va-based behaviours in a mainstream classroom, acknowledging the challenges which focusing on the space between relationships poses for learners in a Western context. Jones' research brings an awareness of students' active role in producing directive pedagogies from their teachers which fall within their concept of appropriate learning relationships which teu le va. This awareness highlights the fact that relationships and connectedness are not limited to the frameworks of ta va or teu le va, but underpin all learning relationships.

Although Tuafuti critiques Pacific parents' technocratic approach to education as a key for social transformation by equipping children with necessary capital for academic success, she does not examine the flipside of symbolic struggle within the politics of cultural reproduction. Kavapalu's analysis of the culture contact between Tongan and Western ways of socialisation recognises the potential for symbolic violence: "the process of Western education entails questioning, critical thinking and independent expression, all of which conflict with the cultural values of obedience, *respect*, and conformity (1991, p.191, cited in Schoeffel *et al*, 1996). In this way, the dispositions and practices characterised by Tuafuti appear to assert both strategic cultural essentialism and strategic ignorance (Mila-Schaaf, 2010) intended to protect parents' hierarchical position in the va through the

enacting of 'respectful' behaviours; rather than strategies of hybridity, leading to the development of polycultural capital which might arise from these moments of encounter.

In these ways, the value of respect, as associated with inferiority, silence and conformity, seems to taint the application of the va as a social space of connection and value as a methodology or framework for learning. If learning is based on mutuality, critical thinking and questioning, then relationships and space(s) predicated on this fundamentally unequal understanding of respect are limited in how they can equip learners. Instead of an hierarchized notion of respect, which works to separate and distance interlocutors, harmonious mutuality requires replacing unequal respect with reciprocity.

Pasifika as a socially constructed identity is critiqued by Tanya Wendt-Samu who interrogates notions of Pasifika.

> What *are* our underlying assumptions when we use the term "Pasifika"?Is it possible that the underlying assumptions have become rather fixed and even inflexible? For instance, are we as staff ever guilty, on occasion, of being inflexible as to what counts and who counts (and is therefore legitimate) as Pasifika? Have we become somewhat complacent and set in our thinking in the way we see Pasifika education and ourselves as Pasifika educators? (Wendt-Samu, 2007, p.146).

Despite the rigor of Wendt-Samu's reflection on the construction and articulation of Pasifika identity in education, she does not adequately interrogate the "taken-for-granted unifying set of shared values" (p.144) for Pacific people. Contemporary elements of 'The Pacific Way' and *being* Pasifika at the School of Pasifika Education are reported by Wendt-Samu in this article as 'generously catering' Pacific Faculty of Education events and recognising life events such as family bereavement in "our Pacific way" (p.146). I would like to treat these claims separately, if only to deal with the argument for generous catering as a serious claim to cultural authenticity.

Generous catering is certainly widely practised in New Zealand by proponents of Pasifika education. Ministry of Education Pasifika fono in Auckland are routinely catered to provide a 'heavy supper' for attendees (Ministry of Education, 2011, p.8). Until mid 2008, Faculty of Arts Equity budgets allowed departments funds per semester for hospitality, i.e. the provision of 'heavy supper' to students at departmental Tuākana events as well as faculty level hospitality allocations (University of Auckland, 2009). While such practices are widely accepted to reflect normal Pacific practice, the link between regular provision of food in educational settings and planned formalised feasting in cultural setting is in fact a tenuous one. The link between 'generous catering' and increased achievement for Pacific teachers and learners is also open to question. It could be argued that in these instances educators confuse the use of food as a sign and have begun a perpetual cycle of fetishising 'generous catering'. In this case, food becomes a metonym for Pacific cultures, and their positive characteristics, the feelings of home and family which sharing food evokes. However like all stereotypes, the

ambivalence inherent in the food fetish lies in its substitution for the thing that is, in this case, student success. In the university context, food can be used as an object to further instrumental rationality, as something which can be planned, bought and measured, all terms which act as placeholders for 'control'. In this way, generous catering can be seen as the substitution which absorbs energies and becomes the focus, obscuring the real challenge of teaching and learning success for Pacific students.

A more complex, and arguably more adequate interpretation of the role and use of food in Pacific education contexts is offered by Levinas' concept of hospitality which develops from the notion of the self as 'hostage' to the Other, joined and obligated to the outsider (Levinas, 1998). Levinas holds that hospitality operates in the realms of the ethical (personal) and political (public). In practice, authentic hospitality demands an ethical transformation of the public realm (Gauthier, 2007). In this way, generous catering as per Pacific education can be seen as best practice in the way it combines the personal and public sphere, lessening distance between Self and Other and transforming the political into an area of ethical responsibility for the way people are welcomed as guests. The focus on and anxiety associated with what is described above as the food fetish – is there enough, is it of high quality, is it appealing (Tuagalu, 2008) – can be seen as proof of making the public realm, in this case the university, more conducive to and concerned with hospitable action. Hospitable action and genuine welcome is thus both means and end, rather than the vehicle for better engagement or increased achievement, although Levinas suggests that this may well follow by the principle of reciprocity, as hospitality from an insider to a guest breaks the cycle and experience of non-reciprocity, and "consciousness [which] does not necessarily mean knowledge" which underpins unequal relationships (Dastur, 2011).

If knowledge of the social world – how the education system works, how to get the knowledge and practice the behaviours which are rewarded by the system which allocates that capital – is the requirement for the acquisition of capital and development of habitus, then relationships founded on values which construct the Self and Other in ways which allow for recognition and transfer of unfamiliar capital are needed. As a move away from that binary which fixes Pacific in the neo-colonial position of subjected Other, I argue for the substitution of reciprocity as a grounding value in these relationships. This latter part of this chapter discusses ways in which a limited conception and practice of respect can nullify the working of the va as a fruitful space for learning and exchange and help develop sets of practices which reinforce inequality. Respect is inadequate as a foundation for the redistribution required to reconfigure an unequal relationship – if agents are to meet in a negotiated third space there is no possibility for the practice of respect as the quality which an inferior owes a superior. Instead, the operation of mutual respect through the operation of reciprocity is argued for as an 'equal' value. Reciprocity underpins Jurgen Habermas' work on Ideal Speech Situation (ISS) and communicative competence, speech which operates as an equal playing ground, where agents operate as "interlocutors not objects" (Young, 1989, p.170) in communication which

allows for full domain of reference and associated action. ISS might then be seen as a framework for the dialogue of reciprocity, a meeting of equals in "rational communication which both enables and constrains" (Love, 1989, p.270).

CHAPTER FOUR: Pacific learners in the New Zealand education system

Widening participation by increasing under-represented groups' postgraduate access and success is topical worldwide, but particularly so in New Zealand as the tertiary system shifts to capped funding, limited entry and increasing stratification of institutions according to research and postgraduate rates. Literature suggests that the main motivators in the widening participation agenda are countries' belief in and pursuit of increased economic prosperity and international competitiveness through higher education participation rates (OECD, 2009) and promotion of social inclusion and social justice by reducing inequalities through equity of access for under-represented groups (Archer, Hutchings, Ross, 2003; O'Donnell, Tobell, Lawthom, Zammit, 2009; Zimdars, 2007). In Aotearoa, Pacific students are one of two explicitly ethnic-specific under-represented target groups (Tertiary Education Commission, 2010). Chapter Four seeks to provide some background to the current picture of participation and achievement by Pacific students. Widening participation research on successful shifts from undergraduate to postgraduate study suggests that universities have tended to treat postgraduate students as an homogenous group, whose undergraduate success equips and inspires them for postgraduate study (O'Donnell *et al*, 2009) resulting in lower participation and achievement by under-represented groups. This chapter surveys the literature relating to the experience of participation and achievement by Pacific learners in the range of sectors in the New Zealand education system and critiques the notion of a 'tail' of achievement as a Pacific learning habitus.

Pacific habitus: 'Fact' and discourse

The recent identification of Pacific students at the tail of achievement in New Zealand stems from a decade-long series of education research projects measuring wider student achievement and at the same time, spotlighting areas of under-representation and underachievement. International comparative educational studies commissioned by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) can be seen as part of a market-based, widening participation framework promoting tertiary education, and in doing so, identifying educational and economic 'winners' and 'losers'. In 2001 and 2002 OECD reports identified a significant chasm in achievement by New Zealand children, and reported this difference in terms of ethnicity with Māori and Pacific learners at the end of a "long tail" of underachievement (OECD, 2001, 2002). These results were partly drawn from the OECD study *Programme for International Student Assessment* (PISA) which tests 15 year old students in reading, science and mathematical literacy on a three yearly basis. PISA 2006 assessments showed significant underachievement by Pacific students in literacy, maths and science (Department of Statistics, 2011). Further, PISA results demonstrated that almost one third of Pacific students tested could complete only the simplest reading tasks and lowest level of maths

assessment, compared to less than 10% of Pakeha students. Although these findings were received with dismay, few educators in New Zealand were surprised, highlighting the role and purpose of comparative studies such as PISA in shaping discourse, in this case bringing the notion of a long, brown 'tail' into discursive existence, and into our national consciousness.

The National Education Monitoring Project (NEMP) 2007 Science assessment showed consistent disparity between the performance of Pacific and Pakeha students, demonstrating Pacific students' limited skills in non-practical tasks. Based on this finding, the report suggested that Pacific students' thinking skills were being inadequately developed (Educational Assessment Research Unit, 2008). Also in 2007, the *Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study* (TIMSS) extended this picture of Pacific student under-achievement, finding that Pacific students expressed lower self-confidence and performed significantly less well in maths and science than all other ethnic groups. TIMSS researchers reported a drop in average Pacific student performance, reversing gains made to 2002 (Department of Statistics, 2011). These studies focus on junior and intermediate level students, but a continuing pattern of underachievement at secondary level is demonstrated by National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) findings in 2008 and beyond, where fewer Pacific students achieve literacy and numeracy requirements than other groups, below the national average (Ministry of Education, 2011b).

Pacific participation and achievement in the New Zealand education system
Early childhood education

Despite improvements in participation rates, Pacific new entrants at school continue to report the lowest prior participation rates in Early Childhood Education (ECE). In 2008, around ten percent of Pacific children in ECE participated in immersion or bilingual ECE and just under 85% in mainstream ECE settings. Low participation is an issue because the transition to school and early experiences there are widely accepted to influence achievement at secondary level and beyond. In New Zealand, ECE is presented as a preferred option to acclimatise children to new learning environments as well as to address differences in reading and writing knowledge and skills between Pacific children and other children.

As in the OECD, PISA and NEMP studies, ethnicity is highlighted as a point of difference and disadvantage to ECE participation, early school success and ongoing academic achievement. For example, the educational level of caregivers, especially mothers, is linked to the rate of participation in ECE and later educational achievement. Generally, the higher the educational level, the better the children's learning environments and their later achievement. This is because education and income are related to the kinds of learning opportunities children may have at home, as well as parents'

confidence engaging with the education system. In 2006, 24 percent of primary caregivers of Pacific children aged under five years old had no qualification (Department of Statistics, 2011, p.126).

Is the telling factor for ECE participation being poor or being Pacific? The *Human Rights in New Zealand Today / Ngā Tika Tangata O Te Motu report* (Human Rights Commission, 2004*)* states that participation and achievement rates for Maori, Pacific peoples and those from poor communities are disproportionately low. As with the OECD and associated studies, this separation seems disingenuous: people in poor communities are overwhelming Māori and Pacific so poverty rather than ethnicity may well be the constraining factor in ECE participation. In this case, poor communities assume the position of the tail of achievement – likely the same students, but with arguably different institutional and state responsibilities and policy responses for increasing and enhancing their learning opportunities and experiences.

Pacific peoples' income is related to Pacific student under-achievement, affecting participation in early childhood education; choice of schools; familiarity with, availability and support for the curriculum and parental educational attainment and career development. Department of Statistics research on the relationship between parental income, school achievement and tertiary participation shows that "parental income has a definite relationship to school achievement. However, once school achievement is accounted for, tertiary participation is not strongly affected by parental income" (Department of Statistics, 2011). The tertiary section of this chapter examines participation in relation to income further, arguing that the change in public/private tertiary funding and introduction of student loans has further disadvantaged Pacific learners.

Funding priorities and reinforcing inequality

OECD reports of countries' wellbeing and economic competitiveness are largely based on human capital readings which privilege tertiary participation and achievement. The recently released Australian human capital score is made up of four elements: early childhood development and school education, post-secondary qualifications and productivity growth. Post-secondary qualifications contribute 40%, compared to 25% each for ECE and school measures and 10% for productivity (Harrison, 2011). This argument assumes that education increases productivity, putting pressure on education expansion and increased funding for tertiary education. Alison Wolf leads commentators who point out that despite strong research showing better achievement results from early rather than tertiary level intervention (O'Donnell *et al,* 2009) education expansion pressure means that public spending almost always privileges tertiary level learning.

Inequality in New Zealand secondary schools

Intervention at tertiary level may well be too late for most Pacific learners. Exclusion results show that Pacific students are over-represented in stand-down and suspension statistics in proportion to the total secondary school population in New Zealand. Despite comprising just over a quarter of student

numbers, Pacific students make up just under half of all stand-downs and suspensions (Ministry of Education, 2011b). In terms of achievement, comparing students leaving school with an NCEA level two qualification or higher, Pacific students performed significantly worse than Asian and Pakeha students (Ministry of Education, 2006).

Attendance is a primary issue. Student attendance during year 11 is one of the most significant factors influencing student achievement in senior secondary school (Ferguson, 2008). Ethnicity is a significant factor with regard to unjustified absences from school, with the rates for Pacific students' absence three times higher than the rates for Asian students and Pakeha students (Department of Statistics, 2011). The Education Review Office's pilot evaluation found that transience is an issue for Pacific students in some schools, with attendance dropping during term four and some students returning to their home island over winter (ERO, 2009) but found that overall, attendance is not an issue for Pacific students and that in fact, more than three-quarters of Pacific students stayed at school beyond their 17th birthday. While this seems at variance with the inequality indicated by stand-down and suspension rates, achievement statistics confirm low levels of engagement with Pacific students. Secondary Pacific students may be staying at school, but they are not achieving at the rate of their peers. One quarter of Pacific students leave school without qualifications, and in 2010 just over a third of Pacific students achieved University Entrance, significantly less than other student populations (Tapaleao, 2011). Just under half of Māori students achieved the same outcome in 2010. Under-achievement at secondary level directly affects students' ability to participate and achieve at tertiary level, particularly at university.

Pacific participation in tertiary education

Tertiary education policy in Aotearoa New Zealand can be read as a narrative of managing participation. For just over a century, from the founding of the University of Otago in 1869, (University of Otago, 2011) the problem of participation at tertiary level was, literally, a small one. In line with other developed countries, New Zealand operated an elite tertiary system with relatively low levels of participation. Under this system, university students received "more or less free tertiary education and relatively universal student allowances" (McLaughlin, 2003, p.6). Ironically, although students from higher-income families were disproportionately represented in tertiary education, (LaRocque, 2002) the elite system was almost entirely publicly funded, with Government funding for universities distributed by the generally autonomous University Grants Committee. Change was afoot, however – a particular concern for the 1959 Committee on the Universities was "the number of young people for whom university education should be provided and... the standard of attainment at entry" as a potential means for limiting participation (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2010). In this way, the Parry Report released by the Committee records an early response to the dilemma of managing participation and encouraging equal educational opportunities for all; the Committee

recommending *against* stricter entry requirements in favour of increased academic preparedness and financial support (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2010).

The elite system of high Government subsidies for small numbers of students underwent its first significant change in the mid-1980s. At this time, ostensibly to promote broader participation, a competitive tertiary environment was established by a decrease in Government per-student spend, introduction of centrally-set tuition fees, and alignment of university, polytechnic and training college funding (McLaughlin, 2003, p.21). By 1990, the competitive model had evolved into a market-based model funded by participation. The market-based model was distinguished by further changes to the public/private funding split, and a highly competitive tertiary environment. Within this model institutions set their own fees; student loans were introduced alongside a highly targeted student allowance schedule, and there was significant expansion of public subsidies to Private Training Establishments (PTEs).

During this period, tertiary participation in New Zealand exploded. The total enrolments for higher education more than doubled from 1965 to 1985, from 51,613 to 121,493; increasing to 432,210 enrolments in 2005 (Ministry of Education, 2011a). The explosion in participation extended to Pacific students. In 2001, 12,400 Pacific students were enrolled in tertiary education, more than double than in 1994. These enrolments were largely at sub-degree level, with Pacific learners significantly over-represented at PTEs (McLaughlin, 2003, p.37). This pattern has continued over the last decade, and proportional under-representation by Pacific learners continues to be a problem for universities. In 2010 Pacific students represented 5% of all university enrolments (Ministry of Education, 2011b). Proportional participation by these groups would see Pacific comprise 7% of university enrolments, rising to 10% in 2026 (Ministry of Social Development, 2010).

The change from an elite tertiary system in which public funding subsidised smaller numbers of students at a higher rate, to a mass system, in which that formula is reversed, so that higher numbers of students are subsidised at a lower rate, has also had a significant effect on Pacific students' achievement at university. Education ethnicity statistics are available only from 1986 and as stated above indicate that the mass system of tertiary education has resulted in higher numbers of Pacific learners enrolling at tertiary level. However increased enrolments has not been matched by increased achievement, and the emerging profile for Pacific tertiary learners is as the lowest performing group in the New Zealand education system.

The introduction of central steering to the tertiary sector in 2002 has altered universities' response to the problem of participation by under-represented groups. For the last ten years the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) has been responsible for the regulation, funding and monitoring of the tertiary system and the development of a long-term tertiary strategy document (Tertiary Education Commission, 2010). Pacific people are one of two ethnic-specific under-represented target groups

identified by TEC, both in high level strategy "educate for Pacific Nations peoples' development and success" (Tertiary Education Commission, 2002) and in equity funding allocation (Tertiary Education Commission, 2010). This targeting attaches priority to Pacific enrolments for institutions by combining inclusionary social measure and financial incentive. Social justice and market-oriented approaches are often contradictory and act as competing incentives for equity policy and programmes. For example, the funding split which underpins the mass tertiary system calls for greater private contribution, by way of tuition fees and student loans. From a perspective of social inclusion, fees and loans are exclusionary measures which act as barriers for under-represented students' participation. Human capital arguments for the mass system rationalise fees by emphasising the personal externalities of tertiary education, which include wider choice of employment, increased earning power, and associated health and lifestyle benefits. This approach also sees loans as an integral part of the tertiary system, arguing that the universal provision of loans enables increased participation rates by under-represented groups such as Pacific learners (LaRocque, 2002, p.5).

Pacific at The University of Auckland

Pacific students at the University of Auckland are under-represented, and under achieve, relative to other populations. Over the decade or so that the identification of Pacific students as 'the tail' has been current, there have been some notable successes by Pacific people at the University. These range from first Pacific President of the Auckland University Student Association (1998) to first Pacific PhD in English (2004) and first recipients of the Prime Minister's Pacific Youth Awards (2010). However during this time Pacific participation and success has not achieved parity with other student populations.

This discussion focuses on enrolment and achievement patterns from 2000-2010, with projections to 2013 but the writer acknowledges that Pacific under-representation at the University is an historical issue, recorded as a general concern at Senate by then Vice-Chancellor Colin Maiden in the mid 1970s. (Williams, 2009). Since 2005, University of Auckland enrolment rates for Pacific students have hovered around 8% of total EFTS and projected figures to 2013 show a continuation of this pattern (University of Auckland, 2009). In 2010, Pacific EFTS totalled 8.5% of all enrolments, below the University's target of 10% and while Pacific EFTS have increased since 2006 their percentage of total EFTS has declined slightly by 0.5% during the same period (University of Auckland Equity Office, 2011). In real terms, the University's Equity Office reports almost 2000 Pacific students (University of Auckland, 2011a) although it should be noted that many Pacific students hold multiple ethnic identifications (Mila-Schaaf, 2010). These figures are somewhat lower than Ministry of Education accounts which report over 3000 Pacific enrolments at the University from undergraduate to doctoral level in 2009 (Ministry of Education, 2011b). Actual numbers aside, the almost 6% discrepancy in proportional representation for Pacific people at the University is a matter of concern

for both groups, particularly considering demographic predictions which indicate that, by 2050, 57% of all New Zealand children will be Māori or Pacific, approximately two-thirds in the Auckland region (University of Auckland, 2009). At current rates of secondary achievement, Pacific students will be ineligible to participate at degree-level at the University of Auckland according to proportionally representative targets set by the University Undergraduate Equity and Admissions Taskforce report (University of Auckland, 2008).

Pacific participation in higher education may be most felt in Auckland but is a national issue. In 2009, reflecting population trends, Pacific university students were mostly enrolled at Auckland-based providers with almost 6000 enrolled at the University of Auckland and AUT. The University of Auckland enrolled more Pacific students (3349) than Massey, Victoria and Otago universities combined. These students were concentrated at undergraduate level, with 2427 bachelor degree enrolments, 431 honours and postgraduate diploma enrolments, 114 masters degrees and 60 doctorates (University of Auckland, 2009). It should be noted that these figures represent enrolment and not completion rates but it is also worth noting the potential pipeline problems inherent in these enrolment numbers. At postgraduate level, Māori and Pacific students are significantly under-represented compared with other ethnic groups. The percentage of Pacific students enrolled in postgraduate studies has increased by 4% to 14% during 2006-2010 (University of Auckland Equity Office, 2011). If Pacific students at undergraduate level are under-represented, Pacific postgraduates, particularly at doctoral level, are scarce to the point of invisibility, pointing to retention and pathwaying as issues of as much importance for universities as Pacific undergraduate recruitment.

Pacific enrolments at Auckland are also significantly uneven, clustered in the Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Education, with extremely low numbers in the Faculty of Medical Health Sciences and the Faculty of Engineering. Pacific Student Pass Rates are of significant concern to students, whose stakes for involvement in degree-level study are high, their families and the University. In 2010, the overall Pacific Student Pass Rate was 73% and the Pacific Stage One Student Pass Rate was 68%. These do not compare favourably with other groups in the university, such as Māori, whose Student Pass Rates for this period were 84% and 82% respectively. Pacific qualification completion rates have remained at around 44% and just over a third of Stage One new undergraduate Pacific EFTS did not complete their courses successfully in 2010 compared to 17% of all Stage One new undergraduate EFTS (University of Auckland Equity Office, 2011).

A world shaped by the habitus of the tail

Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand are in a state of educational crisis. Despite individual successes, as a collective, Pacific people under-participate and under-perform in every educational arena from early childhood through to compulsory, adult and higher education (Department of Statistics, 2011). The problem of Pacific education in Aotearoa is complex, and requires learners and

institutions to navigate multiple roles. These roles negotiate a series of interminable tensions based on the contradictions within assimilation and liberation. Pacific learners wrestle with relativism and universalism, the ever-present conflict of being non-Western within a university system embedded in Western values and practices. These learners also negotiate the dilemma of being Pacific in New Zealand, shadowed by a history of colonisation and inequality, neither tangata whenua nor Treaty partner; and increasingly defined by the modern colonisation of 'the tail' as the necessary losers in a deficit model to maintain the status quo of the dominant culture (Tupuola, Pasikale, George, Wagner, Wagner, 1997). Finally, Pacific people must steer a way through the often conflicting demands of collective and individual identity and responsibility. The growing body of Pacific education literature endorses the reality of Pacific learners' cross-cultural experience within the New Zealand education system. It also reveals a trend in that system's response to locate 'problem' of Pacific education – the development of equal educational opportunity policies, adoption of culturally appropriate training and curricula programmes and implementation of culturally sensitive teaching pedagogies "without due attention to the real needs of Pacific... people and the context in which they live and work" (Tupuola *et al*, 1997, p.88).

Negative representations which contribute to this habitus can be considered historically. These date to the period of colonial contact, and constructions of Pacific people as 'savage' and 'primitive', excluded and inferior, on the wrong side of the privilege binary. In the New Zealand context, Pacific representations moved quickly in the 1970s to 'unwelcome', 'angry' 'violent' non-adapting and powerless. By the 1990s, with limited exceptions for rugby players and performers, representations of Pacific centred on 'unemployed' and 'marginalised'. Since 2001, the dominant narrative for Pacific student identity in New Zealand has been that of 'the tail' with any cultural considerations add-ons to that primary identification. Just as locally constructed and ethnic-specific identity was subsumed into *being Pacific* upon arrival in New Zealand, it seems that being Pacific in the New Zealand education system is now subsumed into being 'the tail.'

The options for conforming to or rebelling against the constructed and constitutive identity of underachiever are equally damaging for Pacific learners and their families. Pacific peoples' income is related to Pacific student under-achievement, affecting participation in early childhood education; choice of schools; familiarity with, availability and support for the curriculum and parental educational attainment and career development. Research underlines that early childhood education provision and participation is controlled by tertiary participation. Tertiary participation is limited by economic priorities which widen or narrow opportunities for access, and by lack of academic preparedness at secondary school. Based on achievement data, participation options for Pacific learners in the secondary context the options appear to be: conform and fail, rebel and leave. An early exit from school, via stand-down, suspension or truancy is unlikely to lead to enrolment at university,

polytechnic or PTE and the best prospect for students such as these in a tight job market is unskilled or semi-skilled employment – an unwelcome repetition and reinforcement of their parents' and grandparents' experiences and social position.

Ten years after the PISA report which fixed the representation/identification of Pacific as 'the tail', the OECD released the *Equity and Quality in Education - Supporting Disadvantaged Students and Schools* report, acknowledging that "the way education systems are designed can exacerbate initial inequities and have a negative impact on student motivation and engagement" (2012, p.4). Despite these calls for equity in education, the OECD's complicity in the ranking of countries' competitiveness and wellbeing in terms of massification and credential inflation which drives widening participation policy is open to question. Keesing & Strathern contend that "economics of racism" fix Pacific people in positions of inequality and disadvantage in the labour market, restricting them to employment in marginalised and low-paid areas such as manufacturing. This racism extends to changes in tertiary funding public/private splits, prompting the introduction of student fees and student loans. Although these appear to be inclusionary measures, Pacific peoples' low levels of participation in degree-level study means that the loans which they accrue do not secure them much capital or profit. Ministry of Education reports that one in four Pacific peoples leave school without qualifications. This combines with New Zealand General Social Survey data which shows that level 1 to 3 post-school certificates were associated with lower employment and income than school qualifications, and that social outcomes for people with level 1 to 3 certificates were similar to those of people with no qualifications. (Earle, 2010).

The net effect for Pacific people in Aotearoa of 180 years of Western contact is a disseminated and internalised habitus as 'the tail'. In social terms this maintains Pacific people in socio-economic positions of disadvantage, antagonising equity and widening participation motives and working against efforts for advancement and transformation through education. The following chapter considers Pacific representation within education, in a range of sites and spaces at the University of Auckland.

CHAPTER FIVE: Pacific Places and Spaces at the University of Auckland

The focus of this chapter is Pacific representation in specific spaces. The first section discusses two sites within the University of Auckland, the Centre for Pacific Studies' Fale Pasifika and O Lagi Atea Moana Cultural Space, home base of the Auckland University Pacific Islands Students Association (AUPISA). The Fale, C Space and AUPISA are analysed as linked, multi-dimensional spaces in which physical, mental and social space combine to reflect and produce representations of identity.

Bourdieu's concept of the 'field' helps to illustrate the inter-relationships between space, identity and equity in the New Zealand education system. The field is "an arena of struggle, through which agents or institutions seek to preserve or overturn the existing distribution of capital – a battlefield wherein the bases of identity and hierarchy are endlessly disputed" (Wacquant, 2008, p.268). The spatial conception of positions extends to the distribution of agents in that social space, or field. Bourdieu further contends that agents are distributed in two dimensions, the first, according to the volume of capital they possess, and the second according to the composition of that capital. In the field of the University of Auckland, Pacific students' volume of cultural and social capital is less than that of their peers. Some of this lack in capital is easy to identify, such as academic preparedness and being first-in-family to attend university, with the associated knowledges these forms of capital transfer. Other lack in capital is harder to distinguish, forming hidden barriers which exclude individual learners or groups from participation.

Place and space – sites in the University influencing identity

Fale Pasifika

Bourdieu asserts that identities are constructed, at least in part, by our relationship with others, and that the degree of influence which those others exert over identity formation depends on their position of dominance in the field, or social space of engaging. Likewise, cultural geographers contend that learning identities are spatially contingent (Harvey, 1996; Lefebvre 1991; Soja, 1989, 1996) and make claims for social space as a place of convergence "produced within activity, unable to be analytically separated from activity. Social space is not static background against which activity develops, space is produced and productive. Spatial production, embedded within spatial practice, constrains and enables the production of identity" (Leander, 2002, p.33). Health researcher Roannie Ng Shiu argues that as we engage in the process of identifying, locating and contextualising ourselves as social subjects we simultaneously attribute characteristics to place. Places ascribe meanings to the identities and characteristics of social groups (Ng Shiu, 2011). In this way, the Fale Pasifika in Wynyard St plays a central role in the shaping of Pacific academic experience and identity at the University of Auckland. Described as "a symbol of identity for Pacific Islands students and staff" the Fale is the

second largest such structure in the world, providing a "home for ceremonies, a place for dialogue, teaching and learning about the Pacific Islands" (University of Auckland, 2011b). The Fale is part of the University's Centre for Pacific Studies, a complex which houses academic offices and classrooms and is intended as a hub of academic courses and research as well as activities that promote an understanding of the Pacific.

The new Centre was celebrated at its opening in 2004 as a "working tribute" to half a century of Pacific-New Zealand migration (Field, 2004) and the realisation of arrival, acceptance and achievement for those parents, grandparents and great-grandparents who had worked on factory floors while dreaming of better education for their families (Grainger, 2008, p.370). In this way, the Fale Pasifika is seen to act simultaneously in three ways: as a symbol – an acknowledgement of Pacific peoples' presence in Aotearoa and the specificities of their habitus, capital and practice in their countries of origin; an ethnic enclave, or distinctive cultural area within the University (Li, 2005) which links Pacific people on campus to their (non-academic) communities; and as a liminal space between two cultures: the Pacific and the institution, effectively profiling the University's avowed desire to welcome and provide opportunities to "all who have the potential to succeed in a university of high international standing" (University of Auckland, 2011a). These multiple roles can be seen as an example of spatial production, in which spatial practice both constrains and enables the production of identity.

As a material product of traditional Pacific knowledge and practice, the Fale embodies and enacts a cultural claim to power by asserting Pacific values and norms. These values and norms are complex and interwoven, ranging from architectural acknowledgment of Pacific island climates which preclude the need for walls in favour of airy spaces, but go further to recognise the collective nature of village living and traditional Pacific identity. People of the 'we' inhabit spaces such as fale, open spaces where engagement is prioritised and participation is ritualised and directed by hierarchy and custom. Lefebvre (1991) characterises "lived space" as a place beyond the binaries of physical or perceived space, and mental or embodied space, a space "as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'... it overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects" (p.35). The unspoken, often taken-for-granted ways of seeing, believing, acting and knowing which might be termed Pacific capital, and which underpins traditional Pacific values, practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations, constitute a Pacific-oriented "lived space" in places such as fale, where Pacific norms 'rule'.

And yet, this lived space inhabits and is constituted by the competing dualities of perceived and embodied space. Perhaps the first clue that the Fale Pasifika inhabits a contested space is that this building, unlike most fale, has both walls and doors. The health, safety and security imperatives for these seem obvious, but their weight and truth can be countered by the Pacific imperative for

participation and free access. In the village context, while verbal participation in fono, meetings, may be restricted to those within the fale, observation and listening is available to all. It is difficult to overstate the importance of this public action and universal access in oral cultures and Foucault's discussion of the Panopticon provides a useful reverse parallel.

The Panopticon, broadly defined as a circular building within an open space, is conceptualised to allow for conscious and permanent visibility of inhabitants, in order to manipulate their behaviour through "obtaining power of mind over mind" (Bentham, 1995, p.29). Like the Panopticon, the fale acts as a disciplinary institution of social control in a hierarchical setting. Because the fale has no walls, all forms of knowledge and power relations enacted within are available to the public gaze - knowledge transmitted via allusive proverbs and fa'alupega, formalised sets of greetings encapsulating social and political dynamics within a village (Siauane, 2004); social and financial transactions, prohibitions and penalties. Foucault characterises the internalised nature of observation and normalising as "he who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection" (Foucault, 1995, p.202). In this way, the reverse operation of the fale, as an automatic functioning of collective identity as power enables the circulation of that power, between members of the leading hierarchy and onlookers, village and family members, whose presence and participation both mediates and validates proceedings while the actors within the fale are freed to act privately, in public. Despite or perhaps because of its setting as part of an academic complex, the Fale Pasifika has no built-in audience to ensure collective and reciprocal action, which seems to invalidate some of its claim as an authentic hub of Pacific life on-campus.

Figure 1 Centre for Pacific Studies complex, University of Auckland (HLK Jacob, 2011).

Figure 2 Fale Pasifika, Centre for Pacific Studies (HLK Jacob, 2011).

Promotional shots of the Fale show the building in consciously iconic form, lit and composed to emphasise its scale and impressive construction – a hybridised meld of traditional form and modern technique. In these photographs, the Fale is almost always empty, and in this way, appears as something of a trophy. In the contemporary context, we might reasonably expect that a university in the largest Polynesian city in the world should 'have' a fale, but I would argue that rather than acting as a symbol of arrival or completion, the Fale is a physical representation of the proverb ua se ana – the promise of something yet to be achieved. An example of the difficulties the Fale poses for the university is the recurring tension between person and property rights, in this case free access for students and Pacific groups on campus and in the wider community and the institution's priority for financial return through user charges for venue hire.

The very placement of the Fale in an academic complex gives an indication of the institution's values and norms. In Pacific contexts, fale exist alongside houses, schools and businesses, integrated parts of the perceived and embodied spaces of everyday life which derive and enact their meaning from their proximity to that everyday life. The Fale Pasifika, ostensibly a place of meeting and ceremony, is mediated by its location in an area and institution based within a Western paradigm and scholarship, where knowledge primarily resides and is conveyed in text. The university depends on similar understandings of discourse within specific bodies of discipline, and taken for granted values and

practices include the pursuit and exercise of knowledge for all, academic freedom and individual identity and action. This tension between the collective and the individual right to enter into social relationships is understood as follows:

> A person right vests in individuals the power to enter into those social relationships on the basis of simple membership in the social collectivity. Thus, person rights involve equal treatment of citizens, freedom of expression and movement, equal access to participation in decision making in social institutions.

> A property right vests in the individuals the power to enter into those social relationships on the basis and extent of their property. This may include economic rights of unrestricted use, free contract, and voluntary exchange; political rights of participation and influence; and cultural rights of access to the social means for the transmission of knowledge (Gintis, 1980, p.201).

Property-based discourse sits uneasily with that of Pacific governmentality, and indeed the historical, social and political conditions of the university and the Pacific are so different as to raise the question of what political and strategic value an ensemble of power such as a fale could ever have on a university campus, wilfully removed from its usual context and inserted into another. This is a difficult issue, and one which invites easy cynicism but my response is that the Fale Pasifika can be read as occupying liminal space, the "interstitial passage between fixed identifications" (Bhabha, 2004) of Pacific and Western higher education discourse. This suggests a possibility for entertaining difference without assumed or imposed hierarchy. Through the Fale Pasifika, Pacific culture and therefore Pacific peoples on campus derive mana from the visual and actual assertion of Pacific discourse in an alien context while being mediated by the university discourse which both enables and constrains the expression of that Pacific cultural power. Leander posits the concept of the interstitial passage as a site of "productive conflict[s]" (2002, p.7) which challenges fixed and reified perceived space and the meanings and identities produced and constituted within it. The Fale Pasifika and Centre for Pacific Studies can be considered as sites for productive conflict in several ways: as assertions of Pacific power within a Western academic context, encompassing claims for the validity and value of Pacific indigenous knowledges within the realm of the academy; as symbols of contested and changing life experiences and identity for Pacific people in New Zealand and the wider Pacific or the university as a place of negotiation and exchange.

O Lagi Atea Moana and Auckland University Pacific Island Students Association (AUPISA)

For all cultural geographers' claims for space as a mediator of identity, it is people who form relationships. Arguably the single most significant influence on Pacific student identity and representation is The University of Auckland Pacific Island Students Association (AUPISA). AUPISA developed from student action in 1995, and is based at O Lagi Atea Moana, commonly known as C-Space, in the Student Union Building. Like the Fale Pasifika, C-Space is intended as a place for Pacific students to call home base, a space to study, practice, meet, fono, and network.

Formal usage statistics are not collected, but as an informal social space C-Space appears to enjoy greater use by a higher number and wider range of students than the Fale, which tends to operate primarily as an academic or hired commercial space. As "lived space" (Lefebvre, 1991) C-Space is most strongly associated with and identified by its inhabitants and users – both the academic and social aspects of university life occur within it, but it's overwhelming identification is as a place for Pacific students.

The role of AUPISA is to recognise "the importance of Pacific cultures on campus, and the need to profile, elevate, maintain and celebrate our Pacific cultures as well as the importance of collectively navigating the path towards academic excellence" (University of Auckland Equity Office, 2012). The need for a formalised arrangement to profile, elevate, maintain and celebrate Pacific cultures can be understood as a deliberate attempt to alter the practice of the university by returning the subjective gaze, moving from a position of object to agent. By engaging with and returning scrutiny, it can be argued that AUPISA makes (written) claims for "polycultural capital" (Mila-Schaaf, 2010), as well as occupying liminal space in the university. Mila-Schaaf characterises polycultural capital as "the ability to accumulate culturally diverse symbolic resources, negotiate between them and strategically deploy different cultural resources in contextually specific and advantageous ways" (p.18). AUPISA's statement can be seen to embody polycultural capital in its combination of cultural assertion and academic excellence. By acknowledging and moving within these two 'spaces' of culture and academia with a sense of entitlement indicated by language such as 'celebrate' and 'navigate', AUPISA's approach to identity, can be seen as diasporic, an ongoing negotiation between different spaces as an outworking of situational ethnicity. The AUPISA mission stakes a further claim to identity at the University. Unlike other official publications, the AUPISA mission explicitly refers to 'Pacific cultures', rather than the use of varied Pacific greetings, or reference to values and behaviours associated with Pacific culture, such as church, family or sports involvement (University of Auckland, 2011). By leaving what constitutes 'cultures' open and unspecified, AUPISA leaves room for the strategic deployment of accrued resources, what might be in this context the negotiation and development of 'Pacific culture' "in contextually specific and advantageous ways" (ibid.).

AUPISA is a consciously Pan-Pacific organisation, and their mission statement reflects their intention of collective navigation and commitment to Pacific cultures. The notion of collective navigation, or agency, assumes a spirit of cooperation and shared understanding, but this is qualified by the apparent equal recognition given to diverse, less represented and sometimes contentiously identified Pacific cultures. This diversity is not a given in the university context, where the predominant Pacific influence is generally Samoan. The Fale Pasifika's design and name reflects the strong Samoan influence within the university and Aotearoa New Zealand. This influence is traditionally attributed to high numbers of Samoans in New Zealand and the length of their association with this country (Pitt, 1974) however this default understanding of Samoan as a placeholder and primarily ethnic-

specific identity for Pacific is increasingly challenged by Pacific peoples of mixed ethnic-specific identity and those who champion the diversity of the many nations and cultures who comprise the Pacific. In this way, AUPISA can be seen to position themselves, and other Pacific students by association as the new Pacific – claiming new ground for inclusion, asserting new understandings of what it means to be Pacific on campus and refuting existing fixed definitions based on difference, exclusion, and homogeneity within Pacific ethnicity.

As members of the Auckland University Student Union, AUPISA are funded to deliver a series of events for Pacific students and their families, and these include a start of academic year welcome dinner, bi-annual sports and cultural events, exam fono and graduation celebrations. Pacific students are a feature of University of Auckland graduations, for their distinctive cultural dress and the range of community and family involvement in Pacific graduation celebrations. AUPISA organise twice-yearly, on-campus graduation church services, collaborating with faculties and the Equity Office to hold university-wide Pacific graduation dinners. In these ways, AUPISA appears to define and 'fix' culture as difference, externally expressed. While understandable, this action is problematic, because in this way, as with the presentation of the Fale Pasifika as an on-campus cultural icon, 'difference' can be seen as becoming "institutionalised and hierarchized, reinforcing Pakeha/Western cultural hegemony... 'multiculturalism' as embodied in costumes, cooking and concerts fails to foreground power and privilege." (Grainger, 2008, p.372).

Bourdieu's claims for co-construction of identity provide a useful lens for the mutuality or reciprocity of the assertion of difference and the negotiation of space. A way of evaluating the way space constitutes and produces Pacific habitus on campus might be to argue that Pacific students arrive at university and find that the capital they possess is neither recognised nor valued outside of ethnic enclaves such as the Centre for Pacific Studies, School of Theology, Departments of Anthropology and Sociology; and outside of the Faculty of Arts, in selected Faculty of Education programmes and the University Gym. In response to this symbolic struggle, students assert the value of the capital which they hold by retreating to those enclaves; but these places do not provide unproblematised shelters, because they exist themselves in sites of productive conflict, either with the wider university or within themselves as sites of cultural reproduction through conservation, or cultural reshaping. As 'lived spaces' these places reflect and repeat student experience, influencing and altering students' practice and acquisition of capital, both Pacific and Western, resulting in a continuous relationship which produces and is by produced by "polycultural capital" (Mila-Schaaf, 2010). It might be further argued that the exchange between space and experience works to alter the entire site of the University, as staff and students engaged in symbolic struggle create and populate 'negotiated' spaces by their presence.

CHAPTER SIX: Tuākana – only half of the story

This chapter considers the potential for widening participation and equity policies and programmes to reduce and/or reinforce structural inequality for Pacific learners. An analysis of Nuhisifa Williams' case study on the University of Auckland Tuākana programme, part of her doctoral thesis work on Equal Educational Opportunities at the University, frames this chapter by providing an overall picture of the design, delivery and effect of this programme as a widening participation and equity initiative. The first section considers Tuākana as both a deficit and strengths-based intervention, and points to ways in which the contradictions between these approaches affect student outcomes. The second section highlights inadequacies of the cultural framework used in Tuākana, and discusses the issue of Pacific vulnerability as 'the tail' at the University. This chapter concludes with an argument for tuākana mentors rather than mentees as the focus and beneficiaries of the initiative, and makes claims for the effects on hybridity in and through these mentors' application of polycultural capital.

This discussion critiques the policy settings which underpin the University of Auckland's Māori and Pacific Leadership Development Programme (Tuākana). It considers this intervention as an example of an institutional response to Pacific under-achievement which both attempts to improve opportunity for student success yet limits that success through insufficient consideration of the representation and experience of Pacific students. In this way, a reading of Tuākana is offered which embodies both assimilatory and emancipatory possibilities for Pacific students, suggesting that the overall effect of this programme is ambivalent.

The University of Auckland Tuākana programme was introduced in 2001 to address high rates of Māori and Pacific student non-completion and ongoing under-representation patterns. Although there have been changes in the ten years the programme has been in place, Tuākana continues to be overseen by the Equity Office, part of the University's administration bloc; and managed separately in and by faculties. This allows for targeted and tailored delivery, so that Tuākana support varies from faculty to faculty, and sometimes from department to department. The commonality for all Tuākana programmes however, is the central tuākana/teina relationship:

> The University of Auckland Tuākana affiliated tutoring and mentoring programmes operate in all faculties at The University of Auckland. They are designed to help Māori and Pasifika students achieve the best possible grades via tutorials, workshops, study groups and sessions with tutors and mentors. Tuākana programmes are conducted by tuākana (senior students) providing targeted assistance to teina (new students). (University of Auckland Equity Office, 2011)

In most faculties, tuākana are third-year or postgraduate students who have achieved well at the University and who are selected to provide support to new Māori and Pacific students. Tuākana act as tutors and mentors by delivering content or study skills workshops to complement tutorials offered in

departments and by the Student Learning Centre, and offering ongoing contact and advice either by email, text or office hours. The use of tuākana/teina as the central learning relationship to enable university success for Māori and Pacific learners depends on a number of assumptions about indigenous peoples and appropriate pedagogy which this discussion will attempt to analyse.

Nuhisifa Williams' work, A *view from the back, times between spaces: equality of educational opportunity and Pacific students at a university* (2009) provides a comprehensive background to the history of equality of educational opportunities for Pacific students at the University of Auckland. Williams' critique of equal educational opportunities at the University is located within Bourdieu's framework of capital. Bourdieu's concept of capital is discussed in Chapter Three, as part of the discussion on social explanations for inequality. In this way, Bourdieu can be seen as a particularly appropriate theorist for Williams' study. Within the framework of cultural capital, Williams asserts that Pacific students at the University suffer double disadvantage as a direct result of their social positions, dispositions and practices. The first disadvantage occurs by means of the educational myth of merit-based participation and achievement, whereby the achievements of students from social positions better aligned with the University's cultural capital are perceived as individual, academic successes based on inborn talent, rather than as socialised and collective achievements resulting from inherited and acquired cultural understandings and advantages. Chapter Four discusses cultural mismatches between Western and Pacific socialisation and learning practices which position schools and the University as institutions of symbolic violence. Echoing Kavapulu's assertion that "the process of Western education entails questioning, critical thinking and independent expression, all of which conflict with the cultural values of obedience, respect, and conformity" (1991, p.191, cited in Schoeffel *et al*, 1996), Williams acknowledges significant difference between Pacific and Western practice, describing her re-worked training programme as "aimed at accommodating the traditional notion of Polynesian leadership as characterised by hierarchy, age, ascription, service, respect and communalism with the contemporary notion characterised by education, economic status and individualism" (2009, p.140). The second disadvantage occurs as Pacific students' own cultural capital, that set of generative principles described above, is neither valued nor recognised in the University setting. In these ways, Williams reads disparity in opportunity and achievement for Pacific students as a problem of institutional response, based on positions, dispositions and practices which do not take account of Pacific students' cultural values and lived realities.

Williams begins her case study by discussing the historical underpinning of the Tuākana programme which I identify as market-oriented human capital theory in higher education. The effect of a social efficiency rather than social justice framework for tertiary education participation in general and equity initiatives in particular is discussed. Williams' case study goes on to outline her reading of the Tuākana programme, giving an account of its design and delivery. This part of the discussion

concludes with my evaluation of Williams' assessment of the Tuākana programme's failure in cultural framework, considered through the workings of tuākana/teina relationships and cultural understandings which should underpin these relationships for effective and meaningful learning.

Williams traces the development of the University-wide Tuākana programme to the introduction of Special Supplementary Grant (SSG) funding by the-then Labour Government in 2001. SSG funding was intended to supplement tertiary institutions' equity initiatives for under-represented students – Māori, Pacific and students with disabilities. At this time SSG funds were restricted to Tertiary Education Institutions (TEIs) such as universities, institutes of technology, polytechnics and wānanga. This can be seen as reflecting Government priority to close the gaps in those tertiary organisations in which the Crown has an ownership interest (Tertiary Education Commission, 2011) rather than those in which Pacific students are highly represented, such as Private Training Establishments (PTEs). This priority underlines the significance of under-representation as an underpinning driver for Government and University equity policy at this time. A focus on under-representation can be seen as a signal of a shift in policy position from promoting educational participation on the grounds of social justice to extending a human capital approach. Williams describes this as "the policy discourse identif[ying] members of equity target groups as 'the talented' of those groups and so unsuccessful university experiences must surely represent a waste of that talent" (Williams, 2009, p.120). This policy discourse depends on a human capital approach to learning, which assumes that the purpose of education is to "improve[s] the overall skills and abilities of the workforce, leading to greater productivity and improved ability to use existing technology, thus contributing to economic growth" (Earle, 2010). Human capital theory sits within the wider neo-liberal discourse of marketisation which posits education as a private, commodified good. Students who participate in higher education are thus understood to be motivated not only by increased learning but increased earning opportunities, and are themselves regarded as capital – resources for development.

A View from the Back: an inadequate framework

Williams' critique of the Tuākana programme centres on her identification of failure in the programme's cultural framework at University level, which leads to her conclusion that the programme is ultimately deficit-based and remedial in nature. She traces the design and delivery of the Māori and Pacific Leadership Development Programme from a School of Biological Sciences model, discussing the uneasy transfer of cultural understandings which should underpin an effective and authentic tuākana/teina relationship and its application to a Pacific context. The Tuākana programme takes its name and operational basis from the tuākana/teina elder/younger sibling relationship. Within Aotearoa New Zealand's indigenous society of te ao Māori, the concept of tuākana and teina depended on the principles of whanaungatanga and ako (Te Whaiti, 1997). Whanaungatanga describes the "relationships and connections between whanau" (Pihema, 2004) and the tuākana/teina relationship is described by Royal-Tangaere as a dynamic of whanaungatanga,

drawn from "the importance of people" (Te Whaiti, 1997). The importance of kinship ties can be understood as the importance of operating within a collective, learning to think and act to the benefit and as a member of whanau, hapu and iwi. It is an important distinction however, that the tuākana/teina relationship was one of many nurturing teaching and learning relationships in traditional Māori communities, supported and enhanced by instructive interaction with kaumatua - kuia (elders); matua - whaea (parents); tama-tamahine (children); tipuna whaea/tipuna matua – mokopuna (grandparents – grandchildren) (Pihema, Smith, Taki, Lee, 2004). These learning relationships enabled the continuous dual learning and teaching action of ako.

Ako can be understood as learning by exposure, a continual process of seeing and doing, listening and telling, in which learning and teaching roles shifted easily between tuākana and teina. It is described by Pihema and colleagues as "a traditional Māori concept that can be translated as Māori pedagogy... an educative process... integral in the creation, conceptualisation, transmission and articulation of Māori knowledge" (2004, p.13). The writers further note that as learners became more competent the form of pedagogy would change as appropriate. These pedagogies included informal marae-based discussion; directed, practical experience; apprenticeship to an expert and whare wānanga (Makereti, 1988; Te Whaiti, 1997; Pihema *et al*, 2004). The tuākana/teina relationship is thus revealed as one of a series of interconnected and ongoing learning relationships, underpinned by clear understandings of collective benefit and pedagogy tailored to individual skills and needs.

Williams characterises the University Tuākana framework as vague, lacking the clear and mutual understandings of pedagogy and purpose described in the traditional tuākana/teina relationship, and instead merely identifying tuākana as older students who provided mentoring to teina, younger students without reference to a wider explanatory framework. "Indeed, it was understood by the programme designers and those who worked within them, that the UA mentoring and tutoring programmes targeted at Maori and Pacific students were programmes simply named the 'Tuākana programmes', rather than programmes modelled on a cultural framework" (Williams, 2009, p.124). Equity reports confirm this view, reporting that the SSG funding was awarded to 19 equity initiatives across the University under the aegis of Tuākana, resulting in a range of different pastoral and academic support, with limited continuity or shared understanding between programme designers and on-the-ground equity and faculty mentors. Documents state clearly that tuākana are/will be mentors who have successfully navigated University systems and are thus able to transmit survive and thrive tips to newcomers but, as Williams states, few details of how they will do this and why this relationship will be effective are given. "Significantly absent in the mentor training framework were terms of cultural reference to the model. It consisted largely of modules focused on conventional understandings and expectations of a mentor. The initial programme had a strong emphasis on pastoral care skills, such as those considered fundamental to the role of a mentor. It was, however, a

technical and somewhat definitive approach to mentoring" (Williams, 2009, p.125). The University's recommended outine for Tuākana tutoring and mentoring programmes is as follows:

> (1) the use of successful students as tuākana (older sibling) mentors and tutors for teina (junior sibling) students, and

> (2) an emphasis on cohort groups.

> Experience from existing programmes show that tuākana are usually but need not be restricted to Maori and Pacific Island staff and students – their key characteristics are understanding of needs and their ability to relate to teina both inside and outside the teaching environment (University of Auckland, 2001).

Further direction was not provided about the framework within which this mentoring would take place, the specific concepts this relationship depended on, the values and practices it aimed to embed nor the method(s) used.

In this way, lack of articulation was understood by faculties to assume the dominant paradigm and framework of the University, that liberal humanist discourse discussed earlier. In practice, Tuākana came to mean a standard Western mentoring programme given "a Māori name" (Williams, 2009, p.120) its difference 'marked' but not enacted. Williams' description of her employment at the University as an equity support person makes it clear that the central concepts of whanaungatanga and ako were not inhabited or practised by many tuākana: "mentors in some programmes were often disheartened by the slow response of Pacific students to the mentoring programme offered. They felt that mentees should be more appreciative of their services as 'it was for their benefit'" (Williams, 2009, p.127). These reports make it clear that for many departments the initiative quickly became another instance of "tinkering at the margins" (Parker, 2007). It is worth noting that in an environment such as the University of Auckland, a site of struggle between competing and often conflicting meanings, it is necessary to explicate difference where it exists. Explication serves two purposes: it can be seen to valorise difference and makes clear that the 'norm' or 'commonsense' assumptions are not what are intended. The transformational potential of the Tuākana mentoring programme was thus assumed without being clearly described or understood. As a result the programme came to mean different things in different faculties, schools and departments so that the potential of Tuākana to impact or alter standard University pedagogy through the practice of culturally appropriate, strengths-based pedagogy was limited.

The Equity Office's emphasis on cohort groups for Māori and Pacific as a success tactic is not new. Teaming students of "similar ethnic and social backgrounds" and those from "under-represented groups" (Auckland, 1998, p.71) is a longstanding University practice for widening participation. It assumes the importance of role models in Māori and Pacific culture. Presenting a 'known' face to students is also tacit acknowledgement of under-represented student groups' potential and probable sense of alienation from culture at the University (both their own and that of the University).

Participants at a 1990 Higher Education Research Office workshop to better meet under-represented students' needs characterised them in these ways: that they entered the University with lower qualifications than other students; were in need of constant monitoring via feedback from lecturers, tutorial attendance and test results in order to help them pass; that they failed to attend regularly; that their programme (faculty) choice was constrained by family pressure or limited school preparedness; and that they experienced uneasiness with aspects of University culture such as competition and individualism, the need to manage family and social priorities and their own material circumstances (Higher Education Research Office, 1990). The emergence of a Pacific habitus of 'the tail' is clear: as is participants' understanding of the disadvantage Pacific students' experienced as a result of mismatch of capital. Participants' responses also indicate an understanding of the importance of close and sustained student engagement for under-represented groups , the focus of Vincent Tinto's work on retention and achievement (Smart, 2010). However, there is a significant gap in workshop documents as no rationale for some of the suggested and applied monitoring approaches for Pacific students. In some cases, these approaches to increase under-represented student success run counter to the University's usual laissez-faire practice, and are in fact far closer to teaching and tracking practised at secondary school level, such as roll-taking and the distribution of tutorial worksheets. This silence is puzzling.

Autonomy and the free pursuit of knowledge are fundamental precepts of Western higher education, yet close monitoring and support via a network of relationships appear to achieve better results for under-represented students. The 'tracking' practices which signify close monitoring and support in equity initiatives seem to assume that the under-represented students are less able than other students to act as unsupported, autonomous individuals in the University setting, and that a more directive, care and protection-based relationship benefits their transition to and performance at tertiary level. From a Western perspective, it is hard not to see this unacknowledged assumption and provision as bearing traces of a colonial and differentiated relationship. This provision is also problematic viewed from a transplanted whanau context. Although it has developed in contemporary applications, the traditional tuākana/teina relationship can be understood to be predicated on everyday commonsense knowledge. This suggests that although there are myriad learning possibilities within this context, the method and depth of learning may be limited by what each tuākana or teina knows and is thus able to relay or demonstrate. Learning within this relationship can also be characterised as occurring at a certain level, largely concentrating on short-term cooperative efforts rather than strategic and independent learning. This calls into question the appropriateness of the tuākana/teina relationship as the central pedagogy for under-represented tertiary student success and supports Williams' claim for a wider and deeper consideration of Pacific student needs and institutional responses to those needs is in order.

Williams develops her critique of the cultural framework of the Tuākana programme by examining the University's implementation of a mentoring system whose name suggests grounding in the values and relationships of whanau. Although not specifically defined, these principles are understood to derive from an historical underpinning with adjustments for contemporary application. These whanau relationships are defined in terms of tuākana and teina, and are accepted as fluid relationship between older and younger siblings or cousins whose family connection and shared worldview is taken for granted. This worldview privileges whakapapa (genealogy) whanaungatanga (family connection) and manaakitanga (care for others).

Through her examination of the central tuākana/teina learning relationship, Williams argues that the University Tuākana programme does not operate from a whanau-based values perspective and that tuākana and teina do not necessarily share a worldview or sense of kinship. In fact, Williams reports that many tuākana did not demonstrate an understanding of their mentees' experiences: "I began to ask the mentors questions such as what they knew about Pacific students at the UA. I raised this question to see what their assumptions about Pacific students were, and whether they knew anything about the group of students they would be working within the context of the UA. Although many of the mentors were themselves Pacific students, (over 80% of the tutor/mentors reported Māori or Pacific ethnicity) this did not mean they knew anything about the challenges that faced Pacific students as a group" (Williams, 2009, p.126).

Williams presents the the School of Biological Sciences Tuākana programme which predated the SSG Tuākana as an authentic working of a whanau-based values perspective. As described in Williams' work, the SBS Tuākana appears to have been a small-scale initiative, delivered within a framework of whanau tuākana/teina relationships and clearly set out aims and methods. Student roles were clearly defined as the pairing of high and low achieving students as tuākana and teina. This pairing was supported by academic supervision and aimed to support teina learning success and increase their progress and achievement. At this time, Tuākana did not operate within a recognised framework, and Professor Walker's comments imply that its tuākana/teina focus was an instinctive rather than considered response, as an effective way to bridge and align students' culture and values with that of the institution (Royal Society of New Zealand Science and Technology Committee, 2006). The small numbers of Māori students in Science and the SBS created a cohort group almost by default and, despite his claims for operation by instinct, Professor Walker designed, oversaw and monitored the SBS Tuākana, setting out to remedy and monitor progress on the particular issue of under-representation and underachievement. The importance of close monitoring for under-represented students within a cohort group is an accepted University practice (Higher Education Research Office, 1990). This was not the case for other faculties' programmes. Tinto contends that close monitoring by the academic teaching a class or programme is central to under-represented students' success (Smart, 2010).

One of the traditional features of university teaching and learning is the lecture and tutorial. Lectures are delivered by academic staff to large classes of students with smaller groups meeting with tutors to discuss and engage more closely. Increased numbers of students at universities has resulted in larger class sizes, and increased staff/student ratio (Van der Meer, 2009) a pressure exacerbated by the need for academic staff to conduct and publish research, discussed earlier in this chapter. The ratio change affects student engagement as lecturers and tutors are less able to establish rapport and effective teaching and learning relationships with students. Decreased opportunities for student engagement are a serious problem for under-represented students who often follow non-traditional pathways to higher education and are perhaps first-in-family to attend university. These pathways can mean that students lack academic cultural capital to make sense of the university environment, academic expectations and teaching and learning methods.

Tinto (Smart, 2010) demonstrates the importance of student engagement as an institutional responsibility, improving retention and achievement through close faculty-student relationships which communicate institutional and individual expectations, deliver (rather than offer) support, give feedback and increased opportunities for involvement and learning. In this way, tuākana mentors can be seen as filling a role created by massification. The hands-on pastoral and academic support which might previously have been offered by lecturers and tutors is now available from mentors, a subtle shift in title and responsibility. The shift from lecturer and tutor to mentor suggests that where once the transmission of academic cultural mores, expectation and navigation was something told or taught, it is now suggested or modelled. The move from explicit (if it can be so described) to implicit transmission is problematic, obscuring the formations of power which enable students to participate actively in university life.

Williams' reading asserts that Tuākana is in fact little different to a Western values based student support programme, but does not examine the ways in which whakapapa, whanaungatanga and manaakitanga are directly counter-cultural to the University tradition and the neo-liberal framework within which it exists. Williams' focus appears to be the conflation of Māori and Pacific interest and practice by combining these groups under the Tuākana umbrella. She contends that conflating Māori and Pacific is problematic, working to stifle students' voices by erasing difference and promoting "another case of having their identities redefined in terms of an imagined homogeneous group of Polynesian students" (Williams, 2009, p.122) but her specific concern is for Pacific students, who she identifies as "the most vulnerable of all the target groups, their retention and pass rates remaining consistently low" (p.125). Williams identifies the explicit promotion of Tuākana as being based on a 'Māori' concept as having "the potential to exclude Pacific students ... a programme promoted as one based on a Māori philosophical understanding" (p.125).

Conflating Māori and Pacific peoples

The conflation of Māori and Pacific peoples and pedagogy is problematic in many ways. This analysis supports Williams' reading of the homogenising process as disadvantaging to Pacific learners with little reference to Pacific conceptions of identity. Williams considers the learning relationship of tuākana and teina by contrasting Māori and Niuean practice. The practice of a tuākana/teina relationship in te aō Māori is generally accepted to encompass the sharing of knowledge between an older, more expert sibling and a younger, less expert sibling (Ministry of Education, n.d.) . Williams also notes the dual action of ako, acknowledging that this sharing process flows both ways, not solely from tuākana to teina (Alton-Lee, 2003). The reciprocal learning environment established through ako also allows for gaps and ambiguity on the part of the tuākana, who is not expected to operate as the all-knowing one. Rather, this learning relationship suggests that each member of the learning setting is equipped with knowledge from which all in the group are able to learn (Keown, 2005). Williams illustrates Niuean practice of the equivalent taokete/tehina *elder/younger* relationship through personal example. She describes the family hierarchy which operated in her magafaoa, *family* (p.134) as transferred authority, derived from the matua, elders or parents to taokete, within the parameters defined by the magafaoa. It was this authority which established the context for taokete to instruct and discipline tehina, enabling them to "learn responsibility... similarly, the magafaoa/matua will censor (sic) the taokete if... punishment is considered over excessive, or if the taokete is considered to have failed in their duty to care for their tehina." (p.135). Williams notes that as she exercised her role as an older, expert sibling "I came to learn that not only did I have responsibilities as taokete towards my tehina, but I also had 'power' and authority over them" (p.135). She points out that unlike the tuākana/teina relationship where learning and teaching can be reciprocal, power and authority within the magafaoa context tended to operate in a top-down direction, although she further notes that in a village setting this taokete/tehina relationship may have been better monitored than in Aotearoa.

Williams goes on to argue that taking tuākana and teina out of a whanau, hapu and iwi context and away from their underpinning values of whanaungatanga, whakapapa and manaakitanga creates a convenient a Māori/Pacific Tuākana fantasy for University academics and administrators. I would argue however that it is not just that the unsupported relationship which is taken out of context that is a problem, but that the structure and purpose of the tuākana/teina relationship itself is inadequate for tertiary level learning. In a human capital environment, which views and values capital as the basis for profit, there is little room for buddy systems. The danger of promoting the *idea* of hybridity is that it offers a convenient rationale for the umbrella-ing of Pacific values and practices beneath the tuākana approach, sheltering academics and administrators who are unable or unwilling to properly accommodate Pacific students' ways of thinking and relating.

Tuākana: A civilising mission

Avril Bell's discussion of the politics of Pakeha and Māori hybrid identities offers a useful lens for the assimilatory potential of hybridity within the Tuākana programme. Bell considers colonial identity constructions, first positioning Pakeha as "New Zealanders of European background, whose cultural values and behaviour have been primarily formed from the experience of being a member of the dominant group of New Zealand" (Spoonley, cited in Bell, 2004, p.122). She discusses colonisation as a project of assimilation, based on "an essentialised European racial superiority" (Bell & Matthewman, 2004, p.123). Essentialism posits that identity is tied to biology and to race, manifested in cultural practices and abilities. Race and identity are fixed. Races are hierarchized on a scale of development, with 'whiteness' linked to 'civilisation' and non-whiteness to being 'savage' and 'primitive'. Bell points out the conflicting practice of colonisation: a civilising mission to the natives, who could either die out or assimilate to the new culture. The process of assimilation is problematised by the 'fixedness' of race and identity and the requirement to 'be like us' – difference and similarity at once, something Bhabha identifies in his work on mimicry and ambivalence. Bhabha interrogates the notion of essentialised fixedness through stereotypes, asking how something fixed can then assimilate into something else, i.e. allow the civilising mission to take its course. He concludes that there can be no fixing, that in the very act of contact and declaration of difference/superiority, ambivalent space is created which is outside the control of the speaker or subject, and which allows for new forms of knowledge to be produced. This contradiction is replicated in the workings of the Tuākana programme. Western knowledge structures/the University/the culture and capital of the dominant group occupy the position of essentialised superiority, and the capital transfer assumed and inherent in Tuākana can be seen as a civilising mission, aimed at modifying under-represented groups' behaviour (or practices which reveal their identity/weaknesses in ability such as timekeeping, collective movement, preference for non-confrontation) within a framework premised on those groups' fixedness, or inability to assimilate by moving outside the boundaries of identity, race, biology and hierarchy.

In this way, the Tuākana programme can be seen as an exercise in stratification, the classification of a group based on behaviour and adherence to social norms. The programme exists to "acculturate [Pacific students] to the ethos of the UA" (Williams, 2009, p.128) in ways which align to the assimilation model of migration. Tuākana bases in faculties can be considered as "concentrations" (Macpherson, Spoonley, Anae, 2001, p.70), areas where Pacific ways of being are shared but the basis of that shared understanding in the University context is an acceptance of difference from the dominant group's culture and capital. In this way, Pacific students' representation as 'the tail' is fixed by the provisions intended to remake them as academic successes. These provisions are sometimes infantilising, such as roll-taking, and can be seen as focused on deprivation, or students' areas of 'lack'. The provision of food at Tuākana workshops, discussed in chapter 3 as a possible basis for

reciprocity, can be seen in this context as a deficit-approach response to material and emotional deprivation relying on representations of Pacific students as lacking, hungry, and in need of 'bribes' not available to other students.

Tuākana mentors can be seen according to this reading as successful products of the assimilation process. Mentors are recognised and rewarded in the university system for aligning to the dominant culture and meeting that culture's measurements for success. Recruitment strategies to increase numbers and achievement of under-represented students in US and Australian universities centre on student engagement interventions: part time employment during semester, increased opportunities for professional staff-student collaboration outside class, 1:1 mentoring from senior academic staff (Scull & Cuthill, 2010). These strategies are offered to tuākana mentors but not to teina. Tuākana mentors are thus embedded in the University's systems, values and hierarchy and their employment can be seen as a reproduction of social hierarchies. Tuākana employment by the University problematises the 'meeting of equals' notion of academic freedom – tuākana are subordinate and dependent by reason of their employment, a pressing motivation to adopt and model the dominant system's values and practices. There are personal motivations also – students attend the University to learn and attain degrees, and by modelling the system's values and practices, tuākana mentors will generally go on to study and attain postgraduate degrees.

Tuākana as an initiative aimed at increasing engagement and postgraduate achievement by Māori and Pacific students might still be described as an equity strategy. It is does not however work to reduce inequality by addressing the structural constraints which limit wider participation by under-represented students. It is an equity strategy much more closely aligned to the University's interests than one aimed at bridging and building success for Māori and Pacific students with different habitus, and backgrounds, values and practices less aligned to that of the dominant education system because of the funding attached to research through the PBRF and other TEC funding (Tertiary Education Commission, 2011). The University of Auckland is under pressure both internally and externally to increase Māori and Pacific participation and achievement, but the rewards in terms of finance and prestige are greater for postgraduate study.

The background documents to Tuākana recognise that "a considerable number of Māori and Pacific graduates of the UA become leaders in a wide range of fields... the continued contribution of Māori and Pacific peoples to society would be dependent on ensuring successful academic outcomes" (University of Auckland, 2001; Williams, 2009, p. 133). This rhetoric reveals that even in the design and development of Tuākana, University staff emphasised academic outcomes, specifically graduation from the University as the criterion for leadership and 'continued contribution' rather than students being Māori or Pacific. Academic performance, not culture, is what counts. The positioning of a University education as a process of being made fit for purpose is further underlined by the use of

'society' as the beneficiary of Māori and Pacific contribution. Society in this sense is clearly intended as that mainstream worldview and group which constitutes and produces the University, a distanced economically-based system far removed from students' everyday experience of friends, family and community. The unarticulated values of the Tuākana programme could be generally assumed as implicitly understood by tuākana, based on their successful performance within the wider paradigm of liberal humanist thought. Tuākana mentors have learned to participate in the valued practices of their institution (O'Donnell *et al*, 2009) which are not collectively rewarded, whanau-based relationships or indigenous knowledges and methodologies. Indeed, the name by which the programme has come to be known, Tuākana, is accurate. The target and success story of the programme are not teina, but those who have already successfully navigated the University of Auckland. Williams cites Bourdieu in echoing this reading which posits habitus and teachers as products of an education system "whose aim it is to transmit an aristocratic culture" (Williams, 2009, p.128). Williams claims that having gained success themselves within this culture mentors adopt the system's values which are then reflected in their practices. In this way, Tuākana resolves the contradiction of assimilation: mentors can be seen by dominant culture as 'being like us' (whether they are or not), yet teina can be seen as demonstrably (reassuringly) different.

Schoeffel *et al* (1996) suggest that Pacific students who achieve well in New Zealand educational settings do so as a result of socialisation practices better aligned to the current norms of the dominant group in society. From a migration perspective, this can be seen as a claim for improved performance by second-generation or diasporic migrants, whose navigation of Western and Pacific social positions, dispositions and practices is more practised and more assured. These claims are supported by the emergence of a Pacific achiever profile, which aligns to the surfacing middle-class referred to by Anae (Macpherson, Spoonley, Anae, 2001, p.115). From 2006-2010 the Faculty of Arts delivered an enrichment programme, the Māori and Pacific Leadership Programme to recognise and respond to the needs of high achieving Māori and Pacific undergraduates. Unlike Tuākana Arts, the Leadership Programme selected participants on the basis of their previous year's Grade Point Average (GPA) so students could neither apply nor self-select other than by strong academic performance. Leadership Programme participants presented a very different profile to teina in the Tuākana Programme. Leadership students were predominantly drawn from higher decile schools, most were not first in family to attend university and approximately 60% had only one Māori or Pacific parent (University of Auckland Arts Equity, 2010). Leadership students were offered a range of enrichment opportunities, ranging from postgraduate preparation and Faculty of Business short courses workshops to limited scholarship and summer employment places, and most were employed as tuākana mentors.

In contrast to the privileged and socially-aligned position of tuākana mentors, teina in this reading are further problematised as unable to be helped, entrenching the programme's effect as a deficit-centred

initiative which works against increased participation and equity. Tuākana are intended to operate as role models to teina, symbols of Pacific success within the University. During Orientation and the first weeks of semester, mentors in Arts visit lectures to promote the programme, and the implicit understanding in these visits is of course that their sense of belonging and ease in navigating academic success within the University can be anyone's by participating in the support programme. Failing to acknowledge tuākana as the institutional focus of the Tuākana programme, and the narrative of tuākana success as only half a story creates a double-bind deficit for teina and other non-traditional, under-represented students because tuākana mentors' success suggests that achievement is the result of individual effort rather than alignment with the 'norm' of the good student and shared cultural capital. In this way, individual success stories work against collective achievement because different 'skills', representations and experiences are being measured but similar pathways and outcomes are claimed.

If Tuākana constitutes and produces the habitus of 'tail' for Pacific teina then tuākana mentors are simultaneously encouraging teina to acculturate, without necessarily being transparent about how to do this, and reinforcing teina's position at the bottom of the achievement tail. At first glance it seems that teina are locked into a subject position of passivity, unable to exercise agency of any kind but in fact they tend to exercise the only agency left to them: withdrawal. In this sense, withdrawal can be seen as an active response to the dissonance teina experience as they experience symbolic violence, recognising their difference and are reminded that their difference is unaligned to success in the university, and is thus negative. Withdrawal 'hurts' tuākana, tutors and lecturers in different ways. Tuākana and tutors probably experience the most personal effects of teina withdrawal as they literally stop seeing them, resulting in feelings of frustration and failure: "one tutor also reported how it was "really difficult and defeating when you have very low attendance and contact from students, and then you see them fail" (The University of Auckland, 2006, p.49, cited in Williams, 2009, p.127). Lecturers, departments and faculties' hurt tend to be measured in pass rates, which are increasingly tied to funding (University of Auckland, 2010). It is unarguable however, that the greatest hurt from withdrawal, whether voluntary or enforced, is felt by teina such as Sio, whose longstanding financial and emotional costs are related in Chapter One.

Tuākana: Possibilities for transformation

And yet, it can be argued that Tuākana offers libratory hybrid potential. The stratification which separates and segregates tuākana mentors from many teina also moves them into a position of dominance, alongside the dominant group(s) in the University. In this way, Tuākana acts as liminal space. It is not only the bruising site of alien culture-contact which works to marginalise teina, but a new site of representation. All tuākana mentors, both those who align to Anae's middle-class profile (ibid.) and those from backgrounds which fit a first-generation migrant profile can be seen as resisting deficit-based representations of Pacific learners as 'the tail'. If advancement in the University context

is acknowledged as the primary motivation for involvement in the Tuākana programme, regardless of background, mentors can be seen as diasporic identities more concerned with advancement in their place of residence than conserving and adhering to a specific set of cultural dispositions. In this way, tuākana mentors can be seen to negotiate space by resisting assimilation through mimicry. By moving between social positions based on different capital, dispositions and practices, mentors demonstrate polycultural capital: recognising and accumulating "culturally diverse symbolic resources, [being able to] negotiate between them and strategically deploy different cultural resources in contextually specific and advantageous ways" (Mila-Schaaf, 2009, p.18). Mentors simultaneously represent, exploit and redefine what it is to be Pacific within the University, and by their success in what can be seen as using Western structures for individual (and potentially collective) success, they negotiate 'being' Pacific at the University to their advantage. Avril Bell cites Charles Hale's claim that our "theorisation of cultural identities 'must be grounded in an active involvement with the politics of a particular place, time and people' and our attention must be directed 'well beyond their allegedly hybrid or essentialist characters [to ask] who deploys them, from what specific location and to what effects'" (1999, p.13, Bell & Matthewman, 2004, p.135). Mentors' adaptation and application of polycultural capital in the University context can be seen as an exercise of power, within Tuākana (for tuākana) as a strengths-based initiative.

This chapter identifies a number of contradictions in the policy settings and programme delivery of Tuākana as a widening participation and equity initiative to reduce structural inequality and provide improved opportunity for Pacific learners. These contradictions stem from the conflation of widening participation and equity, their location within structural-functionalist and human capital approaches and/or social-conflict and social inclusion theory. At a programme level, tensions and contradictions exist in the conflation of Māori and Pacific peoples as a target equity group, and the application of an inadequate and unresearched framework to deliver improved opportunity. For students, the overall effect of Tuākana is ambivalent – it is argued that tuākana mentors are able to negotiate the programme as liminal space to their advantage; but that the reverse is true for teina mentees.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Ua se ana – the promise of equity

Social constructionists contend that identities are constructed, at least in part, by others and our relationships with them, so that representation is a significant influencing factor in the formation of a Pacific learning habitus. Although education is only part of a wider social structure within which Pacific learning habitus is co-constructed, it is highlighted as a means of transformation by Pacific peoples' avowed pursuit of education as the primary way to improve their social and economic standing. I argue that this co-construction makes reciprocal relationship the necessary cornerstone for equity programmes which aim to transform under-represented groups' participation and achievement. This emphasis on relationship is nothing new – mentoring programmes worldwide centre on the learning relationship between mentor and mentee as transformational pedagogy. Finding a mutually acceptable framework for that relationship, a shared space for negotiation, is difficult – as acknowledged in the introduction, while interpretive research frameworks and practices bring researchers and research participants, teachers and learners into a "shared, critical space ... where the work of resistance, critique and empowerment can occur" (Denzin *et al*, 2008, p.5) that space does not necessarily equate to a shared understanding.

Several scholars (Wendt-Samu, 2007; Williams, 2009; Mila-Schaaf, 2010; Anae, 2010) recognise the inadequacy of positivist Western frameworks and conflated/transplanted indigenous models for negotiated spaces for the meeting of equals between Pacific and Western cultures. Chapter Three of this study analyses Pacific identity discourses as potential frameworks for establishing that meeting place of shared understanding between and within cultures. Teu le va, as the cultural reference centred on reciprocal relationships which provides the basis for a Pacific educational and research framework, is critiqued in terms of the gap between geographically-specific and 'fixed' notions of ethnicity and identity between island-born and first generation, and second-generation and diasporic identities. Ways in which these groups identify and enact the value of respect are examined, suggesting that a retreat into esoteric and potentially exclusionary concepts works merely to exchange one form of oppression for another.

Within the framework of hybridity, 'the Pacific Way' as a development of Oceanic discourse is considered through the motif of 'generous catering'. Hybridity is posited as a potential equaliser by understanding liminal space as the meeting place between cultures. This space is unstable, yet its very instability allows for productive conflict, where recognition and/or transfer of unfamiliar capital can occur, in this case, through the practice of hospitality as simultaneous cultural disposition and cultural claim. As one social commentator points out, aloofness rather than contact promotes misunderstanding: "you can only really feel above your neighbours if you don't know them very

well" (Paxman, 1998, p.19). Hybridity helps to bring awareness to nuanced understanding and application of values which underpin one's own, or different cultural practice. Finally, hybridity promotes the practice of situational ethnicity, that socio-historic construction of identity which allows for change, multiplicity, and the ongoing production of new knowledge.

In the case of the Tuākana programme as discussed in the previous chapter, an inadequate and one-sided framework supports a series of systemic weaknesses: conflation of Māori and Pacific learners; extraction of indigenous cultural content into an alien context which invalidates the parameters and renders it culturally sterile; unrealistic expectations placed on the tuakana-teina relationship as a container for the totality of an equity outcome; and the paradoxical benefits accruing to tuākana not teina, as signalled by the truncation of the name.

How then might we describe the comprehensive, mutually accessible and mutually beneficial framework needed to 'contain' university-based equity policy and programmes? Levinas' concept of hospitality, as a first step towards reciprocity, provides the beginning for a framework for a negotiated third space between cultures. The notion of hospitality develops from Levinas' assumption of ethicity as the first rule in being, identity and human relations. Ethicity is the positioning of ethics as the 'first' philosophy. It depends on intersubjectivity, or the primary significance of an encounter with another person, ''unlimited, measureless responsibility toward each other that is in continuous excess over any formalisation of responsibility in the law and stated ethical principles'' (Atweh, 2011, p.45). In this way Levinas' work can be seen as a development of social construction theory, positing that the conception of the Self as a hostage to the Other is built on the understanding that no encounter can impact the Self as one with the Other, and that the mutuality of obligation and rapport goes beyond speech or affinity (Sinha, 2010). Pacific readings of the va position the "space that relates" as the centre of all things, "the space that is context, giving meaning to things" (Wendt, 1996, p.2). In the same way, ethicity as the first philosophy privileges responsibility to the Other, or the primacy of reciprocal relationship, above questions of ontology or epistemology.

Hospitality in this sense conflates the public and private realm, personalising the institutional relationships which underpin equity programmes to interactions between people, within an overarching framework. Habermas' notion of the ISS as "a critical reconstruction of the assumptions of everyday speech" (Young, 1989, p.79) provides a useful lens for thinking about these interactions as dialogue. In this ideal speech situation, each agent has equal opportunity to participate, is free to act without privilege or disadvantage attached to their role or status, cultural or institutional norms, and is primarily motivated by a desire to reach consensus about the truth of statements and the validity of norms" (Bernstein, 1995, p.51). In this way, ISS might be offered as part of an equity framework which allows for differentiation of values, with associated rationalities, but which acknowledges this

differentiation as part of a universal developmental process and argues that universal structures of consciousness link these multiple rationalities" (Love, 1989, p.273). Bourdieu characterises habitus as dispositions or sets of identifications acquired and conveyed through formal education and other social contexts, resulting in the accrual and application of capital. ISS can be seen to accommodate multiple forms of capital, and to provide both access and improved opportunity (Adams *et al,* 2000) for the recognition, accrual, application and exchange of that capital. In this way ISS adapts the reciprocity assumed within identities based on an understanding of the va, balancing relationships through dialogue.

This thesis is concerned with limited success in efforts to improve Pacific participation and achievement in university education. It argues that the reality and representation of Pacific people stems from racist and exclusionary dispositions and practices and that Pacific peoples' presence in New Zealand is underpinned by these inequalities, resulting in the 'fact' and discourse of a learning habitus of the 'tail' which works to reinforce disadvantage, and colours attempts to improve opportunities for Pacific success. Social and educational inequality is well-established, and "decades of... equality of access policies to schooling have done little to challenge the wider social inequalities which exist in our society" (Adams *et al,* 2000, p.267). And yet, recognising that equity work for Pacific learners in New Zealand is an interminable struggle against social, historical and economic influences, there is hope for the future. A former prime minister of New Zealand once put forward the view that "the Pacific Islands had little to offer other than coconuts" (Hereniko & Wilson, 1999, p.137) but the polycultural promise of Pacific students at universities belies this claim. From students like Sio and Sieni, struggling with mismatched capital, to high-achieving tuākana mentors, accomplished at wielding polycultural capital, they are part of a wider and ongoing dialogue between cultures, dialogue which permits the possibility of hospitality, the promise of reciprocity based on ongoing contact and exchange.

The Samoan proverb ua se ana, *something promised but not yet given* was used in Chapter Five to describe the Fale Pasifika. This idea encapsulates the situation of Pacific educational equity as analysed in this thesis research. A promise assumes contact, dialogue and a debt to honour – the relationship and responsibility between Self and Other. Something promised but not yet given demands reciprocity: faith that the Other will deliver, and patience for the fulfilment to come. The allure of the promise remains.

Glossary

Samoan, Māori and Niuean are the languages used in this glossary. The words included are as used by me in this thesis and derive from sources as listed in the reference section.

aiga	family, extended family, whanau, matafaoa
ako	learn, teach
fa'aaloalo	respect, deference
fa'afetai	thanks
fale	house, building
fa'alupega	genealogy protocols
fono	meeting
kaumatua - kuia	elders
magafaoa	family, extended family, aiga, whanau
matai	chief, leader
matua	main stem, senior, principal
matua-whaea	parents
mihi	formal greeting structure
palagi	foreigner, European, non-Samoan, Pakeha
ta va	time and space
tama-tamahine	children
taokete-tehina	elder and younger sibling, tuakana and teina
tapu	sacred, forbidden, confidential
teina	younger sibling, tehina
tuakana	elder sibling, taokete
va tapuia	worshipful space
va fealoaloa'i	respectful space
va fealofani	fraternal relationship
va fealoa'i	protocols of meeting
va tagata	relational space
whakapapa	genealogy
whanau	family, aiga, matafaoa
whanaungatanga	family connection
whare wānanga	school of higher learning

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