RAISING OUR VOICES:

**RESTORYING PASIFIKA INCLUSION, SUCCESS
AND EFFECTIVE LEARNING SUPPORTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree

of Master of Education

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DEDICATION

Sa-moa is the sacred centre, born from wherever you happen to be born

For our youngest niece, Honor, born on Hope St,
and all our next generations,
especially Song Ulisese Davis, Izaiah Barriball, Solomon Luke Ihonui Vasa Davis, Angela Allen,
Mya Manuel, Sam Ulisese Auimatagi, Eliya Auimatagi
and Masina Méabh O'Halloran-Thyne.

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TERMINOLOGY AND ACRONYMS

Ako Aotearoa	Ako Aotearoa – National Centre for Tertiary Teaching Excellence
CPIT	Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology
CRT	Critical race theory
EFTS	Equivalent full-time student
EPI	Educational performance indicator
MBIE	Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment
MoE	Ministry of Education
PASS	Pasifika Academic Solutions and Success programme
PASS UoW	Peer Assisted Study Sessions, University of Wollongong
POC	People of colour
SAC fund	Student Achievement Component fund
SI	Supplemental instruction

TEC	Tertiary Education Commission
TES	Tertiary Education Strategy
UC	University of Canterbury
UDL	Universal design for learning

GLOSSARY

Alofa — Love and commitment (Luafutu-Simpson 2011, p.58–67)

Fa'a Afakasi — Blended cultural paradigm (derivative of 'half caste') of Samoan and Palagi (non-Samoan, white/European) cultures

Fa'a Palagi — Palagi/Pākehā/Western European/White cultural paradigm in New Zealand.

Fa'a Samoa — Samoan cultural paradigm. Tui Atua Tupua Tamasese Efi describes fa'a Samoa as 'a body of custom and usage…a collection of spiritual and cultural values that motivates people…the heritage of people, (cited in Siauane, 2004, p. 20).

Fa'a Pasifika — Pasifika cultural paradigms – ethnic specific and pan-Pasifika indigenous cultural values and customs often drawn together under a pan-Pasifika umbrella grouping in the diaspora.

Fa'aaloalo — Respect and dignity (Luafutu-Simpson 2011, p. 58–67)

Hegemony — Gramsci's theory of hegemony describes cultural domination led by one culture over another with 'the consent of the led…secured by the diffusion and popularisation of the worldview of the ruling class,' (Bates, 1975, p. 352).

Indigenous Pacific/Pasifika — Indigenous can refer to any person with Pacific Island native heritage living in their home island or can refer to portable indigenous rights, responsibilities, and epistemologies held by Pasifika peoples in the diaspora (Gegeo, 2001).

Mana — (Samoan/Māori/Polynesian) Success, leadership, spiritual power (Huffer & Qalo, 2004, p. 96)

Native Pasifika — Person with indigenous Pacific Island heritage living in the diaspora (Gegeo, 2001; Anae, 2010).

Pacific Islands — Used to refer to indigenous Pacific Island peoples living in home islands (Samu, 2013).

Paradigm	A set of widely accepted concepts or beliefs that underpin a culture. Fa'a Samoa, te ao Pākehā, te ao Māori or tikanga are examples of cultural paradigms. Similar to world view or ideology.
Pasifika	Used to refer to Pasifika peoples of indigenous Pacific Island heritage in the diaspora.
Palagi	Palagi (Samoan) – lit. sky-breaker/burster, refers to first contact with Europeans in Samoa, but used broadly now to refer to any white Caucasian / European
Talanoa	Flexible dialogue, usually face to face, a Pasifika research method (Vaioleti, 2006)
Tautua	Service and responsibility (Luafutu-Simpson 2011, p. 58–67)
Teu le vā	Or *Ia teu le vā* - To cherish, nurse or take care of the space between things (Wendt, 1996)
Vā	The space between things. 'Important to the Samoan view of reality is the concept of Vā or Wa in Maori and Japanese. Vā is the space between, the between-ness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things. The meanings change as the relationships/the contexts change,' (Wendt, 1996).
Vā Fealoai	The sacred covenants of relationships between things where everything is interconnected, (Huffer & Qalo, 2004).
White	Used to describe people who are 'other' to people of colour or black people, used more often in the US as a racial marker, a theorising of white culture is part of whiteness studies and critical theory. In Aotearoa New Zealand, and in the Pacific, other markers have been used to identify the mainly European settler colonists and descendants, such as Pākehā and Palagi.

ABSTRACT

Pasifika students' stories of inclusion, success and effective learning supports at the University of Canterbury are positioned to critically restory dominant narratives. In prioritising Pasifika students' voices, the reader is guided to centre on engaging Pasifika as Pasifika in both the research and the educational contexts this thesis speaks to. Talanoa processes shape the thesis structure, and create a dialogue between Pasifika students' voices and voices from the literature. An emergent fa'a afakasi conceptual frame is offered to describe the blending of Pasifika and Western methodology in the research. A range of recommendations arise within converging stories to form the findings. Improving inclusion for Pasifika through increasing content integration of Pasifika knowledges in curriculum and pedagogy is highlighted. Transformational course design such as Universal Design for Learning, and effective learning support models like course-based Supplemental Instruction are also recommended. Throughout, relationships of care and respect are held up as enabling of most effective educational practices. Originally inspired through the researcher's involvement in an Ako Aotearoa collaborative study on enhancing Pasifika success at Canterbury Tertiary Institutions, (Luafutu-Simpson, Moltchanova, O'Halloran, Petelo, & Uta'i, 2015), this thesis is a complementary extension to the wider project.

Key words: Pasifika/Pacific/Pacific Islands/Oceania/Polynesian/Samoan, fa'a afakasi methodology, talanoa, restorying, culturally responsive methodology, social decolonisation, critical theory, indigenous, native, hybridity, mixed ethnicity, polycultural, supplemental instruction (SI), supplementary tutoring, inclusion, success, universal design for learning (UDL).

Talofa lava, tēnā koutou katoa.

Ki te taha o toku matua, nō Hāmoa ahau.

Ko Upolu te moutere, ko Malie te marae,

ko Ngāti Hāmoa te iwi, ko Auimatagi te whānau.

Ki te taha o toku whaea, nō Airihi me Ingarangi ahau.

Ko Ngāti Pākehā te iwi. Ko O'Halloran me Holden te whānau.

Nō Ingarangi, Te Arawa me Ngā Puhi aku tamariki.

Ko Ōtautahi taku kāinga noho inaianei.

Ko Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha toku wāhi mahi.

Ko Danielle O'Halloran tōku ingoa,

Nō reira, soifua, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

CHAPTER 1   INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT - ENGAGING PASIFIKA AS PASIFIKA

… Just to let them know … how we learn, for them to get a good

understanding about who we are, being Pasifika,

and how to value our values.

And value our voice as well.

Because it all comes down to making relationships.

(Olita, 2014)

This thesis has grown from my work with Pasifika students at the University of Canterbury and from my own story. Of Palagi/Pākehā (New Zealand European) and Pasifika (Samoan) heritage, both sets of valued cultural remains underpin my approach to Pasifika research in different ways and in varying degrees. In approaching this research, I came across a story told by the Head of State of Samoa, Tui Atua Tamasese Efi, where he gave an example of culturally appropriate field work, describing the archaeological dig at Pulemelei, (Efi & Sua'ali'i-Sauni, 2008). Tui Atua indicated the questions of care taken with the human ancestral remains found on the site that involved engaging rich indigenous references from myth, ritual, language, people and oral history to support the field work, asking:

> What are the appropriate processes and/or methods for dealing with the remains? (Efi & Sua'ali'i-Sauni, 2008, p. 193)

In the field of education research, it is within our Pasifika peoples, including our Pacific scholars and elders, that we are most likely to find our remaining indigenous[1] ancestral knowledges. Despite being the country in the Pacific region where more than half the

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[1] In this thesis, the use of the term indigenous in relation to Pacific Island peoples and Pasifika in the diaspora of New Zealand refers to indigeneity to the Pacific region and shared indigenous knowledges and languages that are endogenous to the region, connected through relationships to Pacific Islands and the Pacific Ocean over thousands of years. This use of the term indigenous Pacific peoples applicable to Pasifika in the diaspora highlights a broadening use of the term indigenous. The UN, has no official definition of 'indigenous' in recognition of the diversity of indigenous peoples worldwide. Instead a flexible understanding of 'indigenous' identifiers is provided by the UN that includes: self- identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member, historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies, strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources, distinct social, economic or political systems, distinct language, culture and beliefs, form non-dominant groups of society, resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities, (United Nations, ?). For Pasifika in New Zealand, being indigenous to the Pacific region does not contest the position of Pasifika as Tangata Tiriti (Tauiwi), but it does emphasise additional recognition of the whanaungatanga between Tangata Whenua and Tangata Pasifika as holders of shared indigenous knowledges belonging to the region.

Polynesian population of the world now reside, our indigenous knowledges are not widely engaged with by the New Zealand education system. Pasifika linguistically and culturally diverse knowledges have a life both in home islands and within Pasifika peoples not yet included within the valued knowledges of our education institutions. This thesis has therefore required of me a kind of puzzling together of appropriate methods, gathering aspects of endogenous 'native/indigenous' Pasifika and exogenous 'Western/Northern' knowledges that are useful to the research. Manulani Aluli Meyer explains:

> Indigenous is simply a synonym for that which has endured. It is not a nostalgic or romantic cast over objective data, nor does it dismiss what modernity has thrust upon us. It is a way of behaving that offers us older ways to view the world. It is not meant to operate in lieu-of, but rather to synergize with classical views of science and now a quantum world already dreamed of… (Meyer, 2011, p. 7).

This thesis is no reclamation of ancient wisdom. It is a current story, but it is part of a much bigger task of including Pasifika students in higher education as Pasifika, as bodies of indigenous cultural remains and emergent hybrid knowledges, where we inevitably engage cross-culturally. I tend towards being influenced by David Gegeo's discussion of indigeneity and nativeness, with some hesitations around applying this to my own mixed-heritage identity. Gegeo (2001) advises that:

> It is true that if we are living elsewhere or were perhaps even born elsewhere, we necessarily have acquired behaviours, ideas, and values that differ from those of our Pacific Islands place. We have become bicultural or multicultural. However, that does not diminish our connection to place or our Indigeneity. (Gegeo, 2001, p. 495)

In articulating this approach to portable indigenous/native references, I am gathering space for the positioning of this research as an adaptive hybrid of both indigenous Pacific and Western European (Pākehā) epistemology and methodology – which through hybridity becomes only more authentic in the reflection of emergent identities held within.

This challenge of who or what is Pacific/Pasifika research is a challenge that I believe is at the forefront of our understandings of ourselves as Pasifika peoples in New Zealand and in Pacific research in general. Whilst privileging indigenous Pacific and native Pasifika

knowledges when relating to diaspora Pasifika voices, this thesis seeks to explore, amongst other things:

> *What are the appropriate processes and/or methods for researching with 'Pasifika as Pasifika'?*

Perhaps to engage Pasifika as Pasifika might be to prioritise our voices first, sometimes throwing out the checklist from the experts and valuing our talk, our stories.

The focus of this research has been largely to decentre the literature as the evidence and instead prioritise the meaning making of talanoa and story processes between myself and students and between the students' stories and the academy. The between-ness of the research process became for me a strong guiding aim. One question that kept occurring, but that isn't necessarily a main research question was:

> *Which voices can I refer to as my own voice?*

As a fellow recent University of Canterbury Pasifika student, George (2010) reflected in his thesis:

> During the thesis process my focus shifts to include reflections from my own life history to provide additional insight. This leads to the discovering and adding of voices, all different but all mine: The Pacific Islander, The Academic, and The Obedient Puppet. Within and alongside these voices, the revealed presence of hegemony, cultural capital, and deficit theorising make themselves felt. (George, 2010, p. 5)

Like George (2010), my retelling of talanoa participants' stories creates an inevitable restorying of their voices with my voice. I have called this process a critical talanoa restorying process that falls somewhat shy of fully collaborative research but attempts to be strongly participatory. While the criticality involved is self-reflexive and co-reflexive with students' stories, the critical focus is primarily on the University as representative of a set of dominant stories that form the context within which Pasifika students find themselves. Pasifika students' stories are thus positioned as counter stories and are in this sense not the focus of critique, intended to avoid re-pathologising of an often deficit framed minority ethnic group. Searching for appropriate analysis frameworks for the stories of the Pasifika participants, this research attempts to avoid deficit bias and the tendency to splice expert

voices into participants' stories to validate experiences. My hope for this thesis is that it can create a container where Pasifika voices are loudest, have the most space and take the most time: a container of lived stories where our embodied indigenous remains are valued and held in respectful relationship with other stories.

Since 2010, I have worked as the coordinator of a supplementary tutoring programme for Pasifika students at the University of Canterbury, Pasifika Academic Solutions and Success (PASS).[2] PASS employs casual tutors to provide peer tutoring to support Pasifika students to improve their course pass rates and ultimately complete their qualifications. Like many other learning supports for Pasifika that sprang up in the early 2000s to respond to the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) priorities to increase Pasifika achievement, PASS was not founded on 'retention-theoretic perspectives' (Wilson et al., 2011, p. 700), although it has now been the subject of empirical assessment of its efficacy in increasing pass rates for Pasifika at the University (Luafutu-Simpson et al., 2015). When I initially tried to find a way into writing this thesis, I began thinking this would be more of a programme evaluation, using mixed methods to help assess and improve offerings for Pasifika. I discovered soon enough that, although a worthy topic, it was not the thesis I was prepared to write or even wanted to write. I kept searching for a way back to story, to the voices of the Pasifika students I had spoken with and to my own voice. I wanted to do more than open a window to 'unheard voices'. I wanted to work with Pasifika students' stories in a way that drew authentically from my situated position as both insider/outsider, Pasifika/non-Pasifika, Samoan/Palagi, student/staff, researcher/researched. I wanted answers to my questions about the most effective models of supplementary learning supports and effective Pasifika pedagogy. I wanted answers about the how and what of transformational learning and curriculum design that could solve the problem stories I hear about the lack of value ascribed to Pasifika linguistically and culturally different knowledges. I wanted to research an area I am embedded within, from inside a community of practice that is at once a part of and resisting the dominant culture of the institution where we work.

While some of these questions could have been at least partially answered through a straightforward literature review and specific educational performance data analysis, I opted to focus on student voice and story as a rich dialogue where I could be present with students,

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[2] 'The PASS programme works collaboratively to provide supplementary academic solutions designed to enhance Pasifika students' success at the University of Canterbury. PASS offers additional academic tutoring for priority courses, academic skills workshops and weekly drop-in assignment help at key times of year,' (University of Canterbury, 2015a).

in talanoa. The aim of this thesis then is to contribute to a growing body of culturally responsive research, concerned with engaging Pasifika as Pasifika, privileging how Pasifika students' voice known and wished-for inclusive and successful learning experiences. This is an open-ended talanoa, where the destination is not prescribed. With this aim as a guide, I have sought to explore:

> *What do Pasifika students' stories tell of their experiences of inclusion, success and effective learning supports at the University of Canterbury?*

> *How do University of Canterbury Pasifika students' stories retell, critically restory or reimagine inclusion, success and effective learning supports?*

These questions are located within the work that I do with the Pacific Development Team as supervisor of the PASS supplementary tutoring programme, which gave a point of focus to the questions explored.

The chapters of this thesis move through a typical thesis structure in many ways. There is a literature review, there is a methodology, there is field work, there is analysis and there are findings, but while this is standard, the structure also hinges on a talanoa storytelling aesthetic within the thesis container, which deconstructs the more traditional order of chapters. The introduction and contextual background to this thesis locate importance on articulating Pasifika identity frames within university settings. Meaning making is then discussed in the methodology chapter, which explores an emergent conceptual framework for multi-ethnic polycultural Pasifika research through a culturally responsive methodological approach that underpins a critical restorying analysis framework. Talanoa is repositioned as an expression of hybrid indigene remains in relationship with narrative inquiry, where students' stories are the lens through which all other stories are read. The convergence of voices is where restoried findings emerge.

1.1   Change strategies for Pasifika success in Canterbury

Through a collaborative Ako Aotearoa research project led by the University of Canterbury with Lincoln University and Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology, which I have been involved in since 2012 (Schiscka, Luafutu-Simpson, O'Halloran & Uta'i, 2013; (Luafutu-Simpson et al., 2015), I was encouraged to undertake further postgraduate study. One of the aims of the research was to build capacity of Pasifika researchers at the participating institutions. This thesis has been an opportunity to undertake a study that is

intended to complement the mixed-methods research of the wider project. The main aim of the collaborative project was to develop a toolkit for Canterbury tertiary education organisations (TEOs) of good practices to support Pasifika student success. Although increasing Pasifika tertiary participation and achievement is a priority area of focus for all TEOs, the project grew out of the need to foster cross-sector collaboration to meet Pasifika student needs in a post-disaster environment where Pasifika were disproportionately affected. In 2013, Pasifika peoples made up 2% (12,723) of the Canterbury population. In comparison to national figures, only 4% of all Pasifika peoples in New Zealand lived in Canterbury as of the last Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2014), whereas the majority of Pasifika peoples reside in Auckland – the 'capital of Polynesia'. Acknowledging the different Canterbury experience from that of the North Island provided another incentive for collaboration on the project.

This thesis extends the work of the collaborative project, by focussing on Pasifika student voice and the literature on most effective learning support models to engage Pasifika led interpretations of inclusion and success. While the collaborative project sort to establish whether PASS was *effective* in supporting Pasifika success, it did not ask the question as to whether PASS was the *most effective* model to support Pasifika success. The wider study used statistical analysis of PASS programme participation and Pasifika educational performance data at the University of Canterbury to establish a predictive model of the likely effect should a similar Pasifika learning support programme be established at Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology or Lincoln University. The project found that all three institutions would likely see significant increase in Pasifika pass rates if increased usage or implementation of programmes like PASS were to occur. Particular demographic groups of Pasifika students showed greater gain and participation was recommended to target these groups:

- Pasifika students from low decile schools.
- Pasifika students in their first year of tertiary study.
- Pasifika students between the ages of 20–24
  (Luafutu et al., 2015)

These findings were noted as indicators of PASS effectiveness for groups currently identified as 'at risk' in the New Zealand university learning environment, such as the majority of Pasifika learners at university aged under 25 years (73%) with lower educational achievement

rates than their older Pasifika student counterparts and the lower rate of successful course completions for Pasifika students from low decile schools (Chauvel, Falema'a, & Rean, 2014). This thesis builds on the work of the collaborative project and makes a complementary addition in its focus on identifying culturally responsive 'most effective' models of learning supports. It is hoped the identification of 'most effective' models will aid future development of Pasifika learning support programmes at the participating institutions during the implementation phase of the joint research from 2016-18.

A further complementary aspect of this thesis to the wider project is the use of significantly different research procedures in this thesis, which have led to independent findings from the collaborative study. The talanoa one-to-one or pair interview approach I have used in my thesis differs in format from the focus group interviews undertaken in the collaborative group work. As the empirical evidence base for PASS supplementary tutoring at the University of Canterbury has been to some extent proven in the collaborative study, my thesis has been free to zoom in on other aspects of the experience of inclusion and success and effective learning supports not reflected in the quantitative data or the group interview setting.

In speaking one to one with PASS Tutors as well as PASS users and non-users, I have been able to gather a wider range of comments about PASS that provide more specific reflection on what works and what doesn't for Pasifika students experiencing the programme differently. In the collaborative Ako project, the focus group discussions were brief, producing less than 3 hours of recorded talanoa sessions with 23 participants at UC. Despite my smaller number of 10 participants, the conversations were rich, producing just less than 10 hours of recordings of talanoa sessions held one to one or in pairs.

In the collaborative project, we attempted to reduce interviewer bias by using a CPIT staff member to facilitate the group discussions at UC. There were still no critical comments about PASS or about Pasifika development offered by participants. Having noted this from the Ako collaborative project, I was more intentional about how I engaged participants, looking for a balance of critical perspectives rather than assuming neutrality of an interviewer to provide opportunity for critical freedom of speech from participants. I also found that, with a number of the students I spoke with, there was a degree of ease in being able to speak critically with me due to the trust built over time in my relationships with these students.

The focus in this thesis on a storytelling process that has led to identifying culturally responsive, most effective, learning support models that engage Pasifika as Pasifika therefore

stands separate and complementary to the research already completed on PASS in the collaborative study.

1.2   Negotiating Pasifika identities at University

Pasifika learners in university contexts are generally defined by the way in which data is gathered about them by the TEO for the TEC, which can impact the way in which individual students are either included or excluded. At the most recent 2013 Census, Pasifika peoples made up 7.4% of the New Zealand population (or 295,941 Pasifika people), (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). The seven largest distinct Pasifika ethnic groups include Cook Islands Māori, Fijian, Niuean, Samoan, Tongan, Tokelauan and Other Pasifika Islands. For TEC purposes, Pasifika are those who identify themselves at enrolment with any of the Pasifika ethnic groups, and any student who self-identifies as Pasifika is included as Pasifika. Almost two-thirds of Pasifika peoples in New Zealand are now born here (62% or n=181,791) (2014), and it is domestic Pasifika students' educational performance and participation that is measured by the TEC. This thesis follows the established use of the term 'Pasifika' in reference to Pacific peoples residing in the diaspora in New Zealand and Australia (Burnett, 2012 cited in Samu, 2013, p. 7) as a differentiator from Pacific peoples living in home islands or nations. 'Pasifika' in relation to the education of Pacific peoples in New Zealand (Anae, Coxon, Mara, Samu & Finau, 2002; Coxon, Anae, Mara, Samu & Finau, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2001, Ministry of Education, 2009, 2012, cited in Samu, 2013, p. 8).

A feature of Pasifika people's identities in New Zealand has been strong retention of connectedness to cultural heritage and transnational kinship relations with migrant home islands (Mila-Schaaf, 2011; Keddell, 2006). There has also been a decline of heritage language fluencies in the last 30 years of Pasifika peoples living in New Zealand, with 46% of all Pasifika peoples in the 2013 Census indicating English as their only language (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Inter-generational differences and differences between island and New Zealand born are features of diversity under the Pasifika umbrella. This diversity includes a growing percentage of Pasifika peoples who are now of multiple ethnic identities. In 2013, 32% of all Pasifika peoples in New Zealand also identified with ethnicities outside the Pasifika group (Statistics New Zealand, 2014), making mixed-heritage Pasifika now the second-largest group after Samoan (48.7%) if treated as a new distinct grouping. This is a growing population but one that has been consistently strong in Christchurch. In 2006, Luafutu-Simpson noted that, according to Statistics New Zealand, the number of Pasifika people in Christchurch who identified as having one sole ethnicity was 4,867, whereas 4,999

identified as having two or more ethnicities, indicating that over half the population identified as Pasifika people in Christchurch were of mixed ethnicities (Luafutu-Simpson, 2006). Border identities exist both within and outside current categorisations of Pasifika, as minority ethnic groups whose identities are not recognised as Pasifika for the purposes of TEC Pasifika data collection, such as Indian Fijians who do not identify ethnically as Fijian or international Pasifika students, are differently included within Pasifika contexts in tertiary education and not necessarily targeted by Pasifika learning support services.

University participation for domestic Pasifika has increased markedly in recent years from 5.9% in 2007 to 6.9% in 2013, (Pearson, 2014, p. 18). However, this appears to reflect an increase in population rather than an increased proportion of Pasifika coming through the pipeline. Once at university, there is stagnancy in progression, with an over-representation at sub-degree level when compared with other ethnicities and a continued disparity in educational achievement, particularly for qualification completions, which have remained largely unchanged despite increases in course completion rates over the last 10 years for Pasifika, (Pearson, 2014). It may be that the improvements in successful course completions will translate into increased qualification completions as we see these newer cohorts retained at a higher rate than previous years, although this is yet to be seen.

To deal with these issues of achievement and participation, the latest Tertiary Education Strategy (TES) 2014–2018 sets out an investment approach to measuring Pasifika indicators of success focused on improving degree-level progression and completion as well as post-graduation progression to employment and higher qualifications. The Tertiary Education Commission's guidance around inclusion and success for Pasifika has been to strongly encourage tertiary institutions to offer learning and research opportunities that engage Pasifika learners as Pasifika, (Ministry of Education & Ministry of Business Employment and Innovation, 2014). How TEO engagement with Pasifika will evidence this enabling of a non-assimilationist approach to including Pasifika is less clear. As an ongoing practice of self-assessment for TEOs, it must be a priority to meaningfully reflect with Pasifika learners on what being able to be included and successful as Pasifika means.

1.3   Pasifika at the University of Canterbury

The University of Canterbury, like the rest of the tertiary sector, continues to place a high priority on Pasifika learners' and communities' participation and achievement. The significant effects from the quakes in Canterbury continue to be felt as the University

continues to recover to pre-2011 numbers of equivalent full-time students (EFTS). Through successful outreach programmes into high schools to support Pasifika student engagement with the University, such as UC Me XL and Generate, despite initial loss of nearly 20% of Pasifika enrolments in 2011, Pasifika numbers were quickest to recover. Pasifika students at the University of Canterbury have now risen to a larger proportion of students at UC than pre-quakes at 3% in 2014 (Tertiary Education Commission, 2015b). Successful course completions have seen improvement for Pasifika students at UC in recent years, despite significant gaps in parity that remain when compared with other ethnic groups. The increases to participation at the University have led to a dip in qualification completion figures when calculated by the TEC in relation to proportion of enrolled EFTS (Tertiary Education Commission, 2015b). However, with successful course completions, retention and participation rising consistently, qualification completions will hopefully raise as current students are retained to completion.

There are a number of advances for Pasifika that have been celebrated since the appointment of the first Pasifika Liaison Officer at UC in 2001. That first appointment was advocated for strongly by the Pasifika community (Petelo, 2003, p. 28) and was gradually followed by other positions created to focus on Pasifika student engagement, retention, achievement, completion, pastoral care and outreach, including the establishment of the Pacific Development Team and an appointment of the first Director of Pasifika in 2010. The growth in staffing and Pacific Development programmes at the University of Canterbury have been influenced by increasing expectations in successive Tertiary Education Strategies and by internal targets set out in UC Pasifika Plans since 2006. The University of Canterbury's first Pasifika Strategy 2014–2018 was adopted by UC Council in November 2014, and we look forward to the roll-out of the implementation phase. This first UC Pasifika Strategy 2014–2018 was launched in 2014 (University of Canterbury, 2014) after a collaborative consultation process, led by Director of Pasifika, Liz Keneti.

The PASS (Pasifika Academic Services and Solutions) programme was a mainstay of Pacific Development Team learning support offerings for Pasifika, offering supplementary tutoring to Pasifika students by late since 2003. The programme was eventually renamed Pasifika Academic Solutions and Success (2010), and by 2015, it had grown into a number of different programmes and events under the same banner, along with supplementary tutoring, which has remained as relatively the same delivery model for the last 12 years.

Pasifika students can access supplementary tutoring for over 100 courses covered by 20–30 tutors each semester. PASS tutors are recruited from departmental tutors and postgraduate or senior students with high achievement in the course from previous study. Currently, PASS usage by Pasifika students has fluctuated between 40–60 (headcount) students per semester over the last three years.

Luafutu-Simpson et al., (2015) showed that participation in support programmes such as PASS supplementary tutoring and the Pasifika mentoring programme at UC increases the odds of passing courses and can be factored into predictive models to show increased likelihood of passing courses. However, it is also true that retrofit solutions and 'business as usual' practices are unlikely to provide the level of rapid change required to bring Pasifika learner success on par with other learners to meet 2018 targets or to provide the transformation needed to ensure Pasifika can succeed as Pasifika within tertiary education frameworks.

CHAPTER 2   CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE METHODOLOGY

> I am just a product here … seeking to understand the regimes of politics
> and power within this place, and how they play out on the student is mind-
> blowing … you're constantly being reconstructed or expected to be
> constructed to conform. (Natalie, 2014)

Legacies of colonisation, followed by politically pressured economic migration for Pacific peoples, resulted in transnational Pasifika diaspora populations in New Zealand. The undermining of Pacific indigenous knowledges came initially in the reconstituting of Pacific islands and waters with other names. As Smith reminded us:

> They came, they saw, they named, they claimed. (Smith, 1999, p. 80)

In reclaiming our memory of ourselves, we are uncovering old names and planting new names to hold our identities. In what has been termed post-colonial or Pacific studies, Pacific scholars have been undertaking the theorising of our experience, chased by the threat that, 'if we fail to construct our own realities, other people will do it for us,' (Hau'ofa, 2000). We have no choice but to remember history, both ancient and recent pasts, as a parade of conquerors. For the same reasons, we have learned to 'love and respect our oppression' (Hau'ofa, 2000, p. 463), we have no choice to pull back now into separate parts. We are part of each other. This tidal merging of intertwined cultures affects how we enquire about what we know and how we go about creating new knowledges. An enmeshed cultural hybridity is nothing new:

> As far as I know, our cultures have always been hybrid and hybridizing …
> but the 'dominant culture' is undoubtedly the most hybrid of all. (Hau'ofa,
> 2000, p. 456-457)

While Hau'ofa gleaned the term hybridity into his Pacific, Wendt critiqued the use of the term hybridity or 'half caste' as being essentially racist constructs and preferred a Pacific-centred blend, an indigenised inclusivity within a newly developed 'post-colonial body,' (TEC, 2015a). Others have argued to be wary of the potential of 'homogenising hybridity,' where 'we are all now differently the same,' (Grande, 2008, cited in Hoskins, 2012, p. 87).

My intention is not for this thesis to argue either for or against the use of specific terms but to move towards the negotiated space between where we can take a pragmatic approach to using known terms, with a reclaimed use of 'namings' (or dominant story/racist story) that we implode from within to define ourselves. Situating our stories in relation to known 'namings,' is part of the restorying project of this thesis. I make no apology for using 'unsettling' and perhaps controversial terms such as 'hybridity', 'afakasi' or 'whiteness.' The task is to move between such terms, acknowledging the history of 'good and bad' that such terms conjure whilst stretching them to see what else they might include. To deny their presence and to talk around them would seem to deny the complexity of our histories.

I have chosen to structure this thesis with a social decolonisation agenda still in mind. More than 10 years since Wendt's 'Tatauing the post-colonial body' spoke of a Pacific body where we all belong (Wendt, 1996), the over-promise of a 'post-colonial body' in New Zealand is still mostly white and unmarked. The rest of us remain 'other'. Decentring the literary canon to make more room for Pasifika student voices in this thesis is intended to provide the backdrop to discussion of such issues.

2.1   Talanoa as a flexible approach

In this thesis, I use a talanoa approach to undertaking Pasifika student interviews at the University of Canterbury. Talanoa is defined loosely here as informal talk infused with broadly indigenous Pasifika collective values – values such as the Samoan alofa/love and commitment, tautua/service and fa'aaloalo/respect (Luafutu-Simpson, 2011), where openness and awareness of difference can be fostered alongside a preference for collaborative storytelling. Talanoa process has continued to attract attention since the 1970s when it was first discussed as a Pasifika research method (Crocombe, 1975, cited in Ministry of Education, 2001). Nabobo-Baba (2014) describes talanoa as an empathic relationship of reciprocity and respect, citing Vaioleti (2006), who states:

> Whilst it is similar in approach to narrative research, Talanoa is different in
> the sense that participants in a Talanoa group will provide a challenge or
> legitimation to one another's stories and shared information. Because
> Talanoa is flexible, it provides opportunities to probe, challenge, clarify and
> re-align. It should create and disseminate robust, valid and up-to-the-
> knowledge because the shared outcome of what Talanoa has integrated and

synthesised will be contextual, not likely to have been already written or subjected to academic sanitisation, (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 25-26).

There is a participatory approach to the talanoa storytelling process that is much more about sense making together through an ongoing dialogue in relationship within which the talanoa session is just one part rather than objective observation style interviewing followed by critique. As Morrison and Vaioleti explain:

> A talanoa approach is a traditional Pasifika reciprocating interaction, which is driven by common interest, regard for respectfulness and are conducted mainly face to face. (Morrison and Vaioleti, 2008, p. 11)

In my experience and from the definitions given by Vaioleti (2006), talanoa is a way of communicating that can hold a critical process safely for the participants. Morrison, Vaioleti and Veramu (2002) gave examples of how they observed talanoa used in Samoan contexts:

> The communications of Talanoa are not devoid of important information. While in Samoa in 2002, my understanding of Talanoa from the local people was that it is the ancient practice of multi-level and multi-layered critical discussions and free conversations. It also includes the way that community, business and agency leaders receive information from the community, which they then use to make decisions about civil, church and national matters. (Morrison, Vaioleti & Veramu, 2002, cited in Vaioleti, 2006, p.24).

Talanoa then, is a suitable methodology to partner with other critical approaches. The critical restorying process that I undertook with participants has links to a number of narrative and counter-hegemonic research methods. I chose critical restorying, an offshoot of narrative inquiry, which has been shown to be compatible with Pasifika research in education, (Airini, Anae, Mila-Schaaf, Coxon, Mara, & Sanga, 2010), as the methodological partner with talanoa to support my research process and analysis.

2.2   Restorying using a teu le vā criticality

Critical restorying in this thesis is intended to be restorative, providing access to a deconstruction of dominant stories, using a teu le vā criticality. 'Teu le vā' is an often translated Samoan expression, described by Albert Wendt, as to 'cherish, nurse, care for the vā, the relationships,' (Wendt, 1996, p. 402). This taking care of relationships is informed by

a Samoan view of reality where the concept of vā is as '… the space between, the between-ness, not empty space, not space that separates, but space that relates … crucial in communal cultures that value group unity more than individualism, that perceive [of things] in terms of group, in terms of vā, relationships,' (Wendt, 1996, p. 402).

A teu le vā criticality is thus a prioritisation of keeping the space between the relationships on which this thesis is predicated – tidy, clear, cared for, where critical deconstruction is not undertaken at the cost of relationships, where relationships come first. As Anae (2010) described of her own native ethics, teu le vā is a relevant lens to apply to the way in which all relationships are conducted, not only those within native or indigenous Pacific communities:

> … we can teu le vā in Pacific research in general by exposing, understanding, and reconciling our vā with each other in reciprocal relationships in the research process. For me it means this: people and groups we meet all have relationships and relational arrangements with, all have specific biographies (whole plethora of ethnicities, gender, class age, agendas, etc.,) whether they are family members, colleagues, funders, participants, leaders etc. To teu le vā means to he committed to take all these into account in the context in which these relationships are occurring. Put simply it is about regarding our vā with others as sacred, thus valuing, nurturing and if necessary, tidying up relationships we have as Pacific researchers with those above, below and beside us in order to achieve positive outcomes for all. Through face to face interaction, words spoken and behaviour (body language, etc.), with purposeful and positive outcomes of the relationship in mind. (Anae, 2010, p. 233-234)

A teu le vā ethic also shapes the sense of accountability to the relationships engaged in via the research. A challenge and a responsibility for insider participant researchers is that we cannot "leave the field" (Hughes & Willink, 2014), when the research is complete. The relationships within this research process are strongly connected to my sense of identity, my work and my sense of community both on and off campus, locally and nationally. It often feels like there is no practice run allowed, no matter how new to research we are – Pasifika are expected to produce useful findings for our peoples. A responsibility for reciprocity of relationship between researcher and researched is explicitly stated in Pasifika education guidelines (Airini et al., 2010; Anae et al., 2001), and others such as the University of Otago,

Pacific Research Protocols (University of Otago, 2011), as well as being now more routinely expected by our communities.

My choice to use critical restorying takes this research into critical, deconstructivist research territory. According to Boje, Alvarez, & Schooling (1999):

> …restorying narratives originates in narrative family therapy practices in Australia and New Zealand (and now around the world) in which the deconstruction approach of White and Epston is prominent. Narrative therapy (White & Epston, 1990), is increasingly being applied to organisational studies, [through offshoots like critical restorying]…Restorying is focussed on building a new story using deconstruction to break the grip of the dominant story that is embedded in the network of participant's current situation, (Boje et al., 1999).

Boje described the cross-over application from deconstructivist narrative therapy techniques to organisational studies when he, 'conceptualised the firm as a storytelling organisation, in which stories are the medium of interpretive exchange (Boje, 1991a cited in Boje et al., 1999). Boje and others adapted storytelling organisation theory for use as critical restorying (Boje et al., 1999), an extension of deconstruction analysis to allow dominant stories to be named and externalised (for example, 'put down stories', 'injustice stories').

Critical talanoa restorying can also be mapped onto different phases of social decolonisation. Laenui (2000), suggested five distinct phases of social decolonisation – rediscovery and recovery, mourning, dreaming, commitment and action – each aspect involving the remembering, retelling and restorying of counter stories to hegemonic narratives (Laenui, 2000, p. 152). Boje relates the power of critical restorying to that of Derrida's 'resituation', where forces binding systems of oppression in place are deconstructed in order to become resituated with a new set of influences. As with appreciative inquiry, restorying (Boje) and resituation (Derrida) are all focused on building a new story differently. The focus of restorying is to:

> … find the pattern of relationships and scripts in the network that are the problem, rather than find some individual or focal organisation that is the problem. This would mean working to deconstruct the forces that keep the old story in play, but at the same time resituate those forces by finding

> ways to validate attempts by the network players to institute the new story
> and resist the influences of the old story, (Boje et al., 1999).

The potential to use restorying to decentre mainstream narratives and restory dissonant voices using alternative ontological frames attracted me to this methodology.

Figure 1: Emergent fa'a afakasi methodologies – critical talanoa restorying

2.3   Fa'a afakasi – a third space

In this thesis, I position my use of critical talanoa restorying as underpinned by what I have begun to call emergent fa'a afakasi methodology. I am using fa'a Pasifika to refer to Pasifika culture ways from which Pasifika research methodologies have arisen. Fa'a Palagi refers to Western research methodologies based on what have been dominant cultural paradigms. Fa'a afakasi methodologies represent a negotiated space that includes bicultural/multicultural/polycultural blends where culturally responsive research methodologies are emerging. Although this conceptual framework is specific to Pasifika and Palagi/Pākehā/Western blends, it refers to a potential ethno genesis between blended cultures that can be applied to other 'between' spaces, particularly in post-colonial contexts.

This naming of my methodology grew out of my research process as a gradual culturally responsive methodological enquiry (Berryman, SooHoo, & Nevin, 2013), when reflecting on my researcher position. A culturally responsive methodology (Berryman et al., 2013) is a relative of decolonised methodology (Smith, 1999) and adds support to a reflexive

collaborative research process between participants and researchers, particularly participant researchers of 'minoritised' populations wanting to avoid research as a re-performance of hegemonic dominance onto their communities. Such mutually wrought methodologies are culturally situated and include the culture of the researcher in a way that does not dominate or exploit the participants with whom the researcher develops collaborative knowledges, (Berryman et al., 2013).

The term 'afakasi' is a Samoan adaptive reference (from the English 'half caste'), and the term itself highlights the transnational hybrid identity it speaks to. Both the terms 'half caste' and 'afakasi' have a number of deficit associations and specific histories of both privilege and loss attached and can be performed within a spectrum of stronger or weaker affiliation with either Palagi or Samoan heritages. These terms also link to a large body of international literature around hybrid and border identities, (Bhabha, 1994; Anzuldea, 1987; Saavedra & Nymark, 2008), and more localised Pasifika research on multi-ethnic Pasifika identities (McGavin, 2014; Manuela & Sibley, 2014; Mila-Schaaf, 2011; Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009; Culbertson & Agee, 2007; Pihama & Samu, 2007; Keddell, 2005; Bolatagici, 2004; Salesa; 1997). In New Zealand, some of the research around the use of the term afakasi have produced new definitions:

> For most people, the term afakasi is very offensive because it says that afakasi are intruders and afakasi blood is not 100% pure. However, I do not find it offensive that I am part of more than one group. On the other hand, I prefer the term 'afatasi' because Samoans when writing we do not use the letter "k" because it is not originally a part of the Samoan alphabet. 'Afatasi' for me also refers to two words. [The first is] afa, a Samoan product that could be classified as a rope. Afa is a product used in the past and still is used today to stabilise a fale or house instead of using nails and it was stronger than nails. It also strengthens and stabilises anything that is unstable; it is like super-glue but the difference is that afa is all natural. Tasi, on the other hand, means "one." One in Samoan could refer to the number "one" but it could also mean "togetherness" or something strong. However, some may argue the word afatasi still sounds like a group. I agree that afatasi is a group but it is a group I belong to that should be strong, rather than weak, because we are like an afa and we should have a "one" or togetherness attitude, which will give afatasi identity stability. Afatasi are

also half of something whole; without us something whole cannot be
complete. (Bob, cited in Culbertson & Agee, 2007, p. 92)

In drawing a circle around the afakasi identity as a 'togetherness' space to be explored, I have
centred on an exploration of an afakasi way of relating (fa'a afakasi) to Pasifika and
Pākehā/Palagi ways of doing research in Aotearoa New Zealand. My choice to do so is not
only in recognition of my own identity position and the growing Pasifika mixed-ethnicity
population, but also in relation to polycultural ways of knowing. Polyculturalism differs from
multiculturalism in its focus on the interaction and intersections of cultures. Some call
polyculturalism the child of multiculturalism. Multicultural education made the equitable
inclusion of separate cultures within pluralist societies a priority (Rosenthal, Levy &
Militano, 2013). In articulating a polycultural perspective on Pasifika, or fa'a afakasi world
view, I am highlighting the fluidity of cultural intersections over the separations. Karlo Mila-
Schaaf began using the term 'polycultural capital' in reference to a strengths-based
perspective on second-generation Pasifika characteristics. The use of the term fa'a afakasi
builds on Mila-Schaaf's naming of polycultural Pasifika strengths and the exploration of
afakasi points of view by creative artists, (Avia, 2004; Taylor, 2011; Rodger, 2008),
including representations of 'tragic' or 'exotic' ethnic hybridity (Bolatagici, 2004). A recent
definition of polyculturalism in the field of cultural psychology states:

> Polyculturalism assumes that individuals' relationships to cultures are not
> categorical but rather are partial and plural; it also assumes that cultural
> traditions are not independent, sui generis lineages but rather are interacting
> systems. Individuals take influences from multiple cultures and thereby
> become conduits through which cultures can affect each other. Past
> literatures on the influence of multiple cultural identities and cultural
> knowledge legacies can be better understood within a polyculturalist rubric.
> (Morris, Chiu & Liu, 2015)

Polycultural fluidity is the lifeblood of fa'a afakasi methodologies. In contrast to
multicultural essentialism and authenticity markers, polycultural afakasi are part of the new
'Nesian,' (McGavin, 2014).

In this exploration around a conceptualisation of fa'a afakasi, I argue, that independent of
individual identity positioning, the very act of doing research as a Pasifika person in a
Western education context might be usefully framed in terms such as 'fa'a afakasi research'

in the diasporic 'third space' of '(n)either/(n)or,' hybridity (McGavin, 2014). This thesis is undertaken with a certain awareness that a performance of 'post-colonial hybridity' or fa'a afakasi research is also unavoidably one of 'privilege', transiency and a potential rippling of disruptions to 'legitimacy' in multiple sites (Radhakrishnan, 1996, p. 159, cited in McLaren, 2000).

In exploring this 'negotiated space' (Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009), I argue that fa'a afakasi methodologies describe the norm rather than the exception. As academic researchers of non-majoritarian cultures and ethnicities seek to include or reimagine indigenous 'remains' within Eurocentric research contexts, they develop 'interest convergence' (Bell, 1980, p. 94, cited in Ladson-Billings, 2000, p. 22) within the 'borderlands' (Bolatagici, 2004). Homi Bhaba recognised this 'third space' (Bhaba, 1991) as a space of negotiation and translation, whole and indivisible back to contributing parts (Bhaba, 1994), (cited in Bolatagici, 2004). Sakamoto (1996, cited in Bolatagici, 2004) extended Bhaba's 'third space' to describe a culture of hybridity rich in creative opportunities where new knowledges can emerge.

This 'third space' where hybrid identities dwell is not dissimilar to the 'negotiated space' (Smith et al., 2008), extended by Hudson & Mila-Schaaf (2009), where the ontologies and epistemologies of Western and indigenous Pasifika knowledge traditions relate and open to the ways in which their border crossings might give rise to new 'best of both worlds' knowledge formations open to change or 'breaks' in dominance. Hudson and Mila-Schaaf (2009) acknowledge there is no 'neutral space' where knowledge negotiations are free of the competing power dynamics of globalisation and colonisation. However, they also bring forward indigenous references that point to native Pasifika relational tools such as talanoa and teu le vā as potential Pasifika protocols for how 'negotiated space' can be managed equitably (Hudson & Mila-Schaaf, 2009). A yearning for equitable occupation and collaboration in 'third space' or 'negotiated space,' acknowledges the fear of negation for vulnerable identities, such as those of indigenous peoples. Pasifika scholars, like Tuia (2013), have questioned the use of 'third space' theorising, positing that:

> … in this 'third space', where each culture mimics the other in terms of
> values, beliefs and ideas, which may negate the meaning and true identities
> of a particular culture … all heterogeneous cultural values, beliefs and
> ideas within a hybrid system must collaborate with one another. However,

> the most vulnerable culture in this third space is the indigenous culture.
> (Tuia, 2013, p. 10)

While I agree that there are no guarantees of safe space in the negotiations of power currently constructing our identities and valued knowledges, we can however resist structures that bind us by naming our own names – sometimes renaming is both a cry of grief and a call to remember, a call to gather. The threat to indigenous peoples' values, beliefs and ideas is real, but there is also threat in clinging to ideas of 'true identities' (Tuia, 2013, p. 10) as somehow fixed and even 'strategically essential' (Hoskins, 2012, p. 87).

Pacific Island researchers in island homelands may experience 'third space' (Bhaba) or 'marginal space' differently to transnational Pasifika scholars in the diaspora. Faoagali and Honan (2014) discuss the challenge of undertaking research in Samoa using talanoa as both methodology and report writing style in a context where fa'a Samoa is the majoritarian lens of everyday life and higher education sits in marginal 'Western' conceptual and physical spaces. They describe their use of talanoa research methodology inside marginal education contexts within Samoa as traversing the boundaries between marginal (Western) and mainstream (Samoan) spaces, utilising a blend of fa'a Samoa and Western education epistemologies and frameworks (Faogali & Honan, 2014). Despite the different majoritarian contexts at play, what the use of talanoa research methodologies has in common both in native homelands and in the transnational Pasifika diaspora is an 'afakasi-ness', a mixed-ness, a negotiated-ness.

In my personal experience, afakasi border crossers, may be known as both cultural traitors and revolutionaries. They may be uncomfortable in the difference held within their own skin and cause discomfort to 'authentic' boundary keepers of culture. They may reserve the right to switch between identities moment by moment, decentring notions of fixed cultural perspectives or linear sense-making patterns belonging to sole cultural reference genealogies. They may choose to preference one cultural perspective over all others, despite physicality that indicates blended racial features. They may choose not to identify with ancestral cultural knowledge traditions at all, while operating within dominant paradigms. Afakasi, like any other identity, has within it a wide spectrum of expression. A fa'a afakasi approach may

support Pasifika mixed-ethnicity polycultural researchers to continue 'third space' or 'fale tolu'[3] (Greenhill, Clarke & Biggs, 2015), theorising with a Pasifika lexicon.

Fa'a Samoa, fa'a Pasifika and all things Western/Northern are not frozen assets – these are in motion, fluid, popular, partisan and negotiating with each other for space. While arguing for ways to engage Pasifika as Pasifika in teaching, learning and research, we need to continue to interrogate and embrace all that Pasifika is, even when Pasifika is also Palagi. How do we negotiate the intersections without losing both? I am reminded of a recent contribution by Teresia Teaiwa on her refusal to deny the valued intersection of white Western and indigenous Pasifika research genealogies in Pacific studies. Teaiwa affirmed that 'sovereign intellectuals', whilst perhaps politically concerned with rebalancing representation, also:

> … have nothing to lose by admitting that some white men, white women,
> and white people are part of our genealogies of thinking whether we like it
> or not. Some white men, white women, white people, are the ancestors we
> get to choose. (Teaiwa, 2014)

The key part of Teaiwa's statement relates to the implication that being 'sovereign' (or decolonised and self-determining) is what enables Pasifika to engage in articulating the value of polycultural intersections without being overwhelmed by assimilation threat. Infusing fa'a afakasi methodology with a decolonising agenda is therefore a key strategy in keeping an equitable negotiation process in play between cultural paradigms that have been in conflict since the first forays of European colonisation in the Pacific more than 200 years ago.

The contention that a polycultural approach confuses the specificity of difference is a valid concern. I posit, however, that the questions multi-ethnic populations raise for binary positions, although once in the margins, are now at the centre. This is supported by population change. In the 2013 New Zealand Census, the second-largest group of those identifying as Pasifika, after Samoans, are now those 'multi-ethnic' Pasifika of co-located Pasifika and non-Pasifika ethnic identities who make up a third of the total Pasifika

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[3] In the Polynesian Lexicon Online Project, I came across the term 'fale tolu' or literally 'third house,' defined as a proto-polynesian term used in Samoa (Mead 1930:11), and in East Fortuna (Burrows 1936:27), as a 'traditional name for some sub-group of the population, (Greenhill et al., 2015).' Here, this term is applied as a Pasifika term to delineate a 'sub-group of the population', namely afakasi - those in the 'third space' or 'third house.'

population (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). This is a talanoa that will not retreat back into the binary or the margins – it belongs to our children.

Included in this fa'a afakasi methodology are multiple influences, including those more Samoan or Pasifika and those more Palagi/Pākehā. Critical talanoa restorying represents an attempt to bring these multiple influences together to articulate a method, analysis framework and thesis structure, underpinned by a fa'a afakasi conceptual framework. These processes are guided by a teu le vā criticality that prioritises Pasifika students' stories and Pasifika indigenous knowledges, informed by a social decolonisation agenda. I am carefully choosing to address fa'a afakasi methodology as not a 'right way' but as both reclaimed and emergent space for further exploration.

Storytelling and talanoa experiences

By privileging Pasifika students' stories above other theoretical approaches, I also privilege the way in which storytelling and my personal experiences of story (as a Pasifika student) have enabled me to theorise my methodological practice.

My intention is to theorise my personal experiences of storytelling and talanoa as lived exchanges (rather than theory-driven explorations) in Pasifika settings in Christchurch since the early 2000s. I share a Pasifika experience with many second-generation migrants (first-generation New Zealand-born) in the diaspora: family stories of post-colonial assimilation into dominant culture, economic migration and dislocation from indigenous culture and language. As an adult, I have been able to negotiate some access to my Polynesian cultural inheritance through immersive moments in Samoan and Māori contexts, peppered over more than 30 years of primary enculturation in Palagi/Pākehā settings. When I relate to talanoa, I am therefore scaffolding on a knowledge base of cross-cultural experiences that differ from the Pasifika cultural contexts I experienced later.

There have been a number of influences on my adaptive use of talanoa within a critical restorying process, particularly through my involvement in storytelling and oral history projects with women's community groups like Daughters of the Pacific (2000–2004), Weave Trust (2000–2005) and P.A.C.I.F.I.C.A (2009–ongoing).

I became a member of Daughters of the Pacific (Daughters) in my early 20s after having my first child. Daughters was a storytelling circle of friends, mainly professional women (apart from me at that time), all first-generation New Zealand-born Pasifika, some mixed ethnicity,

all interested in making space in the Pasifika community in Christchurch for our New Zealand-born identities to be valued. Daughters, established a website (2001-2008), of our New Zealand-born Pasifika women's stories where we talked about being accepted for who we are – as not just lacking language, cultural fluency or native lands, but valuing our strengths as Pasifika women in Aotearoa, with a lot to offer our peoples in our diversity and our desire to do what we could to further our Pasifika peoples' aspirations. We later included our mothers' stories through a series of interviews which archived our group of Pasifika New Zealand-born women's stories with our mothers' stories, including my Pākehā mother's story.

At the same time (early 2000s), I belonged to another women's group called Weave Trust, associated with the Disarmament and Security Centre branch of the Peace Foundation in Christchurch, who focused on taking Pacific indigenous women's stories of denuclearisation, demilitarisation and decolonisation around South Island high schools through a theatre in education programme based on Augusto Boal's Forum Theatre techniques and the book *Pacific Women Speak Out* (dé Ishtar, 1998).

After several years of working with Weave Trust, the six women in the group, (of Pākehā, Canadian, Mi'kmaq/First Nation Canadian, Ngāti Kahungungu, Kai Tahu, Samoan ethnic affiliations), decided to turn more towards Te Tiriti o Waitangi education. This began again with telling our own shared stories of colonisation, migration and identity stories, which we used to develop a performance piece to articulate our interwoven heritages in Aotearoa New Zealand.

These learning experiences were formative for me and have helped knit together a foundation of identity work and storytelling as purpose, method and outcome. It was these storytelling circles that gave me a foundational set of narrative tools and cross-cultural flexibility to build on later in learning about talanoa processes.

These learning spaces were rich experiences of cross-cultural storytelling that I interpret as part of a gradual enculturation process into Māori and Pasifika culture ways with a strong emphasis on the need for women-only spaces where hierarchies of gender or power could give way to more horizontal structures where we could learn to speak freely. I differentiate talanoa from storytelling, focus groups or semi-structured interview processes through the overt articulations of common Pasifika prioritisations of values in talanoa ways of talking. It was, however, in these formative contexts of Daughters of the Pacific and Weave Trust where

Pasifika and Māori values of aroha/alofa, fa'a aloalo/respect, whakawhanaungatanga/teu le vā/relationships, manaakitanga/hospitality and care were infused, that I learnt about the prioritisation of such values into storytelling practices. These storytelling experiences I see as particularly close relations to talanoa talking processes, particularly pan-Pasifika talanoa, where no one societal ranking system dominates. I have linked storytelling and talanoa in this way in order to include my experiences on a continuum that builds on an emergent self-reflexive, 'fa'a afakasi,' Pasifika research language.

One of my Weave Trust colleagues, Anna Parker, recently wrote of the 'happily unsettled' way in which our Treaty education work and decolonisation practice provided fertile opportunities in 'working our methodology' as relational, where there was a decentring of Western colonial epistemology towards an exploration of 'how we relate' rather than 'how we know' (Parker, 2013). These cross-cultural relationships allowed a growing affinity with indigenous tangata whenua and Pasifika cultural frames where collectivity and relationships are prioritised over other forms of Western epistemic currency. In my interview with Parker (2013), we reflected that the meaning making we took part in through the cross-cultural relationships we engaged in together were oriented towards collectivity, a looking towards indigenous process, possibly a 're-centring of the indigenous':

> Right from the beginning there was always a looking towards Māori and a look towards indigenous process even if we didn't know much about it personally, a looking towards there … Working in relationship with difference – cross-culturally – requires process. As a Pasifika person, Samoan, it is really difficult for me to work on my own; I absolutely need to work in a group … I need to work in conversation and in dialogue. And form consensus. All of those things are completely natural to me, and when they can't happen in that way it feels really odd, and I can't, I don't work very well, I just sort of clam up and get frustrated. Consensus building, talking, all of those things we chose as the basis of our process, instinctively almost, and they are so perfectly correct for tikanga and for the Pasifika way. ('Pearl',[4] cited in Parker, 2013, p. 99)

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[4] In Parker (2013), I was given a chosen pseudonym, and am referred to throughout as 'Pearl.'

Reading back our interview together, where I locate myself as 'essentially' Samoan, I have to reflect that this switching, multiplying and dividing process of hybrid identification continues. Names are slippery. Some affinities cannot be fully expressed in rationalistic terms, particularly in regard to some of what I spoke about in 'being Samoan.' There is a tapu here; the mana of our ancestors resides here. There is something that we carry – embodied, sacred – of our 'indigenous remains', known or unknown. It has only been on reflection, often years later and with more exposure to Samoan culture, that I have gently mapped parts I had previously referred to as my personal preferences, as common Samoan or Pasifika 'ways of knowing', 'ways of being'.

Although I have mainly framed my Pasifika identity as an 'adult enculturation' process influenced by genealogy as 'information', I also hold my identity as a spiritual connection to my ancestors, where genealogy is much more than biology. A Polynesian whakapapa/gafa (genealogy)-based way of connecting knowledges with relationships includes a framework of intersecting levels of cosmic, nature and ancestral genealogies, (Jade Associates / Pounamu Kahuraki, 2004). In Samoan terms, 'knowing' also almost certainly includes a cultural empiricism that includes spirituality and 'lagona' or intrinsic knowledge, a gut feeling or intuition that something is so, or sixth sense knowing, (Sauni, 2014, p. 135). A sense of identity as both constructed and intrinsic relatedness is part of operating with more than one world view. Tui Atua described this Samoan sense of identity as relational belonging:

> I am not an individual; I am an integral part of the cosmos. I share divinity
> with my ancestors, the land, the seas and the skies. I am not an individual,
> because I share my tofi (an inheritance) with my family, my village and my
> nation. I belong to my family and my family belongs to me. I belong to my
> village and my village belongs to me. I belong to my nation and my nation
> belongs to me. This is the essence of my belonging, (Efi, 2003, p. 51).

A fa'a afakasi or polycultural approach to engaging in different paradigms about how identities are formed and made sense of is mentioned here to point to different paradigms that fa'a afakasi approaches may hold together, troubling the distinctions between ways of knowing.

In terms of the different practices informing my use of talanoa, in more recent contexts, such as my work with Pasifika at the University of Canterbury, I have been privileged to participate in fono and research settings where talanoa has been used to facilitate consensus

building within Pasifika communities. In the formative settings I mentioned with Daughters and Weave, as well as more specific talanoa-centred contexts such as those experienced with UC Pasifika, I have built up a range of experiences that influence my use of talanoa as a research methodology. Some of the practices from these influences that I draw into 'critical talanoa restorying' include a strong awareness of respect protocols, opening with prayer if appropriate, providing food, showing respect and empathy and speaking freely from the heart with warmth and openness. These influences are taken through into the analysis and write-up of findings in that everyone's mana must be respected. Even when being critical, a teu le vā ethic applies. These examples from my own experiences are intended to reveal an emergent theorising of experience from which this first draft of 'critical talanoa restorying' as fa'a afakasi methodology has grown.

Critical talanoa restorying - the research process

In this research process, the critical talanoa restorying approach is used as both an influence on the format of the thesis, a way of doing the research and a guiding ethics for how criticality is applied to the stories gathered. This aligns with the way others have described the flexible container of talanoa and story frameworks for multiple purposes in research, not just as a form of data (Mitroff and Killman, 1976) but also as a theoretical lens (Pentland, 1999), a methodological approach (Boje, 2001; Vaioleti, 2006) and a report writing style (Faoagali & Honan, 2014).

In using critical talanoa restorying as my methodological frame, I hoped that using an oral narrative approach might more easily avoid the pitfalls of the reification of scientific positivist colonial methods that can act to undermine Māori and Pasifika knowledges (Smith, 1999; Laenui, 2000; Whitinui, 2014) by instead building on the 'long history of storytelling within an aural and oral culture,' (Williams et al., 2003, cited in Mila-Schaaf, 2011).

Research participants were identified through relationships already developed through my work with Pasifika students at the University. All participants were known to me and may have agreed to be interviewed based on the relationship of authority and reciprocity already established through my role with Pasifika students at the University. I had known these students through providing academic advice, support, advocacy or employment to them through PASS.

The identity positions I perform in relation to the talanoa participants cast me as both insider and outsider to their contexts. I am at once Pasifika Advisor, Pasifika student, Samoan, Palagi, and Pasifika, afakasi, peer, elder, younger, friend, employer, referee and community member. To some extent my insider position casts this research as part 'autoethnography' (Heider, 1975; Hayano; 1979, cited by Ellis, 2008), a term developed by anthropologists to describe studies in which the researchers are full insiders in the group being studied (Ellis, 2008). In other ways, I remain an outsider to the participant group, removed as researcher and staff member, at times cast as lacking in cultural confidence and Pasifika language fluency compared to some of the participants. Balancing the relationships held in our interactions is a normal part of life but in the research process sometimes seemed self-conscious and vivid.

The potential for research bias is part of why this research does not aim to be evaluative of the PASS programme. Rather, the focus is on the process of storytelling and the relationship of storytellers in the talanoa setting for mutually wrought solutions that emerge from the dialogue of participants. The talanoa sessions with participants were informal but not entirely unstructured as I focused on drawing out participants' experiences of learning supports at UC like PASS, Academic Skills Centre and UC Pathways[5].

Informed by Pasifika research ethics and University of Canterbury ethics processes, I successfully sought human ethics approval for this research (see Appendix1). Pasifika students who participated in the talanoa interviews were met with either in pairs or one to one. Of the participants, four had used PASS, five had tutored for PASS and two others had registered, but had not used PASS. Some had both tutored for PASS and then later been employed as a tutor. Three were male and the rest female including three mature students. In terms of programme level, three participants had done some postgraduate study at UC. Most

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[5] UC Pathways is a developmental programme designed to support students to transition to University, described on the UC website as: '…embedded in [an undergraduate first year course, 'The Academic Essay' -] ENGL117, means students get credit toward their degree while experiencing a course that listens to students and responds to their needs. It's a different way of teaching that takes the course content and makes it about the students. Time management, health and future planning are incorporated into contemporary topics and readings while guest lecturers and small classes encourage exploration, discussion, and engagement. If you choose to, you can start UC Pathways with an interview before the course starts. If you have ever failed a course this is an advisable way to start. In the first weeks students do a MAP (My Academic Pathway) to start out with a picture of who they are, what excites them, why they study, what goals and aspirations they have, and what they need to do to achieve those. MAPs represent a jointly formulated, personalised academic pathway through first year. The tutor's role is to ensure students keep to the plan, or change it as their interests expand, they understand skills and their abilities grow. Pre-degree papers can also be part of your pathway. Peer Learning Classes are divided into cohorts. Specific cohorts have particular needs. Students can choose which of their peers they would prefer to study within as much as timetabling will allow. Cohorts exist for schools leavers, mature students, students who are not first years, Māori students, and Pasifika students. Even within these cohorts there is considerable diversity, and student's input into how classes are run is always welcomed,' (UC Pathways, 2015).

were studying at degree level apart from two who had also done bridging and were both now in their first year of tertiary. The majority of participants were continuing domestic students ranging across all of the colleges, including bridging programmes. In total, 10 students were interviewed. A further two students who had intended to participate were unable to attend the talanoa session times scheduled. While the dialogue in the face-to-face talanoa sessions with students remained open to whatever arose in line with an inductive approach, I also used some question prompts when needed to evoke stories about inclusion in education and success for Pasifika students at UC (see Appendix2).

All talanoa sessions were audio recorded and transcribed, then summarised as talanoa stories. These summary stories were fed back to participants to seek agreement and feedback about any changes requested. I chose to retain as much verbatim student voice in the stories as possible, whilst protecting anonymity and engaging with the story themes. My comments and the retellings were then fed back to the participants for further comment. Some participants chose to reply with further post-script comments which have been included as a further layer to the talanoa. This kind of approach signals my intent to continue the talanoa off the page again once the thesis is written and speaks to my sense of accountability to their voices throughout the writing phase of this research.

In my follow-up with participants, I also gave the option to choose a pseudonym or to be referred to by their own first name. It was important to me to provide as much control to participants as possible about how they were to be represented. Providing participants' an option to waive conventions of anonymity if they chose to was part of this and updated consents were circulated and signed by those who chose this option. Talanoa processes in my experience are not normally anonymous and confidential even when they are invite-only events. There is a recognised challenge in performing qualitative research with Pasifika, or indigenous communities who may experience 'anonymity' as a contrast to expectations of individual accountability to the collective (Svalastog & Eriksson, 2010). Issues of 'whose story?' can impact the meaning that a story creates. It matters who the story belongs to, especially in cultural contexts where collectivity and consensus are valued over individual voice. Mixed reasons were given by participants who chose to be identified by their own names. Some felt comfortable in their role as a Pasifika community advocate, others expressed feeling proud to be part of the research and that they wanted their families to be proud of their contributions too. The dialogic approach fits with a teu le vā values framework that influences Pasifika education research, where Pasifika researchers and research

participants prioritise the mutual reciprocity and accountability to the relationship that comes before any research goals.

Further dialogues were developed between myself and my Director and with my team as I began to share student stories prior to the final write up of my thesis. I sought advice on drafts from friends, Pasifika scholars and members of the local Christchurch Pasifika community. In the week prior to my submission, and with my supervisors support, I prepared summaries of the student stories for my Director to share with the Vice-Chancellor and the University's Senior Management Team at an upcoming presentation of student perspectives, to support the early stages of developing a retention strategy for students at the University (see Appendix 3). The talanoa continues on and off the page. This thesis belongs less between these pages than it does to the voices of the students and the contexts that they speak to.

Alongside the drafting of talanoa transcripts as stories, I also took an inductive approach to making connections between participants, story themes and the literature (see Appendix 4). My approach to working with students' stories was, 'as a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context,' (Reed-Danahay, 1997, p. 9). In acknowledging my own voice as one strong sound among many, my intention was that each stage of my analysis remained respectful and open to further talanoa dialogue. I applied critical restorying questions to the ways in which the students' stories related to each other and to the stories from the literature, prioritising student voices throughout. As I have indicated, restorying is focused on building a new story, but uses deconstruction in order to break the grip of the dominant story. In the critical talanoa restorying process I crafted within my research, student counter stories served to unsettle dominant narratives, while converging on relevant stories to add strength to students' voicings.

In my initial reading of the talanoa transcripts, I began to link participants' demographics to story themes, producing four voice clusters: mature (over 25 yrs.) female stories, international scholarship stories, New Zealand born struggle stories and New Zealand born triumph stories. Mature students spoke more about engaging in proactive help-seeking behaviour, demonstrating high levels of confidence and entitlement. International scholarship students were more positive about experiences at UC, and their stories featured personal responsibility for adaptation to foreign environments with strong motivation for success. New Zealand born struggle stories spoke of a general lack of confidence in making connections

outside their peer group and of a hostile University environment where misguided assumptions of Pasifika were a regular experience. New Zealand born struggle stories told 'self-blame' stories, often expressing an internalised deficit view of their own motivation, preparedness, ability or course selection. These stories contrasted with the New Zealand born triumph stories where a variety of tactics were described that supported success, all involving significant resilience and self-efficacy despite challenges. Different strategies were utilised in triumph stories to preserve and increase feelings of cultural safety such as selective non-participation, complaint to peers and direct confrontation to lecturers and support staff. In common to most of the participants' stories were accounts of exclusionary experiences on campus and in courses, with examples of significant stress and general wellbeing impacts resulting from such experiences. The effects appeared to be spoken about similarly no matter which strategies were chosen to respond to such experiences and no matter what educational outcomes, with similar impacts reported in struggle and triumph stories.

Following this initial reading of demographic themes, I began to identify enablers or barriers identified by students as relating to sites of inclusion or exclusion (see Appendix 5). This process highlighted eight sites: UC in general, UC courses, Pasifika in the community, Pasifika at UC, PASS at UC, other learning supports at UC, service at UC and service in the community. Most of the stories had in common feeling included in Pasifika sites on and off campus and not feeling included in general at UC or in courses. All but two of the 10 participants felt PASS was an inclusive space for themselves or others, with those who identified as succeeding in their studies reporting a stronger connection to PASS. Of interest was the importance of giving service to inclusion and success in the stories. Of the participants spoken to, the New Zealand born triumph stories featured strong emphasis on engaging in community service activities both at UC and outside UC, whereas the New Zealand born struggle stories were much less connected to sites of inclusion in relation to service and typically were not engaged in any service activities at UC. A number of students who spoke about their involvement in community service attributed feelings of success, motivation and purpose to these experiences, which seemed to have a maximising effect to overall attitudes of self-efficacy and success. This may reflect the known premise that student engagement on campus in educationally purposeful activities is strongly linked to retention (Kuh, 2003, cited in Mackenzie, 2014). Values such as fa'aaloalo (Samoan), common to many Pasifika cultures, also emphasise service as important demonstrations of leadership and success (Luafutu-Simpson et al., 2015).

With my own readings of students' stories foreshadowed, restorying processes follow that intentionally situate Pasifika students' stories as the voices that hold the most space in this thesis, reclaiming Pasifika as the experts of their own experiences and decentring 'other' theorised narratives away from the student-storied centre. The restorying of dominant discourses is undertaken within the literature review, which sets out the 'other' narratives of inclusion, success, and effective learning supports relevant to Pasifika experiences of tertiary education. Discussion and analysis are woven through the literature with aspects of student stories revisited in talanoa with 'other stories.' The findings from this thesis arise out of the consensus building that evolves between the stories in dialogue with each other. The filter I apply in my restorying of these stories together, is a prioritisation of Pasifika perspectives to critically counter and deconstruct hegemonic discourses. Criticality is not applied to the students' stories with the same rigor to preserve the safe space of this talanoa for Pasifika voices to be heard. Further contextualisation of Pasifika students' voices is left to the reader, as a situated participant in the meaning making of the talanoa process of this thesis. Findings developed focus on the restorying opportunities for Pasifika inclusion and success through implementation of most effective practices. Aside from these research processes, what I offer in this thesis is a space to centre on the talanoa story first, specifically on our stories – Pasifika students and my own – where all other sense-making practices act to inform the relational process of talanoa storytelling, not the other way around.

CHAPTER 3   PASIFIKA STUDENTS' STORIES

… It comes back to that heart of relationship, back to feeling comfortable
with each other and having lots of trust. (Josiah, 2014)

The stories that follow are summaries of the talanoa sessions I held with students. These
stories are an invitation into each participant's world for a moment. The 'evidence base' these
stories provide is a frame of reference for any 'other' stories from the literature. These stories
come from talanoa dialogues, which in themselves are expressions of relationships of trust, of
intersecting values and negotiations of identities. To read these stories is to come into a
potentiality of relationship. This thesis seeks to model a teu le vā prioritisation of caring for
our relatedness. These stories do not end on the page. The talanoa, as I have stated, is open
ended. The opportunity in raising these voices is to join the talanoa as it continues from
wherever you are situated.

3.1   'Two universities' – contrasting contexts

Josiah is a first-year law and arts student who has used PASS for law, English and history
courses. Josiah communicated with his PASS tutors through emailing assignments to tutors to
have them review his drafts and utilised other support initiatives on campus such as the
Academic Skills Centre and the UC Pathways programme. He described experiencing UC
Pathways and PASS as inclusive learning environments, particularly in comparison to his
experiences elsewhere on campus:

> J.   … as compared to some lectures I'm in, there's maybe 100 of us
> sitting there, and we just get lectured at by the lecturer, and we don't
> necessarily have a relationship with them, and they don't really tailor it
> to a specific culture or cultural background, it's not as inclusive I guess
> … it's like this is the university model, and if you don't conform to
> that to meet these requirements, then you go do something else. But I
> guess UC Pathways is quite innovative there, and I kind of hope it
> happens in other areas as well where you've got a model that works for
> the learner. So for Māori, they've got their own class, and Pasifika,
> we've got our own class, we don't have our own text yet, but for the
> third assessment, we do get the option of being able to write a piece
> that relates to our identity as a Pasifika person … those kind of things

> sort of make learning more personal, and it changes, I guess, it makes learning more relevant … and so PASS and UC Pathways, I think, have got that quite nice supplementary aspect where they've got that Pasifika element, and there's high support systems…

I asked Josiah if he could give more information about his perspective on whether PASS was a flexible and inclusive Pasifika model or not. Josiah talked about the benefits of PASS being that it fostered a sense of Pasifika identity on campus in that it is a Pasifika programme for Pasifika students but qualified this by saying that it was only able to be as inclusive as those employed to tutor for PASS.

> J.   Yeah, 'cos you can't really say it's any different from maybe just a general tutoring programme unless of course the tutors do have some sort of Pasifika proficiency when it comes to understanding of the culture and not just that, but the way in which to teach, so that the areas where maybe the Western system or the university system isn't meeting the needs of those students, something kind of bridges that gap. And if they don't have that, then to me, the tutoring isn't really worth it because there is no difference. I mean, for some people, it's just the fact that they could get extra tutoring and extra support, but I think it needs to be more than that, and yeah, I've definitely seen that with some of my tutors but not all of them.

Josiah was clear that cultural competency of PASS tutors in their approach to tutoring Pasifika students is vital in building Pasifika inclusion and success through the programme, so I asked Josiah to describe how he would know that cultural competency was being demonstrated by a tutor.

> Q.   How would you know that cultural competency was being demonstrated say at a tutorial with you? What would be your signals for going, oh yeah, they get me, they're being Pasifika friendly in the way they're teaching, tutoring you?
>
> J.   Well, I guess one thing that the UC Pathway's teacher does quite well is, when I talk with her, I don't feel like what I have or have not

done matters, and she is very, very accommodating, she understands that her role is support, and I think that's more important than the actual teaching itself … And that would be what I would expect from someone tutoring, that maybe there is an idea of mentoring or some sort of broader relationship outside of the actual tutoring relationship, it's not impersonal … The thing that gets me about [my UC Pathways tutor] is, as far as I'm aware, she has no definite affiliation with any Pasifika community, and yet I think everything she does, she does with significant care and consideration of the people in her class. Like we pray in our class now, which is quite, quite different, and I think that, every time that happens, she's quite nervous about that and she tries to do it in a very open way so as not to exclude anyone. But she's doing that and putting herself in that position to meet the needs of the class … there's lots of positive responsiveness from her, and she doesn't seem like someone who doesn't care and that's the difference. Yeah, and she's very willing to do more than what her role requires her to, and I think that's definitely part of the UC Pathways kind of model where teaching is much more than just being talked at or you know yelled at and then expected to do the stuff yourself, it's a lot more holistic, and it's like being alongside and giving support wherever possible.

Josiah also described the need to connect individual experiences of tutoring to what he called 'a wider community of tutoring'. His recommendation for the PASS programme was that there be more of an attempt to connect students and tutors into a learning community:

J.   … we have lots of individual tutoring going on, and then there is some group tutoring, but I think there should be something that links all of them together 'cos it's part of a much bigger thing, although you don't really see it, part of the bigger kind of initiative to make things better for Pasifika.

Josiah talked about caring being at the centre of culturally responsive tutoring or teaching. He gave examples of caring engagements with students by one particular tutor who fostered

mutually responsive accountability through the warmth of those relationships. In practical terms, Josiah liked being able to give drafts of his work to his UC Pathways tutor for English or PASS tutors for history, political science and law courses to review for feedback before handing in assessments to be marked. Josiah reflected that he was used to being able to get his work checked before handing it in during NCEA, and being able to continue to do this in first year assisted his transition to university.

Josiah's account of responsive 'collaborative learning' models like PASS and UC Pathways were consistent with his positive experiences of NCEA, drawing attention to his preferred first-year tertiary transition pedagogy.

> J.   I mean another thing is I've found in that course is whereas for other courses I can't give any of my work to a tutor to have a look at or a lecturer, whereas they [UC Pathways] continually ask us to give drafts. I think that's like one of the positives of the NCEA system. There's a lot more engagement then between students and teachers and the same in this model as well. I know that works quite well for Pasifika students because there's much more accountability, and you know, you go into a big lecture theatre and you don't have a relationship with the people you're with, you feel like if I don't do this nobody cares, I'm just another student number or something, whereas [in UC Pathways], there is a relationship there, and it doesn't just work for accountability, but it actually means something when you do the work and you feel like you have some sort of sense of satisfaction for both of you.

Josiah recommended that all tutors be trained and able to demonstrate effective communication and inclusive culturally responsive teaching practices before being able to tutor.

> J.   I don't think that just because someone's got a PhD or their master's that they're an effective communicator, I don't think that they should just be able to go into a tutorial room and teach their content. There's so much more to teaching than that, and for me, I think if our

> tutorial system was inclusive and culturally responsive, tutors would have to demonstrate that they were all of those things.

He also made many positive comments about the relationships he had with his tutor and classmates in UC Pathways, particularly when comparing his experience in UC Pathways with other courses:

> J.   … one history tutorial I was in last semester, and yeah, everyone would come along and sit there, and nobody really talked in the class, it didn't feel like an environment where anyone would want to be in if they didn't have to. We had assessments and stuff so we had to go, there was no choice, whereas I enjoy going to UC Pathways classes because I have, you know, relationships with the other students and also with the tutor.

When asked about whether his first-year courses had utilised inclusive or flexible learning approaches, Josiah noted that the courses he had attempted in his first semester seemed quite fixed in how students were expected to demonstrate their learning.

> J.   I'd quite like to think if I wanted to submit an English piece it would be quite cool if I could write it down but turn it into something like a film or, yeah, be far less structured on how we present our assessments. I mean, I understand that creates difficulty with how you assess it, but yeah, I think we're too rigid you know, too structured with the word counts, and I guess academic stuff is a little bit too focused on what referencing system you use and you know removing your own personality from the writing, all these other matters of conforming where I think you end up losing a lot of what the people are who are actually behind all these pieces of writing.

Josiah commented that tools used to provide flexible online learning access, such as the University's Learn (Moodle) course system, were used variably by academics, and course design seemed to develop without much input from students at the University of Canterbury:

> J.   … there's definitely times where we focus too much on the online stuff, and then there's times where it's too little. I guess I'd like to see something that's a little bit more consistent with what would happen outside of university … Yeah, and look at also what learners feel they need more … I think academics get far too much leeway in deciding how they're going to handle the courses and then don't get enough input from learners.

Josiah commented on his sense that the University's online course survey methods provided ineffective engagement with learner needs in course design. Josiah talked about his frustration with online course surveys as the primary way to feed back to lecturers about courses:

> J.   … every course I've done, I've been given a survey, every course I've submitted a survey. I mean I see that for me it's quite important, I don't think it was very meaningful for the people who submitted it though. I don't really feel like I got anything out of it. To me, it's not helpful to ask me was a lecturer very effective in their communication right through to not very effective. Sure, there's a comments box, but I would much rather we didn't do that online and we actually had a discussion about it. Yeah, for me, feedback is heard much better orally, and yeah, I feel what I'm putting online isn't as valid or valuable because you don't hear the emotion, I can't articulate myself in 120 characters. I also just kind of feel like it loses something when someone else has to analyse what I've said. I write what I say, someone else analyses it, gives it to that person, so it's not directly to them, and unless I intentionally make an effort to go and see them about it, things don't really change.

Josiah framed the use of online course surveying as being an example of research providing value for the researcher rather than the researched. Josiah viewed online surveying as missing the accountability of relationships that could be better built through face-to-face discussion where reciprocal benefits could be better achieved. Josiah offered that students might be interested to hear what each other had said in their responses and also any initiatives

developed based on the feedback given. As online course surveys are one of the main ways in which students are invited to contribute to teaching and learning design and curriculum at the University, Josiah expressed concern about the cultural appropriateness of the format for diverse learners and suggested this is an area where the University could do better.

During the interview, Josiah expressed a preference for collaborative learning through culturally responsive caring relationships fostered by the University with students, leading to reciprocity of accountability within the learning community. For the most part, Josiah's preferred learning model was reflected in his experiences of practices used by UC Pathways and the Pacific Development Team programmes like PASS but not in his experiences of the rest of the University – leading to a sense of 'two universities':

> J.   I kind of feel like there's two universities – I feel like the Pasifika
> part of the University recognise the things we're doing, and I believe
> it's genuine, but anything outside of that, this might be a bit harsh in
> some aspects, but most of the time, I don't feel like the recognition
> from outside of that is in a way which is celebrating genuinely, I kind
> of feel like there's another sort of reason to do it … and I don't feel
> like there's relationships there for that to happen.

The continued focus of the talanoa remained around the relative newness of the University's formal relationships with Pasifika stakeholders and the trickle-down effect of the 'early days' relationship to Pasifika students. Josiah repeatedly said words to the effect that 'the relationship isn't there' when commenting on teaching and learning, on course design and curriculum, on training of teaching staff (lecturers and tutors) and also in regard to progress on developments around the 'co-curricular transcript'. Josiah commented that the UC Health Centre and other service teams could improve their focus on engaging Pasifika as Pasifika in holistic, trusting, supportive relationships to provide for their total wellbeing during their studies:

> J.   I think often we talk about the Pasifika team here at Canterbury
> and other Pasifika staff as family members or as having a very close
> relationship with them, whereas other service teams I've been involved
> with, even UC Health, in the nicest way possible, I feel I don't have
> any connection to. For me, it's quite strange, 'cos health is much more,

it's very holistic, and I kind of see what PDT do with students and the way they make them feel comfortable and relate very well is something that more service teams should be able to use. But yeah, it comes back to that heart of relationship, back to feeling comfortable with each other and having lots of trust, like yeah, I feel I could talk to anyone here about anything … whereas I don't have that kind of trust when it comes to other areas. I mean, I have had some interesting experiences in my first year where I've kind of gone up against some of the issues that I've seen, and whether or not I've always done it in the right way or not, I've always felt support from the Pasifika team. I feel when I see Pasifika people in these areas they are genuinely still interested in who I am.

Josiah gave accounts of some examples of other consultations that he had attended as a Pasifika student or community representative at the University in his first year where he had questioned the benefit of the consultation process for Pasifika participants. I asked him to provide a bit more explanation:

> J.   … one of them would be consultation, and quite often, there are these events, or very infrequently I guess depending on what they are, where you get around a table and have a discussion about something and then some things are said and then nothing really happens as a result of that or Pasifika people haven't really been considered. Yeah, I just think back to the discussion we had on belonging with the equity and diversity committee in March, and it took half the year for them to get back to me on a couple of the issues I had, and I got this generic letter saying thank you for the points you've raised, they'll be considered, and I kind of thought like I was hoping you are going to do more than that and tell me how you're going to do something about these areas. I just, yeah, and many other examples I feel like I come up against policies where our culture isn't really considered or doesn't have the prominence it should.

Josiah remains hopeful that inclusion of Pasifika will improve with the launch of the UC Pasifika Strategy in 2014. However, Josiah raises concern that most policies work to support majoritarian interests and reinforce lack of equity for minority groups such as Pasifika.

> J.   I guess it's why I'm quite happy with the Pasifika strategy going through soon, 'cos yeah, at the moment, there's nothing to really force people, in the nicest way possible you know, to change. I mean, I'd love to think that it was all natural and people were like yes of course, but to many people here, I think policy lets them have their freedom at the expense of someone else's progress from another group, and yeah, that's quite often what we see here. I've complained about a couple of things as well, and you know, it's been at times quite isolating, but I've always found there's been a lot of support from other Pasifika students and mainly from the Pacific Development Team, and that's funny, even though they're part of the institution in some ways, it kind of feels like there is two universities, and so I feel really included in one but not in the other.

Postscript: Almost a year after our initial talanoa, I met with Josiah again to hear any updates he wanted to make to his story or any feedback he wanted me to include. Josiah reflected that he had observed little change over the course of the year on implementation of the UC Pasifika strategy or around improving responsiveness to diversity on campus. Josiah reflected that intentions to increase belongingness for diverse students meant little without strategic action, noting that the University holds students to account in regard to 'academic progress' but that there is no real mechanism for students to hold the University to account for failing to progress on cultural responsiveness and inclusion issues. Some of his perspectives had altered, particularly around the implementation of the co-curricular transcript, which he now sees as having potential to recognise diverse valued knowledges from outside the curriculum, like the service attributes demonstrated through clubs such as the Canterbury University Samoan Students' Association (CUSSA). In hoping for more recognition of the Pasifika valued knowledges that often sit outside the taught curriculum, Josiah also expressed concern about whether the University really understands the value that diverse cultures bring and the potential of whole University enrichment through the fostering

of culturally responsive practices that improve inclusion of diverse learners, allowing a fuller exchange.

Josiah again touched on the importance of programmes that include course-based culturally responsive and proactive support, such as UC Pathways/ENGL117. He noted, with some concern, that the fluctuation in Pasifika enrolments in ENGL117 each semester means that having a Pasifika tutorial cohort is contingent on enrolment numbers. He repeated anecdotes from friends of his who had felt disappointed when they had enrolled in the course specifically because of the Pasifika component only to find that it did not go ahead because of small numbers. Josiah's story and his postscript update reflects his commitment to ongoing advocacy and concern for the best outcomes for Pasifika.

3.2   Belongingness at church

Jo and Lesa are both first-year students at the University of Canterbury and attend the same Samoan church. As church occurs several times during the week, evenings and weekends are often taken up with church commitments. Both students have a strong sense of belongingness within their church community, with a number of other students who attend their church also studying at UC. Their church is their main social network on and off campus.

Jo and Lesa had contrasting initial experiences at UC. Jo expressed feeling intimidated at first, particularly walking in to large open spaces like the central library. She found class fine, but when it came to making social connections, she didn't feel as confident. Lesa, however, experienced a general sense of welcome, particularly in the smaller class setting at bridging programmes. When asked about whether they accessed any of the support services, both students had registered with PASS but had not accessed any tutorial support, explaining that they had felt shy or worried about being judged by others, which prevented them from accessing support:

> J.   There was so much available to me, but I was so angry at myself at the end of the year that I didn't use anything, like the tutors or Academic Skills, even your … departmental tutors.

> L.   Me, personally, I don't like to show other people my work, because I mean this is me, like I don't think I'm as smart as, I'm just

afraid of who might judge my work, 'Oh, she's not that smart,' or what not, that's just how I felt at first.

Both participants expressed nervousness about showing other people their work, finding it easier to ask their friends for help if they needed it. They reflected that this hadn't necessarily worked well for them:

> J.   Yeah, but if it was friends, then I would like, 'Can you please help me?' She would always check on my essays and correct … a lot of things.

> Q.   So you were working with your peers?

> L.   Yeah, I'd be more comfortable.

> Q.   Did you set up study groups?

> J.   It was like altogether, oh, she's working on something, so she needs help, oh yeah we'll just help her out for a second, and then we'll go back to what we were doing.

> L.   Yeah.

> Q.   How did you find that? Was that useful?

> L.   Yeah, but I didn't get much out of it … I would feel so bad because I'm wasting her time, I mean, that's just what I think, like I don't want to ask her because she's got a lot of other things to do, so I think it would be better if I go to Academic Skills. But again I don't want to go to Academic Skills, because I'm too shy to show them my work and all that. I would just do it myself and then I would just hand it in, whatever they give me then, yeah.

The high school experiences of the participants largely mirrored their first-year tertiary experiences. While Jo experienced feelings of isolation at school and described herself as 'mischievous', Lesa liked her teachers and enjoyed schooling. However, both participants

emphasised that their school experiences had not prepared them well for their transition to university, particularly in regard to academic writing requirements.

> J.   Well that thing how they're like, 'Oh, we're preparing you for
> university,' but you come to university, and what you learn in high
> school, you're not actually supposed to be doing in uni. Like say the
> essays, you know, back in high school, we always got told to be
> personal, like, 'I am going to write in this essay,' sort of thing, but here
> in uni, you can't do that, you're not allowed.

> L.   Yeah, that's true; I mean all that stuff education wise at high
> school is just completely different to here.

> J.   Completely different.

> L.   It wasn't like a baby step from high school to here, it was like a
> leap.

> J.   I get maths and that area wasn't so bad, it was more the
> writing/reading area.

Jo described the benefits of having completed the bridging programme's Certificate in University Preparation in 2012 to support her academic writing and study skills. However, nothing had adequately prepared her for law. Jo explained that missing a few classes and not having a strong interest in law made it difficult to keep up with course work.

Jo is the second in her family to come to university. Her older sister graduated a few years ago, and this has raised her parents' expectations of what she will achieve but also placed some pressure on Jo. Lesa is the first in her family to attend uni.

Both Lesa and Jo also spoke about the inspiration and motivation they drew from watching their pastor's wife at their church who recently completed her qualification at the University.

> L.   Our pastor's wife, yeah, so she came to uni, and it was a big eye
> opener, because she's got a lot of responsibility, she's got a family,
> she's got the church, she's got school on top of that, she's got kids to

look after, a lot of kids to look after, so it was a bit like, here we are in that first year, just bumming around doing nothing with it, and if she can do it with all that responsibility, like why can't we? So it's not like we're still pushing it, like you have to go to uni, find your passion, that's what it's all about, and if it's not school, you know, there's a lot of other great job opportunities out there, you know. I guess the hard thing is trying to get the old folks, trying to get them to think no it's not always university that's the answer.

Jo expressed that, at times, her parents' perspectives of a 'good job' differed from the potential career options that are available now. Both participants want to follow their interest and passion through their education and have discovered more about their preferred areas of study in their first year at UC. For Jo, she hopes to work in youth justice through doing sociology, and Lesa is keen to become a social worker. Both participants linked their motivation and passion for their chosen fields with their views of success. When asked how they would know if they were successful, they both agreed that, in regard to success:

J.   It's not getting that degree; it's actually putting it into action.

When asked about what UC would look like if it was set up to provide a more positive transition, Jo replied that the experience would match the marketing:

J.   I guess it would look like, you know, those photos you see on the UC page, everyone's happy and smiling, actually talking to one another, just chilling out, but I don't know that's the first thing that came into my head, the photos of everyone actually smiling and enjoying it. When you usually walk into the library, everyone's like getting frustrated, everyone's like, 'Don't talk to me right now, I'm trying to study,' you know.

Jo and Lesa had different experiences of being accepted by Pasifika and levels of confidence. A flow-on effect of feeling not accepted led Jo to withdraw from coming on to campus and disengaging to some extent from the library study spaces particularly.

One thing that was really apparent throughout the talanoa with Jo and Lesa was how much of a big influence their church community is on their motivation, support, sense of belonging and vision of their future helping careers. We talked about ways that UC might be able to engage better with their community, included reaching out to their church to support study groups in the community and linking their church network onto-campus through community events.

3.3 Adaptive expectations

Robert is a fourth-year student at the University of Canterbury from Fiji, about to complete his undergraduate degree. Robert is an international scholarship student who has been tutoring for PASS in 2014, mainly for human services first-year students. Robert said that it was challenging coming from a different country but that he didn't experience culture shock and that he found he was able to quickly adapt to being in Christchurch.

> R.   Well, when I was living back in Fiji, I didn't even know
> University of Canterbury exist, like I didn't know, I just come because
> Fiji Government, they offered me a scholarship in New Zealand and I
> was looking where should I study … and the University of Canterbury
> popped up on my internet, so I just see all the things they listed on the
> website and enrolled online as well, and yeah I did all the process work
> on my own, it's very hard, and like when I get the scholarship and left
> Fiji to come, …it was challenging, …to come here, like for the first
> time, to come to this country, was really hard.

Robert talked about an initial transition that was well supported by the Pacific Liaison Officer who made Robert feel welcome:

> R.   I feel welcome when I met him, like he introduced me to all the
> different departments…I thought it was like a big uni but then he took
> me around a couple of things and then I got used to it.

With high motivation, focus and transition support, Robert described being able to avoid prolonged culture shock and experienced a good first year of study at the University.

R.   I came here and met him [the Pacific Liaison Officer] and then he helped me from there … yeah …they told me the first year … first time overseas can be really hard, culture shock, but it didn't happen to me, like what I did in high school and stuff, like new place, yeah, university and stuff, it doesn't really affect me and my studies, it was like maybe just two days, just learn and adjust, move on from there.

Q.   … so you actually didn't find that transition too bad from Fiji to New Zealand?

R.   … like for me, I didn't really want to get really into, completely like shock, oh, this place is so cool, I just came here to follow work and to study.

Q.   Just to study, yeah?

R.   As long as I stick to the study plan, it's all good, and usually it turned out well, first year.

Robert gave examples of returning to speak again with the Pacific Liaison Officer, even in his third year, to seek advice, describing him as 'a very real gentle guy'. Robert's initial positive experiences have continued, for the most part, as he described being very aware of the need to adapt to his circumstances.

Robert's confidence developed during his time at UC to the point that he now feels able to contribute in class discussions, but it wasn't like this in his first and second year.

R.   Like whenever they [the lecturers] say something maybe I just agree or maybe I have my own views, and then I don't feel courage to talk in the class so maybe after class, and then I'll meet him or maybe ring his office hours, and then I will just go to his office and we have a quick chat about what we just talked about earlier, and some of the staff, they're just like 'You should talk in class, it's a really good point you're bringing up, next time tell it to him.' I say no, I'm just like no. I think some of the students feel that way, maybe they feel what they

want to say is not relevant to the topic … I think I felt the
same…probably first and second year, but the second semester, I
started to develop that confidence.

Robert told me that, despite being the first in his family to study at undergraduate level at
university, he arrived with a high degree of self-assurance and confidence to approach
lecturers for advice directly in his first year. We spoke about how being a scholarship student
may have added to his motivation to succeed with many people watching his study journey.

I was really interested in Robert's insight as a PASS tutor on what kinds of things he thought
might best assist Pasifika students. Robert noted that, although he was able to observe some
positive differences his tutoring made to students, he expressed frustration at his limited time
with them to help them overcome what he described as a lack of preparation or mismatch in
expectations from their high-schooling and the University professors. Robert offered a view
that the Fiji education system more closely aligned with what is required at the University.

> R.   I can see the difference between the Tongan education system,
> Samoan education and New Zealand especially, and most of the
> students I tutor was like New Zealand. What I was taught in Fiji, like
> the education system in Fiji is … what the university expects us to do,
> like when it comes to writing essays and stuff, really doing
> assignments. But what I see is, the New Zealand education system or
> like high school or like Samoan and Tongan, it doesn't really match
> your uni standards, they have different expectations … they are taught
> in New Zealand high school, and when they come to uni, they are
> taught by a person from a different country, and they taught like in
> their own way, in their own profession and stuff, so when they do all
> the markings and stuff for assignments, they expect us to do it like
> them, and they don't see like which country the students come from
> and how they learn. Like for me, I learned to adapt, like the first time
> when I didn't know which way my professor was coming, and where I
> was coming, I know, 'Oh, I have to do this, explain to this', and I was
> able to learn that way, but for many students, I think they, the students
> are still attached to their high school, like what they were taught in

high school to come and do here, but that's not the same as what maybe the professors [expect].

Robert describes arriving in New Zealand at the University with an expectation of needing to adapt to a foreign environment. He paid close attention to nuanced differences in the expectations communicated from his professors about their particular academic writing requirements for assessments. Robert found that the Fijian education system had prepared him well for the expectations of a largely international academic teaching staff at the University. Robert talked about having a good foundation of essay-writing skills from his high school in Fiji, which has allowed him to be adaptable to the specific requirements that each professor has.

Robert gave an example of the first essay he attempted at the University of Canterbury for a Canadian lecturer.

> R.   … so what I did was that, before I came here, I really prepared myself, try to adapt to New Zealand ways like academic stuff, essay writing and stuff, so I went to the uni website, I read all the essays, how to write an essay, and yeah I follow all that, and then when I wrote that essay, he [the Canadian lecturer] was very not happy, and then he gave me a C- for that essay … I said, 'How come? This is exactly what is written on the university website', and … he said was wrong so … then I did it again, and when I did it again, I follow like whatever he told me to do, and what he told me to do was pretty much what [I was taught by] our high school English teacher back in Fiji … I think different lecturers, like they have different views of how you should approach [an essay].

> Q.   But what I'm curious about that you were able to do, quite confidently it seems, is go back to your professor as a first year for feedback. You went direct to him with your essay. Was that how it worked, or how did you communicate? Was it email or face to face?

> R.   Face to face, when I ever got a free time, I pop into his office and discuss what he wants, then where I'm coming, and where he's

coming, and then he tell me what to do, and then OK, then the next time I can see.

Q.   So how did your next assignment go?

R.   Very well, I got an A+ for the next assignment.

Robert's confidence to engage, ask questions, seek feedback and adapt his writing practices accordingly appear to be strong influences on his ability to achieve well in his studies. Robert's high self-expectations also seem to provide a way to relate to a C- grade as feedback rather than confirmation of low ability. Such strong success-aligned behaviours have served Robert well from a foundation of sound academic preparedness.

In contrast, Robert noted a misaligned preparation of New Zealand Pasifika students and those from other Pacific Islands in both a lack of confidence to perform proactive and adaptive behaviours needed to support transitions to tertiary and a lack of foundational academic English writing skills from their high school learning.

Robert's study strategies also worked well in adaptation. Robert carried on his study routines from his high school education in Fiji in the University of Canterbury context, with some changes to his sleep and study patterns because of the change of climate.

Robert was able to use this routine to ensure he always went prepared to tutorials and lectures, writing half a page of notes before attending to keep up with the smaller assessments per course for attendance and participation.

For Robert, staying focused on why he was at university, on scholarship for his country and the first in his family at university, seemed to establish ongoing motivation for him. Robert's story is one of confidence and skilled adaptation, along with high expectations from others and of himself in achieving well in his studies. Robert described a well prepared first-year experience where he was able to stay well motivated through his second-year experience, providing support to other Pasifika students in the process.

3.4   Preferred pedagogy of collaboration and caring

Elaina is a mature Fijian student who has been studying at UC for the last two years. Born and raised in Fiji, Elaina has studied at tertiary level before, completing her Bachelor of Commerce at the University of Auckland and then spending time in the workforce. Elaina

moved to Christchurch and began a Master of Management but recently transferred to a Bachelor of Engineering (Hons) after a year of highly successful postgraduate study. Elaina began tutoring for PASS 100 level maths after her first year at UC. Elaina knew that, returning as a mature student, she would need support and so had researched different universities to see what support they offered. PASS was part of what attracted Elaina to come to study at UC:

> E.   I found PASS before I even started university. When I was
> deciding to come back and study, I looked at what the university
> offered to Pacific Island students, and I read about PASS. I knew that
> coming into university I was going to get some extra help, and I knew I
> needed that extra help, 'cos I was a mum and I knew that things were
> going to be a little tougher than the last time round I came to
> university. I was very happy to find you had the PASS programme, and
> it was something that I felt very comfortable with coming back to uni,
> knowing that I had that … I think I've used PASS a lot since I've
> started. I used PASS for a statistics paper, and actually amazingly, I
> did the best out of all my papers with that paper, so yeah, it was
> amazing. I got an A+ with that paper, which is the paper required to go
> forward in any postgrad studies with management. So it was the key
> paper, the one that mattered the most.

Elaina described studying at UC as better than expected:

> E.   It's better than what I thought I was going to be … it does feel
> hard, but I thought it was going to feel a lot worse than this 'cos
> coming back as much I'd be with all the new students, and especially
> now, because I have changed my degree, I do a lot of my schooling
> now with first-year students out of high school, so I thought there
> might be a bit of exclusion in terms of age and getting along with
> everyone else, so I found most days a bit hard when I made the change
> to start engineering. But I don't feel like that at all now.

Elaina advised that establishing good networks and pushing herself outside her comfort zone were strategies that supported her successful study:

> E.   I've learned that branching out and having good networks of people makes a huge difference. I think probably in the past, I would have been like a typical Fijian person who would just be so quiet, say hello and know all the Pacific Islanders … Pushing yourself out there and meeting other people and learning to network with them … because you find help in everything that you extend yourself to. I felt like, well, you're not going to get any help if you don't ask, and you're not going to get any help if you don't try to go out there and do things outside your comfort zone.

Elaina expressed herself as confident in her Fijian culture, language and identity from a highly educated family in Fiji with a good preparation for tertiary study from her Chinese high school in Fiji and undergrad commerce degree from the University of Auckland. Elaina noted that she tends not to identify herself as Fijian in mainstream contexts to avoid underestimation of her abilities that might occur due to negative stereotypes of Pasifika people. When describing her recent educational success, Elaina explained that the difference for her now in comparison to her commerce undergrad study is in her awareness of the need to establish good networks although she hadn't consciously set out to do this. Elaina also spoke about having the strength to be more herself and to make her own choices around her study.

Elaina was open to the possibility that some of the skills she has used to succeed at UC, like her confidence to build supportive networks, may have been transferrable skills from her office work experience following completion of her commerce degree.

> E.   … that's something I never thought of but I just picked up over the years of finishing my commerce degree, working out there, you realise the office system will not just run on its own in a single department, all departments coordinate with each other, you need everyone else you can't just do it on your own.

Elaina had positive and negative experiences with using the PASS programme. The first tutor Elaina used had an approach to tutoring that Elaina disliked. Elaina gave a description of her first PASS as operating from what we might call a formal instructive style. Elaina described her tutor telling her to do exercises and leaving her on her own to complete them while she did other work. Elaina seemed to describe a lack of rapport between herself and her tutor, which evolved to a breakdown in the relationship between them. Elaina first brought this to my attention as a complaint in 2014 after the tutor left her unexpectedly in the middle of a scheduled tutorial to deal with an emergency in the lab. I selected Elaina for the interview partly because of the feedback she had already provided about the programme but also because she had experience as both a PASS tutor and a PASS user.

Elaina commented on the aspects of her second tutor's approach that worked best for her. Elaina described her first tutor as not communicating to her empathy or encouragement. In comparison, Elaina describes her second tutor's approach as more collaborative, focused on asking her about her needs, assuring her that she could do the course and breaking information down into understandable chunks whilst providing friendly encouragement. Elaina's comments brought to my attention a need to uncover the types of teaching pedagogy that PASS tutors were using and find out from students their preferred approach. I'm hoping some of the themes from this research will help me explore the kind of pedagogy we would like to provide more training on for tutors as our preferred approach for PASS in future.

When asked about her confidence in her Fijian identity, Elaina said she valued her culture and often went home to Fiji but that she doesn't highlight her identity unless in Pacific contexts.

> E.   People don't realise that I'm even from Fiji until they ask, I just go into a situation however I feel … I feel just as equal as anyone going into any situation. I don't highlight it because I do think maybe people would otherwise respond differently if they knew I was an islander, maybe they might underestimate me, that's their problem in the end.

Elaina got to know Pasifika students from Samoa, Tonga and other Pacific Islands through group tutoring provided through the PASS programme. Elaina described having been friendly to them before in class but that PASS deepened their relationships through spending more

time together. Elaina described this as creating a sense of Pasifika connectedness in the courses where she had PASS tutoring with other Pasifika students.

Elaina spoke highly of the maths department at Canterbury, but with another department, she found one of her first-year lecturers less helpful. Elaina mentioned comments made to students by a lecturer in her first lecture:

> E.   'You should be able to do this, you know my little two-year-old can do this.' Yeah, we have lecturers like that, I've had a few of them … and I think it's the first-year thing, you know, he says if you can't do it, you shouldn't be doing engineering, and I just felt, oh my gosh, that was my first lecture, and I was thinking how I'm going to do this … sometimes you question yourself thinking, well, it's 500 other students in your class, and if he's like that and everyone else can do it, you should be able to do it too. And then you start to think, well, can I?

Elaina again drew a comparison with unhelpful and helpful styles of tutoring/lecturing she had experienced at UC.

> E.   My PASS tutor, she's up there with all the maths lecturers, they just talk to you like they're talking to you … [it] feels like she's interested in what she's saying, she's interested in what she is doing and she wants me to know it too, that's what it feels like. But when you get a lecturer who doesn't care or a tutor that doesn't care, it just feels like they don't care what happens to you. It's not a nice place to be in.

> Q.   It sounds like those two different ways of being can really affect your confidence?

> E.   Oh, absolutely.

> Q.   And that your confidence can really affect your sense of being able to stay on and do the work even?

E.   I absolutely believe, if I could replace my lecturer with my PASS tutor, I would have got a B+ for that paper. I don't want to say he's a bad teacher, but he's not a very interesting one. I feel like I could have done a lot better in the paper because … I felt if things could be presented well and done first time round, all that would just have been revision. I think someone knowing how to teach is so important, he could know everything, but if you can't get across the simple things that underpin the rest, it's just not worth it. I mean, I'm sitting there, and if I don't get the first half, I don't get the next 40 minutes, [I've] wasted a whole hour sitting there [and] I haven't learned anything.

Q.   So for things like that, did you utilise office hours? I'm guessing it might have felt pretty impossible to feed back to the lecturer you found difficult.

E.   Oh, I never even knew when his office hours were, he never expressed it, they never reiterated it to us, never encouraged us to use them. But my PASS tutor, she would be like, 'I will let you know how I'm going next week, you should really come back and do this, you know, if you need to work on this, we can work on this next week.' And so with the maths department, they were like, 'These are my office hours, I get paid to do this, come to my office, come, come, come.' They are like that. It's just amazing. They make you feel so included like I should be there. Actually I did go, and I used their office hours sometimes.

Overall, Elaina's account of her experiences with PASS describe a positive contribution to her sense of inclusion at Canterbury and contributed to her success.

Elaina spoke highly of two of her PASS tutors. Elaina's second PASS tutor spent time providing small-group tutoring for Elaina and other Pacific students for a computer science course. Elaina described the benefit to herself and her fellow students being able to work on a computer with her PASS tutor and the rest of her group on the technical elements of the theory they learned in lectures:

> E.   …we did all our [PASS] tutoring on computer so it was not only
> learning the theory in class, we get so much theory in class, but putting
> it into practice on computer with us was just the most helpful thing.

Elaina spoke about this as part of her expanded network of supports at UC. Elaina utilised the Academic Skills Centre as well as office hours for her maths tutors to gain additional support in her courses. The main negative experiences that Elaina recounted were both in regard to teaching style. Elaina placed clear emphasis on the need for good communication to teach, simplify, motivate and encourage students to succeed with an approach that lets students know that teaching staff have confidence in them and care about them. Elaina also made comments about the challenges in high-demand PASS tutors' availability and difficulties in securing PASS tutors for some high-priority courses. Elaina also recommended that we look at having Pasifika peer tutors who were not necessarily high achievers but who had good communication skills, as the ability to relate to the experience of struggling with a course may also be of benefit in being able to explain complex material once it has been mastered.

Postscript August 2015: Elaina reflected after reading back the talanoa summary that she felt proud to be part of the research and talked about feeling honoured that her story had something to offer. Elaina spoke about wishing more Pasifika students had the opportunity to realise what they have to offer, noting that, so often, it seems to take Pasifika longer to gain the confidence to know the value of their contribution. Elaina reflected that this had also been true of her own journey in that she has grown in confidence as a mature student and now has the confidence to engage and take on bigger things because she has learned to value her own perspective.

3.5   Proactive engagement versus making assumptions

Throughout Natalie's story, she expressed feeling that her needs were assumed rather than sought by the University, while her actual needs were ignored. In our talanoa, Natalie reflected on her experience of postgraduate orientation where many of her expectations were left unmet:

> N.   I thought I'll go and do postgrad, and I was influenced by the
> postgrad brochure, you know, which has the big heading: 'If you want
> to change the world', and I thought, yeah, I do actually.

So I showed up at postgrad orientation, and I thought, I wonder how they find out what I want, I wonder how they're going to work out what my needs are. Maybe you all get a couple of minutes each to stand up and talk about what we want and then we're put into pods, you know, because we wouldn't be studying alone for god's sake, and I wonder how they manage those pods, I wonder if there's a collective supervisor and, you know, I'd like an accountant even to work out the costings for my project, the costing of what it would mean if you put the programme into place in schools … I definitely want someone that's done physics and I want, you know, health sciences.

And so I am thinking about all of this, and I arrive, and I just can't believe that it's nothing like that, they're not at all interested, at all. And so I ask them, you know, how do you do interdisciplinary research? And they're like, 'Well, to do interdisciplinary [research], you really need to join one of the research hubs,' which are just elitist, you have to be invited to, and I'm like, oh my god! And I just realised that I've signed up for this archaic bloody system of academic discipline. And somebody had mapped my future without really knowing what the course looked like. So yeah, I didn't find it great.

Natalie recommended that postgraduate advising be less information driven and more developmental and proactive in approach. She suggested that postgraduate support should be focused on finding out from students what their needs are, what their research interests are and grouping students with similar interests together. She suggested cross-disciplinary collaborative learning pods with collective mentors or collective supervisors to reduce postgrad isolation.

Natalie gave a further account of misguided assumptions by teaching staff within her programme of study. She spoke about feeling that Pasifika or multicultural approaches were not valued by lecturers. Natalie noted that, on top of a lack of engagement with her needs, she was also overburdened with taking responsibility for her needs on her own, due to misguided assumptions that she did not need support. Natalie gave an example of an experience in a compulsory course where she had been required to take a questionnaire to determine her

theoretical orientation to the course material. Natalie's orientation came out as 'multicultural and feminist':

> N.   … and then to pass the course, you had to relate your orientation to what was taught in the course, but mine weren't taught.

Natalie had also been confronted on work placement with clients and colleagues who expected her to work with them in a 'Pasifika way', despite there being no explicit training in 'Pasifika modalities or cultural competency' in her training at UC.

In order to meet professional expectations and course requirements, Natalie culturally audited (not for credit) additional courses to supplement her compulsory workload with indigenous and multicultural perspectives. Natalie also paid privately for external supervision to assist her to develop her own professional cultural responsiveness. Natalie labelled these experiences 'cultural taxation' where, because of her different cultural orientation, she was overburdened with both acting as the 'expert cultural advisor' and employing a 'culturally appropriate supervisor' to support her learning needs, adding additional costs to her study. The reading that Natalie gives us of her postgraduate story is that Pasifika like herself often experience 'cultural taxation' amidst the pressure to do more to achieve the same rewards.

In regard to matching course design with professional requirements and individual learner needs, Natalie expressed disappointment at missed opportunities in course design for the fostering of learning community in her courses.

> N.   I just thought, why don't you set that [learning community] up as an assessment tool? You know, this would reflect my expectations of how we learn. If you want us set up to be professional, working with one another and just, you know, how we collectively learn, friggen' well have it as an assessment instead of asking me to write 5,000 words.

Natalie's help-seeking behaviour seemed to support her to succeed despite her identification of a lack in reciprocal proactive support offered by the University to support her postgraduate studies. Being proactive also provides a contextualisation of Natalie's lens on what constitutes good practices that she endorses for use with Pasifika:

> N.   I am driven to excel, I was really proactive, I try and speak to
> tutors, I mean, my background is in the analysis of systems, to try and
> work out what the systems were to get things done, but I was feeling I
> am just a product here. Once you've paid your fees, that's it. The focus
> is get the people through the door, and you know, the whole thing with
> ongoing mentoring or leadership or god knows how they would work
> people to get into the academy, and it's probably just people who can
> afford to do doctorates.

Natalie described feeling moulded by an education system at the University that required her
to conform to fit rather than embrace the identity and knowledge she was bringing with her.
This led to strong statements from Natalie that spoke of a decentring of the importance of the
University to her sense of self:

> N.   I don't need to identify with the University of Canterbury, and it's
> more healthy to me that I don't. Because seeking to understand the
> regimes of politics and power within this place and how they play out
> on the student is mind blowing … you're constantly being
> reconstructed or expected to be constructed to conform.

When Natalie described feeling validated and supported by people from outside the
institution but not by those from within, I became aware that Natalie might be speaking to my
insider position within the University system as she spoke. Natalie states the difficulty in
knowing when and how to make suggestions for change as a student:

> N.   … because people in the institution empathise but they're part of
> the system and … I didn't feel I could be as open and challenging
> because their role is part of the friggen' block, I just wanted to say:
> 'What are you doing? What are you doing that you haven't met with
> me and worked out what I wanted?'

Natalie spoke a lot about feeling like her voice was not valued and that her feedback was
unwanted. She reflected on an instance where an external researcher had interviewed her
about her experiences at Canterbury and their apparent interviewer bias:

> N. I was thinking this is just mind blowing isn't it? How you can just
> subtly shape research, and it must be going on all the time. But I was
> just like and yet again, you are not going to know my honest views …,
> and it was like, but you don't want to know them.

I was clear with Natalie that my thesis would engage in critical education theories and that I was open to any comments Natalie felt comfortable to share. I do note, however, that Natalie shared only positive comments about my work with her, the PASS programme and about being a PASS tutor, and I cannot rule out that Natalie may have felt unable to provide full comment to me directly about my own work and the programme she knew I was supervisor for. Natalie talked about not wanting to "rock the boat" and questioned whether the Pasifika identities performed by the Pacific Development Team were a, 'social construction of what white people want Pasifika people to be,' saying 'I don't fit that.' Natalie described feeling excluded both in her experience of not fitting the Pasifika identities performed at UC or white majoritarian UC culture:

> N. So there was a lot of letting go, a lot of embracing sorrow to just
> sit with that and accept … you are not valued but you are [valued]
> outside the institution, so you just shift away, you reframe what
> Canterbury [University] means in your life.

The power of Natalie's story is in her willingness to reflect and vividly describe examples of the emotionally 'taxing' experience of not being included. Natalie's criticisms were not only of UC generally or course lecturers but also in relation to specific examples where she had felt excluded by Pasifika practices at UC. Natalie mentioned her feelings of discomfort when negative things were said by Pasifika people about white people in casual conversation at Pasifika events. Although these comments were made by non-staff members, Natalie felt there was an atmosphere of acceptance of casual 'reverse racism' that would not be accepted in other settings, and that added to her feeling excluded by Pasifika at UC. I asked whether Natalie's feelings of not belonging with Pasifika at UC reflected a discomfort in belonging in the Pasifika community more generally. Natalie responded that, while she is happy with her Pasifika identity, she did not have this reflected back to her at UC:

> N. I was keen to sort of embrace my Pasifika identity. If it was useful
> to uni, then great, if it was useful to the community, great, but it

wasn't. The box I had to fit in for uni was too small. And I work with people who primarily don't follow a Western god, and you look at our [UC Pasifika] stuff, and it's like [sarcastically] 'Oh yes, that's a really welcoming perspective we've got here.'

Q.   Do you mean because the interpretation of Pasifika that often gets played out is quite Christian?

N.   Yeah, in uni literature, you know.

Q.   In uni literature?

N.   Yeah, [like the UC Pasifika student diary] this is Canterbury, and you look at it like, yeah, actually no, I don't see myself there.

Natalie's perspective may provide particular insight into issues of concern around how exclusion is experienced by Pasifika from Pasifika. In many ways, Natalie's story articulates a liminal identity within the broader umbrella of Pasifika in that it is non-Christian, mixed ethnicity, high achieving and postgraduate. In 2013, 73% of Pacific peoples in New Zealand identified as Christian, (2008) compared to 75% in 2006 and 77% in 2001. A cumulative steady decline in majority religious affiliation for Pacific peoples signals a growing inter-ethnic diversity. Natalie's story locates a minority within a minority story. Her story talks about the need for a widening of an inclusive support focus that seeks to know each learner, where they are coming from and what they need in order to be able to provide effective learning supports.

Natalie and I also spoke about how her basic needs were impacted by the experience of the Christchurch quakes. Due to insecure rental housing, Natalie has moved house nine times since the Canterbury quakes with her family. Natalie remained in Christchurch as her elderly mother lives here, which, for Natalie, meant that moving away was not an option. Natalie described frustration at the lack of Pasifika postgraduate scholarships or supported family accommodation on campus that might have provided tangible support for her practical needs post-quakes.

Taken at face value, Natalie spoke about the PASS programme being clear in its boundaries while also noting the difficulty in managing expectations for Pasifika high achievers to

'serve', which she identified can lead to 'burn out' that can put their own studies at risk. Natalie explained in our postscript catch-up that she experienced 'service' while studying as an equation of 'service + study = jeopardising study'. Natalie spoke about needing to protect her grades and having to pull back from service as a tutor to focus on her own studies. Natalie identifies a common tension voiced by many Pasifika students I have worked with over the years in regard to balancing expectations of the priorities related to university study with those expectations from Pasifika communities. However, it is interesting to note that, in this thesis, the participants I spoke with who were most connected to sites of inclusion related to service at UC, or service outside of UC, were also predominantly those students co-identified as sustained high achievers.

In general, Natalie's story offers an insight into an experience of exclusion. However, she also identities key figures at the University who provided exceptionally positive engagement with her. Natalie described one particular lecturer as 'saving' the experience for her at UC and recalled how this lecturer was able to provide a safe space for critical engagement with appropriate theory and methodology more inclusive of her world view. Natalie's story is a rich source of critical counter story and includes recommendations for the University in relation to teaching and learning, postgraduate support and Pasifika student supports.

Postscript: I spoke with Natalie, in August 2015 to seek her feedback on the summary of her story and to hear any updates on her perspective. Natalie is now working professionally in the field in which she studied at UC and continuing her postgraduate studies part-time. Natalie is now in a position where she is engaging with Pasifika communities in positions of responsibility and loving the work. Natalie and I spoke about whether there might be any 'hidden' benefits or opportunities that could be read into her experiences of 'cultural taxation' and exclusion at UC that might be worth exploring, especially considering her continued successes academically and now in her career development. Natalie expressed concern and some hilarity at the prospect of redefining personal experiences of 'trauma' and 'harm' in light of the 'resiliencies' that might arise from surviving and thriving in spite of such experience. I agreed with Natalie and later reflected on the tendency to want to resolve critical or painful stories with a 'but it all turned out OK in the end' kind of catharsis. Natalie's story reminds me that the power of critical counter stories is that they require a sitting with another person's truth and not trying to change the story to fit how we might want to feel. Being able to tolerate being 'unsettled' at both a personal and institutional level

is absolutely one of the fundamental aspects of cross-cultural work and organisational self-review.

3.6 'Singled out' – stereotype threat and strategic silences

David and Vao are both New Zealand born Pasifika continuing students at the College of Education. Both David and Vao expressed that they were very aware of their minority ethnicity identities. David spoke about feeling that his 'brown' or Pasifika identities were more noticed by people in Christchurch than his more ethnically mixed home town of Wellington. David is part English and part Samoan and Tokelauan, but before coming to Christchurch, he had not been as recognised by others or himself as Pasifika.

> D. Oh, last year in high school was kind of mixed, but then at the same time, I'd be one of a few Pacific Islanders, so people recognise me as that. And then I come down to Christchurch, I was surprised when people recognise me as Pacific Island, 'cos although I was one, I never believed it.
>
> I grew up thinking people only see me like white, and then I want people to see me as well as being Samoan, Tokelauan. And yeah, down here, I find I was more, not singled out, but more recognised for my nationality or the way I speak as opposed to just being known for like as me, as David. So that's been quite an up and down kind of thing. But where I'm from, Wellington's kind of more mixed, kind of … not so much 'Oh look at that brown guy,' Samoan guy or black, Asian … and so I see now, if I think back to the PDT [Pacific Development Team]) and stuff last year, I kind of avoided it, 'cos I never saw myself Pacific Island enough. I needed the help, [but] I didn't take it. This year, I started to take it. I've taken a long time to listen, but I am more confident in myself now … It was only through the PASS programme and everything that PDT did, now I have family and that like down here, as I would back in Wellington, and also I didn't feel like an outcast, I mean, I found it for myself.

While some of the attention David has received in being recognised as Pasifika has been positive in that it has given him confidence to connect with Pasifika services at UC, there were also examples that David gave of feeling made fun of or judged based on his ethnicity and way of speaking.

David talked about experiencing negative stereotyping that affected his belief in his ability to succeed in study.

> D.   … actually, in the past, my academic work was not been the highest, and just every now and then from other people, I'd kind of get that 'Oh, 'cos you're, 'cos you're Samoan,' you know, like that stereotype thing, 'cos of the Pacific Islands, you can't do well academically, so for quite a while, I let that stick with me, and even like, yeah, literally the past year and a half, even though I'm at university, I still believe that, oh, I'm not good enough to be here, like everyone else got me here, but it wasn't anything I did.

David talked about some of his resilience stemming from faith in god that had brought him to a greater awareness that he had to disrupt negative stereotypes put on him by changing his negative self-talk into a belief that he could succeed.

Vao talked about her view of success being about giving back to family to repay them for the sacrifices they made to support her and her siblings.

> V.   … I know that no amount of money that I get from my future job and you know no amount of time that I spend telling her that I'm grateful for everything that she's done, it doesn't account to the amount of time and effort and money, love and the care that she's put in to raising me. But I think working hard and getting my degree and showing her that her sacrifices have paid off. That to me is success, it makes me feel proud of what I've achieved so far and really excited that I am so close to being able to give back to my family in that way.

Vao's pursuit of collective success that puts her family at the centre has been embodied by her sense of service and sacrifice for her family and her studies. I invited Vao to give a

picture of what her journey towards her definition of success has been in her working and study life:

> V.   Well, when I found out that the working age here in New Zealand was 16, the weeks leading up to my 16th birthday and I started job hunting with the mind frame that, if I was at the legal age to work and be able to support myself, then I would do that because I know that my mum's sister who was raising me was not only looking after me and two of my other siblings but also another cousin of mine as well as looking after her parents back home, and so I felt like I was an added burden to what she already had going on, so I did find a job and I started working the week after my 16th birthday. And I was working at 2.30 in the morning, finishing at 8, and then I'd go home and get ready for school and be back at school by ¼ to 9, and I did that from when I was year, from when I was year 11 till year 13, and then I was going to carry that on until I got to uni, but the hours didn't work 'cos most of my classes started at 8 in my first year. And even during the holidays, I would work 2.30 to 4.30 in the afternoon so that I could support myself and also help out my younger cousin or younger brother so that in some way I was helping my mum as well as helping myself. And then being here at uni and then not working for my first year, I felt like I'd gone back to being a burden to my parents because I wasn't supporting myself, so I started looking for a job again after exams, and then I was a checkout supervisor for the last three years, and it's been pretty hard, but it's definitely taught me to grow up a little bit and, I don't know, helped me to support myself when I could see how much mum was struggling with trying to raise four children as well as look after her parents and siblings back home, but yeah, not the easiest.

Vao's work ethic to achieve collective success went through a challenging period at one point when her health suffered due to the pressure of her workload. Vao points out that learning to relax a bit has helped her return to balance, and this has, in the end, only strengthened her view of what success means to her:

> V. My health at one point was not the greatest, which is why I got really sick second semester last year. I think I started putting so much stress on myself to not only study but then to support my family as well to help out my mum. Being sick sort of changed my point of view on success for a while, because it made me wonder whether or not all the work that I was putting in was actually going to pay off and whether putting that much stress on myself, making me sick, will actually be worth it when I'm successful. But having the first semester off this year and then getting better and having time to think about things and just to relax a little bit, it's definitely helped. And coming back to study this semester, my view on success hasn't changed. If anything, it's helped cement my view on success.

David's perspective on what success might mean was less clear when he started university. David talked about being one of the first of his generation in his family to attempt tertiary education. Although David had a difficult first year in transitioning to university from Wellington, he also began to gain confidence in reaching out for help when he needed it. After failing courses in his first semester, he started to seek help from the PASS programme and received tutoring for a course that became the only course he passed in his first year. David talked about the benefit he received from his PASS tutor:

> D. I think the one-on-one time to just have things explained or talk to me in the way that I could understand, whereas if I'd be sitting in class, I'd be sitting there hearing the lecturer or other people in the class talking, and I wouldn't understand something, and then I'd just sit there trying to pretend like I knew what they were talking about. Yeah, there's not one way that people learn.
>
> Yeah, like a lot of my lecturers, I was too scared to come to them, and I think maybe that because [my PASS tutor] was like a student who had done the course in the past kind of made me feel a bit more able to approach them and ask if I didn't learn, as opposed to the lecturer, scary teacher. In saying that, too, this year, I've … tried building relationships with the lecturers so that I feel more able to ask them for

help if need be, and that's growing my own confidence and just recognising the help's out there and it's not going to be given to me unless I like go get it.

Vao also said she felt too shy to engage with Pasifika in her first year as she was the only Pasifika student in her degree programme year, and she didn't have much opportunity to engage with other Pasifika students. In her second year, due to her high achievement in her courses, Vao was invited to become a PASS tutor for other Pasifika. Vao spoke with me about feeling a stronger sense of belongingness at UC after connecting more with other Pasifika students and services through becoming part of PASS and through starting to meet with other students to study at the Pasifika education space:

> V.   Through doing tutoring and then getting to know other Pacific Island students, that definitely makes you feel a bit more included in the university environment, and I personally feel like it's my best year at uni like 'cos our group in here, although we study different things, we still keep each other accountable for the work that we do. We ask each other how assignments are going, when due dates are so that we're constantly reminding each other of when assignments and things like that are due.

> Q.   You mentioned that this year you felt a little bit more included in the university community. What did it feel like, what did you notice before?

> V.   It really just came out of being the only Pacific Island person in my uni year group. I don't know, it just felt different for me, like coming from a high school which was mostly Pacific Island students there, it was kind of different for me to then come to a school where the Pacific Island students there's not so many of us and I didn't really see a lot of other Pacific Island students around campus.

David and Vao both spoke about experiencing subtle forms of racism from fellow students and lecturers.

David particularly noted that he hadn't experienced racism until he came to Christchurch. David's response to people's assumptions about his identity based on how he looked or sounded was to begin to embrace his Pasifika identity more. David found that people he met in Christchurch made assumptions about his identity based on their reading of his physical appearance or interpretation of his accent as being from "South Auckland" or "Māori".

> D.   When I came down to Christchurch, it's not the whole Christchurch culture, just some people I came into contact with were kind of less … I felt less accepting of who I am and like I was just seen for what I am on the outside … Yeah, I'd say, yeah, racism was a term that came to me down here. I would sometimes tell my family it took me to leave home to come to Christchurch to find out that I am Pacific Islander, that people see me in this particular way and that perhaps I always laughed how people would say by the way I talk I sound like I'm from South Auckland or something, and I'm really from opposite of that. I'm from Wellington, I've been wondering why would these people think that? But you know, now I can actually see I actually do sound like some people that might be from South Auckland, I laugh about it now.

> Q.   Laugh about it now, but how did that feel at the time?

> D.   Oh yeah, at the time, like still trying to find myself, I have other people laughing at me, maybe at times they weren't laughing at me, but I didn't look at it in that way, I tried to laugh with them thinking it's funny, but like long term, I was just like hurting myself, thinking, oh, I should just laugh because they are laughing, even though I don't find it funny. Now I find it funny, because it's been so long maybe denying who I am in a way.

David experienced race-based comments from fellow students in his class that his lecturer did not address or offer him support with. David gave some examples from experiences in class where he had done well in a particular physical activity and classmates had commented that he only did well at sports because he is Samoan.

David talked about preferring lecturers who showed genuine interest in what might be going on with students. David expressed that some lecturers made him feel more welcome than others. He commented that, even when some lecturers talked about treating everyone equally, they hadn't taken into consideration the different ways in which students experience an unequal social context.

Vao gave an example of experiencing subtle racism in a class on biculturalism where she was the only non-Pākehā and non-Māori student participant. Vao described being made to feel that the cultural viewpoint that she brought to the class discussion was not valued. Vao described feeling singled out and undermined by her lecturer who responded to her cultural viewpoints by espousing stereotypes about Pacific Islanders that made her feel deeply uncomfortable. As Vao explained it, this lecturer's inability to manage the discussion of cultural views safely led to her needing to find other ways to remain safe within an unsafe environment. For Vao, this meant choosing to disengage from any further class discussions facilitated by this lecturer during the rest of her studies. Vao made a strategic choice to be silenced and excluded in class rather than risk having her cultural views disrespected again by this particular lecturer. Vao's experience with this lecturer's lack of cultural responsiveness had a flow-on effect in her engagement with all other courses coordinated by this lecturer.

> V. There was one point when we were discussing bicultural values, and the lecturer asked me to give a Pacific Island point of view of what we were talking about. I didn't want to be rude and say no, so when we got to the discussion, it was like he would give a scenario and then you sit in groups and give your culture's point of view on that. The majority of my class, they would sit either in the Māori group or in the group that would just identify themselves as Kiwi, and so I sat by myself. During that whole two-hour lecture which was a discussion around bicultural values, I felt like I was left having to defend my culture, which I personally didn't like. I had to have a bit of a break after class. It didn't bother me that he had asked for my cultural point of view, but then I felt like every time I gave my cultural point of view, he would say something that was sort of stereotypical of our culture, and then it kind of made me feel like our cultural point of view wasn't as valued in my class. To me, it was just I felt singled out, and it kind

of said to me that it's not just other students that stereotype different people, but lecturers could do it too in a real subtle way but at the same time kind of making little digs at your culture without blatantly saying it.

It was my last class for the day, and it totally ruined my whole day, and I was really glad that I didn't have another class to go to because I don't think I could have done it.

Q.   Where did you go after that?

V.   I went to the park and had a cry by myself, 'cos I was like literally singled out because I was the only Pacific Island student in my class, and I didn't really have anyone else to look to back up my opinion. Then the next week, I avoided that lecture for that whole week, and then the week after that, I did go to class, but I just didn't speak up at all.

Q.   Yeah.

V.   And then that was in my second year, and sort of then, I just don't contribute to any of that lectures and 'cos I don't want to, like he asks for people's point of view and sometimes he will ask me personally what my point of view is, and I just say that I agree with someone else, and I don't want to give my own personal view because I don't want to be put in that situation again where I'm asked for my point of view and then it's undermined.

I did feel like I was excluding myself from that class, I didn't feel like my opinion would be valued in that class, and so I would then discuss things with other students outside of class or when we were working on assignments, but I would never say it in class where I knew that there was a chance the lecturer would hear it

Q.   And so you had this lecturer more after that, you had several other courses with him?

V.   Yeah.

Q.   OK yeah, so there was quite a flow-on effect, quite a ripple that affected you sometimes? And this year as well, has that continued?

V.   Yeah, I had him for papers this semester, and I didn't contribute to his class at all. Like I'd contribute in terms of class work, but then when it came back to feeding group ideas back to the rest of the class, I didn't.

When I asked Vao and David about whether they had opportunities to provide feedback to their lecturer about their experiences of subtle racism, they both indicated that they hadn't felt safe to do so. Vao explained that she had made a conscious choice not to provide feedback as she was not confident that her lecturer would have been able to receive it. David reflected that, now he is more confident in his own identity, he hoped to be able to speak up the next time he experienced racism in any form.

D.   … 'cos I know what it's like for so long to not speak up, and now I want to know what it's like to actually open my mouth and speak.

Postscript August 2015: David reflected that his confidence has continued to grow and that he now feels like he can laugh off casual racism more in a way that he said "doesn't cut me up" as much now. David has made some significant changes since we last spoke, having now decided to take a break from studying in sports coaching after realising it might not be where his passion or interest is able to be fully explored. David recognises now that his determination to persist with studying in a degree programme he wasn't fully engaged with may not have served him well. He has now reframed his thinking about passing or failing courses as not about his ability or commitment to try but also a reflection of his career and course choices, which he is now spending time in reassessing. David recently had a session with a career consultant and is now considering getting a teacher aide job in a primary school or ECE setting, as he wants to explore how the job might feel before stepping into a commitment to undertake more study.

3.7 Connecting education and research to Pasifika communities

Mel is a postgraduate Tongan student who started at UC after high school. Mel first used PASS in her second-year biology course and was tutored by a PhD student who tutored her in his office or at the library. Mel noted that she benefited from being tutored by a postgraduate student as it gave her an insight into what postgraduate life was like at an early stage of her study. Mel described her first PASS tutor:

> M.   … almost like an Islander in the way he tutored … he told me what his expectation was and I needed to work towards that, and you know, I remember, even one time, I was like I have no time for tutoring, he was like what are you doing on Sunday, I was like I'm going to church, he was like come after church to my office, we're going to have tutoring, and I knew I had to be on top of things, so that really pushed me.

Mel talked about experiencing both academic and social benefits from her involvement with PASS. Mel talked about using PASS for most of her courses because she noticed it helped her get good grades as well as forming connections.

> M.   … building relationships with the postgrad department leads a lot into that sense of belonging on campus … socially, it was also very good, which to me, I can't really separate the two like academic and social, which I don't know if that's a Pacific thing, but yeah, to be able to succeed long term, I think I have to feel like I belong, so yeah, having relationships within the department is so important to me, it's something that I consider when I schedule things in, like maintaining relationships with people in the department, I consider that as part of my study because it's helped me so much, so I can't be an isolated successful person.

Mel was both a PASS tutor and a Pasifika mentor during her studies on campus so had strong networks of Pasifika friends at the University from early on.

Mel talked about finding affirmation of her Tongan-ness through being a Tongan scholarship student but also through being involved with the Pacific Development Team.

M.   I guess because I'm half caste, being a scholarship recipient helped reaffirm my Tongan-ness to maybe other Pacific Islanders, because at first glance, I would say I look quite Palagi, which is just the way it is, people tell me until I open my mouth and they hear my accent they wouldn't know that I have any connection to the Islands, so I guess being a scholarship recipient then saying I'm a scholarship recipient from Tonga that kind of helped with the whole Tongan thing. Yeah, having PDT being involved with the stuff PDT did, I guess that helped me kind of figure out my identity as a Tongan in New Zealand and in an academic context as well.

Mel gave a summation of the opportunity and the challenge faced by Pasifika students at the University of Canterbury as compared to the Auckland Pasifika experience.

M.   UC I think is really unique because of the size and location. So location, we're close to the Pacific right here, so there's definitely, you know, in a Pacific context, but yet we're not like Auckland where there's a mass of people and you just kind of, like you don't even have to distinctly say you're an Islander or anything because everyone is, I mean every second person it seems like, whereas Canterbury, like I feel Canterbury or UC in particular, coming as a Pacific Islander, you get the unique chance to try and I guess carve out your own identity as an Islander, because it's not already set for you, like it is in Auckland, which I think is a good thing, although in that carving out, there's a lot of struggling because there's a very, you know, the culture here on campus in general is very white, I don't know what's the formal way of saying that, it's just very, you know, kind of this is the way things are done, just get in line, you know, figure your way out. So I think, as a Pacific Islander here, when you do step up and speak up in lectures and talk to your lecturers about being a Pacific Islander, I guess, like your critique of their way of doing things as well, then that can be something that I think is unique to UC because you're not lost in a faceless crowd of Islanders, because there's not that many of you but

yet there's enough that they have to kind of take notice. So at UC, I've had my own struggles of misunderstandings with staff members here, with good intentions like they've had good intentions, but maybe in trying to relate to the Pacific way, they've sort of overdone it in some sense … and with friends of mine, it's also happened, where they feel they've been not treated equally as say a Pākehā student would, because they are Pacific Islanders. So I would say those aren't uncommon experiences on campus, at least in my circle of friends

Mel has had opportunity to do focused research on Tonga in her postgraduate study, expressing a strong need to give back to Tonga in order to feel like she was succeeding in her studies. Mel spoke of how this was encouraged by some academic staff, and with others, it became a point of conflict. Mel gave the example of a project where she was the only Tongan on the research team and felt a strong need to take the findings from the research back to Tonga, which she did with the support of her lecturer. More recently, Mel found that working on another project in Tonga, she was discouraged from being too ambitious in attempting to connect her research with the Tongan community. Mel was told to downsize her assignment because her lecturer explained that "this is just an academic exercise". Mel talked about the mutual frustration that arose between her and her lecturer on this issue, which Mel described as a clash of cultural perspective about the purpose of education.

> M.   … why even get an education if you can't actually do something with it outside of the educational institute? Like outside of getting an A, like you need to make that A be an A in the real world as well, so yeah, I told them I was like it's really hard for me as Islander to think of doing something just for me, just for a grade, which is what you're telling me to do, because I need to see what is the use of it outside of this course … so from a Tongan lens, what I've been looking into is that you know there's the knowledge you seek after knowledge because you want to benefit someone else, you want to benefit the community, so you're looking whether, back then, if it's a way of fishing so that you always, so your family was always provided for in your village, or now with study, what can you contribute? How is it

actually contributing back? But in the Western model of education, how I see it, it's not actually about contributing to anyone except for yourself, it's a very individualised personalised little model, it's all about building you up as a person and setting you up to have the highest salary you can aim for, for what, I don't know, to spend it on whatever you want to spend it on, which is alright, but I think it's selling us short of what could be. Especially as Islanders, the values that we're raised with, sometimes there's a disconnect between what the lecturers are asking us to do in assignments and the potential, like what we actually could be doing and what we could be writing about, what we could be thinking about – just linking things back into how it translates into the community.

Mel talked about appreciating being able to stay close to her motivation to achieve academically by being involved with the Pacific Development Team in mentoring Pasifika at high school and at UC.

M. … so going into the high schools and seeing the kids' faces and stuff, maybe they got something out of it from what I said to them, but I got a lot more out of it just, you know, standing there seeing them and being like, yeah, this is the reason why I do what I do, and this is why I want to pass. It's not because of a grade which no one will ever see, like it's about them and stuff, so I am thankful being connected to PDT that I get the chance to do things like that. But what about the other students who don't really get to? You know, when they're feeling low on motivation in lectures, like 'Complete this academic assignment,' 'Why?' 'Because I'm going to fail you if you don't.' I don't know how they look for the inspiration or, yeah, line things up with I guess our own epistemologies as Pacific Islanders where we need the knowledge to matter outside of ourselves, to really pursue it, you know.

Mel also sees that her concern about the mismatch in epistemology for Pasifika at the University may have some potential for resolution in 'service learning'.

> M.   One thing that I've been looking at that could line up well with a lot of Pacific ways of thinking is service learning, which Canterbury has started to embrace, I think, … Like after the earthquake, doing a lot of research that looks out to the community … it would be interesting for me … if assessments could be arranged in a way that they [Pasifika students] could have the chance to feed back into the community what they are learning and benefit both parties.

3.8   Inviting the village – reciprocal learning

Olita talked about being strongly influenced by her Samoan values and having to find ways to remain congruent with her values in the University learning environment. Olita found that she was able to ask questions of her lecturers face to face after class but that asking questions or offering her opinion during class was more difficult for her, as doing so went against her Samoan upbringing.

> O.   Being a Samoan, having those values, like you don't answer the teachers back or you don't talk to them while in class. Even though I'm an adult student, they are still wrapped around me, and the only way I can put my opinion through to the lecturers … is making an arrangement for a meeting face to face. And that's when I can actually stress my feelings or put my opinions towards the course … I find that really helpful because I know most lecturers don't know or understand how our Pasifika people learn and the way we were brought up. But by doing that [meeting face to face] … hopefully, that will make some kind of sense to them and able to relate to our people more in the future when they're in the classroom … It's not that we can't do it or we're not capable, it's just the way we've been brought up and it's so hard to break these, you know, come out of the shell.

Olita's first language is Samoan, and she found that, returning to study as a mature student, there were some hard lessons to learn about academic reading and writing. Olita describes a mutual learning process with her lecturers where she took time to build relationships with them:

O. … just to let them know you know how we learned, for them to get a good understanding about who we are, being a Pasifika, and how to value our values and value our voice as well. Because it all comes down to making relationships.

Olita valued the feedback from her lecturers even though, at times, it was hard to receive. Olita went to discuss the feedback on her first essay with her lecturer:

O. I felt like that, you know, the teacher doesn't understand, you know, English is my second language … and I actually make an effort to go and ask her, and I … because there was so much reading and I hate reading, and umm, how do you deal with the reading, you know, there's so much reading, how do we deal with it, and she said skim reading, how do you do skim reading, you know, that was my first year and she expect all these … but the comments she put on the feedback, umm, I was a bit upset with it, and the other way I actually look at it in a positive side, umm, that helped me to make, you know, to be more determined towards of what I'm doing and have the attitude. I have to prove it to her that she's wrong, that I can do it, I'm not dumb, you know, it's just like I had the power in me, not letting anyone to kind of like underestimate who I am, yeah, so I look at that side, if there wasn't that feedback you know, I wouldn't be where I am now, you know what I mean, because it was my first assignment and I remember back in the days how Samoan teachers teach us, you know, as the hard way, it wasn't the easy way, so I think in a way it was really good, yeah.

Olita explained that doing the Bachelor of Teaching and Learning (Early Childhood) has encouraged her to remain strong in her Samoan values as well as learn to value other cultures more:

O. You have to know the family's background before you make an assumption of the kids and their families, so it's very good that, you know, I'm so glad I'm actually doing this, because it helps me to be

able to get past that, you know, what I mean, accept other cultures as well, instead of me making assumptions, you know, for example what Palagi or Kiwi people are like, you know, have to accept them for who they are, that's their culture, instead of me making assumptions.

Olita was able to support her class and students from other programmes to engage with Samoan culture by initiating a professional teaching practice placement in her village, hosted by her family in Samoa. Olita and I spoke about how her initiative and the responsiveness of the ECE degree programme coordinators to welcome this project provided a platform for her to include her cultural identity in her learning to a much greater extent. I asked Olita if this project and the focus on cultural identity in the programme generally allowed her to feel a deeper sense of inclusion or belongingness at UC. Olita expressed that she felt that the experience was not just beneficial for herself personally but that it gave her Palagi classmates a deeper insight into a Pasifika culture and that this would have a positive flow on effect on their professional practice with Pasifika children and families. Olita's view of the benefits of including her Samoan culture through professional practice placement in Samoa was also tied to a reciprocity of benefit that she saw for the village school that hosted the teachers. Olita's focus in that sense was not on the benefit to herself individually of inclusion of her culture but on collective benefit to all involved. Olita's congruence with what are generally understood Pasifika values of collective endeavour with reciprocal and respectful relationships is mirrored in her response to my questions about inclusion.

> O.   I heard they have this UC partnership with China, and they're allowed to send students to China for their placement as well, and that's where I said to myself, well, if they can do that with China, why can't they do it with Pasifika? I mean, we know that New Zealand is a multicultural country, but why don't they actually look at their neighbours, like for example the Pasifika, and that's when I raised my hand up and ask if I can do my placement in Samoa, because it's a privilege that I learned a lot from here, and I like to take that back to my hometown to share what I've learned and be able to learn more from my people back home as well … the first 12 years of my life I still remember, you know, the learning there [in Samoa], and I feel like some of it I agree with it and some I don't agree with it, and I think

that I learn from here [New Zealand] that I love to take it home. Not everything will actually like fall into the environment or fit in the culture, yeah, but I guess it will be easier coming from a Samoan person, it will probably be easier for them to accept. And that's how this whole trip started … and that's where it gave me the opportunity to take students who are studying the same degree, to become a teacher, to go with me, and for me, it was a privilege that for these other, you know, white Palagi students able to go and experience the culture, because I believe that when they graduate out there, I really want them to be able to have a good understanding of who we are and able to relate to our people. I want them to know that we do things for love, not just, you know, what I mean, yeah, and it's important for them to respect our kids and their whānau, their family or aiga and don't be judgemental. I showed them how we communicate, you know, our people love face to face, we don't like letters, it doesn't go that far, but face to face is a great way of communication. It's good for them to be aware that, you know, when our parents come in and stay out at the gate, it's not that they don't want to be part of it. They want to feel belonging, but the only way is for us teachers to make the effort to go to the parents. You don't wait for the parents to come to you, because we respect the teachers, we feel that teachers know more than us. But what we don't know is that our experience and values will contribute in our children's learning and that's what I learned is, through doing this, it's amazing, our experience helps the teachers to develop and empower or enhance our children's learning. So it's like a big contribution towards our children's learning and development.

Olita's own experience in her early education influenced her sense of what is needed for Pasifika learners. Olita reflected that her parents weren't involved much in her schooling in New Zealand. However, this changed with her own children. Olita felt she wanted to engage directly with her children's teachers to check if there were things they needed help with. Olita described feeling lost in the school learning environment when she first arrived in New Zealand. English was Olita's second language, and she recalled the remedial reading sessions

at school, which were the only site of connection she had with the other four Pasifika children at her school who were otherwise not in her regular classes. The deficit stereotyping of Pasifika English as additional language students as only having remedial needs rather than recognising their bi or multi-linguistic and polycultural capital, has been turned around by Olita in her offering of her cultural expertise to contribute back into the New Zealand education system through her engagement in her own children's learning and now through her engagement in the Bachelor of Teaching and Learning (Early Childhood) programme at UC.

Olita took a relationship-building approach to her own learning at UC, building connections with her lecturers and seeking support from tutors through the PASS programme. Olita described the cultural competency she noticed from non-Pasifika PASS tutors with Pasifika learners as being about listening. Olita noted that both non-Pasifika and Pasifika PASS tutors worked well with Pasifika learners because of their willingness to engage in active listening to students, which led to a collaborative learning process with Pasifika students.

> O.   I've used a lot of the PASS programme, and it's because I wanted to fulfil my dream and I love how you use people that [are] able to relate to us with our learning, people that can actually listen, like they're not Pasifika, but they're able to listen and to do the best they can to meet our learning development and to help us to succeed and to pass our paper, you know our assignments and essays. So it was really good that the non-Pasifika tutors that you guys hired have that good understanding of the strategies to actually work with our people, and I actually work with our Pasifika tutor as well, and it's really good having people that support each other, and when you talk to them, they can easily, like, make connections.

At the end of our talanoa, I acknowledged the many roles that Olita has in life, including her role in her aiga as a matai and a mother, both roles in which she operates outside of UC, but that she acknowledges influence her sense of being a role model. Olita particularly referred to her children as the main motivation for her in pursuing her dream to complete her degree in order to move into more meaningful and financially secure work. Olita's final comments in our session were words of encouragement to others to follow their dreams:

O. I believe with all my heart that everyone can do it, no one is dumb, we all have that capability to be capable and confident learners, and we are all blessed in different areas.

3.9 Recommendations from Pasifika students' stories

From the students' talanoa summaries, a number of direct recommendations for the University can be drawn, including:

- Proactive engagement with students to identify strengths and needs.
- Culturally responsive, learning support programmes are continued and developed, appropriate training is provided to tutors and peer learning communities are fostered.
- Developing evidence based pedagogy of collaboration and caring.
- Provision of professional development to all university staff on cultural responsiveness with Pasifika learners and their contexts.
- Stimulating discussions around adaptive strategies for dealing with mono-cultural environments and other barriers such as 'stereotype threat', and racism.
- Opportunities for reciprocal learning are fostered, including immersion in Pasifika bi-lingual and cultural contexts.
- Embedded explicit instruction in academic writing requirements in core first year courses.
- Transition/progression support at every level that scaffolds Pasifika students into further opportunities building on strengths (for example, pre-degree to first year, progression through degree programmes, postgraduate study, employment, leadership opportunities).
- Postgraduate students could be connected into inter-disciplinary interest groups or collaborative learning pods, with collective mentors or collective supervisors to reduce postgraduate isolation.
- Assessment and teaching practices take into consideration the multiple responsibilities common to many Pasifika learners.
- Pasifika research is connected to Pasifika communities, supported by wider understanding of Pasifika research protocols at the university.
- Engaging in supporting independent learning development while fostering interdependent learning communities.
- Critical voices are sought out, heard, valued and responded to.

- Feedback and feed forward mechanisms with complete feedback loops more widely available to students within courses and delivered in culturally appropriate ways.

- Opportunities for critical reflection provided to university staff through professional development that offers support to unsettle misguided assumptions about Pasifika.

- Increased demonstration of acceptance of minority groups with the pan-Pasifika grouping.

- Increased Pasifika content taught across UC, particularly within core courses of professional qualifications and especially where cross-cultural competencies are needed to work effectively in that profession.

CHAPTER 4   STORIES FROM THE LITERATURE

Decentring the canon has been a major interest of researchers concerned with social decolonisation since the late 90s in the Pacific (Laenui, 2000; Smith, 1999). However, the decentring process comes with associated risks. Some kaupapa Māori theorists have noted that stepping outside the canon has come with the risk of a developing orthodoxy "stuck in a self-referential movement" (Hoskins, 2012, p. 89), enacted, for example, when students evoke indigenous research methodologies and declare that they are only reading scholarly work by indigenous writers (Te Punga Somerville, 2011, cited in Hoskins, 2012). Also, what happens when your own people's minority voices begin to join the canon, the academy? Is there still a need to reframe our 'folk' stories as the most authentic voices of excluded knowledges? Do we have to keep telling our stories or can we just refer to our Pasifika and indigenous scholars now?

One response has been in my choice to deliberately treat the literature as another set of stories in relationship to students' stories. In this chapter, the literature is not treated here as the genesis or the dominant story (even though it may be elsewhere). The literature is not treated here as the primary reference point from which to frame Pasifika students' voices. Someone else can write that thesis. In this restorying process, the literature is respected, but it is decentred to make way for our bodies, located in space and time, in talanoa, within our own theorising of ourselves.

To place the voices of 'authority', however coloured and however hued, off centre; to give the voice of the 'expert,' the experience of the marginalised, dislocated voice – these are issues addressed in my thesis structure to mirror the changes to educational design and our attitudinal responses to how knowledge is framed that need to alter to make room for Pasifika knowledges and culturally responsive practices. The intention is also to mirror talanoa processes. In talanoa, we speak face to face so we know each other when we speak. When we create new knowledges, we build consensus through embodied relationships that are accountable to each other. All other stories, including those experts in the academy, sit separate to that talanoa. We can gossip about those stories but only while we hold the space.

What follows in this chapter are what might elsewhere be conceived of as the real, the expert, the evidenced and the true or dominant stories. Instead, in this thesis, Pasifika student voices take dominance, mimic in self-importance and engage in counter story with these 'other' stories from the literature. Using 'other voices', in this chapter, I look at how Pasifika

students are constructed in relation to key concepts of this thesis – inclusion, success and what works and what does not work to engage Pasifika as Pasifika in effective learning supports.

Within the exploration of related themes, I have also been influenced by critical restorying deconstruction guidelines offered by Boje and Dennehy (1993) that identify phases of narrative deconstruction. I have adapted these phases with Boje (1999)'s critical restorying guidelines in order to critically restory dominant stories of inclusion, success and supplementary tutoring. Some of the questions from Boje's guidelines that I have asked of the students' stories and the stories from the literature are explored in the following sections.

- What are the dominant stories of inclusion, success and effective learning supports that can be externalised and named?
- What are the dominant hierarchy effects that can be externalised and named?
- What affirmations of counter stories can be made from student stories?
- What strengths can be reclaimed?
- What can these stories suggest for how to restory inclusion, success and effective learning supports at the University of Canterbury?

4.1   Inclusion

The Pasifika students' stories spoke about student barriers and enablers to inclusion at the University. Most students expressed feelings of inclusion associated with confidence, belongingness, self-efficacy, cultural confidence, reduced exposure to racism and stereotype threat within Pasifika communities on and off campus. UC courses and UC in general were not strongly associated with sites of inclusion mentioned by Pasifika students, apart from a few notable exceptions such as PASS Tutoring, UC Pathways, the School of Mathematics and Statistics, Bridging programmes and the Bachelor of Teaching and Learning (Early Childhood) programme. In the examples Pasifika students gave of inclusive contexts at the university, they often described strongly proactive, developmental teaching or advising relationships of care and empathy where Pasifika knowledges were valued and fostered by peer learning communities.

Overall, students spoke more about their experiences of exclusion than inclusion, often outlining institutional barriers to being included. Examples of barriers given in the students' stories were stereotype threat (in class contexts), institutional lack of diverse cultural capital

and cultural responsiveness, cultural taxation of minority ethnic groups, Eurocentric hegemony, institutional lack of relationship focus, lack of feedback and feed forward opportunities (student to educator and educator to student) within the duration of a course, prioritisation of information processes over developmental relationships, hostile university culture and casual racism from educators and peers. In relation to personal barriers to inclusion, some students spoke about a lack of preparedness and study skills as well as a lack of confidence and subsequent reluctance to engage on campus.

The Pasifika students' stories describe the hierarchy effects of experiences of exclusion, including strategic silence in class to reduce stereotype threat, (Vao, 2014), non-attendance and reduced engagement on campus in response to unfriendly or hostile environments (Jo, 2014; David, 2014), mental stress and grief associated with feelings of not belonging (Natalie, 2014), experiences of 'cultural taxation' due to misguided assumptions and a lack of value ascribed to Pasifika knowledges by the academy (Natalie, 2014). In listening to the experiences of Pasifika students, some of the themes that arise bring forth further questions about what kinds of actions TEOs can take to support Pasifika inclusion, requiring a deeper look at what inclusion means.

What constitutes inclusion for Pasifika?

Inclusive education was initially associated with a narrow focus on overcoming barriers to engaging in education for students with 'special needs' (DES, 1978). However, alternative definitions have evolved to, 'suggest that inclusive education should be concerned with overcoming barriers to participation that may be experienced by any pupils,' (Ainscow, 1999, p. 218, in Hockings, 2010, p. 1). Ainscow defines inclusion as a:

> … process of increasing the participation of pupils in, and reducing their exclusion from, the cultures, curricula and communities of their local schools'. This notion of inclusion, he argues, 'lays the foundations for an approach that could lead to the transformation of the system itself (Ainscow, 1999, p. 219). Dyson (2003) supports this notion, arguing that 'many children who currently experience difficulty in our schools share important characteristics and are educated in settings that themselves have similarities'. This, he continues, makes it more likely that 'systemic rather than individual interventions' will come to be seen as appropriate to practitioners and policy-makers (p. 125). In other words, the learning

environment should change, rather than the individual, (Hockings, 2010, p. 1).

In this thesis, the term 'inclusion' relates to a view of education that recognises that transformation of the education system, in this instance, university contexts for tertiary education, is required to increase participation and student engagement for diverse learners who have previously experienced exclusion from 'the cultures, curricula and communities,' (Ainscow & Miles, 2008 cited in O'Halloran, 2014a), of the education system. In the New Zealand context, successive Tertiary Education Strategies (TES) from the Ministry of Education have sought to increase inclusion, particularly for groups who have historically not fared well in the labour market or in tertiary education. The current TES (2014–2019) identifies specific goals for increased participation, retention, completion and progression for Māori, Pasifika and youth who are given 'priority learner' status – students with disabilities are no longer part of the 'priority learner' categories, although they are included in earlier TES (2013). Identification of priority learners based on equity needs requires a deficit lens through which to view Māori and Pasifika learners in order to conceptualise entitlement to equity-based priority funding. However, as Wilson et al. (2011) point out, inequity in education and social outcomes arises out of a historical context of disenfranchisement. Sonn et al. (2000), cited in Wilson et al. (2011), call for universities to attend to their culturally bound policies and practices including cultural responsiveness training as an essential critical analysis of dominant culture and history that can shed light on the historical and social roots of disadvantage and inequity. Brayboy (2006) takes this further to recommend that: 'institutions should honestly explore the manner in which they may be hostile towards indigenous people by asking about their experiences, what leads to their success, and what could institutions do differently to better meet their needs,' (Brayboy, 2006, cited in Wilson et al., 2011).

Diversity and inclusion

Any discussion of inclusion also relates to the term 'diversity', which, in the context of inclusive education at tertiary level, refers to all under-represented and underserved minority students. Inclusion of diverse learners has both a rights and equity focus, as inclusive pedagogy grew out of the multicultural education movement arising out of civil rights in the US as a tool to promote respect and equity for a wide range of cultural groups (Banks, 2013). In Aotearoa New Zealand, Pasifika inclusion intersects with disability advocacy, kaupapa

Māori pedagogy and other diversity discourses. Samu (2013) undertook a theoretical review of diversity as it relates to Pasifika education approaches, revealing the complexity of competing interests within such umbrella terms. Samu (2013) found three areas of diversity discourses that can be summated as: diversity as descriptor of variation; diversity as a prescription for implementation of effective teaching and learning strategies for diverse learners; and diversity education aimed at bringing about improved social cohesion within increasingly diverse societies (Samu, 2013, p. 101). This thesis touches all three aspects of discourses of diversity, returning most often to the potential for inclusion of diverse indigenous and Pasifika knowledges to advance the social decolonisation of education in New Zealand towards a more equitable and socially cohesive society.

Whose knowledge is included?

> The view from my grandmother's veranda now needs to extend to the view
> beyond my grandmother's veranda – the world needs re-indigenising,
> (Smith, 2012).

Being successful and experiencing inclusion cannot be perceived separately from the politics of knowledge as an actively contested space. In this thesis, there is a conscious privileging of indigenous and Pasifika peoples' own understandings of terms related to higher education, such as 'inclusion' and 'success', 'knowledge' and 'quality'. Questions of 'Whose knowledge is taught?' at the University of Canterbury were asked more than a decade ago by Petelo (2003) in her study on Samoan students at the university:

> The knowledge taught and accepted in this institution is monocultural and
> draws from European traditions… [if] this university continues its
> exclusionary practices, which deny its place in the Pacific or in developing
> the future of the Pacific, participation, retention and continuation of Pacific
> students will not improve to any significant extent, (Petelo, 2003, p. 299
> cited in Luafutu et al.,2015).

Indigenous Hawaiian educational philosopher Manulani Aluli Meyer talks about indigenous understandings of quality in centres of higher learning being connected to time, space and place where cultural frames of reference for quality and measurement for success are not necessarily about 'templates of comparison or review of aggregated data,' (Meyer, 2005 cited in O'Halloran, 2014a). The approach Meyer outlines for use in accreditation of indigenous

centres of higher learning instead focuses on inquiry into how content and teaching, learning and community relationships engage with the wider aims of strengthening language, culture and belief systems (Meyer, 2005). Both Meyer and Petelo, evoke questions about whose knowledge systems Pasifika peoples' are included into within tertiary education contexts? Knowing for what purpose? As Mel voices in her story:

> … it's really hard for me as Islander to think of doing something just for me, just for a grade, … because I need to see what is the use of it outside of this course …so from a Tongan lens, you seek after knowledge because you want to benefit someone else, you want to benefit the community – just linking things back into how it translates into the community (Mel, 2014).

These questions of whose knowledge and for what purpose, are questions that we necessarily engage in when we speak about inclusion and success for Pasifika as Pasifika.

Pasifika epistemologies and decolonising education

In the 90s, Thaman advocated for a decolonisation of education through encouraging her students to develop critical local vernacular philosophies of education embedded in their local Pacific cultures and languages, (Thaman, 2000). Students of Thaman at the University of the South Pacific learned to compare the educational values of their own culture with those of the Western canon as a way of reclaiming their education (Thaman, 2000), which Thaman went on to describe in her research as 'an important part of the ongoing process of decolonising higher education in the Pacific' (Thaman, 2003, p. 127). This 'decolonisation of the mind' process for Pasifika education in New Zealand has not been widespread. However, there have been consistent moves by Pasifika and Pacific Island academics to name Pasifika indigenous epistemologies, often in order to encourage approaches to raising Pasifika achievement based on indigenous ways of knowing. One such example from Meyer (2001) outlines Hawaiian indigenous knowledge principles to provide a potential source of engagement for Hawaiian youth in a decolonised education steeped in their own place-based cultural empiricism. As Meyer (2001) noted after speaking with 20 Hawaiian elders on Hawaiian ways of knowing:

> Knowledge has a genesis, it has a place of origin, and it has a specific decorating theme. Knowledge is shaped by what culture believes are "best practices," (Meyer, 2001, p. 127).

Some of the aspects highlighted in Meyer's study involved knowledge acquisition via the senses, based on function, ethics and sense of place. Without a full investigation here of indigenous Pacific Island knowledges, the most relevant findings for this thesis from the likes of Meyer (2001, 2005, 2011), Thaman (2003), Hau'ofa (1993, 1998), Gegeo (2001) and others who have grappled with Pasifika epistemology are that Pasifika peoples' indigenous knowledges are essential aspects of a relevant and 'decolonised' education for Pasifika students. As Gegeo (2001) affirms, rather than suggesting peripheral multiculturalism at the edge of Eurocentric hegemony, for Pasifika:

> True independence comes from dehegemonisation, that is, undoing the already established hegemony, (Gegeo, 2001, p. 493).

A decolonised and dehegemonised education in the Pacific, provides a platform of alliances for indigenous Pacific / Pasifika peoples across the region. Recognising the value of indigenous Pacific/Pasifika ways of knowing is a first step in providing a more inclusive education for Pasifika students to succeed as Pasifika in Aotearoa New Zealand. The next step would be putting into place opportunities to experience indigenous knowledges, including support for engaging and retaining Pasifika heritage languages and cultural values. Will education in New Zealand come to value the reality of 'other' ways of knowing? In the context of competing interests in global economic outcomes from higher-education graduates, will there be room to prioritise extending the space for indigenous, especially those indigenous knowledges belonging within this region, to continue and thrive?

At the University of Canterbury, we are fortunate to have the Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies leading the university's Pasifika research scholarship. There has also been increasing momentum in engagement with Tangata whenua indigenous knowledges throughout the curriculum through the inclusion of bicultural competencies in the UC graduate attributes beginning to be rolled out for all qualifications. This has opened the door to increasing the scope of 'whose knowledge is included' at the University. While the flow-on effects of this new initiative are yet to be seen, there is some hope for indigenous knowledges, tangata whenua (indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand), tangata Pasifika (indigenous peoples of the Pacific region, particularly within Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia) and others that such a cracking open of the academy to include indigenous ways of knowing may deliver on improved inclusion for all those whose cultural empiricism differs from that of te ao Pākehā (Western cultural paradigm).

An example of an issue raised in student talanoa on the effect of exclusionary knowledge practices was around 'cultural taxation' of minority ethnicity students. While much of the research focuses on the experience of exclusion for underserved/underachieving Pasifika, very little focuses attention on the effect of exclusion in limiting excellence for high achievers. Although the term 'cultural taxation' has more often been applied to minority academic tertiary teachers, one of the students interviewed applied it to her own experience. Although 'cultural taxation' can take many forms:

> Some of the more easily recognised forms of cultural taxation identified by Padilla (1994) include being asked to provide expertise in matters of diversity within an organisation. (Torepe, 2011, p. 17)

Natalie, a high-achieving postgraduate student, used the term 'cultural taxation' as a term to describe the overburdening of minority ethnicity students who may experience pressure to provide expertise in matters of diversity to fill gaps where expertise is not readily available from within the institution. Natalie gave an example from her own experience where cultural taxation took the form of an assumption that cultural competence as it applied to her field of study could be theorised, learned and engaged in professionally by herself as a Pasifika student, with little or no support. Natalie's account detailed the personal cost to her of a Eurocentric curriculum that failed to provide her with access to multicultural theoretical perspectives. Natalie spoke about engaging with clients and colleagues who expected her to work with them in a 'Pacific way', simply because of her identity, even though there was no explicit training in 'Pacific modalities' or 'Pacific cultural competency' in her training. Natalie attempted to meet her educational needs herself by funding supervision off campus and enrolling in courses unable to be credited to her degree programme in order to fill knowledge gaps about how to work cross-culturally. At an individual student level, the consequence of not yet having a shared framework for including Pasifika diverse linguistic and cultural knowledges, is evident in some of the stories and points to the recognised need for contextualised learning and relevant content integration to support inclusion of diverse learners.

Debate often occurs in New Zealand on what basis Pasifika languages and knowledges might warrant inclusion in education. Some of this debate has occurred most recently around establishing a Pasifika Languages policy that gives recognition to the right to speak and learn Pasifika languages in New Zealand. Proponents of providing special recognition in New

Zealand to the indigenous languages of New Zealand Realm Pacific nations developed strong research based arguments in support of a Pasifika Languages policy, stating that any attempt to develop such a document should address:

> …the central notion of 'promotion-oriented language rights'; Entitlement to such rights will also need to be outlined on the basis of New Zealand's constitutional obligations with respect to Cook Islands Māori, Niuean and Tokelauan as 'indigenous languages of the realm of New Zealand' (Human Rights Commission, 2008b), as well as in relation to the principle in international law of 'where numbers warrant' (de Varennes 1996; May 2008), the latter being clearly applicable to the Samoan and Tongan languages; Arguments in support of promotion-oriented Pasifika language rights will also need to articulate clearly the wider education, economic and social benefits for Pasifika and New Zealand society as a whole if such rights are to be granted, (May, 2009).

As May asserts:

> Official recognition of te reo Māori and NZSL is predicated on their status as languages that are indigenous to New Zealand, as outlined clearly in key precepts in both national and international law. Such recognition of New Zealand's indigenous languages is clearly paramount and incontestable. However, an unfortunate additional presumption has been that other language groups, such as Pasifika, are 'mere' migrant minority groups, (May, 2009).

As the mounting interest grew in the debate, different voices framed the discussion carefully to steer the discussion away from any perception that Pasifika peoples might be claiming rights that appeared to dilute the rights of tangata whenua or others.

> While New Zealand has a particular responsibility under the Treaty of Waitangi and international law to protect and promote te reo Māori as the indigenous language of New Zealand, it also has a special responsibility to protect and promote other languages that are indigenous to the New

Zealand realm: Vagahau Niue, Gagana Tokelau, Cook Islands Māori, and New Zealand Sign Language, (Komiti Pasifika, 2010).

Progress halted in 2012 on the case brought to the Human Rights Commission against the Ministry of Education for failure to provide adequate Pacific language services to early childhood centres and schools, when the ministry refused to attend hearings or take part in discussion, (Corlett, 2014). Following the human rights case, a group of law academics also made a submission to the United Nations highlighting the constitutional rights Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau have as their indigenous languages are under the legal realm of New Zealand, (Corlett, 2014).

The debates around how to progress inclusion of bi/multi-lingual Pasifika knowledges into education, have also been in regard to more general cultural inclusion. While much specific work has been done in the compulsory school sector and in higher education to make strategic and operational changes to include Pasifika knowledges, the Pasifika students' stories shared in this thesis seem to highlight the variable progress achieved. The students stories' of the university identify some specific attempts to include Pasifika perspectives on certain topics by seeking students' opinions, but very little movement to introduce Pasifika research as primary course content, with cultural diversity often reduced to stereotypes.

What shift might be needed to create the momentum for inclusion of Pasifika knowledges and linguistically diverse literacies in the New Zealand education system more widely? At a Pacific regional level, it is worth noting the potential for collaborative pan-Pacific Island leadership in facilitating engagement with what has become a global indigenous knowledge economy towards including Pacific languages and cultures in the education systems of the region. The Pacific Leaders Forum, of which New Zealand is also a member, recently voiced commitments in the Hiri Declaration 2015 pointing to the pursuit of strengthening connections to enhance Pacific regionalism for all. A number of areas are mentioned in the commitments listed, including the, 'Sharing of knowledge, skills, preservation and promotion of our traditional and cultural values, (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2015).' In making these commitments, New Zealand and all those attending Pacific Leaders, recognised 'the legacy of our ancestors' regional interactions and exchanges that created our identity as peoples of the Pacific,' (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2015). Other commitments New Zealand has made internationally, such as the signing of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2011, provide clear statements in support of indigenous

peoples', such as those of the New Zealand realm nations' of the Cook Islands, Niue, and Tokelau, whose diaspora populations in New Zealand now outnumber those in home islands, (Wilson, 2015), as well as those previous colonies of New Zealand, such as Samoa. Reframing Pasifika inclusion in tertiary education as part of UN-endorsed indigenous rights frameworks, has implications for deeper enquiry around what, why and how education engages Pasifika as Pasifika in the region and provides other avenues for advocacy and collaboration.

Engaging Pasifika as Pasifika, as a UC and TEC guiding strategy, necessarily places tertiary institutions in dialogue with regional conversations about who Pasifika peoples are in a wider context, including the indigenous knowledges, languages and cultural paradigms that 'remain' and are 'reclaimed' within the post-colonial Pasifika diaspora. The extent to which Pasifika diaspora peoples from New Zealand realm nations and previous New Zealand colonies can make claim to special acknowledgement in New Zealand, particularly for those whose populations in New Zealand now outnumber home island populations, requires a deeper enquiry than I can offer in this thesis. As Tuia reminds us, many of the post-colonial education systems in the Pacific Islands, like those in Samoa, reflect a 'third space' where cultural hybridity is present. The opportunity presented by 'third space' polycultural occupation in educational contexts, is described by Tuia, as a space where no one culture is dominant, but where Pasifika values are given their space alongside universal values, where, '…we find the discourse with which we can speak of ourselves and others,' (Tuia, 2013, p. 72).

What has 'capital' got to do with it?

Many have identified this struggle for recognition of 'other' knowledges by the academy as a disconnection between types of 'cultural capital' – between the 'cultural capital' of minority ethnicity learners and the 'cultural capital' that is valued by the institution, (Bourdieu, 1986). With no specific guiding strategy to require its inclusion, Pasifika 'cultural capital' has often been excluded from content integration or pedagogical practices of TEOs in New Zealand, or at least often side-lined into specific areas of focus such as Pacific studies. In this way, indigenous Pasifika knowledges have remained embodied outside of what is generally included and valued by neoliberal market-driven education. While exclusionary practices remain in place, any talk of inclusion in mainstream education contexts may also be assumed

to refer to the risk of assimilation and potential 'amputation' (Fanon, cited in Dei & Simmons, 2010, p. 5) from Pasifika culture ways.

Despite Bourdieu's use of the term 'cultural capital' as a means of critical analysis of the institutional biases towards dominant 'capital' over others, some argue that neoliberalists have since adapted the term as, 'a self-valorised aspect of capitalism's aura of power,' (Ray, 2007). Ray advises that the only way to skew current discourse on 'cultural capital' back to Bourdieu's critical intent is to cease using the term 'capital', which can only act to reinforce dominant economic theory as the foundational ontology of our lexicon. Whilst terms like 'cultural capital' are useful in naming the status quo, they do nothing to provide us with a language of freedom, particularly in fields necessitating transformative rather than normative approaches.

Neoliberalism has dominated university education ideologies since the 1980s in New Zealand and has been described by Peters and Marshall (1996) as inducing a kind of 'busnocratic rationality', infusing an 'education culture that emphasises the promotion of skills; information and information retrieval for the students who become "autonomous choosers" of consumerism rather than knowledge seekers,' (Peters & Marshall, 1996, cited in Samu, 2013, p. 120). It seems that, whilst Peters and Marshall acknowledge the lack of a philosophy of education beyond market-driven economics, indigenous peoples are striking forward with a business model to match. Rather than being left behind with other humanities disciplines, Rata (2010) notes that tangata whenua indigenous peoples in New Zealand are entering niche global markets within the knowledge economy and securing leverage for renegotiation of shared knowledge space in centres of higher education brokered on Te Tiriti o Waitangi and international indigenous rights frameworks, (Rata, 2010, p. 91). Rather than adopting Rata's concern about the leveraging of indigenous rights frameworks to broker an opening of space in higher learning to indigenous knowledges, Pasifika diaspora peoples have at times looked to Tangata whenua relatives for opportunities to collaborate. Giroux, however, warns that the neoliberalist globalisation agenda makes manifest changes to universities' sense of mission and to the kinds of 'knowledge' accepted within, (Giroux, 2011). While it may be possible to usurp the tidal swing of the market by repackaging knowledges for consumption, there is also a need for Pasifika scholars and indigenous Pacific knowledge holders to fully critique and weigh up the benefits of joining their knowledges to the market-driven academy.

Part of what is at issue in any discussion about how to include Pasifika knowledges is about what knowledge is deemed of value. This is an issue related to our economic model that defines and manipulates to a large extent what we 'value'. In New Zealand, Statistics New Zealand acknowledges the fallibility of an economic growth focus (GDP) above all other measures of societal progress and began to use a set of National Progress Indicators to measure sustainability alongside GDP from 2009 (Dalziel et al., 2009).

> The NZ progress indicators Tupuranga Aotearoa gives a picture of how
> well we are living, how resources are being distributed and used, and what
> we are leaving for future generations (Statistics New Zealand, 2015).

The National Progress Indicators are another way to measure if we are retaining the things we 'value', including our 'social capital', designed to assess whether we are maintaining critical levels of our country's assets, including financial, produced, natural, human and social capital, to support a reasonably stable future for next generations. Culture and identity are included within the social cohesion target dimension and this is currently the only alternative economic assessment of the sustainability of our national economy used by the mechanisms of government other than GDP. The compartmentalisation of culture to a value-added analysis of social cohesion speaks to a certain culture blindness that negates alternatives to dominant cultural capital. Unsurprisingly, some have argued that cultural capital requires its own measures, overlapping but distinct from other considerations (Dalziel et al., 2009). With the current TES guidance structured as an investment model, economic outcomes for Pasifika and the rest of New Zealand following improved transitions through education for Pasifika into the workforce, are a strong priority. A point of tension in the debate about whose knowledge gets included in education is a question around what value can be derived from Pasifika knowledges in relation to the employment prospects and economic return from graduates.

In the diaspora and in home islands of the Pacific, there is growing acknowledgement of the role of culture in Pacific development, based on Pacific peoples' transnational 'significant cultural capital assets,' (Throsby, 2015). There is, however, no agreed recognition of shared ownership of these 'assets' in the diaspora and how these might fit within our nation's or region's self-assessment of their economic value. In arguing for recognition of Pasifika cultural capital in a 'tangible' (read economic) way that might impact how cultural capital is valued, there is a deeply uncomfortable compromise at stake. Affirming any recognition of

Pasifika peoples' rich body of intangible heritage/measina/tāonga (including languages, oral traditions, traditional knowledge about the natural world, social practices, rituals, traditional expressions such as music and dance, traditional skills and crafts) surely becomes demeaned when treated as only equivalent to the value these assets can be exchanged for on the global market for economic gain. However, while we remain locked in a neoliberal market-driven model of education, the failure to acknowledge the significant cultural capital assets of Pasifika in education also continues further devaluation of our intangible heritage. A further danger in the project to include Pasifika knowledges within Western knowledge economies is described by Huffer and Qalo (2004), who warned of the way in which inclusion can also act to amend unsettling differences in 'other' cultural paradigms noting that, 'economists have been so busy promoting "development" and looking for ways to successfully integrate Pasifika societies (and peoples) into the world of Western economic rationalism that they have come to see Pasifika attitudes as a constraint or barrier to their mission rather than as an area to be taken seriously, (Huffer & Qalo, 2004, p. 89).'

Huffer and Qalo (2004), saw the need for diverse Pasifika voices to collude together around positive affirmations of co-constructed indigenous Pasifika values to provide:

> … establishment or affirmation of Pasifika philosophy and ethic – a set of applicable concepts and values to guide interaction within countries, within the region and with the rest of the world. The ethic must be acknowledged, understood, and respected by all who interact with Pasifika Island communities, (Huffer & Qalo, 2004, p. 89).

I can only endorse such sentiments and hope that Pacific Island and Pasifika leaders, scholars and wisdom keepers are sufficiently empowered, if not from the outside, from a critical mass of collective energy within, to set the agenda and guidelines for how to engage Pasifika as Pasifika when assessing how to include Pasifika knowledges in the knowledge economy.

4.2   Success

Pasifika student participants' stories described success from perspectives of both personal strengths and deficits. Contrasting stories of both underprepared and underserved educational experiences underpinned the analysis of pathology informing the stories told. Some students were clear to locate barriers to success in the pathology of the hostile university environment and strongly socially constructed compulsory education sector. Other students tended to frame barriers to success as 'self-blame' stories where shyness, subject choice, lack of

confidence (self-efficacy) and lack of preparedness and 'imposter syndrome' impacted ability to succeed. Motivation for success goals appear to be strongly linked to collective empowerment rather than individual self-improvement alone. Mel and others talked about the need for meaningful links between the valued knowledges of home and of the academy.

Links being made in recent research between collectivist cultures' higher work-life balance in relation to feeling successful (Haar, 2014), appear to resonate in the student stories where feeling successful is often connected to serving collective success goals. In the literature there seems to be a significant gap between Pasifika practitioners and scholars discussions about what success might look like for Pasifika peoples and how educational institutions are defining and measuring success.

What constitutes success at the University of Canterbury?

The University of Canterbury has spent the post-quake years redeveloping policy to inform the student experience, represented by two key projects. The first of these has already been adopted by UC Council, and it outlines attributes of the UC Futures graduate profile. A co-curricular transcript has also been developed alongside the application of the graduate attributes and provides opportunity to recognise demonstration of the graduate attributes that occur outside the degree programme on a co-curricular transcript that supplements students' academic transcripts. The UC Futures graduate profile and the co-curricular transcript project offer the University the opportunity to articulate UC graduates' uniquely New Zealand cultural competence and cultural intelligence, developed through exposure to Māori and Pasifika experiences specific to this part of the world. UC's graduate attributes are bicultural competence and confidence, community engagement, employability, innovation and enterprise, and global awareness (University of Canterbury, 2015b). There may be common ground to be further explored as the UC graduate attributes are put into implementation around how these attributes might support engaging Pasifika as Pasifika in relation to conceptualisations of success. However, a mapping of Pasifika values, cultural capital and indigenous Pasifika knowledges into the UC graduate profile is a task yet to be undertaken.

In the parallel collaborative project (Luafutu-Simpson et al., 2015), of which I have also been part, Pasifika tertiary students in Canterbury described success as strongly connected to values around family and service alongside education and employment goals. Much of the current research around improving educational experiences of Pasifika students in New

Zealand has centred on affirming the need for Pasifika to be enabled to experience success as Pasifika:

> Notions of what constitutes genuine success for minority learners within majority culture schooling (Baker, 2011; Gay, 2010; Gonzalez, Moll & Amanti, 2005) indicate that Pasifika learners should be able to succeed as Pasifika people, rather than fulfilling expectations that require them to become members of the 'majority' or 'European culture' in order to achieve lifelong academic, or professional goals, (Siilata, 2014, p. ii).

Examples of conceptualisations of success grounded in Pasifika traditions were raised by Huffer and Qalo (2004) in their exploration of Fijian scholar Tuwere's discussion of 'mana' as a marker of success.

> … mana (a term found throughout most of the Pacific) teaches us that although it is a term closely related to the supernatural, it is also "a success or achievement oriented concept" as well as "a creative art" in that it denotes the ability to create…Those endowed with mana are expected to demonstrate *i tovo vakaturaga*— "chiefly qualities" (Tuwere, 2002, p. 138-139 cited in Huffer & Qalo, 2004, p. 96).

At UC, perspectives on what is meant by student success have been evolving in recognition of the shift in how university student success, retention and attrition are viewed in the literature. The shift reflects a move in focus away from student failure-led attrition to the contributions of student interactions with the institution to student success (Tinto 1993 cited in Mackenzie, 2014). In the Connecting with Campus report on the findings from the U-Count 2014 survey of all UC students, (Mackenzie, 2014), 'signs of success' were evaluated in relation to responses to questions relating to: 'personal validation, self-efficacy, personal meaning, active involvement, personal reflection and self-awareness, (Mackenzie, 2014).' While the importance of these 'signs of success' are noted for Pasifika and all students, less explored are how or why students' experience increases or decreases in these areas in relation to ethnicity. An area not explored but relevant to 'signs of success' would be how the cultural values of diverse ethnic groups interact with how the University context is experienced by students.

Other UC projects have focused on defining aspects of what supports student success by looking at retention through student experience and student engagement models. Retention models in higher education, both locally and internationally, have often referred to previous 'classic' models of student departure such as Tinto, (1993) that have since been critiqued as exclusively based on homogenous population data (Rendón et al., 2000, cited in Hurtado et al., 2012). More recent research on the factors effecting retention for diverse populations in higher education espouse a model that:

> … provides greater emphasis on external push/pull factors outside of college (e.g., family), student finances, validating experiences with both faculty and peers, peer contexts, sense of belonging, and campus climate issues in relation to re-enrolment in an institution – significant omissions from the original Tinto model. (Hurtado et al., 2012, p. 56)

With a broader focus than retention in relation to success for Pasifika, the UC Pasifika Strategy 2014–2018 has a clear focus on supporting Pasifika success as defined by both Pasifika communities and the TEC (University of Canterbury, 2014). The TEC definition of investment success for learners encourages a societal economic output related to qualification completion and success in high-growth high-skill areas such as engineering and business management, (Tertiary Education Commission, 2014). The UC Pasifika Strategy takes a more holistic approach to the inclusion of Pasifika values and aspirations, affirming the role of the University in responding, 'to the cultural needs and educational aspirations of Pasifika people to strenthen access and transition opportunities and enhance confident engagement in tertiary study,' (p.6), where, 'Pasifika teaching and learning practices and pedagogies will be recognised and valued,' (University of Canterbury, 2014, p.3).

In developing intitiatives to support Pasifika success, there is a need to identify models of retention and engagement that include diverse learners and local definitions of what Pasifika success means for Pasifika. Transition support and embedded explicit instrucion of necessary academic skills are important (Fanene, 2008), but how they are delivered matters most for Pasifika success. Further research to identify which New Zealand TEO initiatives have worked well to support Pasifika success, the reasons why and the extent of the learner gain across multiple institutions, remains a priority area for new Pasifika research (Chauvel, Falema'a & Rean, 2014, p. 11).

Pasifika values as contributors to Pasifika success

In the recent study by Adult and Community Education Aotearoa (ACE Aotearoa, 2014), understandings of success from Pasifika survey participants in Aotearoa New Zealand were sought alongside conceptualisations of literacy. Pasifika respondents in the ACE study describe literacy success as: skills to be successful independently and interdependently; academically and culturally strong; fostering relationships that are positive and collaborative; building on collective Pasifika knowledges about what works to foster and hinder success, including effective teaching/learning that is contextualised; within environments where Pasifika feel they belong and where Pasifika languages are encouraged and accepted (ACE Aotearoa, 2014 cited in Luafutu et al.,2015).

The definitions of Pasifika success as provided in the ACE Aotearoa research, are in one sense in affinity with recent TES plan guidance, where Pasifika succeeding as Pasifika is addressed in regard to the aim that 'Pacific learners achieve at least on par with everyone else in a system that takes into account culture, language and identity,' (Tertiary Education Commission, 2013, p. 8 cited in Luafutu-Simpson, et al., 2015). Despite the affirmations of a broadening view of success for Pasifika peoples in higher education, significant challenges remain to operationalise institutional inclusion and change that might markedly improve parity for Pasifika in educational outcomes.

In an attempt at a more appreciative inquiry into New Zealand-born second-generation Pasifika identities and experience, Mila-Schaaf (2010) used the term 'polycultural capital' to refer to Pasifika youth culture fluidity moving between multiple domains as a source of success, enhancing capital for many second-generation Pasifika. This concept has been useful in naming the negotiated space where Pasifika in New Zealand collect navigational maturity through grazing and mastering multiple contexts (Mila-Schaaf, 2011). However useful, it is worth reminding ourselves of Huffer and Qalo's (2004) assertion that concepts of capital are generally not easily translatable into Pasifika values around success. Concepts such as 'mana' while shared by many Pasifika peoples, relate to spiritual attributes as well as embodying, 'a success or achievement oriented concept,' (Tuwere, cited in Huffer & Qalo, 2004, p. 96). Success in relation to the accruing of mana has elements of service, leadership, humility and responsibility threaded throughout, and could be used as additional guiding values around

how success is measured. There will be many other aspects of culture that have value but are not included in reductive squeezing of culture to fit capital modes of hermeneutics.

Likewise, the current TES (Ministry of Education & Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2014) investment model of tertiary education, aligns with New Zealand's general affirmation of the twin terms of "knowledge capitalism" and the "knowledge economy," where knowledge is the new form of capital under neoliberalism (Roberts & Peters, 2008). In knowledge capitalism, undervalued knowledges, such as Pasifika knowledges, are at risk of being left out of the 'intangible asset' trade. The need remains for future generations to be served education that engages Pasifika as Pasifika, which cannot avoid a coming to terms with who Pasifika peoples are and what value Pasifika knowledges bring.

Frameworks for educational equity

In the analysis of the lag in parity underpinning equity discourse, there are a number of frames from which to view privilege. One popular story that is currently applied to the performance of privilege has come out of US institutional racism research. As critical race theorist (CRT) Derrick Bell (1980) asserted, it is 'interest convergence' rather than transformational system change that tends to be the most common accommodation of benefit to African American populations, as no substantial change occurs without dual benefit to privileged dominant whites (Bell, 1980 cited in McLaughlin & Whatman, 2011, p. 11/376). CRT is, at its core, an analysis of white privilege in the US legal system, which CRT theorists argue remains entrenched despite attempts by the civil rights movement and multiculturalism to unsettle its grip for more than 30 years. As a radical movement to promote change, CRT is less about affirmative action than it is about acknowledging that affirmative action and other interim measures have done little to effect whole societal transformation. The acknowledgement by critical race theorists in education (Milner, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 2009, cited in McLaughlin & Whatman, 2011) is that interest convergence may be the most used strategy for interest advancement of POC and minority ethnicities, but it is unlikely to be the course of action that brings about equity or freedom as it does not challenge the hierarchy of privilege. CRT offers some hope to multicultural education theorists that at least a raw counter story of the realities of POC might be possible, even if radical change has slowed. As Ladson-Billings observes, although multicultural education theorists envisioned

transformational change for societal reconstruction, it has often become reduced to superficial and trivial 'celebrations of diversity,' (Ladson-Billings, 2009).

Much of CRT's contribution outside of legal studies, in such fields as education, has been in the affirmation of the use of 'voice' or 'naming your reality' in parables, stories, counter stories, poetry, fiction and revisionist histories to illustrate the dissonance between what is perceived as normal by majority whites/Pākehā/Palagi and what is experienced as normal by people of colour/indigenous/Pasifika. A number of the students spoken with for this study frame the discussion of white and whiteness as part of the socially constructed nature of their Pasifika identities or the construction of institutional space and knowledge privileged by the University, making some discussion of theories of whiteness relevant to this study.

Whiteness studies and the study of white privilege and white fragility in education is a project of CRT and critical education studies internationally but has been a relatively small area of study in New Zealand (Gibson, 2006; Colvin, 2011; Gray, 2012; Milne, 2013). The study of whiteness and white supremacy, mainly in the US, is a critical unpacking of the ways in which white privilege has become institutionalised and identifies the systemic factors that underscore its continued dominance (Lea, 2014; Giroux, 1992; McIntosh, 1989). Theorising white privilege has emerged as a significant field of study within academia in recent years and provides another vantage point from which notions of inequality can be explained. As Gray notes in her exploration of whiteness in New Zealand:

> While the conditions surrounding the colonisation of this country were unique, what the international literature demonstrates is that the underlying ideology of white supremacy, used to establish and justify white colonial rule, was not. (Gray, 2012, p. 25)

While this thesis structure and my own identity sits uncomfortably with binary associations of any kind, including the legitimation of racial or physical categorisations as simplistic identity markers, these markers retain a level of currency that cannot be left out of a literature review around what educational success might look like for minority ethnic groups. A CRT analysis in the Pacific region leaves a gap for deeper political questions. If CRT traces racism back to the constitutional and legal frameworks of the American system, in the Pacific, the trace takes us to the age of 'exploration' and to shared histories of colonisation. Indigenous constitutional frameworks, or sites of power, such as fa'a Samoa and tikanga, were displaced or replaced with Western frameworks – Christianity, the Westminster system of law and a

Victorian education system, now overseen by neoliberal global capitalist agendas in a 'neocolonial' region. A critical tribal theory or critical race theory perspective intersects with social decolonisation analysis of privilege and the need to disrupt hegemonic frameworks that disallow invocation of alternate cultural paradigms. In the Pacific, shared histories of colonisation, particularly in relation to the New Zealand administration as a colonial force, provide a shared platform for restitution of indigenous Pasifika frameworks, even in the diaspora. As Milne (2013) asserts in her analysis of mainstream (read 'whitestream') schooling, a reframing of cultural responsive education might be more clearly described as a reclamation of educational sovereignty – the absolute right to be Māori or be Pasifika in educational contexts (Milne, 2013, p. vi).

Whose definition of 'success' is valued?

In mentioning decolonisation theory and education, it would be remiss not to mention Fanon. Fanon showed that education, unless it has been decolonised, functions to 'amputate' the learner from their indigenous cultures and knowledges and urged the oppressed to resist amputation (Dei & Simmons, 2010, p. 5). Fanon took issue with the continued violence of colonialism onto the colonised through racist 'pathologising' and stigmatisation of oppressed 'problem' communities. Familiarly called 'deficit theorising' in Aotearoa New Zealand, Fanon's description of pathologising and then medicalising solutions enable an analysis of the structural racism inherent in many solutions made possible by the decolonisation lens he uses (Dei & Simmons, 2010, p. 5).

> A Fanonian approach would interrogate the very notion of pathologization and its role in sustaining a set of power relations, based on the biologization and individualisation of a society … In schooling contexts, then, it is not the minoritised individual and/or community that is pathologized or pathological, it is the system, the institution; that is to say, it is the school and the educational system itself that constitute a "problem" and thus constitute violence. (Dei & Simmons, 2010, p. 5)

Critical race theory (CRT), like Fanon's social and political decolonisation agenda, offers a challenge to modes of transformation that theorise radical power shifts away from Eurocentric dominance in Western education.

To some extent, Pasifika researchers have stayed clear of the US-based CRT, with Pasifika post-colonial education theory relying on more local frameworks that underpin equity issues.

There have been stronger links between multiculturalism, human rights, indigenous rights and post-colonial theory in Pasifika education writings. A number of these have pointed towards framing what Pasifika success means for Pasifika. There have been significant literature reviews undertaken of Pasifika education research in the last few years that I recommend, (Chauvel et al., 2014; Chu et al., 2013; Amituanai-Toloa, McNaughton, Lai, & Airini, 2009). However, some of these also come with strongly worded advice not to undertake literature reviews endlessly and to instead produce grounded research that has an applied focus. For this reason, I will not seek to repeat the findings of these significant reports in full but to point to the most relevant themes for this thesis not already mentioned, particularly in relation to developments to establish Pasifika success indicators.

According to Airini and Sauni (2004 cited in O'Halloran, 2014a), the right to education and corresponding government human rights obligations can help centres of higher education develop effective strategies for enhancing Pasifika student success using alternative measures. Barriers to higher education are discussed using a human rights framework to analyse disparity in access to education. There is a suggestion by Airini and Sauni that, although human rights indicators can be used as a beginning point to frame success, elsewhere, the Pasifika student success indicators they developed in their research could be utilised instead as the beginning point upon which to hang all other indicators (Airini & Sauni, 2004).

Likewise, Mila-Schaaf (2010, cited in O'Halloran, 2014a) has also framed a number of Pasifika success variables. Mila-Schaaf's strengths-based Pasifika youth research led her to coin the term 'polycultural capital', which also itemised common success variables for Pasifika youth such as speaking Pasifika languages, feeling accepted by other Pasifika peoples and others, taking pride in Pasifika identities and continuing to place importance on Pasifika values. All these variables were associated with self-reported better educational outcomes such as trying hard at school, doing well at school and making plans for the future.

Mila-Schaaf and Airini and Sauni, together highlight a tension in the literature between strengths-based perspectives and needs or human rights analysis of barriers to education. Both examples, however, give amicable guidance on the need for Pasifika values and Pasifika success indicators as alternatives to current measures that can guide TEOs towards

developing an approach to Pasifika success that places Pasifika views about what constitutes more to the fore.

4.3   Effective Learning supports

In the Pasifika student participants' stories shared, the University is praised for inclusionary services such as UC Pasifika, UC Pathways, PASS tutoring and the Academic Skills Centre. Pasifika students provide clear affirmations about what works in their engagement with teaching and support staff at the university:

> You know, our people love face to face, we don't like letters, it doesn't go that far, but face to face is a great way of communication, (Olita, 2014).

> When I talk with her, I don't feel like what I have or have not done matters, and she is very, very accommodating, she understands that her role is support, and I think that's more important than the actual teaching itself … there is an idea of mentoring … outside of the actual tutoring relationship, it's not impersonal … everything she does, she does with significant care and consideration of the people in her class. (Josiah, 2014)

> …he told me what his expectation was and I needed to work towards that … I knew I had to be on top of things, so that really pushed me. (Mel, 2014)

> … you all get a couple of minutes each to stand up and talk about what we want and then we're put into pods … and … there's a collective supervisor. (Natalie, 2014)

Many of these themes around respectful, reciprocal relationships between students and teaching staff are outlined in the stories from the literature.

What are the enablers?

In the recent review of literature on Pasifika progress for the TEC (Alton-Lee, 2003), a number of examples are given on evidence-based strong practices to enhance Pasifika success. Chauvel et al. (2014) advise that proactive, holistic, academic and social support is needed in supportive familiar learning environments. Chauvel et al. (2014) also concur with the previous findings of Pihama and Samu (2007), in that quality teaching plus tailor-made

contextualised culturally responsive teaching has the biggest impact in supporting success for diverse learners, including Pasifika students.

Some of the themes from the literature around how to positively contextualise Pasifika effective learning practices at tertiary level include:

- Proactive, holistic, academic and social support including tutorials and dedicated learning spaces specifically for Pasifika learners provide comfortable, familiar places that encourage them to engage in learning.
- Support to balance multiple commitments by working with learners, families and communities to raise awareness of the importance and extent of study commitments and to identify potential strategies to achieve balance; and tailoring teaching, programmes and activities to individual learners' needs.
- Effective teaching and learning for Pasifika that entails positive teacher relationships, specific teacher qualities and a culturally responsive pedagogy (Chauvel et al., 2014, p. 65).

Chauvel et al. (2104), note that in relation to tutorials for Pasifika learners, such as the PASS programme at UC, Anae et al. (2002) and Penn (2010) found Pasifika students in ethnic-specific tutorial settings spoke positively about the 'dynamic atmosphere' and 'comfortable environment' where asking questions was fostered in a safe space. Aside from these examples, Chauvel et al. (2014) found that the literature offered little else about what approaches work best to facilitate effective tutorials for Pasifika learners and lift their achievement. In the case of more general work with Pasifika youth around fostering positive outcomes in health, education, leadership development and social issues, mentoring has been noted as an effective provision, but also only when it includes culturally responsive and respectful relationships with Pasifika (Farruggia et al., 2011; Chu, 2009).

Culturally responsive practices may include fostering of specific attributes associated with Pasifika success. Mila-Schaaf (2010)'s analysis of Youth 2000 survey Pasifika data, which included over one thousand Pasifika participants, showed that self-reported positive health and education experiences for Pasifika youth were more associated with:

- speaking Pasifika languages

- feeling accepted by other people inside one's own ethnic group and those outside it
- taking pride in Pasifika identities
- continuing to place importance on Pasifika values (Mila-Schaaf, 2010, p.2)

These practices touch on themes of inclusion as they address the need to include Pasifika valued knowledges and identities as well as effective teaching practices that promote success such as developing a keen knowledge of the learner. 'Pasifika pedagogy' and 'cultural responsiveness' remain elusive to define and provide an ongoing field of enquiry for teacher practitioners and researchers. There is, however, evidence that Pasifika educational achievement in education is positively linked to coherence in instruction and cultural responsiveness (Amituanai-Toloa et al., 2009). Pedagogies that are adapted to Pasifika learners are described as being able to:

> … draw on background knowledge including topics and event knowledge, language patterns and activities, (and student-teacher relationship) … which, together with the instructional attributes, has elements of being both rigorous and challenging as well as being respectful and empathetic. (Amituanai-Toloa et al., 2009, p. viii-ix)

Interlocking aspects of pedagogy, cultural responsiveness and student engagement are discussed as important to Pasifika achievement at all levels of the education system.

Reconfiguring Hattie's rankings (Hattie, 2009) of the most effective practices for tertiary education with those aligned with the evidence on effective practices for Pasifika learners (Chu et al., 2013; Spiller, 2013; Allen, Taleni & Robertson, 2009; Pihama & Samu, 2007; Alton-Lee, 2003; Hawk, Tumama Cowley, Hill & Sutherland, 2002; Higgins, 2001) provides a starting place for discussion when analysing themes related to current practices discussed by Pasifika students in the talanoa sessions of this research. Hattie (2009) asserts that the empirical evidence of thousands of educational studies on the effectiveness of teaching practices shows that most teaching practices are effective in improving learner outcomes. If nearly all practices are effective, Hattie (2009) posits, the important next step is identifying the 'most effective practices'. Peer tutoring for instance, when combined with other highly effective practices noted by Hattie that are above the average effect size ($d=0.40$), has the potential to support significant increases in support for learner success, (Hattie, 2009, p. 9/267). A number of such practices noted by Pasifika students in the talanoa sessions and in

Pasifika research, stand in common with Hattie's rankings of what works best in tertiary education generally such as cooperative learning, direct instruction, feedback, student-teacher relationships and peer tutoring, (Hattie, 2009, p. 10/268). Of the 30% of teacher-attributable variance Hattie identifies with learner gain (Hattie, 2009), much can be drawn in parallel with what Amituanai-Toloa et al., describe as, 'high quality instructional practices and who have high levels of cultural responsiveness generally tend to be more effective in terms of consistent achievement outcomes,' (Amituanai-Toloa et al., 2009, p. 167).

The opportunity to improve the effectiveness of good practices by increasing culturally responsive options was an area noted in the talanoa dialogues with students. For example, Josiah's concerns about course surveying were similar to those raised by students interviewed by the Academic Quality Agency for New Zealand Universities (AQA) for the University of Canterbury's cycle 5 academic audit (2014):

> Students reported that they had little feedback as to how survey data are used. While staff observed that students do not always know what impact their survey responses have had, staff also indicated that for many courses surveyed the feedback loop was not closed and students were probably never told of the impacts. (AQA, 2015, p. 51)

AQA have noted in their 2015 report that UC has undertaken self-review of course survey mechanisms and is developing a relevant plan to attempt to remedy some of these concerns, yet to be fully rolled out on campus (AQA, 2015). In Josiah's estimation, the improvements he recommends include more culturally appropriate processes, such as face to face talanoa where experiences within courses can be discussed and reciprocal accountability can be fostered in warm relationships between teaching staff and students.

The main shared features across effective practises for Pasifika and all others, are educator-led practices that foster student relationships that demonstrate, 'empathy, caring, respect, going extra mile, enthusiasm/patience and perseverance/belief in student ability,' (Hawk, Tumama Cowley, Hill & Sutherland, 2002). Chauvel et al., (2014) identify that these relationships between TEOs and Pasifika learners, where Pasifika are known and respected, will often involve caring acknowledgement and support to balance multiple commitments while studying. They identified the need for TEOs to recognise the reality of multiple responsibilities and commitments for many Pasifika students. TEOs responding to this reality are provided advice to do so through authentic caring engagement with the student and their

family, raising awareness of study as a strong commitment in balance with other commitments and innovation in student-centred teaching and learning delivery, being adaptive and flexible with tailor-made solutions in course design and teaching to meet learner needs (Chauvel et al., 2014, pp. 8–9).

Talanoa participant Vao's collective view of success provides a relevant example of a high-achieving student who also struggled to balance multiple commitments. Vao's sense of 'debt' to her aunt for raising her and her siblings and still contributing to family back in Samoa required her to work to help support her family while studying full-time. For Vao, there were impacts on her study and her health, but as she explained, her perspective on what success meant for her, was closely associated with her ability to give back to her family:

> … working hard and getting my degree and showing [my family] that
> [their] sacrifices have paid off. That to me is success, it makes me feel
> proud of what I've achieved so far and really excited that I am so close to
> being able to give back to my family in that way. (Vao, 2014)

Cultural responsiveness in a relationship between university staff (student advisor / tutor / lecturer) and Vao might involve engaging in affirmation of Vao's cultural values while providing proactive advice to Vao and her family on managing her commitments. Knowing Pasifika learners in order to be culturally responsive, free of misguided assumptions with an empathic respectful approach, are aspects of what is required for tertiary teachers to give effect to the most effective practices with Pasifika.

Professional development for tertiary teachers around cultural responsiveness through immersion experiences in Pasifika contexts has been shown to raise teacher self-efficacy. These kinds of experiences have been shown to decentre assumptions, to make room for deeper relationships with Pasifika students and families. An example at the University of Canterbury exists in the UC Education Plus initiative, which works with teachers to provide experiences in Samoa to support teachers to improve their relationships with Pasifika students.

> … cultural immersion opened up new and deeper ways of understanding
> and 'knowing' Samoan children in New Zealand classrooms. It offered the
> teachers a cultural context in which to place their students. As a result the
> teachers felt more confident about the possibility of making changes in

their own teaching practice and of working collectively at the school and
community levels to meet the needs of their Pasifika students, (Allen,
Taleni & Robertson, 2009).

While such projects are not possible to replicate for every teacher and for every cultural group, the challenge that this kind of project seeks to solve are based on core questions for teachers of culturally diverse students:

- How do teachers identify and teach individual students whose preferred orientations vary across situations?
- How do teachers utilise their own personal cultural self-efficacy and collective cultural efficacy to bring about culturally appropriate outcomes for students?
- How might teachers be able to understand and make use of their students' personal cultural and collective cultural efficacy to improve their learning?
(Gibbs, 2005, cited in Allen, Taleni & Robertson, 2009)

To get to know Pasifika learners is to engage with Pasifika in their negotiations of identity in a culturally responsive way.

What are the barriers?

Contrasting and, at times, competing theories about barriers to education for Pasifika such as capital deficiency (Bourdieu, 1986); stereotype threat (Josephs & Schroeder, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995) and attachment theory (Bowlby, 1988, 2005; Tinto, 1993), cited in Otunuku & Brown (2007, pp. 118–119); hostile university culture (Wilson et al., 2011) and mismatched learning styles (McMillan, 2001) - provide a grounding in problem-based explorations of Pasifika inclusion and success.

There is a tension exhibited in the barrier stories between a pathologising of Pasifika learners and a strengths-based perspective on which to scaffold Pasifika learning.

- A capital deficiency analysis, can lead to remedial or assimilative strategies designed to transfer Western cultural capital to Pasifika learners to enhance success.
- An attachment analysis of Pasifika learners need to belong and engage before they can be retained to succeed can lead to attempts to 'fix' Pasifika students through a unity in diversity approach to all 'others' who struggle to feel included. The focus can

become paternalistic in a tendency to dwell on problem-laden Pasifika rather than the psychopathology of majoritarian privilege.

- A reduction of Pasifika experience to victimisation through racist stereotyping can concretise further stereotyping of Pasifika as powerless, unless there is a balanced re-contextualisation of agency in other areas.

- A view that Pasifika experiencing educational barriers due to mismatched learning style has, at times, led to what Spiller (2013) calls a series of misguided assumptions. Assumptions about Pasifika learning styles were identified as leading to a lack of access to more theoretical learning due to teacher assumption of ethnic preference for active or kinaesthetic learning only (Alton-Lee, 2003; Higgins, 2001; McMillan, 2001).

Critical educationalists who deconstruct the disabled or privileged systems as opposed to the problems of the dispossessed individual or group provide a way to decentre dominant stories of Pasifika deficit.

Spiller (2013), for example, unsettles misguided beliefs about Pasifika values and Pasifika ways of learning to make recommendations on the unlearning of inappropriate assumptions about Pasifika before good teaching practices can become effective.

Spiller (2013), in her research with younger Pasifika learners, identified that:

> … good Pasifika learning requires that the teacher must have all three of the following teaching strategies: allowing Pasifika students respect as a learner; being able to scaffold Pasifika learning at the right level and engaging their Pasifika students in active learning. The Pasifika student must have confidence and trust in their teacher to engage with the teacher in the active pursuit of learning. The classroom teacher must also have confidence in the Pasifika student's ability e.g., high expectations. If any of the parts described above are missing Pasifika learning is poor. The study demonstrates that the ways in which teachers fall into poor relationships and poor teaching practices can be related to their beliefs about Pasifika values and 'Pasifika ways of learning, (Spiller, 2013, p. 18).

While cultural responsiveness in this sense can be learned, it cannot always be learned by everyone.

Opportunities for professional reflection need to be provided to tertiary teachers to allow space for critical dialogue on inappropriate ethnically based assumptions about learner needs. This may support reduction of the maintenance of the least effective learning opportunities for students, despite the use of otherwise highly effective teaching practices.

How effective is supplementary tutoring?

Supplementary tutoring has been one of the most common interventions used in higher education to raise Pasifika achievement since the early 2000s. There is a growing body of research on effective academic and social support for Pasifika students identified by Chauvel et al., (2014), as 'proactive' and 'holistic', where 'tutorials and dedicated learning spaces specifically for Pasifika learners provide comfortable, familiar places that encourage them to engage in learning,' (Chauvel et al., 2014, p. 8). Chauvel et al's mention of 'collective peer teaching and learning' amongst other elements of effective teaching practices, (Chauvel et al., 2014, p. 9), is relevant to a consideration of the UC PASS supplementary tutoring model. However, there is very little research focussed specifically on models of supplementary tutoring provided to Pasifika students at tertiary level in New Zealand. Although requirements for TEOs have become more and more specific in successive TES, progress remains slow in devising academic programmes free of deficit associations that engage Pasifika learners as Pasifika in tertiary education. Many of the interventions used with Pasifika learners in tertiary education still operate from a deficit assumption about lack of learner preparedness without a balanced focus on systemic changes required to include diverse learners.

PASS at the University of Canterbury (UC) is one such intervention that fits within a 'remedial' model of supplementary tutoring, one of a number of variants included within the wider bracket of supplemental instruction (Arendale, 1994), in higher education intended to improve outcomes for learners, (O'Halloran, 2014b). In Luafutu-Simpson et al, (2015), we found that involvement in any Pasifika support programme was strongly associated with passing courses (Martin & Arendale, 1993). This finding is in line with other large syntheses of the empirical evidence around effectiveness of interventions, which shows that most interventions are effective, but what matters most is the effect size, which varies greatly (Hattie, 2009). Although all Pasifika support programme participants, (particularly those using PASS at UC), were found to perform better on average than non-participants over all demographic groups, the differences were especially noticeable for students coming from

decile 1 schools, those doing 100-level courses, those aged 20–24 and those aged 35–44 (Luafutu-Simpson et al., 2015). Despite these positive indications of PASS effectiveness, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of Luafutu-Simpson et al. (2015)'s study. In the project, there was no available data or agreement on what kind of pre and post-enrolment testing data for Pasifika would help determine causation of academic success. The project therefore was unable to look at causation and was limited to identifying positive association of support programmes with Pasifika course pass rates. However, even acknowledging such limits, when looked at in context with wider studies in relation to effect size, it would be reasonable to assume that a peer tutoring model of any kind might have a similar effect size to that found in general. Hattie found that peer tutoring had an above average effect size when compared with other practices designed to support learner achievement (2009). PASS effectiveness can also be read in relation to Keimig's assessment of effective learning improvement programmes (Keimig, 1983, cited in Arendale, 1994), which shows that individual tutoring like PASS at UC is one of the least effective interventions when compared with other types of course based peer tutoring or supplemental instruction (Arendale, 1994).

A University of Canterbury, contextualised adaptation of Keimig's learning improvement programme rankings, could be drawn from those programmes mentioned in the students' talanoa stories as follows:

- the transformed classroom as most effective / comparable to the current UC Pathways model.
- followed by course based adjunct services / PASS at UC shares some aspects but mostly this kind of service is comparable to Arendale (1994)'s Supplemental Instruction (SI) model.
- after which came less effective tutoring / comparable to the current supplementary tutoring PASS at UC model.
- and finally still the most prevalent model available but by far the least effective – 'remedial classes,' / comparable to academic skills workshops that are provided outside of core curricular.
  (adapted from Keimig1983 cited in Arendale, 1994).

In terms of long-term effectiveness, Keimig found that supplementary tutoring was rated near the bottom of the academic support hierarchy due to four major disadvantages with individual tutoring (Keimig, 1983):

- Because of its drop-in nature, it lacked systematic activity.

- Tutoring failed to provided enough assistance soon enough to make a difference.

- The assistance was too late since it generally came after academic difficulty or failure has been experienced.

- The students who needed tutoring the most generally used it the least (Keimig, 1983 cited in Arendale, 1994).

Peer tutoring programmes like supplemental instruction (Arendale, 1994) that are more course based are shown to be much more effective. Using Keimig's model, programmes similar to supplemental instruction were ranked near the top of the effectiveness scale, since:

> … students' learning needs are presented as being necessary because of the nature of the objectives and content of the course rather than because of students' deficiencies. Therefore, all students have access to supplementary … instructional experiences which benefit non-remedial students as well.
> (Keimig, 1983, p. 23, cited in Arendale, 1994)

In relation to Keimig's model, PASS one-to-one peer tutoring fits a least effective model for peer tutoring despite other positive evidence of peer tutoring (Hattie, 2009) and PASS effectiveness (Luafutu-Simpson et al., 2015). More effective models are readily available but require wider buy-in from the University. PASS at UC has some aspects that are consistent with international movements to increase inclusion and success for non-traditional learners such as supplemental instruction (Arendale, 1994; Dawson, van der Meer, Skalicky, & Cowley, 2014) and universal design for learning (Opitz & Block, 2008), which could be enhanced to move towards a more effective model of delivery.

Supplemental instruction (SI) models

Supplemental instruction (SI) is mainly referred to as Peer Assisted Study Sessions (PASS UoW) in the southern hemisphere, through direct coordination of SI accreditation training by the Australasian Centre for PASS at the University of Wollongong (Australasian Centre for PASS, 2011), in turn based on the United States SI model (Arendale, 1994). The SI model has typically focused on providing study sessions in specific high-risk courses for all students to avoid deficit labelling and remedial associations. High risk has been broadly left open to interpretation (Martin & Arendale, 1993), but commonly focusses on courses with:

> … large amounts of weekly readings from both difficult textbooks and
> secondary library reference works, infrequent examinations that focus on
> higher cognitive levels of Bloom's taxonomy, voluntary and unrecorded
> class attendance, and large classes in which each student has little
> opportunity for interaction with the professor or the other students.
> (Arendale, 1994, pp. 11–12)

At present, the University of Canterbury does not run a course-based SI accredited model of learning support in high risk courses. Rather, there are supplementary tutoring programmes available for students deemed to be in need of additional support, such as priority learner groups and international scholarship students. While SI and Supplementary tutoring share an emphasis on fostering learning communities where students, including minority students, can feel a sense of belonging, SI requires more commitment from course coordinators and departments, whereas Supplementary tutoring tends to be led from outside the core teaching programme. Since SI's inception, there has been a wide adoption of the model internationally by more than 1,500 colleges and universities in more than 30 countries (Jacobs, Stout, & Stone, 2008). While SI consists of non-compulsory peer-led small group study sessions, these sessions are also available to all and embedded within the framework of the course for which they are offered. The system of SI peer leadership also has several benefits for peer leaders on top of the paid work, including training and accreditation with an international adult education programme, (Australasian Centre for PASS, 2011, p. 3). In regard to the effect of SI on ethnic minority students, Dawson et al., (2014)'s synthesis of SI studies from 2001-2011 point to several studies where evidence suggests that under-represented minority (URM) students engaged in SI seem to participate and pass in their courses where SI is offered, at a higher rate than their non-URM peers, (Rath, Peterfreund, Xenos, Bayliss, & Carnal, 2007, p. vi cited in Dawson et al., 2014, p. 627). More specific research in the New Zealand context is needed on the effectiveness of SI with priority learner populations.

SI and PASS supplementary tutoring can both be implemented as retrofit inclusive learning solutions, embedded within, or developed to supplement 'high risk' courses, where transformational course design and curricula are not favoured. Supplemental instruction is described as focused on high-risk courses, whereas supplementary tutoring can be contrasted as deficit biased due to the focus on high-risk students. It is true of both models that, when using a decolonisation, critical race or tribal critical theory lens, both models do little to widen the cultural capital valued by the institution. Both can be interpreted in that sense as

enculturation or assimilation models designed to support the status quo of educational practices and knowledge base required for passing participation.

Universal design for learning

SI has sometimes been compared to a "public-health initiative", in contrast with other interventions focussed on the "pathologization" of the learner, (Martin & Arendale, 1993 cited in Dawson et al., 2014, p. 627). When compared with SI and supplementary tutoring interventions, universal design for learning (UDL) principles have more potential for use as transformational tools to leverage institution-wide inclusion for diverse Pasifika learners. The UDL approach has a focus on systemic change to create a more inclusive learning environment for all, to avoid "retrofitting" solutions to "disabled systems" (CAST, 2011 p. 9). According to UDL guidelines, systems can be viewed as disabled in who, what and how curricula is provided, with most traditional systems acting as information conduits rather than operating from evidence-based effective teaching practices (CAST, 2011, p. 8–9). UDL, instead places emphasis on the evidence-driven imperative for accommodations of specific learning support for minority students to be extended to all. Inclusion of minority diverse learners is envisaged as maximisation of increased benefit for every student without negatively targeting any particular groups. With its beginnings in architectural design and special education, UDL has become a global movement for inclusion of diverse learners from a minority rights model, signalling a clear paradigm shift away from a deficit model, (Hahn, 1989 cited in Pace & Schwartz 2008, p. 20). The Centre for Applied Special Technology, CAST (2001) states that the goal of Universal Design for Learning is to develop teaching methods that enable all students with diverse learning needs, including those with disabilities and cultural differences, to have equal access to classroom curriculum, (CAST, 2001 cited in Pace & Schwartz, 2008, p. 20). UDL and SI differ from targeted equity programmes for Pasifika, such as PASS supplementary tutoring at UC, in that PASS maintains a focus on bringing "at risk" Pasifika to parity with other learners – an unavoidable deficit and remedial association by design.

Like SI, UDL seeks to avoid any perception of remedial provision, assuming instead that a one-size-fits-all style of education is a barrier to education. Inflexibility of teaching and content is seen as a symptom of a "disabled system" that cannot adequately service diverse learners, who are now more the norm rather than the exception internationally (CAST, 2011). Guiding principles for transformation of educational contexts using a UDL approach include:

multiple means of representation, multiple means of action and expression, and multiple means of engagement (CAST, 2011). UDL and Universal Instructional Design (UID) are at times used interchangeably in the literature, but generally have in common a push for universal education not to mean a one-size-fits-all approach or a segregated accommodation of diverse learners, but rather an inclusive and flexible educational design (CAST, 2011a).

Opitz and Block (2008) applied UDL theory specifically to learning support programmes, offering seven core principles of universal learning support design (ULSD):

- welcoming and respectful space
- clear mission and procedures
- varied delivery of resources and services
- natural supports for learning
- technology
- multicultural values
- opportunities to engage (Opitz & Block, 2008, p. 208).

While these principles may appear simple, when applied in most traditional tertiary learning contexts, they require a significant shift in approach towards more cooperative and reciprocal learning opportunities. Opitz and Block (2008) suggest that these principles can be applied to any areas of learning support and much of what they express resonates with the Pasifika students' accounts of the inclusive learning environments they describe (i.e. Josiah's description of his culturally responsive UC Pathways tutor; Elaina's outline of the positive experiences of belongingness she found in peer-led group tutoring through PASS; and Vao's account of warm welcoming spaces like the College of Education Pasifika student space that fostered learning community with her peers). These ULSD principles also point to areas that students' spoke about in recommendations for improvement, (i.e. Josiah's account of inflexible options at University around how learning is assessed in comparison to NCEA and a high degree of variance in e-learning provisions across campus; Natalie's strong statements about the barriers and 'cultural taxation' she experienced due to her lecturers' lack of familiarity with diverse cultural knowledges/theory/values).

Effective learning supports informed by culturally responsive UDL theory and SI models in New Zealand, could provide a basis for further exploration on the effects of such practices on inclusion and success for Pasifika as Pasifika. These models, while developed internationally,

appear to have come resonance with the stories of Pasifika students and the enabling characteristics of most effective practices identified in stories from the literature. Some of the themes from the literature around Pasifika effective learning support practices that intersect with both UDL and SI best practices include:

- incorporation of students' learning needs
- respectful and nurturing relationships with students
- learning relationships between students
- mentorship as a learning relationship (Opitz & Block, 2008, p. 3).

However, other themes in the research relevant to Pasifika learners are not so evident in common SI practices internationally, while they may represent practical expressions of elements of UDL theory.

These Pasifika success themes not fitted to typical SI models are:

- recognition of cultural identity, languages, knowledges, values and aspirations
- the creation of Pasifika physical spaces
- active institutional engagement with the Pasifika community
- significant Pasifika role models
  (Thaman, 2000; Mila-Schaaf, 2010; Chu, Abella, & Paurini, 2013).

Although the international research on SI shows that it is effective across ethnicity, there is a need in New Zealand for more data gathering, monitoring and research on the effectiveness of programmes that aim to increase Pasifika success in New Zealand, such as the local derivatives of SI/PASS and other locally developed academic mentoring and supplementary tutoring programmes. In the case of mentoring, where more research has occurred, it has been noted that ensuring provision includes culturally responsive practices for Pasifika has been a feature of those programmes identified as more effective (Farruggia et al., 2011).

Actively linking UDL principles with effective strategies for Pasifika success may lead to increased collaboration and joined-up thinking around creating inclusive learning design for diverse learners in Aotearoa New Zealand. Despite highlighting the limitations of the current model of PASS supplementary tutoring at UC, it is also valid to assert that until interest builds more broadly from departments and course coordinators around improving retention in

'high risk' courses rather than "solving the problem" of 'at risk' students, the need for 'retrofit' supplementary learning supports like PASS at UC will remain.

Most effective Pasifika learning supports

For the most effective practices to be implemented and given effect to in design and delivery of Pasifika learning supports, a significant shift is required in the way Pasifika students are conceptualised as bodies of deficient knowledges with at-risk or remedial student needs. Aside from transforming academic teaching and learning practices, effective solutions that have been identified in the international literature that can act as retrofit or transitional learning supports are usually embedded within courses or at least strongly linked. As already mentioned, even when the best solutions are identified, the implementation of evidence-based programmes requires appropriate support, particularly if we are to ensure that practices established will be culturally responsive. Successful implementation of evidence based programmes includes consumer and community engagement with both development and ongoing evaluation, (Fixsen, 2005, p. vi). Both of these aspects were raised by students in the talanoa sessions where students spoke about wanting to be asked about their needs to inform practices, highlighting the need to ensure that international research findings are not imported and used to support implementation of initiatives without strong engagement with the communities and users whose needs the services are designed to meet. This thesis is in itself a demonstration of the potential for talanoa with Pasifika students to appropriately contextualise selection, implementation and ongoing monitoring of learning support programmes through engaging Pasifika as Pasifika.

4.4   Converging voices - Pasifika students' stories and stories from the literature

The following effective learning support practices emerged from the dialogue between Pasifika students' stories and stories from the literature. A summary of the converging voices around engaging Pasifika as Pasifika to improve inclusion and success is offered here, as one space to pause and reflect before the talanoa again continues. A kind of consensus has been built in the preceding talanoa of voices around the importance of:

- Knowing Pasifika learners and engaging Pasifika communities.
- Learning supports that mediate students' relationship with their courses.

- Teacher-led practices such as fostering of peer learning, explicit instruction of academic skills, cooperative learning, collaborative learning, fostering of learning communities, reciprocal learning and culturally responsive caring pedagogy.

- Strengths-based, culturally responsive advising to support transitions at every step, including both new to tertiary and returning students. Advising needs to be developmental and proactive, where strengths and values are brought to attention and built on to meet any further needs identified.

- Whole-institution adoption of culturally responsive practices – particularly in seeking and responding to student feedback, prioritising relationships over bureaucratic processes, respectful inclusion of knowledges of indigenous and other non-Western peoples within the curriculum and in course design and reduction of misguided assumption and prejudice reduction.

- Effective learning supports were noted as optimal when they were culturally responsive and embedded within a course or course based.

- UC Pathways/ENGL117 was identified as a most effective transformation approach to embedding culturally responsive learning supports within a course at the highest level of effect.

In decentring the literature and refocusing on student voice in this thesis, I hope to contribute to an engaging Pasifika as Pasifika approach to critical education system analysis. Questions of whose knowledge and whose definition of success, are a large part of engaging with Pasifika on an equitable basis. Our reading of theory should be guided by our experience of the lived realities of those we wish to serve. Without that relationship-centred approach, there is no way to give effect to effective practices.

Effective learning supports that enhance inclusion and success for Pasifika identified from the stories gathered emphasise the importance of warm relationships of empathy and respect between educators and students. Addressing misguided assumptions about Pasifika students is needed in tandem with implementation of the most effective and culturally responsive practices embedded into course design, pedagogy and supplementary learning support programmes.

CHAPTER 5   RESPONDING TO PASIFIKA VOICES
- A CALL TO ACTION

This thesis raises the volume on students' voicing of their own experiences and underlines the power of naming of our own experiences. Both the students' stories and the literature confirm the primacy of mutuality in learning relationships of care, empathy and respect in teaching, learning and research practices. The importance of stories and relationships where meaning is made in reciprocal dialogue, reflects an engaging Pasifika as Pasifika approach evident in both the research process and the subject matter of the research.

The importance of this research process has been its exploration of culturally responsive methodology in the first draft of an emergent fa'a afakasi conceptual frame. My hope is not that others will necessarily take up the use of this naming but that they will be encouraged to embark on their own culturally responsive methodologies. Naming our practices, while describing the tensions and intersections in negotiated space, is an ongoing project relevant for New Zealand-born, increasingly mixed-ethnicity Pasifika.

This thesis covers a range of themes explored in the literature however the students' stories also offer insights into novel areas worthy of further exploration. The repurposing of the concept of *cultural taxation* to the naming of barriers experienced by minority ethnicity learners in education is one example. The tracing of sites of inclusion from students' stories where belonging and success were experienced may provide another. An applied research project might take a relationship building approach to drawing links between sites of inclusion in community service off-campus, to fostering inclusion on-campus through service learning. This thesis also points to the need for regional and national strategic advancement of Pasifika educational inclusion via the inclusion of indigenous Pasifika linguistic and cultural knowledges in curriculum at all levels. Further research is required to develop appropriate levers for such a project in the negotiated space between competing rights, equity, diversity and economic discourses.

While transitions and organisational change are never rapid, taking a critical talanoa restorying approach to negotiating change I hope may provide a participatory frame that situates all stakeholders in continuing dialogue. A talanoa approach in engaging Pasifika as Pasifika towards inclusion and success may help ensure solutions are developed with Pasifika aspirations and values at the fore. Ideally, this approach would support a rate of Pasifika

success on every level equal to or higher than the highest-achieving other learners, but with Pasifika empowered to define the terms of this success.

The insider position of the researcher as supervisor of the PASS programme, involves a commitment for the research findings to inform future development of PASS towards a most effective model of peer learning support. As this research is specific to the University of Canterbury, it may be that findings from this research will filter into other initiatives to support underserved priority learners. In relation to the findings in this thesis about most effective learning supports, it is strongly suggested that TEOs would achieve more for priority learners like Pasifika by implementing a transformative, UDL-influenced, culturally responsive approach in high-risk courses. Such initiatives would support transition, retention, completion and progression for all, with the option to cluster together particular learner groups to support (i.e. Māori, Pasifika). UC could benefit from extending transformative approaches such as UC Pathways into all high-risk courses to improve performance for priority learners and all others. Where transformative approaches in high-risk courses are difficult to implement, TEOs would be likely to see the next best return on investment through implementation of culturally responsive course-based learning supports such as supplemental instruction (SI) or other peer-led programmes like PASS supplementary tutoring developed in collaboration with key staff in relevant departments. During transitional embedding, managers should work with all involved in the implementation of new initiatives to develop inclusive and Pasifika culturally responsive pedagogy for all those working at undergraduate and postgraduate level.

A key finding from both the literature and from Pasifika students is that, culturally responsive practices need to be developed both in transforming programme design and providing a basis for effective pedagogy within any learning environments. Culturally responsive relationships of care and respect are held up in this thesis as the one consistent pathway to give effect to 'most effective practises.' As an echo again to the indigenous Pasifika reference yet to be fully included within our New Zealand education system:

> 'There is a Samoan saying, *E leai se gaumata'u na o le gaualofa*
> which means what you do out of love endures, (Filifilia, 2006).

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Appendix 1: Ethics approval, participant information and consents

Appendix 1.a: Ethics approval

UC
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY
Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha
CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Secretary, Lynda Griffioen
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: 2014/24/ERHEC

30 June 2014

Danielle O'Halloran
School of Teacher Education
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Danielle

Thank you for providing the revised documents in support of your application to the Educational Research Human Ethics Committee. I am very pleased to inform you that your research proposal "Supplementary tutoring for improved Pacific success and inclusion in high education" has been granted ethical approval.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 5 June 2014.

Should circumstances relevant to this current application change you are required to reapply for ethical approval.

If you have any questions regarding this approval, please let me know.

We wish you well for your research.

Yours sincerely

Nicola Surtees
Chair
Educational Research Human Ethics Committee

[*Please note that Ethical Approval and/or Clearance relates only to the ethical elements of the relationship between the researcher, research participants and other stakeholders. The granting of approval or clearance by the Ethical Clearance Committee should not be interpreted as comment on the methodology, legality, value or any other matters relating to this research.*

F   E   S

Appendix 1.b: Information sheet for participants

UC
UNIVERSITY OF
CANTERBURY
Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha
CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

Danielle O'Halloran, Master of Education candidate
Tel: +64 3 364 2987 ext 7171, cell: 02108298538
Email: danielle.ohalloran@canterbury.ac.nz

Tuesday, 21 October 2014

Supplementary Tutoring for Pacific students' Inclusion & Success in Tertiary education?

–a case study of the Pacific Academic Solutions and Success (PASS) programme at the University of Canterbury.

Information Sheet for Participants:
How effective is Supplementary Tutoring in improving Pacific student Inclusion and Success in Tertiary Education?

Researcher
Danielle O'Halloran, BAHons (Pacific Studies), Master of Education candidate.
Pacific Advisor, Pacific Development Team, Student Services and Communications, University of Canterbury, Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha.

Talofa lava, Tena koe,
My name is Danielle O'Halloran and I am undertaking research for my thesis towards a Master of Education at the University of Canterbury (UC). This research is about the PASS programme I coordinate in my role as Pacific Advisor with the Pacific Development Team at the University.
The main aim of this research is to get students' views on whether Supplementary Tutoring provided through PASS effectively supports Pacific Inclusion and Success at UC, what your experiences of PASS have been like and what ways your experience could have been improved.
As part of this research I will be conducting interviews with current and past students to look at the stories of Pacific student experiences and ways we might improve outcomes.
You are invited to participate and this information sheet explains the reasons for doing this study and what would be involved for you if you agree to take part. Please feel free to ask or contact me if you have any questions.

Aims of the study The aim of this thesis is to develop understanding of Supplementary Tutoring, its purpose and efficacy as an intervention to support Pacific student success and inclusivity within Tertiary education in Aotearoa New Zealand, specifically looking at the PASS programme at UC. There will be both quantitative and qualitative parts to my research. In the quantitative analysis I will be accessing anonymised UC Pacific student educational performance and PASS programme participation records. In the qualitative section, I aim to undertake group discussions with Pacific students who have accessed or who have not accessed PASS during the period 2012-2014. Through this research I hope to be able to develop increased understanding of the PASS programme's effectiveness. This Masters project has grown directly out of the support received to further my work with Pacific students at the University of Canterbury as a Pacific Advisor with the Pacific Development Team and supervisor of the PASS programme. I am grateful to the University for the support to further investigate the evidence base of this model.

What is involved?

You will take part in an interview. This interview will last 1 hour. You will have the opportunity to reflect on your student experience at UC and your experience of the PASS programme.

The discussion will be audio recorded. I will transcribe the recordings and your name will be anonymised in this process. You can request to receive and approve of a written copy of the audio recorded interview before it is used for my research. The final transcribed recordings will inform the findings of my research about the PASS programme.

Confidentiality

The summary of the results will be made available in my thesis, but your name will not be revealed. Your name will not appear on the recordings, or in the transcripts. To keep the identity of people private, all written records and any publications from this study will use false names for people who take part and those mentioned during this study. Recordings and written records will be stored in a locked cabinet or as password-protected files on my computer.

All group interview participants are asked to treat what is shared in group discussions in confidence.

Risks and Benefits

There are no immediate or direct risks to you from taking part in this study. There are no costs or financial benefits from taking part.

Ethical Approval

This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Educational Research Human Ethic Committee.

Complaints

Participants should address any complaints should they arise to: The Chair, Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

Voluntary participation

Taking part in this study is your choice. If you agree to take part, you still will have the right to decline to answer any question and are free to withdraw at any time without needing to give a reason. If you choose to withdraw, I will use my best endeavours to remove any of the information relating to you from the project, including any final publication, provided that this remains practically achievable.

Consent

If you choose to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form.

Contact Please confirm your interest in participating in this project by email to danielle.ohalloran@canterbury.ac.nz or txt 02108298538 I will then contact you to discuss suitable times for the interview, answer any questions and go through the consent form with you.

Ia manuia,

Danielle O'Halloran

Appendix 1.c.: Consent form for participants

UC
UNIVERSITY OF
CANTERBURY
Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha
CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

Danielle O'Halloran, Master of Education candidate
Tel: +64 3 364 2987, ext 7171 cell: 02108298538
Email: danielle.ohalloran@canterbury.ac.nz

Supplementary Tutoring for Pacific Students' Inclusion and Success in Tertiary education? – a case study of the Pacific Academic Solutions and Success (PASS) programme at the University of Canterbury.

Consent form for Participants

- I have been given a full explanation of this project and have been given an opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand what will be required of me if I agree to take part in this project.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any stage without penalty.
- I understand that any information or opinions I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and that any published or reported results will not identify me.
- I understand that all data collected for this study will be kept in locked and secure facilities at the University of Canterbury and will be destroyed after five years.
- I understand that I will receive a report on the findings of this study. I have provided my email details below for this.
- I understand that if I require further information I can contact the researcher, Danielle O'Halloran
- Any complaints can be forwarded to, ie The Chair, Educational Research Human Ethics Committee, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch, Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

By signing below, I agree to participate in this research project.

Name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Email address: _____

Please return this completed consent form to Danielle O'Halloran at the scheduled interview

Date:

Location:

Ia manuia,
Danielle O'Halloran

Appendix 2: Talanoa discussion prompts

In regard to inclusion, I will be looking for statements that relate to:

- polycultural capital associated with educational success such as belongingness, feeling accepted, pride in Pasifika cultural identity, speaking Pasifika languages (Mila-Schaaf et al., 2010)
- universal design for learning practices for diverse learner inclusion such as multiple means of representation, multiple means of expression, multiple means of engagement, customised learning, flexible tools, teaching methods and assessments (CAST, 2014).

In regard to success, I will be looking for statements that relate to:

- what success means to the Pasifika student
- what success means in their context at UC (academia, social/cultural capital)
- what success means in their Pasifika community context.

General life-history prompts:

- Family views of education and educational experiences prior to UC.
- Your strengths, such as resilience, faith, confidence, motivation, commitment, support-seeking behaviour.
- Do you feel like you are accepted by those in your community, Pasifika community and others? At UC – can you give examples of feeling accepted for who you are or not feeling accepted?
- How do you feel about your Pasifika cultural identity?
- How would you describe your confidence in using any Pasifika languages?

Pasifika student experiences at UC questions:

- Views on success and inclusion.
- Use of services at UC like PASS, Academic Skills, UC Pathways.
- Areas where support was needed/used in regard to inclusion and success such as academic writing, familiarity with institution, study/life balance.
- Confidence to engage with institution (i.e. zoom in on awareness of power/agency in their story – at UC, in education system, in family/community/society).

- Do you feel like you belong at UC? If so, what examples can you give me of when you have felt like you belong? Are there examples of times when you have felt like you didn't belong?

- After your first year at UC, were there areas where you didn't feel prepared or where you needed support, such as academic writing, referencing, time management, critical thinking, essay/report writing, subject preparation, and grades from NCEA?

- What sorts of things did you do that helped you improve/succeed at UC?

- How do you believe your experiences at UC have prepared you for success in the future?

- Finish this sentence with as many answers as you can think of in the next minute: "I would feel successful if I …"

- Finish this sentence with as many answers as you can think of in the next minute: "I wouldn't feel successful if I …"

- Finish this sentence with as many answers as you can think of in the next minute: "I would feel like I was included and belonged if I …"

- Finish this sentence with as many answers as you can think of in the next minute: "I wouldn't feel like I was included and belonged if I …"

Appendix 3: Pasifika Voices booklet

– discussion prompts drawn from Pasifika student participants in this thesis - for presentation to Senior Managers at UC (Sep 30th, 2015)[6]

Strengths

UC Pathways, Cultural responsiveness, Teacher-led relationships

'… [my UC Pathways tutor] has no definite affiliation with any Pasifika community, and I think everything she does is with significant care and consideration of the people in her class … there's lots of positive responsiveness from her,… and she's very willing to do more than what her role requires her to, and I think that's definitely part of the UC Pathways kind of model where teaching is much more than just being talked at…there's a lot more engagement then between students and teachers …I know that works quite well for Pasifika students because there's much more accountability.'

Josiah

Pacific Academic Solutions and Success (PASS tutoring) – teaching with care, empathy and respect

'My PASS tutor… [it] feels like she's interested in what she's saying, she's interested in what she is doing and she wants me to know it too, that's what it feels like. But when you get a lecturer who doesn't care or a tutor that doesn't care, it just feels like they don't care what happens to you. It's not a nice place to be in.'

Elaina

Challenges

Pedagogy

'…there's maybe 100 of us sitting there, and we just get lectured at by the lecturer, and we don't necessarily have a relationship with them, and they don't really tailor it to a specific culture or cultural background, it's not as inclusive I guess … It's like this is the university model, and if you don't conform to that to meet these requirements, then you go do something else,'

Josiah

'…I felt like every time I gave my cultural point of view the lecturer would say something that was sort of stereotypical of our culture and then it kind of made me feel like our cultural point of view wasn't as valued in my class, … I felt singled out, and it said to me that it's not just other students that stereotype different people, but lecturers could do it too in a real subtle way, but at the same time making little digs at your culture without blatantly saying it.'

Vao

Monocultural contexts and stereotypes

'…when I get the scholarship and left Fiji to come, was hard on me, it was challenging like different countries to come here, like for the first time to come to this country was really hard.'

Robert

'When I came down to Christchurch … some people I came into contact with were kind of less … accepting of who I am and like I was just seen for what I am on the outside… Yeah, I'd say, racism was a term that came to me down here… just every now and then from other people, I'd kind of get that 'Oh, 'cos you're Samoan,' you know, like that stereotype thing, 'cos of the Pacific Islands, you can't do well academically, so for quite a while, I let that stick with me, and even like, yeah, literally the past year and a half, even though I'm at university, I still believe that, oh, I'm not good enough to be here.'

David

Opportunities

Pasifika values

'…just to let them know how we learnt, for them to get a good understanding about who we are, being Pasifika, and how to value our values, and value our voice as well. Because it all comes down to making relationships.'

Olita

'I think the one-on-one time, to just have things explained, or talk to me in the way that I could understand, whereas if I'd be sitting in class, I'd be sitting there hearing the lecturer or other people in the class talking, and I wouldn't understand something, and then I'd just sit there trying to pretend like I knew what they were talking about. Yeah, there's not one way that people learn.'
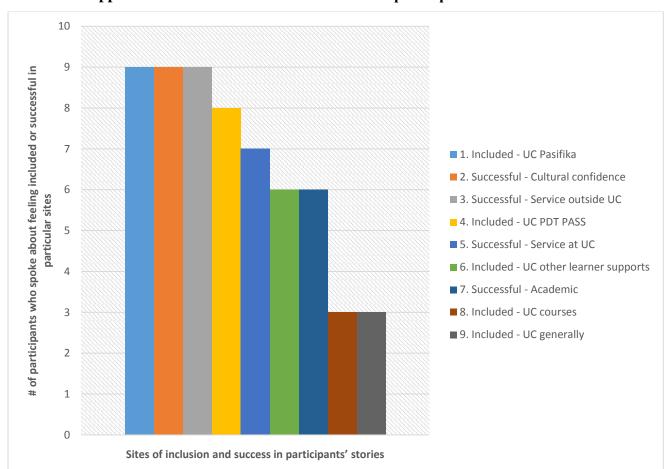
David

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[6] Images included with the permission of the University of Canterbury, Pacific Development

Appendix 4: Analysis – themes, story clusters and sites of inclusion

Converging voices	TEO/student	Theme	Story clusters	Sites of inclusion
Jo, Lesa, Elaina	Student barrier	Lack of confidence	Negotiating identities	Pasifika outside UC and UC Pasifika
Natalie, Josiah, Mel, Elaina	Student enabler	Belonging/attachment theory	Negotiating identities	Pasifika outside UC and UC Pasifika
Olita, Natalie, Josiah, Mel, Elaina, Vao, Robert	Student enabler	Self-efficacy and confidence	Negotiating identities	Pasifika outside UC and UC Pasifika
Olita, Josiah, Mel, Elaina, Vao, Robert	Student enabler	Cultural confidence	Negotiating identities	Pasifika outside UC and UC Pasifika
David, Natalie, Vao	TEO barrier	Socially constructed identities	Negotiating identities	Pasifika outside UC and UC Pasifika
David, Natalie, Vao	TEO barrier	Racism (teacher)	Negotiating identities	Pasifika outside UC and UC Pasifika
David, Natalie, Vao	TEO barrier	Racism (peer to peer)	Negotiating identities	Pasifika outside UC and UC Pasifika
Jo, Lesa, Olita, David, Vao	TEO barrier	Stereotype threat	Negotiating identities	Pasifika outside UC and UC Pasifika
Olita, Natalie, Josiah, Mel,	TEO enabler	Knowing Pasifika learners	Negotiating identities	Pasifika outside UC and UC Pasifika
Robert, Elaina	Student barrier	Lack of academic preparedness	Strengths-based advising	PASS and UC supports
Robert, Elaina	Student barrier	Lack of study skills	Strengths-based advising	PASS and UC supports
Natalie, Josiah, Mel, Elaina, Robert	Student enabler	Academic preparedness	Strengths-based advising	PASS and UC supports
Natalie, Josiah, Mel, Elaina, Robert	Student enabler	High expectations	Strengths-based advising	PASS and UC supports
Natalie, Josiah, Mel, Elaina, Robert	Student enabler	Motivation	Strengths-based advising	PASS and UC supports
Robert, Elaina	Student enabler	Study habits	Strengths-based advising	PASS and UC supports
Natalie, Josiah, Elaina	TEO enabler	Proactive advising	Strengths-based advising	PASS and UC supports
Natalie, Josiah, Elaina	TEO enabler	Developmental advising	Strengths-based advising	PASS and UC supports
Natalie, Josiah, Elaina	TEO enabler	Strengths assessment/needs assessment	Strengths-based advising	PASS and UC supports
Jo, Lesa, David, Natalie	Student barrier	Lack of engagement on campus (more engaged off campus than on campus)	Valuing Pasifika service learning	Service at UC and outside UC
Josiah, Olita, Mel, Elaina, Vao, Robert	Student enabler	High engagement in service leadership on campus	Valuing Pasifika service learning	Service at UC and outside UC
Jo, Lesa, Olita, David, Josiah, Mel,	TEO enabler	Engaging Pasifika communities	Valuing Pasifika service learning	Service at UC and outside UC
Natalie, Josiah,	TEO barrier	Eurocentric	Cultural taxation	UC courses

Converging voices	TEO/student	Theme	Story clusters	Sites of inclusion
Elaina		hegemony	and reciprocal learning	
Natalie, Josiah, Mel, Elaina	TEO barrier	Hostile university culture	Cultural taxation and reciprocal learning	UC courses
Jo, Lesa, Olita, David, Josiah, Mel, Elaina, Vao, Robert	TEO barrier	Diverse capital deficiency	Cultural taxation and reciprocal learning	UC courses
Natalie, Josiah, Mel, Elaina	TEO barrier	Critical, segregation and school effects theory	Cultural taxation and reciprocal learning	UC courses
Olita, Natalie, Josiah, Mel	TEO barrier	Cultural taxation of minority ethnic groups	Cultural taxation and reciprocal learning	UC courses
Olita, Natalie, Josiah, Mel	TEO enabler	Cultural competence	Cultural taxation and reciprocal learning	UC courses
Olita, Natalie, Josiah, Mel	TEO enabler	Reciprocal learning	Cultural taxation and reciprocal learning	UC courses
Natalie, Josiah, Mel, Elaina	TEO barrier	Lack of cultural competence	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Natalie, Josiah, Mel, Elaina	TEO barrier	Lack of relationship focus	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Natalie, Josiah, Mel, Elaina	TEO barrier	Unresponsive and Disengaged with learner feedback	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Natalie, Josiah, Mel, Elaina	TEO barrier	Bureaucratic process over human relationships	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Elaina, Olita, Mel	TEO enabler	Learning supports that mediate relationship with course	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Jo, Lesa, Olita, David, Josiah, Mel, Elaina, Vao, Robert	TEO enabler	Peer learning	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Jo, Lesa, Olita, David, Robert	TEO enabler	Explicit instruction of academic skills	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Josiah	TEO enabler	UC Pathways	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika

Converging voices	TEO/student	Theme	Story clusters	Sites of inclusion
Natalie, Josiah, Elaina	TEO enabler	Cooperative learning	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Natalie, Josiah, Elaina	TEO enabler	Collaborative learning	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Natalie, Josiah, Elaina	TEO enabler	Learning communities	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Natalie, Josiah, Elaina	TEO enabler	Transition support	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Natalie, Josiah, Elaina	TEO enabler	Culturally responsive caring pedagogy	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Olita, Josiah, Elaina, Natalie	TEO enabler	Specific courses	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Olita, Natalie, Josiah, Mel	TEO enabler	Teu le vā/reciprocal respectful relationships	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika
Olita, Natalie, Josiah, Mel, Elaina	TEO enabler	PASS – peer tutoring	Pasifika pedagogy and most effective practices	UC courses, UC supports, UC generally, PASS, UC Pasifika

Appendix 5: Sites of inclusion and success in participants' stories

Chart showing "# of participants who spoke about feeling included or successful in particular sites" (y-axis, 0 to 10) versus "Sites of inclusion and success in participants' stories" (x-axis).

Legend:
- 1. Included - UC Pasifika
- 2. Successful - Cultural confidence
- 3. Successful - Service outside UC
- 4. Included - UC PDT PASS
- 5. Successful - Service at UC
- 6. Included - UC other learner supports
- 7. Successful - Academic
- 8. Included - UC courses
- 9. Included - UC generally