School expectations and student aspirations: The influence of schools and teachers on

Indigenous secondary students

Abstract
Although there is extensive literature on the relationship between student motivation and achievement, less is known about how secondary schools create conditions that enable diverse groups of students to do their personal best. This article reports research into the development of school leadership in New Zealand secondary schools to enable Indigenous Māori students to achieve educational success as Māori. Data collection included school goal-setting plans for students, in-class observations, student surveys and interviews. Analyses revealed school goals reflected low expectations for Māori achievement and little evidence of culturally responsive practices in classrooms. Interviews with Māori students highlighted perceptions that their schools had low expectations for them and their learning, while analysis of Māori student surveys indicated lower academic aspirations in comparison with European peers. These results are discussed critically alongside specific recommendations for further research on the multiple influences of mainstream secondary school contexts on educational achievement outcomes for Indigenous students.

- Secondary schools
- teacher and school expectations
- Indigenous students
- motivation
- aspirations

Introduction

Across the world schools are challenged to serve the needs of Indigenous and other non-dominant-culture students, by ensuring culturally responsive and sustaining school environments (Bishop, 2012; Castagno and Brayboy, 2008; Gay, 2010; Penetito, 2010; Sleeter, 2011). In New Zealand, less than satisfactory educational outcomes for Indigenous Māori students have led to major government-funded policy and professional development initiatives in recent years including Ka Hikitia, He Kākano, and Te Kotahitanga (Ministry of Education, 2013). Ka Hikitia—Accelerating Success 2013–2017 is the New Zealand Ministry of Education's strategy to improve the education system so that 'all Māori students gain the skills, qualifications and knowledge they need to enjoy and achieve education success as Māori'. Te Kotahitanga (unity) and He Kākano (the seed) were both professional

development initiatives aimed at improving teachers' and school leaders' knowledge of culturally responsive practices for Māori learners.

Although some progress has been made, national statistics reveal Māori secondary students still leave school with fewer qualifications, are suspended at higher rates, and continue to be over-represented in special education programs compared with their New Zealand European peers (Ministry of Education, 2013). Debates linger over the causes of, and solutions for, achievement gaps, with some highlighting the socio-economic disadvantage disproportionately experienced by Māori communities (Chapple, 1999; Marie et al., 2008) and others the mono-cultural and discriminatory practices of teachers and schools (Alton-Lee, 2003; Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Penetito, 2010). Nevertheless, leaving school without recognised qualifications disadvantages individual learners and has long-term negative consequences (Ministry of Education, 2013).

In this article, we investigate the social psychology contexts within classrooms and schools that Māori students experience and the types of social interactions with teachers and peers that can negatively influence their goals and expectations of success. As Hardré (2015: 24) argues, 'Human motivation is complex, internal and interactive. It is also highly contextualised and place-based'. The theoretical framework that this paper draws on is informed by Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968) seminal work, 'Pygmalion in the Classroom', which describes how false teacher expectations about children's undeveloped abilities could powerfully influence those same children's academic performance. Their research has generated many other studies examining teacher expectations on students' academic success (e.g. Rubie-Davies, 2015) and that beliefs about students' academic abilities are influenced by their social interactions with others within and across different environments (Hardé, 2015).

We agree with others (Bishop et al., 2007; Hodis et al., 2015; Rubie-Davies, 2015; Walkey et al., 2013) that classroom and school climates are powerful influences on the pyscho-social development of Māori students; their self-esteem and motivations and, in particular, their aspirations and expectations of academic success. We start by exploring the literature on achievement

motivation, teacher expectations and Māori student experiences within mainstream (English-medium) secondary school contexts. We then report our own findings and highlight results related to in-school factors, such as the social psychology of classrooms and schools that can negatively influence Māori students' aspirations and expectations of success. Finally, we discuss the implications of these findings for school leadership and school improvement initiatives that must communicate aspirational messages to Māori student groups, whilst providing 'high expectations' teaching and supportive learning environments. We also call for further research on the influence of school and classroom climate on the pyscho-social development of Māori learners and their academic identities as school achievers.

Background

Student motivation at school has long interested educational researchers (Darnon et al., 2012; Hardré, 2015; Maehr and Zusho, 2009), and there are competing theories about motivation and its relationship to understanding human behaviour (Eccles and Wigfield, 2002). Traditional distinctions between intrinsic motivation (driven by an internal locus of control such as an individual's goals, interests and enjoyment) and extrinsic motivation (driven by an external locus of control such as rewards and punishments) and their respective influence on motivation to achieve, have dominated much of the development of motivation theory (Ryan and Deci, 2000). Generally, theorists are interested in the interplay between internal and external influences on the psychosocial development of individuals and its link to motivation and behaviour (Cameron and Pierce, 1994; Hardré, 2015; Ryan and Deci, 2000) as well as how this influences students' academic performance (Corker and Donnellan, 2012; Walkey et al., 2013). For example, student perceptions of their own competence are related to each student's perceptions of other people's expectations and attitudes towards them (Eccles and Wigfield, 2002). 'Expectancies for success' are 'individuals' beliefs' about how well they believe they 'will do on upcoming task' (Eccles and Wigfield, 2002: 119). It is argued that a child's

self-efficacy—a belief in one's ability and effort to achieve—is a powerful influence in shaping their educational aspirations and pyscho-social development (Bandura et al., 2001).

A major influence on a child's or young person's self-efficacy is the quality of their school's social climate or environment (Rubie-Davies, 2015). Rubie-Davies (2015) argues that school climate is a powerful influencer on student motivation and on their personal beliefs about academic capabilities. She states that schools and classrooms 'are social domains as much as they are instructional ones' and that, after the family, 'school is the most important social environment that students encounter in terms of shaping their psychosocial development' Rubie-Davies, 2015: 15). The types of social interactions that students experience with their teachers and their peers directly influence student motivation to engage. These include the expectations that teachers communicate to students as well as the types of instructional strategies teachers use in classrooms. Expectations of students can be communicated through a variety of ways including the opportunities students are given to; engage with intellectually challenging classroom material; experience autonomy in relation to their learning and whether they are able to learn through meaningful peer interactions. Numerous research studies have shown that a student's academic achievement is linked to the quality of the classroom climate or environment they experience, and the types of relationships and interactions that students experience with their teachers and peers (Alton-Lee, 2003; Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Rubie-Davies, 2015). Teacher and school expectations have been shown to have a crucial impact on student outcomes. Hattie (2009) reported that positive teacher–student relationships have a large effect on student learning and Rubie-Davies and Peterson (2011) demonstrated that teachers with high expectations for students created warmer classroom climates than those with low expectations.

Whilst school and classroom climate are important in-school factors on student motivation, research indicates that the quality of school environments differs for different groups of learners and particularly for Māori children and young people. The following section explores this literature.

Social and contextual influences on student motivation and achievement

In New Zealand, colonisation has perpetuated pathologizing and racist practices by ensuring that the linguistic, cultural and pedagogical customs of Māori tribal groups were treated as less worthy than those of the colonisers— Pākehā (White European settlers) (Penetito, 2010). Institutional systems such as schools aided the process of cultural assimilation by privileging the cultural and linguistic practices of the English-speaking colonizers (Shields et al., 2005; Sleeter, 2011). Over decades, deficit theorising had negatively influenced the engagement and achievement rates of Indigenous student groups by ensuring a lack of connection between the culture of school classrooms and the culture of student groups (Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Castagno and Brayboy, 2008; Penetito, 2010). A lack of connection to school contributes to student alienation by reinforcing the view that the student's cultural background does not belong in schools (Shields et al., 2005).

It has been argued that marginalised student groups are particularly vulnerable to negative stereotypes (Steele, 1999; Steele and Aronson, 1995). There is evidence that teachers differentiate their expectations for student achievement based on student's ethnicity and culture (Rubie-Davies, 2015; Tenenbaum and Ruck, 2007). Consistent negative labels such as underachieving associated with particular ethnic and racial identities can be perpetuated within society and threaten students' perceptions of themselves as high academic achievers (Steele, 1999; Steele and Aronson, 1995). Stereotype threat 'may have the further effect of pressuring these students to protectively dis-identify with achievement in schools and related intellectual domains' (Steele and Aronson, 1995: 797). Negative stereotypes associated with school underachievement can frustrate and disrupt a student's sense of belonging at school. This dis-identification with school achievement can lead to self-fulfilling prophecies of student failure, truancy, and early dropping out of school (Dharan et al., 2012; Shields et al., 2005). Sustained school success for marginalised ethnic and racial groups requires students to identify positively with academic achievement, feel they belong at school, and believe they can achieve (Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Dharan et al., 2012).

In New Zealand, mono-cultural teacher practices have contributed to Māori student alienation and disengagement within mainstream schools (Alton-Lee, 2003; Penetito, 2010; Sleeter, 2011). The

majority of teachers working in schools identify as New Zealand European (Ministry of Education, 2010) and there is evidence that teachers have limited awareness of the cultural capital possessed by Māori students and a lack of pedagogical knowledge on how to connect learning to students' lives outside the classroom (Alton-Lee, 2003; Bishop, 2012; Bishop et al., 2009; Timperley et al., 2007; Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Penetito, 2010). Many teachers express low expectations for Māori student success, attributing Māori student failure to perceived deficiencies in the child and /or their home background (Alton-Lee, 2003; Bishop, 2011).

Walkey et al. (2013) recently investigated the relationship between New Zealand secondary students' achievement and their self-reported aspirations and motivations. They surveyed 5369 students at 19 secondary schools and compared achievement outcomes at those schools with available national achievement records. Factor analysis confirmed four motivational dimensions labelled 'Doing My Best', 'Doing Just Enough', 'Teacher Affiliation' and 'Peer Affiliation' found to be significantly related to students' subsequent achievement results. Self-reported expectations for completing secondary school were significantly related to different motivation patterns and teacher affiliation (whether students considered that their teachers care about their learning) as well as being highly predictive of academic performance. Results included a strong positive correlation between academic performance and both 'Doing My Best' and 'Teacher Affiliation'; conversely, 'Doing Just Enough' and 'Teacher Affiliation' were negatively correlated.

In a similar New Zealand study, Hodis et al. (2015) analysed the relationship between secondary school students' goal orientations and their academic achievement. They found that significant proportions of the variance in student achievement could be predicted by student reports of whether they approached their learning with aspirational ('Doing My Best') or boundary ('Doing Just Enough') goals. Holding aspirational goals towards attaining the best possible grades was positively correlated with high grades, whereas expressing boundary goals towards meeting minimal criteria for passing was positively correlated with failing and low grades. Both Hodis et al. (2015) and Walkey et al. (2013) also reported ethnic disparities amongst diverse groups of students, with the

majority of Māori students self-reporting boundary goals favoring 'Doing Just Enough' and low aspirational goals for 'Doing My Best'.

Walkey and colleagues maintain that students are sensitive to messages from teachers and schools regarding high versus low expectations for success, and that such messages are communicated overtly and covertly. Students who reported lower aspirations did not perceive that their teachers had high expectations for their academic performance. According to Walkey et al. (2013: 306), 'promoting low or even moderate expectations and aspirations for student achievement may actually reinforce lower academic achievement'. They note their concern that investigations of the influences of social and cultural processes on student achievement have been limited in motivation research. There is a plethora of literature about student motivation and achievement in schools (Conley, 2012; Elliot and Murayama, 2008), but few studies have directly examined in-school social and contextual influences on motivation and achievement in diverse student populations in particular. Little is known regarding how school goal setting and teachers' use of culturally responsive pedagogies may affect student aspirations and outcomes. The following section presents a rationale for the present study to investigate school and teacher influences on Māori students, and their aspirations for academic success.

Effective teaching for Māori learners

Research indicates that the nature and quality of the classroom and school climate directly contributes to a student's self-efficacy and personal beliefs about their academic capabilities (Rubie-Davies, 2015). A key element of classroom climate includes the nature of teacher–student relationships, teacher expectations of students, and the extent to which instructional practices actively engage all students. As classrooms are becoming more culturally diverse, it is imperative that teachers use culturally responsive pedagogies (Alton-Lee, 2003; Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Bishop et al., 2007; Gay, 2010). Culturally responsive teaching has been defined as connecting 'to and through students' personal and cultural strengths, their intellectual capabilities, and their prior accomplishments' (Gay, 2010: 26). Gay argued that the quality of teaching instruction is related to the 'close interactions

among ethnic identity, cultural background, and student achievement' (2010: 27). Culturally responsive teachers respect and value their students' unique cultural locations, expect students to do their personal best and connect instruction to cultural processes of teaching and learning that are familiar to their students. Within New Zealand there is evidence that teachers' use of culturally responsive pedagogies has had a positive impact on teacher expectations of Māori students and on student's achievement outcomes (Meyer et al., 2010; Bishop et al., 2009).

The impact of secondary teachers' use of culturally responsive pedagogies on Māori student outcomes has been best illustrated through the Te Kotahitanga programme (Bishop et al., 2007; Meyer et al., 2010). The research and development team responsible for Te Kotahitanga (which is based on the narratives of Māori students in secondary schools) reported positive findings for students associated with school participation in this large-scale teacher professional learning and development programme. Kaupapa Māori (Māori strategy) research principles were used to guide the professional learning and development programme (Bishop et al., 2007). These research principles are part of a larger purpose to promote tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) whakawhanaungatanga (strengthening relationships), and ako (reciprocal teaching and learning) so that Maori learners can succeed and thrive 'as Māori' within schools and society (Bishop and Glynn, 1999). With respect to Māori culture and language, the programme repositioned Māori students as the experts and teachers as learners (Bishop et al., 2009; Bishop, 2011; Sleeter, 2011). Bishop and team's research resulted in an Effective Teaching Profile (ETP) that embodies a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations (Bishop et al., 2009; Bishop and Berryman, 2009). There are six dimensions of the ETP: Manaakitanga (teachers' caring for students as culturally located individuals); Mana motuhake (teachers' high expectations for learning); Whakapiringatanga (teachers' managing the classroom for learning); Wānanga (teachers' promotion of discursive teaching practices and student-student learning interactions); Ako (teachers' use of a range of strategies to facilitate learning); and Kotahitanga (teachers' ability to promote, monitor and reflect on learning outcomes with students). Teachers were challenged to critically evaluate their attitudes and expectations towards Māori students and encouraged to take an agentic

position to investigate and improve their classroom relationships and instructional interactions with students.

An independent evaluation found that the programme had both a positive impact on teachers' instructional practices and on Māori students' achievement and retention (Meyer et al., 2010). These results representing work in 33 secondary schools on the North Island of New Zealand enrolling high numbers of Māori students were promising. However, evaluation results supported the need for further in-school support for teachers from school leaders to sustain the work of change and for systemic approaches to confront low expectations and institutional racism (Meyer et al., 2010). Te Kotahitanga research and development work concentrated on improving teachers' knowledge and use of culturally responsive pedagogies and, although more recent work has extended to include school leadership and whole school reform (Bishop, 2012), the programme has not explored how low expectations can be communicated to Māori students within the context of a school improvement initiative (Hynds, 2012). The 'National Evaluation of Te Kotahitanga' also emphasised that it was essential that school leaders became aware of and confronted deficit messages that could be unintentionally communicated to Māori students across the school system (Meyer et al., 2010).

In this article we build on previous research conducted in New Zealand by further investigating in-school factors, particularly related to the types of classroom and school climates that Māori secondary school students experience and that influence their aspirations and expectations of academic achievement (Walkey et al., 2013). We present descriptive findings from a large-scale evaluation of a professional development and learning program—He Kākano—for secondary school leaders, including principals, senior management team members, department heads, and deans (Hynds et al., 2013). The professional learning and development initiative aimed to promote culturally responsive leadership enabling Māori students to achieve educational success as Māori in their schools. The evaluation research gathered triangulated data including school goal-setting for student achievement, teacher instructional practices in classrooms, student survey data, and student focus group interviews to investigate the experiences, expectations, motivations, and aspirations of

Māori students within their secondary school contexts. Results highlighted mixed results related to impact and effectiveness of the programme for developing culturally responsive leadership across the participating schools. In particular, the evaluation highlighted multiple classroom and school climate influences which could impact the pyscho-social development of Māori learners, such as: the nature of classroom instructional practices; beliefs and aspirations of Māori as academic achievers; and expectations of Māori student success evidenced within whole-school goal setting aimed at raising student achievement.

Method

A mixed methods research approach utilized quantitative (student attitude survey results, classroom observations, school action plans documents analyses) and qualitative (interviews, analyses of open-ended survey responses) approaches to data collection and analyses to triangulate the findings from different data sources in reaching final interpretations of these data. Māori centred research protocols guided the research which was carried out by a bicultural research team involving Māori and non-Māori researchers.

Data collection occurred across the 2010–2013 school years with a focus on students in the final four years of participating secondary schools. It is important to note that, for our overall evaluation, student achievement results were analysed overall at the school level (Hynds et al., 2013), however these are not reported in this article.

Participating schools

Eighty-nine secondary schools across six separate regions participated in the national evaluation of the initiative, including four on the North Island and two on the South Island, with nine of these schools selected as case study schools for more intensive data collection. The case study schools were located on both islands and comprised single-sex and co-educational schools. The percentage of enrolled Māori students across these schools ranged from 80% to 20%, whilst the rest of the student population included New Zealand European, Pasifika, Asian and students from other countries. None of the 89 project schools had been involved in the Te Kotahitanga professional

development programme. Schools were involved in a variety of other professional development and learning initiatives aimed at improving classroom teaching and outcomes for students, including Māori students, though no particular programme predominated and no attempt was made to quantify other activities or include them in the analyses.

Document analysis: School goal setting related to Māori student achievement

To interrogate the extent to which schools were establishing high expectations in their schools for Māori students, the action plans written by school leadership personnel as part of their project participation were evaluated. The project action plans from all 89 participating schools were analysed to investigate the nature and extent of goals set for improving Māori student outcomes. These action plans were compiled into six regional reports by He Kākano project staff and facilitators. Documents were reviewed to identify specific and measurable goals set by individual schools for student outcomes, with a focus on achievement for Years 9–10 and Years 11–13. A comprehensive list of possible student achievement-related outcomes was developed based on actual outcome goals in the reports supplemented by additional goals not mentioned, but reflecting possible outcome data readily available to schools. Evidence of each goal type was recorded for each school and in each of the six regions. A random check was made reviewing all school documents on file for approximately 20% of the individual schools to investigate differences between the regional summaries and individual school plans. No discrepancies were found.

Observations and analyses of classroom instruction

To interrogate the extent to which classroom instruction reflected culturally responsive pedagogies and high expectations for Māori student achievement, 75 in-class observations were conducted during field work visits in 2011 at the nine case study schools. Full instructional lesson periods were observed for mathematics (N=23), science (N=19), English (N=19), and social studies (N=14). While these observations were conducted prior to project activities, they provide evidence of whether current instruction reflected the ETP (Bishop and Berryman, 2009; Bishop et al., 2009), and examples and descriptions relevant to each of the six dimensions of the ETP were recorded.

Observers also described the classroom environment as well as a narrative of the first and final five minutes of the lesson. Māori and other cultural visuals in the room were also noted, along with any instances of Māori curriculum content including use of Māori intellectual knowledge in the substance of the curriculum at any time during the lesson. Throughout the lesson, the observers recorded the types of teaching interactions occurring at 10-minute intervals, including any of the following teaching interactions: directive teaching, individual seatwork, teacher questioning involving discursive interactions, student-led presentations, group work, project activities and non-academic and transition times. A copy of the observational schedule is included in the published report (Hynds et al., 2013).

Classroom observations were carried out by individual researchers across each of the nine schools during field work visits; each school invited identified teachers for observation. The teacher sample represented both males and females; different ages; diverse ethnicities including Māori and non-Māori; different learning areas; and varied teaching experience (though beginning teachers were not included in the observations). Classroom observations were analysed overall as high implementation, implementation, or low implementation based on the presence or absence of dimensions of the ETP and the quality of evidence related to each dimension. High implementation required evidence for at least five of the six ETP dimensions, with strong evidence for at least two dimensions; evidence of culturally responsive pedagogy; explicit reference to learning outcomes and high expectations; positive teacher–student relationships reflecting caring for students as culturally located individuals; and positive classroom management. Low implementation evidenced no, or only weak, examples of the six ETP dimensions. Using a detailed coding sheet, observations were coded independently by two researchers (who were not involved in that observation), results compared, and discrepancies reconciled by a third independent coding followed by discussion to reach agreement. These protocols are described in more detail in an earlier study involving different schools (Savage et al., 2011).

The analysis of in-class observations revealed the types of teaching approaches used across the nine case study schools. However, observations cannot provide conclusive evidence of all classroom instruction across subjects or of all individual teacher practices. Nevertheless, this sample size is sufficiently large to provide a valid assessment of pedagogical practices in project schools prior to intervention. Given that the selection of classes for our observations was determined by the schools themselves it is unlikely that we were viewing lessons of teachers considered to be negative exemplars.

Student surveys

To investigate student achievement aspirations and expectations as well as how students perceived their schools, over 5000 student surveys were administered at the nine case study schools in 2011. Students completing the surveys included Māori, European, Pasifika, Asian and other ethnic groups. Students completed the 35-item 'NCEA and My School Student Survey' comprising three major sections: (a) demographic (culture/ethnicity, gender, expectations regarding school completion); (b) motivation orientations (three items each for the factors 'Doing My Best', 'Doing Just Enough', 'Teacher Affiliation', 'Group Work'); and (c) general attitudes towards education and school (several items each for the factors 'Responsiveness to Māori/Pasifika', 'Cultural Responsiveness', 'Dominant Mainstream', 'Discrimination and Racism'). The motivation orientation sections of the survey have been validated in previous research as highly predictive of different achievement outcomes, particularly 'Doing My Best' and 'Doing Just Enough' (Hodis et al., 2015; Meyer et al., 2009).

The third section of the survey was constructed for this research comprising items informed by various school and classroom climate measures reported in the literature and tailored to reflect New Zealand's cultural context. Sample items included:

Responsiveness to Māori/Pasifika: In this school, being Māori as tangata whenua (the Indigenous people) are valued.

Cultural Responsiveness: This school does a lot to recognise and value students'

cultural identities.

Dominant Mainstream: In my opinion, most European/Asian/Māori/Pasifika students would say they are treated well and respected at this school.

Discrimination and Racism: There is racism at this school in some teachers and some staff.

Frequency statistics generated mean scores for each factor dimension emerging from confirmatory factor analyses, enabling statistical comparisons across different groups and contexts. In addition, 97 unsolicited comments were written by students on the 2011 'NCEA and My School Student Survey', providing additional information for analysis regarding student perceptions about the cultural responsiveness of their schools.

Māori student interviews

To investigate further how Māori students in particular viewed their schools, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 77 Māori students who participated in 12 focus group interviews at the nine case study schools. Māori student interviews were led by a Māori researcher who used te reo (Māori language) as well as English when requested by students. Interviews also adhered to Māori cultural protocols, such as karakia (blessings) mihimihi (greetings) and waiata (songs). Often students requested that the interviews were held on school marae (meeting houses) and we worked with school leaders to be able to do this. It was important to conduct the interviews in these ways to create culturally safe interview environments for participating students. Key questions were asked in semi-structured interviews with students and these included:

- What does it mean to you to achieve and succeed 'as Māori'? Why is this important to you? How does your school support you to succeed and achieve 'as Māori'? What enables Māori students to achieve 'as Māori' at this school? What are the challenges / barriers?

- What goals do you have? What are your hopes and aspirations? Do you feel your school and your teachers are interested in your goals/hopes and aspirations? Why? Why not?

- If you could have your wish, what would you change about teaching and learning for Māori students in this school and why? About this school generally?

Interview transcription, coding and analyses

Interviews were coded using NVivo. Members of the team reviewed printed transcripts and met to review possible codes to identify themes in the interview data based on their experiences in carrying out the interviews. To identify codes, five core researchers from the Victoria University based team reviewed a sub-sample of complete interview transcriptions to identify possible nodes and words for coding using NVivo. Deductive, top-down analysis was used to identify codes and themes related to the evaluation focus questions, particularly the impact and implementation of the He Kākano programme. Inductive, bottom-up analyses, reporting stakeholder understandings and actions were also used.

Ethical procedures

All processes for obtaining consent and protecting the privacy of participants (and individual school identities) were reviewed and approved by the university's human ethics committee.

Results

Data analyses revealed a diversity of in-school factors that could negatively impact on Māori students' expectations and aspirations for success. The school goal-setting documents revealed a lack of high expectations, as modest achievement goals were targeted for Māori student success. Classroom observations revealed limited evidence of culturally responsive pedagogies and/or effective teaching practices for Māori being used by teachers in their classrooms. The overall pattern of results suggests low expectations for Māori students across classrooms and schools. Results from the student surveys (including our analysis of the unsolicited student comments on the survey booklet) and student interviews aligned with these data. These results support Walkey et al.'s (2013) findings that Māori student self-reports indicate lower aspirations in comparison with their peers of European descent as well as perceptions that their schools and teachers generally were not communicating

caring about them and their learning. In the following section we describe these findings, starting with the analysis of goal setting by all schools followed by analyses of the data collected at the nine case study schools including classroom observations, the student survey data, and interviews with Māori students.

School goal setting, academic planning and targeting Māori student success

The school plans revealed in-school factors that could be expected to have an impact on Māori student's aspirations and academic success. Analysis of 89 school action plans from six different geographic regions in New Zealand identified both the number and type of school goals targeting Māori student achievement goals. Table 1 provides a comprehensive listing of referenced academic outcome goal types for Years 9–10, and Table 2 provides a comprehensive listing of academic goal types for Years 11–13 at the 89 schools. The goals have been sub-categorised into three levels: basic, representing minimal goal expectations; national, representing national goals that all students achieve at least NCEA level 2 in the senior school; and high, representing high expectations for all students including increasing student achievement at levels of merit and excellence in the senior school.

<Insert Table 1>

<Insert Table 2>

These findings suggest a lack of school strategic planning to improve Māori student outcome goals, with relatively few targets specified by schools for measurable student outcomes. Analysis also indicated that schools set few high-level goals for students and, specifically, for Māori students. For example, no school specified a goal that even some students would attain required literacy credits prior to Year 11 contributing towards attaining the first level of the NCEA, an option intended to be available for high-achieving students in all schools and, presumably, for Māori students as well. At the school level, low expectations for students were evidenced in predominantly low targets for academic achievement and a lack of explicit commitments to specific targets committing to increased levels of NCEA performance expected of students.

Teachers' use of effective pedagogies

Our analysis of in-class observations of teachers' practices and student focus groups indicated considerable variability in teachers' use of the ETP, demonstrated in extensive previous research as effective for Māori learners (Bishop, 2012; Savage et al., 2011). Table 3 summarises the analysis of in-class observations conducted across case study schools. School A accounted for the majority of teachers (five out of nine) who were observed to be high implementers of the ETP. Three of these teachers were located in one particular department within a school. School B had the highest number of teachers who were identified as low implementers of the ETP. Across the schools, only nine out of 75 teachers were rated as high implementers of the ETP, 33 were rated as middle implementers, and a further 33 rated as low implementers. Table 4 identifies the number of high, middle and low implementers of the ETP across core teaching subjects. Science lessons accounted for the highest number of teachers identified as high implementers (four out of nine), whilst mathematics lessons accounted for the highest number of teachers identified as low implementers (12 out of 33) of the ETP.

<Insert Table 3>

<Insert Table 4>

These observational data across the nine case study schools indicated that nearly half of all teachers observed (33/75) were judged to be low implementers of the ETP. These data included high levels of student disruption and off-task behaviour, thus the observations revealed that these teachers were not using positive classroom management strategies to address these challenges. There were few examples of teachers greeting students positively as they entered the classroom and started work. In most classrooms, there was limited evidence of student engagement in lesson tasks, and observers noted that teachers generally ignored off-task and disruptive student behaviour and/or used behaviour management strategies that were ineffective or highly disruptive. There was also a lack of positive exemplars that teachers had high expectations for student engagement and success. These low implementer teachers were also those least likely to state explicit learning objectives or outcomes to

students. Highlighted success criteria were lacking, and students received little or no formative feedback on their learning and/or identification of how current classroom learning would link to upcoming assessments. Across low implementation classes, there were no specific references to Māori student cultural locations, experiences, and/or links to student lives outside the classroom. Teachers identified as low implementers tended to rely on traditional chalk and talk approaches; discursive teaching approaches were not evident.

In contrast, only nine of the 75 teachers observed were high implementers of the ETP. In their classrooms, respectful, effective, and reciprocal learning interactions were observed between teachers and Māori students. There was an observable increase of student engagement in learning tasks compared with teachers who demonstrated low implementation of the ETP. High implementation classrooms were categorized by more interactive and relational methods to engage students. For example, teachers used more discursive and co-constructed approaches, where students led parts of the lesson and/or lesson approaches that encouraged students to assess their own or others' learning against set criteria. Teachers were observed asking questions or referring to lesson content that connected to Māori students' lives outside of the classroom, their backgrounds, and interests. Teachers were observed using the Māori language and vocabulary in class and taking care to pronounce students names correctly. They moved around their classrooms more than teachers in low implementation classrooms, asking individual students about their understanding of the lesson tasks and giving students more focused formative feedback that was linked to lesson objectives and upcoming assessments. Teachers expressed high expectations for student learning and behaviour, evidenced by measurable achievement targets, and these teachers were observed encouraging students to do their personal best on assessments. Teachers dealt with off-task behaviour quickly, quietly reminding students of class rules and /or dealing with misbehaviour in less intrusive ways than teachers in low implementation classrooms. This was also evidence of high implementation teachers going the extra mile with reference to homework meetings and/or arranging meetings with

Māori students after class to help students with work they did not understand and/or needed extra help with.

These findings are consistent with results from the national evaluation of Te Kotahitanga (Meyer et al., 2010). That is, prior to involvement in the project, the majority of observed teachers were not using culturally responsive pedagogies shown to be effective for Māori learners.

Student motivation and aspirations

The student survey data revealed differences in Māori students' self-reported aspirations and motivations compared with other ethnic student groups at the case study schools. Analyses of results at the nine case study schools indicated more negative motivational orientations for Māori students in comparison with students of European and Asian descent in particular. Figure 1 represents graphically the mean values of 'Doing My Best (DMB)' and 'Doing Just Enough (DJE)' for the six major ethnic groups in New Zealand schools in a bi-dimensional plot.

<Insert Figure 1.>

Māori students exhibited the least optimal combination of motivational dimensions, with high average 'Doing Just Enough (DJE)' scores and the lowest mean for 'Doing My Best (DMB)' scores. Intriguingly, Māori and Pasifika students showed similar levels of negative motivation: they were similarly high on DJE, but Pacific students had higher average levels of DMB than Māori. Among the six ethnic groups, New Zealand European students exhibited DMB scores in the middle of the range and relatively low DJE scores. These results indicated that New Zealand Asian/Asian student groups self-report more adaptive motivation orientations than Māori and Pasifika students on both the dimensions.

Student perceptions of school culture and school climate

The student survey and student interviews provided evidence of self-reported student perceptions about aspects of the school that reflected the extent to which school policy and practices as well as students' everyday experiences were seen as culturally responsive. Four survey dimensions about how students perceived their schools were identified through confirmatory factor analysis.

These were: *Cultural Responsiveness, Dominant Mainstream Discrimination,* and *Special Treatment and Racism.* Māori students rated their schools significantly less culturally responsive to Māori and Pasifika students and significantly higher on the Discrimination/Racism dimensions in comparison to the ratings of their non-Māori peers in the same schools. Pasifika and Asian students were the two groups that rated the general dimension of Cultural Responsiveness highest, significantly so in comparison with either Māori or New Zealand European students. Students also wrote additional comments in the survey related to their perceptions of cultural responsiveness within schools and general feelings related to school climate based on ethnicity. The ethnicity of students who wrote comments, as well as the number of comments made by each group, are included in Table 5.

<Insert Table 5>

Several survey questions generated the largest number of unsolicited comments made by students in writing on the survey. These were: In this school, being Māori as tangata whenua (the Indigenous people) is valued; In my opinion, most Māori students would say they are treated well and are respected at this school; There is racism at this school in some teachers and some staff;, and Students at this school think that it is more important to study a language like French than Māori language. These unsolicited written comments were analysed qualitatively to identify major themes (Charmaz, 2005).

Negative images and stereotypes of Māori

Comments made by some students suggested student resistance to school and teacher efforts designed to be responsive to Māori language and customs. These student comments communicated stereotypes about Māori:

They are annoying and beat up the white kids and take weed

It is not the case that they are disrespected, just that they do not appreciate the respect given to them

They start fights over anything

People are scared (of them)

White (NZ European) students work harder than Māori students and don't get as much

credit for our work

Māori students disrespect our school. They disturb classes. I don't think they deserve

any more rights

Special treatment and racism

Other comments communicated beliefs that Māori students were being given special treatment at their school, viewing efforts at school to show respect for Māori as valuing Māori students over other students. Student comments indicated this was seen as unfair to others and/or favouritism towards Māori.

I hate it when Māori people get special treatment.

School has double standards for them [(2 student comments related to this].

They [(Māori students] are treated to[o] well / way too much [4 student comments

related to this].

They moan that they are treated differently, but truth is most shit is handed to them on a

silver platter, thanks to a racist Māori language teacher.

They think they are superior.

Māoris get favoured.

Blacks don't get punished.

Six students made comments that there was 'too much' valuing of Māori as tangata whenua (the Indigenous people) at their school.

One question on the survey (question 30) in particular prompted student comments about perceptions of racism amongst teachers and some staff at the school. One student expressed that 'there's racism in this survey' and another reported that 'it's [racism is] natural'. *'Favouritism to Māori'* was also viewed as racist. Two students reported that there was racism 'toward White students'. Three students responded with 'I don't know' and two students responded that there was 'only 1' or a 'few' teachers they perceived as racist.

Irrelevance of te reo Māori

A few other students appeared resistant to te reo Māori (the Māori language) opportunities being offered in school as they believed it was irrelevant for them:

There are more credits for Māori than French. I wouldn't learn either because I

wouldn't go to France and Māori is a dying language.

Māori is pointless because it is the least used language in the world.

Student ethnicity and identity

There was some sensitivity to identifying student ethnicity on the survey, with six students writing comments next to the section that asked them to identify their ethnicity. Two students wrote 'I'd rather not say' and 'U don't need to know'. One student responded that 'Culture doesn't matter to me in this sense'. Three students appeared troubled by the request and/or believed the question was irrelevant:

I'm sick of being asked what type of New Zealander I am. Here's an idea, cure

racism by not splitting New Zealand cultures apart.

Screw you, I can identify with more than one, deal with it, sorry for ruining

your statistics.

With everyone I don't feel or identify with no 'group'. I'm citizens of the world.

I think it is a silly question.

Interviews with Māori students

The interviews with Māori students across case study schools were in alignment with data collected from schools, classrooms, and the student surveys. Students gave examples of teacher approaches and strategies that were helpful and/or unhelpful in promoting student motivation and engagement across classrooms:

Some teachers in this school and they're like really good, but then there's like some

teachers that are not interested in you or your learning (Māori student).

I like the way Mr [name] teaches because he actually asks us, or if he hears us talking about some, he's our social studies teacher, so if he's hearing us talking about something that's been going on in society like he puts it up the next day for us to learn, go deeper and then he actually does stuff we want to do and that we want to learn (Māori student).

My English teacher she'll urge like students, like, come on. She urges me to come on because I'm failing in English, but like she asks me to come along so I can like, you know, she's giving up her time so I can achieve in something and it's really cool, that's something that is like really good in a teacher is that they give up their time for you to pass and like have a decent future … but my chemistry teacher, he's like, oh, he's kind of like do it yourself, like I'll just mail all the work for you and then you do it and like I'll go like to try and get to talk to him after school and stuff but he's not, he says that he's too busy and stuff all the time (Māori student).

Analysis of Māori student interviews revealed that students were sensitive to their relationships with teachers and whether teacher's behaviour in classrooms demonstrated care and real interest in their learning and academic success. Students talked about how effective teachers listened to them and incorporated their ideas, interests and questions into the lesson content. Students appreciated teachers giving them extra time and support, particularly if they were struggling. It was considered important that teachers did this while challenging Māori students to do their personal best. Māori students were sensitive to teacher attitudes about them, but also in relation to Māori language and culture generally, evidenced by the effort teachers made to pronounce Māori names and words correctly (or not). Students were particularly sensitive to the expectations of their teachers, and whether teachers supported and challenged them to succeed. Results from student interviews were in alignment with other data sources (particularly in-class observations), as students gave examples

of approaches that were helpful and/or unhelpful in promoting student motivation and engagement across classrooms.

Finally, interviews with students indicated that many were sensitive to negative stereotypes of Māori as underachievers. These could be communicated to students as principals or other school leaders attempted to motivate students to do their personal best:

> *[In assembly] …. our principal was showing us a presentation about Pacific and Māori students about our [achievement] percent rate [which has] gone down and he was trying to explain to us and all I could hear is Māoris being dumb just putting us down and stuff…. [it was in front of the Whole school], they showed us this huge slide show about Pasfika and Māori students not succeeding (Māori student).*

> *I just don't feel like they [teachers] single out Māoris in any way, shape or form until it comes to who's not achieving? … and we all achieve together but if you're not achieving your ethnic group comes out. If you get an excellence for PE they don't go Māori excellence for PE, but if you fail, you fail like a Māori (Māori student).*

> *1ˢᵗ Māori student: Māori students don't achieve.*
>
> *2ⁿᵈ Māori student: It's just like, widely known that Māoris seem to not do*
>
> *   well in [this school].*
>
> *3ʳᵈ Māori student: They don't achieve.*
>
> *4ᵗʰ Māori student: People see [underachievement] that's a Māori*
>
> *   problem.*

Discussion

Findings revealed a range of school and classroom factors that could influence the pyscho-social development of Māori learners and their academic identities as school achievers. These

included how, and to what extent, school leaders and teachers conveyed high or low expectations for students as well as messages that valued or devalued Māori students and their knowledge. These included whether schools set aspirational achievement goals for Māori students; how school leaders communicated beliefs about Māori student achievement and through the types of pedagogical approaches that teachers used in their classrooms to motivate and engage students. Only nine of the 75 teachers observed were identified as high implementers of the ETP. In these classrooms, teachers were respectful and encouraging towards Māori students. There was an observable increase of student engagement in learning tasks compared with teachers who demonstrated low implementation of the ETP. High implementation classrooms were categorised by more interactive and relational methods to engage students. Teachers were observed using the Māori language and vocabulary in class and taking care to pronounce students' names correctly. They moved around their classrooms more than teachers in low implementation classrooms, asking individual students about their understandings of the lesson tasks and giving students more focused, formative feedback that were linked to lesson objectives and upcoming assessments. These teachers expressed high expectations for student learning and behaviour, evidenced by measurable achievement targets as opposed to nearly half the teachers who were identified as low implementers of the ETP. Clearly, school leaders should be investigating the quality of teaching within and across classrooms and the ETP provides clear exemplars of high expectations and culturally responsive teaching which engages Māori learners.

However, a focus on classrooms is not enough. Disturbingly, results highlighted the presence of low expectations within ineffective environments for Māori students not only across classrooms, but in schools in general. This is particularly important for school leaders to realise, as schools are social and cultural learning systems that contain a range of motivational contexts (Weiner, 1990). As Hardré (2015: 25) argues, dominant values, attitudes and beliefs infuse classroom and school environments through 'valuing' and 'devaluing' messages. Devaluing messages related to Māori language and knowledge, coupled with deficit theorising of Māori as lacking the necessary skills, knowledge and dispositions needed to achieve are products of racism that continue to erode Māori

student aspirations towards academic success (Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Penetito, 2010). These devaluing and deficit messages can be communicated to students explicitly and intentionally, but also implicitly and unintentionally (Hardré, 2015).

Certainly our research highlighted different 'devaluing messages'; from student comments within surveys that emphasised Māori as 'lazy', 'greedy', 'aggressive' and 'given special treatment'; to low teacher expectations communicated through a lack of pedagogical caring and motivational approaches through to a lack of aspirational school goal-setting targeting Māori student success. Certainly, interviews with Māori students indicated that these students were sensitive to negative stereotypes and low expectations. Māori students in student surveys also rated their schools significantly less culturally responsive and significantly higher on the 'Discrimination/Racism' dimensions in comparison to the ratings of their non-Māori peers in the same schools. The ability to investigate and confront discrimination and racism must be a key aspect of any school leadership development.

The presence of low expectations and negative stereotypes towards Māori students were particularly disturbing within a professional development and learning context whereby senior and middle school leaders were being challenged to critically evaluate their beliefs and expectations of Māori students and their communities. Certainly, the results of the student surveys support Walkey et al.'s (2013) claims that Māori students reported lower academic aspirations than their peers of European and Asian descent. We also concur with Walkey et al.'s argument that low, or even moderate, expectations for student achievement 'may actually reinforce lower academic achievement' (2013: 306). However, the student survey results and negative motivation orientations could also be linked to other in-school factors that could, in turn, negatively influence Māori students' aspirations for educational success. These could include the disproportionate tracking of Māori students into 'low ability' academic streams in school and/or into low quality, vocationally oriented qualifications that do not contribute to a higher level of NCEA attainment and lead to the option of university

entrance. Disproportionate representation of Māori in high- and low-ability streams can be a test of whether or not school practice is being critically examined (Rubie-Davies, 2015).

The school goal-setting data are revealing, as it is difficult to see how classroom teachers can be challenged to set high expectations for student achievement when their school leaders communicate low expectations (Rubie-Davies et al., 2007). Clearly, there is a great deal of work to be done to remedy the racial and cultural stereotypes that intervene to limit students' aspirational motivations and perceptions of what is expected of them in school. These findings have serious implications for school leaders and professional development and learning initiatives that aim to improve leadership work and Māori student achievement in general. As a professional learning and development initiative, He Kākano was not focused on teaching quality in classrooms, but rather on the development of senior and middle school leadership. Findings presented through our study, indicate that school leaders need to interrogate both the quality of classroom *and* school climates for Māori students and to recognise how low expectations and negative stereotypes can be communicated to students in a variety of ways.

Finally, the issue of Māori student underachievement is usually framed by educators and schools within a cultural deficit explanation, locating responsibility for low achievement within the student even if explanations for low achievement are mediated by references to poverty or other background disadvantages, it is still the student who is required to change in order to succeed. Instead, our findings emphasise that it is the schools that must change. School leadership work must ensure that school leaders and teachers understand the influence of the social psychology of classrooms and schools and how high and low expectations influence student's motivational orientations.

Recommendations

Our findings provide a snapshot of various in-school factors that may negatively influence Māori student aspirations, motivations, and expectations of success. The results support existing research indicating that low teacher and school leader expectations can be communicated to Māori students in a variety of ways that negatively impact their motivations and expectancies for academic success

(Rubie-Davies, 2015). These findings have implications for school leadership development: clearly, professional learning and development initiatives directed to school leaders alone without engaging teachers in the change process will have limited impact. The findings also illustrate the importance of further investigation into the social psychology of classrooms and schools for culturally diverse students. More research is needed to investigate how in-school factors such as teachers' use of culturally responsive pedagogies, school goal-setting, and school climate can influence individual Māori student perceptions of themselves as academic achievers and/or their educational achievement outcomes.

There is a rich and extensive literature on culturally responsive pedagogies and culturally responsive leadership in schools (Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Sleeter, 2009, 2011; Valenzuela, 1999). Nevertheless, it is a truism that the majority of this work has been theoretical rather than empirical, and there is a relative dearth of evidence regarding student' academic identities, what they have to say about culturally responsive learning environments, and what their experiences actually look like in classrooms before and after change initiatives. The data presented here indicate an unfortunate alignment across potentially powerful in-school influences on Indigenous students' aspirations, teacher expectations for student academic achievement, and individual students' self-reported motivations and expectations of academic success within and across schools.

Some years ago, Grenot-Scheyer et al., (2001) published an edited collection of case studies where innovative approaches to promote school inclusion for students with disabilities had either failed altogether or had had limited impact. They argued that such case studies should be of interest to educationalists as we can often learn as much—sometimes more—about effectiveness from programmes that do not work as we can from those that do. The publishing world has been biased in favour of research that reports positive outcomes: this is a good thing, as it shows that change is possible and provides guidance about the level of rigor required to support change. We all know of many instances where programmes have had disappointing and even negative results, yet we seldom hear or read about these, for obvious reasons. The richness of the data provided in this study about

the implementation and outcomes associated with a particular initiative that had disappointing results can add to our understandings in the design of more effective interventions in the future.

Acknowledgements

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Table 1. Number of teachers rated as high, middle or low implementers of the effective teaching profile (ETP).

School	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	Total
High	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	9
Middle	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	3	1	33
Low	3	7	4	3	2	2	4	4	4	33
Total	12	12	11	7	6	6	8	7	6	75

Table 2. Number of high, middle and low implementers of the ETP across core teaching subjects.

Subject	English	Science	Maths	Social Studies	Total
High	3	4	0	2	9
Middle	8	6	11	8	33
Low	8	9	12	4	33
Total	19	19	23	14	75

Table 3. He Kākano schools' academic outcome goal setting for student achievement Year 9–10.

			Number of schools in each region listing particular goals					
		REGION	1	2	3	4	5	6
	GOAL TYPES	Number of schools	N=12	N=18	N=13	N=14	N=16	N=16
		% listing no goals	75% (9)	89% (14)	85% (11)	50% (7)	50% (8)	50% (8)
BASIC	Keep pace or raise asTTLe scores		1	0	0	0	0	1
	Increase student retention		0	1	0	0	0	0
	Increase engagement on Me and My School measure		0	0	0	1	0	0
	Improve learning outcomes (non-specific)		5	0	0	0	0	0
NATIONAL	Raise asTTLe literacy/numeracy		0	2	0	1	3	4
	Increase % achieving at maths national level of expectation		0	0	0	0	2	0
	Increase % achieving at Reading national level of expectation		0	0	0	0	3	0
	Raise achievement to at/above school average		0	0	1	0	0	0
	Raise achievement to non-Māori school average		1	0	1	0	0	1
HIGH	Raise Maths achievement level		0	0	0	0	0	1
	Raise _____ achievement level		0	0	0	0	0	0
	Achieve outstanding results in academic areas with strengths in literacy, numeracy, te reo and tikanga Māori		0	0	0	0	0	1
	Increase student # attaining NCEA L1 Achievement Standards credits		0	0	0	0	0	0

	Increase student # attaining Merit and Excellence in NCEA L1 credits	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Increase attainment of NCEA L1 M & E course endorsements	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4. He Kākano schools' academic outcome goal setting for student achievement Year 11–13.

			Number of schools in each region listing particular goals					
	REGION		**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
GOAL TYPES	**Number of schools**		N= 12	N= 18	N= 13	N= 14	N= 16	N= 16
	% listing no goals		75% (9)	67% (12)	31% (4)	14% (2)	56% (9)	5% (3)
BASIC	Increase 'Achieved' grades YR11		0	0	0	1	0	1
	Increase '% completing' YR11		0	1	1	0	2	0
	Increase % attainment literacy/numeracy		0	0	2	0	3	1
	Increase % attainment NCEA L1		3	2	3	2	6	2
	Increase appropriate options for career path and 'ability to achieve NCEA'		0	0	0	2	0	0
	Improved Learning Outcomes (non-specific)		5	0	0	0	0	0
NATIONAL	Increase 'Achieved' grades YR12		0	0	0	1	0	0
	Increase retention YR12		0	1	3	2	4	0
	Increase % attainment NCEA L2		1	2	5	3	7	0
	Increase #s te reo/ tikanga Māori pathways and enrolments		0	0	1	1	1	1
	Increase % completing YR12		0	0	0	0	0	0
	Increase retention to YR13		2	0	1	2	0	0
	Close the gap Māori–non-Māori		5	0	0	0	0	0
HIGH	Increase % completing YR13		0	0	0	0	4	4
	Increase 'Achieved' grades YR13		-	0	0	1	0	0
	Increase % attainment NCEA L3		1	1	3	1	5	5
	Increase % attainment University Entrance (UE) literacy & numeracy		0	0	0	0	1	1

	Increase % attainment UE	0	0	1	0	1	1
	Increase % attainment Merit & Excellence grades & endorsements (courses, certificates)	0	0	0	2	1	1
	Increase # scholarships	0	0	0	0	1	1

Table 5. Number and ethnicity of students who commented on the survey.

	N	%
NZ European	61	62.9%
Other European	9	9.3%
Māori	12	12.4%
Pacific People	5	5.2%
NZ Asian	4	4.1%
Other	4	4.1%
Ethnicity not indicated	2	2.1%
Total	**97**	**100%**

NZ/Other European 72.2%, N=70

Figure 1. Bi-dimensional representation of 'Doing My Best' (DMB) and 'Doing Just Enough' (DJE) average scores across six ethnic groups. The abbreviations include:

MAOR = Māori

PACI = Pacific

NZEU = New Zealand European

OTEU = Other European

ASIA = Asian

OTHE = Other Ethnicities (not stated).