TOGETHER AS BROTHERS:

A CATALYTIC EXAMINATION OF PASIFIKA SUCCESS AS PASIFIKA TO TEU LE VA IN BOYS' SECONDARY EDUCATION IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

BY

MARTYN REYNOLDS

A thesis

submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington

in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Victoria University of Wellington

2017

To my mother, the late Muriel Reynolds.

The resilience and love she showed are

the fire in the belly of this work.

ABSTRACT

Pasifika education, the education of students with connections to the Pacific in Aotearoa New Zealand, is intercultural; Pasifika students are generally taught by Palangi (European-origin) teachers in a system originally designed to meet the perceived needs of European settlers. The field has a history of inequity, consigning many Pasifika students to mediocrity in formal education. A cultural reading of the situation connects a need for emancipatory self-description with the achievement of social justice within the kind of participatory democracy imagined by Dewey. Recent government initiatives such as the Pasifika Education Plan have sought 'Pasifika success' through targets and initiatives, the most visible focusing on success as achievement understood by comparison to other ethnic groups. This has been critiqued as not seeking success as, but of Pasifika, in effect another assimilative practice. This thesis interrogates how success in formal education is understood, described, and explained by male Pasifika students as they enter the secondary sector. This is complemented by: paying attention to experiences of success in primary education; extending discussion to families; and the catalytic use of Pasifika community-sourced data to create opportunities for teachers to re-vision their practice. The inquiry is a bounded case study in the atypical context of a high-decile single-sex state school. A framework which combines a critical theory, critical race theory, and a Pacific Indigenous research paradigm provides a nuanced strengths-based approach. A dialogical-relational methodology argues for a mediated dialogue to teu le va (care for the relational spaces) between participants. The thesis demonstrates how catalytic attention to relationality can help teachers positively re-vision their practice. Attention to relationality also supports a complex positionality where a Palangi researcher seeks to edgewalk between Pasifika and Palangi concepts and communities, teachers and students, and Pacific-orientated research and the academy. Findings suggest that male Pasifika students hold a wide basket of forms of success which both contrast with and complement success as achievement: ideas about a 'good education', acceptance, participation, comfort, resilience, and the contextual extension of competence. These can be understood through Pacific origin concepts such as va (relationality), malaga (journey) and poto (wisdom), disturbing existing thinking about Pasifika education. As a result, the thesis has potential to assist a re-framing of theory and practice in the field as well as providing a model of relational inquiry for further social justice research into intercultural fields such as Pasifika education.

ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

TABLES

GLOSSARY

Ako: Reciprocal learning (Samoan, Tongan, Māori)

Alofa: Love (Samoan)

Atamai: Wisdom, mind (Samoan)

Aotearoa: The land of the long white cloud; New Zealand (Māori)

A'ano: Flesh (Samoan)

Fa'aSamoa: The Samoan way (Samoan)

Fakatoukatea: Double-hulled, balanced canoe (Tongan)

Fakapotopoto: To become wise (Tongan)

Fia boto: To be a know-it-all; an insult (Samoan)

Fia palagi: To be like a European; an insult (Samoan)

iTaukei: Indigenous Fijian (Fijian)

Kura Kaupapa Māori: School organized according to Māori principles (Māori)

Malaga: Journey (Samoan)

Masani: To be familiar (Samoan)

Māori: Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand

Mo'ui fakapotopoto: A life that is well-lived (Tongan)

Ngā iwi o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa: Pacific Islanders (Māori)

Palagi: Person of European origin (Samoan)

Palangi: Person of European origin (Tongan)

Poto: Wisdom (Tongan)

Rohe: Area (Māori)

Tā: Time (Tongan)

Talanoa: To talk about nothing (Tongan)

Te Ao Māori: The Māori world (Māori)

Teu le va: To care for the va (Samoan)

Tauhi va: To care for the va (Tongan)

Tautua: Leadership through service (Samoan)

Ta'ovala: Mat worn in Tonga (Tongan)

Va, Vā: Sacred relational space, relationality, relationship (Many Moanan languages)

Vaka: Canoe (Tongan and other Moanan languages)

Vale: Ignorance (Tongan)

Whakapapa: Genealogy (Māori)

'aiga: Extended family (Samoan)

'ofa: Love (Tongan)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: FRAMING THE STUDY

Great teaching is about so much more than education; it is a daily fight for social justice.

Arne Duncan, 2009, para. 10.

1.1 Introduction to the Study

This thesis is an account of my research journey, set in an intercultural context, with the ultimate goal of social justice. It assumes that one way of increasing social justice is through improved communication and the understanding this can bring. It begins with philosophical and theoretical matters, passes on to the practical and then brings theory and practice into a relationship of praxis. The argument is contextualised by looking into the past, turns to focus on the present and finally makes some statements about possible futures. Its key focus is on examining 'Pasifika success' in the field of education.

Day-to-day life can be confusing and a shadowy experience. The purpose of research is to clarify and explicate in order to make the complexities of human existence more visible. Clarity can provide grounds for more nuanced and appropriate human interactions. A shared understanding at the start of a journey makes the fulfilment of a journey's aims more likely. This introductory section thus begins with a discussion of key terms, framing the argument of the research by making explicit the ground on which it is built.

1.2 Chapter Outline

Key navigatory concepts open this chapter and metaphors for education are then discussed. Social justice in education is subsequently defined, and inequality and inequity delineated. To foreshadow the context of the study, the ecological metaphor of school as a web of relationships is next outlined. After this, the research context, researcher, and research problem are presented. This framing chapter concludes with a brief guide to the rest of the thesis.

1.3 Key Concepts: Social Justice, Schooling and Education

Key concepts in this thesis include justice, society, social justice, education and schooling. Justice has been conceived of in many ways and traced to origins as diverse as Aristotle and the Hebrew Bible (Kaufmann, 1969). Despite this, Kaufmann says that "the many notions of justice have a single origin: an unfulfilled promise". He suggests that the central premise of justice is that "one is given to understand that one can count on some reward or punishment, and that those who make this declaration are in a position to make such a promise" (p. 214). In this view, justice is a relational concept (Gewirtz, 2001) which revolves around expectation and commitment. Justice is the fulfilment of a kind of social contract; injustice is that contract unfulfilled.

Because it is relational, justice is often sought in social contexts. The term 'society' refers to the fact that humans are beings who live in communities. When Thatcher (1987) declares that "[t]here is no such thing as society" she suggests that being bonded together as humans is conditional on contribution. She explains, "there is no such thing as an entitlement unless someone has first met an obligation" (section fo.29). However, this thesis asserts that there is such a thing as society, and that the right to social justice is not earned by meeting an obligation. It is a promise based on the inherent humanity of each of us. By living together, we both acknowledge our own humanity and undertake to respect that of others. Having power over others carries the responsibility of fulfilling the promise of social justice.

Fairness and justice are related terms, at times used interchangeably (Kaufmann, 1969). A promise of justice implicitly made by a democratic society is that socially-held resources such as public education can and will be distributed fairly as a 'reward' for membership of society. Although deciding what is fair is value-laden and can result in outcomes as wide as the origins of justice itself, invoking social justice implies a distinction between inequalities and inequities (Clingerman, 2011). Inequalities are unavoidable differences. Inequities are differences which are "generally considered avoidable, unnecessary, unfair, and unjust" (p. 338). These can be of experience, outcome, or both. Applying social justice to education is to seek to understand and remove avoidable negative variation in educational experiences and outcomes. Social justice seeks to

operationalise fairness as a promise in education by seeking to change the conditions of education to remove patterns of inequity.

Like justice and fairness, education is also a term which is used in a variety of ways. Helu-Thaman (2003b) sees education as the preparation for worthwhile learning, embracing both informal and formal contexts. In this study, education is largely bounded by the formal education system of Aotearoa New Zealand. This does not imply a devaluing of informal education. Indeed, one of the interests of the study is to examine the alignment of educative experiences outside of school with those inside. However, as an institutionally-framed case study this thesis requires boundaries (Stake, 1978). An account of social justice is well served by examining public education focussed through a school.

Education can be confused with schooling. Aronowitz (2004) contrasts liberal ideas of education, the promotion of citizenship where children are "at least putatively, encouraged to engage in independent, critical thinking", with schooling. Schooling is a process of socialisation where students are "moulded to the industrial and technological imperatives of contemporary society" (p. 13). There is a tension between education as an attempt to develop individual potential and the experience of education as reinforcing pre-existing economic and social patterns embedded in the economy. This tension is an everyday experience for students and teachers alike. Replicating existing social divisions through schooling does not constitute social justice. It acts to limit the potential of individuals to grow, express themselves, and collect on the promise of fairness in public education. This thesis sees effective education as a path to emancipation from inequities of the past by delivering the promise of social justice: a more equitable present and future. Such a goal requires the transformation of people and situations.

1.4 Education as Transformation

Education in the Vygotskian constructivist tradition is a transformative social process. Learning is a human necessity, but education - the combination of our pre-disposition to learn and opportunities created to foster this - is cultural. Learners create rather than receive meaning, using both language and an understanding of the cultural context of its use (Bruner, 1997). The perspectives of learners, represented by their existing

funds of knowledge (Moll, 2015), are transformed through negotiation using critical thinking, a process at the heart of teaching and learning. In intercultural education, negotiation is not just in terms of items of information or knowledge, but also of worldview.

Transformative education has the potential to undercut existing social divisions through mobility. It holds that growth is not deterministic, dependent on background or inheritance, but a process of change by reference to external and unpredictable features such as social interaction and communication. These features can create new situations to unsettle apparently rigid social boundaries. Education can also undermine the bases of social divisions through critical questioning of their validity and origins. Where understanding is transformed, what seemed natural can be revealed as constructed, disturbing boundary-making itself. However, while education as transformation is an additive project, schooling can be subtractive (Valenzuela, 2005), removing potential by selectively denying the value of what is brought into formal education. In this case, negotiation and transformation are replaced by imposition and replication.

The educational metaphor used in a specific context can indicate whether transformation is valued. Ako, reciprocal learning, is used in the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) which embraces "an essentially constructivist approach to learning" (Openshaw, 2009, p. 171). Reciprocation can make culture visible as part of the dynamic and discursive nature of two-way transformative education. However, the one-way transmission metaphor of education still has some traction (Thomas & McRobbie, 2001). It suggests that education is the replacement of what is known with what is new, ignoring a learner's previous experience. Knowledge is seen to have its own meaning, and processes which align knowledge with existing worldviews, as described by Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2002), are not required. While all education has transmissive qualities in that expertise or experience is passed on, transmission conceals the cultural context of learning. Where culture is acknowledged and negotiated, the transmission of ideas can be an element in transformative education. Where it is erased or imposed, interaction may be reduced to the imposition of power.

This study holds that education as a positive transformational experience is the ideal towards which educators in democratic societies should work. Education systems inevitably host a combination of schooling and education, particularly where links between the economic and educational arenas are progressively privileging instrumental views of education. Qualifications are an important measure of schooling into which the transformative power of education should feed. However, a transformative ideal asserts that school-based socially-orientated educative encounters have power for both students and teachers. Previously undreamed of positive outcomes can arise; equity, if made a focus, can be enhanced. The education system of Aotearoa New Zealand has set itself the challenge of achieving excellence and equity in education (Education Review Office, 2016a). Meeting this challenge should be a matter of interest convergence (Bell Jr, 1980) between idealists and pragmatists. Both those who are primarily motivated by education as a means to social justice and those whose main focus is the way education drives economy should see the value of equity in educational excellence. On the one hand, this represents social justice in education. On the other, the inclusion of all the population in quality education bodes well for a post-industrial economy.

1.5 (In)equity in Education

Equity is often a stated aim in public education. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the Ministry of Education includes in its purpose to "[l]ift aspiration, raise educational achievement for every New Zealander" (2015, 'Our Purpose'). It gives as part of its vision that "every New Zealander...[h]as the choice and opportunity to be the best they can be" (2015, 'Our Vision'). These statements of inclusiveness and transformation are laudable, suggesting that education has a role in mediating any disadvantage which may come from individual circumstances. The focus is on student potential - "the best they can be". The promise of justice is clear here: education is to be available to every young New Zealander fairly. By seeking social justice, this thesis is thus aligned with the stated aims of public education in Aotearoa New Zealand. Interrogating public education from a social justice viewpoint is therefore a supportive act in a democracy.

Inequities in education systems are generally visible through markers of difference. These include gender, class, socio-economic status, ethnicity, race, and (dis)ability. Some

of these factors affect schools through consequences which are outside their direct influence such as material poverty and hunger. What is significant for this study is the response of schools to factors which they can affect - those which arise as a consequence of in-school activities. Because learning in school is a relational activity, inequity can be a consequence of relational processes. Every school operates in a cultural framework based on a particular worldview. This creates values and expectations. Within these, difference is often constructed by comparison to a base-line so endemic that it is un-acknowledged and invisible. Baselines affect the way that concepts such as success and failure are constructed and also what is judged as appropriate in the ways people relate. As a result, power can be a factor in the construction and outcome of intercultural interaction in ways which contribute to imposed definitions of ethnicity. Because of this, although markers make inequity visible, they can also be the grounds for it.

The evidence for ethnic inequity in New Zealand education can be seen if ethnicity is applied as a marker to examination statistics (e.g., New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2014). Such statistics are often used as a synonym for educational success and indicate that some ethnicities achieve at higher rates than others. Because of this, social justice can be framed as measures taken to distribute achievement more equally in assessment. Short-term measures for this include 'topping-up' National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) credits at the end of a year in call-back sessions. Longer-term measures include legitimising the awarding of credit to the cultural activities of under-performing groups. However, this narrow and instrumental view of social justice is based on a confined view of success. A wider view is offered by Kincheloe and Steinberg (1995) who, drawing on Dewey, suggest that education should be "just, optimistic, empathetic, and democratic" (p. 2) to which Furman and Shields (2005) add a need for fairness. Whilst acknowledging that all five terms are wide and contestable, Furman and Shields claim that a "robust and dynamic" conception of justice in education is possible because a wide basket of ideas can lead to a "broad and holistic" idea of learning (p. 124). Injustice can arise from exclusive or narrow definitions of education and success, while justice may be facilitated by inclusive accounts precisely because breadth implies a catholic approach to values which can admit a variety of concepts of education and success. In this understanding a just education is a fairly distributed good, repudiating

group-based marginalisation and the pathologising of lived experience. In it, equity becomes as much a matter of asking 'what counts' as it is of counting assessment credits.

When seeking justice and equity in the Deweyian tradition, examination statistics can be seen as symptomatic, indicators of prior educational experiences and affected by a wide variety of contextual features each with its own components of power. Contextual features include responses to difference, the metaphor through which learning is understood, the quality of negotiation in teaching and learning, and the value placed on students' knowledge in this negotiation. By contrast, in a narrow view examination statistics are seen to belong to the student, or perhaps the student and their teacher. Although education systems may adopt a narrow view, matters of "[c]hoice and opportunity" (Ministry of Education, 2015, 'Our Vision') are not totally under the control of teachers and students. Value-laden decisions about education and schooling are made in arenas other than the classroom. Contexts for achievement are not only temporal, stretching back into a student's experiences, but also social, extending into webs of relationships at many levels. Structural choices have been exercised well before a student arrives at an assessment.

One area of structural choice is the way assessment is conceptualised and operationalised. This can be illustrated in the way that Aotearoa New Zealand has had a competitive and norm-referenced examination system and now has one which is standards-referenced. That this is a cultural feature is evidenced by the way the current system is often attacked from the position which legitimised its predecessor (e.g., Lyons, 2015, 25th November). In such critique, what counts as assessment is at issue. In addition, who sits which qualification is not only a matter of student choice and opportunity but also another example of structural choice. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, pragmatic institutional factors are involved, themselves conditioned by wider relationships such as interschool competition and judgements made on schools. A social justice approach to education seeks to peel back the causalities behind symptoms such as examination statistics. This is in the optimistic belief that not only the signs but also the bases of inequity are malleable, and that greater inclusion is actionable in a way which strengthens the kind of democracy which Dewey (1916) advocated.

1.6 School as a Web of Relationships

Formal education takes place in schools. Schools can be buildings, traditions and/or collections of people. In this study, a school is viewed as a web of relationships. This metaphor has been applied in social network analysis (Hawe & Ghali, 2008), in indigenous spirituality (Ritskes, 2011) and in the Pasifika educational research literature (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010). The term 'Pasifika', here denoting those of Pacific Island origin residing in Aotearoa New Zealand, will be discussed in Chapter Two. A web implies: connectivity and interdependence; complexity and locatedness; strength for the individual elements which make it up; and a medium of unity across a space which would otherwise deny association. This metaphor re-draws attention to the relational focus of this study, already established by describing justice as a relational quality and by using a Vygotskian constructivist approach to learning. A web also communicates the valuing of communal relationships often found in collectivist cultures (Triandis, 1989) and has been used to describe va, a Pacific relational worldview (Webb-Binder, 2009). Va is a concept which will be unpacked in Chapter Four.

Seeing a school as a web of relationships provides an ecological way of understanding connections between students and their context as well as between an immediate context and wider connections. A web distributes responsibility for outcomes to those who have agency. If a school is seen as a web-within-a-web then temporal inter-connectedness across history and tradition become salient. In addition, interconnectedness across space argues a wide responsibility for social justice in ways which acknowledge the effects of policy and central planning on education. The alternative approach is to isolate a moment in time and blame those immediately involved for any poor outcomes which arise. This removes opportunities for change and makes replication of an unjust past a likely outcome since it distances the site of change from the power to change.

Having paid attention to some key concepts used in this thesis, the narrative now turns to the main research instrument: the researcher. This involves locating the study at an intersection, offering a personal narrative, and conceptualising the research as both edgewalk, a concept discussed below, and through the Samoan reference of tautua, or servant leadership (Samuelu, 1999).

1.7 The Researcher-as-context

This study is sited at a complex intersection in space and time. Firstly, it is an intersection between myself as a researcher and as a teacher, for I am synchronously both. In these roles I seek the means to social justice, particularly by exercising a sixth component of educational social justice as explicated by Furman and Shields (2005): critique, also termed wide-awakeness (Greene, 1977). This is helpful in an intersectional context since, as well as offering situational understanding, wide-awakeness reflexively contributes to the self. The study is also sited at an intersection between a moment in my career journey and the education system in which I am currently located. Consequently, it addresses one of the nodes of inequity present in Aotearoa New Zealand: the educational experiences of Pasifika boys.

Because I am from a British background, working with a Pasifika community in Aotearoa New Zealand is an opportunity for intercultural encounter and learning. However, this is by nature a suspect activity, in part because of a history of Europeans researching the 'Other' in ways which invoke imperialism (L. Smith, 1999). Colonising powers did not feel obliged to give a full account of their intentions; the exploitation of ignorance about such matters was a key weapon in the colonial project. Recognising this, my ethical self-disclosure recognizes research as a collaboration of subjects, offers knowledge as a way of distributing power, and presents the subjectivity of the 'voice' of this thesis. Understanding this voice can be approached by listening to my personal narrative.

I was born in England in the last millennium. My interest in the topic of Pasifika education is driven by a combination of factors: my extensive professional experience as a teacher; my professional experience as a teacher-mentor or Specialist Classroom Teacher (SCT); my experience of living in Pacific societies; an intergenerational whakapapa, or genealogy, of concern for social justice; and a belief in the equality of all people in creation. As a teacher I have witnessed, and sometimes unwittingly been part of, processes of exclusion. These have included the exclusion of students from activities and resources by gender, so-called 'ability', sexual orientation, religion and race. As a teacher-trainer and mentor, I have heard these processes theorised through the naturalisation of social

constructions (Buechler, 2014). I have also had the opportunity to assist teachers to construct alternative agentic theories. In my current post the education of Pasifika students is salient; avoiding such exclusions is a local (Education Review Office, 2014) and national (Ministry of Education, 2013a) concern. My belief, like that of García and Guerra (2004), is that many teachers are unaware of processes which produce inequity; given a chance to learn, most want to change the situation. My viewpoint on exclusion has been provoked by uncomfortable positions in which I have "learned to walk in many different worlds, without being completely caught up in any of them" (Neal, 2006, p. 2). This is a trait of what Neal calls edgewalking. Edgewalking for members of a diaspora is a matter of survival; negotiating between place of origin and place of residence is a daily experience. Although I have migrated from Britain to Aotearoa New Zealand, most days there is little negotiation for me.

Cultural distance is a helpful concept to consider in the context of edgewalking. Originally developed for international trade (Shenkar, 2001) as a scalar measure of relative difference across categories in culture for business partners, it has also been employed as a general metaphor which expresses relative difference between cultural groups (Alasuutari & Alasuutari, 2009) as a spatial metaphor. Compared to cultural difference, the concept has the advantages of: understanding culture not in an essentialised totalising manner but as a categorical quality where groups could be close in one area but distant in others; understanding culture as in flux since distance is a variable; focussing on strategies which might appreciate and bridge space between understandings rather than on the separation of difference alone; and promoting a focus on categories of widest difference as being significant and perhaps of greatest priority in research and practice.

Some experiences have driven a sense of how limited my appreciation of the world is and of how much there is to learn. Others have driven a desire to be inclusive. A period of my life which was formative of both of these aspects was the two years my wife Sylvia and I lived and worked as volunteer teachers in Papua New Guinea. There I learned experientially what it was to be in a minority, how confusing it could be not to possess assumed knowledge, and how different worldviews could be. Here is one example from my personal writing:

One day I stood next to a seated British teacher, trying to explain that the Department of Education would not accept high marks from all her students. Some sort of realistic spread was required. I didn't think anything of it, apart from being a little exasperated. We shared a beer later that day. However, something had gone wrong; the 'national' teachers were not their usual friendly selves. After two weeks my neighbour told me: 'You stood over an older person and shamed her in the staffroom. If I had done this, I would need to have killed a pig to say sorry.' I had shamed the whole staff with my behaviour and needed to apologise to everyone. Soon all was well again.

This experience haunts me as a reminder that understandings differ according to value systems. Space is occupied by relationships; one must be mindful of the effect one relationship may have on others in the same space.

My family permanently migrated to Aotearoa New Zealand and later arrived in Wellington. There I came into contact with my school's Pasifika community. Their potential contributions were only selectively appreciated by the institution. I saw ontological exclusion. As a teacher and mentor I moved between what seemed to work for some students and what seemed to work for others, stepping between institutional expectations based on unspoken standards and the classroom context I was developing. To deepen our understanding of intercultural contexts Sylvia and I taught in Tonga for a year. We negotiated the contested space between the Western foundations of Tongan secondary schooling and the Tongan operationalisation of this. As Palangi we were expected not to want to eat Tongan foods or to attend lengthy Tongan events such as funerals. When opportunities arose, however, we took them. Nevertheless, our cultural incompetence was a daily challenge as my personal writing shows. For instance:

In Tonga we sat with members of the school staff in the staff room in silence at 8.30 am most days and waited for the Principal or Deputy Principal to come. Sometimes they didn't. Sometimes their vehicles weren't at the school but still we sat. It was always an uncomfortable silence for us, but no-one else seemed to mind. It seemed to be a product of respect rather than just habit. No-one could (or would) explain why this continued. In the end the only explanation I could develop involved

respect, the possibility of arrival, and the consequent dangers of being the first to move. I still don't really understand this.

Thinking of this experience is to feel the discomfort of incomprehension, to wonder about the different values placed on silence and waiting, and to reinforce the fact that understanding is a journey, not a destination.

Experiential learning about exclusion, obligation, epistemological and ontological plurality, stereotyping, but above all the strength invested in activities which make sense to the person doing them; these are bridges across the space between my researcher story and my life. Following our return from Tonga, Sylvia and I were in a pub with members of my school's Pasifika community. One told me I had the skills which the community needed and asked what I was going to do for them. This thesis is the result of accepting a direct challenge. What I have done by choice has helped me to start to understand aspects of the survival edgewalk of my students.

There are several ways in which this research journey is an edgewalk. Firstly, the study is an intercultural space where a British researcher seeks to learn to be poto, or wise in multiple contexts. Secondly, the setting of the study is a space of edgewalking. Pasifika students have deliberately chosen to be educated in a school which views itself as 'traditional'. Amongst its European roots they are deliberately in a minority. In this context the study theorises education as intercultural communication and is an attempt to step beyond the boundaries of 'business as usual', leveraging the potential of Pacific-derived theory to re-vision education from a Pasifika point of view. It uses a methodology to work across the relational spaces between Pasifika students and Palangi teachers to provoke catalytic information transfer, supporting teachers in "world travelling" (Lugones, 1987, p. 3). The study also operates in the relational space between research and Pasifika life. The voices in this research are mostly Pasifika; the academy remains a Euro-centric space. These circumstances make me, as researcher, an edgewalker.

The research question concerns the idea of 'Pasifika success as Pasifika'. This research assumes, however, that success is contextual and that any educational context involves relationships. It is through relational involvement that I claim to bring an offering

to the Pasifika community through research. Leadership in the Pacific is conceptualised as service. Love is demonstrated by what you do for others; heart is important. The whole research journey is an act of tautua, service through commitment, aimed at a mutually beneficial outcome. If there are errors and/or omissions, they are mine. The research journey has not, however, been made alone. This thesis is my account of Pasifika-Palangi collaboration.

1.8 The Research Problem

As discussed above, ethnicity is a marker used to provide data on the educational achievement of different groups in Aotearoa New Zealand. Comparison of achievement levels through ethnic groupings points to the relative underachievement of Pasifika when compared to some other groups in the secondary sector. One response of the Ministry of Education to differential levels of achievement has been iterative Pasifika Education Plans (e.g., Ministry of Education, 2001, 2013a). In pursuit of targets embedded in these plans, language used by government bodies responsible for Pasifika education has variously made Pasifika students target students (see footnote 2, Education Review Office, 2016b), priority leaners (Ministry of Education, 2016b) or students poorly served (Ministry of Education, 2011, 7th June) by the education system. The slogan 'Pasifika success' (Ministry of Education, 2014a) has also been used. While improved educational achievement seen through assessment for Pasifika students is undoubtedly a laudable national target, this focus masks the way that individual Pasifika students look for and experience success in their schooling. That is, the setting of national targets erases the targets of students, families and communities for themselves under the assumption that there is a common understanding.

This research examines what 'Pasifika success' means 'as Pasifika' for a cohort of students as they enter a boys' secondary school and progress through their first year. By taking a critical ethnographic approach through a Pacific Indigenous research paradigm (Sanga, 2004), data collected in an institutionally bounded case study and analysed by informed grounded theory (Thornberg, 2012) is used to present the stories of the boys, and those with whom they relate. The purpose of this study is to provide a more nuanced view of the processes involved in creating 'Pasifika success as Pasifika'. Asking axiological

questions of Pasifika people creates space for emancipatory self-description. By embedding staff professional development in the research through a dialogical framework, a catalytic approach is adopted which makes a strength of being Pasifika. The result is a discussion of Pasifika education which pays attention both to the immediate context and to the general context of the Pacific diaspora through transported Pacific concepts.

1.9 The Research Question

The main research question is:

- How is 'success' in formal education understood, described, and explained by Year 9 Pasifika boys in a high decile New Zealand secondary school?

This question is supported by sub questions:

- What experiences of educational success do Year 9 students bring to secondary school, and how are these built on?
- What goals and aspirations do families have for their Year 9 Pasifika boys? What are their origins and how might they develop over time?
- What information do teachers need to best support their Pasifika students as Pasifika learners, and how might they use this?

Within a social justice frame, operating in an intercultural setting, this study is important because there is little research regarding the experiences of Pasifika boys over an extended period of their schooling, particularly during primary/secondary education transition. Since formalised secondary level educational achievement builds on earlier foundations, attention to students' views of themselves as successful both as learners and Pasifika people at the start of secondary education is important.

The study contributes to a small but growing strengths-based literature, pursuing what 'success' in education might mean in a Pasifika community, focussing on student experiences through an interpretive paradigm, and producing a qualitative "thick

description" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 327). Validity is supported by using a range of methods such as talanoa (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014; Havea, 2010; Otunuku, 2011; Prescott, 2011; Vaioleti, 2011) and by embodying Pasifika values (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010) within the research process. Additionally, the study locates student accounts in relation to parental and community accounts of success in education, and compares these with institutional views.

The research aims to inform parents, community, teachers, institutions and policy makers about the views and experiences of Pasifika students in order to facilitate meaningful discussion and policy improvement to support Pasifika success as Pasifika in the education system of Aotearoa New Zealand. The setting, a high decile boys' school, provides a unique position from which to critique Pasifika education.

1.10 Thesis Map

Having discussed key concepts, presented the researcher-as-context and outlined the research problem and questions, this thesis proceeds in Chapter Two by presenting the second aspect of context; Pasifika people and Pasifika education. The Samoan concept of malaga, movement through space, is a feature of this account. The subject of Chapter Three is the final contextual matter, the education system of Aotearoa New Zealand in which the case study setting is nested. Theoretical matters are dealt with in Chapter Four, again using a tripartite approach. A synthesis of theory is presented which accounts for the researcher's perspective, the relationship between education systems and minoritised groups, and Pasifika people conceptualised as members of migrant Indigenous Pacific groups. Chapter Five gives a literature review which focusses first on success in education before turning to intercultural education and thence to Pasifika education. The literature of Pasifika education introduces the Tongan concept of poto, or wisdom. Dialogic methodology which foregrounds relationality and negotiation is the subject of Chapter Six. In this chapter the Pacific-origin relational concept of va is introduced together with a range of methods consistent with a va lens. Chapter Seven discusses issues of ethics and validity, paying especial attention to researcher positionality in this intercultural context. Chapter Eight presents the research findings in six sections. These discuss different but related aspects of Pasifika success as Pasifika in educational settings. The voices of

Pasifika students, parents and teachers of Pasifika students are featured. Chapter Nine, discusses these findings by reference to Pacific-origin and Western-origin concepts. A picture emerges of how Pasifika success as Pasifika might be supported through a more nuanced understanding of Pasifika aims and aspirations, relationships and contexts. Finally, Chapter Ten provides a conclusion which points to possible futures and closes the discussion by returning to the central motifs of the thesis: relational webs and the researcher as edgewalker.

1.11 Chapter Summary

Chapter One has presented a frame for this thesis. This has involved: a discussion of key concepts; a narrative and explanation of the research-as-context; a description of the research problem; presentation of the research question; and a thesis map. Chapter Two moves to an account of Pasifika people and of education as it affects them.

CHAPTER TWO: PASIFIKA EDUCATION

The story of Pasifika people in New Zealand is not really an immigrant story anymore. It is a Kiwi story. It is part of our national story.

Ronji Tanielu and Alan Johnson, 2013, p. 4.

2.1 Chapter Outline

Chapter Two begins with a discussion of the meaning, uses, status, value and drawbacks of the term 'Pasifika'. This is followed by a statistical account of the Pasifika population which draws on the most recent census. Next, a brief history of Pacific people in Aotearoa New Zealand is given, and contrasting readings of Pacific migration are offered. After these, issues of diasporic identity are discussed in general and for Pasifika. To locate Pasifika people in the context of education, a brief history of education in Aotearoa New Zealand is given which is subsequently focussed through a history of Pasifika education. Finally, a chapter summary is provided.

2.2 Lexicon

Terms used to describe people of Pacific Island heritage living in Aotearoa New Zealand are far from politically neutral. This section addresses the use of the term 'Pasifika'. The right of self-naming is a key to self-determination and across the Pacific region each ethnic group has its own name(s) for itself. For instance, in current usage (from 2010) 'iTaukei' is officially used for self-description by what the West calls Fijians or Indigenous Fijians (Ministry of iTaukei Affairs, 2010). However, many other local and regional terms such as Pacific and Oceania are Western constructions.

In Aotearoa New Zealand there continues to be a shifting nomenclature regarding residents who are linked to the Pacific region. People migrating to and living in New Zealand have been commonly called Polynesian people since the 1930s (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013). Spoonley (1988) includes Māori in Polynesian, recognising Māori pre-colonial migratory origins but not accentuating their indigenous status in Aotearoa New Zealand. Most relevant terms separate Māori and more recent Pacific migrants. Examples

include Ngā Iwi o Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa (Ministry for Pacific Peoples, 2015), Pacific peoples (Statistics New Zealand, 2014), Pacific heritage/Pacific (Education Review Office, n.d.), Pasifikaans, Moana people (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010). In recent years, the Ministry of Education has popularised the term Pasifika (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013) to refer to "those peoples who have migrated from Pacific nations and territories. It also refers to the New Zealand-based (and born) population, who identify as Pasifika, via ancestry or descent" (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010, p. 49). Pasifika can be seen as a term with political, relational and historical resonance because the "nature of Pasifika groups residing in New Zealand tends to reflect historical and colonial relationships New Zealand has had in the Pacific region" (p. 49). It is a form of an English word, unused in the Pacific Islands and perhaps less used by members of the Pasifika population when describing relationships amongst themselves than when references relationships with officialdom.

If the definition of the term Pasifika is contested and contextual, its outcomes are equally problematic. Educational achievement for students within the umbrella group is generally reported together so that variation by specific ethnicity is hidden. In National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) results (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2015b), a key indicator and driver within the education system, Pasifika ethnicity is reported with other umbrella terms: Māori, Asian and European. However, Pasifika statistics, even if created for convenience, have positive aspects. Inequities would be less visible without them.

The precise meaning and use of the term Pasifika in education is further complicated by administrative factors. In contexts such as Statistics New Zealand, people report their own ethnicity and are able to be recognised in two (or more) groups where they have dual heritages (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). In education there is a ranking system (Ministry of Education, 2014b) which erases one or more of these in various circumstances. That is, while parents can report a number of ethnicities when enrolling a child within the education system, centralised decisions are made as to which single ethnicity will be identified in any given context. In the case of joint Māori and Samoan ethnicities, for instance, a student will always be classified as Māori. Contextual factors further differentiate Pasifika populations. These include origin, religious affiliation, age, gender, place of birth and so on (Anae, Coxon, Mara, Wendt-Samu, & Finau, 2001). As a

result, there is an associated and growing drive for ethnic-specific research approaches (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010). The Pasifika umbrella has been put to a number of uses away from research in ways which echo policy as discussed in section 1.8. Pasifika students have variously been portrayed to teachers as a national "priority group" (Ministry of Education, 2012, 7th May) or to the general public as "target student[s]" (Office of the Auditor-General, 2012), a term which suggests being a target 'of' or 'for' (non-Pasifika) others. The phase "under-served" (Ministry of Education, 2011, 7th June), which implies a more relational view of Pasifika education, has also been broadcast. In all of these descriptors, the power of naming is centrally held by the education system and focus is directed on Pasifika students as being the core of an issue, rather than the experience of Pasifika education being a symptom of systemic failure.

Despite caveats, the term 'Pasifika' will be used in this study for two reasons. Firstly, despite the anomalies cited above, the Ministry of Education has consistently used this concise term. Secondly, the term has some value 'on the ground' in the way people related to the Pacific organise themselves within educational contexts: there are school-based Pasifika festivals in the news (e.g., Hunter, 2015, 28th October); the major secondary teachers' union has a Komiti Pasifika (Post Primary Teachers' Association, 2015); and a pan-Pacific brotherhood is a feature of the host school for this study. In such circumstances, unity is a strength; diversity can be celebrated under the Pasifika umbrella.

2.3 History

This section gives a brief account of the history of Pasifika people. Attention is paid to colonial relationships before a description of the circumstances and profile of migration from the Pacific Islands to Aotearoa New Zealand is presented.

There has been a long history of association between Aotearoa New Zealand and Pacific Island nations. Inheriting British colonial relationships in the region, New Zealand Prime Minister Seddon was "allowed" (King, 2003, p. 292) by Britain to annex the Cook Islands in 1901 and Nuie in 1905. Samoa was seized from Germany in August 1914. Although relationships have not remained static, Samoa for instance gaining independence in 1962, the Cook Islands and Niue remain part of the Realm of New Zealand and Tokelau

continues as a New Zealand dependent territory. Fiji has long had political and economic links with Aotearoa New Zealand, strained at times by coups (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013) while Tonga, never colonised, is also related, partly due to its status as the British Tongaland Protectorate (1900 - 1970) (Marley, 1996). Other states such as Nauru, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands have had historic and recent relationships with Aotearoa New Zealand. These vary, but have generally not been of equals.

Migration has long been an element in relationships between Pacific Islands and Aotearoa New Zealand although patterns have changed from time to time, shaped by New Zealand government responses to economic conditions. By 1945, 2000 people, or 0.1% of the New Zealand resident population were counted as Pacific people. As World War Two ended, Pacific migration increased. Colonial links sketched a pathway for movement; migrant numbers and rates increased as employment was not hard to gain. This trend continued in the 1960s and 1970s since poorly paid labour was required to drive an economic boom, so that 50,000 Pacific people were reported in the 1971 census. This was a "love affair" (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013, p. 11) with both sides of the migration equation having much to gain.

However, the economic motivation which characterised successive New Zealand governments' attitudes was thrown into turmoil by international events. Downturn led to scapegoating. This crystalized as the Dawn Raids, where the homes of Pacific Islanders, particularly Samoan and Tongan visa over-stayers, were stormed during the hours of darkness. Raids took place between 1974 and 1976 and ignored the fact that Australians and British temporary residents were the largest migrant groups (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2015). Race, colonial attitudes and migration had come together in a policy which continues to haunt Pasifika communities. In this period "negative stereotypes and images of Pacific people also became entrenched" (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013, p. 11) in the general population, while their housing and health worsened. One response was the development of the Polynesian Panthers, a community self-help group which was explicitly pan-Pacific (Anae, 2012), what might now be called Pasifika.

Economic recovery provoked more policy changes. Between 1986 and 1991 the rate of growth of the Pacific population in Aotearoa New Zealand was eight times faster

than general rates, reaching 167,000+ people. However, changes in the economy due to restructuring, and to traditional areas of Pasifika residence due to gentrification, led to internal migration. Destinations included Porirua, Tokoroa and South Auckland. Overcrowding and low income characterised the situation in such places, creating issues of health and poverty with knock-on effects in education (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013). What might be thought of now as a static normality for Pasifika people is in fact an intersection between policy, economy and geography. Government responses to this new situation included the appointment of the first minister of Pacific Island Affairs in 1984, and the establishment of the first Pacific Island Affairs Unit - the start of planning and policy development focused on Pasifika people (Coxon & Mara, 2000). Migration rates were later affected by a points system for migrants from 1991 which rewarded higher education, specialised work experience, and financial capital. Migrants from rich nations were favoured as priority was given to what people had already achieved rather than their potential. Migration from Pacific Islands decreased, but the Pasifika population continued to grow through a relatively high birth rate. An account of more recent population trends will be given below.

This examination of the history of Pacific migration to Aotearoa New Zealand provides a backdrop to social relations involving Pasifika people. These are conditioned by a history of colonialism and of policies which have shaped both migration and attitudes. The relationship between the state and migrants has not been equal, and a sense of minoritisation exists (Glynn, 2012; G Miller, 2015; Milne, 2013). For instance, theories of "flight" (Duff, 2015) in education suggest that there is a perception that high quality educational provision is not afforded to areas which have high Pasifika populations and low socio-economic status. However, what may appear to be the attitudes and fates of individuals, both Pasifika and Palangi, can be seen within a wider socio-historical context which removes fault, but does not remove the imperative for equity and positive change. The next section describes the present Pasifika population, based on the 2013 census (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). This complements a historical view and acts as a prelude to a discussion of Pasifika diasporic identity.

2.4 Demographics

This section gives a brief overview of Pasifika demography. Statistics New Zealand gives demographic information for Pasifika as a whole (termed 'Pacific peoples') which can be broken down by individual ethnicities. The Pasifika population is largely urban, relatively young and growing. It is comprised of many ethnicities which are diverse in numbers, rates of growth, and the proportion which is New Zealand-born. In 2013, of the total national population, 7.4% or 295,941 people had Pacific links, evenly split by gender. The largest Pacific ethnic group was Samoan, 48.7% of the Pasifika total, followed by Cook Islands Māori, Tongan and Niuean. Of Pasifika people, 62.3% had been born in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Auckland region was the home to 65.9 %, and the Wellington region to 12.2% (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). These statistics indicate the increasing numerical significance of Pasifika people to Aotearoa New Zealand, an economic motivation for the Ministry of Education's concern for Pasifika achievement. They also reiterate the diversity beneath the Pasifika umbrella. The largely urban nature of the population reinforces the need to take account of cultural influences far beyond the Pacific; urban culture contain elements which are international as well as regional and local (Tupuola, 2004). This study conceptualises Pasifika educational research as a story which leverages Pacific-origin knowledges, is cognisant of the history of colonisation and Pacific migration, and is part of a wider story of Pacific migration "that is now firmly ingrained in the fabric of New Zealand society" (Tanielu & Johnson, 2013, p. 11).

2.5 Migration

Having examined the timescale and extent of migration from the Pacific to Aotearoa New Zealand, it is pertinent to consider the meaning of movement in the Pacific diaspora in order to deepen an understanding of what it might mean to be Pasifika. Diaspora is a term derived from the Jewish experience of dispersal invoking an "imagination and identity which keeps in tension the memories of the homeland and the exigencies of making a new home in a new location" (Teaiwa, 2005, p. 26). Diaspora, however, can be understood in a number of ways. Most literature embodies a Euro-American vision of space in diasporic migration (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009), negotiated through a dichotomy between local and global where movement is towards or away from

the centre. This vision is generally focussed on an economic analysis using key concepts of development and remittance (e.g. R. Brown, Connell, & Jimenez-Soto, 2014). In a call supported by McHugh (2000), Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009) advocates for cultural ways of understanding migration to include cultural conceptions of movement, space and time.

A challenge to Western concepts of migratory movement is provided by the Samoan concept of malaga, a strategy for maintaining social and spiritual spaces in relational networks. Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009) glosses malaga as meaning to "travel back and forth" and "used to describe the spiritual journey of being on earth" (p. 10). Migration as malaga is not focussed solely on destination. It has metaphysical dimensions and is part of a "moral economy" (p. 19) albeit partially achieved through economic means. In this economy, the Pacific-origin relational concept of va, to be discussed in Chapter Four, conceptualises space not as absence but as connection in tension with separation (Wendt, 1999). Malaga implies an expansion of relationally defined space. Further readings of Pacific migration also challenge Western notions of time as a linear sequence. Macpherson (2002) describes deliberate intergenerational Samoan approaches to upholding relational networks despite diasporic movement in the last century. These unify a goal-defined future, movement in the present, and the past of tradition. This is achieved through social and spiritual links by recourse to an extended view of time. Māhina's (2008) theory of tā (time) and vā (space) offers a further disruption of Western time.

Adopting the wide and nuanced perspective on migration described in this section allows a portrayal of Pasifika institutions and behaviours as vibrant and relevant strategies, not just the shells of memories or anachronistic practices. Cultural views of Pacific migration promote a conceptualisation of Pasifika education which takes account of specific not universal understandings of movement, space and time. Such perspectives are required to make sense of Pasifika success as Pasifika.

2.6 Identity

This section discusses Pasifika diasporic identities. Diasporic spaces are no more static than any other social situation in the modern world. Conditions change over time, and time-as-distance between origin and location is increasingly significant. Many factors

play their part in the maintenance and movement of Pasifika identity. One factor affecting Pasifika identities is political climate. There have been shifts in power over who selects migrants. Last century models which involved village or family sponsorship of new migrants (Macpherson, 2002) have been replaced by "pro-poor" (Gibson, McKenzie, & Rohorua, 2008, p. 1) aid-based, donor government controlled temporary migrant worker schemes. A related second factor is demographic. New Zealand-born Pacific Islanders are growing as a proportion of the Pasifika population (Statistics New Zealand, 2014) and limited availability of resources such as village-based socialisation and language is leading to a broad band of new identities. Macpherson (1999) ironically asks, "will the 'Real' Samoans please stand up" (p. 50), reflecting on-going but shifting boundary marking regarding the identity of urban Pasifika people. Belonging is also questioned by mixed heritages, and by the flux in balance and type of Pacific Island symbolic capital and Palangi cultural capital held by Pasifika people.

While negative intercultural experiences such as a sense of having a torn identity are true for some Pasifika people, Mila-Schaaf and Robinson (2010) say an opportunity exists in flexible diasporic identities. "Polycultural capital" (p. 10) sourced from Pacific origins and counter-poised with Palangi capital can be a strength. Rather than emphasising difference, the positives of overlap, hybridity, mediation and negotiation can "theoretically realise the potential opportunities of cumulative advantage to all" (p. 12). For this, support is needed for people to positively frame Pasifika experiences and capital in two ways: firstly, not as less than those of Island born/first generation peoples; and secondly not as less than Palangi/non-Pasifika people. In the first case, ethnic boundary marking is an issue. Tupuola (2004) cites young Pasifika people who are "adopting identifications far removed from their genealogy and local geography" (p. 96) such as urban music styles, who criticise confining categories such as Island-born, New Zealand-born and dual New Zealand and Pacific identities, and who argue against "ethnic and cultural identities 'imposed' on them by their elders and peers" (p. 88). In the second case, the reception given to Pasifika people by members of dominant groups and institutions is significant.

If identity is shifting, flexibility is required in the way that schools, for instance, respond to Pasifika. Siteine (2010) illustrates how well-meaning teachers can make assumptions and consequently present materials which are anachronistic, offering students

an image of what it is to be from a particular group in ways which deny urban and/or contemporary experience. Gershon (2007) suggests diasporic identity as the possession of context-specific knowledge. Because the conditions of diaspora are fluid and the possession and circulation of knowledge change, a consequence is that "what it means to have an identity—that is, the types of knowledges one must exhibit in order to claim an identity effectively—are also constantly changing" (p. 486). Of concern within ethnic groups and in intercultural contexts such as Pasifika education is what that knowledge is and how it is understood. These issues affect both belonging and identification.

Diasporic identities, hybridity and change have relevance to this research. In Pasifika education the views of students and their families are important; education is for the good of both the group and individual (Silipa, 2008). However, what success means to one generation may not have longevity in a diaspora; intergenerational change is automatically a factor in addressing Pasifika success. Indeed, identity shifts are implied in the term Pasifika which have concrete consequences. If identity and knowledge are linked through being known (Gershon, 2012), the actions of schools can contribute to identity by institutionalising (or denying) a Pasifika space for knowledge transfer. Where education seeks to be a space for positive transformation, schools have a contextual opportunity to make a strength of Pasifika students' abilities to fluidly negotiate identity in ways which value edgewalking and polycultural capital, and to avoid deficit theories of culture and identity. Given the mono-cultural nature of much schooling, such valuing needs to be both strategic and deliberate (Nakhid, 2003), based on firm understandings of a student's fund of knowledge (Moll, 2015) and not on anachronistic or fixed assumptions.

Having discussed Pasifika in terms of lexicon, history, demographics and identity, the thesis now turns to education. First, a historical outline of education in general will be given. This is followed by a brief history of Pasifika education.

2.7 Education in Aotearoa New Zealand

The framing of education and educational success in Aotearoa New Zealand has changed over time. Although Māori were conducting education well before missionaries arrived (Stephenson, 2009), school-based education has been a tool for colonisation. A key

aim of early European-framed formal education was the speedy assimilation of the Other, founded on notions of race and civilisation (Stephenson, 2009). The aims of formal education for Māori have relatively recently been re-formulated as emancipatory (Durie, 2003; G. Smith, 2003) although the European base of general education still represents the mainstream.

The aims of formal education for Pakeha, New Zealand people of European origin, have not remained static. A number of understandings of the appropriate balance between the needs of society and the individual have been embraced. When universal primary education began following the 1877 Education Act, Bowen stated school was to teach "the self-control that is absolutely necessary for a civilised state or society" (Bowen, 1877, p. 32). Thus, primary education was not about individual self-fulfilment but conformity. Later, Fraser's (1939) seminal claim imagined a democratic future where "every person…has the right as a citizen to a free education of a kind for which he [sic] is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his [sic] powers" (pp. 2,3) regardless of location, wealth, or academic ability. This set a new tone for education in Aotearoa New Zealand. However, Fraser's imagination was more evident in policy and practice in primary than secondary education, the focus of this study. Universal secondary education was slow to arrive, and when implemented in 1944, it did not stretch past two additional years of schooling for most students until the 1980s. Even then, the competitive and comparative foundations of assessment resulted in many students leaving school without qualifications despite the time they invested in school. In these cases, the "fullest of his [sic] powers" (p. 3) was not translated into educational success, but into failure.

Further redefinition of education occurred in 1987, when Treasury stated "[i]n the technical sense used by economists, education is not in fact a 'public good'. Education shares the main characteristics of other commodities traded in the market place" (New Zealand Treasury, cited in Ray, 2009, p. 25). This replaced Fraser's rhetoric of the rights of the citizen with the function of the market as grounds for the distribution of education promoted competition between schools. It is arguable that this reduced school-based cooperation and transparency. A focus on the management of success markers followed, most infamously the Cambridge High School statistic of 100% pass rates (Woulfe, 2014).

Here, the perceived success of the institution appears to have been prioritised over the learning of students.

To summarise, the aims of education are intimately connected to concepts of its success. The historic mutability of one affects the other. Education in Aotearoa New Zealand has had a range of aims – from the exercise of hegemonic power in a colonial context to operating as a tool for self-determination. Consequently, a range of positions from the exercise of control to the fostering of individual expression have shaped ideas about success. Access to education also embodies its aims. Education as a right reifies participatory democracy whereas education as a tradable good reifies the market. Although to this point Pasifika education is notable for its absence in this discussion, related issues are visible in the overview of Pasifika education which follows.

2.8 Pasifika Education

It was not until the 1970s that formal recognition of Pasifika in the education sector began. An early acknowledgement was the Pacific Island Polynesian Education Foundation (1972) which provided for community involvement in the selection of already successful students for funding. A piecemeal approach continued through the 1974 Lopdell House conference, reported as Educating Pacific Islanders in New Zealand (Department for Education, 1975), and the establishment of the Auckland-based Pacific Island Educational Resource Centre in 1978 (Coxon & Mara, 2000). The 1980s saw a Pasifika forum sponsored by the Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA) and the appointment of three Pasifika education officers by the Ministry of Education. However, Pasifika voice did not progressively grow in audibility, and Openshaw (2009) notes that following the 1988 Picot Report, a tension between constructing community voice such as Pasifika in education and the imposition of centrally-developed foci was inevitable. Tensions can be also seen in the fact that while Pasifika education was developing, the New Zealand Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988) stated: "Currently we have a situation where minority groups are recognised only for their disadvantage or deprivation in assimilationist terms. In effect this protects and privileges the majority English status" (p. 176). This comment draws attention to continuity in the framing of non-European groups within New Zealand society which can be traced back to the initial approach to

Māori education described above. Given this, it is unsurprising that any developments in Pasifika education were "what had been able to be accommodated within wider policy at little expense" (Coxon & Mara, 2000, p. 175).

However, awareness was growing of the future impact of poorly-functioning Pasifika education on Aotearoa New Zealand, and some reframing of education did take place, placing the spotlight on teachers and schools. The Barriers to Learning (Education Review Office, 1995) report included Pasifika education, particularly that of girls, as an area subject to impediments. These included school policy and procedure, ill-prepared teachers using out-of-date resources who failed to interest students, and low expectations. Schools were described as typically deficit-orientated and lacking in strategy to turn initiatives into effective change. The role of the education of adults in unpicking Pasifika issues was a focus of a New Zealand Educational Institute (1996) report which brought attention to low Pasifika teacher recruitment, weak teacher education, and the need for Board of Trustee training in related matters. In acknowledging the contexts in which teachers work whilst focussing on the need for teacher agency, the discussion of Pasifika education was widening in scope.

In the early years of this century previously-held socio-economic explanations of ethnic inequity in education were increasingly challenged. The significance of culture in the outcomes of Pasifika education was discussed as a logical partner to debates regarding the causes of inequity in Māori education. Looking at the education of both groups, Hattie (2003) stated:

> We are doing something, or probably NOT doing something, to Maori [sic] and Pacific children within our schools *across all decile levels* that is just not connecting with them. It is not socio-economic differences. Instead … it is a matter of cultural relationships. (p. 7)

This thinking paid attention to teachers and their identity, problematised the place of culture in schools, and signalled the important relational aspect of teacher expectation in student achievement. Hattie's ideas drew on international scholarship of culturally relevant pedagogy such as the work of Ladson-Billings (1995). This proposed a cultural re-framing

of education to contest the cultural norms of practice and acknowledge the role of stereotypes in differentiated expectations and outcomes. Culturally responsive pedagogy links progress in Pasifika education to the quality of teacher education.

Central planning in Pasifika education became clearly visible through the first Pasifika Education Plan (PEP)(Ministry of Education, 2001). The latest PEP (Ministry of Education, 2013a) gives the following definition of success in Pasifika education: "Pasifika Success will be characterised by demanding, vibrant, dynamic, successful Pasifika learners, secure and confident in their identities, languages and cultures, navigating through all curriculum areas such as the arts, sciences, technology, social sciences and mathematics" (p. 3). This definition suggests that Pasifika learners, equipped with Pasifika capital (identity, language and culture), will navigate curriculum areas and gain curriculum-based capital. In it, education is a curriculum journey, but the security of identity, language and culture is assumed. The PEP vision imagines "[f]ive out of five Pasifika learners participating, engaging and achieving in education, secure in their identities, languages and cultures and contributing fully to Aotearoa New Zealand's social, cultural and economic wellbeing" (p. 3). This view of Pasifika success embraces Pasifika capital and charts a causal link between participation, engagement and achievement. It sees the aim of education as developing students who make contributions to society, culture and the economy. This vision claims to value what Pasifika students bring to education, but is silent on what their full contribution might be.

Although there is a place for central planning and monitoring, the PEP has been criticised for the emphasis placed on some aspects of the "identities, languages and cultures"/ "social, cultural and economic" (Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 3) discourse through its monitoring strategies. For instance, targets are important because schools focus on points of accountability, but the selectivity of the PEP's targets has been characterised as monitoring 'Success of Pasifika', not 'Success as Pasifika' (Milne & Students of Kia Aroha College, 2015). If an education system measures what it values, literacy in English (or Māori), numeracy, certain levels of qualification, reductions in suspensions and inclusive practices for special needs students are valued in secondary education through the PEP strategy. Identity, culture and Pasifika languages are not. Interestingly, in the early childhood sector support for "Pacific children achieving success as Pasifika" is measured

against a PEP target, albeit second-hand through ERO reports. Data given suggests that in 2012, only 11% of early childhood centres had "very responsive practices" to support this ill-defined sector-specific goal (Ministry of Education, 2016c, 'Responsiveness to Pasifika children'). There is no published monitoring of corresponding information for secondary education within the PEP framework. Policy without levers and/or associated provision is easy to formulate but needs tools for full implementation, especially where assimilation has historically been seen as educational success. In these circumstances a re-framing is required in the face of tradition, inertia and power.

One area where Pasifika people have been able to frame educational success in specific cultural terms is in early childhood education. Sector provision includes akoteu Tonga, Tongan pre-school, and a'oga amata, Samoan pre-school centres. Devine, Teisina, and Pau'uvale (2012) describe the former as embracing 'ulungaanga faka-Tonga, or Tongan language and conduct as a major component of development and learning for those involved. A similar claim in a Samoan context is made by Taouma, Wendt-Samu, Podmore, Tapusoa, and Moananu (2003). In both cases, Pacific language provision is a feature, located in a cultural nexus of structures, behaviours, relationships and values. However, such centres do not seek to socialise students solely in a Pacific cultural context. Mara and Burgess (2007) report Samoan early childhood teachers "combining and re-combining knowledge and ways of doing things from two cultural traditions and in two languages" (p. 37). This recognises the importance of both maintaining Pacific languages and values as matters of cultural heritage and identity, and assisting students to learn comfortably in a culturally diverse diasporic setting. Such strategies may provide ideas about the nature of Pasifika success as Pasifika.

While the Ministry of Education does acknowledge culture in their reframing of Pasifika education, Pasifika educational research asks for more. A set of guidelines (Anae et al., 2001), tool kit (Pasifika Education Research Team, 2003), discussion of Pasifika research ethics (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010) and statement of research priorities (Ministry of Education Research Division, 2012) have begun to push the framework of Pasifika education beyond Western paradigmns by re-orientating around Pacific-origin thought. For instance, the research guidelines document (Anae et al., 2001) addresses the issue of developing a "uniquely Pacific worldview, that is underpinned by Pacific values, belief

systems and ways of structuring knowledge, which will become core values and ideologies underpinning the education system that is the key instrument in its promotion" (p. 8). This differs significantly from the assimilationist approaches to Pasifika education discussed above, and provides a much deeper challenge to the framing of Pasifika education than does the PEP. The thrust of Pasifika educational research thus provides a ground where Pasifika success as Pasifika can be contested through emancipatory language and concepts rather than as a target or priority to be achieved through unchanged provision.

2.9 Chapter Summary

Following the initial framing chapter, which described the researcher-as-context, this chapter first discussed Pasifika people through lexicon, history, demographics, movement and identity. The numeric significance of those under the contested 'Pasifika' umbrella was noted, the role and the contested meaning of movement in migration were discussed, and flux in diasporic Pasifika identity was acknowledged. The chapter then presented a second aspect of the study's context by narrating the history of education in Aotearoa New Zealand and the development of Pasifika education within this. This indicated that thinking about success in Pasifika education has progressively included cultural considerations, although the level of penetration of culture into the discourse is questionable. The next chapter provides national and local sketches of success in Pasifika education understood as achievement.

CHAPTER THREE: NATIONAL AND LOCAL SETTINGS

We have been basically persuaded that we should not talk about racism.

Graffiti on changing shed, Alexandra Park, Wellington. A quote from Angela Davis.

3.1 Chapter Outline

In the last chapter, a four-fold profile of Pasifika people was developed. Then, the history of Pasifika education was discussed against a general backdrop of education in Aotearoa New Zealand. The shifting aims of education and consequent ideas of success were discussed in both contexts. This chapter presents a dual account of the contemporary education of Pasifika students. Firstly, national achievement data is used to construct a nuanced, comparative picture of Pasifika success as achievement. This involves levels, rates and types of measured achievement and includes concerns about success as participation. Following this, the case study school is depicted as a valuable setting for Pasifika educational research and described using data from Education Review Office (ERO) reports, local reflections and personal experience. The relationship between the two accounts is one of nesting: the school within the system. This descriptive strategy develops a picture of Pasifika education in the case study school as unique whilst locatable in nation trends.

3.2 Success as Achievement

One way of understanding success in education is as a certain kind of measurable commodity: assessment data. This selective and reductive view of success is problematic for reasons discussed in Chapter Two. However, it does facilitate a comparison capable of suggesting the degree to which an education system is delivering equity between ethnic groups. While comparison may have uses, care must be taken to establish appropriate and meaningful points of reference. Thus, in addition to static figures, trends and underlying features should be considered. With these caveats, achievement data for the 2014 cohort (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2015a) (NZQA) in the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) framework will be discussed. This will be augmented

by other research which discriminates between the putative value of various kinds of achievement. Ethnicity in this data follows Ministry of Education protocols (Ministry of Education, 2014b) as described in Chapter Two. Ethnicities used by the NZQA in reporting NCEA achievement are the umbrellas of New Zealand European, New Zealand Māori, Pasifika, and Asian. Within the Pasifika group it is clear that females outperform males in NCEA (Ministry of Education, 2010), a relevant feature for this gendered study.

NZQA (2015a) describes student achievement over the increasingly demanding levels of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF). The data can be analysed in a number of ways. A comparison of roll- and participation-based data sets illuminates the potential of school-level practices to shape the appearance of success through the way schools make assessment available to students. This implies success as participation. Data on certificate endorsement makes the relative performances of ethnic groups visible at higher degrees of attainment. University Entrance (UE) attainment statistics provide a sketch of access to potential future academic pathways through NCEA accreditation. Retention data shows the ability of the education system to retain learners through the three-year assessment regime. Cohort tracking data maps achievement against time. When discussed together, these data sets provide a comprehensive overview of Pasifika education in the NQF from which a number of trends can be drawn.

3.3 Achievement at NCEA

NCEA assessment generally assumes a student will achieve at three successive levels (L1, L2, L3) in three single year steps, Year (Y) 11, 12 and 13. Thus, achievement rates at NCEA refer to students who gain the requisite number of credits (60-80) to gain NCEA at a particular level in a single year. Rates are reported for two populations; roll and participation. It is important to differentiate between these.

Roll-based figures report students who gain a qualification as a proportion of those in their school year who are enrolled in school. This data is unmanaged by schools beyond enrolment. Roll-based data offers clear comparisons between schools since it erases institutional flexibility. By contrast, participation-based reporting embraces the flexibility built into the NCEA system by including students who take qualifications early or late

when judged by their expected year of achievement. This is because the participation-based population includes those students who are in a position potentially to gain a certain qualification at the end of a year. However, flexibility also makes it possible for students who are not achieving well at school to be deleted from this population by curtailing assessment below the threshold for potential achievement. In this way, students cease to be 'participating'. The incentive for schools to do this is image management in a competitive environment. Differences in the two data sets make visible the extent to which some students become 'non-participating'. In this, the degree of control exercised by students is likely to be less than that exercised by institutions. Thus, variance offers a window on institutional practice in the construction of 'success' both as participation and as achievement.

In describing the achievement of the roll-based population, NZQA (2015a) shows trends for 2010-2014. Across the five-year reporting period, roll-based achievement at NCEA L1 and L2 generally increased with Pasifika achievement showing improvement. L1 Pasifika achievement rates were consistently lower than for Asian and New Zealand European students, although the differentials decreased over the period. For L2, there is a similar picture with Pasifika showing a slightly faster rate of increased achievement than other groups, thus reducing differentials. However, general achievement at L3 did not follow the upward L1/L2 pattern, although both New Zealand Māori and Pasifika groups showed a slight general increase in L3 achievement. A focus on 2014 data reveals that differentials between Pasifika and both the Asian and New Zealand European groups were greater at L3 than at L1 and L2. At L3 the 2014 Pasifika achievement rate was 14.8% lower than New Zealand European and 19.5% lower than Asian achievement rates. In general, roll-based data suggests Pasifika achievement is consistently at a higher level than for New Zealand Māori but is consistently lower than for New Zealand European and Asian students. Achievement for all four umbrella groups was highest at L2. Relative performance of the Pasifika group was weakest at L3 and strongest at L2. Figures for roll-based NCEA achievement by ethnicity for 2010-2014 derived from the relevant NZQA report are given in Table 1.

Table 1: 2010-14 Roll-Based NCEA Achievement Percentages by Ethnicity

Ethnic group	Level	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
New Zealand European	1	74.2	74.0	75.4	78.7	80.3
	2	73.3	75.9	77.4	78.6	82.2
	3	61.3	62.1	62.1	63.7	66.4
New Zealand Māori	1	47.7	48.2	50.5	55.3	59.1
	2	54.0	56.8	59.0	62.0	67.1
	3	36.5	39.8	42.6	44.3	46.5
Pasifika	1	50.8	54.5	58.4	64.8	66.9
	2	55.4	57.7	62.5	67.8	74.5
	3	36.0	38.1	44.2	47.8	51.6
Asian	1	79.3	80.4	79.4	82.0	84.2
	2	81.3	85.1	85.9	85.1	87.2
	3	72.2	67.7	70.5	69.6	71.1

Source: New Zealand Qualifications Authority (2015a)

Participation-based data generally tells a similar story, although participation-based values are mainly higher than roll-based values, perhaps due to the withdrawal of students likely to fail. Thus, while increased values suggest greater success as achievement they also indicate lower success as participation. A related notable variance between the roll- and participation- data is that in roll-based reporting Pasifika achievement consistently outstrips New Zealand Māori achievement in all levels of NCEA. Under participation-based reporting, the reverse is true. This variance suggests that factors such as withdrawal from assessment may be affecting Māori more than Pasifika, perhaps influenced by assessment practices in Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori-run schools). Another potential factor is the scrutiny being applied to Māori achievement nationally. The creation of 'good news' participation-based statistics through the withdrawal of students from assessment could be an unintended consequence of Māori achievement targets. Although no definitive explanation is possible, what is clear is a link between ethnicity and the variance between data sets. This in turn implies a link between ethnicity and achievement. Figures for participation-based NCEA achievement by ethnicity for 2014 are given in Table 2.

Table 2: 2010-14 Participation-Based NCEA Achievement Percentages by Ethnicity

Ethnic group	Level	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
New Zealand European	1	83.0	84.5	86.0	88.3	89.9
	2	85.7	87.4	88.8	90.2	93.1
	3	79.3	80.9	80.9	83.7	84.8
New Zealand Māori	1	61.0	64.2	65.7	70.7	73.9
	2	70.2	73.9	75.4	78.1	82.1
	3	62.5	65.0	66.0	70.0	71.1
Pasifika	1	54.1	58.9	63.3	71.4	71.9
	2	62.3	64.6	69.3	75.0	79.7
	3	52.9	54.7	59.5	65.0	66.4
Asian	1	77.9	81.4	83.0	85.4	86.3
	2	80.6	82.4	84.9	85.8	86.9
	3	78.1	78.1	79.7	82.6	84.9

Source: New Zealand Qualifications Authority (2015a)

3.4 Endorsement and University Entrance

Certificate endorsement is a differentiated measure of achievement within NCEA. There are two differentiated degrees of achievement above the basic level (Achievement). These are Achievement with Merit (Merit) and Achievement with Excellence (Excellence). Endorsement is only reported for students who gain the requisite credits in a single year, although students can accrue credits over a longer time-span. For reliability of comparison, in this and subsequent discussion the 2014 roll-based population will be used.

Pasifika achievement declines proportionally at higher degrees of achievement. At all three levels of NCEA, Pasifika merit endorsement proportions are the lowest of the ethnic groups reported. In 2014, the Pasifika proportion for L3 Merit endorsement cohort was roughly half that of Asian or European students. Differentials between Pasifika and the higher achieving ethnic groups were even greater for Excellence endorsement. For example, the proportion of Pasifika L3 Excellence endorsement was roughly one fifth of that of Asians or Europeans. These trends suggest that Pasifika students perform relatively better at the basic degrees of achievement than at higher degrees. At the highest NCEA

performance level and degree, Excellence at L3, Pasifika are under-represented at the greatest rate (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2015a).

University Entrance (UE) is a level of qualification which has historically guaranteed entry to a university in Aotearoa New Zealand. The qualification, a specific configuration of credits, is effectively being superseded by universities' own demands. Nonetheless, for many students UE is the 'gold standard' which offers a pathway into the university. As such, it is a specific marker of success in the NCEA system. In 2014 Pasifika UE achievement rates were roughly half that of the majority New Zealand European group (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2015a), predicting significantly lower access to university study for Pasifika students.

3.5 Other Indicators

Retention rates refer to the number of students who continue in secondary school education from one year to the next. Pasifika students are retained in the education system at relatively high rates despite relatively lower rates of achievement when compared to New Zealand European and Asian student populations.

NZQA (2015a) shows achievement across time for students who were enrolled in Y11 in 2012. Students who left school during the three-year tracking period remain part of the tracked cohort. For this reason, the tracked cohort is different to both roll- and participation-based cohorts which ignore those who are not enrolled in education. NZQA states that the tracked cohort has significantly more males than the other two measures because males leave education early at greater rates than females. Tracked-cohort data indicates that the overall Pasifika student population is achieving qualifications at a slower rate that New Zealand European and Asian student populations. A greater proportion of Pasifika students appear to be staying at school into Y13 to gain L2 than is true for other ethnic groups. It is logical to assume that a consequence of this is lower Pasifika attainment of L3 and UE in Y13.

3.6 Discussion

It is possible to summarise the data presented thus:

- Pasifika achievement across almost all measures is relatively higher than New Zealand Māori and relatively lower than New Zealand European and Asian student populations
- As the level of qualification and degree of achievement increases, Pasifika success decreases relative to other reported ethnic groups
- Pasifika students take more time to gain some levels of qualification than Asian and New Zealand European groups but 'catch up' at a faster rate
- Pasifika students' retention within education is comparatively high
- Differences between roll- and participation-based cohorts are less significant for Pasifika than for Māori, perhaps indicating that Māori 'participation' is more curtailed
- Ethnicity and achievement are linked
- Ethnicity and 'participation' are linked
- Gender, ethnicity and achievement are linked

Ethnic comparison of 2014 NCEA achievement (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2015a) leads to three concerns: the status of the Pasifika group; the use of targets; and the definition of success. Firstly, 'minoritisation' is a more useful concept than 'minority' when examining the status of the Pasifika group in relation to NCEA levels. The limitations of minority can be seen where the minority Asian group out performs the majority New Zealand European group in many areas, while the minority Pasifika group is out performed by the majority. Minoritisation does not refer to the supposed fixed cultural characteristics of a group (Chantler, 2006) but is a relational, socio-historic process which gives rise to marginal status. It is akin to Hau'ofa's (1994) concept of "belittlement" (p. 149). Minoritisation is a state of relative powerlessness in society, particularly in areas such as representation and definition. In the case of Māori, being a minority is a result of Pakeha migration. Being minoritised implicates colonialism and racism. Migration has made Pacific people a minority outside of their island of origin, but being minoritised is the result of Palangi dominance, racism and hegemony. These factors can be seen in the

history of education as assimilation described in Chapter Two. The cultural distance (Alasuutari & Alasuutari, 2009) which has been observed in differentiated Pasifika and Palangi relational expectations in the classroom (Education Review Office, 1995; Hawk, Cowley, Hill, & Sutherland, 2002; Spiller, 2012) provides an example of how minoritisation can be operationalised through the way students are perceived. By contrast, the Asian minority is often seen as clever (e.g., Duff, 2013) despite cases of negative racism. In addition, it has been claimed that many Asian students bring an ethic of competition and expectations of memorisation (Otsuka, 1966) to education which may sit well in school practices in Aotearoa New Zealand. Expectations which fit those of the dominant group do not lead to minoritisation. Thus, being a minority and being minoritised in any given context may not coincide.

A second issue concerns the effects of targets set for minoritised students. Targeting is widely used in Aotearoa New Zealand as a lever to raise educational performance, such as in the PEP (Ministry of Education, 2013a) which sets Achievement at NCEA L2 as the 'gold standard' in Pasifika education. Although NCEA L2 is the high watermark in achievement rates for all four ethnic groups, differentials between L2 and L3 achievement suggests that L2 gains are not converted into L3 gains as securely for the Pasifika student population as for others. The trend is more extreme for UE achievement. It is possible that targeting has resulted in goals which, while focussing on national progress at basic levels of achievement, have the effect of an under-focus on higher areas of achievement such as L3, UE and certificate endorsement. That is, targets can be dysfunctional if equity is the aim.

A related concern is the exact definition of 'success' in NCEA-based targets. NZQA (2015a) does not take into account the relative value of credits gained. In practice, not all NCEA credits have equal value; universities discount some but demand others. Research suggests that ethnicity and the value of NCEA achievement are related (Jensen, Madjar, & McKinley, 2010a, 2010b; Turner, Irving, Li, & Yuan, 2010). Some students, including Pasifika, are at risk of being focussed on lower-value achievement "if their academic potential is not recognised (and encouraged) early enough, and they are not guided to keep their study options open" (Jensen et al., 2010b, p. 51). The recognition of potential and processes of minoritisation are not natural bed-fellows. In the US, V. E. Lee

(1993) found that less advantaged students were much less likely to choose demanding study options than their socially and academically advantaged peers. Similarly, a paradoxical effect of the apparent choice promoted by NCEA may lead to the gaining of lower value credits by minoritised populations where their abilities are unexpected, unrecognised and unsupported. This is especially likely where schools are mandated to meet unsophisticated targets which ignore variations in the perceived value ascribed to various forms of achievement.

Having used a broad brush to sketch the national context of Pasifika education, attention will now be turned to the way the case study school sits in the national picture and to its potential as a research setting.

3.7 Research Setting

The setting of this research has unique aspects despite the fact that its framing responds to a number of needs of the Pasifika educational research community. Research priorities include a need to take account of regional differences in Pasifika communities and to describe gendered Pasifika contexts (Ministry of Education, 2012b). There is also a need to investigate transition in education (Chu, Glasgow, Rimoni, Hodis, & Meyer, 2013; Coxon, Anae, Mara, Wendt-Samu, & Finau, 2002) and to examine influences on Pasifika learners' achievement in mid- to high-decile schools (Education Review Office, 2012). The setting, a high-decile boys' school in a centre outside Auckland is unique in the literature. The research contributors, a small minority of Pasifika students in transition to their secondary school careers, are also atypical.

Although its uniqueness expands the literature, the study also sits in a thematic mainstream. It deals with key research priorities including: the identity formation of Pasifika students; teacher expectations (Ferguson, Gorinski, & Wendt Samu, 2008); the preparation of culturally responsive teachers (Chu et al., 2013); the use of Pasifika values in research (Ministry of Education, 2012b); and a focus on Pasifika success (Coxon et al., 2002). By researching priority areas in an atypical setting, the study is both contextually unusual and thematically mainstream, able to contribute a unique view to established

bodies of literature. In order to maximise this twin potential, it is important to describe the school as a unique institution, but also to locate its place in the national picture.

The case study school has a legacy of which it is proud. It emerged as a "living institution" (Beasley, 1992, p. 6) in 1867. The historic school was "socially selective, focussed on academic subjects, and taught to examinations…[It] reflected the British public school influence, and prepare[d] students for professional or other prestigious careers" (Stephenson, 2009, p. 10). Although social selection is now largely achieved by geographic rather than overt economic means, there is a fairly direct relationship between the two. The school has now grown to cater for over 1600 boys. An examination focus remains and other aspects of continuing tradition include uniform, formal assemblies, a concentration on the traditional sports of rugby and cricket, and a proud relationship with the past. Latin is still taught, a fact which keeps alive an aspect of the traditional European-focused curriculum. Despite a consistent presence, few Pasifika students have passed New Zealand Scholarship examinations and no Pasifika language is taught. However, school rugby has featured many Pasifika students and several have gone on to professional sporting careers. Some Pasifika activities in the school have formed their own traditions. These include Poly Club (a cultural performance group), camp, and Pasifika welcoming and leaving celebrations.

In some ways the school is a typical space for Pasifika education. It has a Pasifika student population of about 5%. Most schools in Aotearoa New Zealand have less than 25% Pasifika students on their roll. By contrast, a minority of 25 schools educate approximately half of all Pasifika secondary-age students (Education Review Office, 2012). In the last two years there have been between 20 and 30 Pasifika students aged 12-13 in the school's Y9, the entry year. Pasifika parents who enrol their sons opt for an educational setting in which they will be part of a small ethnic minority. Given the other options in the city, being in a minority may be being seen as unimportant, a positive feature, or compensated for by other factors.

Having established some general context for the study by presenting research-focussed, historical and demographic information about the case study school, a more

detailed picture will be drawn by examining the three most recent Education Review Office (ERO) reports.

3.8 Pasifika Education at the School 2006 – 2014

Responsibility for reviewing education in schools in Aotearoa New Zealand belongs to the Education Review Office (ERO). It makes visits and creates reports on a cyclical basis. It has a role of assisting schools to self-review, particularly in the light of national priorities. One of these priorities is Pasifika education. Using ERO reports to provide context for the case study school is helpful. ERO reports provide a qualitative description based on achievement data augmented by classroom observations conducted by ERO officers, conversations with Pasifika students and parents, and school documentation. Solely referring to achievement statistics would provide an unreliable picture of Pasifika education because the school's Pasifika population is small.

Three ERO reports will be used to contextualise this study. These cover the span of my involvement in the institution and chart the way the school's relationships with its Pasifika community has developed. They correspond roughly with the data-collection period of the 2014 NCEA Report (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2015a) discussed above, and span the last three iterations of the Pasifika Education Plan (PEP). They take account of PEP targets at a time where schools were expected to have prioritised resources to meet them. The first two reports were issued in 2006 and 2009 in the then-normal three-year cycle. The third report was issued in 2014. This timing represents ERO's satisfaction with its 2009 findings. These reports make in-school trends in Pasifika education visible, allowing ethnic comparisons with similar schools and the national cohort. Also visible are degrees of Pasifika achievement at different NCEA levels, the time taken to achieve qualifications, and retention. In addition, the reports allow school initiatives to be referenced against 'key levers' suggested by ERO as capable of improving Pasifika educational outcomes (Education Review Office, 2012). These are mentoring, school-community partnerships, teacher professional development in appropriate cultural engagement, student monitoring with a focus on improvement, and the use of specific Pasifika achievement targets. While ERO use the term 'Pacific' to describe students who have links with the Pacific Islands, for consistency this has been changed to Pasifika in this

account except in quotation. The reports will first be detailed chronologically to provide a sense of progression before a thematic presentation is given.

The 2006 report (Education Review Office, 2006) gives the school's Pasifika population as 4% of the student body and of Samoan, Niuean and Tongan origins. ERO observed Pasifika students participating, involved in "positive… relationships" (p. 10) with staff, and appreciative of their support. Pasifika students with literacy needs were being catered for by initiatives which included contexts and language from the Pacific. The Pasifika student community was represented in sporting, cultural and leadership aspects of the school. In 2006, school-based Pasifika initiatives covered the key areas of mentoring, the involvement of parents and community in the education of students, student monitoring linked to targets, and initiatives aimed at improvement - specifically of literacy. An uncovered key area was teacher professional development in appropriate cultural engagement. A "school-wide consideration of teaching practice" (p. 16) was suggested to explore ways and contexts to better support Pasifika learning. Some areas of Pasifika achievement were highlighted as less than satisfactory. The Board of Trustees' objective was for the Pasifika student population to achieve NCEA at parity with their year-based cohort, but senior Pasifika students were not achieving at that level. Some who achieved NCEA accreditation were taking longer than their non-Pasifika peers to do so. ERO records that the school's understanding was of a relationship between absence and non-achievement.

Another ERO report (Education Review Office, 2009) was produced in 2009. By then the Pasifika student body had risen to 5% and included boys linked to Samoa, Fiji, the Cook Islands, Tonga, Tokelau, and Niue. Similar to 2006, this report listed Pasifika-focussed initiatives covering many of ERO's key areas. Mentoring of Pasifika students was continuing, and school-community partnerships were supported by Pasifika representation on the Board of Trustees. Monitoring of achievement was in place and target achievement levels had been developed. The report was optimistic that "[t]he college's focus on continuous improvement in the use of assessment data, and... [on] the quality of teaching and learning, is likely to benefit Pacific students and help raise their achievement" (p.14). The Board of Trustees' strategic plan was "adopting a more proactive approach to multicultural issues" (p. 14). Raising Pasifika achievement was a goal and retention was an

aspect of this. Some areas were noted for improvement, again focussed on Pasifika academic outcomes. The report stated that NCEA results for Pasifika students were still lower than the goal of school-based ethnic parity although generally higher than national Pasifika rates. A school-based trend of significantly exceeding national Pasifika achievement rates had been true for NCEA L1, 2 and 3 in both 2006 and 2007. However, in 2008 the trend continued only for L1 and L3. Achievement at L2 was not as high as at "other schools" (p.13). ERO noted strategies in place to improve this situation.

The school's 2014 ERO report (Education Review Office, 2014) gave the school's Pasifika population as 5% of the total with no ethnic breakdown. In fact, the cohort included students whose parents had identified them as Samoan, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian and Tokelauan. The report acknowledged the efforts made in Pasifika education in previous years, citing student monitoring, tracking and subject specific initiatives as positive. Pasifika student-student mentoring "to develop a sense of belonging and to encourage success" (p. 7) was noted, as was community involvement. Despite coverage in most key areas, the place of culture in classroom interaction was revisited as an area of relative concern. The confidence and capability of teachers in understanding how culture and identity might be included in teaching programmes was described as "varying" (p. 6). In contrast to the two previous reports, professional learning to build capacity in these areas was said to be in evidence. However, from ERO's comments, it can be implied that this had not been effective across the board. The report stated that the achievement gap between Pasifika and other students at the school was "particularly evident in NCEA Level 3 and to a lesser degree in NCEA Level 1" (p. 4). That is, the school had addressed the previously identified issue of achievement at L2, but was unable to address achievement across the board. Some Pasifika students sitting NCEA L2 after the expected year of achievement would explain the discrepancy between L2 and L3 achievement reported above since this would exclude them from L3 achievement in the expected year. The Ministry of Education push towards Pasifika achievement at L2 was presumably a driver in the high L2 outcomes. Retention of Pasifika students had been a college target in 2009 and ERO reported that retention levels "for all ethnic groups are high" (p. 4). By way of recommendation, ERO explicitly linked the potential of senior management to activities of individual teachers in Pasifika achievement; the role of managers should not stop at target

setting. Echoing a theme of the 2006 report, ERO highlighted the need for evident and successful in-class work to match school-wide initiatives.

A thematic reading of the three reports reveals that of ERO's key areas for improving Pasifika educational outcomes, the least clearly represented in school practice was teacher professional development (PD) in appropriate cultural engagement. Personal experience of PD at the school indicates that following the 2006 and 2009 reports, cultural competency was on the agenda for staff at the school, largely managed through a consideration of Māori education through group work around Tataiako (Ministry of Education, 2011) guidelines. In addition, a one-off Pasifika speaker addressed the staff on matters of Pasifika life, identity and relationships. Other contributions in this area included a professional learning group (PLG) which operated for two years and surveyed Māori and Pasifika learners. One striking finding was that these students understood many staff as consistently having low expectations of them. This finding was communicated to the staff body. In addition, on my return from Tonga in 2013, I addressed the staff on my 'Cultural Incompetency' in Tonga as a way of opening a discussion about the cultural nature of the teaching process, and assumptions and misunderstandings which can pervade intercultural relations.

Despite these prior PD opportunities, ERO commented in 2014 on the variable confidence and competence of staff to enact culturally-based understandings in classrooms. This indicates the depth of change demanded of teaching staff in increasing their cultural awareness; it is easier to run programmes than change behaviours and beliefs. In a school which has in place well-received whole-school Pasifika initiatives which have not gained the Board goal of parity of achievement, this area of relative weakness draws attention to classroom interaction as an important research focus. An avenue for progress may be further opportunities for staff to develop their cultural understanding of everyday classroom interactions where this is accompanied by time and space to practice change strategies.

3.9 Implications

A number of national themes in Pasifika success as achievement are reflected in Pasifika education at the case study school in the period 2006 – 2014. There was an overall improvement in Pasifika achievement rates both nationally and in the school. A lack of parity in NCEA achievement between Pasifika and general cohorts was another ongoing shared feature. The time taken to gain qualifications was longer for the Pasifika cohort than for others nationally and locally. However, overall Pasifika NCEA achievement in the school was higher than nationally, unsurprising given the trend whereby higher decile schools generally have higher rates of achievement than lower decile schools (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2015a). Further similarities between national and local situations include Pasifika achievement at L3 being significantly lower than at L2. The connection between taking longer to gain qualifications and a depressed rate of Pasifika achievement at L3 holds good as an explanatory mechanism in both situations. High retention rates of Pasifika students both nationally and locally are another similarity.

Achievement at L2 and L3 provides interesting comparisons. The school's 2009 ERO report (Education Review Office, 2009) found that L2 was the area of lowest Pasifika achievement. By 2014, the highest school rates of Pasifika achievement were recorded at L2. With such small cohorts, it is possible that individual differences might explain this. However, the target-based scrutiny focussed at L2 could be a factor. Issues surrounding the value of credits gained by Pasifika students suggest further patterns of local Pasifika achievement that mirror wider trends. The 2014 report indicates that differential rates between achievement at L3 and University Entrance (UE) were greater for the schools' Pasifika population than for its New Zealand European student cohort. This indicates that the Pasifika population was gaining L3 with proportionately fewer higher value credits than other groups, aligning with Jensen et al's (2012b) Auckland-based findings which link ethnicity and study options. Jensen at al. found the root of this in the operation of school processes regarding subject choice and availability. To summarise, although few definitive statements can be made because of the size of the school's Pasifika population, there is evidence that some trends in Pasifika achievement at the case study school mirror national trends.

Site-specific research is valuable for examining the intricacies of how context plays a part in outcomes. However, generalisability is important not for predicting from one site to another, but for indicating areas of enquiry into, and ways of thinking about, other contexts. Locating the school in the national picture of Pasifika achievement at NCEA contributes to claims of generalisability made for this research. By establishing grounds of comparison through achievement, a pathway to generalisation has been sketched.

The case study school provides a helpful context for the investigation of Pasifika education because although Pasifika achievement is low compared to other cohorts, this is not because the Pasifika population has been ignored. The record suggests that goodwill exists and initiatives have certainly played out. In addition, because it is not representative of previous research sites, research in the school offers a different lens on Pasifika education from much of the literature. It is a suitable context in which to enquire into gender-specific high-decile Pasifika education and associated ideas of success.

3.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a sketch of Pasifika education in two ways. Firstly, it used NCEA data to give a profile of Pasifika success as achievement. Then, arguing for the value of the case study site, it offered a picture of the study's setting. Following this, some implications were drawn which illustrated the ways in which the case study school can be nested in the national picture. A theoretical framework is now needed in order to take account of the relationships between researcher, the Pasifika community and education at the school. Developing this framework is the subject of Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR: THEORY

Successful theorising is not measured by exact theoretical fit but by the ability to work with our always inadequate theories to help us move understanding 'a little further on down the road'.

Robert Slack, 1996, p. 113.

4.1 Chapter Outline

Following the national and local descriptions of Pasifika education given in Chapter Three, this chapter develops a hybrid theoretical framework appropriate for research which seeks intercultural social justice in the field. It argues for the relevance of several related critical perspectives to match the three aspects of context already outlined; researcher-as-context, a European-based education system and Pasifika people. First, Critical Theory will be presented to articulate the relationship between the researcher and the research. Secondly, Critical Race Theory will be used to account for hegemonic relationships between education systems and minoritised groups. Thirdly, Critical Indigenous Research Methodology will be used to frame Pacific Indigenous Research, a perspective capable of articulating Pasifika concerns in Pacific-origin ways. A case study structure will then be used to co-locate these theories in situ. Finally, a summary of the chapter will be given.

4.2 Critical Theory

In Chapter One, the perspective of the researcher was outlined as an inclusive approach to social justice related to the thought of Dewey (1916). In Chapter Three, depictions of historical and contemporary inequities in Pasifika education were provided. This section develops Critical Theory (CT) as a framework capable of articulating a social justice approach to these issues. CT is helpful in this because it examines, and can provide the means to moderate, relational power that might otherwise exclude groups in society. It can interrogate the power relationships implied in (lack of) success as achievement whilst at the same time destabilising established concepts of success, revealing them to be

socially constructed. There follows a justification of the relevance of CT in terms of its roots, method, reflexive positioning and catalytic potential.

CT has its roots in Marxist thought. Marx understood the human condition as "inherently social and collective" (Bakan, 2014, p. 105). However, human societies can be organised in individualistic or partisan ways where one group exercises power over another. Domination and inequity result in alienation, "the general distance of humanity from its real potential" (p. 103). In response, social justice seeks emancipation - the freedom of people from domination and alienation. CT is concerned with examining the exercise of power and the way this is legitimised. It expresses dissatisfaction with the present, and provides guidance and methodology for a more equitable future. Since the evidence suggests that Pasifika educational experiences and outcomes are inequitable, a CT lens has much to offer.

Critically-oriented thought is the method of the CT "tradition of thinking" (Held, 2003, p. 12). This method is of its nature focussed on change, acting as a player in the dialectic flux of history by drawing attention to the social processes which create inequity. Understanding social life as a flux removes inevitability, challenges the naturalisation of social action (Buechler, 2014), and suggests the worthwhileness of working for a just future. A dialectic analysis addresses the power which has created the social world whilst simultaneously challenging the mechanisms by which power recreates itself. By understanding how groups achieve domination, alternatives can be imagined and progressed; agency becomes the focus and hope is possible. In this research it is assumed that, despite the historic track record of Pasifika education, agentic alliances of individuals and groups can produce positive change.

The reflexivity of CT (Harvey, 1990) means that it recognises itself as part of the world, avoiding absolute or objective standards for critique (Held, 2003) which are subject to ownership by one group or another. Instead, the flux of history breathes life into the critical method, preserving "the autonomy of theoretical reflection" (p. 3) or the "independent moment of criticism" (p.13). Being historically but reflexively sited is a strength in this research. The contextual complexity of Pasifika education, which includes the effects of migration, intergenerational change, specific historically-created socio-

economic circumstances, intercultural relationships and so on, demands an approach which understands itself as responsive. That is, the fluidity of the context requires an analytical framework to be built from the specific moment of history, not imposed on it. Since CT has an open ontology and epistemology (Harvey, 1990) and is positioned outside current rationales such as capitalism and neo-liberalism, both the products and the grounds of critique can accommodate new circumstances. An open epistemology recognises the various epistemologies of Western researcher and Pasifika participants and collaborators, leaving space for any configuration of shared understanding; perspectives developed in and through the research process can be admitted. This is valuable for research which is a reflexive attempt to edgewalk (Tupuola, 2004) or world-travel (Lugones, 1987).

The catalytic aspect of CT further justifies its inclusion in this study. A significant tool is praxis, "reflection and action directed at the structures to be transformed" (Freire, 2014, p. 218). Praxis can "transform legitimations into emancipatory weapons" in a process "aimed at making the ideal real" (Antonio, 1981, p. 338). This an active pursuit of change grounded in an understanding of the dialectic relationship between mental and material worlds. CT assumes that transformation is both needed and possible, and sees research as a catalytic site and means of developing praxis (Lather, 1986b). In edgewalking Pasifika educational research, a CT approach can go beyond Marxist Eurocentric class-based (Therborn, 2008) scholarship by actively asserting the value of multiple understandings of the world. This places importance on race and ethnicity as cultural factors which relate to, but cannot be reduced to, economic stratification, in turn clearing the ground for an inclusive catalytic praxis fitting for a diasporic context.

Having located CT as a tool congruent with the perspective of the researcher-as-context, the next section outlines the value of Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a contextual application of critical methods to intergroup education.

4.3 Critical Race Theory

CRT is a critical relational theory focused on power as exercised in the behaviour of one group upon another through racism. Racism is present when "cultural difference is combined with physical difference and the concepts of superiority/inferiority" (Spoonley,

1988, p. 6), and power is used to action the result. CRT may be traced to the adaptation and development of Critical Legal Studies into education, initially in 1995 by Ladson-Billings and Tate (Dixson, 2007). While Marxist CT scholarship concentrates primarily on domination exercised as class, Buechler (2014) suggests that such a focus is contestable because an economic paradigm "is not sufficient for understanding racial formation in its own terms. It simply assumes class is fundamental and race is secondary" (p. 142). Instead, whilst acknowledging the intersections of race, gender, class and other bases of inequity (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), CRT takes a different view, placing first emphasis on domination through race (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). While it seeks an end to racial ascendancy as part of a broader goal of pursuing social justice by ending all forms of oppression (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993), CRT examines how a dominant sector of society legitimises its educational supremacy through culturally-defined definitional strategies of superiority and inferiority. It sees race in educational relationships as complex but ultimately operating as privilege/oppression to produce Othering (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). Because it gives attention to the way race is interactively operationalised to determine the quality and direction of people's lives rather than to the racial characteristics of groups, CRT is a relational theory. Beyond directing attention to race, CRT is relevant in this study for the ways it: understands race as a factor in maintaining hegemony; accounts for the prevalence and permanence of racism; provides significant challenges to the status quo; and can be selectively transported from its US origins to other sites of racial domination. These aspects will be discussed in turn.

CRT has a complex relationship with the concept of race. On the one hand, CRT writers embrace the "scientific refutation of race as a legitimate biological concept" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 8). However, the concept is used as an analytical tool because of its power as a social construct. Ladson-Billings (2012) asserts that we all live "our lives across multiple categories of being" but calls race one of a set of "crude measures [used] to sort and slot people into categories" (p. 118). She suggests that race is simplified in society into conceptual categories which "fundamentally sculpt the extant terrain of possibilities even when other possibilities exist" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 9). Thus, CRT sees the US as a divided racialised society. Conceptual Whiteness and conceptual Blackness exist. In life, when one steps out of one conceptual category and into another, one temporarily 'becomes' black or white as the case may be.

Theorising race through conceptual categories advances a hegemonic theory, accounting for the way complex ideological and cultural processes create consent for social groups to exercise power (Carragee, 1993) through race. Specifically, it suggests that spheres of life can appear to 'belong' to various groups. The naturalisation of belonging in a sphere is a consequence of the operation of categories over time and of the erasure of their historical origins. Categories can of course shift in the face of social change, but this is a slow and contested process. A category-based conceptualisation of race moves beyond stereotyping. A person who breaks a single stereotype is not generally thought of as acting in another category, merely behaving as an individual. Ladson-Billing's (1998) metaphor of an "extant terrain of possibilities" (p. 118) suggests the continual category-based presence of race. One category-based assertion of CRT is that in the US, normative Whiteness generally occupies positive and academic categories in education. While the racial terrain of Aotearoa New Zealand is arguably less polarised than that of the US, Spoonley cites Sir Paul Reeves as critiquing the foundation of New Zealand education as "unconscious attitudes which cement white values. These values make virtues out of acquisitiveness, independent competition, material spoils and personal success. Our education system is designed to imbue pupils with these ambitions and with the lifestyle that they represent" (1988, p. 20). Here, Reeves is drawing attention to aspects of the invisible but ubiquitous presence of Whiteness in defining success in education, a key CRT critique.

To further consider the contemporary racialised terrain of Pasifika in education, I turn to personal experience. In this, the strength of the evidence depends on the recognisability of that experience to readers. My claim is that most people familiar with education in Aotearoa New Zealand would see my experience as typical. From observation, I suggest the following would be normative categories for male Pasifika school students: contact sports player; performance (as opposed to academic) musician; potential dancer; low to average school achiever; possible contender for alternative and remedial programmes. For White school students, normative categories might include: contact or non-contact sports player; academic or performance musician; potential dancer and/or science student; low or high school achiever; possible contender for advanced or accelerated programmes. What is interesting in my reflections on more than 10 years teaching in Aotearoa New Zealand is the difference in the width of the range of normative

categories. The cricket-playing Pasifika student has to justify his sport to his peers as much as to staff. When a Pasifika student was the top science student in a school where I worked, he was regarded as 'not really Pasifika' by some staff. That is, he had 'become' White through academic success. Other successful Pasifika students are 'not really Pasifika' but have transitioned into being 'middle class' as if being 'lower' than middle class is the only place to find 'real' Pasifika students. 'Working class' is thus a conceptual category of 'real Pasifika'. Academic success allows one to guest as middle class which is, by extension, to be normatively White. This does not suggest that students do not cross normative boundaries. It comments on institutional attitudes to those who do cross and to normative expectations.

The significance of normative categories in Pasifika education is also present in the literature such as Nakhid's (2003) research into the process through which Pasifika students develop identity. She describes the importance of Pasifika students being able to see themselves as academically successful in school, and the need to attend to "dismantling inequalities of identifying and representing" (p. 302) which affect the way a student is seen and consequently sees themselves. Nakhid writes "[l]ooking at it from a school level, it has to do with how the school is organized to interpret the presence of others" (p. 301). The term and concept of others is significant since it indicates that for schools, Pasifika students may not be seen in the category of inherently belonging. That is, they are Other from the way a school might see itself. Such terrains of racism which resist deconstruction through invisibility are constructed by reference to the dominant group. Racial categories have deep-seated origins and have been shown to penetrating schools from the media (Hynds & Sheehan, 2010). Since the media categorisation of Pasifika people is of "unmotivated, unhealthy and criminal others who are overly dependent on Palagi support" (Loto et al., 2006, p. 100), it is unsurprising to find Pasifika minoritisation in education (Dutton, Keil, Mayeda, & 'Ofamo'oni, 2012; Mayeda, Keil, Dutton, & Ofamo'oni, 2014). However, actions which attempt to positively change the circumstances of the minoritised are often challenged (Nakhid, 2006; Hynds & Sheehan, 2010). The CRT concept of Whiteness as property provides an explanation of this.

Whiteness as property describes both ownership and the exploitation of ownership of aspects of education such as curriculum, pedagogy and resources (Dixson, 2007).

Redistribution of property may be resisted. For example, DeCuir and Dixson (2004) argue that racialised outcomes of accelerated or 'gifted' education in the US express Whiteness as property; students of colour have "virtually no access" (p. 28) to some aspects of education. Where schools or programmes are identified as non-White, for instance strategies which target the performance of minoritised students, this acts "to diminish … reputation or status" (p. 60); a lack of Whiteness reduces value. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the framing of gifted education has been similarly criticised for excluding Pasifika students (Frengley-Vaipuna, Kupu-MacIntyre, & Riley, 2011; G. Miller, 2011), preserving a valuable learning asset for non-minoritised groups. Accounts of 'white flight' from some schools ("Beyond the Decile System," February 2015) suggests that the reputation of a school is reduced where the racial mix of its students becomes noticeably non-white. Spoonley (1988) describes white flight as systemic, "not simply a matter of personal preference. It exemplifies the political sensitivity of ethnicity in State education and the role of institutions in reinforcing certain values". He sees it as a racialised transfer which "reinforces the disparity between schools as certain resources are withdrawn" (p. 92). These resources include Whiteness since those who are fled from are Māori and Pasifika. Even where the statistical basis for claims of white flight is disputed (Callister, 2012), the prevalence of Whiteness as property in Aotearoa New Zealand is witnessed both by the language and longevity of discussion.

A related value which CRT brings to this study is in understanding racism as permanent and endemic, even if largely unconscious (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). Permanence can be attributed to at least three factors: invisibility; the naturalisation of inequitable situations; and the consequent deficit theorisation of educational inequity. Deficit theorising, which blames minoritised communities for racialised inequity, preserves Whiteness as property in education by directing attention away from systemic or structural features. Deficit theorising in Aotearoa New Zealand (Alton-Lee, 2003; Nakhid, 2003, 2006; Spiller, 2012) is carried out though an invisible but ever present backdrop of normalised expectations in an education system 'hosted' by Whiteness. Blaming the Other makes the status quo 'natural' and not constructed by the majority. As a result, cultural practices of exclusion which constitute institutional racism are concealed.

CRT has been criticised for having descriptive but not analytical power (Cole, 2009) and for being reformist (Hill, 2009), not revolutionary. However, the intent of CRT is to inform strategies for altering education in radical ways; to recognise the power of racism and to dispel the reproduction of this power by reshaping understandings and institutions. The potential of this intent is relevant in Pasifika education in at least two ways: provision and framing.

In questioning educational provision, CRT writers have proposed alternative ways of viewing education as property. Where transfer of property rather than its ownership is valued in education, students who lack literacy are in a position of education debt (Ladson-Billings, 2006). The education system 'owes' the student and must seek to 'pay'. One way of doing this is to provide high-quality teaching rather than the curtailment of educational opportunity through a remedial curriculum. This re-vision takes education from being a private good and places it as a universal right. An associated idea is to re-orientate education towards "opportunity gaps rather than [the] achievement gap" (Milner, 2013, p. 37). This shifts responsibility from the individual student to the education system by focussing on process rather than product. Redirecting the most effective teaching, smallest class-sizes, best resources, rooming and so on is a logical consequence of this understanding. Currently Pasifika education is characterised by the restriction of opportunity for many who are thought likely to not achieve (Jensen et al., 2010a; A. Wilson, Madjar, & McNaughton, 2016).

A further relevant CRT challenge to inequity in education is to frame relational interaction using the notion of community capital (Yosso, 2005). This construct was conceived in response to uses made of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2011). According to Yosso (2005), Bourdieu developed cultural capital as a concept to critique social and cultural reproduction from a structural perspective. A critical construct, Yosso notes that cultural capital has nonetheless been descriptively used to justify relative cultural wealth and poverty. This results in the justification of an inclusion/exclusion paradigm since "[t]his interpretation of Bourdieu exposes White, middle class culture as the standard, and therefore all other forms and expressions of culture are judged in comparison to this 'norm'" (p.76). Yosso outlines an interlinked set of categories of community capital which, if valued by educational institutions, would form a strengths- not deficit-based view of

students and their knowledge. This approach aligns with a funds of knowledge (Moll, 2015) understanding of education in that it contests the power of definition of what is valid as a basis of constructivist education. Community capital is particularly relevant in Pasifika education because of the cultural distance (Alasuutari & Alasuutari, 2009) between some aspects of Pacific-origin cultures and the practice of education in a European-based tradition (Helu-Thaman, 2003b; Māhina, 2008), an issue to be discussed further below.

Although originating in the US, CRT's focus of looking not at race in education, but at education through race, is transportable. It allows description and analysis of patterns of domination inherent in the racialised status quo of institutional education. A local example is the critique of Māori and Pasifika relational experiences in 'Whitestream' education described by Milne (2013). In addition, a theoretical approach which refuses to be colour-blind regarding educational inequity offers challenges to the status quo of any education system which is producing racialised results. Spoonley (1988) explains institutional racism thus:

> There may not be a conscious intent, either organisationally or in terms of individual members of the institution, to produce racial disadvantage… All that is necessary for institutional racism to be said to exist is to show that whatever the intent, disadvantage is the result. (p. 24)

Given the data discussed in Chapter Three, a theoretical framework which combines a realist analysis with a strengths-based approach to account for institutional racism in education in Aotearoa New Zealand is valuable. Since the "contemporary expression and structure of racism can be understood only in terms of the historical trajectory of a particular society" (Spoonley, 1988, p.6), wholesale transportation of CRT is inappropriate. However, the histories of colonialism, assimilation and migration discussed in Chapter Two make viable a selective application of CRT which includes: normative conceptual categories of race framed by historical notions of superiority/inferiority such as those embedded in colonialism; the consequent notion of Whiteness as property as a factor in maintaining hegemony; and the need to make race visible and therefore challengeable in education. CRT embeds institutional racism in the wider context of societal racism, perhaps even of a civilizational racism (Scheurich & Young, 1997), seeking social justice

through refusing to be "persuaded not to talk about racism" (Davis, cited in Taulbee, 2012, p. 7). As a critique of hegemony, these elements are of value to research into Pasifika education. They offer both a description and tools to orientate action for social justice in that terrain. Having discussed theory which is relevant to the researcher-as-context and to intergroup situations which exhibit racism, it is now necessary to offer theory which accounts for Pasifika people in terms of their Pacific roots and connections.

4.4 Critical Indigenous Research Methodology

The graphology of the term 'indigenous' is contested. It is capitalised in this thesis when referring to specific people(s) or as part of a compound proper noun, and uncapitalised in general description except in quotation. Critical Indigenous Research Methodology (CIRM) (Brayboy, Gough, Leonard, & Roehl, 2012) can be related to CRT through its recognition of the baseline of Whiteness in many institutions. However, where CT seeks equity as a general concept and CRT pursues equity of outcomes through promoting the abandonment of colour-blind defences of dominance, CIRM seeks equity as the right to self-determination, self-description and sovereignty for indigenous peoples (Brayboy et al., 2012). A key focus of CIRM in education is to understand educational relationships through ethnicity as opposed to race. Race imposes definitions and practices, whereas ethnicity focuses on self-definition and self-generated practices (Spoonley, 1988). Where CRT supports the deconstruction of institutional practice through rendering dominance visible, CIRM focuses on the strengths of indigenous peoples within a self-generated paradigm. Through CIRM, tensions between worldviews, a central feature of intercultural education, can be contextualised. Understanding such tensions is a focus of this social justice research. In this study, CIRM is seen as an "overarching line of thinking" (Brayboy et al., 2012, p. 423), under which, as a specific and relevant example of CIRM, a Pacific Indigenous research (PIR) paradigm (Sanga, 2004) will subsequently be introduced. CIRM has theoretical contributions to make to this research by providing clarity on the concept of indigeneity and the socio-cultural positioning of indigeneity in relation to colonialism.

The concept of indigeneity is important both in CIRM and to this research. Indigenous knowledge comes from the interaction between a group and their environment

over time. Dei (2011) suggests, "[f]undamentally, the Indigenous should be perceived as mostly about place-based knowing, and understanding of traditional sacred relationships between peoples, their cultures and their cosmologies. These relationships offer a holistic knowledge base" (p. 23). Not all social groups value place in this way. By contrast, transnational corporations operating on capitalist values relegate place to geography and/or market site. While Dei's distinction between holistic and non-holistic worldviews is heuristic, it offers a way of conceiving indigeneity which is potentially inclusive whilst acknowledging that in practice the term is exclusive. The capitalised term 'Indigenous people' developed from 1970s struggles of the American Indian Movement and the Canadian Indian Brotherhood against hegemonic power, leading to an attempt to internationalise the experiences of many indigenous communities (L. Smith, 1999). Smith notes the term is potentially reductionist and "appears to collectivise" (p. 6) the colonised, operating the binary which colonising forces employed for subjugation. However, naming oneself in this way can be an act of strategic relatedness, the creation of a "network" (p. 7) for local and global struggle. Thus, CIRM does not imply a homogenous approach, or an essentialised voice, but an orientation opposed to forces counter to the interests of all indigenous peoples.

Despite the importance of place in the concept of indigeneity, migrants may bring an indigenous worldview to a place. Thus, Pasifika students may carry an intergenerational legacy of indigeneity. Although indigeneity is integrally connected to space, indigenous worldviews are not confined to the physical. In a diaspora, space can extend beyond the physical (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009) into the social, spiritual and moral, and place can expand with the traveller (Gegeo, 2001). Where migrants have a relationship with the forces of colonisation, "there is a politics of re-assertion of the Diasporian Indigenous identities as a necessary exercise in … decolonization" (Dei, 2011, p. 26), their own and/or that of others.

Because indigeneity is a relational term, another value of CIRM to this research is the space it creates to discuss the socio-cultural positioning of indigeneity in relation to colonialism. The colonial experiences of indigenous peoples, although not identical (Kupferman, 2012) share some commonality. In considering these experiences, three terms need to be delineated: post-colonial, postcolonial and decolonial. These respectively refer

to epoch, process and intent. Kupferman (2012) discusses the problems of the term 'post-colonial', a relational term depicting a time where the colonial has been left behind. It is focussed on political independence as opposed to structures, cultural institutions, language and so on. Post-colonial provides little traction in areas such as formal education which can be run on Western models whatever the status of any specific nation. By contrast, Kupferman explains the un-hyphenated 'postcolonial' removes temporal focus. It refers to a dynamic and incomplete process of disentanglement, the end of which is by no means certain. Postcolonial implies a sense of moving forward but not simply by looking backwards. Navigating by the past is an approach Kupferman critiques for its potential to ignore power relations involved in present disentanglement. A form of essentialisation can arise if the past is used to set ground rules while power relationships embedded in that past are erased. This ill-serves a changing context.

By contrast, Kupferman (2012) offers 'decolonisation' as a more critical perspective. L. Smith (1999) uses the term to denote a framing of the relationship between societies at various moments in their histories; a pre-colonial past where groups were "intact as indigenous peoples" (p. 25), a past of historic colonisation, the present, and potential futures. The intent of decolonisation is to leverage the past as it exists in the present in pursuit of an autonomous future, implying that the process of colonisation is not to be accepted but to be reversed. Decolonisation has a complex relationship with tradition and the past, both of reclamation and progression. The key to this is epistemological. Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2002) show how an indigenous epistemology is not necessarily fixated with tradition or change, how it can be creative, formulative, thoughtful and theory-oriented about knowledge, and is where knowledge validation takes place in reference to cultural frameworks. They separate knowledge itself – which might have universal application from knowledge creation – which is always the result of a standpoint. Thus, indigenous knowledge finds a fit between ways of understanding and ways of behaving. Both use traditional and indigenised knowledge as fluid and malleable elements in lives which are continually adjusting to find relevance. Fixation with tradition, especially when part of a project to resurrect an 'intact' past, can portray incomplete understandings as total, leading to the essentialisation of indigenous knowledge (Rata & Openshaw, 2006) or of cultural groups (Gilroy, 1991). Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2002)

suggest that both identity and culture as represented by knowledge can be seen as in states of continual flux, change and/or active negotiation.

Asserting a decolonising perspective confronts the exclusivity of Western epistemology. It requires universalistic assumptions of science, technology, capitalism and development to be contextualised (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2002) and creates the need for what Mila-Schaaf and Hudson (2009b) call a negotiating space between worldviews, since imposed knowledge cannot be indigenous (Dei, 2011). Holding that research is never neutral, decolonising CIRM research is an endeavour which is also a rewriting of the colonial narrative (Kupferman, 2012). The priority is for research to serve practical interests, to make a difference, as advocated by Visser, Unasa, Kennedy, and Airini (2007). While national or tribal sovereignty is not the aim of decolonising research in Pasifika settings, sovereignty can be re-framed in more conditional terms as epistemological independence, the right of self-representation and the exercise of control over research processes. In this way, decolonisation can move beyond physical space and politics, providing a way of understanding CIRM research in diasporic settings.

To summarise, CIRM scholarship offers social justice research in the field of Pasifika education the opportunity to negotiate a conditional, contextual understanding of Pasifika people as indigenous and research as potentially decolonising. As a result, Pasifika concepts of ethnicity gain inclusion in research, and a CRT understanding of race is contextually nuanced through the specific histories of colonisation and migration. In addition, the CIRM umbrella provides a space to locate more specific Pacific-origin theory and, as a strategic alliance of perspectives, provides a model for that theory, itself an umbrella of related perspectives seeking to foster the continuance and strengthening of the Pacific Way (Crocombe, 1976).

4.5 Pacific Indigenous Research

A Pacific Indigenous research (PIR) paradigm (Sanga, 2004), employing regional Pacific-specific Indigenous theorisation of the kind which sit under the CIRM umbrella is useful to this study. Such a paradigm engages with Pacific-derived concepts of indigeneity, decolonisation and emancipation, both in their original location and the diaspora. In order

to establish the relevance of PIR to this study, strategic and geo-cultural justifications for a pan-Pacific approach will be given. These will be followed by a discussion of three related paradigmatic elements: love, dialogue and the relational concept of va.

Although specific research paradigms exist in the Pacific such as Hawaiian (Meyer, 2001) and Kaupapa Māori (L. Smith, 1999), PIR is, like CIRM, an umbrella concept; less a summary of fact than a statement of possibilities. If a claim of usefulness is to be made for a pan-Pacific paradigm, a clear contextual sense of what is meant by 'Pacific' is needed. This involves ideas of relatedness: identity, belonging and common interest. Two bases of Pacific relatedness can be delineated. One revolves around an axis of migration through the Pacific, the other involves strategic relatedness. That Pacific relational and interactional links have migratory roots in the mists of time is evident in mythology (Ka'ili, 2005) and language (Wendt, 1999). Trade and exchange crossed present political boundaries long before Europeans sought to draw them. A Pacific identity of routes (Whimp, 2008) not roots, of relationships rather than institutions, offers legitimacy to a pan-Pacific umbrella paradigm. This is further supported by strategic considerations of more modern origins. Crocombe's (1976) Pacific Way draws on both cultural and positional aspects of relatedness. It is "a product of common environmental and cultural experience" (p. 38) comprised of positive relational actions which express common interest as fictive kin (McGavin, 2014). Writing with similar focus, Hau'ofa (1994) also stresses the value of a pan-Pacific approach. Confronted by relational "belittlement" (p. 149) in a post-colonial world, he says, "[t]here is a gulf of difference between viewing the Pacific as 'islands in a far sea' and as 'a sea of islands'" (p. 152). The first, distant view is European while the second, Pacific, stresses connectedness-in-separation and unity as strength, not homogenisation. What unites Hau'ofa and Crocombe is the desire to face a world affected by European colonialism using strengths-based Pacific relational resources.

A platform of Pacific relatedness allows Sanga (2004) to conceptualise a PIR paradigm. He suggests a soft, permeable or negotiable ontology, a relativist epistemology, a transparent and evident axiology, and a contextual methodological approach as elements of this. These features relate to aspects of life – knowing, valuing, a sense of social reality, an understanding of that reality – which are part of the human condition in "a philosophy of human nature" (p. 42). As with the Pacific Way and sea of islands, space is preserved

for difference while mutual support and strength are leveraged. Because pan-Pacific conceptions of belonging and identity are necessarily pluralistic and complex, uniting them is a tension between a "strategic form of essentialism" (Burnett, 2007, p. 263) and the creation of a space in which the various specific epistemological claims of different islands and scholars can be validated. The concept of an Oceanic library (Subramani, 2001) is apt; one room, many books. If a paradigmatic approach is adopted, a claim to usefulness implies uniqueness. Under a Pacific umbrella there can be no definitive set of paradigmatic ingredients. However, partial and subjective contextual accounts of Pacific axiology have been published (e.g., Airini, Anae, et al., 2010; Anae et al., 2001; Huffer, 2005; Suaalii-Sauni et al., 2009), from which some elements are particularly relevant. These are a foundation of love, the use of dialogue and a concern for relationships. These will be discussed in turn.

Love is a key element of a PIR paradigm. If culture is an eco-system (Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009b), love as an aspect of the Pacific Way (Anae et al., 2001) is a mainstay of its web. Giving an example from Samoa, Huffer (2004) writes:

> What is essential to understand is that *alofa* [love] is relevant to all levels of Samoan society and polity. It does not belong to the individual, but is something the latter partakes in or shares by virtue of his/her belonging to a family and by extension to a society. It supposes and implies recognition of the other. (p. 10)

In Huffer's account, love is entwined with respect, dignity, balance and shared responsibility. The importance of love in spirituality and service in the Pacific is also acknowledged by others (Anae et al., 2001). Because of its centrality and ubiquity, love is a key consideration for Pacific research, conceptualised and operationalised in a holistic environment.

Two further related key aspects of the Pacific Way discussed by Anae et al. (2001) deserve attention as helpful elements in a PIR paradigm: dialogue and relationality. A dialogic orientation can be seen in a number of Pacific practices such as "talking things over", "being prepared to negotiate" or "compromise" (p.14). Dialogue animates many Pacific values such as "reciprocity", "collective responsibility" and "love" (p. 14).

Relationality overlaps with dialogue, since by its nature each dialogue implies a relationship. However, whilst dialogue is more to do with matter, relationships are more to do with the people involved and the way they interact. Relationality embraces "kinship networks" which promote "affinity", "generosity with time, labour and property", and "adaption and compromise". It animates the Pacific values of "humility", "gerontocracy", "love", "service" and "respect" (p.14) and is the site of both love and dialogue. Because of the way relationships in Pacific worldviews operate to collectively position individuals in the physical, social and spiritual worlds, and because Pasifika education is part of a social eco-system, this aspect of PIR is contextually relevant. The holistic nexus between love, dialogue and relationships can be seen as powerful by considering the notion of va. This concept of relational space straddles the social, physical and spiritual worlds, is capable of relating the animate and inanimate, and can be maintained through dialogue or through actions which are dialogic in their nature (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010). Thus, while not seeking to collapse a whole Pacific philosophy into a single concept, it is appropriate to consider the relevance of va to research with and for Pasifika people.

Va denotes a relational space in a holistic web of interconnected spaces. However, conceptions of va from Pacific Islands are not identical. Samoan accounts (Anae, 2010a; Tuagalu, 2008) and Tongan references (Ka'ili, 2005) differ in structure and detail. It is important to note that va is a concept which has already been contextualised through migration (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009, p. 13), and is implicated as part of a "Pacific Indigenous World View" (Koya, 2012, p. 1). Although Tuagalu (2008) from a Samoan perspective claims that it would be a presumption to consider va as a phenomenon across cultures, he says that "reflections" (p. 108) of va can be seen in cultural practices of Pacific people who are not Samoan. Reflection suggests alteration in configuration, but not in essence.

In va, space connects. It is "the space between, the betweenness, 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" (Wendt, 1999, p. 402). By articulating space and connection, va is a vast "conceptual terrain" (Tuagalu, 2008, p. 109). It shapes thought and life, an "imagined space that we 'feel' as opposed to see" (Mila-Schaaf, 2006, p. 11). Just as va indicates a sense of

relatedness which is not optional but existent, so an acknowledgement of va implies obligation to pay positive attention to the state of va. The obligation to teu le va, "to value, nurture, look after, and if necessary to tidy up the va" (Anae, 2010a, p. 12), will be elaborated in Chapter Six.

The significance of va to the siting of this research in a PIR paradigm, cannot be overstated. Helu-Thaman says that "[u]nderstanding the significance of the notion of va and educating for its continued nurturance and maintenance are central to any type of discussion for intercultural understanding in Oceania, if not globally" (cited in Airini, Anae, et al., 2010, p. 10). In a relational view of education, the quality and state of relationships is a central concern. Research methodology, methods, practice and research focus all need to take account of, and care for, the various va involved: between people; between institutions; and between mental, physical and spiritual aspects of a holistic world. In a situation where hegemony is a potential element in relatedness, taking account of va is crucial.

4.6 Chapter Summary

In this chapter a hybrid theoretical approach has been developed. Hybridity of this nature is consistent with an outlook which argues that, because partial perspectives are not only important but inevitably situated, specific theory can be more valuable than grand theory (Haraway, 1988). Selectively borrowing from theory from non-Pacific origins such as CRT makes sense where the exercise of power penetrates situations in analogous ways. At the same time, focussing indigenous approaches from CIRM to PIR is also advantageous to theorise unique aspects of Pasifika education. The attachment of these elements to the researcher's general critical approach offers a responsive critical contextual framework to help us "move understanding 'a little further on down the road'" (Slack, 1996, p. 114) concerning Pasifika success as Pasifika. Building on this, the next chapter offers a literature review in two sections. The first uses literature to examine the concept of educational success. The second examines research in the field of Pasifika education.

CHAPTER FIVE: LITERATURE REVIEW

[S]uccess is not just in the final outcome but also it is about how one goes about achieving that final outcome.

Luafutu-Simpson et al., 2015, p. 22.

5.1 Chapter Outline

This chapter presents a literature review organised in two sections. The first section defines educational success. This incorporates a discussion of Dewey's reaction to education in three historical eras. It then turns to Dewey's own notions of the relationship between education and democracy before considering intercultural contexts. The second section pays attention to success as represented in empirical research about Pasifika education.

5.2 Education and Success in Democratic Societies

'Education' through its Latin origin encompasses training, bringing up, leading and building (Harper, 2001). 'Success', also originating from Latin, can include happy outcomes, good results, and advances. Harper (2001) gives its first recorded meaning as the accomplishment of a desired end. Thus, educational success can be seen as the achievement of educational goals, generally involving progress, development and/or advancement. However, goals are axiological and a matter of context. Those who hold the power of judgement can declare an education system and its participants successful or otherwise. People measure what they value but judgement can utilise measurements which are tangential to a goal. Where this occurs, achievement of the desired educational success can be compromised through the impact of measurement on the kind of education provided.

Tensions exist in education systems which seek to meet the needs of individuals whilst also concurrently serving the perceived needs of a society. Education generally has a goal of social replication; societies invest in education systems intended to embody images

of their desired future selves. In an ideal world, the socially-framed goals for education would be congruent with the goals of individuals within the education system. However, where a society is not homogenous but its goals for education remain narrow, this future image can also be a site of tension. In Pasifika education, it is important to locate the goals of Pasifika individuals for themselves and for their ethnic group to complement goals for education in a more general conception. If individual, group and societal goals align, the picture of success will be well-defined and clear. If not, the image will be conditional and hyper-contextual.

Tension between serving individuals and societies was well understood by John Dewey (1859-1952) who constructed a clear image of educational success for mass public education in democratic societies. Technological and social change encouraged Dewey to embrace a fluid approach to education consistent with the constructivist and dialogical thinking which underpins this research. In modernity, digital technology, the neo-liberal turn, and migration at an ever-increasing scale all ask questions of the role, operation and goals of education, and of the profile of democracy which is encouraged through education. Consequently, in a modern context, the nature of educational success cannot be assumed. Although Dewey's work did not embrace the kind of intergroup education which arises through colonialism and/or diaspora, Dewey's thought remains helpful for a discussion of success in education because of its clarity and idealism. A seminal work is Democracy and Education (Dewey, 1916) in which Dewey outlines his philosophy of education. This includes its aims, organisation and forms. In this text, he contextualises his ideas through a critical reflection on educational philosophy from three earlier eras, discussing the crucial relationship between individuals and the institution of education as represented by the balance between individual and societal success. The eras of Plato, of the 18th century individualists, and of the 19th century advocates of the nation state will now be discussed.

Dewey (1916) takes a conditional view of Plato's conceptualisation of the tension present in education. Dewey applauds a focus on the development of every individual's potential input to society in which success is the happiness of maximising contribution and the reinforcement of the resultant perfect static society. For Dewey, however, Plato places too much emphasis on pre-formed schema of potential and of society, ignoring ideas of

continual adjustment and improvement. By contrast, Dewey values diversity and sees education itself as part of the process of adaption and flux in society.

A similarly conditional view is taken by Dewey (1916) to other historical concepts of education. Dewey finds merit in the open conceptualisation of the individual in 18th century individualism. Here a person's potential is not limited by a Platonic schema but embraces all the possibilities of nature itself. Instead of having a perfect society as an ideal, the "positive idea was humanity" (p. 106); potential is fulfilled by freedom from the state rather than through service to it. As a consequence of the involvement of individuals, society itself becomes freer. Against these merits Dewey places an inherent lack of agency and an exaggerated faith in ideals. Although the steps to success for individualists involved ridding people of false beliefs and ideals, Dewey suggests that a society which benefits from ideological falsehoods will not perform an act of self-destruction through its own education system. A faith in nature produces an attractive vision of success, but lacks means. Both vision and agency are required where vested interest is expressed as power.

Models of education as national and social development from the 19th century also conditionally attracted Dewey (1916). In that era, economic, military and industrial domination of other states was achieved by educational agency through a focus on the state rather than on nature, humanity or the individual. However, Dewey criticises the narrow instrumentalism which characterises this understanding of education. Where the individual is subservient to the state, only those who are part of the same political unit are included in the concept of a common humanity. The balance in locus of success is in favour of the nation and against that of the individual. This is problematic for Dewey because it restricts the individual to contribute only what the state demands. This model excludes diversity as an adaptive agent since it focusses on success as domination. Through historical critique, Dewey draws attention to concepts which affect the configuration of success: the model and aims of society; the understanding of the individual; the value ascribed to potential; and the relational balance between individual and social educational aims.

Dewey's (1916) discussion of historical models of education and educational success is relevant in Pasifika education for the way it highlights the key relational issues of diversity, domination and change. Firstly, by implication, Dewey suggests that the needs

of a diverse population are unlikely to be served by restrictive views of success. Different groups may have their own value systems promoting distinct goals in a single nation state. In this case, wide concepts of success have virtue; narrow concepts make Platonic assumptions about what an individual is, and limit individuality. This may exclude potential in a diverse population, drawing attention to the second issue: domination. Ethical questions arise where success involves the domination of others. Clearly education cannot serve success as both the exclusive needs of the state as in the 18th century model and the varied interests of smaller social units such as ethnic groups. A third issue present in intercultural contexts such as Pasifika education concerns the agentic role of education in managing change. For Plato, agency involved the development of a static society through the individual. For the individualists, education had no agency beyond the scenario of promoting social self-destruction, especially unlikely within a mass-education system. In Dewey's account of the 18th century nation state, the image of a future society was reductionist, of debatable morality, resistant to change and legitimising of domination.

These three issues, diversity, domination and change, raise questions for Pasifika education. In a situation where indigenous and settler perspectives debate the aims of education, where does a recent migrant group sit? If the state is an economic unit to which education contributes by awarding credentials and developing employability, where can ethnic-specific and positionally-developed viewpoints contribute? Looking at Aotearoa New Zealand, Dewey's dictum comes to mind: "Society is one word, but many things" (Dewey, 1916, p. 94). Education is contextual and "[t]he conception of education as a social process and function has no definitive meaning until we define the kind of society we have in mind" (p. 112). This fundamental issue underpins this study.

Having critiqued educational success in various contexts, Dewey (1916) offers his own democratic model. To him, democracy is not limited to suffrage but is "primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (p 101). The more effective communication takes place between societal groups, the more a society is democratic. Democratic education is successful to the extent it continually modifies society through building socially-derived understandings. At the same time, democracy is iteratively supported by an education which gives learners access to more of their society. The balance of individual and social success in Dewey's model is a creative tension

between greater expression of individual potential and a broader community of interest to which critical attention can be directed. This inclusive model of a democratic society is based on "provision for participation in its good of all its members on equal terms" and "flexible adjustment of its institutions through interactions" (p. 115). It aims at developing social mobility through adaptability and developing initiative through adaptive critical thought. Where the abilities to connect and empathise are democratic ideals, fixed self-replicating divisions in society indicate the failure of education.

Dewey's conceptualisation of the relationship between education, democracy and success is idealistic in the way it ignores the operation of groups within a diverse society to the exclude others from power. However, his model provides a baseline for a discussion of cases. In this, Dewey's ideas regarding the interplay between flux, criticality, mobility, social and individual goals, context and success are helpful. Because Dewey did not imagine intercultural educational contexts such as interest this study, his thinking requires extension. Four cases will be used to illustrate a range of conceptions of success in intergroup education as they relate to Deweyian thought. Two deal with the relationship between indigenous groups and colonial education systems while two discuss the education of migrant populations. In each pair, one account focusses on the actions or perspectives of the 'majority' partner in education, while the other is more concerned with that of a 'minority' group. This selection of cases is relevant because although Pasifika students are part of a migratory population, they carry concepts of indigenous origins as was argued in Chapter Four.

5.3 Success in Intergroup Contexts

5.3.1 Remote Australia

One way of discussing success in education is to question the way concepts of success confirm the cultural position of one group while undermining that of another. The place of culture in educational success can be clearly seen in settler education for indigenous communities. One cultural critique of success is Australian 'Red Dirt Thinking' (Guenther, Bat, & Osborne, 2013; Osborne & Guenther, 2013). This addresses the model of success used by Australian federal agencies to depict education in remote aboriginal

communities as in crisis (Guenther et al., 2013). Cultural critique has the potential to be backward-looking and romanticised, attempting to re-invent a time before colonialism. However, Osborne and Guenther's (2013) re-vision and re-questioning of success in education is not solely 'blue sky' or aspirational, but also 'red-dirt'; contextual, pragmatic and rooted in present realities.

Reviewing literature on Australian Aboriginal education, Osborne and Guenther (2013) find that the educational goals and the values underpinning aspiration in remote communities are assumed by government to be those of a neo-liberal society. Their evidence is that publications about educational success (or failure) for remote Aboriginal groups discuss outcomes and technical innovations or changes, rather than values and intents. This illustrates power-relations rather than providing a self-conscious discussion. The approach makes culture powerful through invisibility by assuming "that formal (western) education and employment are the pinnacle of aspiration, and indeed the measure of success" (p. 90) for all. This results in simplistic analysis, short-term action and attempts to fix a problem rather than to analyse or problematise. Osborne and Guenther argue that markers of success such as attendance, qualification, and retention are inadequate, simplistic and formulaic in the face of axiological, ontological and epistemological plurality. In this circumstance, enculturation, which constructs identity and thus informs motivation and behaviour, is likely to "prevail over attempts to impose identities based on acculturated values of work and qualifications" (p. 91) on Aboriginal students. Arguments of resistance which fail to frame minoritised culture as positive cannot explain the way "mainstream" (p. 91) or colonial values are rejected. By contrast, Red Dirt Thinking draws on a funds of knowledge approach (Moll, 2015), acknowledging the presence rather than absence of prior knowledge and advocating for more community involvement in the construction of education.

One problematic outplaying of Australian federal constructions of success (or failure) in Aboriginal education is to provide 'escape' for children to urban boarding schools (Osborne & Guenther, 2013). Individuals may benefit in specific ways, but the sustainability of escape is suspect, especially if it removes potential leaders from their communities. The notion of escape pathologises remote Aboriginal societies. As an act of re-framing, Osborne and Guenther ask, if Red Dirt success is redefined in cultural,

decolonising and geographically-realistic terms, how far would it resemble the dreams of white city-living middle-class Australians? This highlights the axiological, epistemological and ontological framing of success. If Australia is to be a unified society, the configuration of intergroup relationships is significant. Domination, where the framing of success by one group impacts negatively on another, is unlikely to build unity.

5.3.2 Aotearoa New Zealand

Durie (2003) discusses educational success in another indigenous context, that of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. This context differs from that of remote Australian Aboriginal groups in that Māori co-exist geographically with 'settler' society. However, it is comparable in the way that 'Whitestream' (Milne, 2013) education has defined both groups as failing. Durie (2003) offers three goals for Māori education: to live as Māori; to actively participate as citizens of the world; and to enjoy good health and a high standard of living. Since success for Māori involves a solid foundation in a Māori reality, "[e]ducation should be as much about that reality as it is about literacy and numeracy" (p.200). At the same time, success also involves fluency in moving across the borders of other worlds, achieved through a clear sense of identity. Durie says sustainability is a goal of Māori, not material accumulation. He argues that although few Māori would see poverty as a virtue, concentration on economic success does not override other goals. A balance of individual and socially-oriented success criteria is needed.

Durie (2003) understands that success in his terms has not been achieved and that action is needed to secure the future of a sustainable Māori society. In education, this involves the principal of individual potential embraced by Dewey and framed in an ecological relationship between individuals and society. Like Dewey, Durie sees the success of the individual as related to a broader community of interest. Where indigenous communities are dominated and/or denigrated, success in education is made difficult for their members. Instead, a situation of interdependence "is necessary for mutual advancement" where both sides curtail a desire for power by moderating either their desires for either dominance or their "enthusiasm for autonomy" (p. 221). Successful sharing of space involves respect, mutual acknowledgement and equality. As Durie notes, this involves hard work.

Several points of alignment can be seen in the thought of Dewey (1916) and Durie (2003). Both seek the fulfilment of an individual's potential while balancing individual and societal goals. Neither focuses over-exclusively on individual economic advancement. Criticality and adaption as favoured by Dewey are implicit in both Durie's goal of fluid movement between worlds, and in the relationships required for equitable intergroup negotiation. Relationality is also crucial and Durie rejects uncritical construction of intergroup comparisons. He says "it is misleading to use crude comparisons with non-Māori as a type of shorthand for best outcomes, or to assume that Māori-non-Māori comparisons always provide useful information about Māori progress" (2003, p. 202). Such comparisons operationalise domination by using invisible Whiteness as a baseline. If comparison is deemed necessary, respect demands inclusive tools which are capable of recognising wider concepts of success.

5.3.3 Mexican migration to the US

Australian Aboriginal and Māori experiences suggest that where indigenous groups are educated in settler education systems there can be conflicts over visions of success. That this is also true for migrants is exemplified by Valenzuela (2005). Like Aronowitz (2004), Valenzuela (2005) differentiates between education and schooling. Education has aims of learning and personal fulfilment, but schooling can be a subtractive process where aspects of a student's prior experience and culture are progressively stripped, resulting in eroded engagement in education. For migrant Mexicans, success in education is matching book knowledge with the ability to "live responsibly in the world as a caring human being" (p. 342). If this definition is rejected through schooling, "especially when the curriculum imposed is impersonal, irrelevant and test-driven" (p. 342), students who expect to be cared for disengage, feeling treated as objects. Thus they may not develop the skills needed for success in formal academic environments. In these circumstances, students can resist schooling for its rejection of their ideas of success. Valenzuela suggests that, since caring about school threatens ethnic identity and the sense of self, the achievement of system-defined success represents "cultural genocide" (p. 344). As discussed in reference to escape in Australian Aboriginal experience above, where individualistic success requires a student "to get up and get out" (p. 344), to become separated from the social and economic interests of community, this pathologises both community and culture.

A choice is constructed by an education system where individualistic concepts of success are not aligned with highly-valued community-based concepts. In this circumstance, individual teachers become significant for the way they mediate the alternatives. In an environment where a caring ethic is scarce this makes 'star' teachers of those who deliver on expected promises of care. In fact, from a Mexican point of view, such teachers may be normal. Valenzuela (2005) concludes that for alienated Mexican Americans, success "couched in additive, both/and terms that preserve their psychic and emotional desire to remain socially responsible members of their community" (p. 344) is the solution to subtractive schooling. The imposition of a vision of success is likely to lead to disaffection, reinforcing the image of system-defined failure which minoritised groups already embody. Negotiation and dialogue, visible through the work of individual teachers, is required at a system level for sustainable additive migrant education. A relationship of domination/subservience between communities within a society does not offer an integration of ideas of success but a stark choice. Identity, a main focus in both Durie's (2003) goals for education and in Valenzuela's account, is denied value by the invisibility and dominance of majority cultural norms.

5.3.4 Migration to Australia

The relational nature of education is highly significant in intergroup contexts such as those consequent on migration. Valenzuela (2005) examines success in intergroup education through the lens of migrants, but it is important also to account for majority perspectives. To this end, Beckett's (2001) discussion of diversity in Australian schools is helpful because it suggests the potential of education in the construction of an inclusive participatory democracy.

Leaving aside issues of Indigenous Australian education, Beckett (2001) contextually examines the tensions between migration-driven ethnic diversity and democracy in and through education. Following Dewey, Beckett suggests that success for a modern democratic society involves seeing diversity as a strength as much as it is an inevitability, and recognising the need to develop this through adaptive constructivist processes. Beckett says that because of recent migration, the previous "broadly common private [settler] identity" (p. 276) of Anglo-Celtic/European roots no longer holds in

Australia, needing replacement by a constructed common political identity in which diversity is a virtue. Under these changing conditions, a democratic society is unlikely to reproduce itself unless tolerance and anti-discrimination are central elements of its construction (Gutmann, 1999). In other words, the construction of tolerance is the means to promote the intergroup understanding which Dewey suggests is a definitional feature of a democracy. This view has significance for the framing of success in education at both societal and individual levels.

In Beckett's (2001) view, success in education entails the construction of a 'thick' democracy which "locates a needs-driven and choice-based individualism amidst democratic diversity. This entails that tolerance and respect for differences between people must be embedded in public schooling" (p. 276). A thick democracy is one which deliberately constructs itself through democratic and consultative processes. A 'thin' democracy assumes that these processes are occurring, where in fact the exercise of power may occlude effective intergroup communication. Defining educational success narrowly through a qualifications-economic lens imagines a competitive future ideal society fixated on wealth. Beckett's alternative sees educational success as the production of an inclusive and democratic future society which coheres equitably and sustainably.

Beckett's (2001) claim assumes success in education not only takes account of people's origins and the history of the society they are in, but also links success to where that society is going. Consequently, an adaptive future-focussed mechanism is required, and again following Dewey, Beckett suggests criticality in education as a candidate. He writes:

> Classrooms in which diversity is open to rational discussion are classrooms in which rationality can flourish. Indeed, rationality…is not worth much if it is not a feature of the unfolding of choice-making capacities in a fairly inclusivist surrounding. (p. 276)

This offers a focus on critical thinking with diversity as its spur. If choice over a way to live is to be available to people in a democracy, then the suppression of difference or its codification as problematic are dysfunctional. The hegemony of a dominant viewpoint

which fails to recognise itself will not produce the critical faculties required for an inclusive participatory democracy.

5.4 Success and Pasifika Education

Success has been discussed in axiological and relational terms in four contexts: Red Dirt Thinking, Te Ao Māori (the Māori world), the subtractive schooling of Mexican migrants, and Australia in the context of recent migration. Several relevant areas emerge from this discussion: power linked to identity; the quality of relationships; and the value of critical thinking.

The power to define educational success in intergroup contexts is significant. This is because the applicability of one group's values to another is not a given; heuristic Pasifika values may not coincide with Palangi thinking. Tightly controlled parameters for success do not provide the inclusivity beneficial in multi-ethnic situations. Identity is an issue since it can be reinforced or threatened by various definitions of success. Exclusivity constructs choice, leading to poor outcomes for some students and communities - the very pattern seen in Pasifika education, but inclusivity can create space for the achievement of diverse potential and goals.

The nature of the relationship between Pasifika students and formal education can embody the ideal of transformative education, or it can be subtractive. Subtractive tendencies in Pasifika education have been described in the area of language, (e.g., May, 2002, 2013; Podmore, Hedges, Keegan, & Harvey, 2015) where negative institutional responses can subtract Pasifika students' potential for additive bilingualism. Si'ilata (2014) also sees the "subtractive, exclusionary nature of school programmes and teacher/student interactions" (p. 14). Exclusionary interaction refers to relational behaviour that operationalises unreconciled axiological and ethical clashes, and leads to students' actions variously being understood as logical/illogical or valued/devalued. Valenzuela's (2005) concerns regarding axiological alternatives being constructed for students and the subtractive force of choice coded as success or failure are echoed in this. In Pasifika education, choice is created where Pasifika ways of being are not understood as a context for learning. As a result, choice is constructed between operating in 'Pasifika' ways, sometimes understood in

Whitespaces (Milne, 2013) as disengagement (Spiller, 2012), and acting white (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986), seen by the Pasifika community as 'fia Palangi' or acting like a European (Mila-Schaaf, 2011). To be educated is not necessarily to be fia Palangi; education is the migrant dream. Instead the term fia Palangi belittles a person who is thought to have belittled their origins, to have uncritically accepted the option to be something they are not.

Critical thinking is relevant to Pasifika education as a way to construct space in which to value diversity. Self-consciousness on the part of policy-makers, administrators and teachers is needed to promote a Deweyian inclusive democracy through the education system. Through self-awareness, reciprocal learning which values diversity can take place. Where power is shared, mechanisms for effective intergroup communication can be improved, diminishing the stereotypes or erasures which separate groups. As was discussed in Chapter One, schools operate as a relational web-within-a-web. What is seen as success at the policy level tends to permeate the classroom; criticality needs to operate at all levels in education.

Many of these issues are visible in Pasifika education through the Pasifika Education Plan (PEP) and other related documents (Ministry of Education, 2012a, 2013a). As stated in Chapter Two, the vision of the PEP is "[f]ive out of five Pasifika learners participating, engaging and achieving in education, secure in their identities, languages and cultures and contributing fully to Aotearoa New Zealand's social, cultural and economic wellbeing" (Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 3). This vision includes success in terms of identity, academic achievement and contribution to society. However, Durie's (2003) concern for the measurement of goals is relevant. Research suggests that poorly designed targets for Pasifika attainment may produce target-compliance (Jensen et al., 2010a, 2010b) rather than the wider goals of education. The goals attached to the plan have been criticised for narrowing focus to academic achievement (Milne, 2016; Milne & Students of Kia Aroha College, 2015) and ultimately seeking success of Pasifika rather than success as Pasifika. For instance, there is no target attached to language. Equally, the level of achievement set as the primary PEP target for the secondary sector supports goals for the economy while not focussed on providing individual equity of choice in further education. In addition, criticality and self-consciousness in the education system are absent from the PEP. In effect, by creating a silo for Pasifika education through separate documentation

and targets, Whitestream education is left unchallenged. The PEP targets may advance Pasifika education through a comparative monitoring of success as part of a social justice discourse, but a re-framing of education to portray the diversity of Pasifika peoples in Pasifika education as a source of critical strength for education and society in general is absent.

This section has presented a range of literature as a platform for discussing the concept of success in education. After reviewing the meaning of education and success, the philosophy of John Dewey was discussed. Dewey's ideas were extended into intergroup education through indigenous and migrant contexts. Finally, the discussion was applied to the context of Pasifika education. Next, literature in the field of Pasifika education will be surveyed in four parts: success and deficit theorising; success in funds of knowledge approaches; Pasifika success as Pasifika; and success in Pacific-origin conceptual terms. Discussion and summary will conclude the chapter.

5.5 Success in the Literature of Pasifika Education

There is a growing body of research literature which interrogates Pasifika education. This is not necessarily focused on success as a concept and can uncritically assume success to be solely concerned with academic outcomes. Early literature, which will only be given summary coverage here, takes a deficit approach. However, over time a strengths-based approach has grown. This has constructed success by recognising Pasifika funds of knowledge. Other work directly interrogates the meaning of 'Pasifika success as Pasifika', generally through the voices of post-secondary learners. Recently some literature has taken a more emancipatory approach to the concept of Pasifika success by framing success through Pacific-origin notions, such as the attainment of poto (wisdom). This study is focussed on secondary education, but the review covers material from across education sectors. While research narrativises a moment, exclusive attention to the boundaries of formal education denies the holism of Pacific-origin thought and the nature of education as a journey.

5.5.1 A deficit approach

Deficit theorising which "overwhelmingly locates the basis of school failure in students, their cultures, and their families" (Valencia, 2010, p. xv) has been used to explain a lack of Pasifika success as achievement. This logic, which suggests that Pasifika success as Pasifika is an impossibility, was found by Alton-Lee (2003) in a "long tradition of deficit attributions in the New Zealand educational literature" (p. 1), a claim supported by Nakhid (2003). Gorinski and Fraser (2006) similarly found "minimal literature that refutes deficit theorising as a reasonable explanation for the poor achievement of children from ethnic minority/low income families" (p. 3). This study refuses to accept untroubled deficit notions or a paradoxical approach to Pasifika success as Pasifika.

5.5.2 Critiquing a deficit approach

More recent literature seeks to critique deficit theorising in Pasifika education. Small-scale empirical research in this mould includes Spiller (2012) who described teachers misreading Pacific-origin values to explain underperformance, and Siope (2011) who found deficit theorising as part of an unspoken educational discourse of cultural hegemony. The literature also critiques the processes whereby teachers' thinking and institutional actions become relationally significant in constructing (lack of) success through communicating low expectations. Alton-Lee (2003) comments that "[t]eacher expectations have been found to vary by student ethnicity, dis/ability, gender and other student characteristics unrelated to a student's actual capability (p. 16)". Rubie-Davies, Hattie, and Hamilton (2006) found expectation varying with student ethnicity. Pasifika student awareness of low expectations can be seen in Nakhid (2003) and Spiller (2012), and expectations related to ethnicity are likely to have contributed to the variation in subject selection reported by Jensen et al. (2010a).

The literature suggests deficit theorising in Pasifika education extends beyond Pasifika students. Nakhid (2003) shows that Pasifika parents' non-attendance at meetings can be constructed as a lack of interest in education. T. Brown et al. (2007) outline Pasifika teachers' perceptions that to be Pasifika can be a deficit; the 'ideal' teacher displays the characteristics associated with being a white European. Because the literature frequently points to the importance of schools engaging Pasifika parents (Gorinski & Fraser, 2006),

and to the significance of increasing the presence of Pasifika teachers (Ministry of Education, 2013a), critiquing deficit theorising beyond student-teacher interaction is important in a consideration of success in Pasifika education.

Deficit theorising has been found in many international contexts (García & Guerra, 2004; Guenther et al., 2013; Valencia, 2010, 2012; Valenzuela, 2005), drawing attention to its ubiquity as an element of minoritisation. Such theorisation extends to diasporic Pacific students beyond Aotearoa New Zealand. For example, Kearney, Dobrenov-Major, and Birch (2005) describe Australian teachers using deficit theorising to explain underperformance of Australian Samoan students. By giving attention to deficit theorising, the literature offers a critique of narrow mono-cultural constructions of success and the actions which reify these. However, the overwhelming focus on educational success as a product serves to make the cultural and relational nature of educational practices difficult to see. The erasure of the axiological origin of this product is achieved through its assumed value. The narrowing of success in this way may be problematic for Pasifika education.

5.5.3 A funds of knowledge approach

Unlike deficit theorising which apportions blame to people or entities, a funds of knowledge (Moll, 2015) approach to education shares responsibility for success. It sees learning as a discursive activity including, rather than discounting, what a student brings to education. This includes ideas about success. Such ideas can be augmented, excluded or erased in education.

Language is one element in a fund of knowledge, communicative of the self in a social environment. It is, as Bakhtin observed, always dialogical - responding to and shaping the world (Todorov, 1984). The ability to communicate in more than one language can be seen as a success in itself and, while not all Pasifika students speak a heritage language, research suggests that wider learning can be facilitated by recognising and valuing language as part of culture, particularly as an element in student-teacher relationships (Fletcher, Parkhill, & Harris, 2011; Fletcher, Parkhill, Taleni, Fa'afoi, & O'Regan, 2009). The literature reports a number of specific strategies which enact funds of knowledge approaches to Pacific languages. Pasifika additive bilingual education is one

strategy for Pasifika success in dual literacy. This is not just a translation of content from English but a "holistic integration of empowerment, partnership and bilingual education theories and models, allied with the Pasifika communities' visions and beliefs" (Tuafuti & McCaffery, 2005, p. 498). The programme demands commitment, time, resources and relationships, and develops criticality because it reframes the basis of education. Tuafuti and McCaffery (2005) claim that through the strategy, empowerment becomes an element and an agent of success because "success constitutes being bilingual, bicultural and being able to move freely and easily in both Pasifika and Palagi (European) language and cultural settings….In this sense, empowerment is also more than just academic success on someone else's terms" (p. 488). They are scathing of government attitudes to Pacific languages, and suggest both financial concerns and power relations sit behind a lack of support. It is interesting to note that while the PEP (Ministry of Education, 2013a) describes heritage languages as an important area in Pasifika education, beyond early childhood education no monitoring is in place (Ministry of Education, 2016c).

Links between language and Pasifika success have been argued in other programmes. Si'ilata (2014) claims that when a student's language, culture and identity are "utilised as a normal part of language and literacy learning in their classrooms, then their perceptions of success will include, rather than exclude, their linguistic and cultural identities" (p. 2). She suggests that resourced and supported dual-language education can provide Pasifika students with a va'a tele - a double-hulled waka or canoe - with which to navigate both education and life. S. Wilson (2010) also ascribes value to dual language ability beyond language fluency. In her study, unlike their parents, Samoan secondary school students did not emphasise employability as a reason for studying Samoan, but wanted to go beyond the language's communicative potential and into its incumbent epistemology. This suggests that language is not just a cultural item or a means to an end, but can be a reference point for developing identities. The status of heritage languages is not a central feature of this study because of its context, but the link between language and identity remains salient.

Following Bakhtin's understanding, language can be extended beyond words to include actions and behaviour which communicate the self (Todorov, 1984). In relational language, underlying assumptions and beliefs about the shared nature of existence are

codified into symbolic and expressive behaviour. The relational language of Pasifika students and its importance to educational success is evident in the literature (Devine, 2013). A key finding is that Pasifika students bring a fund of relational language to educational settings which may or may not be valued and/or reciprocated by their teachers and schools. An early example of literature which links relational language and classroom success is Hawk and Hill (2000). Claiming credibility from their wide observations in schools with high proportions of Pasifika students, Hawk and Hill conclude that increased engagement, and thus potential achievement, is contingent on the importance of "good", "special", "appropriate" and/or "strong" (p. 27) relationships between Pasifika (and Māori) students and their teachers. Indicators include teachers understanding the "worlds of the students" (p. 27), giving "respect" (p. 28) and "giving of themselves" (p. 30). Hawk and Hill found a high degree of similarity between effective teachers on the key factors of "attitudes, values, educational philosophy, approach to life and interpersonal relationships" (p. 81).

Research also gives rise to related descriptions of teachers likely to lead Pasifika students to success. For example, Hawk et al. (2002) offer a taxonomy of teacher characteristics preferred by Pasifika and Māori students, and summarise "the type of person" (p. 45) who might be effective in terms of commitment, values and skills. These enable a teacher to form "the type of relationship" (p. 45) required. Importantly, these factors are allied with cultural empathy or understanding, linking conceptual framework to action. Their research found student focus on relationships to be a cross-sector constant. However, at that time there was debate about the relative roles of socio-economic status and ethnicity in the significance of relationality. Hawk and Hill (2000)   wrote: "It is our opinion…that students in higher decile schools will generally learn from teachers they don't like and are likely to achieve regardless of the relationships they have with their teachers" (p. 27). Here, socio-economic background takes precedence over ethnicity as represented in relational language, arguing that economic and structural factors drive Pasifika students' desires for special relationships, perhaps to compensate for low socio-economic cultural capital. Later, Hattie (2003) brought clearer attention to the role of ethnicity in achievement.

As literature continued to investigate relational language in Pasifika education, relationality became understood in more complex terms. Evans (2011) suggests that "good" (p. 540) relationships between Pasifika boys' and teachers leads to academic achievement, MacDonald and Lipene (2012) report that successful Samoan students partially attribute their academic achievement to strong teacher-student relationships and Siope (2011), from her own experience, describes effective relational language as that which was recognisable to herself as a Samoan student. In turn, her respondents desired teachers who would be "responsive", "readily accessible" and "reasonable" (p. 13); who cared for them. Samu (2006) also draws attention to the aspect of caring in teacher student relationships in a Pasifika context, a theme developed by Averill (2011) in mathematics education. Although a literature review of Pasifika success in tertiary education relates relational strength, academic success and care (Alkema, 2014), Samu (2013) seeks to problematise caring teacher-Pasifika student relationships by paying attention to the conceptions of Pasifika in operation. She speculates that teacher conceptions of Pasifika students may involve 'loss' of language or culture in ways which promote 'soft' deficit attitudes. Well-meaning relational conceptions based on assumptions and judgements may negatively frame identity (Siteine, 2010) and unintentionally feed deficit theorising (Spiller, 2012).

The potential of student voice as a way of more accurately reading relational language has been argued. Samu (2013) suggests using voice to maintain relevant and contemporary underpinnings for teacher-student relationships, while Spiller (2012) suggests that "for good Pasifika learning to occur, teachers and schools really need to listen to their students when their actions are telling teachers how they learn" (p. 65). Listening may counter stereotypical impressions of "Pasifika values of perfection and humility" (p. 63) as both a basis for relationships and a source of explanation for low achievement. Such concerns, which highlight simplistic readings of Pasifika students' relational languages, indicate the negative potential of under-theorisation in Pasifika education, and warn against relationships based on superficial pleasantness, not learning (Alton-Lee, 2003). Relationality can become divorced from students' realities and/or learning where relational language is understood and used in de-contextualised ways. Positive reinforcement which is aimed at affect but does not correlate with cognitive activity is unlikely to lead to academic success (Hattie & Timperley, 2007). Since students are experts on their own

lives, seeking student voice is logical in a fund of knowledge approach as an anti-hegemonic act of relevance and inclusion. However, appropriate relational language needs to be integrated into effective teaching practices in order to relate Pasifika axiologies with the means to achieve academic success. Alton-Lee and Nuthall (1998) and Alton-Lee (2003) provide constructivist accounts of such processes, while Manuel, Lefono, Lagolago, and Zaveri (2014) describe Polymerisation, a constructivist blend of Pacific-origin cultures and Western models aimed at positive fusion.

The web of relationships in a school is not exclusively formed by student-teacher connections. Indeed, both in terms of numbers and time spent, peer interactions are more significant. The limited literature which pays attention to peer relationships reveals complex and plural constructions of success; peer relations are described as a source of community strength for Pasifika students but are not always aligned with the goals of educational systems and institutions. Where non-alignment occurs, axiological conflicts such as those described by Valenzuela (2005) may occur. These include the construction of choice through the operation of education between values which underpin community and system ideas of success.

Cultural performance groups or 'Poly Clubs', mentoring and collaborative learning are all arenas where Pasifika peer relationships emerge in the literature as significant. Particularly relevant for this study is the attention that male peer relations have received. Fairbairn-Dunlop (2010a) describes gendered, culturally framed forms of success embedded in a 'brotherhood' of Samoan-origin peers. This involves commitment to the aims of the group. Here, peer norms expressed through shared relational language construct forms of success. How these intersect with success as academic achievement is complex. Fairburn-Dunlop suggests that peer-supported, gendered constructions may inhibit Samoan males from academic success. She speculates that "the sporting successes of Pacific males and the role of the peer group ('bros') may be encouraging males (and their parents) to hold more strongly to non-academic ways of maintaining prestige" (p. 143). Pasifika boys gain less success in the New Zealand national assessment framework than Pasifika girls (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2015b), and the suggestion is that what it means to be a successful male realised as community prestige can conflict with attempts to be academically successful. However, Fairbairn-Dunlop (2010b) reports a

positive comparative correlation between academic success and involvement in a Poly Club. Despite this correlation, members were unable to explain why their level of commitment to the club did not spill over into similar levels of commitment to other aspects of the school such as academia. The limited literature in this area makes no firm conclusion possible. Peer relationships as a basis for success can also be seen in mentoring/tutoring and collaborative learning. A. McMillan (2012) reports improved engagement of Pasifika secondary students through peer-based school-focussed support within a club-type environment. He argues that boys can be socialised into the expectations of the classroom environment by discussing male identity within such a forum. This depicts group-based relational language in one cultural space as useful in unpacking another relational language for another cultural space. In the tertiary sector, S. Latu and Young (2004) describe the value of collaborative learning for students with Pacific Island origins, and V. F. Latu (2004) reports the success of peer-supported learning in mathematics. Alkema (2014) reviews literature from the tertiary sector which values strong peer relationships as a means to academic success.

From this limited base of literature, it is possible to speculate that Pasifika students' funds of relational knowledge promote a similar closeness with peers as students seek with their teachers. Both teacher- and peer-based literature foreground commitment, reciprocity and emotionality. The literature of school-based Pasifika peer groups also suggests that understanding the complexities of relationships between different conceptions of Pasifika success is valuable, especially if alignment or negotiation between types of success can be promoted as a result. Conflict between forms of success enforces choice which may include to be/not to be Pasifika, or to be/not to be academically successful. Pasifika success as Pasifika is unlikely to be well served by such constructions.

Despite the importance of literature that focusses on relationships that expose educational mechanisms which define, encourage or block various kinds of Pasifika success a note of caution should be sounded. It is possible that there are unstated assumptions in this corpus of work. Writing in the context of the portrayal of indigenous rights, Lindroth (2014) describes the "lexicon of good governance" (p. 345) used to promote governmentality. She suggests that by declaring an activity or people 'special', provision may be made which avoids a dominant group questioning and therefore altering

business as usual. Instead, special exceptions may make indigenous people more governable without adjusting power relations or the definitions of 'good' in good governance. Much of the literature discussed above which foregrounds relational language in Pasifika education uses this lexicon, marking Pasifika students as unusual. Adjectives such as 'strong', 'special', and so on are implicit axiological judgements which ask for exception and do not invite critique of the norm. From a Pasifika viewpoint what the literature describes as special relational language may be normal, suggesting that not students' funds of knowledge, but the baseline in the education system - and also in the literature - is problematic. This follows the argument of Mila (2014) who, rejecting the story of Pasifika education told in statistical terms as what is what is wrong with Pasifika students, sees culture as a positive and asks what is right about Pasifika learners. In this view the language of specialness in the literature is a tacit replication of inter-ethnic power relations in the wider community of Aotearoa New Zealand, evidence of Whitestream (Milne, 2013) permeating the academy. An exception to this can be seen in the work of Tuafuti and McCaffery (2005) who disturb business as usual by describing it as seeking success on "someone else's terms" (p. 488).

Mila's (2014) strengths-based analysis is consistent with the orientation of this study. When looking for 'Pasifika success as Pasifika', it is logical to reset the baseline for Pasifika education from its previous European-origin position. For instance, Pasifika peer relationships might frame an alternate paradigm for relational expectations in education where brotherhood relationships of commitment and family become an aspirational model rather than a curious aberration. Although Pasifika people may have multiple contextual identities (Gershon, 2012) and aspirations, this does not imply multiple axiological frameworks. Behaviour is seldom random, and culture is not a collection of disparate behaviours and artefacts but "a system of logic with its own underpinning assumptions and internal coherence" (Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009a, p. 115). Thus, attention to the 'logic' of relationality rather than to the specific hierarchical structures of particular relationships suggests that an alignment of teacher-peer and peer-peer relationality might provide an opportunity to avoid choice and to promote effective relationships widely. If education is intended, as Dewey (1916) suggests, to fulfil the potential of the student, it makes no sense to ignore potential multiple verbal or relational fluency by devaluing one language, making one 'special', or setting languages in competition. Learning to use multiple languages with

critical fluency is a better potential path to Pasifika success as Pasifika than ignoring or making exotic a fund of knowledge. The discussion now turns to literature which follows this logic.

5.5.4 Pasifika success as Pasifika

A chronological approach will be adopted to three research texts which discuss Pasifika success as Pasifika. These are a tertiary study conducted by Airini, Brown, et al. (2010), an analysis of tertiary and adult Pasifika voice by Toumu'a (2014), and a further tertiary report by Luafutu-Simpson et al. (2015). In Pasifika contexts these tackle the issue of "how very problematic it can be for one group of people to define what 'success' is for another group of people – even within their own country" (Toumu'a, 2014, p. 21). This literature argues that, because success is a matter of goals and values, philosophical pluralism regarding the nature of life, self and society demands an expansion of mainstream accounts where success is frequently thought about as financial and economic (Toumu'a, 2014). This links success to the ideas of those participating in education not just to the ideas of those organising it.

Airini, Brown, et al. (2010) explain that Pasifika (and Māori) educational success encompasses: "movement towards and achievement of pass grades or higher, a sense of accomplishment and fulfilling personally important goals and participation in ways that provide opportunities for a student to explore and sustain their holistic growth" (p. 4). Thus, success is dynamic, processual, and not restricted to one measure of achievement in a moment of time, or to goals created by institutions. Instead, there is a sense of success which extends beyond the binary of pass/fail. The researchers continue: "The concept of 'success' is a broad one that links with individual and community notions of potential, effort and achievement over time" (p. 4). This suggests a mastery approach to learning (McClure et al., 2011) as advocated by Diener and Dweck (1980), and highlights relationships between extended time and success. The interrelatedness of these elements suggests grade-based success can be positively influenced by other forms of success. Specifically, Airini, Brown, et al. tie academic and pastoral support together with "no clear distinction" (p. 37). Instead, Pasifika success has organic and ecological qualities far from the individual, finite and momentary meanings ascribed by understanding success as

numeric scores only. The key here is to conceptualise Pasifika success in terms which do not divide the means to success from success itself. A means-to-an-end approach narrows success, but the account of Airini, Brown, et al. expands boundaries and definitions of success to embrace Pasifika holism and community (Toumu'a, 2014), linking education to life.

A similar holistic view of values- and family-orientated success emerges in the work of Toumu'a (2014). She provides the following aspects of success in literacy: "identity, language, culture, personal qualities/values, families, workplace, multicultural New Zealand, service to family and community [and] civic life" (p. 70, bullets removed). These are not discreet, but holistically interconnected. As one research respondent explains, success as Pasifika can involve: "The ability to navigate and connect the links between Pasifika peoples, their language and respective customs, to know what has been lost and what has been gained, and to meet the aspirations of the initial migrants of Pasifika peoples" (p. 70). This reiterates the importance of extended time, in this case intergenerational, a social focus and identity located in language and culture.

Luafutu-Simpson et al. (2015) describe several alignments which both theorise Pasifika success as Pasifika. Their voice-based analysis reveals "an alignment of student views of success with values such as commitment, service, responsibility, and family" (p. 21) in which Pasifika success invokes both relational structures and appropriate actions; opportunities to lead and serve are opportunities to gain success. Pasifika success and disposition are also aligned. For instance, respondents describe willingness to try hard and persevere, dispositions described elsewhere as grit (Duckworth, Peterson, Matthews, & Kelly, 2007). In this processual account, "success is not just in the final outcome but also it is about how one goes about achieving that final outcome" (Luafutu-Simpson et al., p. 22). This highlights the role of institutions in supporting grit as well as in developing subject-specific skills. It also problematises the alignment of institutionally constructed and Pasifika student-defined success where palagi ideas silence of displace Pasifika ideas through institutional practice. A further alignment highlighted in this research is that of group success with individual outcomes. Luafutu-Simpson et al. noted a caveat was often added to individual success to tie it back to family and community. This does not deny economic success "consistent with the generally accepted first worldview of success" (p.

23), but augments it. Through these alignments, Pasifika students embrace the independence, social structures and values of their present location whilst seeking to maintain the interdependence of social structures and value-systems of their origins. Pasifika success in Luafutu-Simpson et al. is not constructed as a stark choice, but a negotiation or edgewalk (Tupuola, 2004).

This section has paid attention to the limited body of literature which discusses Pasifika success as Pasifika in more or less direct ways. The final body of literature is that which seeks to discuss Pasifika success in Pacific-origin conceptual terms.

5.5.5 Pacific concepts of success

There is a small body of literature which frames Pasifika success in Pacific-origin terms and thereby avoids default comparisons with Western views. It deals with success as contextually defined wisdom. Wisdom is a successful outcome of education (Helu-Thaman, 1988) and Pacific concepts of wisdom are expansive. Huffer and Qalo (2004) discuss Tongan, Fijian and Kiribati concepts of education where wisdom, a product of learning, is directed at the group rather than confined to individual progress. A learner is expected to contribute socially, leveraging knowledge for the benefit of their wider society. Helu-Thaman (2010) cites groups for whom wisdom is linked to survival and sustainability, expanding the concept in time through intergenerational relationships. Another axis of expansiveness can be seen in the spiritual (Huffer & Qalo, 2004). For instance, a spiritual focus can also be seen in poto as a Samoan concept explained by Wendt (1999) as intelligence given from the heavens, although atamai is the Samoan term which denotes the wisdom to use poto (knowledge) in action to differentiate between right and wrong (Amituanai-Toloa, 2010).

The Tongan concept of poto is the most frequent cultural reference in the literature of Pasifika education and can be discussed by contrast to its antonym, vale. The meaning of poto can include wisdom (Helu-Thaman, 1988; Vaioleti, 2012), to be able, ability, skill, and being knowledgeable (Māhina, 2008). Vale can mean ignorance, to be unable, inability, child-like, uneducated, sick, (Māhina, 2008), crazy, and unskilled (Poltorak, 2007). To be vale implies "a subjective state of deficiency, mediocrity and asymmetry".

Poto by contrast connotes an "objective condition of sufficiency, rarity and symmetry" (Māhina, 2008, p. 84). Thus, poto is concerned with balance, growth and effective practice, while to be vale implies imbalance, incompleteness and limited practical value. Moving from vale, to 'ilo (knowledge) and thence poto is a journey of contextual fulfilment and relative maturity (Māhina, 2008). Helu-Thaman (2010) describes ako as intervention with potential to lead from vale to 'ilo. Ako in institutionalised education is generally located in the work of teachers and, like poto, is not bounded by academic boundaries. Helu-Thaman (2003b) describes Tongan role descriptions which dictate that teachers model poto behaviour as well as provide knowledge to guide the achievement of 'ilo. Vaioleti (2011) suggests, poto is "the ultimate proof of good ako" (p. 61), indicating the connective relationship between the two concepts and their common social orientation.

The social aspect of poto is significant. A person who is poto is able to apply 'ilo for the good of family and community. When this takes place "the person who has studied or is educated is said to have achieved 'poto'" (Vaioleti, 2012, p. 41). Helu-Thaman (2010) writes, "[i]n my culture…the main purpose of learning is to gain knowledge and understanding, considered important for cultural survival and continuity…The educated person is one who is poto – who knows what to do and does it well" (p. 354). Poto as social enactment takes place in the context of culturally-defined relationality. As discussed in regard to va in Chapter Four, Tongan relationality (as an example of Pacific conceptualisation) is conducted through an integration of physical, social and spiritual planes. Thus, a poto person will "know their relationships, social responsibilities and obligations" (p. 355), visible through "performance and behaviour in different social contexts" (p. 355). A failure to contribute to the group's obligations to others indicates a failure to have learned, reflecting negatively on those responsible for teaching (Helu-Thaman, 2010).

The core concept of poto can be extended in terms such as fakapotopoto, a causative and intensified rendition. Tu'itahi (2010) delineates four dimensions to fakapotopoto: navigating new territories; empowering others; tactful and wise use of knowledge and skills; and use of "spiritual and ethical principles" (p. 138) to guide action. Another form is mo'ui fakapotopoto, translated as "a life that is well lived – meaning that there are attitudes, knowledge and skills that are important in order to have a mo'ui

fakapotopoto within the Tongan context" (Johansson-Fua, Manu, & Takapautolo, 2008, p. 55). As "sustainable livelihood" (p. 11), mo'ui fakapotopoto is a holistic concept which involves not only technical knowledge, but the wide and contextual application of social, spiritual and cultural knowledge. Because of its expansiveness, the intersection between poto and Western education can be problematic. Helu-Thaman expresses a concern about the way "schooling has affected our [Pacific] notions of what education and the educated person are" (Helu-Thaman, 2003a, p. 74) because, while "concepts of wisdom remain core values in Pacific societies, they are sidelined" (Helu-Thaman, 2010, p. 100) in education systems which have European-based underpinnings. This touches the heart of the issue of what Pasifika success as Pasifika might look like in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The body of literature which conceptualises Pasifika educational success through poto includes an account of poto as a cultural balance, attention to special educational programmes and to peer-based notions of success. Drawing on Tongan students' tertiary experience, Kalavite (2010) describes learning as "a move from a state of not-knowing to proficiency and excellence; a movement through time and space" which "connects with the core activity of Tongan students searching for western knowledge…in a western academic context" (p. 15). This suggests the way that to be poto in Western/school environments can theoretically be paralleled by, and included in, a wider move towards wisdom. However, Kalavite also illustrates the lived tensions between social and cultural obligations and the pursuit of academic success. Respondents in her research claim that educational institutions demonstrate incomprehension regarding what it takes and means to be successful as a Tongan student, while families and communities misunderstand the full implications of time and commitment required for educational success. Kalavite suggests that in these circumstances, mo'ui fakapotopoto can only be achieved through sustainable support realised as a functional, balanced, double-hulled "compatible" (p. 11) canoe (fakatoukatea) of skill in two cultures. This requires understanding and support from both sides so that students might eventually "wear suits but not forget their ta'ovala" (p. 252).

Cultural readings of wisdom are significant in special educational programmes. One example is Pasifika Gifted and Talented Education (GATE). GATE is often understood as a-cultural, an expression of a student's 'gift' understood solely in cognitive terms. In fact, commonly used markers of giftedness can include culturally sanctioned or

avoided behaviours. As Frengley-Vaipuna et al. (2011) point out, "an attribute such as 'asks many questions' would not be appropriate to a Tongan child socialised to not interrupt adults" (p. 47). Instead, Frengley-Vaipuna et al. advance the claim that "becoming poto…being able to match behaviour to context – knowing what to do, being able to do it, knowing when to do it and doing it" (p. 43) is to be gifted and talented. These researchers suggest that by the recognition of cultural elements in GATE protocols and deliberately coordinating various theories of success, schools can recognise and support particular Tongan students as especially successful people rather than exclude them as not fitting a European-defined GATE mould.

Peer-defined success has also been discussed in the literature through the concept of poto. Fairbairn-Dunlop (2010a) uses the differences between Tongan and Western conceptions of success and knowledge to understand "the different valuing of school and 'other' learning" (p. 147) held by Samoan males. She describes secondary school students whose commitment to learning varies between the Pasifika-focussed school-based context of performance group and academic concepts. Fairbairn-Dunlop turns to the Tongan reference of poto given by Johansson-Fua et al. (2008) discussed above, as a possible explanation. This suggests that the value of learning is the extent to which it demonstrates characteristics such as promoting connectedness and socially-defined culturally-valued behaviour rather than measured outcomes. This speaks of the importance of cultural awareness to support conceptual alignment since this is required to support success (Luafutu-Simpson et al., 2015) as being poto. In conclusion, although small, the body of literature which uses Pacific-origin concepts to discuss Pasifika success offers the potential of re-framing success in ways which negotiate present realities and migratory origins whilst diminishing the power of hegemonic thinking. For this reason, the present study seeks to add to this literature.

5.6 Chapter Summary

From this literature review it is clear that the way students and their education are theorised creates meanings for 'success'. In deficit accounts of Pasifika education, Pasifika success as Pasifika is a contradiction. This draws attention to the difficulties of bringing forms of Pasifika knowledge to hegemonic understandings of education if reciprocal

transformation is expected. By contrast, funds of knowledge accounts of Pasifika education offer critiques of deficit thinking which promote traction on Pasifika educational improvement by making hegemonic assumptions visible. Such accounts, however, do not necessarily provide a full critique of Pasifika education since embedded in their lexicon can be an assumptive normative paradigm. Funds of knowledge accounts do, however, have the potential to begin to open the concept of success beyond limited economic and instrumental meanings by including spirituality and social obligation. The limited corpus of literature which more directly addresses the concept of Pasifika success as Pasifika extends the concept of success further by placing emphasis on social learning, the holistic experience of education, and the need to integrate or align understandings of success. The final section of the literature review suggests the way in which Pacific-origin concepts of success such as poto might translate to diasporic contexts and inform Pasifika idea of success. The overriding message from the literature review is that the nature of the relationship between Pasifika learners and the education system is crucial. Competing ideas of success make Pasifika success as Pasifika problematic for education and for Pasifika students. An accommodating relationship between Western and Pasifika worldviews offers the possibility of a fruitful negotiation where reciprocity and mutual transformation enable learning on both sides of the ledger. This can extend the contextual range of expertise for all involved. Success in this case is deep, life-long learning achieved by embracing diversity.

In summary, this literature review discussed Dewey's (1916) ideas of education in democratic contexts and applied these to intergroup situations. Attention was then paid to literature which embodies a deficit approach to Pasifika education. Following this, research which critiques this approach was discussed. Studies which adopt a fund of knowledge lens were then presented prior to an analysis of literature which directly tackles the concept of Pasifika success as Pasifika. This idea was briefly reconceptualised through literature which employs the Tongan concept of poto. The next chapter turns to the methodology and methods required to build on the literature reviewed in this chapter in order to address Pasifika educational research priorities as discussed in Chapter One.

CHAPTER SIX: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Whereas fale built by Tufuga-faufale, who determined the shaping and forming of the building as an assemblage of parts in an additive process, had lively roof lines, the lines of buildings done in modern methods appear fixed and rigid.

Alfred Refiti, 2015, p.226.

6.1 Chapter Outline

Chapter Six provides a methodological navigation for this study. It begins by unpacking the concept of methodology before briefly tracing a line from a general interpretive research paradigm to a specific Pacific framework. Next, the positionality of the researcher is located in methodological terms. Finally, a number of methods are described before a summary is presented.

6.2 Methodology

Methodology is "the overall approach to research linked to the paradigm or theoretical framework" (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006, p. 198) being employed. That is, a methodology stands between theory and methods, providing a navigatory framework for theorised action. Methodology embeds the research purpose in a philosophical position, thereby ensuring appropriateness and relevance of methods, the instruments used for developing and understanding data. Thus, before methods are considered, the methodology on which they are grounded must be established. This can be achieved by reconsidering the research paradigm; interpretative, qualitative, critical and ultimately Pacific.

An interpretive paradigm seeks to understand the lived experiences of people. It sees reality as "mind-dependant and socially constructed" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 32). The purpose of this research is to explore and understand perceptions regarding Pasifika students' success in a high school. Consistent with this aim, a qualitative methodology, commensurate methods and appropriate questions have been devised to "investigate topics in all their complexity, in context" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 2). A qualitative approach

acknowledges that researchers, by their presence and activity, both interpret and contribute to understandings developed through research. Research which attempts to detach itself from participants can become "sterile, impersonal, disconnected, reductionist, objective, instrumental, and structural" (Farrelly & Nabobo-Baba, 2014). By contrast, methodologies and methods grown from the lives of participants ensure that research practices develop from people's "own frame of reference" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 2). In this case the frame is that of a school-based Pasifika community, a context in which there are bound to be tensions between shared and individual beliefs. An interpretative paradigm using a qualitative approach can perceive these tensions as strengths because it does not seek to generalise or diminish individuality, but to focus on how experience is interpreted by individuals located in groups. As discussed in Chapter Four, a philosophical justification for a Pacific Indigenous Research paradigm is made by Sanga (2004). This paradigm is consistent with an interpretive approach because it holds the Pacific social world to be constructed by Pacific participants.

Anae et al. (2001) offer helpful advice for building the Pacific foundations of both methodology and methods. Their guidelines are a "starting point" (p. iii), providing a framework through which "values which should underpin…uniquely Pacific structures" (p. 7) can be used. By framing a Pacific "fit-for-purpose methodology" (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010, p. 25) such guidelines can support research outcomes to benefit Pasifika people. Using the epistemology of research participants is an act of decolonisation (L. Smith, 1999), an attempt to avoid the imposition of (outsider-)researcher or hegemonic paradigms and structures on research. The understanding and use of Pacific-origin knowledges in research promotes the production of appropriate Pacific knowledge by research even in diasporic contexts such as Pasifika education. Having briefly explored the appropriateness of a research methodology of Pacific origin in this study, key methodological aspects will be outlined.

6.2.1 Dialogic methodology

Two key aspects of the Pacific Way (Crocombe, 1976) deserve attention in methodology: dialogue and relationality (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010). First, the dialogic nature of Pacific societies is consistent with, and contributes to, the ethic of connection

(Hau'ofa, 1994) which underpins Pacific social life. In this, life is without telos and all members of a group can contribute by membership. One importance of a dialogic methodology to this study is to reflect the orally negotiated, contextual and dynamic nature of Pacific societies. Dialogic creation of knowledge allows it to be integrated into existing understandings. Dialogue ensures that new knowledge is contextualised; dialogue itself is a contextual event. In addition, a dialogic methodology acknowledges the presence of the researcher while focussing elsewhere. Multi-vocality is a dialogic trait, enabling the research to "record, analyse and integrate the perspectives, experiences and views of Pasifika families and caregivers, learners and teachers" (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010, p. 13). Dialogue is also a tool for examining the position of those who lack power in relationships. It allows research to be undertaken whilst sharing access to its direction, formulation and meaning. Finally, a dialogic methodological orientation acknowledges the nature of Pasifika education where a school is a web of relationships in which a student does not stand alone and in which not all participants are Pasifika. A dialogic methodology carries the possibility of enhancing communication in intercultural research, allowing for contributions across a web of relationships where people speak not for themselves only, but also from their relational position to others.

6.2.2 Relational methodology

The second relevant aspect of the Pacific Way is the relational nature of Pacific societies. Relatedness overlaps with dialogue which both constitutes relationships and flows across relational spaces. While dialogue is to do with the way expression shapes relationships, relationships are more contexts for expression. A relational methodological orientation can frame interactions between research participants (including the researcher) as the basis of a society. Consequently, research findings are a social product, not solely the researcher's work. Relationality is also important for this study because education is a relational activity. In an intercultural educational setting, relational methodologies have the potential to facilitate interactions across groups of participants, for instance parents and teachers, catalysing relational intensity and enhancing understanding. Finally, a relational underpinning to methodology makes the most of the specific position of the researcher. As a long-standing teacher, I have a number of well-developed relationships with students, families and staff. Long-term involvement with the local Pasifika community has

developed my relationships with parents and has been assisted by my experience of living in Pacific Island nations. My role as teacher-mentor positions me in the relational space between the staff and students. Therefore, by embedding a methodological relational orientation in the structure of the research, the positive qualities of pre-existing relationships can be harnessed in pursuit of the goal of Pasifika success as Pasifika.

6.2.3 Va and methodology

Va is also a significant methodological consideration in this study. As discussed in Chapter Four, va is a relational concept of Pacific origin which articulates a connection between all things, living and otherwise. Space is a metaphor for va (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009); relationships of connection and separation exist since we share a common space. A methodology which is concerned for relationships and for dialogue is also capable of embracing connections which take place in the research va. Awareness of the concept of va leads to the methodological obligation to teu le va/tauhi va, to care for the relational space between people or entities in research. Much literature has been generated by a concern to teu le va (to hereafter use the Samoan reference) in research (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010; Anae, 2010b; Mara, 2013), partly because research itself is a Western enterprise where an understanding of va is uncommon. This obligation differentiates Pasifika concepts of dialogue and relationships from Western conceptions.

Ideas of how to care for va can be found across many Pacific Island cultures, operating under a similar ethic. Mila-Schaaf (2006) says that to "focus on our intentions and conscious actions that influences the nature of our relationships with others" (p. 10) is to care for the va. Methodologically, this implies mutual responsibility. Guiding principles of balance, reciprocity and respect need to be operationalised because actions are necessary to create relational harmony and symmetry. Mila-Schaaf and Hudson (2009b) expand:

> *Teu le va* is often translated as 'making beautiful the *va*': balance, symmetry, beauty – these are unapologetically 'Pacific' aesthetic values strongly linked to wellbeing and good outcome… As a matter of preference, connections are made and conflict minimised out of concern for the relationship and a desire for harmony and symmetry within the engagement. (p. 17)

This may not be easy or straightforward. Interaction produces untidiness which requires constant attention (Anae, 2010a).

Embedding an ethic of caring for the va in the methodology of this research is important for several reasons. As with dialogical and relational orientations, caring for the va is a way of aligning methodology with the worldview and potential expectations of Pasifika research participants. For research to be recognised as ethical, well-intentioned and worth participating in, the methodology must care for the va between all involved parties. Secondly, caring for the va ties together the methodological foci on relationships and dialogue in a holistic way. The nature of any relationship within the research and the tenor and context of any dialogue involved need to be honest, balanced, aesthetically pleasing and well-intentioned. Thirdly, research which has Pasifika participants who do not feel valued or respected is not Pasifika research. For instance, Mead's early research in Samoa was about the Pacific but was not of the Pacific. It has been described as being conducted through "scientific dissociation" (Devine, 2013, p. 61), concealing researcher positionality and denying Pacific relationality. In research which seeks to teu le va, participants do not need to like the findings but should be affirmed through acts of consultation, discussion, the use of mutual space and time, and the use of recognisable and positive relational language. Groups involved should be able recognise themselves, not see themselves represented as part of a Western discourse about the Other, a charge also laid on Mead (Schmidt, 2003). Reflexive and explicit researcher positionality is an aspect of teu le va which will be discussed as ethics in Chapter Seven.

So far, this chapter has provided a methodological navigation for this study. Methodology is important for the way it guides the selection of methods to be used in research. This next section outlines the methods used in this study. It begins with a framework for assessing the contextual validity of methods. Six main methods are then discussed before a summary is presented.

6.3 Methods

Methods are instruments used for gaining and understanding data (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006), selected to be consistent with a study's methodological framework. They

must be fit for purpose, in this case to advocate for social justice in intercultural education. When combined, methods used in this research should enact the criticality of the hybrid of theory discussed in Chapter Three and be capable of answering the research questions of Chapter One. While making research part of everyday life is ultimately impossible, methods chosen for use with Pasifika people need to sit comfortably within a putative Pasifika epistemology, utilising features such as cultural protocols, physical spaces and recording technologies in ways which are recognisable to participants. The same is true of methods to be used with teachers. These should also be naturalistic (Tossell, Kortum, Shepard, Rahmati, & Zhong, 2012), in this case representing recognisable good practice in education. The fit between methods and people is important for sustainability because in catalytic research, the challenge is to embed significant learning (and therefore change) in structures which continue as part of personal/institutional life away from formal research. A further consideration is researcher positionality. I hold a position as a teacher, as the school's Specialist Classroom Teacher (SCT) (which involves facilitating staff professional development), and as a researcher. The first two roles are part of the context, existing before and after this study. Methods which harness existing relational strengths such as longevity of presence, contextual knowledge, prior professional and personal encounters and access to resources are valuable if the physical and temporal case study are mirrored by an appropriate ethical boundary. This again argues for methods which grow from context rather than are imposed on it.

With this discussion in mind, six methods which concur with the methodological framing outlined in the first section of this chapter will be presented: talanoa, interview, video mihi, embedded action research, mediated dialogue, and bricolage. Relational, dialogic, positional and naturalistic strengths of various methods will be highlighted. Consideration will also be given to the way these methods approach va and have critical potential.

6.3.1 Talanoa

The word talanoa in a Tongan reference has two roots. Tala means to "tell" or "talk about", and noa means "anything" or "nothing special" (Otunuku, 2011, p. 45). Talanoa in research developed from existing cultural practices (Fa'avae, Jones, & Manu'atu, 2016)

and involves a progressive development of connection through dialogue. Although described as a philosophy (Halapua, 2000) and a methodology (Otunuku, 2011; Vaioleti, 2006, 2013), in the case of this research talanoa is a research method.

The talanoa method is relational, dialogic and focussed on caring for va through mutual understanding. It speaks "directly to the phenomenon of talking, storying, or narrativising" (Suaalii-Sauni & Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014, p. 336) of the Pacific. Talanoa are conversations which can be distinguished from interviews by purpose. They are iterative discussions not aimed at finding facts so much as at sharing an understanding where no participant attempts to take a neutral position. A talanoa is a dialogue where people speak from the hearts without preconceptions (Halapua, 2000) and where openness "is a product of the underlying trust relationship and sense of cultural connectedness between those involved" (Prescott, 2011, p. 130). Because talanoa are relational, consensus is not the focus. Instead, understanding, revelation and negotiation are the keys, making strengths of both commonality and difference. Talanoa involves the sharing of some kind of a common connecting space which in this research is connection to the case study school.

In most research talanoa, introductions are given and connections are made before discussion takes place, structured so that all perspectives can be brought to bear on a subject. The researcher's role may be to guide and contribute, but is mainly to allow participants' stories to come to light. The principle of appropriateness rather than a rule book of cultural protocols governs the way the method is conducted in time and space (Vaioleti, 2013). The choice of venue, a skilled facilitator from the Pasifika community, the provision of food, prayers to acknowledge the spirituality of the occasion, a transparent statement of intention and ethical responsibility, a focus on education and a sense of value placed on people through their involvement: these are all essential contextual features of the relational space of this research. They convey respect through shared enterprise. Perspectives regarding Pasifika success as Pasifika can emerge through talanoa where a range of responses is validated as reflecting different experiences, acknowledging the heterogeneity of the Pasifika community and the contextual nature of this research.

In this study, the talanoa method was used to consult with parents of Year (Y) 9 Pasifika students of the case study school. One main group talanoa was conducted

followed by two smaller sessions. The main session was facilitated by a Pasifika community member who visited Pasifika parents in their homes to recruit participants. This protocol could be criticised as producing an unrepresentative sample since these parents had specific connections to the facilitator. However, it encouraged attendance through pre-existing relationality. Where the researcher is 'outside' the community, the use of 'inside' relational resources is a step in supporting the control of research by the community. In the event, two further parents came at my later invitation.

There were 12 parents in the main talanoa, representing seven families including the families of five students in the research cohort. All present had sons at the school, all but one in Y9. More than one Pacific origin was represented but no participants described themselves as first generation migrants. The session lasted about 1 1/2 hours and the researcher was invited to remain by parents, contributing at times. A recording was made for subsequent transcription using an iPad. Ethical consent was given by participants who were promised feedback after data had been responded to by teachers. This talanoa took place immediately after Y9 parent-teacher interviews hosted by the school. Thus it was part of a dialogue starting with parent-teacher conversations regarding students and success. It provided parents with a space to reply to teachers' comments, albeit indirectly. Discussion was prompted by opened-ended questions agreed between researcher and facilitator. These included items such as 'What do Pasifika parents think that teachers should know about their sons/their families/success?' Not all the prompts were used; the talanoa was responsive. The final item discussed was 'What is one thing you would like to tell your son's teachers?' To stage the talanoa, a suitable space was negotiated with the facilitator and cultural protocols were observed: food was provided; the session opened and closed with prayer; and introduction and closure were managed by the facilitator.

Following the main talanoa, there were two small-scale talanoa involving myself and further parents. These employed similar prompts, but were also an opportunity for exploring further some concerns from the group talanoa. This structure provided a dialogical link between talanoa. The small-scale talanoa sessions also provided an opportunity to include the perspectives of an island-born parent. Again, ethical consent was given and recordings made. Offers of translation were made to parents but declined.

Member-checks clarified the researcher's understanding of parental perspectives. These were conducted with the Pasifika facilitator and verified further through discussion with other members of the Pasifika community covered by university-defined ethical agreements. Subsequent to the three formal talanoa, discussions continued with parents throughout the data-gathering year to clarify and extend comments from formal talanoa sessions. These provided member-checks as well as continuing to maintain positive relationality.

6.3.2 Interview

One definition of an interview is "a relationship between two people where both parties behave as though they are of equal status for its duration, whether or not this is actually so; and where, also, both behave as though their encounter had meaning only in relation to a good many other such encounters" (Benney & Hughes, 1956, p. 142). Thus, an interview is an 'agreement' to be related which may not reflect fact. This distinguishes it from talanoa where the development of relatedness is the main aim.

Where young people are involved, conversational direction from a researcher may need to exceed that which can comfortably be contextualised by talanoa. This is particularly relevant where abstract concepts such as success are in focus and in situations where the researcher-as-teacher invokes certain kinds of role-based power. Interview offers a way forward where the relatedness helpful in supporting talanoa is difficult. Interviews can be recorded using everyday technology such as an iPad. In a Pasifika context, food remains essential as does an opportunity for prayer to open an interview. A well-chosen venue to ensure comfort and confidentiality is crucial. In an ethical situation where interviewees must be paired, the opportunity to talk with people with whom one feels secure is important. Pairing also has the effect of making an interview a social event, allowing for the comparison and intersection of stories although it may lead to the suppression of some potential content.

Eleven interviews of pairs of students were conducted for this study involving Y9 students of the case study school identified by their parents as Pasifika during the school enrolment process. Several ethnicities were represented. Further details are redacted for

ethical reasons associated with cohort size. Interviews took place at lunchtimes and lasted approximately 30–40 minutes each. The office of a Pasifika member of staff was used in most cases. Pairs were generally established by students and while most students were interviewed once or twice, occasionally a pair of students invited a third to their session which increased interview frequency for some. In addition, three students created their own interview situations in the school-at-large by insisting that they wanted to talk and finding a space for this in an ad hoc way. With the exception of these ad hoc interviews, all sessions were recorded on an iPad with student knowledge and permission. Notes of ad hoc interviews were made as soon as possible.

Interview protocols began with prompts such as 'What primary school did you attend…?' 'What are you successful at here…?' 'What is success...?' The use of prompts declined as relationships between students and researcher/teacher grew during the year. The opportunity for prayer, provision of food and responsiveness of inquiry line were all attempts to conduct interviews "in line with [Pasifika] children's experiences, interests, values and everyday routines" (Christensen & Prout, 2002, p. 482). Despite the hierarchy implied in a teacher-student relationship, attempts were made to conduct the interviews in a way which invited "ethical symmetry" and "equality as a starting point" (Christensen & Prout, 2002, p. 484). This was attempted through personal disclosure by the researcher and the forging of connections through siblings and other mutually known persons or places. In this way, a goal of the interviews was to move away from school-based hierarchies and more to the level entry of talanoa (Vaioleti, 2013). Following transcription of interviews, clarifications were sought by: informally asking a student for explanation; revisiting matters in a subsequent interview; and asking a senior student. Senior students were recruited as talanoa facilitators and thus came within the ethical boundary of the research. Clear expressions of intergenerational confidentiality (Bassett, Beagan, Ristovski-Slijepcevic, & Chapman, 2008) and careful reiteration of the researcher-as-teacher's ethical boundaries were used to maintain respect and contain discussion within the ethical research space. As an outsider by age, role and ethnicity, difference allowed the dialogue to feature students as "expert witnesses" (Flutter & Rudduck, 2004, p. 4) on their views of success in education.

Of the 16 students in the research cohort, I was teacher to eight. Contrary to what might be expected, students who I taught were generally more forthcoming, a situation which became progressively marked. This suggests that instead of the role of the teacher impeding that of researcher, the reverse became true. Perhaps this was because relational intensity and trust were built through time and interaction as the va between teacher and students was progressively nurtured. Alternately, students may have made little distinction between the roles of researcher and teacher. A third possibility is that this effect could be related to the individual perceptions or characteristics of students and thus be unrelated to relational and role-based factors, although this seems unlikely.

In addition to paired interviews, two group interviews with seven or eight participants were held later in the research period. For each of these it was intended to have a senior student facilitator. In the event, only one senior student was available. The facilitator worked with a group of students I taught. I worked with a group of students I did not teach but knew through research and other activities. This choice was made to offer students in my classes an opportunity to give information in another relational context. Group sessions were conducted under similar conditions to the paired interviews. Member checks and clarifications were obtained as described above. The purpose of these larger sessions was to gain data from another context with which to triangulate data from paired interviews. In addition, while the paired sessions focussed on personal stories, the group interviews were structured to speak to a third party audience; to gain information as a basis for mediated dialogue with teachers. Through prompts similar to those used with parents, teachers were imaginatively brought into the discussion space. For instance, the final prompt was 'What is one thing you would like to say to your teachers?' Each group interview was explicitly orientated towards success or achieving success. Despite differences in session chairs, responses were similar. Although all prompts were open-ended, this could be because the prompts controlled dialogue to the extent that no variation was possible. Alternatively, perhaps similarity derived from context; students had all recently left the primary sector and moved to the same secondary school. It could be that related ideas about success derive from positional similarity: minority/minoritised status, similar ethnically-derived values or intersections between these. Whatever the reason, similarity in data argues against the role of teacher-researcher as being an overriding factor

in data production. That is, by comparing responses across groups, reactivity (Tossell et al., 2012) to the role of teacher-as-researcher appears low.

6.3.3 Video mihi

To mihi is a Māori protocol. It is "an opportunity for people to show respect, through the language used and its accompanying actions...tone for the interaction is set" (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2016). A mihi is usually given at the opening of a meeting or encounter, but can be given at a re-start. A mihi whakamutuanga can be given at the end of an occasion.

To mihi involves a contextual personal statement. Personal information traditionally given links the speaker to the land. Although a mihi is normally given face-to-face, video mihi can be recorded and played to others by using readily available technology such as iPads. This preserves one 'face' in the mihi encounter, and allows for actions and images to accompany words. In this way it preserves part of the face-to-face emphasis in Pacific communication (Vaioleti, 2006). However, by delaying the 'appearance' of the other face, hierarchical power relations may be mediated. Just as with interview, video mihi method allows a speaker to construct themselves for an audience and/or a specific context. The removal of the audience in space and time allows this construction to be shaped not for individual listeners/viewers, but for an imagined audience. Under these conditions, a person may show more of how they would like to be seen rather than respond to how they think they are being seen at the moment of speech. That is, an imagined audience is perhaps less constraining than one which is present.

Despite its monological appearance, video mihi as a method is dialogical and relational in Bakhtin's terms. This is because of two factors. Firstly, utterance implies an audience. It is always addressed to another by someone who is already social; "[m]eaning (communication) implies community"(Todorov, 1984). Secondly, the reaction of the listener/watcher is dialogical since "[n]o utterance…can be attributed to the speaker exclusively" (Bakhtin cited in Todorov, 1984, p. 30) but is interpreted to create a new processual dialogic movement. The role of the researcher in video mihi is limited to the provision of a technological framework for expression and the creation of a social space

for filming. The researcher is not the intended audience; communication is directed at the specified group who may watch later. Thus, reactivity to the filming situation and imagined audience may be strong but that to the researcher is likely to be limited. A mihi can teu le va because it is an act of respect. It is a giving of oneself to another in order to change a relational situation. It encourages closeness through the disclosure of self-construction conveyed through word, action and tone.

Thirteen students made video mihi while they were still Y8 primary school students. This took place on an induction day aimed to develop relationships between new and existing Pasifika students. Twelve students gave ethical consent for their video to be included in research. The audience for each mihi was a student's unknown future teachers. Each mihi was one-minute-long and made on the iPad app, VideoPad. A loose framework was developed by the senior students for videos, but video productions varied by both content and aesthetic. Senior Pasifika students had input into the process as 'producer' of the video mihi so that the individuality of each mihi may have been affected by the cooperative nature of the process. However, senior students may also have enhanced the value of communication through their expertise in knowing what the intended audience of secondary school teachers might need to hear.

In addition to student-made productions, at the end of the action research phase, ten staff made video mihi for parents. These were mihi whakamutunga to close the research encounter. The protocol was to explain what had been learned and enacted, and to describe potential next steps. Staff were responsible for their own filming and consequently there was a mix of self-filmed and peer-filmed productions. As will be described below, these mihi were an element in a mediated dialogue between parents and teachers.

6.3.4 Embedded action research

Action research is frequently used in the "teaching as inquiry" (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 35) focus of the New Zealand Curriculum as a structure in which to conduct limited, contextualised, small scale research. Such action research is often used to frame professional development (PD) and typically involves initial data collection, an intervention and an evidence-based judgement of effect. Often the intervention is to teach

using a new protocol or resource. Action research can be exploited in institutional settings to provide evidence of goal setting/goal achievement, appraisal and the meeting of professional standards. In this study, embedded action research has relational and dialogical qualities because a PD group was linked to the Pasifika community. Action research also has catalytic and critical potential, offering the possibility of providing new appreciations of the complexities of life from non-hegemonic positions. In this way it can challenge the status quo and provoke actions which can change inequitable situations. This is particularly true where PD seeks to facilitate culturally responsive pedagogies and where concepts such as va are able to provide sufficient "disturbance" (Peck, Gallucci, Sloan, & Lippincott, 2009, p. 20) to existing frames of thinking.

An action research framework was embedded in the structure of this study to enable teachers to receive, comprehend and respond to data from Pasifika sources: theoretical, parental and student. This was framed within the institutional PD framework of the school and attached to local protocols of lesson observation and national teacher registration/practicing teacher criteria (Education Council New Zealand, 2014). Alignment with institutional practice inevitably demands trade-off between research ideals and their enactment; timing, session lengths and the operating framework of peer observation were dictated by the institution. While this provided hurdles for involving Pasifika community members from outside the school, it did ensure that the professional development model was sustainable.

There were 11 teacher-participants in the action research. Two had been members of previous Pasifika focussed Professional Learning Groups (PLG). Participants ranged from Heads of Department to beginning teachers, had between zero and 30+ years of teaching experience, and represented a range of disciplinary backgrounds: art, history, English, accounting, physical education and music. There was an even gender spilt but no Pasifika teachers in the group. Further demographic details were collected but are withheld for ethical reasons. Seven PD sessions of 50 minutes took place over a three-term period in one academic year. These featured: presentation of theory and context; presentation of information from Pasifika parents talanoa; presentation of information from Pasifika student group interviews; discussion; goal setting; feedback following peer observation; and evaluation. The first two sessions were attended by the Pasifika talanoa facilitator but a

change of date precluded the anticipated attendance of a senior student facilitator at the third session. Peer observation was conducted between the fifth and sixth sessions. Food was provided for each meeting.

The first three sessions involved a presentation of information from parents and students together with what the researcher had learned about va. Following this, teacher-participants became increasingly responsible for, and active in, the research process by examining their own practice in the light of new learning. Significant in this was the role of va to act as a "disturbance" (Peck et al., 2009, p. 20) of existing understandings of relational language, helping to 'translate' Pasifika voice which described familiar teaching and learning situations from an alternative perspective. The data presented was viewed as relevant and powerful by teachers because it had come from the school's Pasifika community. The final session formed a reflectional basis for mihi whakamutunga as described above.

6.3.5 Mediated dialogue

Talanoa and interview are methods which frame dialogue within a group. However, in the relational web of a school it is important to pay contextual attention to power as it affects dialogue between groups. This is because where an expectation of respect exists in one party, power used without respect can increase cultural distance (Alasuutari & Alasuutari, 2009). As a space of intercultural communication, in Pasifika education there is a premium on story-sharing which can catalyse improved understanding and deepened response. However, because of hierarchical power relations, Pasifika parents and students may not talk openly to teachers; teachers have a role which Pasifika parents and students seldom challenge. If Pasifika success as Pasifika is to be realised in schools, increased understanding by non-Pasifika teachers is crucial. However, coming to a dialogical understanding of what success looks like from the points of view of others can be made difficult by the effects of power. Bakhtin suggests that dialogue is constitutive of relationships (Baxter, 2004). It is a movement, the on-going negotiation of a position, a flux and a never-ending accommodation of changing circumstances (Todorov, 1984). One circumstance is the developing knowledge held by people. A method is required which can

enable negotiated understandings to develop through dialogue whilst mediating role-based power which might prevent this. Mediated dialogue is helpful here.

Mediated dialogue has been used by Nakhid (2003) and Spiller (2012). Nakhid designed the method to facilitate dialogue between Pasifika students and teachers through a mediator because "it was thought that the students would be less confident in speaking directly with their teachers" (Nakhid, Pilisi, Senio, Taylor, & Thomas, 2007, p. 118). Thus, the method is a way of creating a dialogical situation whilst acknowledging pre-existing power relations and their effects. The method relies on goodwill since, despite mediation, both sides of the dialogue are involved in disclosure. Nakhid used herself as mediator of focus groups with both teachers and students. She dialogued with teachers and students from different schools for ethical reasons. However, mediated dialogue conducted in this way may lose some ability to reduce relational distance by removing the potentially catalytic effect of teachers hearing from their own students. This study uses a more direct form of dialogue than that used by Nakhid to harness catalytic potential. This requires a rethink of mediation as a method, and dialogue as an activity.

In this study, a focus on shifting the space of dialogue is used as the axis of mediation. In other words, instead of the researcher reporting the elements of dialogue from one group to another, the mediation method in this research sees the 'messages' of dialogue shifted from one space to another. This can be achieved if participants discuss what they would like others to know about them, with the researcher transferring these to another space. This is not the researcher relaying people's talking about others. It is people talking to others and then the researcher taking that talk to those to whom it was addressed in absentia. The role of the researcher here is more passive and space-orientated than in Nakhid's (2003) case. This is because the 'audience' is explicitly 'present' in the dialogue despite being absent from the room. Mediating a dialogue addressed to, not about, others confines and defines the researcher's role much more tightly. The catalytic role of the researcher in passing information is not that of converting information from one audience to another. Researcher interpretation is kept at a minimum, and the responsibility of listeners to interpret in their own context is maximised. The engagement which results from taking seriously such responsibilities has catalytic potential.

Mediated dialogue was used in three phases of this study. In chronological sequence, these involved: student video mihi given to teachers; data from talanoa given to teachers; and video mihi whakamutunga by staff given to parents. Firstly, the 12 student video mihi released for viewing and for inclusion in the research were played to 18 staff members. Each watched the mihi of students they would be teaching before face-to-face meetings took place. Viewing was conducted in a private space nominated by each teacher. The researcher and teacher discussed the mihi after the viewing in semi-structured interviews using a protocol of prompts such as 'What is your reaction to this student?' and 'How might the mihi help you in your teaching?' One group viewing was attempted but not repeated because this seemed to suppress emotional engagement. Conversations were recorded using an iPad and subsequently transcribed as research data. Ethical clearance was obtained from 14 teacher participants for research use of their interviews. Of these, six continued in the research as members of the action research group. Secondly, data from talanoa with parents was given to the action research group through mediated dialogue. As described above, the talanoa was focussed on what parents wanted to say to teachers, and what they thought teachers should know about Pasifika students and communities. This information was transcribed and focussed into exemplified themes by the researcher and the community talanoa facilitator. It was then presented to teacher participants during action research. Some teachers claimed that the data was particularly powerful because it had been addressed to them in their local context. Teacher reactions were recorded, transcribed, checked and ethically cleared. Finally, mihi whakamutanga made by teacher members of the action research group were given to parent participants in the study at a series of meetings as an act of returning the research to the community and of gratitude and appreciation. Thus, three phases of mediated dialogue were embedded in the research design in a kind of macro-talanoa. The research structure embodied an ongoing mediated dialogic opportunity to learn for both participants and researcher. It encapsulated opportunities to care for the va between all concerned through the expectation of the enactment of learning.

6.3.6 Bricolage, case study and beyond

In addition to the above methods, a bounded case study (Stake, 1978) bricolage approach which includes observations, student work and other materials which come to

hand through public or student channels, contributed to research data subject to ethical considerations. The combination of bricolage and other methods discussed above provides an opportunity to enact the criticality of this study's theoretical model. This includes by: offering participants to express positional views and experiences; recognising Whiteness through the comparative introduction of Pacific-origin concepts; facilitating mediated dialogue to improve intergroup understanding; and promoting learning. The catalytic social justice focus of the study is similarly served. The combination of these methods provides triangulated case study coverage of the Pasifika education capable of answering questions regarding Pasifika success as Pasifika.

6.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed a dialogic relational methodology intended to enact the hybrid critical theoretical paradigm of this research. Methods were then described through their alignment with the study's methodological framework and according to their operation in the study. Considerations of ethics and validity form the focus of Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN: ETHICS AND VALIDITY

[I]n relational ethics we are called to put a'ano (flesh) on the bones of personhood, recognising our commitments to each other in the humanity of relationships…

Melanie Anae, 2016, p. 117.

7.1 Chapter Outline

This chapter gives an account of ethics in the context of this research. It begins by describing the field of ethics before sketching the various groups or bodies involved in this research and the way ethics applies to each. After this the ethics of positionality are discussed. This involves unpacking of insider/outsider research. Following this, validity, which forms the basis of the study's knowledge claims, comes under scrutiny. Finally, a summary is given.

7.2 Introduction

Madison (2012) describes ethics as "[q]uestions of morality and what it means to be honourable, to embrace goodness, to perform virtuous acts, to generate goodwill, and to choose justice above injustice" (p. 83). Ethical considerations have the potential to frame all behaviour in a positive and relational way. Madison continues, "because ethnographers are in the business of both crossing border and representation, the power and the politics of their enterprise demands ethical responsibility" (p. 90). In other words, ethics and power are connected through methods, frameworks and the intent of questions, as well as through the final account given of the research. The act of asking critical questions of inequity can be seen as ethical, as can the hybrid of critical theories being applied to Pasifika education in this study since both seek "to unsettle the taken-for-grated, to open critical awareness, and to remember what was forgotten" (p. 82).

According to Heshusius (1994), ethics and epistemology cannot be separated. Consequently, the ethics of research must be consistent with its epistemological base. Vaioleti (2011) directly links the epistemological significance of ethics to elements of

Pacific research. This should be "conducted in ways that are culturally appropriate for the participants...[so] that Pacific research ethics (protocols) emerge from Pacific worldviews in order to keep synergy with the methodology and protect the integrity of participants as Pacific cultural beings" (p. 145). However, not all Pacific-orientated research exclusively involves Pacific-origin peoples. This is particularly true of research into Pasifika education, an intercultural field. In this case, ethics must be capable of articulating the concerns of all present in any situation whilst remaining aligned with Pasifika interest. The space between cultures, viewpoints and/or people, called by Ermine, Sinclair, and Jeffery (2004) the "ethical space" (p. 7) and by Mila-Schaaf and Hudson (2009b) the "negotiating space" (p. 23), relies on respect for differing epistemologies. This implies an equitable and non-judgemental position, one which potentially frees participants of both guilt and blame. Justice is not served by disrespect or exclusion any more than it is supported by domination. Ethics in this study involves issues of ownership, of speaking for others, and of attempts to tell a recognisable, and thus a 'true', story. Since, in qualitative research, 'truth' is a positional and negotiated matter, a concern for ethics is a concern for recognisability. The story told through research is unethical if it cannot be recognised as in some way valid or meaningful by those involved.

Research ethics also extends to the use to which research is put, the work it is designed to do, and the actual outcomes of this work. Airini et al. (2010) discuss the ethics of outcome. These can be satisfied through research which operates in "a place/space/site of action - getting things done" (p. 2). Research which seeks to be catalytic must also consider the ethics of possible futures as well as immediate outcomes. As Ladson-Billings (2014) points out, once ideas are in the public domain, they are interpretable and re-interpretable. Thus, to avoid the dangers of misrepresentation and appropriation, the language of research must be precise and the argument clear. Precision is a justification for using concepts of Pacific origin in Pasifika research to challenge assumptive meanings of semi-equivalent English words. Claims must be carefully bounded, an issue which will be expanded in a discussion of validity to follow.

7.3 Contextual Ethics

In this research study, multiple ethical considerations have played a part. As research conducted through a university, that university's demands for ethical conduct must be met. The ethical position of the research in respect to Māori, the tangata whenua or Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand must also be considered. Finally, ethics must pay attention to the worldviews of those whose ideas of success are sought. The situation is complicated by the position of the researcher as teacher, colleague to teachers, and as the main instrument of research. Alignment of these roles is a way of providing ethical surety in all the relationships involved in the research. In this research, ethical behaviour can be conceptualised as an obligation to teu le va, to nurture all those relationships which are both part of the research and also the means to the research. While this guiding principle is true for all involved relationships, it is appropriate to describe specific actions taken to uphold an ethical approach in relation to university protocols, positionality, the Pasifika community of the school, and the school itself.

Victoria University of Wellington asserts an ethical code. This research operates within that code. Actions taken to adhere to the code include: disclosing the intent and processes of the research when approaching parents, students and teachers for their involvement; making public a dated opportunity for withdrawal; measures to safeguard anonymity; seeking specific permission to use video data in public forums; and data security. The research was accorded ethical approval (reference #21300) by the Standing Committee of Human Ethics, Victoria University of Wellington before any research was undertaken.

This research pertains to a specific school, located in a tribal rohe or area of Aotearoa New Zealand. With this in mind, relationships between the research, researcher and two school-based entities were clarified. The headmaster of the school was given a full account of the intent and process of the research and his permission to proceed was sought and granted. The blessing of the representatives of the tangata whenua within the school was also sought and given. In these ways the positionality of the research within the institution was ethically resolved before any formal engagement with the school's Pasifika

community. This ensured that the research could be sited within a conflict-free space, an uncluttered environment for subsequent interactions with Pasifika parents and students.

7.4 Insider/Outsider Research

Where a researcher is not a member of the community at the centre of research, this is generally seen as 'outsider positioning' or 'outsider' research. While the concept of outsider is important for this research, a simple insider/outsider distinction is not sufficient as a foundation for ethics since there is "a good bit of slippage and fluidity between these two states" (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 409). A simple approach unethically homogenises a community through an exclusive focus on one aspect of identity and/or perception. In fact, complex, multiple aspects of identity can lead to the formation of community. This include gender, sexual orientation, age, ethnicity, skin colour, specific experiences and so on (L. Smith, 1999). Since positionality is about power, there is an ethical requirement to discuss power, position and meaning here because "power is something to not only be aware of, but to negotiate in the research process" (Merriam et al., 2001, p. 413). In fact, "during [and after] fieldwork the researcher's power is negotiated, not given" (p. 409), a truth which erodes any sense of a right to knowledge by either insider or outsider, or any understanding that research is of itself good or just. To erase the power of either the researcher or participants robs research of both sincerity and ethical standing. Positionality is particularly complex in research which takes place in diasporic contexts such as Pasifika research. In such contexts, because of the progressive shifting of identity across geographical and social locations and through time, the insider/outsider distinction is seen by Carling, Erdal, and Ezzati (2014) as requiring a dynamic and nuanced understanding of positionality. Complex categories of "honorary-insider" and "hybrid insider-outsider" (p. 1) which are contextual and temporal can assist.

The positionality of this research is complex. In this kind of situation, attitudinal features require ethical disclosure through "strategic and reflexive management of positionality" (Carling et al., 2014, p. 1). Far from being dishonest, positionality-construction can be seen as caring for, and building on, the quality of relationality between research and participants. Researcher attitudes to data and to the kinds of story it can tell may be identified by participants from such disclosures. Similarly, the potential of a

researcher to assist a group can become evident. In this research, the account of my identity given to participants has not stressed 'researcher' at the expense of 'teacher' and 'staff member'. Teacher is a role which connects me with the Pasifika community. Staff member connects me to the school staff, those who have the opportunity to encourage or block Pasifika success as Pasifika, partly as a result of learning from, and engagement with, catalytic research. Researcher is a role likely to increase the degree of outsiderness of the researcher. As an important role in the research it must be described, but it need not be the primary axis of relationship. Thus, attending to the University protocols was done to pay respect to that institution, but not in a way which suggests that the legitimacy of the research comes from that source. Instead, a third way (Carling et al., 2014) approach has been constructed which recognises and navigates the complex space between the simplicities of inside and outside. Complex, long-lasting and sustainable connections which construct 'insiderness' within the obvious ethnic 'outsiderness' of a Palangi researcher working with a Pasifika community have been strategically foregrounded where they already existed. These include 'facilitator of the Pasifika video mihi day', 'member of the Pasifika parents' support group', 'teacher of Pasifika boys' and so on. Ethically framed relatedness can construct a kind of insiderness in these circumstances. Despite this, ethnic markers are important and inherent in the research question which tackles 'Pasifika success as Pasifika' and assumes relationships exist between ethnicity and success in education. By ethnic markers, the researcher is an 'outsider' and in need of community support. Consequently the research takes on board ethnic guidelines for research developed under a Pasifika umbrella (Samu, 2006) by Anae et al. (2001) and Airini, Anae, et al. (2010).

7.5 Entry into the Field

This study began with a challenge from a member of the school Pasifika community. That is, it was initiated by a Pasifika voice asking how I intended to use my skills and position for the benefit of the Pasifika community. This challenge was the moment of entry into the field. However, entry is complicated where there are three populations: Pasifika students, Pasifika parents/community, and teachers of the case study school. An ethical alignment of my three roles of researcher, teacher and Specialist Classroom Teacher (SCT) is required.

With regard to Pasifika participants, pre-existing relationships assisted entry. Over a period of years, I have established relationships with a number of members of the school's Pasifika community by teaching Pasifika students, communicating with families, and supporting school Pasifika events. In addition, I am a member of the Pasifika Parents Support Group. When I entered the field in the role of researcher these relationships continued, although some ethical re-definition was required. The process of role-alignment involved gaining ethical consent to shift data from school-focussed activities to the research space. For example, as teacher and SCT I developed the induction day and video mihi. This was intended to create student videos as part of school work, much as a teacher may have asked students to write about themselves early in a new relationship before the advent of digital technology. I made attempts as SCT to contact all families with eligible students to take part in this day. Some families declined and others were impossible to contact. Following the induction day, I contacted the same cohort of families as researcher. The overlap between those whose sons had made video mihi and who subsequently agreed to take part in the research is significant. Role alignment can be seen in the comments of one parent who said that since something had already been done for her son (by the SCT through the mihi), then she was prepared to take part in the research (with the researcher). Of 29 Pasifika students new to the school, 13 took part in the mihi day from which 12 engaged in the research. These were joined by an additional four students, making the research population over 50% of the total cohort. Families who did not wish their sons to be involved in Pasifika aspects of the school probably declined both the induction day and the research. As a result of this, the student sample is structured; only those who wished to be known as Pasifika were asked about Pasifika success in the study.

The roles I occupy also assisted entry into the field in regard to school staff. As SCT since 2006, a role charged with improving the effectiveness of teaching and learning in the school, I have developed relationships with many staff. High trust relationships are crucial for professional situations which involve deep-level challenge (Robinson, Hohepa, & Lloyd, 2009). By aligning the roles of researcher and SCT, entry into the teacher aspect of the field was ethically managed and sustainable. As a result, however, the staff sample is also structured; only those who wanted to learn about Pasifika success as Pasifika and were available were involved. This structuring made success more likely. The next section

discusses the related concept of validity which is associated with the ethics of knowledge claims.

7.6 Validity

While ethics is to do with behaviour aimed at achieving a just end, validity asks questions of how such behaviour can give rise to information which has meaning both within and outside its immediate context. This section presents a contextualised approach to validity, accounting for the research in four ways: reflexivity, catalysis, as emic and through criticality. Validity has to do with a negotiated sense of authority based on the justifications offered for any claims made, and the limits placed on these. It can be associated with reliability, generalisability and trustworthiness. Validity is an important consideration in all qualitative research, especially in intercultural relational spaces where different models of ethics may exist. Here, a concern for validity must reflexively address the relationships between various potential understandings of the concept.

Validity involves a set of theoretical relationships between criteria, standards or ideals, and the techniques or measures used to diminish threats to these in practice (Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle, 2001). Reflexivity, catalytic activity, recognisability and criticality are dialogic categories which can support claims to validity if they are integrated into the design and practicalities of the research process. This research is framed by a hybrid of related critical theories where validity can partly be seen as a process to "formulate approaches to empirical research which advance emancipatory theory-building through the development of interactive and action-inspiring research designs" (Lather, 1986a, p. 64). If social science is a process of finding out about the social world, then validity is also invested in the joint (social) discovery of knowledge between researcher and participants. This means that visible evidence from the lives of participants must support any interpretations and assertions made by the researcher. A combination of science as finding out and art as interpretation is a route to validity (Whittemore et al., 2001) which relies on researcher reflexivity.

7.7 Reflexivity

Reflexivity has been described as "a conscious experiencing of the self as both inquirer and respondent, as teacher and learner, as the one coming to know the self within the processes of research itself" (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011, p. 124). The communication of self-consciousness supports validity in this research. The art of interpretation is central, and the researcher is the main instrument for this. Thus, validity can partly be located in the extent to which I as researcher can give convincing account of my motives, actions, theorising, interpretations and relationships in both research as process and product. The disembodied voice of ethnographic research is no longer a valid approach (Moreton-Robinson, 2013). Thus, this study has been permeated by reflexive accountability. At the start of the research report, a clear statement of critical philosophy and catalytic intent was given. This critical stance has been maintained throughout the research process, and has been reflexively applied to include critique of the researcher. This has been matched by explicit accounts of the flow of power through the research, and of deliberate attempts to mediate and shape this to the advantage of the audibility of Pasifika voices of participants. Relational reflexivity positions the researcher in a complex web of insider-outsider categories and acknowledges multiple identities in the research context. A negotiation between these rather than a tidy resolution offers a level of reflexivity which values contradiction, conflict and change in the researcher as well as in the research.

7.8 Catalysis

Catalytic research aims to positively change a situation through the relationship between research and participants. Catalytic validity (Lather, 1986a) in this research is represented as knowledge (or information) transfer (Baines, 2007) in ways which can lead to conscientisation (Freire, 1973). Conscientisation is "knowing reality in order to better transform it" (Lather, 1986a, p. 70). In this research, knowledge construction is contingent on transfer of information through dialogue. The dialogical framing and relational orientation of the research methodology embed a concern for the critical catalytic potential of Pasifika voice. By transferring information across the relational spaces between participants, catalytic potential is created within the research.

7.9 Emic Validity

Emic validity is a form of recognisability. Whitehead (2005) defines emic validity "simply as understanding the study host(s) from their own system of meanings" (pp. 4-5). The discussion of positionality given above disturbs the dichotomy of host and guest somewhat. Despite this, Whitehead's comment is useful. As Tamasese, Parsons, Sullivan, and Waldegrave (2010) say, in contexts where outsiders take an outsider view and "[w]hen research findings are presented through ethnocentric eyes, the findings immediately lose validity" (p. 36) because the reading of the situation is not aligned with that of the experiencer. In this research the epistemologies of Pasifika peoples are used as far as practicable to underpin, execute and interpret the research. In Pasifika terms, the job of the researcher is to tautua or serve the community. In order to do this, the researcher must learn about Pasifika knowledge and lives, and use this learning to understand the research. The research is the gift of the researcher which is exchanged for the opportunity to grow knowledge through participation and observation.

7.10 Criticality

Criticality as validity extends reflexivity to methodology and findings. Reflexivity extends beyond the self-aware transparency of the researcher and into the research process. This can be achieved by a "search for alternative hypotheses…negative instances…biases" (Whittemore et al., 2001, p. 531). To achieve this, multiple opportunities to gain information, a dialogic structure which links participants whilst focussing on their positionality, and the triangulation available through consulting more than one generation of the Pasifika community provide a polyvocal space for difference. However, aspects of the research design which work against this include sampling strategies based on ethnic self-identification and prior relationships. These may restrict the width of perceptions present in the data. The trade-off is a commitment to the idea of ethnicity, to the catalytic thrust of the research and, by implication, to the research itself. Commitment of this kind is a circumstance in which thick description (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2013) can be developed. Where the catalytic aim of research is supported by researcher and participants, validity can also be supported by ethical relationships, especially when these mirror an emic understanding of the world (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010). Ethics can be tied to validity

by aligning the intents and understandings of the researcher with the participants. "The *way* in which we know is most assuredly tied up with both *what* we know and our *relationships with our research participants*" (Lincoln et al., 2011, p. 123).

7.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter has positioned this study in terms of ethics and validity. It has argued for a complex positionality, denying the simplicity of an insider/outsider paradigm. It has demonstrated the significance of aligning the roles of researcher/teacher/SCT in order to create an ethical space for research. It has also argued for a blend of reflexivity, catalytic action, emic conceptualisation and criticality as important in supporting the validity of knowledge claims in intercultural research spaces. The next section describes the findings of the research.

CHAPTER EIGHT: FINDINGS

He speaks brother-language.

Unsolicited praise for a teacher from a Pasifika parent, 2016.

8.1 Chapter Outline

Chapter Seven discussed the ethics of this study and then proposed a framework through which the validity of its knowledge claims can be understood. This chapter presents the study's findings through six themes - Pasifika success as Pasifika as: a good education; being accepted; participation; comfort; resilience; and extension. The presentation of these themes is preceded by a contextual discussion which includes a refinement of grounded theory as an analytical method. It is followed by a chapter summary.

8.2   Analysis

This section discusses features of the research which together produce its findings: voice of various origins; researcher positionality; a refinement of grounded theory; and a clear sense of the limitation and benefits of small-scale research. Firstly, voice. This study has elicited voices that address Pasifika education in a state boys' secondary school in Aotearoa New Zealand. Three sets of voices contribute to its findings: Pasifika students in transition to secondary education; the wider Pasifika school community including parents and senior students; and teachers of Pasifika students. Primary among these are the voices of Pasifika boys aged around 13 years engaged in their first year of secondary education in a new school. This group was chosen because: students new to secondary education can look back at their primary experience; they can also look forward to their secondary experience; they are likely to have hopes for the future of their educational journey; they may be less affected than senior students by the language of assessment such as NCEA; and because if schools know what new students see as success, possibilities are opened for supporting or negotiating these ideas. Their narratives, deconstructed and re-collected through research, offer an account of success in Pasifika education which is not often visible: participant

experience. A second set of voices features parents and senior students whose contributions place the main student voice in extended contexts. In the case of parents, this is an intergenerational Pasifika context. In that of senior students, it is a wider institutional context as yet unexperienced by their younger peers. The final set of voices represents non-Pasifika teachers as they respond to Pasifika students and their education. To ignore Palangi teacher voice, perhaps in the dubious quest to make research 'more Pasifika', would display a weak grasp of the intercultural reality of Pasifika education. Through findings based on the tripartite inclusionary nature of these voices, delivery is made on the promise of adopting a relational and dialogic Pacific Indigenous research (Sanga, 2004) approach.

Despite this, there is an inherent and potentially problematic claim made in placing student voice in a thesis chapter headed 'findings' which requires both theorisation and a critical consideration. This issue revolves around the integrity of voice when transported from narrative to explication, from talk to page. Although this study partly achieves its emancipatory goal of Pasifika self-description through the commitment of otherwise ephemeral language to text as findings, textualisation is also de-contextualisation and thus risks mis-representation. This can come, for instance, through the imposition of the tone and frame of the Palangi, middle-aged researcher/teacher on the understandings of Pasifika boys. To address this issue, an acute sense of positionality as discussed in Chapter Seven has given rise to two methodological features in this study as outlined in Chapter Six. These now require further contextual elaboration. One consideration is to think of the researcher as an edgewalker. This provides a way of applying what Greene (1978) calls wide-awakeness to both researcher and data, and thus to the tone and words of the findings. That is, a critical standpoint on both the researcher as 'finder' and the findings themselves is an ethical necessity. The second methodological feature is that of the research as dialogical collaboration, an ongoing relational movement in the direction of closeness and mutual understanding. Collaboration is integrally linked to the duality of edgewalking since walking in another's space involves 'walking with', not walking alone. This offers an opportunity to disturb any apparent hermetic division between researcher and informants, contributing to a sense of research as process rather than as a product. Notions such as edgewalking and collaboration "displace the idea of the disembodied, objective researcher and engage with reflexivity as an opening point for thinking" (Wright

et al., 2012, p. 42). In this view, the researcher as collaborator has a legitimate place in research findings, that of constructivist participant through organisation. This is particularly relevant where the researcher also has a dual identity as a teacher and researcher and is active in relational research which sees education through a constructivist lens.

In edgewalking research there is a need for any analytical method used to embrace the edgewalk. In this case, a technique is required which might support the intercultural research context, one capable of enabling a researcher who is an outsider by ethnicity and background to approach Pasifika data in a more nuanced way. Following data collection through the execution of methods described in Chapter Six, an analysis designed to address this concern was conducted. A grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014) analytical approach (GT) was adopted, the inductive nature of which prioritises positional understandings over those embedded in pre-existing frameworks. GT is capable of harnessing positional storytelling as counter-narrative (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) and can displace lexicons of good governance (Lindroth, 2014), hegemonic views of how things should be understood which can colonise theory, except to the extent that they occur in data. GT advocates coding through interaction between researcher and data using a process of questioning without presumption (Charmaz, 1999). Despite this, a GT approach suggests it is unviable for researchers to imagine themselves as tabula rasa by believing in pure induction (Glaser & Strauss, 2009), acknowledging that everyone comes from a position of one sort or another. Thornberg's (2012) informed grounded theory (IGT) approach extends this recognition, claiming that, rather than relegating a consideration of literature until after analysis, it is unwise not to take "advantage of the literature when collecting and analysing data" (p. 243). Thornberg suggests that adding sensitising concepts derived from literature to the coding process can support coding strategies by providing tentative ways to navigate through data. This approach is particularly valuable in edgewalking research. Taking Thornberg's term in the widest sense to include oral 'literature' such as talanoa, IGT suggests turning to the Pasifika community and Pacific-origin wisdom during analysis as a valuable strategy in order to extend the range of possible interactions between Palangi researcher and Pasifika data. This is a step in achieving the edgewalk which is ethically required. Examples of relevant sensitising concepts include va, relationality, extended approaches to time, malaga, poto and respect.

Despite the value of IGT, a general GT approach to data remains valuable for its iterative process, especially fitting for research structured as dialogue. Once concrete open codes (Charmaz, 1999) such as 'interaction with teacher', 'success defined by parent' were established in the early stages of research by line-by-line coding of data, mediated-dialogue facilitated further investigation to confirm, remove, elaborate or clarify tentative coding patterns through the re-examination of codes in further dialogue. In GT, through dialogic iteration, subsequent axial codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) which seek to find more abstract patterns can be reinforced or undermined by progressively feeding findings back into the research dialogue. Examples of axial codes used include some of the forms of success used to structure the presentation of findings: participation, acceptance and extension. Following the collection and transcription of data, Nvivo software was used as a platform for iterative and progressive IGT researcher-data interaction which resulted in the findings which follow.

The findings of this research are not a totalising account of Pasifika success as Pasifika; there is no total stable picture to find. The proper function of this chapter is to explicate a series of positions rather than prove a singular point. Proof requires a weight of evidence and values consistency; explication requires only an example and embraces contradiction. Here it offers glimpses into what a small cohort of Pasifika people in one context discuss as success. Although direct replication of research can be a priority for some, this is often served by a large sample size which acts to discount variation in favour of transferability, masking the voices of individuals in an attempt to generalise. By contrast, depth is a strength of intimate small-scale qualitative research such as this study. It makes possible the portrayal of a range of dynamic contextual contours of Pasifika experience. Despite this, the findings of this research are not merely raw responses; analytical categories provide an axis through which issues of validity can be framed. The ethical, methodological and theoretical underpinnings of the study operate likewise.

In the findings of this research, attention is firstly directed at the presence of students in the case study school. This is wrapped in the notion of success as a 'good education', never precisely unpacked because of its conceptual and contextual characteristics. Secondly, success as acceptance is exemplified in a way which bridges contexts in the school. This principally involves acceptance by a Pasifika brotherhood and

in teaching/learning relationships. Next, two related ideas regarding success in classrooms are given. One, success as participation, deals with activity and a sense of how Pasifika students see themselves as successful through action. The other, success as comfort, interrogates relationships between success, emotionality and environment. The fifth category of success focuses on resilience. This is described as resourced by various relationships. An explication of success as the extension of range follows which deals with the width of contexts in which a student is comfortable and can operate effectively. This part of the discussion pays attention to relationality and value systems as arenas where Pasifika voices describe success in new contexts. Finally, the related ideas of success as extension of range, resilience, comfort and participation are re-visited in an account of the catalytic aspect of the research. This is told through the voices of teachers involved in Pasifika education as they respond to student voice.

In reporting these findings, the convention of indicating voice by italics is observed while names, ethnicity and other means of identifying individuals are redacted. Because of the unavoidably public nature of the setting and its small Pasifika population, a pattern of attribution through a system of aliases is avoided. Some light editing to make spoken language more amenable to a written environment has taken place. Where required a distinction in data is made between speakers. Numbered to differentiate multiple voices, S denotes student, P denotes parent, and R denotes researcher.

8.3 Success as a 'Good Education'

The idea of a good education which emerges from the data is not specific to one school or sector of the education system. Parents and students involved in the study seek a good education as a pathway to facilitate the achievement of their goals. This has led in one way or another to the case study school. When boys recount their routes and motivations for enrolment at the school, these range from long-term movement to intergenerational continuity. What emerges is a picture of conscious Pasifika strategy in which the definition of a good education is wide and contextual. Being present at the case study school is described in terms of advantages gained, challenges accepted, and their implications. Benefits include education in a diverse context, while challenges include minority status and the possibility of minoritisation. Far from being a simple one-

dimensional matter of flight from other places or contexts, seeking Pasifika success as a good education is complex and multi-dimensional. This section discusses various forms of that complexity: internal migration, the social and racial aspects of movement, and family as the creators of pathway for movement. It closes with a summary.

8.3.1 Geographical movement

Some Pasifika students in the study have been involved in a kind of internal migration focussed on education from one part of the urban area to another. Examples will be given in this section, firstly of long-term migration, and secondly of daily movement.

Some long-term internal migration was achieved during respondents' primary schooling. In other cases, family movement was timed to coincide with the start of secondary education. Accounts of long-term relocation suggest it is undertaken for specific reasons and/or to gain particular advantages in education, forming a spatial response to Pasifika success as a good education. The range of motivations for this movement is wide and can be exemplified through stories which tell of relational and psychological reasons, and of social and sporting considerations. One student described a geographical shift stimulated by his previous poor performance in primary education. Two reasons were given for this; his relational experiences in school and his own psychology. As a result of dissatisfaction in these two areas his family used its resources and moved into the city:

The reason why…we moved…[was] I think cos my mum thought we weren't getting enough education cos I was a naughty-as boy back in [another area].

Weak achievement measured by 'Below Standard' National Standards results and issues such as *'grudgy teachers'* and poor role models were relational factors in the move. The significance of psychology to this internal migration becomes clear where a geographical shift to a new primary school is portrayed as an opportunity to leave behind the *'mind'* of a previous setting. *'Mind'* here includes emotionality, motivation and orientation. In this case, the mind did not value education, but conformed to a norm of rejecting both the authority and the values of the education system. In the student's narrative this was represented by failure to complete work and no desire for high scores in assessment. The

student attributed the mind to a geographic area - a social milieu overlapping with a specific ethnic mix in a particular location. This displays a logic whereby a social environment can negatively affect a school, which in turn affects its students. As a consequence of the desire of his family to gain him a good education, they left the school and area, hoping to create an opportunity for the boy to develop a different mind, presumably one that valued education. This migration was conducted for very specific reasons, and was not just a general flight from one space to another. In this account, although achieved by physical means, internal migration was from one psychological space to another.

A different story describes the way opportunities for sporting growth can become a factor in a family's geographical shift to seek a particular education during the years of primary schooling. Where a sport is not frequently played at high levels by Pasifika students, a change of location to one where more Palangi families reside may seem helpful for competition, exposure and sporting education. In this case, sporting opportunities acted as a migratory motivation and combined with family work patterns to result in the student's attendance at the case study school by moving into the school's enrolment zone. However, although attendance at the school was not the main or only goal of migration, enrolment was confirmed as a good education by popular opinion, especially by members of the boy's Pasifika community-based church:

Heaps, heaps of just random people come to me and say [the] College is like, good. A good school. And other parents too they say that 'What college are you going to now?' and they'll say like…'Ah that's a good school. It's got a good education'

Through these opinions, reputational value seems attached to the school as a site of a good education. In addition, there is an assumption that by belonging one will gain the good-ness. The comments from this student suggest that the relationship between school status and its benefits to an individual has not been unpacked although pleasure is clearly taken at being associated with a social construction of good-ness through the school. In fact, this student had not visited the school at the time these reported conversations took place, removing personal experience as a source of judgement of this good education. As in the first example, this story of internal migration is not one of a simple flight, but a strategic

decision with a clear logic – this time largely sporting, reinforced by the approbation of community.

These two stories make it clear that some Pasifika families are prepared to take long-term action to gain access to a good education, although what this means is contextual, defined within the family. For them, education, part of the migrant dream, remains a priority worth making changes for, and worth making an effort to access. The migratory actions undertaken are not motivated by simple or contextless reasons, but are inspired by diverse and individual motivations. These include relational, psychological, sporting and achievement-related concerns. In these cases, permanent internal migration is focussed on new opportunities in new spaces and conducted at the scale of family.

Short-term or daily migration is also evident in the stories of students in this study. Here the family stays put, but the student journeys from one area to another for secondary education. This is despite the expense of daily travel which can make school attendance difficult at times, especially where a family has more than one student travelling. Like long-term movement, daily migration is also strategised. One circumstance where this can happen is where a ballot has given access to the school to a student who resides out of the school's zone. Entering the ballot is a deliberate act taken to gain a good education. For instance, one student who enrolled through this mechanism recalled the importance his family placed on education.

S: Mum said when I was like Year 4 [aged 9], I was coming here... Dad said that mum and dad said they want us to get a good education.

R: What do you think they meant by good education?

S: To learn, to find out something new every day, and maybe when you are older during the year find out what I wanna do when I'm older.... She thinks that they [local colleges] don't have the right stuff for you to become what you want to become.

A mix of pull- and push-factors can make enrolment at the school valuable enough to families to try to carry the cost of travel. In this story, an education is good if it helps a student discover their path; a poor education is one where the available opportunities restrict self-realisation. This, added to the sense that education is daily and incremental, suggests that a good education is a processual experience based on encountering a wide range of opportunities which can assist a student to find and follow an aspirational pathway. In this account, daily internal migration is not lightly taken or sudden, but has had a long lead-in period. Success in a ballot has facilitated, but has not originated, movement.

Short and long-term internal migration when considered together reveal that the opportunities sought through movement by Pasifika families can include access to a greater range of educational facilities both sporting and academic, but may also encompass psychological factors such as mind-set and self-realisation. This variety of factors undercut any notion that internal migration to gain a good education is an expression of a simplistically conceptualised or easily generalisable flight. Instead, particular opportunities are sought and strategised according to the goals of families for their sons, although the way a specific school might meet these goals is less clear than the aspirations themselves. However, despite the variety in aspirations displayed by different parents and students, there is a sense that more opportunity exists in some environments than others. This suggests some Pasifika parents see geographic disparity in opportunity which extends beyond comparison between schools, and is wider than a simple concentration on academic achievement.

8.3.2 Social and racial aspects

Internal migration is not an easy option for families. The cost of a good education which involves geographic movement is not only paid in money or travel time; any new setting carries social challenges. Friends are a key part of the social landscape; contact with friends is a concern for young people when they are separated as a result of school choice. Some Pasifika boys were able to speculate on the place of a 'good school' in a good education in social terms, both with regard to separation from old friends and in the

formation of new relationships. Their thinking shows that they see a good school as a potentially challenging racialised space. For example:

S1: Maybe [people in general] think…that [this is] a good school but maybe they think that it's where the white boys go…the education is like hard.

S2: My other [Pasifika] friends that went to [a school with more Pasifika students] they [were] … trying to convince me to go [there] because [this is] like…the really smart people go here and so they said that I should just stick with a simple school.

Consistent with the idea of a good education, which itself is the foil to the notion that some schooling experiences are *'not enough'*, is the sense that these Pasifika students have that some schools present an education which is '*hard*', while others offer a '*simple*' option. Success in obtaining a good education can involve the hard path but there is challenge involved in not taking the simple option. If one leaves behind one's friends, how will one cope or fit in? The relationship between a good education and race in these comments where '*white boys*' are associated with a '*hard education*' and '*really smart people*' adds a further layer to the challenge. It suggests that these students sense an attitude which belittles and minoritises them. This may originate in society as a whole but in this example is voiced in the Pasifika population. Thus, selecting the case study school as a path to a good education is not merely a case of opting to be in a minority. There are also undertones of negotiating racialised power relations originating outside the school. A school which is '*where the white boys go*' may not initially be full of one's friends, especially if ethnicity intersects with friendship, and may be a site pervaded by Pasifika belittlement.

Moments of transition in education such as moving schools can be problematic and challenging of themselves, but difficulties can be exacerbated where race intersects negatively with self-perception. The contours of this intersection are illuminated by some Pasifika students' experiences of internal migration to primary schools where they found themselves in a minority. One student told how he was aware of racial and socio-economic stereotypes being applied to him:

Initially I felt like looked down on I guess. Just cos I was brown and coming from [another suburb]. I guess from peers and from other people, they sort of expect you to act a certain way. So I guess when I went there I sort of followed what they, what people expected of me, like be good at sports and not answer that much questions in class ...

In a second case, a parent explained that her son, one of only two Pasifika students in his new school, was upset at the experience of feeling different:

'Sometime I just look at the kids and I think the kids don't like me,' that's what he thought.

A solution was found in each case. In the first, referring to the staff, the student recalled that:

When I started to do well, that's when they started taking notice.

In the second, the parent explained the student's despair to the boy's teacher who then talked to the class. As a result, there was a meeting where all the students hugged the boy which helped him develop a sense of belonging. In both these stories Pasifika boys display awareness of being in a minority and a consequential emotional struggle. An action was required to change each situation; the challenging of a stereotype through a Pasifika student's decision to no longer accept it, and the deliberate inclusion of the Pasifika student by the majority Palangi school population. Without the strength of mind of the student to rise above adversity in the first example, and the intervention of the parent to explain her son's feelings in the second, these stories may have ended less positively. In both cases, a good education in a *'white school'* had a cost which, fortunately, resources of one kind or another were available to meet. Consequently, improved access to the good education being sought was the outcome in each case.

Although it can produce challenges, being in a minority is not seen as necessarily disadvantageous by Pasifika boys in this study. When discussing alternative educations which could be had in the company of higher numbers of Pasifika students, one made it clear that diversity can have a value in a good education:

Yeah, [this is a good school for Pasifika students] cos it's not just Poly or it's not just [one island group] and all that, it's all mixed so there's like Indians...

For him, being in a minority is not something just to be survived but a position which offers a positive contribution. Another boy claimed a value for diversity because...

[Y]ou don't want to be all around PI [Pacific Island] boys every single day - you might wanna hang out with some white kids after a while [...] get to know more people instead of just knowing your own group or minority.

Diversity in the student population - which for Pasifika students in this context equates to minority status - is a challenge which, if met, can bring a reward. If the schooling experience of Pasifika students is one where co-existing with a range of groups becomes the context for comfortable interaction, then being a minority is potentially beneficial. For example, insight and opportunity may be available outside of one's group. Even the width of an umbrella Pasifika group compared to a single Pacific Island group can be seen as an advantage. As will be discussed below, being accepted by other people is an important part of Pasifika success, and successfully getting to know people from a range of backgrounds can be an element in this. As will also be discussed later, Pasifika parents also value the ethnic mix of the school as an aspect of a good education although their expression of this is in more developed terms than student accounts.

8.3.3 Family aspects

For another group of Pasifika boys, a good education involves following family footsteps, usually their father's, but perhaps their uncle's. Some students who follow family paths reside in the school's zone; others migrate from outside. The travelling group is increasing in both size and proportion of the school's Pasifika population because of recent legislation concerning the way priority entry into the school at Year (Y) 9 is determined (Ministry of Education, 2016a). This gives additional enrolment priority to students with family connections to a school. For these students, family continuity is placed above geographic and social continuity. Here's one Pasifika boy's story:

My dad was an old boy...I did want to go to [another college] for some reason but then I just changed my mind. I said I will just follow dad's footsteps... Mum told my uncles, my mum's brothers ... and then he brought up everybody going... 'Your dad, your uncles, your godfathers, your dad's best friends, all went ...and you want to change that?' ... so I went, 'OK'.

Whatever this boy wanted, family connections ruled. His parents had already moved his primary schooling to find the kind of student/teacher relationality they valued as part of a search for a good education. Selecting his father's school was intended to provide a further opportunity to gain a good education assured to some extent by prior experience, an idea confirmed in talanoa. Another student gave a similar account, but was explicit about the destination of Pasifika students from his intermediate education. At his intermediate school there were...

...not heaps but there was a few PI boys that went. And most of them went to [one college]. A few went to [another college] and I was going to go to [that college] till my dad wanted me to come here cos he came here.

In this case, parental wishes placed the student in a Pasifika minority, separated from intermediate school Pasifika peers. Boys may assume that one path of action will be taken at transition, that of moving with other Pasifika students to one school or another. However, although no student claimed to have been forced to come to the case study school, these examples show the way choice over the site of education can be exercised by parents and that students may later decide that this choice is the right one for them. Educational choice is not, therefore, solely an individual matter for these Pasifika students. Deciding on, and acting to gain, a good education can be a family matter.

One Pasifika student expressly linked the ideas of a good education, race and family continuity. When discussing his enrolment at the school he explained the family logic:

[S]ince my dad is an Old Boy here, he'd already experienced like how they treat you here and you know, how hard they push you. To your goal. I mean, it's not about just being around your own skin colour.

In this case, prior family experience of a '*hard'* education gave the impetus for a daily geographical shift. The opportunity to be with people who do not have *'your own skin colour'* is a potential challenge, but also an opportunity for success if a good education is the pursuit of one's own goals in a diverse context. Although aware of race, this student's reliance on family knowledge and connection seems to provide the confidence to take on educational challenges as if his resilience were based on intergenerational resources.

Through considering the way some Pasifika parents and students exercise choices regarding schools, it is clear that education is a priority; arrival at the case study school is often a consequence of an intergenerational strategy to gain a goal-focussed good education. To these families, success is made more likely by exploiting pre-existing relationships to ensure attendance at the institution of choice. Although ethnicity and race are clearly visible in Pasifika students' thinking about educational settings, family continuity is more significant in choice-making. While family connections and the desire for family continuity in education can be true for all student populations, opting to be in a minority in order to maintain that continuity applies only to some groups in the school population. Opting to accept the challenge of being minoritised to achieve this, a possibility implicit in some student accounts, applies to an even smaller population since the literature suggests that other minorities such as Asian groups are not subject to the same minoritising processes. Accepting this challenge expresses the depth of parental desires for their boys to have the opportunities they seek. In some cases, these are opportunities they deem unavailable locally. In others, they are chances to enhance pre-existing family experiences and connections at a familial school.

8.3.4 Theme summary

To summarise, although attendance at the case study school for some Pasifika students in the study is a matter of course because of geographical location, active decision-making and prioritisation of one kind or another has been involved for many. In

these cases, the desire for a certain kind of education acts as a driver for action. This can involve movement away from inadequate education and/or internal migration seeking new opportunities. A range of motivations can be involved: sporting, psychological, relational and familial. As with all migration, challenges and benefits are strategically balanced. In this context, challenges include being in a minority, potential minoritisation, changes in peer group which can lead to isolation, a '*hard*' education, and the costs of travel. Benefits include: association with a reputable institution; specific opportunities; ethnic diversity; access to a '*hard'* education; the possibility of a change in mind-set; and familial continuity. In many cases, challenges and benefits are two sides of the same coin. Whether these aspects of a good education sit on one side of the ledger or the other is not inherent but relational. In the end, only the ultimate outcomes of the sum of educational experiences can be used to judge if a good education has been successfully gained. However, at the point of transition where this research is placed, there are wide, clear, contextual, strategised and operationalised ideas within the Pasifika community regarding access to a good education as a form of success.

8.4 Success as Being Bccepted

Arrival at a new school is a potentially daunting experience for any student, particularly when this involves coming to a large school with a reputation for high expectations of its student body. As discussed above, in a school with a small Pasifika population, the initial experience for Pasifika students may include awareness of being in a minority and perhaps of being minoritised. Being accepted becomes very important under these circumstances. To be accepted is to receive the kind of support that reinforces belonging and, however conceptualised, it is hard to imagine delivery on the promise of a good education without a secure sense of this. Because acceptance and belonging are relational categories of experience, attention is directed to the way that relational expectations are constructed and understood as an aspect of Pasifika success as Pasifika.

The accounts of Pasifika students involved in this study make clear the significance of peer acceptance which leads to membership of a 'brotherhood'. Many accounts of the brotherhood are present in the research data. Some Pasifika students were able to elaborate on the processes involved in acceptance to the point of distinguishing between different

relational languages used by different ethnic groups. However, acceptance as a form of success is not focussed entirely on Pasifika peers. Non-Pasifika peers and teaching staff can also be involved in processes of acceptance and the consequent generation of a sense of belonging. In addition, acceptance is not a simple matter. It is one form of success which can conflict with others. This section by turn discusses peer acceptance, conflict between different contexts of acceptance, and acceptance in the wider school. It concludes with a summary.

8.4.1 Acceptance by the brotherhood

The brotherhood is an essential feature of what makes Pasifika students distinctive within the case study school. Whereas the majority of students generally appear to form relationships within a year group, slowly developing connections outside of their primary school friends, the brotherhood cuts across age and primary school-based boundaries. The Y9 Pasifika boys who contributed to the research expressed clear expectations of immediate support from the Pasifika brotherhood. These seem hypothetical, but are all the more powerful for this; support and connection are conceptual and obligatory in nature rather than predicted as the result of prior in-school experience. Connections in the brotherhood extend beyond specific Pacific Island allegiance to embrace a wider Pasifika context.

Acceptance by other Pasifika students was used a synonym for success by one student. In response to being asked if he was having success at his new school, he replied:

Oh ha…so far, yes, it's good cos I know [student A] … and they introduced me to all of his friends and then I met [student B] and all that, [student C], [student D], all these new boys which is cool cos like…they always have my back which is good.

The claim is that Pasifika networks have extended quickly, with older students caring for their new colleague, taking responsibility for his being known. An ethic of care is clear in the student's expectations - the senior students will '*always have my back*', a phrase which often occurs in the data in discussions of the brotherhood. Frequently having someone's back is contextualised in hypothetical situations; difficult homework, bullying, sadness,

family problems and so on. At the early stage of the year when much of the data was collected, no student claimed to have needed any specific help. However, in student interviews there was certainty, an unquestioned expectation that support would be available as needed. This suggests that acceptance between Pasifika students does not depend on a sense of deserving or on the qualities of individuals. Instead it is a part of an obligation, unquestionably and '*always*' present. It is an implicit connective testament to the existence of knowledge of how to care in inter-peer relationships and comes as a corollary of membership of the school-based brotherhood. Success as acceptance is located in this relational resource.

Through the brotherhood, transition to their new school for these Pasifika boys is an experience where strength and security is frequently provided by relationships with other Pasifika students. This does not seem to be a defensive reaction to minority status. Instead it is an expression of strength through the exercise of relational knowledge. One boy described his initial reaction to his new school:

[I was] scared when I first came in but the brotherhood was here. The brotherhood that was here was nice. Everyone just came to you straight away and said Hi and stuff, like they wanted to know you. Straight away, yeah.

The relational responsibility to care exercised between students seems clear to older boys who take the first step to come '*to you straight away'*, to speak, and to behave '*like they wanted to know you'*. This experience validates the new boy's sense of belonging, making him impressed by the speed at which this has happened. The immediacy suggests the strength of the imperative felt by seniors to build positive relationships with juniors. It is as if a gerontocracy built on the years of attendance at the school is in operation. The result is an immediate creation of security; acceptance has successfully created belonging.

Several Y9 Pasifika students voiced a sense of themselves as an accepted member of a brotherhood which they were able to define by comparison to the majority of the school's students. Relatedness is a concept they associate with themselves as Pasifika. For example:

You know how white boys don't include other people but where we do. And if a PI boy is in trouble, we always help them out. Like if someone is not doing well with their homework, we always help them. Most people would say, 'No you do it yourself', but us PI boys we always do it, we always help them.

This contrasts what is viewed as the individuality of the Palangi world in which including others is not a high priority, and where difficulties with homework are seen as an individual issue. This student displays a sense that the Pasifika world requires that '*we*' will '*include other people*' and '*we always help*' other Pasifika boys in difficulty. The significance of these statements is not their in-group/out-group nature – although this is strong, nor their veracity in action. What is important is the way the duty of care is established by comparison with non-Pasifika students and located as a feature of the success of the brotherhood. This student not only feels part of a brotherhood, but understands his contribution to it.

Another student was able to unpick the comparison between relational languages understood by different ethnic groupings in more depth, explaining the significance of the brotherhood he had joined a month prior:

S: [I]f we are real hurt, emotionally they are there to help you. And probably make a big joke of it and make you happy…

R: So is that something that white boys can't do for you?

S: Oh no, they can do that but they just don't do it as good. As like the brown guys … maybe brown people have stronger connection of... I mean yeah we still have a strong connection with white people…they just don't do it as good…as like the brown guys.

One way of understanding this claim is that while the student sees everyone as potentially connected and able to offer empathy, the relational language of Pasifika students has a quality which is recognisable to him and so is more powerful. The use of humour to defuse emotional situations is perhaps evidence of what Poltorak (2007) refers to as the intensity

of relatedness. In this case knowing what to say and how to say it creates harmony. It can *'make you happy'*. Thus, relationships between Pasifika students are tended by humour, homework help and so on; actions which fulfil an obligation of care and which intensify connectedness and belonging. Non-Pasifika students are regarded as different either in their orientation to issues or in the knowledge they bring to them. According to another student, this is a brotherhood where…

... if you talk to them it's like how you talk to your brother... And like, as you talk to them, you talk about similar stuff, and all the communication with each other is like, really well [good].

That is, it is a grouping where there are common interests but also a common language of expectation. This is the language of fictive kin (McGavin, 2014) in a fictive 'aiga or family. In a family, acceptance and belonging are a given and not earned.

The way that some Y9 Pasifika boys perceive their sense of belonging can make it seem as if the brotherhood is a 'school within a school'. One student, talking about the fact he was the only Pasifika boy in some of his classes referred to the brotherhood relationship as being...

...like a really strong bond amongst each other so that even if the whole people aren't there, it still feels like they are all there. Like you are walking alone but you feel like all the brothers are like behind you, backing you up.

This describes the strength of connection, drawing from the certainty of acceptance in one arena to feel supported elsewhere, perhaps through the spiritual basis of the group relationship. In any case, the family nature of the brotherhood, where increased space does not decrease relatedness, is clear where the virtual presence of other Pasifika boys is *'walking'* with one of its members. This understanding adds nuance to the comment made by another student:

PI boys aren't really alone.

This statement indicates that he similarly does not limit the idea of a sense of belonging through acceptance to the physical realm, but instead sees a reality which is not bounded by physical space but extends connection across spaces.

In the view of some respondents, the brotherhood in the case study school is contextually different from others. Firstly, it is a small group. This is perceived as potentially advantageous; the group was described as '*tight*'; small size facilitates close relationships and the acceptance these promote, making a benefit of being in a small minority.

[C]os there's less brown people but we learn to be more like a community sort of… Cos there's less of us we sort of got to protect each other sort of in a way, so like we don't lose a sense of who we are and where we came from because the brothers will help us…

Secondly, the brotherhood of the school is connected to the identity of the school itself. This can have consequences within the wider Pasifika community, in turn affecting the dynamics of the brotherhood:

Every other College doesn't like [our school] so we band together cos it's true, no-one likes [our school] so you might as well face it together so that strengthens the brotherhood.

Here, the perception is that the academic status of the school, potentially bound up for some Pasifika students with aspects of Whiteness as discussed above, is used by some to relationally distance this brotherhood from others. In the way that this intersects with ethnicity, this goes beyond interschool rivalry. Although there can appear to be good inter-brotherhood relationships at festivals and so on, there is also a sense in which acceptance within the group gains importance because of a lack of acceptance of the group. However, although the brotherhood offers physical, social and spiritual support, its potential to support individual goals of members is not always fulfilled, an issue to be demonstrated in 8.4.2. As might be expected of any group, a number of ways of expressing support and solidarity can co-exist and varied experiences, including those of education, can lead to different definitions of success. Conflict is experienced if one form of success compromises another. In addition, where one type of success seems unattainable, another

may be substituted. Minoritisation and competition are processes which lead to a sense that some forms of success are beyond reach, making substitution a logical corollary.

8.4.2 The brotherhood and competing forms of success

A number of situations exist where success as acceptance by the brotherhood collides with another aspect of Pasifika success. The areas of gender and a-typical ambition can be given as examples of these. The contours of the brotherhood can be seen by reference to non-brotherhood relations such those which include gender. A consideration of a-typical ambition is an opportunity to see how ideological conflict illuminates the brotherhood's internal features.

As its name implies, the brotherhood is a male construct. Relational success with females can be a threat to its male solidarity. Student respondents discussed gender at the start of the year in theoretical terms and suggested that if the school were mixed there would be an erosion of the function of the brotherhood to avoid Pasifika students being alone:

[I]t would be partners, partners, partners, one left out…

That is, male-male relationships are seen to encourage forms of solidarity within a single-gender gerontocracy which would be threatened by the presence of cross-gender relationships. In other words, if membership of a gendered in-school pair represents a form of success, this might negatively affect success as brotherhood acceptance. Later in the year, however, the issue became more concrete. Brotherhood solidarity was tested by the effect of a relationship between one Y9 Pasifika student and a female student from another school.

S1: [Student X] is the worst. If he sees a girl [from a nearby College], he will pull his shirt out and pull his socks down...

S2: Your friend would like dog you just to act cool in front of her

S3: But that's not being a true brother…

To *'dog'* a friend is to ignore someone in a way which puts them down. In this case, the creation of a situation where the brotherhood is unacknowledged puts the success of a male-female liaison into conflict with success as brotherhood acceptance. The assertion regarding what makes a '*true brother'* suggests clarity regarding both the obligations of membership and the way the behaviour described violates these. Attempting to gain success in one relationship can operate by trampling on another so that a brother is not being *'true'*, but flying in the face of expectation. Thus, the brotherhood is reinforced to the extent that its members behave in true ways which, while defined, can be breached. As will be seen below, other non-gendered contextual conflicts exist which test the strength of brotherhood relationality against other relationships.

A second area where other forms of success may negatively intersect with acceptance by the brotherhood is that of ambition. Some student respondents claimed early in the research year that:

S1: ...there's other PI boys that don't know each other but if we come together

S2: We are one pack

S1: Yeah if we are one pack then we can work out something

S2: We can do anything we have all wished for...

This suggests an ideal for the brotherhood; mutual support and limitless ambition. Later, other students cast a different light on the way ambition sits within the group.

Some want to be builders, pilots, but then the negatives- you say that in front of all your boys and 'Pilot, you can't be a pilot'…

This claim is mirrored by a number of incidents observed during the research year. The most clear-cut took place on the induction day which produced the video mihi discussed in Chapter Six. During the day an academically successful senior Pasifika student was given the opportunity to take some junior students to spend some free moments in the school library which was adjacent. This was declined with the comment, '*These are PI boys, they won't want to be reading. They won't want to be in the library.*' This constructs limitations of being Pasifika contradictory to the speakers own academic pathway, and also runs against a number of video mihi where students were depicted both in the library and reading. The kind of doublethink demonstrated here suggests a complex relationship between two realities – one which is experienced as possible and one which seems to be a limiting default portrayal or expectation.

Conflict of this nature between forms of success suggests that in practice an understanding of what it is to be Pasifika limits the scope of ambition or activity acceptable to the brotherhood. Instead of limitlessness, conceptual categories of Pasifika-ness exist which operate to restrict choice and ambition which echo the kinds of categories suggested by CRT writers for blackness (e.g., Ladson-Billings, 1998). In one case, the desire to be accepted by the group silences individual ambition. In the other, opportunities are denied through group-imposed definition. The existence of the ideal discussed above suggests that self-limitation is not an inevitable function of a brotherhood, but is contextual and learned. As will be discussed later, schools can reify low expectations through their practices or can act deliberately to avoid replicating stereotypes and categories of being Pasifika in their fabric and behaviour. Research suggests that the former is often the case (e.g. Nakhid, 2003). The latter option is that which leads to the equity and excellence education in Aotearoa New Zealand espouses (Education Review Office 2016a).

The areas of individual ambition and group relationality also come into conflict as forms of success in classrooms, played out through spatial relations of proximity and distance. Inevitably, not every Pasifika boy is focussed all the time on classroom activity. Instead, '*some of the boys are like attention seekers*'. Sitting in class with members of the brotherhood can be helpful '*but at other times it's quite distracting*'. One student explained:

Some guys show off to fit in. It's not what they want to be, it's what the boys want them to be, it's like looking in the mirror but it's like looking at the wrong person.

This perceptive comment suggests that for some Pasifika students, classroom activities host a conflict between the goal of participating in education and the desire to be seen as belonging to the brotherhood. What one wishes to be can conflict with what others seem to wish. In these circumstances, reinforcing a sense of brotherhood membership can affect the way a student positions himself with regard to classroom activities. The metaphor of *'looking in a mirror'* indicates the relational aspect of this behaviour - it is done for another, and shaped to their expectations. It may seem to be true to the brothers, but may not be true to oneself. Such behaviour can be understood either as a self-imposed limitation or a response to pre-constructed choice. This situation also illustrates that within the brotherhood, smaller peer groups can develop with potential to undermine the goal of gaining a good education held by others, while in response other groups are able to cast a critical eye over their peers. Thus, the brotherhood has solidarity, but this can be contextual and strained at times.

Pasifika students can behave in agentic ways when faced with conflicts between forms of success. While in some circumstances, teachers move students to promote classroom control by spatially disrupting brotherhood (or other) social groups, in others some Pasifika students claim to take control by attempting to sit with students who they see as sharing recognisably similar academic goals. In selecting a work-mate, shared Pasifika ethnicity can be a bonus but is not always crucial. Another spatial way of mediating conflicts of this nature is to remain seated with the '*boys*', but to mentally occupy a different space. This approach was explained by a senior student during a member-check session. In his account, he fulfilled his obligation of solidarity to the members of the brotherhood in the classroom by sitting with them. Moving his body would have compromised this, possibly being seen as dogging. However, as his academic goal was impossible to achieve without a high level of classroom engagement, he *'moved my mind'* to the front of the room – to the space occupied by his teacher. This highly developed strategy may take time to formulate; it was not present in the accounts of Y9 students frustrated with some of their Pasifika colleagues. How to be a *'true brother'* in the

face of conflicts between various forms of success may still be a matter to be strategised by them.

8.4.3 Acceptance in wider contexts

Pasifika students in the study did not limit their discussion of success as acceptance to the brotherhood, although this formed the main focus of their thinking about this need. Acceptance and belonging can also be seen in intercultural situations. In the data this most frequently involves teachers, but can also involve other students. The need for acceptance is also not limited to secondary education, but became a subject for discussion across educational sectors. One student's emotional account of intermediate school is pertinent in showing the impact that a teacher can have when they foster a sense of belonging in students.

I was always a bad boy. But then Miss [X]. Yeah she was real kind…I never had…kind of like…She respected me. And it felt cool…cool to be accepted for who I am.

This story links respect and acceptance through the emotion of feeling '*cool*' and describes a major turning point in a boy's education. The research conversation continued thus:

R: I asked you about success and you are talking about all these boys [in the brotherhood]. What's the connection?

S: They accept me like Ms [X] which is pretty cool.

This comparison between Pasifika students and a Palangi teacher makes explicit the importance of acceptance as a kind of success rather than as a relational category belonging to the brotherhood. It suggests that it is acceptance, not merely the presence of other Pasifika boys, which is the key. Since Palangi teachers are also able to create belonging by displaying acceptance like the brotherhood, the brotherhood becomes significant for its willingness to accept students, not just its ability to do so. That is, acceptance is not its sole prerogative. Section 8.6.1 discusses the effect of *'kind'* teachers in producing comfort. However, much data which is relevant there is also apposite here.

For instance, Pasifika students describe the potential for teachers to '*welcome*' them, to demonstrate this by smiling, other body language and so on. Students even described teachers who '*have my back'* transferring the lexicon of the brotherhood to Palangi staff. It is the satisfaction of the desire to experience acceptance which produces comfort. There may be an intensity of connection encoded in relational language which favours Pasifika-Pasifika relatedness, but others can emulate this. While the above story points to being accepted as a form of success which feels cool, when this takes place in the context of a relationship which is dedicated to promoting learning, acceptance can lead to a re-orientation of a student towards a personal goal of a good education through a relational resource.

The Pasifika cultural performance group or Poly Club is another arena where acceptance emerged in conversations with Y9 Pasifika students. The value of Poly Club was said by one to include both contextual and general skills. When students were asked about the value of the club, three responded as follows:

S1: Everyone's PI.

S2: And because it helps you with ah…it helps you learn more different language.

S1: And also like building...

S2: ...confidence...when you are on stage...

S3: ...and also even confidence in like just speaking to people not having like, maybe new people, you could be really nervous but they are teaching us not to … to do the opposite... to be confident...yeah.

In this account, a Pasifika setting helps develop specific Pacific language skills but can also support a general ability to be confident as a member of a group. The word '*they*' refers to senior students who act as tutors, are responsible for the group and are cited as teaching in this cultural space. The club is thus a context where acceptance through group

membership can lead to the fulfilment of wide educational aims. At the same time, the Poly Club is not exclusive. In the past, European-origin students have been dancers - even soloists - and drummers, and overseas exchange students have been members. Some respondents claimed that if European-origin students come to the club,

S1: It won't change anything.

S2: I am pretty sure all of us will like … we don't make them feel like they have to be there... we just treat them like how we treat each, everyone.

That is, if non-Pasifika students wish to belong, there is an obligation of acceptance understood by these members of the group. This again foregrounds acceptance as an intercultural possibility. While there may be some idealism in these accounts of Poly Club, acceptance is clearly understood as an ethically- not ethnically-bound category. A similar story surrounds one of the faith-based groups at the school. This is described as being brotherhood-focussed by one student, although this is seen as a weakness.

I think we've gotta change it by bringing more people in cos when I went there yesterday, there was like 30 odd people but only one of them was like white, we have got to start opening it up to everybody.

Just as Palangi teachers can fulfil the Pasifika goal of being accepted, Pasifika students feel the imperative to offer acceptance to Palangi (and others) who willingly enter their cultural spaces.

Y9 Pasifika students' desire for contact with boys from diverse cultural backgrounds discussed in sections 8.3.2 and 8.3.3 can also be seen in a developed form in the words of senior students. One explained:

S: Over the last couple of years I have made brotherhoods with guys that you wouldn't expect like a couple of Palangi guys… that I share with the PI guys, the brotherhood, that enjoyment. I guess I made different friends being PI when I was acting PI but I made

friends that are white when I was sort of ... my confidence grew like me, like answering questions…

R: Acting PI, what does that mean?

S: Joking around, I guess the way you talk to Palangis and the way you talk to [Pacific Islanders] the same, I can joke around and mock around with PIs and then Palangis you can talk about different things like sort of talk to them differently.

While in this example the language of fictive kin is transferred to students outside the Pasifika brotherhood, this is conditional and said to have occurred after the student has gained the confidence to participate in education. In other words, connections have formed once the Pasifika student has gained the skills and presence of mind to 'speak' the Palangi language of education. This reiterates the idea from 8.3.2 that Pasifika students see value in intercultural interaction, but perceive the basis, intensity and language required as different when dealing with Pasifika brothers as opposed to white students who could be brothers. Just as teachers and 'visitors' to Poly Club can be involved in acceptance, so can the general population of the school. However, there is learning involved in crossing the cultural line in order to form '*brotherhoods with guys you wouldn't expect*'. In Poly Club, this learning is by non-Pasifika students who need to adopt the ways of the club. Similarly, teachers need to have or learn the language of acceptance recognised by Pasifika students in order to intensify the student-teacher relationality. Here it is Pasifika students who need to learn to edgewalk.

8.4.4 Theme summary

Being accepted is a kind of success for Pasifika boys in this study. It is an element in promoting a positive relational dynamic of communal well-being in physical, social and spiritual ways. As minority students subject to the forces of minoritisation, the Pasifika brotherhood provides Y9 Pasifika students with a relational resource. Although acceptance into the brotherhood may have its challenges and its points of fragility, it provides a valuable sense of belonging. This exists through relational expectations which are both understood and generally exercised across age-group boundaries. Relational comparisons

can be made between acceptance by non-Pasifika people and acceptance by the brotherhood. This includes Palangi teachers. Comparison is viable not because the context or the behaviour which implies acceptance is the same, but because of a similar level of relational commitment. The data suggests that where a relational language of commitment and obligation is understood and practiced, acceptance leading to belonging can be fostered as a form of Pasifika success.

8.5 Success as Participation

Since the joint construction of knowledge requires active relational partners, education is understood in this thesis as an activity where participation is essential. There is little point in being in a location of good education without taking part in the educational processes available. Although it does not necessarily ensure that everyone will participate, being accepted is an important foundation for participation in a good education since it creates belonging and an expectation of participation. The data of this study suggests that participation is seen by both Pasifika students and Pasifika parents as a goal, an activity which is valued in itself, as well as being a step on the way to educational success as achievement. Although the literature portrays Pasifika student participation in education in Aotearoa New Zealand as problematic, Pasifika students in this study display ideas regarding participation in education, and strategies for executing these. However, while acceptance and belonging promote participation, a lack of acceptance and a sense of alienation are likely to make participation more difficult and less frequent. Under these conditions the potential of individuals can be stifled and education may fail as an additive process. The subtraction of potential from students takes place where participation in education does not occur. In a school, as in any other institution, there are many geographic, social and cultural spaces. Therefore, it is possible to participate in one space and to withhold participation in another, perhaps in line with the strength of belonging felt in different contexts. This points to the significance of the contours of particular spaces within education as heuristically either positive or negative, and to the idea that participation is not solely an individual matter.

Participation can be enacted in a number of ways. Two main forms emerge in this study; participation as 'trying my best' and as 'communication'. Participation as trying my

best, where a student makes a deliberate effort to maximise learning, can seem a matter of personal commitment by the student to their education. It can also be understood as relationally constructed because it involves others. For instance, teachers set work, give students feedback and receive them into educational spaces. These activities are conducted through relational and/or verbal languages. Participation as communication involves a more obvious relational component since as Bakhtin (1981) makes clear, all utterance is dialogical. This form of participatory success involves Pasifika students communicating constructively during educational processes. In both forms of participation, the data depicts Pasifika students experiencing participation at an emotional level, conditioned by personal as well as highly contextual environmental parameters. In education, environmental issues and relational interactions can both encourage and discourage participation. Thus, although this study has a strengths-based focus, some data deals with non-participation.

8.5.1 Participation as 'trying my best'

One way that Pasifika students express success as participation in this study is as trying my best. This phrase, which occurred multiple times in the interview and talanoa data, can be seen as a platitude. However, it can also be read as a statement of Pasifika students' intentions to bring themselves to school with a mind-set to participate in order to access a good education. Success can be constructed in relation to participation in a number of ways. It can be focussed on the process of learning or on the measured product of learning - achievement. These foci do not always align; the relative significance and satisfaction attached to each can vary by value system. A number of relational configurations between success as participation in process and its measurement as product can be seen in the data. These include investment in self-generated processual success criteria, a belief that overconcentration on product can suppress participation, and student use of assessment as a tool to self-monitor and thus motivate participation. Despite the width in these relational constructions, emotionality is present as an overarching factor in success as trying my best.

During interviews, the relationship between externally imposed success frameworks and those generated by students was discussed by Pasifika participants in

relation to their goals for their year. One understanding of this relationship places priority on processual effort. For example:

S1: [I want to know that] I was successful, that I didn't get bad grades or anything. I tried my best.

S2: Yeah, tried my best.

S1: And knowing that I tried my best. I wanna know that I tried my best …I guess if you…if you have bad grades, but you tried your best…that's fine because you tried your best…and if you can't reach good grades…at least you like tried.

Here, the results of assessment are important to students, but at least as important is trying, an effort-focussed aspect of schoolwork. These comments reveal student understanding of a conflict in values system. Grades are a measuring tool in a competitive framework which is structured for students either in relation to other learners or to time. Trying, however, is self-referenced and self-measured. It is focussed on participation despite outcome. In this example the assurance of self-judgement is sought as a primary source of emotional satisfaction and motivation, although of course the avoidance of *'bad grades'* is also valued.

Another student extended the discussion about relationships between assessment and participation by reflecting on the potential of '*marks*' to act as a barrier to learning. In this view, it is not merely a theoretical conflict which exists between valuing effort or achievement. The conflict can have emotional and educational consequences.

R: Are you worried about marks?

S: Not now, not so far…I don't want my worries to get in front of me. I just want to do my best, cos people are really worried about what they will get but when they are worrying they don't really concentrate on what they are meant to be doing, again cos they are worried about what marks they are going to get.

This suggests that while an effort to do your best is success, being over-concerned about *'marks'* can be a barrier to this. In a sophisticated way this separates participating, what *'you are meant to be doing'*, from achievement, what you *'are going to get.'* To this Pasifika student, marks are not a synonym for learning; focussing on product rather than process is potentially detrimental to education and well-being. Reference to worry, emphasised through repetition, again draws attention to the emotional impact of education, casting operating to one's own success criteria as a strategy of emotional resilience. Consequently, a discursive reduction of education to an instrumental process may produce a partial account that ignores the emotional exposure experienced by Pasifika students.

A third view of the relationship between success as participation and as achievement sees grades as a useful tool for self-monitoring and motivation. One Pasifika student explained of grades:

I guess they are pretty important cos at primary and intermediate I was academically pretty good, then I wanna keep going as far as, as high as possible.

The idea of trying my best is present in this student's aims, closely tied to success as achievement. For him, assessment seems to produce helpful indicators of success which allow him to self-monitor. Through this mechanism, grade-based achievement can confirm the effectiveness of participation and offer an external reference point to motivate further trying. Thus, where success as achievement is present, emotional reassurance can lead to steps likely to provide further participation, itself a potential means of gaining achievement.

In other cases, trying one's best is not a positive emotional experience. One student explained a situation where he had made an effort but, presumably inadvertently, this had resulted in shame when his lack of correctness was publically used to teach others:

I think everyone is looking down on me...I guess when they use you as an example [it] deters you from trying, from answering again like, just afraid of that mistake, of that same feeling, that…it feels really bad because you know you are actually trying to, it's your best and your best isn't good enough.

Here, exasperation arises because success as participation, where the student has given his '*best'*, is unrecognised and is coupled with his failure being made visible. In the student's view, trying has led to exposure and humiliation in a way which deters future participation. Presumably the teacher imagined that the value of learning from error would out-weigh any public discomfort, perhaps based on experience with other students. If this reading of the teacher is accurate, classrooms may be more emotional spaces for some students, including Pasifika students, than their teachers might recognise. However, it is important to note that correction itself is not the issue here. Indeed, Pasifika students in the study generally claimed to welcome feedback and correction, understanding its use.

Feedback can provide a bridge between success as effort and as achievement, focussing future participation on areas that can lead to the most significant learning. Significantly, Pasifika participants reported that the manner and environment of feedback can be as important as the quality of the feedback itself. One student talanoa group discussed the things which motivate them to participate:

S1: [G]etting good comments from the teacher at the end of the day or what are we doing wrong, where we make a mistake so...

S2: Learning from our mistakes that we have made...

S3: [So we will be] pushing ourselves.

Tellingly, when ask what good feedback is, one student replied:

Respectful, polite.

This understanding reinforces the story of humiliation above, since to humiliate is to disrespect. While there may be an assumption that a teacher's feedback will be constructive because of their expertise, it is the manner and context of the way feedback is communicated which can link it to success as participation and to further trying or withdrawal. The idea of respect - which involves relational issues of 'how' rather than

'what' - can also be seen in data discussed in this thesis in relation to acceptance in 8.4.3 and kind teachers in 8.6.1. For instance, teachers who offer one-to-one environments can give feedback in ways which avoid situations where '*everyone is looking down*' on a student. Similarly, general physical proximity which can involve moments when '*they [teachers] come up to you instead of you holding it*' is a favoured aspect of some teachers' practice. These factors convey respect through privacy in the minds of Pasifika students. The reverse is true: participation can be suppressed by expansive public environments and loud voices which publicise teacher feedback as seen above. In a manner which mirrors the configuration of the relationships between processual participation and success measured by achievement, feedback and the motivation to participate are linked in complex ways which have relational and environmental characteristics. The possibility of culturally-framed shame (Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009a) articulates with participation as trying my best. Trying reveals oneself and increases the possibility of error. Shame involves the negative judgements of others, more hurtful when one has tried, and more likely when one has erred. The desire for acceptance adds weight to the experience of shame. This may be further complicated for students who are aware of being minoritised and in a minority, resulting in a sense of additional scrutiny in classrooms and awareness of expectations of failure. In situations where social knowledge construction is the objective, it appears that Pasifika students are concerned not only to try their best, but also for a safe environment in which to do this.

Because educational processes are punctuated with emotion, self-referenced trying my best as a form of participatory success may sometimes be a logical self-protective, self-nurturing strategy. It can be seen as an avoidance of some of the direct relationalities present in education such as the judgement of teachers or emotional investment in feedback which turns out to be unwelcome because of tone or environment. In Pasifika education in general, success as achievement has not historically been present; awareness may provide a means to change. If participation is blocked by the fear of grade-defined failure, over-emphasis on success as achievement may reduce success as participation. A strategy of self-referenced success is not, however, simple. Otunuku and Brown (2007) found that teachers can feel they are being helpful to students by building self esteem through positive comments, while concealing a lack of progress when compared to other students. They suggest that the contentment of students in the face of positivity can rob

them of the potential for agency to affect a change. Thus, participation in education which is unreferenced to some kind of appropriate normative expectation can been detrimental. Students in this study welcome the external reference of feedback when it is '*respectful*', that is, couched through caring and given in privacy. They also welcome interactions with teachers by whom they feel accepted, suggesting that avoidance of direct relationalities is not a universal Pasifika trait, but governed by context. However, some contexts and some environments do make self-protection to the point of withdrawal logical. The stories in this section taken together suggest that a balance between forms of success may be helpful to students if useful external references for progress and guidance are given in ways which acknowledge the level of emotionality present in Pasifika education.

8.5.2 Participation as communication

One reason that participation is important in education is because it promotes dialogic communication between partners. A constructivist view of learning sees the dialogue between teacher and student as having significant potential for learning. Although dialogue need not be face-to-face, this is valued in Pacific life as discussed in Chapter Four and also in the traditions of Western education. Any number of classroom practices and contexts could be used to stage a discussion of success as communication. However, an area which acted as a focus for success as communication in this research concerns the classroom ritual of 'putting up hands'. This generally involves a teacher either asking a question or asking for questions, and students putting up their hand as a sign they wish to respond in public. The often unstated theory behind this is that teachers can assess the level of understanding in a class by the kind of responses that arise, and that educational communication as dialogue is created by the flow of information back and forth between teacher and students. In addition, teachers may see the ritual as a way of generating 'fairness' through control by preventing one or two students from dominating classroom talk, an act designed to promote wide participation.

In this section the views of parents of Pasifika Y9 boys obtained through talanoa will be presented prior to student voice. This is because the ability of parents to compare their sons' communicative behaviour across a number of contexts provides a way of contextualising a specific focus on classrooms. Classroom communication will then be

explored further through Pasifika students' understandings. This two-part discussion presents views from more than one generation on the place of communication as success. In addition, conflicting accounts of the origin of silence in the classroom emerge through the understandings of parents, students and teachers. Because the way a situation is understood can dictate one's next move, this discussion offers opportunities for teasing out the complexities of environments which encourage or discourage particular forms of educational communication.

Pasifika parents who contributed to the main parents' talanoa clearly valued participation in education through classroom communication because of its potential for learning. Their understanding of the dialogic value of talking with teachers became clear and aligned with the value they understood their sons' teachers placed on this. However, the talanoa session took place directly after a parent-teacher meeting in which many parents had been told their sons were not communicating to the level their teachers desired. As a result, quietness rather than active communication became a topic of talanoa. Some parents had clearly received similar messages about their 'quiet' sons from members of the education system in previous encounters. More than one indicated home-based strategies in place to encourage communication in classroom rituals. For example, one said:

[W]e are teaching him, you have to put your hand up, you can't just sit there. You are not going to learn, you are not going to find out the answer if you are just going to sit there.

Here, participation as communication is seen as crucial to the extent that parents state a responsibility for reinforcing the message that dialogue is a way to learn. Although teachers and parents may place a similar value on communication, how a lack of communication is understood can vary. According to Pasifika parents, teachers see the level of participation as a consequence of an individual's personality. They reported teachers at the parent-teacher meetings as using the word 'shy' as an explanation. Being quiet for this reason is an individual trait, to do with personality and/or lack of self-confidence. Shyness, the explanation given by teachers for quietness, is a constant state which travels with the person. Some parents did not recognise this explanation as reflecting their sons accurately, proposing environmental explanations:

[I]n an environment with their friends that don't talk either, they do talk because they are all friends and we have all seen our boys together, put them in a comfortable environment...you can't stop them.

A similar environmental account of quietness is present in the following description which compares participating in sporting contexts to the classroom:

Get them out on the sports field and you know they just...go hard. They don't hold back. But in the classroom environment, mouths shut...

Some families did recognise their sons as generally quiet. However, several parents saw their son's quietness as a consequence of the relationship between him and particular environments. An environment can include social factors which may be culture-specific, and physical factors. As discussed in section 8.4.3, in Pasifika education classrooms can be emotionally-charged environments especially if students make demands on themselves to try their best.

Parents reported being spurred to give advice to their sons to increase participation through communication because they recognised their children's behaviour in their themselves when they were students. As a group, parents described their own schooling as a time where quiet behaviour was exhibited, and where Pasifika students who communicated with ease in school-based formal learning environments were the exception not the rule. For some Pasifika parents an intergeneration explanation of quietness revolves around cultural considerations. One parent commented:

It's part of our make-up, you know to be humble and stuff...

Culture is an environmental factor because it forms the background against which behaviour can be seen as appropriate or inappropriate. Individuals may behave as they wish, but culture represents a socially validated framework for contextual judgement of conduct. Being humble is significant in a student's quietness if answering or asking questions feels like pushing oneself forward. It explains why it might be so hard to

participate in certain school-validated ways if these are felt by students to contradict home-validated behaviours.

The logic of a cultural approach to being quiet can challenge the pathologising of quietness in ritual situations such as 'hands-up'. One parent explicitly confronted this paradigm and located the problematisation of quietness in teacher practice:

I said [at the parent-teacher interview to the teacher], 'Why can't they be quiet and learn and if you think they are not learning, is there another way we can teach them?' Because if talking in class isn't working, what else?

This approach separates quietness from learning. It also distances learning from the specific pedagogical activity of whole-class talk by asking for alternatives more capable of promoting communication. The effect is to place responsibility on the teacher to seek the information they need for an educational dialogue through rituals other than hands-up while maintaining a focus on the relational nature of dialogic learning.

Like their parents, Pasifika student who contributed to the study also expressed understanding of the importance of communication as a form of participation in education, explaining the value of question and answer rituals in the classroom as tools to interrogate understanding and to assist learning. This can be student instigated:

I like different ways of working…Asking questions and getting taught until I learn, and then I get the hang of it and its all good…

or teacher initiated:

[T]he best feeling is when the teacher asks you a question and you know the answer to it, you feel like you are actually learning.

In the data, most reports of the way questions commonly operate in the classroom do not involve teachers inviting questions. More commonly students describe moments where

questions are asked by teachers. The general sense of the dialogue between teacher and student that emerges is one where teachers control the situation. However, question and answer rituals can be complicated by roles other than dialogic learning being ascribed to questioning. In some student reports, question and answer rituals can operate for disciplinary reasons such as to publically expose students' inattention:

S1: While you are sitting there and other people have their hands up and they pick you - kind of like everyone puts their hands up…

S2: They probably want to know who is listening and who is not …so they pick someone who is not putting their hand up…

According to some students, this can be humiliating even when deserved. Question and answer sessions are also described as a difficult competition for teacher attention where '*pushing forward*' to gain attention feels awkward in ways which resonate with the parental observations regarding humility cited above. As a consequence of the plural motivations teachers are understood to hold for questioning, the potential of questioning as an investigative and learning strategy may be devalued. While this affects all students, it is particularly significant for Pasifika students who are already seen as quiet both in this study and in the literature (e.g., Curtis, Townsend, & Airini, 2012; Goldson & Fletcher, 2004; Spiller, 2012; Tuafuti, 2010) and for whom specific cultural factors may be in play. Perhaps there is more of an emotional minefield about the ritual of hands-up than many teachers might recognise, and which some parents may have forgotten.

Fear and embarrassment are examples of the emotions involved in public question and answer rituals. These can come from both asking and answering questions in a public forum. The following section of an interview features two students whom the school recognises as academically successful discussing the experience of asking questions.

S1: I am scared sometimes to ask questions because I don't want to get it wrong.

S2: I would be embarrassed if I got it wrong. Cos other people might not know it but then again you don't want to be embarrassed [if you get it wrong].

Another account of this situation adds the fear and experience of racism to the classroom environment to produce Pasifika silence. Asking a question might be possible...

...if your brothers are around but the white guys, if you get the answer wrong they stare…laugh at you…make fun of you...

Although accounts of direct racism are rare in the data, the fear of racial judgement may extend beyond the limits of concrete experience or reflect the cumulative effect of microaggressions (Sue, Capodilupo, Nadal, & Torino, 2008; Sue et al., 2007). This is especially true where students understand question and answer rituals as existing in a right/wrong paradigm which belies the investigative/developmental paradigm imagined by some Pasifika parents and, in parental accounts, by teachers. In this circumstance, to be wrong is not a benefit but a risk and, where it confirms a lack of learning, can lead to humiliation. That a right/wrong paradigm is in effect is clear where a student voiced the benefits of other paradigms as an alternative. For example:

[P]eople [teachers] who say 'There's no wrong answer' are like that [good].

This trait of a *'kind'* teacher which links success as acceptance to the environmental aspect of trying my best and to success as communication will be further discussed in section 8.6.1.

A third account of question and answer rituals suggests that the state of teacher-student relationality is also relevant. In some circumstances, being asked a question can be understood by a student as an expression of a teacher's dislike:

Some teachers just chose me to answer questions. When they like me I think. Not.

In this case, the emotional content of the situation may eclipse curriculum content. Where questions are used for disciplinary purposes the emotion of embarrassment can combine with a negative assessment of teacher-student relations to produce discomfort:

It's like when they pick you when you are not putting your hand up, they know you weren't listening, I'm not sure if it is good or bad…it's like they purposely embarrassed you, like they chose you.

When being asked a question is read in this way, the emotion involved can create a sense that intentional relational damage has been done. What may have seemed to a teacher as discipline can be experienced as punishment. This may have the potential to colour future interaction. While some may justify teacher action of this nature as a form of discipline intended to focus learning, the effect it may have on a willingness to engage in question/answer rituals and on the clarity of the relationship between questions and learning can be negative. When emotional uncertainty is added to general fears of being wrong, being in a minority, the threat of racist peer judgement and a cultural background of being quiet in certain contexts, a complex picture emerges of the strength needed to succeed as a participant in this context for Pasifika students. In some circumstances, being quiet may seem a logical course to take despite the threat to learning.

8.5.3 Theme summary

This section has presented data regarding success as participation in two ways. First, success as 'trying my best' was portrayed as a potential self-referencing strategy whereby Pasifika students construct their own criteria and monitoring strategies for success. This can be seen as related to intrinsic motivation and/or as a resource for resilience. It was also described as a way of avoiding the comparative judgement of others if this is seen by a student to be prejudicial to future educational participation. However, if students are portrayed as successful by external factors such as grades, an incentive may be provided to continue to try. Conversely, sometimes external mechanisms designed to encourage learning can have the opposite effect. This can involve, for instance, feedback from a teacher. Where the environment for teacher feedback is affirming, further participation is supported. The opposite is also true; shame promotes withdrawal. Thus,

complexity surrounds the issue of which students try their best, why they do it, and under what circumstances. A common factor in most of the relevant data is a relationally governed emotionality which intersects with students' strategies and motivations.

The second way data regarding participation was presented was in terms of success as communication. This was structured as a case study of the common classroom ritual of putting up hands, significant for: its ubiquity in practice in that many parents described teachers' reactions to their sons non-participation in the practice; the way it intersects with the literature which describes quietness in Pasifika education; and for its position in a dialogical methodology, the first step of which was teachers describing Pasifika students as quiet by reference to this ritual. A complex picture of success as communication emerges from the data. Various explanations can be attached to the way quietness in Pasifika education can result from the ritual of raising one's hand. As one parent noted, quietness in public forums need not be an issue since the structure of interaction in the classroom can change. However, if teacher judgements regarding student ability are made on the basis of the level of participation in public rituals such as this, and if public communication is used by teachers as an indicator of engagement, then the various readings of being quiet become significant. The literature suggests that many teachers have historically had low expectations of Pasifika students. This may be one of the mechanisms at work in this phenomenon.

In both forms of participatory success, emotionality emerges as a key feature for Pasifika students, as do environmental and relational factors. The next section looks at these areas in more detail through an examination of teacher-student relations, the way teachers can be seen as kind/harsh, and the consequential environmental comfort/discomfort Pasifika students report as a result.

8.6 Success as Comfort

As discussed in Chapter Five, the literature places emphasis on the quality of the relationship between teacher and student as a crucial in-school factor in Pasifika success as educational achievement. In this study every student was able to contribute to a heuristic division of teachers into what became known as '*kind*' and '*harsh*' teachers. Assignment to

one category of the other is judged on behaviour. A correspondence emerged between teacher behaviour, the environment to which this contributes, the consequent comfort level of student, and success as participation. Student stories suggest that this is consistent across experiences of primary and secondary education. Just as with questioning rituals discussed in 8.5.2, many student accounts of in-class relationships display an emotional landscape. As well as forming the ground for either security and trust or insecurity and mistrust, this landscape can be mapped against pedagogy and opportunities for learning. While the literature may sometimes make a division between teacher personality and pedagogical skill, students in this study talk about these factors as one since both contribute to comfort. An effective teacher needs to be kind and able to teach. One is not a substitute for the other.

8.6.1 Kindness/comfort

Pasifika students claim that being comfortable in class is associated with working with a teacher who is '*kind*'. In this, demeanour is significant. Teachers who '*smile*' create comfort as do those who are '*gentle*', '*friendly*', '*always helpful*' and '*not harsh*'. This lexicon sits behind generic descriptions of '*nice*' and '*kind*' and '*good*' teachers frequent in the data. A typical kind teacher can be described as follows:

Never gets angry and that. He's always positive and that. Like never negative. Always smiling. Laughing…

Another marker of a kindness is that a student feels a teacher is '*paying respect*' to them. Respect and demeanour are linked. One student explained what he wanted from teachers:

Respect. Be polite and that's it…[be] polite and friendly.

Politeness conveys respect because it acknowledges the feelings of the student, a relationship which can be mutual. Friendliness is politeness revealed in demeanour. The result of the type of treatment which conveys respect is as follows:

[E]verything [the teacher] does with you feels all good with you.

This expression of comfort indicates that students are concerned with how they feel as a result of interactions with teachers. What creates comfort in the classroom is teacher behaviour. A student faces this in the classroom, not a teacher's personality - although the two may be linked. When considering relational language, this distinction is important; personality is slow or impossible to change but language and behaviour can quickly be learned.

Some *'kind'* teachers promote comfort by accepting Pasifika students for who they wish to be. Comfort, belonging and respect are linked because students want to '*feel welcome'* in class as much as they do in the school as a whole, an idea which reinforces links between acceptance, belonging and relational language discussed in 8.4.3. This is explicit in the account of an intermediate school teacher who helped a student feel *'cool to be accepted for who I am'* given in that section. Students also described teachers who *'had my back'*, or gave unconditional support. Although this language also describes brotherhood acceptance, student-teacher relationships maintain their hierarchical structure. That is, such teachers do not abrogate their role as teachers, but create comfort and make learning more likely through their willingness to accept a student. That personal commitment from a teacher is not separated by students from a teacher's commitment to their learning is made clear in a student's reflection on a primary school teacher:

She never gave up on us, like when it came to learning…even though we would fail on a couple of steps, like maybe maths or reading, she would keep pushing us to progress...

Similar accounts emerged of interactions between teachers and students in secondary education. One story involved a teacher who, according to the student, had seen his potential. This was despite the quiet and defensive posture he had initially adopted in class. The teacher reached out to the student verbally, accepting his quietness but still expressing confidence in the student's capability to move forwards:

You have got to trust your teacher sometimes cos they would know what you are good at in the subject. There are some teachers [you] trust more than others. I trust my [subject] teacher because he sees potential in me…

Just as with the term '*kind*', trust gives an indication of the relational significance of teaching and learning to Pasifika students. Comfort requires trust because it involves the vulnerability of accepting the right of others to intervene, judge and so on. Student responses which discuss kindness and trust focus less on subject information, specific pedagogic activities or learning strategies and more on how relationships make them feel, and often on the way that impacts on learning:

S1: [teachers you trust] are helping you so you feel more comfortable about what you are meant to do so that next time you are more confident and that you can really actually get into the work instead of like, doing a couple of sentences and then stopping.

S2: The ones I feel comfortable in are ones like [subject] and stuff because like I'm with people that I know and trust.

Mutuality and trust come together in the work of many *'kind'* teachers when they create situations where students can participate, showing that they trust a student to learn. This might be by asking questions about difficulties:

He is like really kind, he like asks us what makes us struggle....

or by setting high expectations:

[P]ushing me to do new things...

It could be by the way they frame questions:

[W]hen you feel like a teacher is asking you for the betterment of you…they go beyond what they are supposed to do. That makes me feel really good and makes me try harder…

Deliberate strategies to include students in their own learning can also convey mutuality:

They show you, they give you opportunities to speak, then it will be their turn to explain their thought on the thing that you are thinking and they will give you feedback and help you understand the subject more.

Teachers can also involve themselves in their students' learning to have a similar effect:

Before he asked us about what we ate he told us about him. Cool.

Frequency of contact can also be important in maintaining relationality:

R: So how does a teacher engage you?

S: You know by…interacting with us more often, like saying…what is this, what is that…and that…

Despite the different strategies involved in these examples, kind teachers ask, push, share, interact and give opportunities in ways which create space for students to participate and communicate. Feeling comfortable, Pasifika students seem to welcome these opportunities. The verbs students use to describe these events indicate the way the teacher is involving themselves with the student - as a facilitating partner. Intellectual challenge is supported by the comfort which comes from the qualities of this kind of interaction. The last three examples above draw attention to reciprocity as turn-taking, resonating with dialogue as a learning strategy as well as with respect, communication and participation as discussed in 8.5.1 and 8.5.2. This creates a supportive space for Pasifika-defined success as Pasifika.

Student affect towards a teacher's subject area can be stimulated through comfort and participation. This link is explicit in the data. For instance:

You could have a fun relaxed subject and I have a good teacher that really pulls me into the subject and then I would start liking it, and I could engage in it right throughout the whole year.

In this example, relaxation indicates comfort. The effect of the relationship between student and teacher is to '*pull*' the student, creating involvement. Comfort is linked to participation and engagement and affect is indicated where the student predicts that he will start liking the subject. This response is typical of a number of students who made similar associations between *'kind'* teachers and an enjoyable subject. Others include:

He gives everyone, he tells everyone what to do like good, know what I mean? Yeah and it helps instead of just pointing at a paper and telling them…

and:

He is good, he helps, he tells, he goes in depth about…cos we are doing [work] and he like tells us like what to do… and he goes deep down.

Comfort, pedagogy, and engagement are hand-in-hand where a student feels they are confident in knowing what to do, have a teacher whose activity creates this situation, and are consequently able to accept the educational challenges posed. The implied counter-experience of a teacher just pointing and telling reveals a dislike of the sort of teacher (in)activity which maintains relational distance and consequently does not produce the comfort of confidence or mutuality. The comfort of confidence is also available where a constructivist notion of education is explicit, creating an environment in which speculation rather than being correct is valued:

They encourage for you to ask them if you are unsure on anything. They encourage you to ask to get it, like, right. And people who say 'There's no wrong answer' are like that [good].

The visibility of this philosophy creates intellectual space for students to occupy actively with their teacher.

There can also be a physical spatial element to the way comfort is created by kind teachers. One student described his first primary school experiences as a distant affair and contrasted this with a later experience:

Instead of them [teachers] yelling from a far distance, they actually came up to you to see what was the matter, and that. And…like if they know something's wrong, they come up to you…

For this student, yelling is a negative trait, as is keeping one's distance. The reduction of space between student and teacher is welcomed where the teacher moves towards the student in their interest. As one student put it, a good learning relationship is enhanced when teachers…

…come up to you one-on-one and you don't do it in front of the class.

Closing of space is valued, perhaps because it removes other potentially discomforting relational complications which may exist in the classroom, or perhaps because it creates a specific space of mutual support. In either case there are links to ideas of visibility, shame and risk discussed in 8.5.1. which can all be theorised in a Pasifika setting through va.

8.6.2 Harshness/discomfort

Comfort is a feature of Pasifika students' descriptions of success. Kindness, respect, commitment, trust, reciprocity and closeness are elements of this. However, discomfort is also a feature of Pasifika students' educational experience. An account of this is important in a strengths- and success-focussed thesis. The impact of negative aspects of education on success provides a way to begin to construct strategies to challenge and overcome their impact. In addition, a discussion of discomfort can, by comparison, support an understanding of comfort. Pasifika students in this study describe feelings of discomfort due to general classroom environmental factors such as being in a minority.

I am pretty much the only brown boy in all my classes…I wasn't really sure if I could fit in or not.

They also attribute discomfort to interactions with *'harsh'* teachers. The negative mirror of a kind and respectful teacher is a harsh and disrespectful teacher. Some student participants in the research unpacked these frequently used general terms in some detail. Disproportionality in reaction is a key aspect of these understandings.

One aspect of a *'harsh'* teacher is anger. Anger as defined and experienced by respondents is often signalled by volume:

Like when they get really angry, they have a loud voice.

Loudness is affronting and public; the content of what is being said can become relatively unimportant compared to the tone and volume. One student explained the way that teacher behaviour of this nature feeds back into the whole environment and affects him.

I'm a good boy [in my class], they are bad boys. I take it with them. I take that shouting with them. It's like I just be there and be shouted at as well.

Here, the tone and volume of a harsh interaction produce discomfort that spreads well beyond the intended recipients of admonition. This should be unsurprising since Pasifika students value both belonging and acceptance. In this case, the consequence of belonging in the class is to share in a discomforting lack of acceptance from the teacher.

Further aspects of being harsh concern speed, proportionality and comportment. A student explained:

[Some teachers are] pretty rage - they just get mad pretty easy at a lot of people for doing like stuff, probably little things that are wrong.

Here, the student acknowledges guilt, that things go wrong, but has a sense of proportion which has been offended. He is concerned where anger emerges quickly or easily. Comportment is revealingly linked to engagement by another student. He described an unnamed teacher as:

[R]eally boring. It's not that the lessons are boring it's just that he never has a smile.

The ubiquitous negative adjective boring is used for a specific reason. In this account, an unwelcoming or unhappy comportment can be boringly disengaging. Although the student is able to separate the negative effect of comportment from the lessons that the teacher gives, the effects on some Pasifika students of what is perceived as teachers' negative body language may be that a good education becomes harder to gain.

According to the data, the cost to education of Pasifika students' discomfort can be both short and long term. Short term, students speak of paying attention to the effects of a relational disturbance and of losing the sense of what is being learned as a result. An emotional response eclipses a cognitive one. This phenomenon was recalled as a primary school experience:

[I]f they shout I don't like that, it sort of makes shock, and everything is like focussed on not talking. And your focus on doing work - it's like you are focussing on different things.

It was also cited as a feature of secondary school life:

I just don't like it when they get angry and all that. It makes me feel like pressured ... I lose concentration…I forget everything.

Shock and pressure indicate discomfort which diverts attention from the learning at hand. This illustrates how discomfort can lead to a lack of participation. Physical distance between student and teacher can compound this. In addition, such circumstances limit reciprocity and communication. In secondary education, these issues can become attached to particular subjects through relationships with teachers. This can be in the way the self is socially-constructed in relation to comfort:

It depends if you are comfortable to go forward in learning into that subject and you will be, 'Yeah I wanna do this' but if you don't got the support from your boys or your teacher,

that makes you think low of yourself, if teacher says I can't do it, I can't do it so I better just give up.

It can also be through enjoyment linked to the teacher:

So today I have already gone through the subjects I didn't really like, but the last two periods are like, mean…Well for me, its teachers... The ones that I enjoy I just try my best at it.

Disengaging from some subjects can be cumulative over time, resulting in a reduction of student choice over educational pathway. In this way, the cumulative effects of experience can become significant; short term-discomfort develops long-term consequences. Another long term issue arising from harshness is the cumulative effect of microaggressions. The "double-bind" (Sue et al., 2008, p. 278) nature of these, where victims can never be sure if they have actually taken place, was evident in student stories of incidents involving mundanities such as access to toilets in class time, admonition over the use of digital devices, comments on the appropriateness of clothes as uniform and general disciplinary issues. In such situations Pasifika students suspected race as a factor in their treatment, often in ways which both came from and fed into the prior state of specific student-teacher relationships. As a researcher I was asked more than once, '*Is this racist?'* and was unable to reply for more than ethical reasons. The literature suggests that the cumulative discomforting effect of microaggression erodes belonging and self-esteem by imposing a power to define a racialised reality which can never be fully challenged.

Comfort and discomfort are antonyms. While degrees of each may be experienced, for all student participants these two poles describe familiar feelings to which they ascribe importance. When referring to teacher behaviour, harshness and kindness also seem to be opposites. All students had experienced teacher behaviour at both poles. While research ethics demands avoidance of specific cases, the ability of students to clearly identify teacher behaviour that produces comfort and discomfort should not be doubted. Such clarity also applies to opinions of what makes for good learning, how this intersects with comfort and kindness, and situations in which Pasifika success as comfort is unavailable.

8.6.3 Comfort in the face of conflict

That students inevitably find themselves in conflict during their schooling is accepted by the Pasifika students who contributed to the study. They also recognise that their behaviour can be the cause of issues. In situations of conflict, student participants suggest that kindness can still be demonstrated and thus their comfort can be maintained. This is particularly significant since conflict can often damage relationships, but effective and equitable resolution of issues can deepen relatedness through the way care is expressed. Thus, conflict can paradoxically produce closeness and trust if resolution is achieved in ways which display respect.

'*Strictness*' is a concept which can be used to focus comments from students which discuss the way conflict, school discipline and comfort come together from time to time. One teacher recalled by a student was valued for her way of managing issues:

If we did do mistakes she would give us the consequences but in a kind way…

Advice directed to teachers by Pasifika students in this area includes:

Be more nice…less strict…helping you out more…be more friendly, like no shouting, not being a bit too strict, be a little strict...

[Be] kind when you need to be kind, and strict when you need to be strict...

Not being like so strict...like how you walk into the class, stand behind chairs, wait there for ages...

These responses display a sense of balance. The expectation that teachers will exercise their hierarchical position is clear, but strictness for its own sake is uncomfortable. Being respectfully brought back into line is not problematic and students have a sense of when this is necessary:

My favourite one for me is if I am off task they will be strict and they will get me back on task. But they will let you talk and all of that and have fun but you have to be staying on task.

Comfort can be maintained by teachers who are *'pretty chilled'* but *'tell you off'*. Where this is not the case, what is read as teachers' overreactions can be explained as being because *'they take us [Pasifika students] too serious'*. This implies that some Pasifika students understand that teachers may have a specific reaction to them as a group. This in turn suggests that students can see a gap between their views of their intentions, behaviours and self-conception, and ideas held by some teachers. Harshness may be constructed as a consequence of incomprehension, and discomfort experienced as a result. Explanations offered for this involve disregard for, or fear of, Pasifika students on the part of teachers:

Either they are scared of you or they don't care about your learning

Student participants also acknowledged responsibility for conflict in reciprocal relationships where students have an obligation to maintain respect just as much as teachers:

It's like they [students] are not showing respect to you - to the teacher. They just don't do what you [the teacher] are asking. The student is not showing respect.

Reciprocity in respect is important to avoid conflict and to ensure comfort, as explained in this student's philosophy:

The respect that you give them [teachers], will also be the respect that they give you [students]. So it all depends on your attitude that you give them, so basically if you are yelling, they just start yelling back at you. Then you will feel uncomfortable. But it actually all depends on you with your attitude...

This suggests that in some circumstances student action produces student discomfort through generating conflict; student disrespect of teachers becomes reciprocated. Perhaps

paying attention to the concept of respect as it is understood by Pasifika students may have importance for both students and teachers in avoiding conflict and positively managing it when it arises. While not ignoring the power relations present in classroom, such a view sees power as fluid and exercisable by all. That is, in certain circumstances power may be reciprocally configured and made manifest in interactions through respect.

8.6.4 Theme summary

Student participants' accounts of comfort and discomfort suggest that their experiences of the emotional landscape of classrooms are consistent. Teacher behaviour is an important feature of the way a particular classroom environment is understood and experienced by Pasifika students. Characteristics of teacher behaviour which affect classroom environments for Pasifika students include: teacher comportment; use of voice; use of space; use of privacy; and reactions to issues. These categories are neither exhaustive nor discrete but indicate a framework for comfort which coincides with Pasifika student constructions of respect and acceptance. Where Pasifika students are successful in being comfortable, learning is more likely and can take place through a process of relational reciprocity and risk-taking.

8.7 Success as Resilience

Pasifika success as access to a good education, acceptance, participation and comfort are not without challenges. Access to a good education does not guarantee it will be experienced. Rejection, withdrawal and discomfort are all possible outcomes of attending a school. This is because learning and achievement are conditional on dialogic interactions among partners in education. At times optimal relationships do not form and the ideal is not achieved. Perrot (2015) discusses resilience as involving a process in which adversity is mediated by protection to produce a positive outcome. It includes the ability to cope positively with difficulty and is seen in this thesis as subject to various levels of resourcing. Schools, teachers, parents and students may all wish to pursue ideal conditions for learning, but the availability of resources and strategies of resilience in the face of adversity is a crucial factor in day-to-day Pasifika success. Resilience involves gaining a desired goal despite, rather than because of, circumstances. Pasifika students who

contributed to this study discussed resources and strategies of resilience in a number of relationships. These include those with the Pasifika students' brotherhood, teachers, parents and the wider Pasifika community, and also includes their sense of themselves.

8.7.1 School

Resilience in school can be resourced or drained by relationships with the brotherhood. The acceptance of new Pasifika students by the brotherhood takes place in a setting where they are in a minority and provides a resource through which resilience can be constructed. For example, one student explained:

They are your brothers, they are basically like your best friends, so that even when you are being successful for a bit, and you just drop completely, they will still be there to like pick you up, support you.

Another claimed:

It's like you know you have got support…when you are down you have always got someone there. You know, that's what a brother does.

Much of the discussion regarding acceptance by the brotherhood given in 8.4.1 also speaks to the role of the brotherhood in resourcing resilience. However, as has been discussed in 8.4.2, the relationships between individuals and other members of the school's Pasifika brotherhood can also be a space of contestation between conflicting forms of success. This can involve various priorities and differing constructions of being Pasifika and a sometimes negative sense of what being Pasifika means. Such conflict is described as an emotional experience where it surfaces in a relationship. Where support is the expectation, a put-down from a brotherhood member feels unpleasant:

[K]ind of like being left out. Like if your family went and left you behind, without a reason…

In these circumstances, maintaining a personal goal can demand resilience.

Similarly, relationships between students and teachers can be a resource for Pasifika student resilience. Much of the material in 8.6.1 supports this. Resilience is resourced when teacher-student interactions are characterised not only by comfort but also by relational intensity. This can include the way relatedness supports a student's ability to reframe their self-view through self-belief such as where a teacher *'helped me want to progress forward'*, creating motivation through relationality. The catalytic potential of relational intensity can itself be a product of teacher resilience. This is demonstrated by the effect on a student of a teacher who *'never gave up on us'.* This suggests that long-term teacher resilience expressed as positive relational activity can enable students to overcome difficulties, helping them see themselves as long-term learners in the face of short-term failure. This is not always the case, however, and some teacher-student relationships demand student resilience as illustrated in the discussion of harshness in 8.6.2.

8.7.2 Home

Resilience can be resourced at home, although this varies from family to family. Student resilience can be supported at home through students' relationships with their parents when a common educational goal is strategically actualised. Student participants report parental strategies such as limiting access to the internet, reading to/with a student, questioning about school work, and initiating contact with teachers as ways in which parents support them through challenges in their learning. The extended family can also be involved:

My mum and dad, my sister…they actually really help me out. A lot. They are really supportive. You know they encourage me...can check on me and go 'Do you need help with your homework?', 'Do you need help with this or that?'

While such strategies are essentially practical, parental support can also lead to a more spiritual kind of resilience. Students of all ethnicities will experience this kind of support, but according to the accounts of parents, such involvement is evidence of a change of relationship over time between home and school. An explicit example can be seen in the following response:

I have got this much mental strength or whatever, I don't know, but I'm not all the way there cos I don't have enough but then my mum and dad are like that extra mental strengths that really helps me…

Thus, through a range of home-based relational activity, Pasifika students can gain access to resources of educational resilience.

However, home-based relational resources are not evenly distributed or equally focussed. Some Pasifika students in the research describe their parent(s) as wishing for a good education but distanced from the process itself. In these circumstances, the attitude to educational achievement can be described by students as stereotypical of Pasifika parents:

S1: Some families like…want their kids to get high grades so they make them study a lot but PI families … I don't know…

S2: [they do] What PI families do..

S1: Yeah.

As was made clear in a later interview, *'what PI families do'* includes attention to achievement or non-achievement, that is the measurable aspects of educational performance. It alludes to the way this student's family, in his account, react to grades and formal reports of progress with reward or punishment without taking steps to '*make [him] study'* as a means to an end. The fact that some students understand such parental behaviour as stereotypical suggests the absorption of a minoritised status for Pasifika people, echoing the ideas presented in 8.4.2.

Pasifika parents discussed stereotypes in the main talanoa session. In their view, another way a home-focussed resource for student resilience can be created is when parents deliberately act to close any traditional distance between home and school as this interchange illustrates:

P1: I don't know for anyone else, are you used to your parents never coming to any of your sports games or your parent teachers meetings, or anything like that, in my time. And yet we work really hard to make sure we are in their lives now. Whatever sports they have, we wanna be there, whatever parent-teachers meetings we wanna be there, because I think we missed that, or I did.

P2: They [my parents] never turned up to any of my parent-teachers interviews, they only came to sports later, as I grew older, but other than that you never saw them at any school events…. So you sort of take that learning… now that I've got kids of my own, the world tells me that to be a better parent you need to be involved with your kids…

This re-vision of the relationship between home and school shows the way some parents deliberately create the conditions for education to be supported at home through the way they configure their own relationships with school. It illustrates the way that one relationality, that of parent-school, is understood by parents to ecologically affect another, student-education. It also shows an understanding of the way that intergenerational strategies of change work to gain the desired goal of a good education by resourcing Pasifika success as resilience.

8.7.3 Self

Some students discussed activities and attitudes which display a resilience which is hard to locate in any specific relational resources. It may be that prior experience of relationally-derived resilience provides the grounds of self-generated resources, or it could be that such resources are the result of internal characteristics which are generally included within the term personality. Distinguishing definitively between these factors is beyond the scope of this study. Resilience of this nature can be seen in the face of a number of factors including discomforting environments and prejudice.

An example of self-resourced resilience in a situation with potential for discomfort was described by a parent:

I've seen some Polynesian students that really thrive in a debate environment and I think 'Oh my gosh, that's amazing', I love seeing Polynesian students up there, but when…for most Polynesian students that I observe in a classroom setting, they don't like it because it means you have to interrupt...

The atypical nature of this activity and the way it cuts across the feelings which the parent ascribes to most Pasifika students seems to be of an individual origin. However, as they transitioned into secondary education, Pasifika students in the study did not claim to display such public acts of resilience. Their internal resilience can be seen in more mundane situations, one example of which is the ability of some students to side-line school-given grades in favour of pursuing 'doing my best' in the pursuit of self-generated goals as discussed in 8.5.1. Being able to participate and communicate where discomfort is experienced in the classroom is also an indicator of resilience. For example, the sole Pasifika student in a class discussed the relationship between discomfort, participation and resilience in this way:

R: So, how did you get yourself comfortable in that class?

S: I decided to just like, stop being shy and introduce myself to people like…now I am pretty tight with all of them…or most of them…There will still be people, white, brown, black, Asian, every colour that I will dislike but probably I will still hang around with them. I will continue to dislike them but I will sort of hang …

In this story resilience comes from perceptive self-knowledge which frames a decision to act positively. This helps the student to become involved despite the environment, and to develop relationships in ways which relegate affect but promote interaction.

Dealing with prejudicial circumstances also requires internal resilience. For example, the ability to defy stereotypes can be seen as resilience. Stereotypes exert external pressures; defying them takes inner strength. Where Pasifika students are aware of more general stereotypes applied to them, one reaction is to invest in the self through 'trying my best' in order to avoid thinking of oneself as part of a negative group.

I know I am Poly but I don't want to be titled as a lower grade person cos I know I can get good grades ...if I try my best. [...] I don't take that on board because I know I can get good grades. [...] I am not going to be like 'If they say that...I may as well not even try'...cos that's sort of a typical thing.

In these circumstances, resilience includes acknowledging but not accepting negativity. However, not all the students in the study claimed to be capable of this:

S1: Everyone thinks of PIs - yeah, dumb...

S2: Do you listen to that?

S1: It depends on which way you take it, to the negative kind of path or to the positive kind of path…

S2: I just joke around with it…

S3: I act cool…

S1: I act as if it doesn't hurt but it does inside.

S4: It makes me feel that if that's the reputation, might as well stick to it, eh?

S1: But we need a change…

The variety of responses here, humour, silence and conformity, indicates the different strategies and levels of resilience students may bring to the adversity of minoritisation. Through the metaphor of a path, either positive or negative, resilience is cast as a matter of making a choice. Group self-definition can be connected to societal portrayals of Pasifika. These can be explicitly relational and established by reference to other groups.

S1: Most PIs aren't even that smart.

S2: No, that's untrue...

S1: Cos how Pacific Islanders are known as the brown tail of New Zealand and maybe if I, most people here can learn and get a good education, maybe we won't be called the brown tail.

R: Do you feel like the brown tail?

S1: Sometimes, sometimes.

S2: I don't.

R: Where does that come from, that brown tail stuff?

S1: I think it comes from money.

S2: What jobs we end up in.

S1: And what we end up doing. Like Asians, I don't know why but most Asians are rich and stuff, and not most Pacific people are rich.

While the images and language of stereotyping are present in this discussion, varying attitudes are again displayed towards the issue. Resilience can be found in rejecting the association with negative portrayals either completely or sometimes. It can also be seen in the desire for a good education to change the situation.

Where resilience is not present, Pasifika students may act in ways which defeat their own goals of a good education. For example, students characterise some in-class behaviour as attention-seeking as discussed in 8.4.2 and likely to lead to the negative path. Others are aware of the contradictory nature of their own behaviour and acknowledge mistakes which have led to disengagement or relational issues within the school, hoping to learn from these:

I have done a couple of bad things here, wasn't expecting that, these things coming up, but in some of the subjects I'm more good…all I'm meant to do is my homework. I'm not quite a homework boy. I just want to go on my phone… I wasn't planning on doing these things, but I did do them. I made bad choices…I learned something: Don't do it. It taught me a lesson.

Others are frustrated when a lack of ability to change distracts from goals:

S1: We say we are going to turn up, next minute…we want to be in their [teachers] good books but when it comes to the day, empty [room].

S2: To the teachers…we lie and we lose respect.

An inability to execute a decision to change may demonstrate insufficient resources to deal with conflict and adversity, particularly in an education where general expectations are high but not evenly distributed. Where self-expectation is low and day-to-day difficulties construct choices, resilience might support a student to be agentic but this does not always eventuate.

8.7.4 Theme summary

Resilience, demonstrated by the successful pursuit of goals in the face of difficulties, is an element in Pasifika students' accounts of success in this study. Resilience can be constructed through relational activity involving people in the school and/or community. It can be required to navigate competing forms of success such as peer-acceptance and participation in a good education. In an ideal world, resilience should not be required of Pasifika students in order to gain a good education. Being realistic, however, it is an essential entity required to cope with situations where being in a minority is certain, and where being minoritised is a possibility. The intercultural nature of Pasifika education brings possibilities of what Helu-Thaman (2003b) calls conflict over a teacher and a student's "role boundary" (p. 3), founded on different expectations. Gaps between expectations in the presence of power can constitute adversity. This may be particularly true for Pasifika students in a setting which is seen as a space of hard education, a term

which some Pasifika students make a synonym for White. Thus, because of the context, seeking a good education is likely to require considerable resilience.

8.8 Success as Extension

Education is a process whereby people gain new knowledge and skills. According to Dewey (1916), effective education in a democratic society involves exposure to, and meaningful communication with, a range of groups. Through participation in education, the democratic ideal of intergroup understanding can be fostered. Limiting the range of contexts across which a person can learn to flourish does not fulfil this ideal but strands them within the realm of their existing experience. An example of where this occurs is in education that maintains social divisions and replicates the social status quo. Instead of seeking to maximise individual potential to improve society through adaption and growth, such education reifies inequity through reproduction. Dewey's democratic ideal aligns in this study with Pasifika understandings expressed by participants. Aspects of a good education sought by Pasifika students include gaining access to certain opportunities present in a particular location and cultural mix. The core of this is the chance to be educated with a range of fellow students, Pasifika and non-Pasifika. In this section, three forms of extension of range will be discussed: relational, axiological and responsive. The term range is used to denote differences in context which require a combination of individual adaptability and contextual knowledge for effective interaction.

8.8.1 Relationality

One form of extensional success sought by Pasifika people in this study is relational. Pasifika students sometimes see a positive in being in a minority in school due to the range of relational experiences it can bring. This has been discussed in 8.3.2. In the main parents' talanoa this idea was reiterated. For example, one parent said:

I think it's a good thing that they are put in an environment where they are not masani or they are not used to other kids because they then learn different relationship skills if you know what I mean.

Masani is a Samoan term which means to be familiar or known. In this view, being in an unfamiliar position makes the development of adaptive skills more likely. The relational advantage of this is also understood by students. One commented:

[Y]ou get friends from other cultures as well as your own culture cos there's less brown people but we learn to be more like a community sort of...

Although important, being comfortable in the brotherhood does not necessarily extend relational range. By contrast, being comfortable in multi-ethnic classroom situations requires the extension of relational skills beyond one's own group. Thus, a tension exists between being masani and being comfortable. Bridging between the two states requires sufficient resilience to interact with unfamiliarity in order to develop an extended set of relational skills. Similar observations can be made on the relationship between discomfort and participation: participating despite discomfort requires resilience. There is little value in being a minority in a school if low participation ignores opportunities for relational learning. Under these circumstances, the quest for a good education is self-defeating. Because the general foundations, assumptions and behavioural expectations encoded in formal education in Aotearoa New Zealand are palagi, where multi-cultural learners study together palagi students are Masani to the context even if not to the cultural expressions of all their classmates. In this way, more demands in terms of range are made on Pasifika students.

The successful extension of Pasifika students' relational range benefits from deliberate behaviour. The following student comment describes taking the opportunity to gain this benefit. It illustrates the roles of resilience in mediating the tension between comfort and participation and the movement from being masani towards comfort in a new situation:

I am pretty much the only brown boy in all my classes…When I started I was like …I wasn't really sure if I could fit in or not. But so I kind of secluded myself from everybody. But as term went on…I kind of made friends…I didn't really feel like I was in a minority, I just felt sad.

Discomfort did not disappear for this student as he began to participate and communicate in class. However, the passage of time and the acceptance of others supported the extension of his relational range. The absence of Pasifika brothers with whom to align is perhaps also a factor to consider in the deliberate construction of his resilience. Faced with a sadness which he seems unable to pin down, he shows resilience by accepting the *'kind of'* friendship which his classmates can offer, overcoming his initial uncertainty.

When students are entering a new school, the tension between comfort and relational extension can be felt keenly by parents. Parents may select a school which will extend their son's experiences but find their offspring described by teachers as not participating and quiet. This paradox provoked emotion from parents:

P1: You could have them there now with comfortable learning, really getting into it, wanting to come to school, wanting to learn. You could see a completely different child in six months because they were taught in a different way with people they were comfortable with...

P2: [W]ould I want my son to learn with the [named Pasifika boys] all sitting there, having a laugh, learning? Yes I would because at least I am seeing him interact...

In these accounts, participation and comfort, which are a product of relational aspects of close interpersonal action, are prioritised over the development of a range of relational skills which are located in wider relationships. Where there is a tension, the parents' initial reaction is to prioritise the gaining of curriculum-based knowledge, effectively discounting relational extension. However, this may be a temporary situation.

One parent whose older son had experienced discomfort in earlier years explained the way that, given support and time, a student's range of relationally-based comfort can extend:

[H]e's got this whole new group of friends... you know when he started it was a real big thing, ... he's come here and you know it's pretty much spot the brown, but we have had to

teach him, 'Don't look at the colour of the skin, it's not the colour of the skin, find friends that you have something in common with', and he has had to put himself out there big time… He is a lot more confident and he has found his group of friends so his learning is improving…

In this story, the extension of relational skills supports participation and learning. The resilience required is deliberately supported by the parent-student relationship in a way that ensures that the goal of extending range eclipses discomfort over time. Reflecting on a similar process, a senior student confirmed the potential of extending relational range in a 'good education':

Over the last couple of years I have made brotherhoods with guys that you wouldn't expect like a couple of Palangi guys, that I share the same sort of... that I share with the PI guys, the brotherhood, that enjoyment. I guess I made different friends being PI when I was acting PI but I made friends that are white when I was sort of … my confidence grew like me answering questions... Palangis you can talk about different things, like sort of talk to them differently…

This student describes extending his relational range over time as a result of confidence, participation and acceptance to the extent that he can describe two ways of being: *'acting PI'* and being in a brotherhood with Palangi. This suggests the bi-relational potential of extending relational range and illustrates Pasifika success as the ability to communicate through two relational languages. The absence of this kind of success in younger students suggests that this skill-set is capable of development and thus presumably admissible to intervention. Contexts where comfort leads to risk-taking may be more likely to relegate the significance of being masani than contexts which are discomforting. This is because moving from being masani to relating to a wide range of people makes demands. The sooner students are enabled to make this shift, the greater is their likelihood of gaining success as the extension of relational skills in order to maximise a good education.

8.8.2 Values

In tandem with the idea that success as Pasifika in education involves extending relational skills is the idea that success includes extending the range of values through which the world can be understood. This aspect of extension involves students not only gaining academic and relational knowledge, but also acquiring the information which frames their contextual application. While students who contributed to this study did not expressly focus on extending their understanding of values, Pasifika parents were clear about the part this plays in a good education. Data in this section came largely in response to a prompt in the group talanoa which asked what parents wished teachers to know about Pacific/Pasifika values. This prompt sought to address the area of misunderstood values present in the literature (e.g., Spiller, 2012). Parents chose to respond by outlining multiple value sets, that is, going beyond the assumption contained in the prompt. Values are important in a discussion of success because success is an axiological concept. Pasifika parents discussed two sets of values here called *'core'* and *'life'* values. Core values, described by parents as important to the student as a cultural person, come from the family and wider ethnic-cultural background. Life values assume significance to the student as a person pursuing success in Palangi-oriented environments and may require specific teaching at home and/or at school.

Core values, from which other values can be extended, come from the home. Pasifika parent contributors to the study describe a feeling of responsibility for passing these on with the aim that their children will experience intergenerational continuity in family and community:

I think with us it's a big thing with the values and what we have got from our parents and our generations to the next generation, yeah I hope that for our boys they carry that on...

Core values can have both biblical and family resonance:

Honouring your parents is one of them, well for me it was don't lie... but obviously values like loving your family, take care of your family, look after your siblings, your parents...

In this view, to be Pasifika is to understand and live by Christian-focussed family values in ways which potentially mark one as different from Palangi, but through which these parents suggest one may be recognised as belonging in the Pasifika community.

By contrast another set of values is significant to some parents. Success in maintaining intergenerational Pasifika values can be complemented by the acquisition of life values. These values facilitate the achievement of goals by helping Pasifika students to see the world through non-Pasifika eyes. Parents described life values as encompassing stereotypical Palangi values attached to money, time and work. In the case of work, what parents see as the migrant goal of hard work is strategically redefined as smart work or the execution of specific ways of working which produce benefits because they are aligned with Palangi-defined ideas about what counts:

It's a value there that, work hard means don't have to work your butt off, be smart about it and work and strive for it, finding the right way to do it.

Life values cannot be contrasted with the values of the Palangi community; the Palangi community is seen as the origin of life values. They can, however, be contrasted with Pasifika values:

[T]here's a difference between these [sets of values] because you can always be a nice person, but you can always be a nice poor person if you don't have those [core] values in check...our boys have those core values as people because we would hope that we install those values in them, but then there's other values that would be helpful to them in order for them to, you know, progress more.

This suggests that in order to avoid them being a '*nice poor person'*, the values available to students need to be extended from one set to two so that students are able to edgewalk between them. 'Nice' may a gloss for exercising core values, or being highly regarded in the community for kind, restrained behaviour, perhaps comparable to that displayed by 'kind' teachers as discussed in 8.6.1. Not being content with being poor constructs life values as a way to conduct successful negotiation with the Palangi world. Value-sets need to be contextually balanced, held '*in check'*. This implies moderation and contextual

understanding. The importance of advancement of Pasifika individuals to the family frames the balance. This is understood in a rudimentary form at a young age:

S1: It could be really easy for your positive to turn negative…but what's in store for your future? Like just sit down, drop out, quiet, wagging classes…

S2: You don't want your family to say, 'Oh this guy's poor, we'd better just help him'.

Being a nice poor person can be burdensome to one's family, creating obligations of assistance as defined by core values. To this student, being in a poor position takes from the family. This implies that the ideal is an education which enables one to give to the family and by extension to the wider community. Perhaps with maturity this becomes clearer. One senior student made the following statement in an email which arose as a result of the research:

Heavily imprinted in my psyche as it is a pillar of the Samoan culture is 'O le ala i le pule, o le tautua' meaning 'the way to authority is through service'… I learned that should the chance arise to enhance the well-being of another then it is an opportunity we must grasp with both hands – a role which we must fulfil. These words have influenced and motivated me to pursue a career in the [specific] field.

This personal declaration is a more developed mirror-image of that given above. A lack of success as participation in education might lead to a drain on community resources, but participation can lead to opportunities to fulfil the ideal role of contributor. By retaining core values of service and connection, but also learning to operate with life values of personal advancement implied in developing the skills to benefit from a good education, education itself can be recycled back into the community. In this way, education becomes a community good in an educational journey or malaga. School can be seen as a source of life values in which interaction with non-Pasifika students makes a contribution as discussed in 8.8.1. In the face of the difficulties education poses students could lack resilience, be negative and follow the stereotype. Alternatively, they can learn to operate actively in and through education so as to be able to contribute to family and community

by reaping benefits. Life values redefine school as a pathway to follow rather than a place to '*go with the flow*' as one parent put it.

For some parents, a desire for intergenerational continuity intersects with the development of life values as means of success. A number discussed the acquisition of life values through the family. For instance:

[L]ife values are something that I find that for myself, as a parent having to implant into my children so I see that is a bit different [from previous generations], it's on top of...

Access to additional values '*on top*' of family-defined thinking is intended to step the student out of the family and into their future as a person involved in Pasifika-Palangi relations. As discussed in 8.7.2, some parents have deliberately strategised their son's educational development by changing their own relationship to formal education. Where respect may have previously been demonstrated by distance, respect can now be shown through closeness to education. Through this, parents hope to construct a situation where their sons have access to both core and life values. This recognises that things have changed:

[I]t's a different world, that they can blend both [sets of values], they can be assertive out there, they can take charge of their learning, and then still be part of the family...

In this view, the ideal is that Pasifika students will be successful in developing a sense of belonging in both worlds in harmonious and beneficial ways. This means understanding and benefitting from the logicality of Western values concerned with time, work and money, whilst also understanding and practicing the logicality of core values in the family or Pasifika community. This is not, however, a simple matter. The desired transitionary skills can be lacking in ways that promote discord at home as well as at school. One parent pointed this out:

[Y]ou go to school and you learn this word 'assertive' and how to be that but it's sort of like a conflict when you come back home or in the church.

Relationships between value-sets are reciprocal and require negotiation. The skill to transition between values in a contextual way is not a given, and where it is lacking it can have consequences for education and home life. While it cannot be argued that all Pasifika people have Christian affiliations such that the axiological expression given above is typical or inevitable, what is striking is the sense of duality in the area of values. Duality of this nature is likely to be problematic in seeking Pasifika success where education holds a narrow set of values and/or ascribes a single stereotypical set of values to Pasifika people (Spiller, 2012).

8.8.3 Extending Pasifika success through teacher response

This study primarily seeks to answer questions of Pasifika students' understandings of success. However, it would not make sense to limit the scope of the study to students alone. Education is a relational activity and just as Pasifika parents have contributed their understandings to the discussion, so should Palangi teachers of Pasifika students be included. This is because, in general, Pasifika education is the education of Pasifika students by Palangi teachers. Even where Pasifika teachers are involved in Pasifika education, European thinking shapes the education system of Aotearoa New Zealand in which they work. Consequently, this section looks at teacher learning as a way of extending the range of situations in which teachers are poto, or able relationally to enact wisdom. This invites a re-consideration of physical, social and spiritual dimensions and obligations in classroom practice. The extension of responses made by teachers to Pasifika education mirrors the extensions of range which are sought by Pasifika parents and students for themselves. This is because extending response is a different way of understanding the links between learning and relationships, itself embedded in an alternative set of values.

What follows is a brief discussion of data collected from teachers' responses to student and parent voice. Brevity here does not diminish the significance of teachers in the achievement of Pasifika success in education. However, this is a study of Pasifika success conceptualised through a strengths-based orientation. This promotes a focus on the ability of student voice to catalyse Pasifika success by prompting teachers to re-view their

understandings of Pasifika students, aims and expectations. That is, the concern is for Pasifika voice to make its own difference through the way it can affect teachers.

Because this study was developed within a dialogical framework and has catalytic intent, as part of the action research method a group of Palangi teachers was exposed to several sources of potential learning over a period of time. Sources included video mihi made by Pasifika students prior to their arrival at the case study school. Also included were exemplified summaries of material taken from interviews and talanoa with Pasifika parents and students. This material was constructed for an audience of teachers from its inception. In addition, teachers took part in theoretical discussions of the Pacific-origin relational concept of va. In order to answer one of the sub-questions in this thesis, 'What do teachers need to know in order to better support Pasifika success as Pasifika', teachers' responses to these materials will be explored. This will be in two sections. Accounts will be given of teacher responses to Pasifika students as a result of exposure to two different learning experiences: watching video mihi and taking part in embedded action research.

8.8.4 Responding to mihi

Teacher learning is relevant to Pasifika educational success and strengths-based Pasifika educational research where the response of teachers to Pasifika voices and thinking results in Pasifika students being seen more nearly as they might wish to be seen. The first learning experience offered to teachers to encourage this was video mihi in which students presented themselves. The first set of data to be discussed is drawn from interviews between the researcher and teacher participants in the study which took place after teachers had viewed these. From these interviews, three levels of teacher response to Pasifika students emerged: instrumental, personal and emotional.

An instrumental response occurs where teachers appreciate the value of specific pieces of information as opportunities to shape teaching to meet student interest. For example, many students named a church. A teacher's instrumental response to this is:

(I might) go in with 'I know that there's a number of you that belong to this church or that church…what are some of the values you can talk about?'

In an instrumental response, the information contained in the video mihi is significant because it presents facts about a student. Other examples of facts include specific sports and hobbies. The teacher's response is generally focused on the curriculum; information about a student is seen by teachers as a way to make interpersonal connections in order to deliver content. The focus is on teacher-student interaction. Any teacher learning is limited to minor adjustments in delivery.

The second level of response is personal. For example, several teachers saw leadership abilities in one or more students and valued the person of the student because of these. By associating a student with leadership, teachers can create positive expectations for future interactions. For example:

I'd expect him to be enthusiastic and maybe bring some of those leadership qualities that he talked about into the classroom...

Often the qualities of students valued by teachers were not the result of student words in the video but of comportment, bearing or behaviour. They came from the visual text as a result of reading visual rhetoric (Hocks, 2003). For example:

He has presence, a personality, and he projects it so there's a leadership element there.

Other examples of valued qualities include humour, purposefulness and honesty. At the personal level, teachers value something about the student and seek to develop the qualities they bring to school. A personal response is student-focused, not fact or curriculum focussed. It has pedagogical possibilities as it responds to the characteristics of Pasifika students who will be in a teacher's class.

At the affective level, teachers respond with emotional concern, affection or positive emotional anticipation. This was indicated in interviews through comments which displayed emotional and appreciative language such as *'warm'* and *'lovely'*. In this kind of response, the focus is on how the teacher feels about the student both interpersonally and relationally. For example:

I feel quite connected to him immediately, I like him, watching the video, he is really cool...

and:

I feel for him, I really want to help him, I really want him to enjoy his time here, and see success. I think that's the most important thing.

When students talked about their needs in a video mihi, this often elicited an emotional response. Data from interviews makes it clear that some teachers invest emotion in imagining their part in constructing future success for Pasifika students. Affective response has the potential to reduce the relational distance between teacher and student by preparing teachers to welcome new Pasifika students with increased acceptance.

8.8.5 Responding in action research

The second learning opportunity offered to teachers was participation in a process of mediated dialogue framed within an action research method. During the year of research, Pasifika parents and students addressed teachers in absentia, offering their views on what teachers should know about Pasifika students and their education. Participating teachers were exposed to these voices within the mediated dialogical research structure of the study. Community-sourced material was supported by literature-based discussions of the Pacific-origin relational concept of va. Within the action research method described in 6.3.4, teachers were asked to enact new learning in their classroom, and commit to peer observation and discussion of this. To account for their learning and the actions that arose from it, and as a dialogical response to Pasifika parents, teachers created video mihi whakamutanga for parents. From these mihi, a another level of response emerged focussed on teachers' self-examination to extend the instrumental, personal and affective responses discussed above.

A self-examination response can reframe the teaching and learning situation, re-viewing power and the way this configures relationships. For instance, one teacher talked about mutual ownership of learning:

It's not just my classroom… I teacher and you students, it was what we created together.

Another referred to her previous role as *'boss-lady'* and her re-definition of her role. She described her classroom language shifting from *'you and me'* to *'we and us'*. A third claimed:

I didn't expect this but it's actually a de-formalisation of the student-teacher relationship, which was a bit of a challenge at times.

Further ideas which emerged include the need for more patience, physical closeness through one-to-one interaction and the aim of treating students through the same ethic as family and loved ones. Such thinking begins to invoke the spirituality of connection discussed as essential in Pacific (in this source Samoan) relationality by Anae (2016). This level of response depicts teachers' self-examination as a result of exposure to both Pacific-origin theory and Pasifika voice. It suggests that theorising data gained from Pasifika parents and students through Pacific-origin concepts offers the catalysing effect of a disturbance (Peck et al., 2009) to pre-existing understandings. While student voice is a valuable asset for teachers, this can be absorbed into existing schema in unchallenging ways. However, where schemas are conceptually challenged, learning about the self rather than about others can take place. Thus, teachers are placed in a position from which deep changes in response can occur.

8.8.6 Theme summary

The extension of a person's range can be seen as success. This can include the range of relational skills possessed, the range of values used to understand the world, and the range of responses to others. In this, Dewey's (1916) notion of education in a democracy is well-served; communication with others, intergroup understanding and the development of space for difference can all contribute to a participatory and inclusive democracy. Pasifika people or their forebears have migrated both to seek resources and to extend the family range spatially. Inclusion and participation in education through the extension of relational skills is a significant element in accessing the resource of a good education in the context of this study. In particular, Pasifika parents see the development of

new relational skills as success where it does not compromise existing skills. The same applies to the extension of values with which to understand Western-orientated educational practices and the relationships between education and the economy. The strategic contextual application of values in ways which are complementary and/or additional rather than competitive and subtractive is also success. A good education is a space for acquiring this facility.

In attempting to create a supportive educational space for Pasifika, teachers can also extend their range. In this case, the range is that of response. Where teachers are better able to appreciate their Pasifika students as cultural people, perhaps by using transported and contextually modified Pacific-origin concepts to make sense of the way teaching and teachers are understood, they may find locally-effective ways to create acceptance and to promote participation. By considering other understandings of the world, reflexive processes become available to teachers. These may destabilise the traditional, habitual and hegemonic. In this way, the success of teachers and students are integrally linked. A great deal of resilience may be needed for Pasifika students to be successful as Pasifika where their teachers misunderstand their goals, logic, behaviour and needs. By contrast, if a fuller appreciation of the context of Pasifika students is held by their teachers the likelihood of more balanced and constructive educational partnerships increases, as does the likelihood of student-teacher relationality as a source for student resilience. In order to develop challenging and new understandings as a result of disturbance, teachers may require the resilience to be risk-takers.

A limitation to the significance of teachers as risk-takers, however, is the importance of the power of systems of practice and thought to act as barriers to the agency of individuals. That is, while teachers may shift their dialogue and practices in the classroom, perhaps catalysed by exposure to Pasifika voice and knowledge, such movement is not from nowhere but from a cultural position which is generally silenced (Castagno, 2008) and invisible. This can be theorised through CRT as Whiteness, or business-as-usual. In addition, the practice of teachers is bounded by institutional actions such as protocols for the grouping of students, demands for the coverage of a set amount of material in a given time, the selection of teaching resources, assessment methods and so on. An awareness of such factors was shown by teachers in the study. For example,

teachers talked about: working in a '*system which is quite compartmentalised*' and therefore restrictive of new learning which has more holistic implications than received forms of practice; being '*led to believe… sort of taught that I needed to be very authoritarian [with a class featuring many Pasifika students]…very strict, show them who is boss…*'; and the '*protective*' nature of '*formal student-teacher relationships*' as practiced in institutions. Thus, these teachers who opted into a programme of professional development featuring Pasifika voice and wisdom of Pacific origin are aware of restrictions to their ability to deliver their part in Pasifika success as Pasifika. Even where goodwill and significant learning exist, it is important to remember that student-teacher relatedness sits in va with various other entities. These include the curriculum, school-based, policy-based and societally-formed relationalities. While this thesis seeks to examine most clearly one aspect of the web of Pasifika education, that taking place in a school, it is important to remember that the various va are themselves related. A replacement of deficit thinking about students with a deficit theory about teachers which, which acknowledging their privilege, ignores their realities, is unlikely to most effectively promote Pasifika success as Pasifika. For that to happen, discussion, negotiation, discussion, mutual understanding and the willingness to give up historically derived power in pursuit of social justice is required.

8.9 Chapter Summary

Chapter Eight presented the findings of this research. First, the analytical method employed was described, together with ethical and positional issues associated with voice as data in outsider research. Following this, six themes were presented, success as: a good education; acceptance; participation; comfort; resilience; and extension of range. Data and discussion were given for each theme. A global reading of all six themes suggests the value of a holistic understanding of Pasifika success as a wide basket of inter-linked goal-based forms. Since education leads to learning and assessment is the measurement of this, all these forms of success can be seen as relevant to, but not reducible to, measured achievement. Chapter Nine presents a discussion of these findings and seeks implications for the future.

CHAPTER NINE: DISCUSSION

As knowledge systems of indigenous people receive greater global, regional, national and local attention, so too does the call for recognition of those systems. Indigenous Pacific research is no exception.

Kabini Sanga, 2004, p. 41.

9.1 Chapter Overview

Chapter Eight gave the findings of this research in six interrelated themes. Chapter Nine begins with an introduction which contextualises a recap of the strengths-based underpinnings of this study whilst problematising the ethics of findings. Following this, five knowledge claims will be asserted and discussed in turn. These bring together data from the findings and concepts of European and Pacific-origin as a form of edgewalk. A summary concludes the chapter.

9.2 Framing

This research was initiated within a global framework of seeking social justice to provide a local opportunity for Pasifika students and parents in a formal White-dominated educational institutional setting to describe Pasifika success as Pasifika. Periods of transition are critical in Pasifika education because of the need to negotiate new sets of relationships and expectations. By being situated in the period of transition from primary to secondary education, this research attends to experiences of education in both sectors. Consequently, it offers a wider perspective than a restricted critique of a single institution. Widening focus to include parental voice acknowledges the importance of family in Pasifika success. Extending the research to include the voices of Palangi teachers also acknowledges the relational nature of Pasifika education, providing an account of catalytic aspects of the research.

In the last chapter, findings were presented in the form of a six-fold thematic analysis, Pasifika success as: a good education, acceptance, participation, comfort,

resilience, and the extension of range. Far from being abstract notions, these describe a wide base of pathways, conditions and forms of success. In this, they echo the findings of Toumu'a (2014) and Alkema (2014) to frame education as a moral and empathetic activity (Wright et al., 2012), not just a transactional and instrumental matter. The next task is to discuss their significance and wider implications. In order to achieve this, a condensed recap is provided of the key features of the premise upon which this study rests, important to the extent they make a contribution to the strengths-based underpinning of the study. Providing a summary in this way requires attention to both theory and literature, dealing with: an understanding of the relationship between democracy and education based on Dewey's (1916) thought; a framework which includes critical theory (CT) and Pacific Indigenous research (PIR); and ethics. Each of these key areas will be briefly unpacked before a strengths-based discussion of the findings of the study is presented.

9.3 Strengths-based Framework

This research has declared itself to be strength-based in its approach to Pasifika education. Since concepts of strength and weakness are axiological, it argues that a position which casts diversity as a strength is appropriate. The effect of adopting such a lens is the ability to view the realisation of Pasifika success as Pasifika as an essential and valuable goal for Pasifika people and for wider New Zealand society. A strengths-based approach resists uncritical acceptance of existing thinking and practice and that which is only concerned for solutions within a reified framework. Instead, it re-views areas of concern and identifies opportunities which might exist for Pasifika communities. This research also seeks to catalyse action to realise such opportunities.

A strengths-based approach focusses on what people have rather than what others see as lacking. It values Dewey's (1916) claim that a society is democratic to the extent that groups within that society communicate with, and understand, each other. Thus, any school-based intergroup contact which promotes cultural discussion and mutual understanding under conditions of power-sharing is valuable. The study also adopts elements of the links made by Dewey (1916) between education and democracy. The core of his educational argument, that formal education is a matter of teacher and student continually negotiating their positions as knowledge is jointly constructed, aligns with both

Vygotskian constructivist notions (Bruner, 1997) and Bakhtin's view of social life as dialogic (Todorov, 1984). In all three theoretical positions the fixed nature of schooling as defined by Aronowitz (2004) and discussed in Chapter One is a weakness; flux and uncertainty are strengths. A strengths-based approach places value on negotiation of meaning as a necessary condition of education. Where the democratic ideal of intergroup communication and comprehension is achieved in and through education, diversity in the education system is an asset. However, the presence or absence of such negotiation is an issue of power.

This research takes a CT approach to power. It critiques arbitrary power through the application of contextual rationality. CT can be seen as strengths-based and supportive of a society precisely because it holds practice to account. When applied to Pasifika education, CT examines the mechanisms whereby ideological positions on democracy and education are played out. Despite the fact that all voice is inevitably rendered impure and adulterated (L. Smith et al., 2002) through the research process, Pasifika voice is a strength in this. Voice, including silence, may help reveal the thinking and experiences of members of non-dominant groups. It offers a reflexive opportunity to those with institutional power by providing alternative understandings which can contribute to the re-alignment of ideology and practice. Voice also offers reflexivity to members of the Pasifika community from which they can support their own emancipation, a main aim of both CT and PIR. In this study emancipation includes the ability of people from non-dominant group to represent themselves as they wish to be seen and to be received as they wish to be received. In a diasporic context, emancipation involves the continual negotiation of identity for dominant and minority groups. It works against minoritisation, a power-based process which turns being Pasifika from a strength to a weakness.

The relevance of a strengths-based approach to Pasifika education becomes clear when considering the width of themes developed in the findings from Pasifika voice. As discussed in Chapter Five, some previous approaches to Pasifika education have taken a deficit position. Such approaches are seldom relational but often understand educational success as the individual achievement of qualifications. In this view, achievement is constructed through notions of individual choice, ability, effort and so on, ignoring the wider environmental aspects of learning such as socio-economic context (Thrupp, 1997) or

culture and intercultural relations. The width of the concept of Pasifika success in this study challenges deficit and narrow accounts of success in Pasifika education by the way that it acknowledges culture, emotion and relationality as 'soft' areas for negotiation which provide context for the 'hard' area of statistically measureable success as achievement.

9.3.1 Problematising the ethics of discussion

Ethics is a key consideration in strengths-based research just as in any other. As an edgewalk, the discussion in this study is an ethical act of negotiation between the voices of participants and researcher. It seeks to leverage the strengths of both sides of the 'edge' and articulates what can be claimed in a limited sense as 'known' - that which comes from the findings, and that which can never be wholly known - the kinds of wider meanings which can be suggested as possibilities. Moving between the two involves risk and the explicit purposeful agency of the researcher. This process is essential because research which is confined to the relative surety of its own boundaries is sterile and devoid of the potential to catalyse positive change on a wide scale. Research which lacks the clear voice of the researcher is an unethical exercise in power through self-erasure.

In a process which contrasts with that used to deliver the grounded and iterative findings of this study, speculation and generalisation are helpful tools for discussion. Persuasive discussion requires overarching concepts derived from sources external to the research context which can render the story on a grander scale. Such a move is not a neutral process; scale is by its nature powerful, but also distorting. Scaling up from the data involves risks regarding representation, but can bring rewards of significance. It is from this framework and with these caveats that a discussion of the findings of this strengths-based research is presented.

9.4 The Act of Discussion: Knowledge Claims

This discussion will integrate themes from Chapter Eight within a synthesis of information from theory and literature. This has the potential to unpack and reframe Pasifika success as Pasifika in education into wider contexts than the case study school, allowing the voices in the data, both Pasifika and Palangi, to be contextualised. In addition

to utilising Western literature, key Pacific-origin concepts focus the discussion. Relevant Western concepts include democracy, formal education and emancipation. Pacific-origin concepts include: migration as represented in the Samoan idea of malaga; relationships as represented in various Pacific accounts of va; and learning as represented in Tongan accounts of being poto. Each Western concept should be seen as relationally and positionally relevant rather than as an essentialised idea. Pacific-origin concepts should not be regarded as fixed or essential; it is unrealistic to imagine that indigenous concepts remain unchanged in diaspora. This research has taken place in a specific diasporic socio-historic and cultural location. In this Pasifika space, the intersectionality of concepts which originate in the Pacific and the West supports the study's claims to both uniqueness and generalisability.

Within the strengths-based research framework outlined above, five knowledge claims are made for this study.

Knowledge Claim 1:
An understanding of movement related to Pasifika success as Pasifika is supported by reference to the concept of malaga (migration). As a result, a sense of continuity can be seen in internal migration which affects the way other forms of Pasifika success can be constructed.

Knowledge Claim 2:
Pasifika success as Pasifika involves the whole person. This can be seen in links between success as participation, acceptance and comfort. Thus, access to a good education needs to be understood on physical, emotional, cognitive and spiritual planes.

Knowledge Claim 3:
The outcome of movement and participation can be seen in Pasifika success as the extension of range. This can be understood by reference to the concept of poto (wisdom). As such, it also involves relationality and the whole person. Wisdom is acquired by knowledge and opportunity, and can be scaffolded in context.

Knowledge Claim 4:

The relational aspects of Pasifika success as Pasifika can be understood through the concept of va (relationality). In Pasifika education, where relationships are cared for in ways which align with the concept of teu le va (nurturing relationships), forms of success which lead to participation in education and wisdom can flourish. While this concept has Pacific origins, knowledge of it can be acquired by non-Pacific people. Therefore, the acquisition of appropriate knowledge can support Pasifika success as Pasifika, contributing to a "thick democracy" (Beckett, 2001, p. 276) and to the emancipation of Pasifika people.

Knowledge Claim 5:

Where difficulties and non-ideal situations arise in Pasifika education, Pasifika success as resilience becomes important. The construction of resilience can include relational strength from home or school. One difficulty encountered in Pasifika education is reconciling obligations to different va. The ability to achieve positive reconciliation is assisted where choice is not pre-constructed and where contextual support is available.

9.5 Malaga: Movement and a 'Good Education'

This section discusses Knowledge Claim 1.

As discussed in 2.6, migration in the Pacific can be understood by reference to aspects of the Samoan concept of malaga. In the account of Lilomaiava-Doktor (2009), this portrays movement as a back-and-forth fluidity which can include a spiritual journey across a strategic expansion of space. It is family-focused and not confined to a quest for material goods. In this study, the concept is broadly focussed to include "contemporary movements for the purposes of education" (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2004, p. 202). The circularity of malaga contrasts with dominant Western notions of diaspora as leaving one place to arrive at another (H. Lee, 2009), understandings of movement as separation and disconnection (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009), and the framing of migration primarily through individualistic economic imperatives. In the accounts of Lilomaiava-Doktor (2004, 2009), Ka'ili (2005) and H. Lee (2009), the elements of expansion, circularity and continuity

make migration a cultural practice in itself, not solely a response to negative circumstances. Specific motivations for migration can involve gaining something which is valued when recycled into the community, a contextual rather than an absolute or market value applied to a commodity (or process) such as education, part of a different economy (Ka'ili, 2005) to that of trade and capital.

The findings of this study present the concept of a good education as a motivation for an internal migration of some Pasifika students (and often their families) from one part of the region to another in ways which mirror the movements of previous generations. Although geographically and intergenerationally distinctive, the relationship between internal and wider migratory movements may be understood partly as scale (Gershon, 2012) not just as difference, making internal migration a fractal in a greater picture. The helpfulness of malaga in an understanding of movement in Pasifika education can be developed by contrast to ideas of escape and flight. This contrast is not of appearance but of the understanding of those involved.

As discussed in Chapter Five, the educational movement of minoritised groups in intercultural spaces has been portrayed as escape, a mechanism which separates students from community (Guenther et al., 2013; Valenzuela, 2005) by advocating one definition of success over another. Educational success which requires students to "get up and get out" (Valenzuela, 2005, p. 344) denies the strengths of a students' community, devalues connection, and offers a simplistic economic understanding of movement. It portrays the relationship between migrant value systems and those of the dominant population as essentially exclusive, competitive and conflicting. For students of migrant origin, success in education becomes a matter of choosing allegiance; failure as either a cultural person or a student is made inevitable. By contrast, flight focusses on the movement of a majority population. White flight, a racialised movement, "reinforces the disparity between schools as certain resources are withdrawn" (Spoonley, 1988, p. 92). In Aotearoa New Zealand, those being 'flown' from tend to be Māori and/or Pasifika (Milne, 2013; Spoonley, 1988), although class-based descriptions are also applied to the phenomenon (Callister, 2012). Despite their differences in focus, escape and flight come together in brown flight (Singh, 2015, 27th July) which presumably imagines Pasifika students choosing education over community through movement.

In both flight and escape, there are two aspects: movement 'from' and movement 'to'. Movement 'from' is the result of negative push-factors. In escape these are constructed through cultural deficit. In white flight they are racial. Movement 'to' involves assumptions regarding a destination. These may include ideas about the educational experiences expected to result from internal migration, and can span the philosophical, axiological and experiential. An example of a philosophy capable of driving education is given by L. Smith et al. (2002). This is a critical account of the ideal neo-liberal youth normalised in Western societies at the turn of the twenty-first century. It refers to a "self-regulating, highly competitive and autonomous individual, essentially liberated from their locations in history, the economy, culture and community" (p. 170). This definition sits well in situations where education is seen by government agencies as a tradeable commodity and not a public good (Ray, 2009) and/or where it operates subject to a competition-driven market ideology (Thrupp, 1997). Such an ideal is significant for its imagination of success in relation to dislocation (described as liberation) from various spaces, including culture and community, and for the way it suggests a context-less universal ideal of a good education.

Accepting this student as the ideal, and seeing success in education as the extent to which it resources a person to become the ideal, a picture is produced whereby minority-group educational flight, brown flight, facilitates a double dislocation. Firstly, physical movement away from community aims at a good education. Secondly, the resultant education pivots on universal ideas such as consumption and competition which have the potential to re-separate a minority student from their community. This kind of thinking coincides with simplistic understandings of internal migration which include flight and escape. Simplification is not unusual, however, and can be seen in popular thought such as where "brown flight" is understood as families "simply moving in the belief higher decile schools provided better education" (Walsh cited in Singh, 2015, 27th July). This understanding gives families no credit for developing their own idea of what a good education might be and assumes the universality of good-ness in education to the extent that there is no idea to develop.

The findings of this study suggest a complex and positive view of Pasifika internal migration. Movement from education which is seen as inadequate is present, but

movement from a specific group of people is not. Where there is a deficit it is generally applied to educational provision, not to culture. Movement from one physical space to another can involve movement away from a mind or mentality, but this seems to sit in the relationship between a geographically-defined community and its school, driven by ideas about ineffective education rather than the pathologising of the Other or of the self. Thus, although they may re-locate in order to gain the opportunity of a contextualised 'good' education, migrating Pasifika students do not reject a Pasifika way of life but seek to maintain elements of this variously in tension or combination with other ways. The idea of flight as a dislocative practice involving the movement from people is undercut by the fact that acceptance by the brotherhood involves movement to a cultural space occupied by Pasifika people. This form of success illustrates that a good education is to be had within community, not necessarily at its expense. The lexicon of fictive kinship reinforces the family framing of this. A good education embraces both the opportunity to gain the resource of education and the continuity to be Pasifika.

Malaga is a better fit for the findings than are escape and flight. Section 8.3 describes strategic or deliberate expansion of community through movement taking place in a fictive-family-focussed way such that cultural continuity is supported. This suggest that for some Pasifika students, a good education is valuable because of the way it can assist the future of community rather than it being focussed on the individual. In these cases, education becomes valuable when it is recycled back in a circular fashion rather than when it extracts the educated from their cultural niche. That is, education becomes part of a circulation rather than a solely personal trajectory. This is represented in the findings by the idea that a person who has not gained a good education is a drain rather than a contributor to community and by the way core values are added to, not replaced by, life values. This challenges some notions of 'good'ness in education which are competitive or economic and which ellipse social contribution. Such ideas ignore more nuanced relationships between value systems than choice. Challenging such ideas also complicates the individual and competitive aspects of the ideal student discussed above.

Rethinking movement in Pasifika education has consequences. Where Pasifika internal migration in pursuit of a good education is understood more as flight, community is unimportant and pathologised. It can be assumed by schools that what they offer is what

is desired rather than simply the best option available. However, characterising Pasifika internal migration as malaga makes community central, and fore-grounds the role of education as a community resource rather than an individual enterprise. For schools, this may give the brotherhood or its equivalent the status of strategy. This in turn can point to a brotherhood's potential as a supportive force for Pasifika students, making it worth nourishing because of the value placed on it by community. Such thinking prevents the brotherhood being relegated to a mere collection of students drawn together by superficial features such as skin-tone or prior knowledge, or unified in an escape bid from ethnicity.

Also challenged is the idea that a brotherhood's proper place is to upkeep culture in a way which is divorced from the pursuit of education. Ensuring that education is both obtained and returned to community can also be understood as a cultural practice. This opposes the simplistic notion that culture is a synonym for artistic performance, an idea perhaps visible where cultural performance groups such as a Poly Club are present in a school while other more fundamental aspects of education such as teaching and learning are less securely seen through a cultural lens (e.g., Education Review Office, 2014). Thinking through the concept of malaga makes positional explanations important where the actions of the brotherhood undermine the pursuit of education through accepting minoritisation. Rather than providing validation for culturally-focussed deficit accounts of the phenomenon, a positional focus redirects attention to how being Pasifika is portrayed in schools and society, redistributing responsibility for the construction of choice between forms of success.

A further implication follows for schools if Pasifika education is seen as a matter of community and not flight from community. In this case education becomes contextual so that the role of parents and community in deciding what is involved in a good education gains importance. In this study, parents' ideas about the role of a good education stretch well beyond the limits of academic qualifications. Opportunities to gain and/or practice relational and axiological knowledge as well as to pursue academic endeavours are significant. Pasifika success as Pasifika as depicted by students is sketched as an interlinked line of culturally-referenced emotionally-experienced matters which lead to academic success, rather than a focus on achievement as an a-cultural terminal point. Knowing clearly what good education means has the potential to be a strength if this vision

is owned, shared, and relationally enacted across all the players in Pasifika education. Aligning education with the vision of some members of a diverse community requires a framework of space which values diversity and the negotiation of power rather than a multiplication of categories of the acceptable. However, as indicated by Openshaw (2009) tensions between images of education propagated by central authorities and those of communities are inevitable.

A nuanced understanding of the relationship between movement and success as a good education provides a helpful way of expanding the reading of the field. It offers a critical re-visioning of narrow definitions of Pasifika success as Pasifika. Movement to seek a good education understood as a strategic expansion of space simultaneously values the promise of new experiences and existing community. It does not construct choice between exclusive categories but provides a context for edgewalking.

9.6 Access to a 'Good Education'

This section discusses Knowledge Claim 2.

Aotearoa New Zealand portrays itself as a democratic nation. The educational system aims to "[l]ift aspiration, raise educational achievement for every New Zealander" (Ministry of Education, 2015, 'Our Purpose') and to give "every New Zealander... the choice and opportunity to be the best they can be" (Ministry of Education, 2015, 'Our Vision'). Such statements assume that democratic and consultative processes are occurring in ways which make choice and opportunity meaningful for diverse groups in areas such as education, and that the processual construction of democracy is therefore not required. This position is problematic where there is little onus on schools to debate aspiration with communities, nor to assure the availability of any particular set of opportunities to any specific group. The evidence shows that in Aotearoa New Zealand, aspiration is framed overwhelmingly as the gaining of qualifications even in 'ethnic' documents such as the Pasifika Education Plan (Ministry of Education, 2013a), and that in practice restrictions are placed on the availability of certain aspects of education to some groups (Jensen et al., 2010b; A. Wilson et al., 2016). As discussed in Chapter Five, by contrast a thick democracy (Beckett, 2001) is one which deliberately constructs itself as a fluid and

dynamic entity through embedding processes of inclusion in the conceptualisation and structuring of institutions such as education.

A thickly democratic society requires both a vision of itself as a space for the fulfilment of a range of axiological expressions and as the provider of agentic strategies to achieve this. Where this happens, there is concurrence with Dewey's (1916) notion of a democracy as continually adjusting and contextually improving through positive communication and intergroup interaction. If diasporic populations are present in a democracy the implication is that their goals will inform, and enter into a dialogue with, the dominant goals of society and its institutions. As discussed above, this makes diversity a source of democratic strength. Schooling, which replicates patterns of domination from the past (Aronowitz, 2004), is a force which uses power to re-create or maintain aspects of the status quo. Education, however, assumes that change is an inevitable and rational reaction to inequity, but one which requires a willingness to redistribute historically-secured power.

As discussed in Chapter Four, aspects of the way critical race theory (CRT) understands power suggest reasons why the ideal of democracy envisaged by Dewey is difficult to attain. Also discussed was why, when absent, systematic strategies to promote a 'thick' or constructed democracy may also be absent. Such reasons depict education as an area where hegemonic power is maintained through the exploitation of difference, and where 'rights' associated with Whiteness as property are exercised. Where this is true, the critical aspect of education as a process is downplayed in order to reproduce institutional aspects of education as a system. CRT challenges such reproduction through strategies such as making racialised social categories visible and thus contestable, and notions such as education debt which focus on the transfer rather than possession of educational property. Despite the evidence of institutionalised racism as defined by Spoonley (1988), popular discussion of educational inequity in Aotearoa New Zealand often denies the significance of racism (e.g., Singh, 2015, 27th July) and the literature of the area is often silent on the issue (e.g., A. Wilson et al., 2016). In these circumstances, the need for re-framing becomes evident. The contribution of this study is as an edgewalk to provide a pluralism which exposes dominant paradigms and allows individuals and institutions to

extend their range of response to diversity. Achievement of positive inclusive change even at a local level provides a significant, if limited, challenge to hegemonic power.

The discussion of access to a good education so far can relate to many non-dominant groups beyond Pasifika students. This is because an argument which links democracy and education through access to opportunity describes a general and ideal case. However, this theoretical position will now be applied to the Pasifika population of the study. This will involve a consideration of Pasifika people as subject to particular social constructions, and as potentially having specific, if evolving, cultural expectations. These ways of understanding the contours of Pasifika education will be discussed in the context of three forms of Pasifika success highlighted in the findings: participation, acceptance and comfort. As relational categories, each relies on reception by others and on Pasifika people's views of themselves.

9.6.1 Participation

Pasifika success as participation can come from the mutual recognition that, despite the hierarchical roles implied in teaching and learning, all people involved in a negotiating process carry worth. Both teacher and student can exercise expertise over what they already know, operate as inquirers, and work against the notion of learning as an act of passive reception. This embodies a funds of knowledge (Moll, 2015) approach to education. The idea of Pasifika success as participation recognises that without engagement and involvement, passivity produces a sterile and disengaging imposition of knowledge which is closer to schooling than education. This study reveals that participation is valued by Pasifika students and vested in a number of situations. These include: opportunities to speak; being seen as capable; the experience of high expectations; and the contours of particular learning environments. These findings are echoed in the literature (e.g., Spiller, 2012). One way that students experience positive environments and high expectations is through their experience of pedagogy which here refers to the behaviour of teachers as they relate to students in learning-focussed contexts.

Pedagogy which encourages participation can create a space for students to engage in learning in which diversity is valued and where the relationship between teacher and

student implies mutual respect as potential contributors. However, constructions of what it means to be Pasifika are also relationally significant and affect: the potential seen in Pasifika students; the value placed on aspects of Pasifika culture; and the way that student enactments of particular pedagogical situations are understood. Pasifika students as a group can be positioned by reference to a number of ideas. Their presence in New Zealand schooling can be seen as the outcome of a deep historical desire for education as discussed in Chapter Two, a desire which continues to be expressed in movement (malaga). At the other end of the spectrum, their activities can be read through the kind of stereotypical images which produce minoritisation, as discussed in Chapter Four. Thus, being Pasifika can be seen as a strength or made problematic - with a range of possibilities between these two positions. In this discussion, matters which may make Pasifika success as participation problematic will be discussed first by referring to issues both in and out of education as well as their intersection. Following this, a strengths-based examination of the grounds for enhancing success as participation will be given.

As discussed in Chapter Four, all members of a society are affected in one way or another by the images and narratives which permeate it. As a result, there is an inevitable interplay between teacher understandings of pedagogy and social constructions of what it means to be Pasifika. Thus, one aspect of what makes Pasifika success as participation distinct from the concerns of many other groups is related to the nature of these constructions. As discussed in Chapter Two, the history and portrayal of Pasifika peoples occupies a unique place in what Spoonley (1988) describes as the "historical trajectory of a particular society" (p. 6), that of Aotearoa New Zealand. That place can be negatively constructed (Loto et al., 2006), visible in the findings in the way students voice themselves as on occasion feared, mistrusted, or treated differently in moments of discipline. That these feelings are sometimes expressed with the "double-bind" (Sue et al., 2008, p. 278) of self-doubt reveals that some Pasifika students feel themselves subject to negative constructions both at that moment and more widely. As part of a "long brown tail" (Johansson, 2014, p. 17), regarded as less smart than groups such as Asians, and as members of a group for whom a hard education is not anticipated, various Pasifika students in the study bring themselves to education as negatively-constructed in part, whatever their own ideas of success may be. At times, these constructions are reinforced by the members of the brotherhood, such is their permeation into social life. This feature is reflected in the

literature. For instance, being 'brainy' under the belittlement of minoritisation may be seen by Pasifika students as being "a brainy guy-bots…[f]rom the Samoan word fiaboto [sic] which means you think you are clever or you are a know it all" (Spiller, 2013, p. 30). Under these circumstances, participation in education takes place under contested conditions. Notions of potential, of what being Pasifika implies, and the relationship of Pasifika people to education may affect the way success as participation both takes place and is understood.

Constructions of Pasifika students which have unintended consequences need not rely on negative images of minorities but can result from the projections of majority culture. Sue et al. (2007) regard the erasure of culture in intercultural relations as a form of microaggression. Tellingly they exemplify this in Latino and Asian contacts with majority white U.S. teachers in terms of the way acceptable participation is constructed: "'Why are you so quiet? We want to know what you think. Be more verbal.' 'Speak up more'" (p. 276). In this study, these sentiments are visible, attributed to teachers by parents. This is microaggression since it presumes an ideal way of participating in education, confusing the form of participation with participation itself. The findings suggest that where Pasifika students are constructed as shy or quiet, this kind of process may be at work. That is, cultural and environmental parameters of participation are erased in the construction of an ideal. This ideal is embedded in pedagogical practices such as those which involve the ritual of the raising of hands to indicate a desire to ask or answer questions in a dialogue with a teacher. Thus, a situation is created whereby Pasifika success as participation becomes more problematic as a result of the way success is defined. This is confirmed by parents' ideas about their sons' abilities to participate in non-shy ways where they differ from the type and level of participation seen or expected in school. It is also confirmed by the importance of environmental aspects of participation in Pasifika students' stories.

The significance of the interplay between localised moments in education and wider social constructions can be indicated by comparison. Asian students may be pejoratively viewed as 'quiet' when compared to a White ideal as shown in the U.S. example given above. However, in both Pasifika participant understandings and in wider society, Asians in education in Aotearoa New Zealand may not face the same negative constructions. The thin literature available does point to negative misunderstandings

regarding quietness and participation in the case of Asian fee-paying students in the tertiary sector in Aotearoa New Zealand (Li, Baker, & Marshall, 2002). For New Zealand-Asian students in secondary school, being quiet may be given different meanings in the context of the 'Asian 5'. This common trans-Tasman term locates an expectation of success in the Asian population by linking the group to 'hard' subjects (e.g., Uncyclopedia, n.d.), displaying societal expectations which are confirmed by examination results. Here, being quiet may be read as being brainy. This contrasts with what the literature has to say about expectations of Pasifika students, particularly relevant given the low expectations reported by Pasifika students in the case study school as discussed in Chapter Three. Framed through a CRT understanding of society, varied expectations are a product of the assignment of conceptual categories by race.

Situations where participation as a form of Pasifika success as Pasifika is made problematic are not immutable. As will be discussed later, the development of relevant knowledge and resilience to participate in uncomfortable situations is also a form of Pasifika success. However, deconstructing the parameters of non-participation can also make a contribution by clearing ground because creating positive spaces for Pasifika participation requires that negative constructions be addressed. The literature, like the findings, discusses the importance to students of teachers believing in them (e.g., Hawk et al., 2002), presumably because more general portrayals of Pasifika people can undermine self-belief. As evident in this study's findings, ideas embedded in terms such as the long brown tail lead to the construction of choice between conformity to stereotype or self-assertion. This choice is also visible in the literature (e.g., Nakhid, 2003). Nakhid suggests that schools should avoid constructing this kind of choice by providing metaphorical space where students' self-construction is valued. Although comfortable classrooms may remain sites of contestation because social and institutional factors are concurrently at work, both the literature (Milne, 2013) and participants suggest that where space to achieve Pasifika success as Pasifika exists, the enhancement of participation is possible. The next section discusses two elements in the construction of environments capable of this: those which display acceptance, and those which construct comfort.

9.6.2 Acceptance

This study has found that participation as success is related to two further forms of Pasifika success: acceptance and comfort. Participation involves making an active contribution to education. Acceptance and comfort refer to the successful construction of interpersonal and environmental contexts which promote participation. Where participation is theorised as largely a matter of personal choice, ability and/or effort, and engagement is judged through participation in ritual forms of activity, there may be an inherent assumption that every individual is subject to the same environmental parameters in education, understanding and experiencing these in the same way. Thus, environmental considerations are erased. By contrast, if education is seen as a relational activity, participation is subject to interpersonal and environmental factors. As a result, participation, relationality and environmental comfort are interconnected and assume a shared significance. In this view, whether or not one decides to participate may be conditioned by factors both inside and outside of the self, including perceptions of those with whom one learns and the relational environment in which participation is expected. This is especially true where the self is socially constructed as, for instance, in Samoan depictions (Anae, 2016; Bush, Collings, Tamasese, & Waldegrave, 2005; Tamasese et al., 2010). To fail to see Pasifika educational participation as a relational category runs against both Pacific-origin theorisations of life as discussed in Chapter Four and dialogic theorisations of education such as constructivism. Thus, just as participation contributes to achievement, the emotional outcomes of interpersonal acceptance and environmental comfort contribute to participation.

As shown in the Chapter Eight, success as acceptance is described by many Pasifika students as important for optimum participation in classroom educative activities. This can be understood as an interpersonal factor acting as an enabler of active participation. One student contribution is especially helpful here for the way it explicitly links respect, acceptance, and emotionality in the context of increased engagement and consequent achievement. It is a statement made about the effect of a particular teacher on self-efficacy.

I was learning more. I was more focussed...She was like real kind to me...and that helped me want to progress forward...She respected me. And it felt cool...cool to be accepted for who I am...

This response illustrates a perceived link between cognition and emotionality. In this example, because the interpersonal aspect of the relational environment includes unconditional acceptance, the learning environment supports the student to accept a forward movement in education. This is because learning and relational environments are indivisible parts of a whole, one in which unconditional acceptance promotes the kinds of emotional and spiritual connection which foster belonging. While this student's response is remarkable for its perceptiveness, it aligns with other student contributions to the research concerning acceptance and kind teachers. These suggest many Pasifika students are assisted in committing to learning when they feel accepted. Learning pre-supposes that one will become different as a result of negotiating with those with whom one learns. It may be hard to embrace an unknown future self in a context where the present self is not valued. The frequent references in the literature to teachers who are significant for Pasifika students reinforce the importance of acceptance as a feature of success in Pasifika education (e.g., Hawk et al., 2002; Perrot, 2015; Siope, 2011). Star teachers communicate through dialogic action that they accept their students as they are, creating a stable environment for the risk-taking which leads to educational progress.

Helu-Thaman (2003b) shows that cultural framing can define the role of a teacher to include the idea that teachers will accept their students and will both care for them and model caring behaviour to them. This kind of thinking is ethical and in Pasifika education can be theorised through teu le va. Understanding success as acceptance in this way provides a lens through which Pasifika students' expectations of teachers are a positive and potentially distinctive aspect of Pasifika education. Such a view transforms what may appear an exotic weakness - an unhealthy or special dependence on teachers - into a normal healthy state of affairs which revolves around a relational invitation to engage. In this context, cultural distance (Alasuutari & Alasuutari, 2009) rather than cultural difference becomes a helpful metaphor in intercultural education. It invokes not permanent separation, but a space which can be traversed through the development of understanding. Where teachers and students deliberately shift their understandings to close cultural

distance regarding what should be expected of classroom interaction, this can be seen as a move towards constructing a thick democracy (Beckett, 2001) at an institutional or classroom level. Deliberate action, such as that at the heart of the catalytic aspect of this research, can facilitate a negotiating space (Mila-Schaaf & Hudson, 2009b) in which respectful intercultural understanding can develop so as to give rise to inclusion.

However, Pasifika success as acceptance is not always valued or achieved. As the findings show, a lack of acceptance may be perceived by Pasifika students as a consequence of stereotyping and experienced as microaggression. It can be made evident to Pasifika students through teacher behaviour which stresses, rather than reduces, cultural distance. The findings show that Pasifika students perceive themselves as different from Palangi. Students may not wish to be deliberately treated differently but to be accepted on their own terms. Teacher behaviour which contains the assumption that everyone is the same is thus an expression of cultural distance. The same applies to assumptions that acceptance is not a significant factor in teaching and learning, that it can be presumed to exist and need not be communicated, or that teachers know what it is to be Pasifika.

9.6.3 Comfort

The findings of this study indicate that Pasifika success as acceptance is related to success as comfort, a concept which echoes the language of the Pasifika/Māori voice study of tertiary education of Mayeda et al. (2014). Acceptance is interpersonal, part of the relational environment in which optimised teaching and learning can take place. Being comfortable is a state of being, a response to positive relational qualities in an environment. It promotes access to a good education because students experience and understand an environment as a space which they can navigate and where they feel they belong.

The significance of comfort to Pasifika students is clear in the findings of this study in a number of guises. At the mundane level the tone of voice, body language and patience of teachers can contribute to the qualities of a classroom, making it a comfortable place in which to learn. However, the operation of comfort can be extended by reference to wider environments. These can include the construction of resilience in otherwise hostile spaces

through the comfort of belonging, for instance, in the brotherhood. Equally, comfort produced by the acceptance of an individual teacher can change a student's global self-image as a learner (Siope, 2013). In these cases, the quality of a relationship with one person or group may sustain a student through others.

The most significant consequence of comfort is a heightened potential for participation in educational activities as a result of emotional security. In classrooms, Pasifika success as comfort is related to the pedagogy of particular teachers at particular moments and how relationality is affected. Given that being comfortable is experienced in context, the boundaries of learning environments can have significant consequences for Pasifika students. According to the findings, restricting the scale of environmental boundaries of teacher-student interaction is likely to promote the kinds of comfort which can lead to participation. Teachers moving towards students while teaching, setting up small groups or paired work, asking individual questions in more private environments; all these are advocated by Pasifika participants as general ways of increasing participation through comfort.

The significance of boundaries can also be demonstrated through contrasting emotional anecdotes. One story which had an emotional telling is that given above of feeling *'cool'* as a result of acceptance by a teacher. The context of this student-teacher encounter was a moment of private personal challenge offered by the teacher to the student. A second keenly felt story is that of a student whose error was used as a public teaching opportunity for his whole class as recounted in 8.5.1. These moments, which both had consequences for learning, had interpersonal and environmental aspects. In the first, privacy promoted closeness, comfort, the acceptance of challenge and future engagement. In the second, feeling shamed in front of a class promoted interpersonal distance, the experience of discomfort, and a vow to give up the subject. In this study, Pasifika students describe the way they value being corrected as a way of being assisted in their learning. What is significant in the second anecdote is how correction occurs. It is not bad news which causes a level of discomfort sufficient to promote disengagement, but the interpersonal and environmental context in which it is experienced. This is related to the scale of the environment. The boundaries of learning environments are significant because public exposure can promote discomfort which then affects relationality. As will be argued

below, relationality can be viewed through culture, a move which provides distinctive contours to comfort as an aspect of Pasifika success.

The environment in which comfort either develops or is restricted is not one dimensional or absolute, but includes contextual factors. Specific factors associated with the case study school include the minority status of Pasifika students and internal migration. Pasifika students are aware of general minoritisation, and there may be specific related challenges for out of zone students from certain locations, perhaps in terms of expectation. Another contextual factor is the reputation of the case study school as a high-performing academically-focussed institution. This, paradoxically, is part both of its attraction and of its challenge as a context for Pasifika education. Socially-constructed conceptual categories of Pasifika may have specific effects in this space. For example, some pathways through a school may be perceived as more Pasifika than others and operationalised through institutional practices and/or through the self-conception of some members of the brotherhood. Any Pasifika student aware of constructions of a hard education as being for white boys or of the brown tail faces potential challenges in following the kinds of academic pathways which are available precisely because of the site they have chosen for a good education. Both the findings of this study and the literature (e.g., Perrot, 2015; Siope, 2011) point to the agentic effect of particular teachers under circumstances of challenge, an effect which the findings suggest is associated with comfort produced through acceptance which can lead to participation.

9.7 Poto: The Essence of a 'Good Education'

This section discusses Knowledge Claim 3.

The findings suggest that Pasifika success as Pasifika can include 'extension of range'. This kind of success refers to the number of contexts in which competence is shown by a person. Part of the reason that some families pursue a good education where their sons will be in a minority is bound up with the opportunities to extend range that this affords. That is, they seek an environment where interaction with non-Pasifika people, their practices and their ideas is a feature. Pasifika success as the extension of range involves learning how to operate appropriately in new situations. Although learning can be

seen as developing an understanding of curriculum content and the parameters of curriculum knowledge, Helu-Thaman (1988, 2003b) offers a Tongan understanding of an additional component - the skill to contextually enact learning. Helu-Thaman suggests that this kind of wisdom, poto, is demonstrated by contextual competence. As discussed in 5.5.5, the concept of poto is present in the literature of Pasifika education (Fairbairn-Dunlop, 2010a; Frengley-Vaipuna et al., 2011; Kalavite, 2010). While wisdom in its English use is often a general quality, one can be poto in one context but not in another. This is one reason that the concept is helpful in a discussion of the extension of range.

Extension of range in this study generally involves students developing the skills, knowledge and practice to benefit from contexts which are framed according to Palangi thinking. It involves more than a willingness or ability to be adaptable and refers to access and use of contextual knowledge. In Pasifika education teachers have the role of supporting the development of students' capabilities in new areas. This is appropriate because a differentiated understanding of a specific field is the seat of hierarchical relationships in teaching and learning, with teachers being further along their disciplinary road than students. Students nonetheless bring non-specialist frameworks of understanding to the transaction, significant because the usefulness and relevance of knowledge is relational, not absolute. Where educators acknowledge the framework of their field and realise that other possibilities exist, the way forward is explicit teaching about knowledge structures, potential relevance and use. For example, Tuagalu (2008) describes the knowledge of Western education which he holds as a gift to his Pasifika students. This implies a responsibility to impart knowledge and to facilitate its reception by assisting students to see how information could be relevant and useful, in this case through disciplinary framing, that subject-specific scaffold in which relationships between items of subject-specific knowledge are located. However, social, philosophical or cultural frameworks can also perform this role. Indeed, one way of understanding a disciplinary structure is as an intersection between these perspectives. As Burnett (2007) suggests, a connection "between knowledge and life ways needs to be made more explicit in teaching and learning. There needs to be a fundamental recognition that the educative process, no matter who is driving it, is not an apolitical exercise" (p 271). Attention to the relationship between knowledge, framing and use echoes the concerns of Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo

(2002) discussed in 4.4 for the validation of relevant Western knowledge in indigenous frameworks, an area made more complex in a diaspora.

However, it is not just academic knowledge which is amenable to being approached by the concept of poto. This study suggests that relational and axiological knowledge is also relevant. By viewing the development of poto as a form of success in education, any contradiction implied in moving to a space of good education where that education itself may be blocked by issues of participation, acceptance and comfort can be resolved. The findings of this study suggest that seeing a good education as involving the development of poto in exactly the kinds of situations which produce these challenges is logical. That is not to say that Pasifika parents arbitrarily seek difficulties for their children as some kind of deep-end strategy (Johnson, 1982) or to deliberately create difficulty. Instead, achieving the circular goal of malaga, bringing back to the community something which is valued, can be achieved through students developing the ability to act appropriately in new contexts. Diasporic life, especially in the modern Western world, continually involves adjustment. As parents suggest, the idea of hard work as a way of achieving the migrant dream may need to be replaced by smart work and defined by life rather than core values. This requires contexts for learning and/or practice.

An area which comes under focus in the findings as a priority for parents is the extension of their sons' range of relational skills. A good education includes the opportunity to be exposed to situations which can help Pasifika students develop the skills needed to relate effectively with non-Pasifika people. This sees the aim of education as the development of the "tangata poto" (Koloto, 1998, p. 131) or whole person, taking success beyond achievement by offering a much wider perspective. A second non-academic area where parents seek extension is values. Pasifika parents discuss the value of recognising the axiologies at work in Western-dominated contexts and their strategic adoption by their sons in certain circumstances. When parents juxtapose life and core values, this not a matter of absolute but contextual choice. While recognising the tension which may be created in learning to effectively straddle both, parents see Pasifika success as the skill to know when and how to apply each set of values to gain benefit. One set of thinking might need to be held *'in check'* at some points and there may be a need to *'blend'* at others.

Understanding decision making as contextual is another manifestation of the way the concept of poto assists a reading of Pasifika success in this study.

The ability to move fluently from one context to another has been called edgewalking (Tupuola, 2004), world travelling (Lugones, 1987) and the ability to demonstrate poly-cultural capital (Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010). The latter term is perhaps the nearest to what is seen in this study. Through it, wisdom can be seen as the appropriate selection of knowledge from both a student's home-based fund of knowledge and that which is developed through intercultural interaction in education. All three terms resonate with the concept of migration as malaga discussed in 2.5 and 8.3, and with education as additive to a student. Learning, like migration, can be a transformational and not a diminishing experience. Both movement and education point to a desired future but can take account of a valued past. However, both rely on the reception given to travellers. Expecting a positive outcome from the pursuit of the knowledge and skills to be poto as a member of a minority assumes that the goodwill of those involved in Pasifika education, teachers, parents and peers, will provide the resource for any resilience required.

9.8 Va: The Space for a 'Good Education'

This section discusses Knowledge Claim 4.

A great deal of weight is attached to relational activity in the findings of this study. This is most clearly visible in discussions of Pasifika success as acceptance and comfort. Since both are implicated in success as participation, relational activity can also be linked to potential achievement. While the terms Pasifika and Palangi present a tidy dichotomy which may not accurately reflect the complex truth of an intergenerational diaspora, they provide a helpful ground for thinking. The literature has generally used the term 'relationships' to discuss relational matters, glossing the relational parameters of Pasifika education as if they were the same as for Palangi education. That this is inappropriate is clear for a number of reasons, one of which is precisely the emphasis in the literature on relational activity. This suggests that there is something specific about this aspect of Pasifika education, a feature which is mirrored in the literature of Māori education (Bishop & Berryman, 2009) but less in the literature of Palangi education. That the nature of

relationships in Pasifika education is specific is also evident in accounts of 'star' teachers (e.g., Hawk et al., 2002; Siope, 2011). Although no conceptual difference is offered, the literature portrays some teachers as being effective in Pasifika education by having a different relationality. In addition, Pasifika peer relationships have been described as distinct. Indeed, it has been suggested that the closeness of Pasifika males is a visible outworking of a different, gendered relationality focussed on values potentially at odds with formal education. For instance, Fairburn-Dunlop (2010a) writes, "Samoan norms of male behaviour, which discourage failure, may hinder the full participation of males in education, encouraging them instead to rely on non-academic avenues to retain their prestige" (p. 147). Put together, these reasons indicate the inadequacy of applying a universal framework to this central concern in Pasifika education.

The findings of this study suggest the problematic nature of using the term 'relationships' to account for relational activity in Pasifika education for similar reasons. Data which crosses boundaries between peers and teachers features relational matters as significant to Pasifika success. In addition, while the idea of the star teacher is present, this is augmented and extended to include heuristic comparative categories of kind and harsh teachers, constructed through the way teacher behaviour affects student-teacher relationality. This suggests it is the relational behaviour of such teachers rather than their inherent personal qualities which is valued. Further, the findings reveal that Pasifika students perceive Pasifika peer-relationships as potentially distinct in terms of relational language and expectations. For these reasons an alternative lexicon and conceptual description is required with which to discuss this study's findings in the area of relationships.

Va, which has been generally translated as relationships but also as relatedness (Poltorak, 2007), offers an opportunity to understand the findings of this study. A main value is its appropriateness as an element in achieving one of the goals of PIR; to establish a unique Pacific understanding of the worlds of people of Pacific origin (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010). However, va also gains analytical strength through intersecting with the theoretical edgewalk of this thesis. The European-origin concept of constructivism aligns with va to the extent that both see education as a relational activity. In a va lens, the key to formal Pasifika education is the relational space between student and teacher. In this, well-

configured relational activity reduces separation and can create closeness, participation and enhanced chances of achievement. In a constructivist understanding, the relationship between teacher and student is where knowledge construction takes place. The coming together of the funds of knowledge of teacher and student can produce a shared understanding which reduces cognitive distance. A hierarchical relationship exists in both va and constructivism, with specific roles ascribed to members of the relationship. However, va embraces an emotionality which indicates a spiritual connection, an area which is not a key element of constructivist thought.

In addition, the relationship between va and dialogical theory provides opportunities for the respectful extension of both. The spatial premise of va offers a way of applying a Pacific-origin framework to dialogical activity, qualifying a Bakhtian view of the world. Va interlinks spiritual and social worlds as they are enacted in material spaces in a way which is congruent with the ecological and processual view of life in dialogic theory. Considering the dialogical aspect of va can be helpful in understanding its transport to new diasporic situations. For example, as discussed in Chapter Four, Mila-Schaaf and Hudson (2009b) suggest va as helpful in theorising a discursive relational space between different worldviews. This is important in an edgewalk which takes account of the dialogic way relationships between Palangi and Pasifika worldviews play out in educational contexts.

A key focus of the value of va in understanding the findings of this study is through the Samoan reference of teu le va, an obligation to care for relational space discussed in 6.2.3. This deals with ideal behaviour, an appropriate focus in a strengths-based study. It calls on relational partners to carry out actions which create well-being and harmony in role-based situations which may or may not coincide with personal liking or personal respect. Connection, contextual obligation, space and holism make va relevant in discussions of Pasifika success in both interpersonal and environmental terms. For analytical purposes, teu le va will be discussed in two stages; interpersonal relationships as they relate to success as acceptance and environmental aspects of success as comfort.

Va is helpful in understanding interpersonal Pasifika peer relationships where the actions of members of the brotherhood offer acceptance for new Pasifika students.

Acceptance is constructed interpersonally since Pasifika boys look after each other. However, it is also role-based, follows a hierarchical structure and is actioned through membership of the group, not personal deserving. In this sense it is caring conducted in a shared relational language on a cultural model through interpersonal contact. The findings show that acceptance by teachers is also consistently desired by students. Although this is constructed in different ways, nurturing and caring through action are relevant in peer and student-teacher relationships and the comfort derived is important in both. Because the importance of acceptance crosses the boundary between peer and student-teacher relationships, this suggests that a single theoretical framework of relational expectation is in place.

Success as acceptance may primarily have social and spiritual implications in peer relations, but in teacher-student relations the interpersonal harmony of teu le va is linked to environmental comfort in Pasifika education. Acts to teu le va by teachers can lead to comfort, participation and thence to a greater chance of achievement. Unfortunately, despite the fact that the ethic of teu le va can be used to guide day-to-day behaviour, the findings show that acceptance is available to students in some relationships and not others. Generally, it is present in brotherhood relations, perhaps because membership is constructed precisely through the knowledge of appropriate relational language. To be a brother is to know this language in a way which embodies Gershon's (2007) articulation of knowledge and identity. In the case of teachers, however, the facility and orientation to teu le va is more variable. There are a number of possible reasons for this, depending on the way relational activity between teachers and students in Pasifika education is understood.

One way of accounting for variations in teacher-student care is through personality. As has been discussed, the literature generally relies on an un-deconstructed concept of relationships to discuss Pasifika education. The reliance of the literature on personal attributes of star teachers may be paradigmatically rooted in a focus on the 'ends' of a relationship, rather than the 'space' between relational partners. This is problematic since it takes a non-agentic approach to teacher development, suggesting that recruitment of certain personality types is the most likely way forward for improvement in Pasifika education. In this regard, Pasifika education is an under-theorised field based on description.

Understanding Pasifika success through a va lens offers an alternative reading where the star teacher is poto, one whose knowledge of responsibility rather than personality lies at the heart of teu le va. As Helu-Thaman (2010) says, the poto person will "know their relationships, social responsibilities and obligations" (p.355). The findings make it clear that Pasifika students have relational expectations of teachers, most simply expressed as being kind not harsh. Perhaps cultural distance (Alasuutari & Alasuutari, 2009) provides an explanation of why Pasifika peer-relationships are more consistent in providing acceptance than teacher-student relationships. While age, role and other factors are also relevant, it may be the level of agreement about what is expected of relationships which is key. Despite the width of role-definitions held by teachers of Western origin (Giles, Smythe, & Spence, 2012) there is potential for weak congruence regarding role expectations and role boundaries (Helu-Thaman, 2003a) as cultural distance increases. Helping teachers to re-view education through a va lens so as to be aware of what might be expected of them by Pasifika students thus becomes important. To decrease cultural distance requires acquisition and practice of the requisite conceptual knowledge. This might depend on teachers seeing themselves as learners and their role as including emotionality. Where this is true, Palangi teachers can learn to teu le va, a claim supported by the findings from the catalytic phase of this study which will be discussed below.

Having discussed teu le va in the context of interpersonal behaviour, it is apposite to turn to va in a consideration of environments in Pasifika student accounts of success. In a va lens, acts of relationality are conducted in a space between people. Actions affect people because they indicate, change or clarify the nature of relationality. While actions may be intended to nurture one relationship, they may be visible to all present in a physical space and have relational consequences other than those intended. A comfortable space is one where kind behaviour creates safety by conforming to positive expectation and thereby fulfilling the expected structurally hierarchical but interpersonally balanced, harmonious and respectful relationships imagined for the classroom. A perception of safety encourages risk-taking such as participation in education. However, the reverse is true: learning is restricted in spaces where discomfort and hostility are experienced. In this study, classrooms which feel hostile to Pasifika students include those which: discourage social interaction; are based on competition; feature private issues being made public; and in which the rules are not clear. These spaces are less likely to be spaces for teu le va because

an alternative logic for understanding interaction is in effect. For instance, where social interaction is devalued, action to teu le va becomes pathologised. Discomfort exists where what a student sees as a small issue is escalated and made public in a wide social space. Competition which pits individual against individual as a way of teaching/learning (as opposed to a bounded learning activity) makes harmony unlikely and comfort more difficult to construct. In some circumstances the discomfort of shame may result.

Conflicts of logic can also be conflicts of ethics. A classroom environment dominated by a teacher is a space dominated by one relational partner at the expense of others. Reciprocation requires opportunity; domination tramples the va. The ethic of teu le va can flourish in spaces which embrace: turn-taking; a more-or-less even distribution of attention; clear indications of appropriateness; opportunities to be active and/or collaborate; and privacy and restraint. Where members of a class, particularly teachers as role models, take opportunities to teu le va the potential to produce comfort is accentuated.

In addition to ethical concepts, the notion of scale is helpful to discuss environmental concerns. In the findings of this study, Pasifika parents describe teachers using pedagogical techniques such as whole-class questioning. In the account of teachers operating in them, these wide spaces feature quiet or shy Pasifika students. Small groups reduce the audibility of voices which might trample the va of the learning environment. Ignoring peer-peer va by concentrating exclusively on whole-class interaction is unhelpful because it suggests that the only relationship relevant to education is that of the teacher-student. This is not logical through a va lens which admits the interconnection of people and relationships and understands the way they are both joined and separated in space.

To summarise the themes of discussion presented so far, the strengths-based orientation of this study has sought Pasifika accounts of Pasifika success, an ideal which can provide navigation for future positive action. The discussion may appear idealistic as a result, since it has focussed on the strengths of malaga rather on the weaknesses of flight/escape, the achievement of wisdom rather than its denial, the power-sharing nature of education in a democracy rather than the power-reproducing nature of schooling, and opportunities to enhance relationality through teu le va, rather than the disturbances created by soiled relationships. However, as the discussion turns to another theme of the findings,

that of resilience, some account will be given of less than ideal situations and of the ways these intersect with Pasifika success. Discussing the interaction between negativity and resilience requires a space of criticality and realism which, because it is backward-looking, has potential for future, positive learning.

9.9 Realities of a 'Good Education': The Construction of Resilience

This section discusses Knowledge Claim 5.

9.9.1 Resilience in Pasifika education

Perrot (2015) discusses resilience as a process in which adversity is mediated by protection to produce an outcome which is better than expected. In the literature of education, resilience is generally focussed on academic outcomes. For instance, Waxman, Gray, and Padron (2003) discuss resilience as leading to "academic success for those at risk of academic failure" (p. 1). Such narrow thinking is not helpful in this study given the width of its findings. In the context of Pasifika education, the idea of resilience needs revisiting. That is not to say that this thesis fails to see resilience as relevant to academic success, nor sees academic success as unimportant. However, examining resilience in Pasifika education requires that other forms of success be included. A wider definition which legitimises a more inclusive view of success is that resilience is the ability to cope positively with adversity, where adversity is a more general category. In this view, adversity can include being faced with a conflict between different forms of success as well as the wide range of general difficulties which hinder the pursuit of potential in education.

Resilience emerges in the findings of this study in two main forms - as a relational resource and as a personal resource. This dichotomy intersects with a number of taxonomic structures as discussed by Waxman et al. (2003). These include that of J. H. McMillan and Reed (1994) who discuss strength derived from relational support in family life and formal learning environments, and individual attributes such as motivation and goal orientation. In this study relational resources can be seen in parental, brotherhood and student-teacher relationships, and personal resources can be seen where Pasifika students discuss

motivations, intentions and strategies to try their best. Another category in J.H. McMillan and Reid's taxonomy of resilience is "positive use of time" (p. 138). This includes on-task behaviour and work completion. In this study constructive use of time is implied in success as participation and in 'trying my best'. Thus, the findings of this study can be mapped with reasonable coherence against the literature of resilience. However, the mapping is not exact, and the security of any clear division between personal and relational resources of resilience, while useful, is open to question, especially where a social construction of the self is theorised.

Seeking to theorise Pasifika resilience has two implications. Firstly, there is a need to describe distinctive aspects of the profile of Pasifika resilience. Differentiating Pasifika resilience challenges universalised notions of what is valued by people, recognising axiology as a component of culture. Secondly, the development of resilience which embodies any distinctive profile needs to be described. Asking questions of its development suggests resilience is a malleable quality, an idea supported in the general literature by those such as Waxman et al. (2003) who stress resilience as subject to alterable factors. In Pasifika education, an account of the development of resilience must discuss the alterability and intersection of both positional and cultural factors. In this context, this study understands position as a consequence of wide social forces, and culture as a relational aspect of life in schools.

9.9.2 Pasifika resilience as distinctive

A starting point for discussing the distinctiveness of Pasifika resilience is to examine the concept of success because what counts as resilience is integrally related to what is regarded as success. In this study academic success is one positive outcome. However, other kinds of success are described by Pasifika students and their parents. Among these are comfort, acceptance, participation and the extension of range. These can lead to academic achievement but also have their own value, placing priority on an inclusive approach to success. A logical implication of an inclusive understanding of success is a wider concept of resilience. As a more inclusive concept, Pasifika resilience can address not only general difficulties students experience but also the relationships between different kinds of success. This is relevant because conflicts between types of

success may produce the adverse outcome of an uncomfortable choice. The literature shows that this kind of conflict may be positionally constructed such as where Mexican students show resilience to resist state-defined conceptions of success as escape from community (Valenzuela, 2005). Here, choice is constructed for students, not by them, and is a circumstance of adversity. The construction of choice can lead to discomfort, produce choice-defined failure, and therefore require resilience. Although some aspects of Valenzuela's portrayal of intercultural education do not apply in Pasifika education, this thesis suggests that a choice between forms of success can exist for Pasifika students in ways which involve culture.

Less stark choices are depicted by Pasifika students in this study than those discussed by Valenzuela (2005). In the microcosm of a school, however, they are significant. As an example, one choice described in the data revolves around stereotypes. Junior Pasifika students can conform to negative expectations voiced by senior members of the brotherhood which may reinforce success as acceptance by the brotherhood. Alternatively, they can assert non-stereotypical aspiration and pursue success as 'trying my best'. An instance from the data of a voiced stereotype is that being a pilot is not a suitable goal for a Pasifika boy, a comment which stands for a whole range of negative conceptual categories reflected from mainstream society. This choice is less blunt than leaving or remaining in community but has a similar profile. Solidarity is under question and a choice is constructed regarding which kind of success to pursue. Choices of this nature have been described in the literature as a relational threat to Pasifika students' identifying processes (Nakhid, 2003). Demands are also made on resilience in the face of " 'chronic' adversity" (Martin & Marsh, 2008, p. 54), a term which refers to a range of factors including the interactive relationship between ethnicity and underachievement, a concern which underpins this thesis.

In the face of choice, a Pasifika form of resilience demonstrated in this study is strategy to mask choice-making behaviour. In the example cited above, silence is the rudimentary strategy of resilience used to conceal ambition in the face of group expectation while leaving solidarity unchallenged. A more sophisticated example of strategy is that of a senior student separating body and mind in order to pay respect simultaneously to brotherhood members and teacher. These two strategies stand for the

range of potential actions of invisibility or silence which are capable of masking choice between forms of success. In effect such strategies look after the va involved in relationships relevant to one form of success while pursuing another, skilfully avoiding conflict on the way. Of course, not all students have developed the wisdom to enact this kind of strategy in every circumstance, and experience suggests that a more common strategy is space-based. This is where one choice is made in a public domain but another is made privately. For instance, a discussion of ambition can emerge in the ethics of a research setting but is silenced elsewhere. The need to use spaced-based strategies illustrates the kinds of hierarchical structures which layer the relationships which come together in Pasifika education. This draws attention to the importance of social space as an element in the construction of choice. Through space, a relational basis to these examples of Pasifika resilience can be seen. Individual goals and social obligations can be successfully mediated where a student has developed the level of strategy required to operate in poto ways in varying spaces. Masking strategies are culturally valuable where the creation of harmony is a key relational consideration. Where minoritisation is implicated in the construction of choice, strategies of this nature can be seen as a more or less unique intersection between positional and cultural factors.

9.9.3 Pasifika resilience as alterable

Having discussed examples of the distinctiveness of Pasifika resilience, the issue of alterability will be considered. The seemingly trivial examples given above suggest a pattern of day-to-day group-enacted microaggression. In these examples a drain on resilience seems to originate for some students through contact with other members of the brotherhood. If the brotherhood is the true seat of demands on resilience, the situation is non-alterable by schools. However, a more nuanced view portrays brotherhood members as internalising not originating minoritisation. In this circumstance the response of schools can make resilience alterable by providing relational resources which affect the understanding of minoritisation and thus the construction of choice. As a heuristic, three levels of school response can be described: critical, topical and null.

A critical response to minoritisation exposes power. CT suggests that the existence of stereotypes is evidence of relationally expressed power. Where disadvantage and

restriction exist for one group, advantage and opportunity exist for another. As two sides of the same coin, one constructs the other. Thus, the deliberate de-construction of restrictive categories for groups such as Pasifika requires attention to normative categories of Whiteness. This can involve examination of curriculum and/or the structures and practices of education. By being involved in explanatory critique in this way, a school can provide a relational resource for resilience relevant to examples such as those cited above. That this approach can be successful in Pasifika education is evidenced by the testimony and achievement of students educated in such an environment (Milne & Students of Kia Aroha College, 2015). In this case, the school was not previously regarded as highly successful, and the majority of its population and the surrounding community derive from minoritised groups. How this kind of critical response might be achieved in settings where minoritised populations are small minorities and/or where a school is regarded as exemplary by dint of its service to majority-group students is unknown. However, the catalytic component of this study provides food for thought.

Where education deals with minoritisation as the problem of the minoritised community, this is a topical and partial response. Addressing stereotypical thinking in Pasifika education by focussing solely on Pasifika people is a topical response. An example of this is when community resources such as motivational speakers and achievers are utilised to challenge minoritisation. As a relational resource for resilience this kind of response is limited. Community success may provide examples of resilience which can be emulated, but may not expose a key force which Pasifika people need to be resilient against: embedded historical forms of power. Educational business as usual can proceed even if Pasifika students build resilience by relating to the stories of "zebras who climb trees"(Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010, p. 4). In this case, resilience can be resourced on a small scale while at the same time drained on a wider scale. The Education Review Office (2014) reports a number of admirable topical strategies in Pasifika education within the case study school but is silent on the need for, or existence of, a critical approach. From a CT point of view this can be seen as the appearance of sharing power while an unchanging basis of power denies redistribution. CRT would call this the protection of Whiteness as property.

A null-response to minoritisation is possible. Where there is a null response to societal factors, minoritisation may be reified in education. This is because social forces are replicated in schools unless there is action to redefine them. Normative and restrictive categories of being Pasifika which are internalised and brought into school are strengthened to the extent that they are visible in the fabric and practice of education. This complicates the context for choice-making discussed above. That conceptual categories of being Pasifika exist in the education system is indicated by the data on differentiated subject choice and anecdotal experience discussed in Chapter Three, the implications underlying simple constructions of brown flight portrayed in 9.5, and in the findings of this study. This circumstance is not likely to provide a relational resource for Pasifika students' resilience but to drain it. Given a null-response, the opportunity to make resilience alterable through the provision of resources is at best ignored, and at worst undercut.

In reality, these three levels of response to minoritisation are likely to operate in a patchy combination in any school. Approaches to power are a matter of axiology, comprehension and positionality. Schools have varied populations and are a web of many relationships. Consequently, members of a school's population in or outside the brotherhood can be implicated in minoritisation. However, what is distinctive about Pasifika education in this study is that members of the brotherhood can be part of a collective identity, a force with its own potential in regard to resilience. What is at issue in the alterability of resilience, therefore, is the relationship between education and this distinctive culturally-enabled potential. Although the brotherhood is made of individuals with their own links and connections, students talk of it as a collective such that access to the relational resource of the brotherhood is a main form of Pasifika success. An example is where a Pasifika boy reported feeling isolated in a class of non-Pasifika students but buoyed by the acceptance of the brotherhood in absentia. While the phenomenon of Pasifika students strategising a shift away from high-achieving white-dominated classrooms is not unknown, in this case the relational resource which is invested in brotherhood members provides the student with resilience to deal with isolation. In the setting of the case study school, especially for high-achieving Pasifika students, this situation is highly relevant. The collective relational power of the brotherhood is alterable to the extent that it is ignored or shaped by the response of the school. Where the brotherhood is apparently left to its own devices, the school erases the implications of

institutional actions taken in forums which are not Pasifika-focussed, but which affect the dynamics of the Pasifika group. These may include the development of narratives involving Pasifika students who gain leadership opportunities for one reason or another, the way students are grouped, or the ways they are publically described. Officially sponsored, public descriptions might include terms such as target, priority or under-served, or feature a particular balance of sporting, cultural or academic references to success.

One way that educational institutions can foster the potential of Pasifika students' experiences of success is through the creation of physical and metaphorical space. The potential of a group to develop identity is enhanced through providing a space for relational activity. This is relevant because the strength and nature of a group's identity is related to its potential to support resilience. In education, Pasifika groups are afforded space to act as a community in a number of ways, one of which is academic. Examples in the literature include school-based homework centres as critiqued by Manu'atu and Kepa (2002) and centralised initiatives such as Pasifika Power-up (Ministry of Education, 2013b). Indeed, as a spin-off from this study, occasional Pasifika 'study events' have been piloted in the case study school, drawing from such models. However, examples of initiatives which create academic space for collectives of Pasifika students are notable for their rarity. Sport and performing arts are more typical areas where space is provided in schools for collective Pasifika interaction by default. The concept of interest convergence (Bell Jr, 1980) is useful here, suggesting for instance that the sporting prowess of a school and of individuals within it generate a joint momentum in ways which do not challenge expectations. Value is added to both players and institution in a way which does not critique business as usual in education.

Although space for Pasifika success can enhance identity and encourage the development of relationships which can resource resilience in other contexts, selective provision of space may also serve to reify socially constructed conceptual categories of what it means to be Pasifika. Through reification, success as extension of range is muted. This is a contradiction within an education system which seeks the achievement of potential, choice and equity. This study is set in a context where the majority group gains enviable academic results. Since the potential for high achievement clearly exists, an approach which has the potential to both redistribute and redefine success in education

may lead to Pasifika success as Pasifika and consequently to academic achievement as one element of this. The relationship of a school to Pasifika students as a group can make being Pasifika a strength where action to support the breadth of Pasifika success as Pasifika is the focus. Such action would value the provision of space across all areas of school life.

In addition to peer relationality, other relationships can contribute to resilience. Through teacher-student relationships, Pasifika students may become poto in educational contexts where non-Pacific ethics and logics dominate. The temporal context of this study, transition from primary to secondary education, exposed a lack of Pasifika success as participation in classroom rituals. Although in the school community quietness was variously understood as an environmental or personal phenomenon, it can be seen as a lack of skills to be poto in new formal educational environments. The literature describes non-participation or spatial withdrawal of minoritised students extending well beyond the start of secondary education (e.g., Curtis et al., 2012; Goldson & Fletcher, 2004; Spiller, 2012; Tuafuti, 2010) which suggests that newness is not the sole cause of quietness. In this study, parental responses to reports of their sons being quiet varied, but included advocating for Pasifika students to work in situations where they are masani (known) and suggestions of alternative ways of teachers interacting with Pasifika students. The first may have merit in the short term by promoting success as participation. However, it also constructs a choice between success as participation and as extension of range.

As discussed above, resilience is required to mediate between competing forms of success. In this case, strategy is required so that the short-term success of participation as masani leads to, rather than excludes, its long-term counterpart. Schools may leave this to happen as a result of familiarity over the passage of time. However, if teachers are aware of the width of Pasifika success they become able to scaffold and thus accelerate students becoming poto in a wider range of educational contexts, particularly true where learning spaces are comfortable and encourage risk-taking. Where teachers can identify and take into account Pasifika relational parameters, these draw attention to the dynamics involved. However, this will not be the case if educators make uncritical assumptions that classrooms are culturally neutral, believe relational matters are the same for all students as for themselves, imagine that issues of participation do not involve environmental factors, or think learning involves curriculum but not axiological and relational knowledge. Under

such circumstances the likelihood is that resilience will be drained and not relationally resourced by teacher-student relationships.

Although parental and community relationships emerge in the study as potential resources for the development of Pasifika student resilience, the case study boundary placed around this work precludes a discussion of the ways these operate and may be developed. Instead, having discussed the role of teachers in supporting student resilience, the discussion turns to an examination of how the required knowledge for this to happen may be developed. In this, the voice of Palangi teachers of Pasifika students has a role to play. As relational partners in Pasifika education, teachers are crucial enactors of a strengths-based approach. Thus, the discussion will first turn to Palangi teacher voice which describes response to Pasifika education under various conditions. Following this an account will be given of how va can be seen as an effective disturbance (Peck et al., 2009) which can contribute to the re-visioning of Pasifika education.

9.10 A 'Good Education' Revisited

A relational focus has been a key in this study. A constructivist view of education, a dialogical understanding of life and a va lens all place relationships at the centre of attention. However, the significance of relational activity is not limited to theory, but has practical application in Pasifika education. Education is a relational activity and in Pasifika education the key operational relationships are likely to be intercultural. Although the main question of the study addresses the ways that Pasifika students understand, describe, and explain success, the methodology of the research has been dialogical and catalytic. It thus addresses the potential for educational change derived from educators' understandings of, and responses to, Pasifika accounts of success. Teacher voice becomes relevant to the extent that it responds to Pasifika student and parent voice and makes possible an examination of ways in which Pasifika views of success can be relationally fulfilled in Pasifika education. This involves a re-consideration of the idea of what it is to be poto. In addition to allowing a discussion of the extension of range of Pasifika students, being poto can apply to teacher learning about relationships and values. Learning to teu le va in ways which take account of Pasifika student and parent perspectives requires a developing appreciation of Pacific-origin understandings of relationality and of their

underpinning axiology. This can promote the strategising of Pasifika success as acceptance and comfort, and provide agency with which to encourage participation in a good education.

Two opportunities were afforded teachers as a result of the dialogical structure of this study, with varying results. The first involved student video mihi. As described in the findings, three levels of response to students can be seen as a result of this phase of the research: instrumental, personal and emotional. However, in relational terms these responses are limited. The first level, instrumental, relies on space in the curriculum to introduce the matter which has been learned. The power of that matter is as wide as the space, but is likely to be limited and momentary. In the second level of response the student is appreciated as a person. This has value which is limited to the individual student. The third level of response, affective, is the most deeply relational because it involves an emotional response to student self-exposure. That is, the humanity of the student is acknowledged as evidenced by the self-conscious emotional awareness of the teacher's response. Here, interpersonal emotionality is not limited by opportunity, space or time. The kind of affective responses exemplified in the findings resonate with descriptions of star teachers in the literature (e.g., Hawk et al., 2002). Warmth and a sense of connection which goes beyond coincidental common interest and towards a sense of shared humanity or spiritual connection are present. If translated into classroom actions, this type of response may result in 'kind' actions which create comfort as a result. However, while useful, this is still a matter of personal response and not obligation.

The limitations of teacher responses to Pasifika students following the video mihi are brought into relief by responses made after the second dialogical opportunity. These include a fourth level, self-awareness. This level is significant because it is structured through a comparison between a va lens and the default theory of Palangi teachers. Self-conscious changes of language, ideas about the legitimate use of power, classroom tone, use of time, expectations and values feature as self-aware responses to Pasifika education. In other words, by negotiating new understandings of their classroom environments, teachers' previous understandings become both visible and mutable. Because the teacher learning in this study was contextualised, refined and grounded in changed practice over time, and was supported by a small learning community in the school, the literature

suggests that such significant experience is likely to be sustained in its effect (Peck et al., 2009). Instead of being provided with an opportunity to see students in more detail, an encounter with va offers teachers an opportunity to re-view practice in relational terms. This is a fundamental and potentially powerful shift, capable of embracing all aspects of Pasifika success as Pasifika.

Pasifika success as Pasifika is an area of education which is restricted by the exercise of power. Critical theory demands an examination of that power and of its claims of legitimacy. The presence of Whiteness, exclusionary power based on the naming of success, is apparent in the results and discussion chapters of this thesis. Indeed, the nature of a research question which deals with Pasifika success 'as Pasifika' is a tacit recognition of the ubiquitous nature of business-as-usual as that which generally defines success. Thus, a 'good education' in this context requires unpacking in the light of the kinds of tradition and thinking which stretch back to the European origins of formal education in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The assimilatory characteristics of this tradition, discussed in section 2.7, support a certain kind of success as a default. This is most clearly present in Pasifika education by the pursuit of success as achievement in the Pasifika Education Plan, and consequently in the targets set for, and pursued by, schools. Achievement in this sense currently means the accrual of credits in a framework which is centred on the supposed needs of the economy, perhaps best achieved by inhabiting the mould of a certain kind of ideal student (L. Smith et al., 2002). That the dominance of Palangi views of success in education operates to the colonisation of Pasifika success (through the diminution of other components of success, even in the PEP itself) reveals a central issue in the difficulty of obtaining Pasifika success as Pasifika: the definition of success and therefore its achievement are relational. The power to name success is the power to say what is valuable in education. However, as was discussed in 2.8, exclusionary concepts of success can be contested by eroding their legitimacy and exposing the assumptions which underpin their relational base, exactly the type of work which the action research method in this study sought to achieve.

Data from the action research method suggests that engagement with an alternative axiological and conceptual framework has promise for the erosion of a unitary and

colonising understanding of success. This is precisely because such engagement creates a space for negotiation understanding. A taxonomy or template of approved personalities/characteristics/behaviours for teachers, such as those often provided to teachers, can be operationalised without understanding. This means that change can be catalysed where the challenge provided to Whiteness is both personal, a result of disruption to existing thinking through exposure to an alternative, and interpersonal, a result of exposure to the 'voice' of Pasifika students, particularly voice talking about teachers. However, where the legitimacy of business-as-usual is supported by silence/invisibility, through the construction of epistemologies of ignorance (Olson & Gillman, 2013) or through deliberate prejudice, Pasifika success as Pasifika is made oxymoronic.

Progress in Pasifika success may be made if the CRT notion of the permanence of racial exclusion is accepted, but action is taken to reduce its power. Silence can be broken, the invisible can be described and, as Olsen and Gillman suggest, ignorance can be disrupted by transformational pedagogies of connection and friendship. As a result, prejudice can be critiqued. In a complex democracy founded on European traditions of racial and epistemological dominance (Scheurich & Young, 1997), critical opportunities need to be created in schools, but not in isolation. Instead critique requires the construction of a thick democracy (Beckett, 2001) in order to first achieve, and then sustainably support, a widening of the basket of forms of success. This is essential for a participatory democracy as envisaged by Dewey (1916), where that democracy is formed of diverse people with their own values, goals and aspirations. Only then can Pasifika success as Pasifika be taken the next step towards normalisation; Pasifika success as success (C. Nakhid, personal communication, April 21st, 2017).

9.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a discussion of the findings of this study. It began with an introduction followed by a reprise of the strengths-based underpinnings of the research. This included the problematisation of discussion as an activity. Following this, five knowledge claims were asserted and discussed in turn. These involved: the use of malaga

to assist an understanding of movement; positional and cultural factors affecting access to education; a good education understood through the concept of poto; how va assists a nuanced understanding of relationality in Pasifika education; resilience as a relational resource; and the catalytic action of mediated dialogue in this study. Finally, the discussion was disturbed by reconsidering the relational nature of Pasifika success as Pasifika and the role of Whiteness in making its achievement more difficult. Chapter Ten, the final chapter, presents a summary of the study's offerings at various levels and to various groups.

CHAPTER 10: LIMITS AND POTENTIALS

The next frontier...is personal and emotional, not geographic. It will take all of us stepping beyond current boundaries to affirm the enlightened values by which our world must go forwards.

Nina Boyd Krebs, 1999, p.13.

10.1 Chapter Outline

This study has sought to answer the question 'How is 'success' in formal education understood, described, and explained by Year 9 Pasifika boys in a high decile New Zealand secondary school?' Consequently, attention has been paid to student voice, supported by parental and teacher contributions. This final chapter of the thesis begins by giving a layered account of the contributions and possibilities offered by the work. This is generally organised in the same sequence as the thesis itself. Then follows a brief discussion of the va between the study and the world. The final part of the chapter is a moment of self-reflection where attention is returned to the researcher, bringing the study full-circle.

10.2 Contribution and Utility

This section engages with the title of a presentation by Visser et al. (2007), "Is your research making a difference to Pasifika Education?" In a sense this question asks, 'So what?' of all Pasifika research. While research involves the defence of knowledge claims through theoretical and methodological means, in a field such as Pasifika education the development of knowledge is only an interim goal, a means to an end. Because the lives and futures of Pasifika students and communities are affected by the profile of Pasifika education, and because the state of knowledge about the field affects that profile, there is an ethical need for research to account for its potential to facilitate positive change in an unsatisfactory field. Research which is poto creates knowledge which can be directly enacted, or at least demonstrated as relevant and capable of being enacted by others. Because scholarship is a long-term intergenerational joint venture in knowledge

construction, this chapter deals with direct catalytic action associated with the study and with the potential for consequential catalysis in the practice of others. Whilst the former is related to the validity framework of the study, the latter is related to the validity of scholarship as an enterprise. Thus, this chapter will reflexively revisit other chapters to highlight the offerings made. The result is a nuanced answer to the question posed by Visser et al.

10.2.1 Offerings to theory and literature

This study makes a contribution to the field of Pasifika educational research through its theoretical synthesis. The first three chapters of this thesis provide an introduction to the three main elements which articulate in this research: researcher, Pasifika people and the education system. Chapter Four frames these in an innovative tripartite theoretical synthesis. The first stage of this, the critical perspective of the researcher, is not unusual in the field. The second, the selective transportation of critical race theory (CRT) of US origin, is less common. Some work has used a similar approach, for instance an examination of Pasifika (and Māori) tertiary experiences using CRT (Mayeda et al., 2014) and a synthesis of CRT and Kaupapa Māori theory to address Pasifika (and Māori) education (Milne, 2013). This study's innovative contribution is to synthesise elements of CRT with a Pacific Indigenous Research paradigm (PIR). This approach promotes critique of intergroup education while articulating the specific concerns of Pasifika people regarding Pasifika education. It prepares the ground for the introduction of transported concepts of Indigenous Pacific origin such as poto and malaga as analytical tools. It also supports researchers to pursue social justice in Pasifika education by theorising ideal relationships against a background of structural inequity through ethics of Pacific origin. Future development of this framework offers the research community a fluid way to make Pasifika educational research context-specific whilst remaining tied to the realities of life in a diaspora where power normalises Whiteness.

As well as extending theory, this study contributes to the literature of the field through critique. The argument of the literature review in Chapter Five mirrors the study's theoretical orientation by initially seeking guidance from intergroup situations outside of the immediate field of Pasifika education research. This move clarifies the contribution an

international perspective can make to Pasifika education. The review reveals assumptions about teaching and learning operating in the language and conceptions of the literature such that explanations for, and descriptions of, Pasifika success have been portrayed as exotic or unusual. The study thus contributes a reflexivity which asks for more self-consciousness in the scholarship of the field.

A second offering the study makes to the literature is extension of the field of Pasifika education research. This is a result of responding to research goals in Pasifika education (e.g., Chu et al., 2013; Coxon et al., 2002; Ferguson et al., 2008; Ministry of Education, 2012b). The study pays targeted contextual attention to: a gendered community; a regional setting; a high-decile context; transition between sectors of the education system; identity formation; teacher expectation; the preparation of culturally responsive teachers; values of Indigenous Pacific origin; and Pasifika success. It seeks to address various gaps or thin spots in the field in these areas. The study goes beyond taxonomic descriptions of relationality provided by previous literature (e.g., Hawk et al., 2002) by theorising relationality through va. This is supported by explicit intersection of the emotional and environmental concerns of students with their descriptions of teacher behaviour. The design of the research has facilitated the application of this theorisation to both the descriptive and catalytic aspects of the study.

10.2.2 Offerings of methodology and methods

The methodological design of this study was expounded in Chapter Six. The framing of this research as a mediated dialogue refines the model established by Nakhid (2003) through the ethics of teu le va (Airini, Anae, et al., 2010; Anae, 2010a, 2010b, 2016). Methodological focus is placed on the aim of achieving balanced, harmonious and mutually beneficial relationships through dialogue. The mediation aspect of the methodological design is a realist response to hierarchical relationships in Pasifika education. The dialogic aspect serves to amplify Pasifika voice and experience in the education system within a framework where a positive response is expected by and of all parties. Thus, the methodological contribution of the study is to re-shape previous approaches through an appropriate ethical framework. This is achieved through the application of teu le va in both the methodological thinking and its outworking. The

alignment of contextually appropriate ethics with a dialogic methodology paves the way for further studies which seek to learn from building relationships in intercultural contexts.

Chapter Six also discussed the methods used by the study. Two methods offer a particular contribution to the field: video mihi and the embedded action research model. The innovative use of video mihi leverages the possibilities of new technology to allow people to easily construct themselves for a specific audience. Digital technology and hand-held devices are common-place in schools in Aotearoa New Zealand; self-taken images are common currency. Thus, self-made video production can be a naturalistic (Tossell et al., 2012) method. To use the example of student-made video mihi, this study shows that when a person is given the facility to construct themselves for another through video, many levels of positive relational response are possible. One feature to consider in the way the method is used is timing. Mihi were made and viewed in this study before students and teachers met in order to give Pasifika voices the first word in student-teacher dialogue. Thus, the method draws attention to time and space in self-construction. The video mihi method has particular significance where an ethic of relationality is valued, such as in Pasifika education. It can preserve some aspects of face-to-face contact, introduce visual rhetoric (Hocks, 2003) as a way of supporting meaning and mediating some of the immediate effects of relational power.

The study also demonstrates a sustainable method for creating change in Pasifika education: an embedded action research model. The claim of sustainability is based on the resources involved: students, parents, staff, and the case study school's professional development (PD) time budget. The only 'special' provision was researcher time, covered in this case by the school's specialist classroom teacher (SCT) time budget. The study demonstrates that when allied to locally-sourced student and parent voice, such a programme can be used to provide conceptual disturbance (Peck et al., 2009), opportunity for discussion, the planning of actions to embody change, peer-observation and self-review. The value of such a method is demonstrated by qualitative changes in response to Pasifika education as described by teachers in mihi whakamutanga and discussed in 9.10. Given the history of centrally provided PD funding where models are reliant on uncertain external funding, the scaled-down autonomous approach of this method is a worthwhile contribution to the field. Its impact echoes the disturbance provided by other methods such

as enabling teachers to visit Pacific Island villages (Allen & Robertson, 2009) in order to facilitate insight into Pacific practices and thinking, potential

but in a more sustainable way. Embedded action research as used in this study confirms the value of consultation with groups such as Pasifika, especially where dialogue is directed at learning from, not about, others.

10.2.3 Offerings from findings and discussion

The findings of this study were presented in Chapter Eight and discussed in Chapter Nine. This section outlines the contributions of those findings viewed from the lens of the critique which generated them. The critical theory (CT) orientation of this study sought empirical data capable of highlighting coincidence/divergence between ideology and practice with the aim of resolving mismatches or contradiction. In this regard the study makes contributions to Pasifika education at a number of levels: policy, school, classroom, and community. However, because education systems are ecological, critiques and implications discussed in one space affect others. For instance, the way a teacher relates to students in a classroom is contextualised by the way institutional behaviour frames that teacher's role. Thus, although this section is organised as a series of apparently discrete areas, this is an organisational strategy rather than an accurate representation of the relational web of Pasifika education.

Among the policy aspirations of the general education system of Aotearoa New Zealand which are relevant to Pasifika education are: the realisation of excellence and equity (Education Review Office, 2016a); the goals of lifting aspirations and achievement for all students; the provision of "choice and opportunity to be the best they can be" (Ministry of Education, 2015, 'Our Vision') to all students; the use of reciprocal teaching/learning or ako (Ministry of Education, 2002) which implies the value of students' cultural, experiential and positional knowledge as a fund of knowledge (Moll, 2015); and the opportunity to contribute within an essentially constructivist curriculum (Openshaw, 2009). The Pasifika Education Plan (PEP) focusses these general aspirations in the context of Pasifika education. The latest iteration speaks of Pasifika success as involving "demanding, vibrant, dynamic, successful Pasifika learners, secure and confident

in their identities, languages and cultures, navigating through all curriculum areas" (Ministry of Education, 2013a, p. 3). It has a vision of students who are "participating, engaging and achieving in education…and contributing fully" (p. 3) to Aotearoa New Zealand. These contemporary aspirations have historical roots such as the aim to enable students to develop to the "fullest extent of his [sic] powers" (Fraser, 1939, p. 3). However, they are expressed in a situation where embedded historical forms of power persist. Particularly relevant are assimilationist practices (New Zealand Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988; Stephenson, 2009), deficit theorisations (Alton-Lee, 2003; Gorinski & Fraser, 2006; Nakhid, 2003) and minoritisation. Assimilationist practices deny the value of uniqueness which has been claimed for Pacific-origin worldviews (Anae et al., 2001) and work against emancipatory self-description. Deficit theorisations pathologise uniqueness and work against the emancipation of being received as one would wish. Minoritisation, audible in the voices of Pasifika students in this study, makes uniqueness a point of criticism, and potential harder to enact. Future-focussed aspirations of education are therefore likely to be in tension with pre-existing traditions, methods and conceptions. It is in this tension that gaps between ideology and practice sit.

This study is supportive of existing policy to the extent that the concepts of success of its participants are represented in statements about practice. There is explicit correspondence between the study's findings and the PEP in a shared focus on success as participation in education. There is also implicit correspondence between the findings and the general vision of the Ministry of Education if the Pasifika student goal of 'trying my best' is mapped against students being "the best they can be" (Ministry of Education, 2015, 'Our Vision'). This mapping seems viable since both encapsulate the aim of maximising potential. In addition, both the findings and the PEP relate success to identity. This is an explicit concept in PEP-defined success and a key element across a number of forms of success in this study. For instance, diversity expressed in relational language is bound up with identity. In addition, extension of range (poto) theorised as poly-cultural capital (Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010) requires security of identity(ies), as does resilience. Thus, participation, potential and identity provide common ground between this study and existing policy in Pasifika education.

Where there is less correspondence is in the area of the construction of relational success. It is here that a critical contribution can be made. This study reveals relational categories of success such as acceptance and comfort. These are the interpersonal and environmental faces of relationality; students experience success as being accepted by someone and feeling comfortable in an environment. Considered in the light of the general goal of the education system that students will have "choice and opportunity" (Ministry of Education, 2015, 'Our Vision'), these forms of success point not just to Pasifika students and their decisions, but to the relationships in which decisions are constructed.

There is a case for arguing that within the constraints of an ethnic umbrella concept a Pasifika-specific approach to relationality is required to construct appropriate relational forms of success. Star teachers and comfortable environments are evident in the literature and in this study's findings respectively, but neither is ubiquitous. A CT approach suggests deconstruction is needed in any inequitable historically-conditioned situation where change needs to be constructed. In this case, existing relationalities need to be identified and disturbed in order to create space for change. A contribution of this study is to demonstrate that an emergent understanding of va has potential to provide a disturbance (Peck et al., 2009) to teachers' thinking at an axiological level in ways which can lead to changes in both understanding and practice. The study also demonstrates the potential of combining conceptual disturbance with locally-sourced voice. Since teaching as a profession involves caring for individuals in one's classes, the closer voice is to the teaching-learning situation, the greater the perceived relevance and emotional engagement of the learning available to teachers.

This study also makes offerings at the school level, particularly by drawing attention to Pasifika collectives as a relational resource and by warning against taking a solely individual approach to students who recognise themselves as part of a collective. Section 9.9 discusses Pasifika success as resilience as an alterable matter and links this to the va between the school and Pasifika brotherhood. Schools can nurture this va through ways which decrease the need for choice between forms of Pasifika success such as participation and peer-acceptance. Avoiding the construction of choice between forms of success can support the achievement of students' potential. Alternatively, schools can ignore this va or only provide selective nurturing in areas such as sport and culture-as-

performance. A potential outcome of this is the reinforcement of societally-sourced stereotypes where patterns of minoritisation are reified in the fabric of a school. Deliberate long-term caring action at both individual and collective levels to create space for Pasifika students of the kind suggested by Nakhid (2003) is a recommendation of this study. This may be a challenge to the ways some schools think and act in the field of Pasifika education.

At the classroom level, this study points to the cultural aspects of mundane everyday pedagogical practice. Since the findings demonstrate differences in the way that common pedagogical traditions are interpreted, positionality and cultural expectation can be seen as factors in the way classrooms are experienced. This claim is supported by the emotional reaction Pasifika students can have to events which might seem ordinary to their teachers, for instance the hands-up ritual. The intersection of emotionality and pedagogy is particularly pertinent if it is accepted that behind historically-grounded rituals sits an ideal student with a cultural component (Derald et al., 2007) often at odds with the views and behaviour of Pasifika students in this study. The study suggests that attention to the cultural aspects of teacher and student role-definition and to the way minutiae of pedagogy are understood may be helpful. Re-thinking at this scale may provide practical traction on policy goals by making explicit what is recognised by Pasifika students in this study: teaching is a cultural activity.

This study offers catalysis at the community level. Positive change has occurred for the Pasifika community of the case study school. The most direct answer to the question "Is your research making a difference to Pasifika Education?" (Visser et al., 2007, presentation title) is that the immediate community is now served by a small cadre of teachers who have a deeper appreciation of Pasifika realities in education, and clearer ideas about how to support Pasifika success. In addition, both students and parents have described catalysed learning. Parents have discussed personal benefits at meetings to receive the mihi whakamutanga, including intergenerational conversations catalysed by involvement in the research to investigate va. Some students have also described the way externalising their experiences of education has led to increased agency. Thus, conscientisation (Freire, 1973) may have led to a heightened perception of how a good education may be conceptualised and pursued for some participants. Because of its

catalytic effect, the structure, ethics and conduct of the study provide a model capable of being adapted and validated by other Pasifika communities and their schools.

10.2.4 An integrated model of Pasifika education

Having presented the contributions of this study by reference to various levels of Pasifika education from policy to community, it is appropriate to re-focus by proposing a holistic model of Pasifika education. This is based on the discussion of research findings in Chapter Nine. The model is referenced to three interlinked concepts of Pacific origin: malaga, poto, and va. These concepts come from more than one Pacific Island culture and have been used because they have emerged from the literature of the field, indicating their potential for theorising in a Pasifika context. For instance, Mackley-Crump (2011) glosses malaga as journey in a multi-ethnic Pasifika context; Fairbairn-Dunlop (2014) seeks to understand New Zealand Samoan male behaviour by reference to the Tongan concept of poto; and va occurs in many Pasifika contexts (Reynolds, 2016). Strategic theorising under the Pasifika umbrella recognises the strengths of concepts of varying origin in a changing environment but does not legitimise wholesale homogenisation. In the following sections Pasifika education will be depicted through Pacific-origin references. This is an emancipatory move, capable of disturbing homogenising Euro-centric descriptions. This is thick description (Kincheloe, 2005) and suggests intergenerational motivations and understandings which may sit behind present day actions.

This study has referenced movement in Pasifika education to malaga. Taken in a holistic and expansive way, this concept can refer to many kinds of movement (Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009). In this research, malaga refers to shifts in physical, psychological, cultural and ethical environments in order to arrive at the putative site of a good education. Malaga implies a focussed journey; it is not aimless, but strategic and focussed on axiologically-defined goals such as a good education. Education as malaga is not merely a personal matter but is conducted in a collective ethic. This study suggests that an optimum Pasifika educational malaga involves success in these forms: acceptance; comfort; participation; resilience; extension of range; and ultimately achievement. This view of malaga is represented in Figure 1 as a garland. Reference to malaga sees education as a movement through time and space where success is found both on an everyday basis

and over a long time span. For instance, day-to-day participation leads to the achievement of a good education, which in turn can support the fulfilment of an obligation to make a life-long social contribution. Such movement is circular, has an expectation that a return of some kind will be made and is relationally bounded.
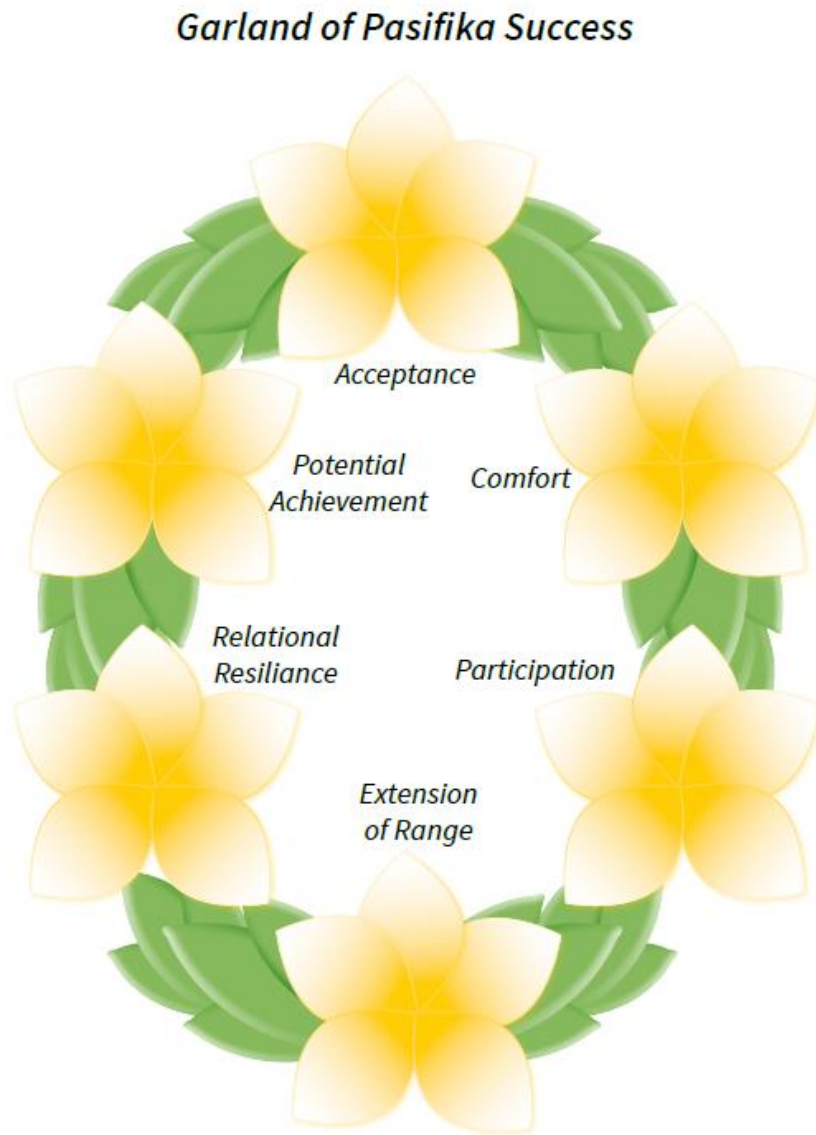
Garland of Pasifika Success

Acceptance

Potential
Achievement

Comfort

Relational
Resiliance

Participation

Extension
of Range

Figure 1. *The garland of Pasifika success as a gift for a malaga*

Image by Liz Tui Morris (Bolster Design)

People on a malaga may be given a garland. These are made of flowers selected for their purpose by smell, colour or other significance. The gifted garland is worn as the malaga progresses, but may be replaced from time to time. In this study the garland is the gift of the ideal grounds for Pasifika success as Pasifika given to young Pasifika students as they transition to their new school. Well-selected and appropriate flowers enhance their malaga of education. Dangerous or unpleasant flowers need to be discarded. In a complete, beautiful and balanced garland, many kinds of Pasifika success are represented by different blossoms. The garland may not last forever, but the relationship with the giver(s) remains.

Malaga can be linked in this study to poto. In its Tongan form, to be poto is to use helpful knowledge to act in contextually appropriate ethical ways (Helu-Thaman, 1988). Since movement creates new experiences in new places, malaga creates opportunities for people to become poto in a wider range of contexts. Journeying to new environments means that new cultural elements are likely to be encountered, new connections made, and new understandings developed. The goal of extending the range of contexts in which one is poto implies a holistic view of education and can include axiological and relational understandings. Understood as a movement towards increased poto, gaining and using academic, relational and axiological knowledge is an interlinked project, not a hierarchy where the academic necessarily trumps others. The poto student is able to: overcome the challenges involved in learning; gain a good education as defined by community; develop polycultural capital (Mila-Schaaf & Robinson, 2010) including dual relational languages and sets of values; and return the benefits to community through a successful malaga. This is illustrated in Figure 2.
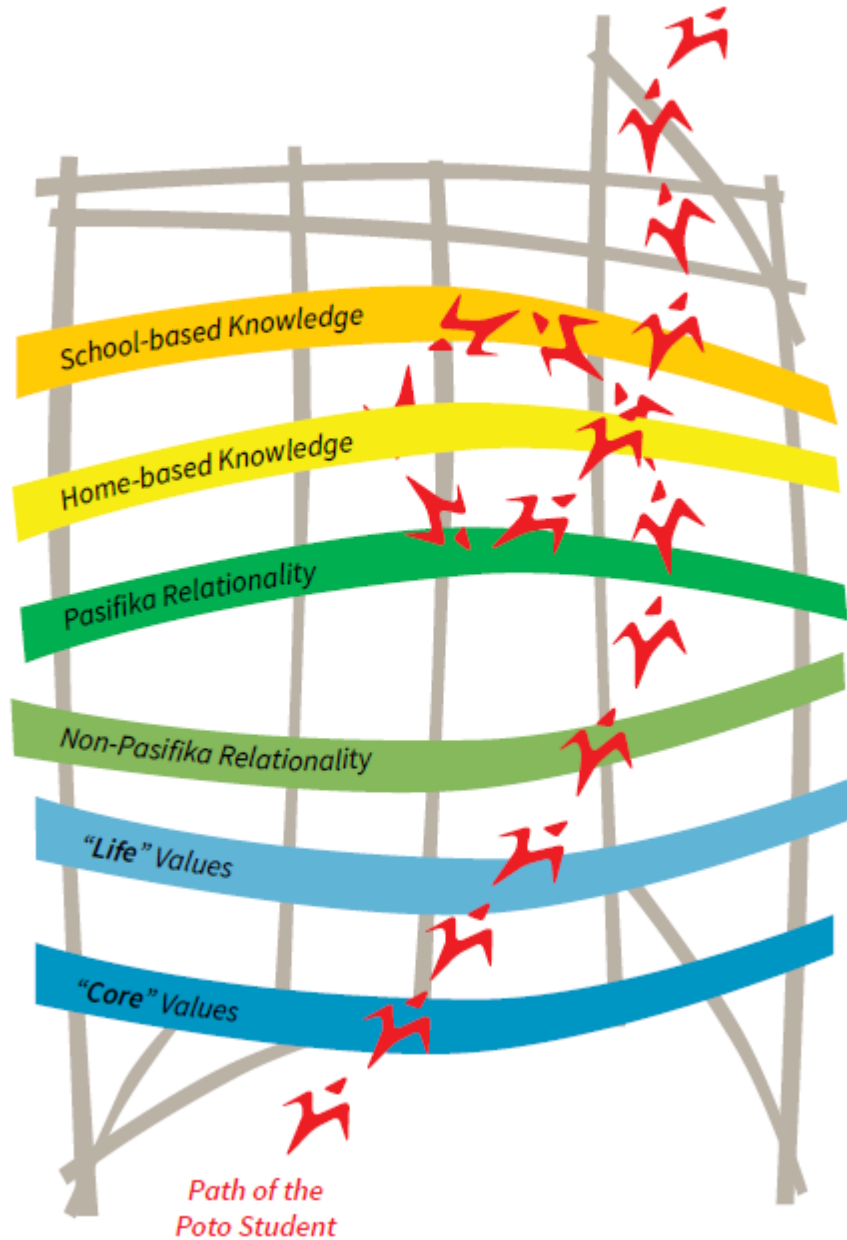
Being Poto as Navigating Effectively

Figure 2. *Being poto as navigating effectively using a stick chart*

Image by Liz Tui Morris (Bolster Design)

Stick charts support navigation so that journeys can take place safely. The horizontal sticks on the chart give information such as the directions of swells. They are held apart by transverse sticks in order to maintain the necessary space (va) between them. Without these spaces the chart is meaningless. Day-to-day winds might move a vaka away from the shortest route, but a skilled navigator with a fit-for-purpose chart knows where they are at all times and is able to adjust accordingly. Sometimes a 'backward' movement might be necessary to reset a journey. In this study the poto student can apply the skills to navigate axiological, relational and cognitive knowledges from more than one origin, weaving a contextually useful path forward on their educational journey by understanding the va in each context - knowing how each form of knowledge relates contextually to others. The winds, currents and tides of day-to-day events might affect the journey path but understanding the various va always helps. Navigating a backward movement and then moving again towards the destination represents success as resilience. The extension of range or the successful navigation of new contexts is illustrated by a general movement up and right towards a new destination.

Being poto in Pasifika education includes developing the security to fluently cross between worlds, a product of understanding when and how to navigate the va between worldviews. A fluid traverse between worlds is neither easy to achieve nor maintain because contexts shift. Fluency is a life-long demand which requires resilience. In this study, resilience has been portrayed as resourced by relationships. The quality of various va can either support or drain resilience. This is illustrated in Figure 3. This study suggests that where relationships teu le va in ways which are recognisable to Pasifika students, a whole range of forms of success including the growth of resilience can follow. These forms are likely to contribute to success as achievement.
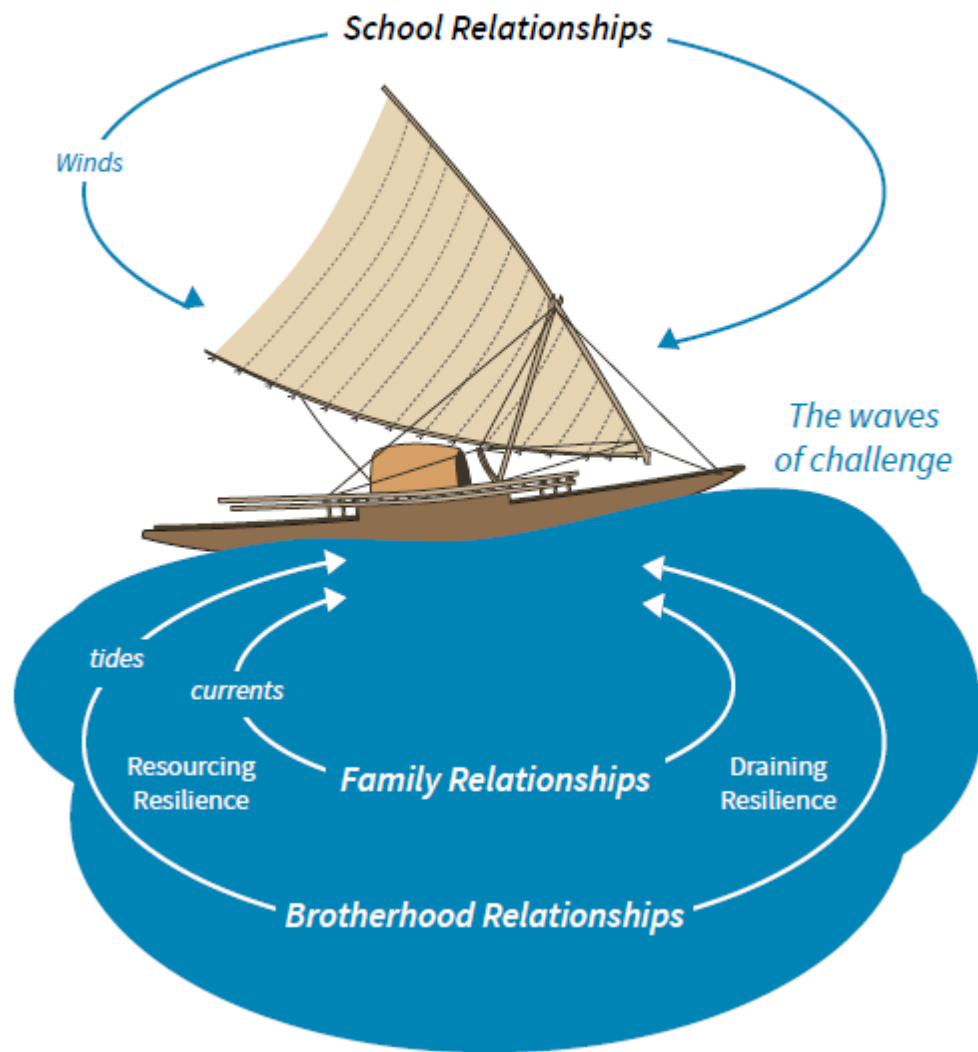
Figure 3. *Pasifika student resilience as the various va of a vaka*

Image by Liz Tui Morris (Bolster Design)

The traveller, navigating with a chart, rides the vaka through high seas. The prow cuts the waves most fluently when the wind, tide and currents align with the direction of travel. Misalignment slows progress, creates peril and demands more navigational skill. In this study the traveller on the malaga of Pasifika education is blessed if they have become poto at navigating the va of different contexts. Where there is alignment of relationships in the direction of the journey, resilience is resourced and the high seas of educational challenge can be met. Alignment involves an understanding of the motivations for travel, confidence in the potential of the traveller, and belief in the success of the venture. Misunderstanding, lack of confidence and doubt hinder progress, making for untidy va which consequently drain resilience. Sidesteps in the journey may follow, or the traveller may sail in a direction which denies the malaga itself.

A holistic model of Pasifika education embraces ako as does the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007). That is, it sees teacher learning and teacher resilience as necessarily complementary to Pasifika success as Pasifika because ako is a reciprocal relational process. In this understanding the significance of appropriate knowledge to support well-cared for student-teacher va cannot be over-estimated. It is the teacher's obligation to care for the classroom va by constructing learning situations which are likely to develop students' academic understanding, honouring the constructivist intent of the curriculum. This invokes challenge and reciprocity and requires student participation. It is also the teacher's obligation to develop a pedagogy where acceptance, comfort and participation become normalised goals and are evident as outcomes. If extending range is also recognised as a form of success, teachers need to be prepared to scaffold cultural as well as academic learning. For instance, scaffolding which supports the development of additional relational languages can support the growth of student resilience and poly-cultural capital. The classroom va sits between student and teacher, belonging to neither but configuring obligations for each. In order to understand and fulfil the obligation to teu la va, teachers and students need to be poto, to recognise that more than one understanding of classroom events may be operating and act positively on this knowledge. For this reason, a holistic and integrated model of the construction of Pasifika education includes teacher learning as a corollary of a desire to foster the learning of Pasifika students. This is represented in Figure 4. One pathway for supporting this has been outlined in this study.
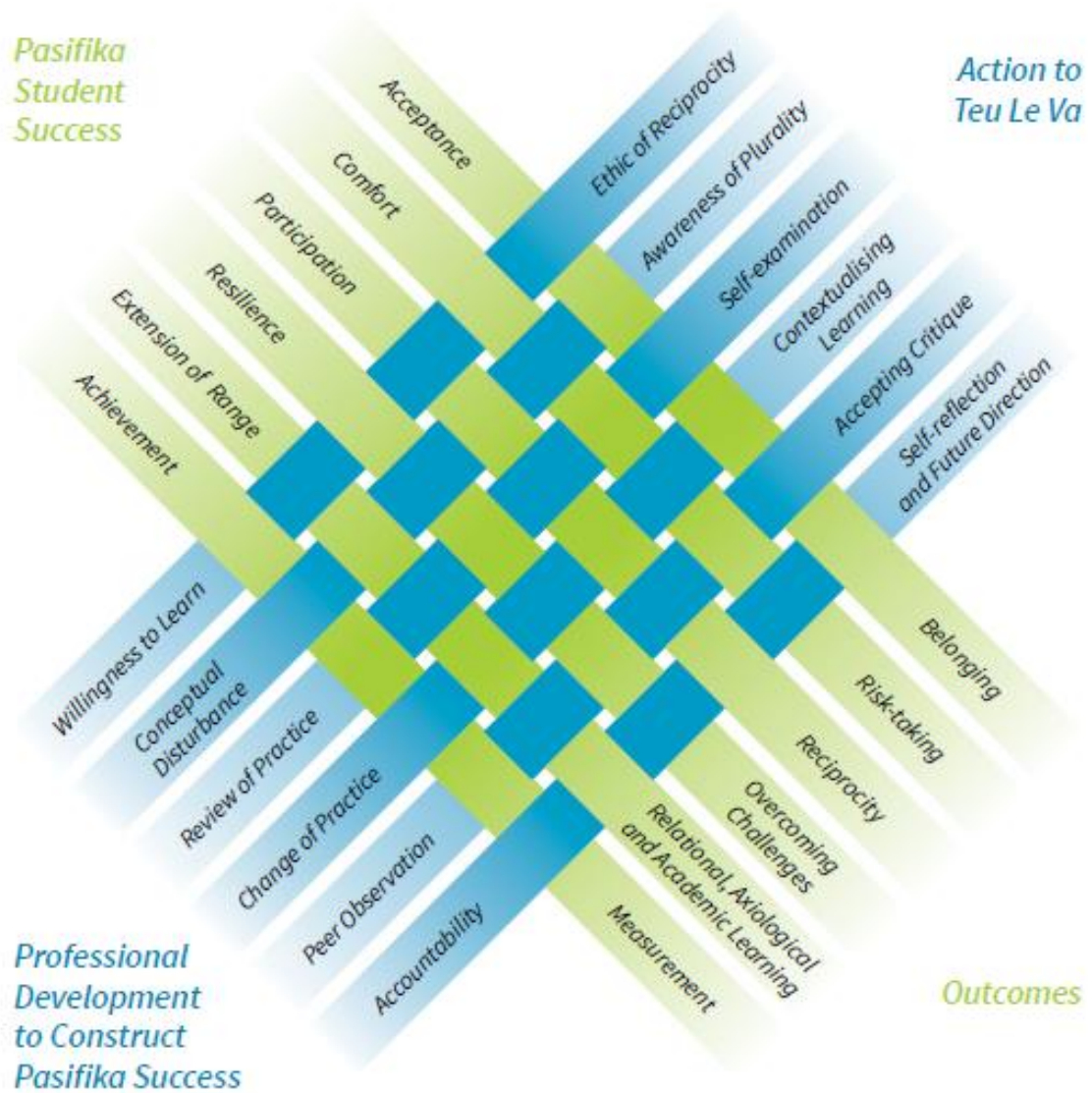
Pasifika Success as Pasifika in Education

Figure 4. *Pasifika success as Pasifika in education as a mat*

Image by Liz Tui Morris (Bolster Design)

Woven mats are a Pacific icon. Weavers learn by weaving and those who sit together on a completed mat are connected through the weaver's work. Producing a mat is a time-consuming process in which the community are involved. Mats are woven of strands from different directions and the strength of the mat comes from their intersections. A tidy mat will generally be made of strands of equal width woven with great skill and patience. Valuable mats are highly prized and can be an object of exchange on a malaga. In this study, constructing the mat of Pasifika education involves teachers and students jointly weaving the intersections of student success and teacher learning. The reciprocity of the va of the mat is shown by the tightness of the weave. This indicates the close relationality between student and teacher learning in successful intercultural Pasifika education. The mat is shaped to have even sides, where each strand of Pasifika success as Pasifika leads to an outcome and each step of teacher development leads to teacher action to teu la va. The number of forms of Pasifika success produces a mat which is broad enough to make it valuable, while the number of stages in teacher professional development indicates the time required for construction. Constructing the mat of Pasifika success gives value to the malaga of Pasifika education and creates a prize worth returning to the community.

To summarise, an integrated model of Pasifika education in the context of this study involves movement which can be understood through Malaga, applied contextualised learning which can be understood through poto, and space which can be understood through the relational concept of va. Knowing why students have come to find a good education, understanding the value of that education, and being able to implement it relationally is the obligation of the education system and those in it. Any changes in classroom activities must be matched by change in the way that teacher PD is conceptualised, for one depends on the other. Without deconstruction of existing thinking around Pasifika education, classroom changes are unlikely to challenge the pervasive assimilationist and deficit theorisations which have historically permeated Pasifika education. The contribution of this study to understanding Pasifika education through the development of an integrated model is to support the va between theory and practice by suggesting a framework which: articulates ideas and actions; supports theory to explain practice and practice to develop theory; and integrates Pasifika success as Pasifika with the cultural development of poto teachers. Ultimately this involves the acceptance by the education system of the gifts of knowledge offered by Pasifika students, parents and their

cultural heritages as contextually valuable critiques of existing practice and as contributions to the development of criticality as a way of being. Plurality provides multiple perspectives from which disturbance (Peck et al., 2009) can arise. It invites continual dialogical reappraisal of historically naturalised, powerful but constructed forms of thinking. The development of such intergroup dialogue is an aim of democratic society as advocated by Dewey (1916). The enactment of an integrated model of Pasifika education where Pasifika-Palangi understanding is deliberately fostered is an act in constructing a thick democracy (Beckett, 2001). Thus, a final contribution this study makes is to be a small part in the movement to foreground wisdom from the Pacific in the education system of Aotearoa New Zealand, asserting its potential to positively frame areas such as relationality and wisdom such that the limitations of dominant ideas can be eroded and their boundaries expanded to meet the needs of democracy in a diverse society.

10.3 The Va between the Study and the World

Anae (2010b) writes of teu le va as including "tidying up relationships we have…with those above, below and beside us in order to achieve positive outcomes for all" (p. 233). In this context, the obligation to teu le va suggests the value of an account of what this research is, and what it is not. That is, since the design and actualisation of research are always a trade-off between ideals and day-to-day environments, it is ethical to 'tidy-up' by revisiting the relational spaces involved in the process, clarifying how the research sits in them, and therefore giving an indication of how it sits in the wider world.

The research has facilitated a collaborative space for a number of participants with various roles in Pasifika education: student, parent, teacher. The intimate sample size has been advantageous in allowing for an in-depth enquiry in an iterative and dialogic structure. This has revealed contextual considerations in the profile of Pasifika success as Pasifika. Although the scope of the research has not been wide and the design has been a single-site case study, by drawing attention to context the study provides a useful indicative field of potential features to assist thinking in other settings. Given greater resources, a comparative multi-site study may have produced similar depth while working with a longer roll of participants. However, this may have been at the sacrifice of relational intensity, a valuable feature of Pasifika research and an element of teu le va.

Participants in this study were Pasifika students and parents happy to be involved in ethnic-focussed research, teachers seeing to develop their understanding of success in Pasifika education, and a researcher intent on building on the strengths of all involved. The methods used to recognise and relate to potential participants can be seen as fit for purpose given the research question and sub-questions, but also as a further element of teu le va. Seeking participants with shared goals but with different perspective has enabled the catalytic potential of research to teu le va to be maximised. However, this study has not paid attention to people who might be Pasifika but who do not wish to embrace the ideas associated with the term. Similarly, a study of teachers unmotivated to pay attention to Pasifika education has not been pursued. While all teachers of Pasifika students need to address the issue of Pasifika success, that has not been the business of this study.

The research has sought to teu le va by making strategic decisions upon which action can be predicated. The study is focussed on Pasifika education in a context where, as the results show, the disputed umbrella term 'Pasifika'(Samu, 2006) has some on-the-ground meaning. Its design has responded to the practicalities of education in a small diverse Pasifika community within a larger non-Pasifika context, using the umbrella for specific contextual purposes rather than in a totalising way. Similarly, this study has sought to leverage the tension between intergenerational diasporic change and the resilient core of Pacific origin concepts (Tamasese et al., 2010) in order to provide a nuanced and beneficial understanding of Pasifika education. As a consequence, an adaptive, fluid, pan-Pacific approach to Indigenous Pacific concepts has produced a wide inclusive base for understanding expressions of Pasifika success. It should be acknowledged that even the most respectful adaptation of such concepts is open to challenge, and thus it is an act to teu le va to restate the value of fluid and contextually-specific thinking as a foundation for action rather than as a statement of absolute or enduring fact.

This study has made a strength of relational closeness. It has offered ways of consulting people and gathering data guided by the obligation to teu le va. Rather than being primarily based on the rights of individuals, this ethical framework advocates for the kind of relationality embedded in the study's design. Certain kinds of vulnerability are created by methods which expose research participants' feelings, ideas or understandings and relay these to other participants. In this study talanoa and mihi have made a strength of

this kind of exposure, justified by the explicit aim of creating knowledge to support relationality between research collaborators. In this circumstance vulnerability is matched by ethical expectations which include collaboration, appreciation and the pursuit of positive outcomes for all. Such considerations point to the value of this research approach to situations where ethics are capable of balancing vulnerabilities with expectations. Pointing out that this is not a universal understanding or goal is an act to care for the va between this research and the wider world.

10.4 Research as Edgewalk: A Personal Reflection

The concept of edgewalking entered the field of Pasifika theory through Tupuola (2004). Use of the term has grown because of its value in describing intercultural experiences in the Pacific diaspora. Some may favour the idea of border walking. For instance, Symonette (2004) discusses boundaries, borderlands and border crossings in multi-ethnic situations. Borders, however, are fairly stable and predictable features of social topography. Borderlands may have mixed rules but they are places in their own rights. Crossing a border implies one might be there for some time. Edgewalking has different connotations. It involves what Krebs (1999) calls the "personal and emotional", ideas conveyed by the danger of being on an edge. From an edge one can step backwards and forwards as a continual action, one can trip, one can fall. Krebs says that edgewalking is not crossing a boundary but "stepping beyond our current boundaries to affirm the enlightened values by which our world must go forwards" (p. 13). That is, edgewalking is a mentality, a commitment.

This edgewalk has been a way of caring for the va between the Pasifika community and education, between the roles I occupy in school and as researcher, and between myself as outsider and those inside the Pasifika experience. Adopting an edgewalking mentality should be seen as critical, disruptive of approaches to Pasifika education and to research which are framed by less particular and more universal understandings. All research is a matter of interpretation, and seeking to walk the edge between the academy and thinking which has its origins in the Pacific provides scrutiny both ways. The academy is found wanting if the logic of interpretation through va and related concepts is too

easily dismissed. Pacific theory is found wanting if it is unable to adapt to changing circumstances, new relations and adjusted va.

This study has listened to the voices of Pasifika students and parents about their ideas of success as they have navigated relationships, time and space. It has illuminated the edgewalks of Pasifika students stepping between the past and future, comfortable and uncomfortable environments, restrictive stereotypes and individual potential, and multiple worldviews. The findings of the study suggest that a successful edgewalk is facilitated by the relationship between the elements on either side of the edge. Well-configured and negotiated relationships support an easily walked edge. Hostility, exclusiveness, ignorance, the construction of choice and the exercise of power without love make the edge perilous. Successful edgewalking may seem to be facilitated by the resources of the walker, but such resources can also be relational. This means that in the ecologies of research, education and life we all have a part to play in the success of others when they encounter the challenge of edgewalking.

Edgewalking involves risk and exposure. This study has asked students, parents and teachers to trust and reveal aspects of their lives. It has also asked teachers to step out, accept the challenge of realising that there is an edge to walk in Pasifika education, and to take steps along it. No one has been asked to deny their identity but to accept that of others. No one has been asked to agree with anyone else, but to develop understanding of the positions of others. This is the spirit of talanoa. As this research malaga approaches its end, it remains committed to its mission to bring entities together: theory and action; a range of Pasifika and other understandings; and various actors in the case study school. For the many who chose to accept its challenge, the journey has been an opportunity to learn.

My learning has been at many levels. I have walked the edges between the academy and professional practice, various research communities, the case study school's Pasifika and Palangi communities, and my various roles of learner, researcher, teacher and teacher-mentor. I have contributed my best effort to stay critically wide-awake (Greene, 1977, 1978). If I have succeeded at all it has been due to those around me, their love, critique, trust and guidance. I have learned to value a developing understanding of va, and to re-address teaching in the light of an obligation, not just a desire, to exhibit care. I have

been challenged to redefine education as a socially motivated circular journey in a way which is at odds with the individualistic linear metaphors of progress which structure aspects of education in Aotearoa New Zealand. The width of my thinking has been enhanced by looking from the edge at both sides of the terrain – that which is new and that which is familiar. Each illuminates the other.

While the field of Pasifika education has been the focus, the study also addresses intercultural education and ultimately the search for social justice. Intercultural negotiation and calls for social justice rely on the kinds of mutual understanding which can only be achieved by our best attempts to appreciate and value the lives and positions of others. Through its structure, language, ideas and range of participants, the thesis has sought to clarify relationships and build relationality, understanding and appreciation. It has created cognitive, emotional and spiritual challenges which I have willingly accepted with the resources available.

I have written this thesis as an attempt to honour the dual traditions of Western critical thought and the Pacific although, as Māhina (2008) asserts, these are far from opposites. The edgewalk is not between 'this' or 'that' but between the various relational configurations which are possible, and the contexts which make each one valuable. The thesis has been written as a negotiation between my past - that is myself as I came to the field, my story as it was, my essentially European worldview, and my future - the spaces I could now occupy due to learning. The catalytic action of the study has ensured that I am not the person who I was. I have stepped beyond my previous boundaries and affirmed the enlightened relational values required for the world to move forward. That is the ultimate value of my edgewalk.

REFERENCES

Airini, Anae, M., Mila-Schaaf, K., Coxon, E., Mara, D., & Sanga, K. (2010). *Teu le va - Relationships across research and policy in Pasifika Education: A collective approach to knowledge generation and policy development for action towards Pasifika education success*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.

Airini, Brown, F., Curtis, E., Johnson, O., Luatua, F., O'Shea, M., . . . Ulugia-Pua, M. (2010). *Success for all: Improving Māori and Pasifika student success in degree-level studies*. Retrieved from http://www.tlri.org.nz/sites/default/files/projects/9247-Airini-final-report.pdf

Alasuutari, P., & Alasuutari, M. (2009). Narration and ritual formation of diasporic identity: The case of second generation Karelian evacuees. *Identities, 16*(3), 321-341. doi:10.1080/10702890902861321

Alkema, A. (2014). *Success for Pasifika in tertiary education: Highlights from Ako Aotearoa supported research*. Retrieved from https://akoaotearoa.ac.nz/successforpasifika

Allen, P., & Robertson, J. (2009). 'In order to teach you, I must know you.' The Pasifika initiative: A professional development project for teachers. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 44*(2), 47-62.

Alton-Lee, A. (2003). *Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling: Best evidence synthesis*. Retrieved from https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/series/2515/5959

Alton-Lee, A., & Nuthall, G. (1998). *Inclusive instructional design: Theoretical principles emerging from the understanding learning and teaching project - Report to the Ministry of Education*. Wellington, New Zealand: Research Division, Ministry of Education.

Amituanai-Toloa, M. (2010). Get a twenty-inch frying pan: Enhancing success for Pasifika bilingual education. *Mai Review, 1*. Retrieved from www.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/download/297/380

Anae, M. (2010a). Research for better Pacific schooling in New Zealand: Teu le va–a Samoan perspective. *Mai Review, 1*. Retrieved from http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/viewFile/298/395

Anae, M. (2010b). Teu le va: Toward a native anthropology. *Pacific Studies, 33*(2), 222-240.

Anae, M. (2012). All power to the people: Overstayers, dawn raids and the Polynesian Panthers. In S. Mallon, K. U. Māhina-Tuai, & D. I. Salesa (Eds.), *Tangata o le moana: New Zealand and the people of the Pacific* (pp. 221 - 239). Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press.

Anae, M. (2016). Teu le va: Samoan relational ethics. *Knowledge Cultures, 4*(3), 117-130.

Anae, M., Coxon, E., Mara, D., Wendt-Samu, T., & Finau, C. (2001). *Pasifika education research guidelines: Final report*. Auckland, New Zealand: Uniservices Limited.

Antonio, R. J. (1981). Immanent critique as the core of critical theory: Its origins and developments in Hegel, Marx and contemporary thought. *The British Journal of Sociology, 32*(3), 330-345. doi:10.2307/589281

Aronowitz, S. (2004). Against schooling: Education and social class. *Social Text, 22*(2), 13-35.

Averill, R. (2011). Teaching practices for effective teacher-student relationships in multi-ethnic mathematics classrooms. *Mathematics: Traditions and [new] practices.* Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Robin_Averill/publication/265809137_TEAC HING_PRACTICES_FOR_EFFECTIVE_TEACHER-_STUDENT_RELATIONSHIPS_IN_MULTIETHNIC_MATHEMATICS_CLASS ROOMS/links/5514dd780cf283ee0838d823.pdf

Baines, D. (2007). The case for catalytic validity: Building health and safety through knowledge transfer. *Policy and Practice in Health and Safety, 5*(1), 75-89.

Bakan, A. B. (2014). Marxism and anti-racism: Rethinking the politics of difference. In A. B. Bakan & E. Dua (Eds.), *Theorizing anti-racism: Linkages in Marxism and critical race theories* (pp. 97 - 122). Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays by M.M. Bakhtin* (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans.). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bassett, R., Beagan, B. L., Ristovski-Slijepcevic, S., & Chapman, G. E. (2008). Tough teens: The methodological challenges of interviewing teenagers as research participants. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 23*(2), 119-131.

Baxter, L. A. (2004). Relationships as dialogues. *Personal Relationships, 11*(1), 1-22.

Beasley, A. W. (1992). *The light accepted: 125 years of Wellington College*. Wellington, New Zealand: The Board of Trustees of Wellington College.

Beckett, D. (2001). Mainstreaming diversity in Australia's schools: Problematizing the neo-liberal "third way". *International Journal of Educational Research, 35*(3), 269-280.

Bell Jr, D. A. (1980). Brown v. Board of Education and the interest-convergence dilemma. *Harvard Law Review, 93*(3), 518-533.

Benney, M., & Hughes, C. (1956). Of sociology and the interview: Editorial preface. *American Journal of Sociology, 62*(2), 137-142.

Beyond the Decile System. (February 2015). *Education Review.* Retrieved from http://www.educationreview.co.nz/magazine/february-2015/beyond-the-decile-system/#.VhxtfW5Mf-s

Bishop, R., & Berryman, M. (2009). The Te Kotahitanga effective teaching profile. *Set - Research Information for Teachers, 2*(2), 27-33.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (1992). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theories and methods*. Boston, MA: Pearson.

Bourdieu, P. (2011). The forms of capital (1986). In I. Szeman & T. Kaposy (Eds.), *Cultural theory: An anthology* (pp. 81-93). Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons.

Bowen, C. C. (1877). Education bill. *New Zealand Pariamentary Debates, Volume 24*. Retrieved from https://books.google.co.nz/books?id=y6AAAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Brayboy, B., Gough, H., Leonard, B., & Roehl, I. (2012). Reclaiming scholarship: Critical Indigenous research methodologies. In S. D. Lapan, M. T. Quartaroli, & F. J. Riemer (Eds.), *Qualitative research: An introduction to methods and design* (pp. 423-450). San Francisco, CA: John Wiley & Sons.

Brown, R., Connell, J., & Jimenez-Soto, E. (2014). Migrants' remittances, poverty and social protection in the South Pacific: Fiji and Tonga. *Population, Space and Place, 20*(5), 434-454.

Brown, T., Devine, N., Leslie, E., Paiti, M., Sila'ila'i, E., Umaki, S., & Williams, J. (2007). Reflective engagement in cultural history: A Lacanian perspective on Pasifika teachers in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Pedagogy, Culture & Society, 15*(1), 107-118.

Bruner, J. (1997). Celebrating divergence: Piaget and Vygotsky. *Human Development, 40*(2), 63-73.

Buechler, S. M. (2014). *Critical sociology*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.

Burnett, G. (2007). Culture isn't what it used to be: Problematizing pedagogies of cultural difference in Pacific education. *Social and Economic Studies, 56*(1/2), 261-276.

Bush, A., Collings, S., Tamasese, K., & Waldegrave, C. (2005). Samoan and psychiatrists' perspectives on the self: Qualitative comparison. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 39*(7), 621-626.

Callister, P. (2012). 'White flight': How data can spoil a good story. Retrieved from http://callister.co.nz/white-flight-how-data-can-spoil-a-good-story.pdf

Carling, J., Erdal, M. B., & Ezzati, R. (2014). Beyond the insider–outsider divide in migration research. *Migration Studies, 2*(1), 36-54.

Carragee, K. M. (1993). A critical evaluation of debates examining the media hegemony thesis. *Western Journal of Communication (includes Communication Reports), 57*(3), 330-348.

Castagno, A. E. (2008). "I don't want to hear that!": Legitimating Whiteness through silence in schools. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 39*(3), 314-333.

Chantler, K. (2006). Independence, dependency and interdependence: Struggles and resistances of minoritized women within and on leaving violent relationships. *Feminist Review, 82*, 27-49.

Charmaz, K. (1999). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 509 - 535). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2014). *Constructing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chilisa, B. (2012). *Indigenous research methodologies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Christensen, P., & Prout, A. (2002). Working with ethical symmetry in social research with children. *Childhood, 9*(4), 477-497.

Chu, C., Glasgow, A., Rimoni, F., Hodis, M., & Meyer, L. H. (2013). *An analysis of recent Pasifika education research literature to inform and improve outcomes for Pasifika learners*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.

Clingerman, E. (2011). Social justice: A framework for culturally competent care. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing, 22*(4), 334-341. doi:10.1177/1043659611414185

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2013). *Research methods in education*. London, England: Routledge.

Cole, M. (2009). On 'white supremacy' and caricaturing, misrepresenting and dismissing Marx and Marxism. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies, 7*(1), 30-43.

Coxon, E., Anae, M., Mara, D., Wendt-Samu, T., & Finau, C. (2002). *Literature review on Pacific education issues: Final report*. Auckland, New Zealand: Uniservices Limited.

Coxon, E., & Mara, D. (2000). Education policy for Pacific Nations people. In J. D. Marshall, E. Coxon, K. Jenkins, & A. Jones (Eds.), *Politics, policy, pedagogy: Education in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 157- 186). Palmestone North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Crocombe, R. G. (1976). *The Pacific way: An emerging identity*. Suva, Fiji: Lotu Pasifika.

Curtis, E., Townsend, S., & Airini. (2012). Improving indigenous and ethnic minority student success in foundation health study. *Teaching in Higher Education, 17*(5), 589-602. doi:10.1080/13562517.2012.658559

DeCuir, J. T., & Dixson, A. D. (2004). "So when it comes out, they aren't that surprised that it is there": Using critical race theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational Researcher, 33*(5), 26-31. doi:10.3102/0013189X033005026

Dei, G. J. S. (2011). Revisiting the question of the 'Indigenous'. In G. J. S. Dei (Ed.), *Indigenous philosophies and critical education: A reader* (pp. 21-33). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Department for Education. (1975). *Educating Pacific Islanders in New Zealand: A report from a conference at Lopdell House, 7-12 July, 1974.* Wellington, New Zealand: Department for Education.

Devine, N. (2013). Mata Pasifika as critique. *ACCESS: Critical Perspectives on Communication, Cultural & Policy Studies, 32*(1/2), 59-66.

Devine, N., Teisina, J. P., & Pau'uvale, L. (2012). Tauhi vā, Spinoza, and Deleuze in Education. *Pacific-Asian Education, 24*(2), 57-68.

Dewey, J. (1916). *Education and democracy*. New York, NY: Macmillan.

Diener, C. I., & Dweck, C. S. (1980). An analysis of learned helplessness: II. The processing of success. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 39*(5), 940-952.

Dixson, A. D. (2007). What Is critical race theory in education?   Retrieved from http://steinhardt.nyu.edu/metrocenter.olde/programs/TACD/Summer%20Institute/SummerInstitute2007/powerpoints/CriticalRaceTheoryandEducation.pdf

Duckworth, A. L., Peterson, C., Matthews, M. D., & Kelly, D. R. (2007). Grit: Perseverance and passion for long-term goals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 92*(6), 1087-1101.

Duff, M. (2013). Teen study finds discrimination is widespread. *Dominion Post*. Retrieved from http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/9192663/Teen-study-finds-discrimination-is-widespread

Duff, M. (2015). White flight: Why middle-class parents are snubbing local schools. *Stuff Education*. Retrieved from http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/education/69025550/white-flight-why-middleclass-parents-are-snubbing-local-schools

Duncan, A. (2009). A call to teaching.   Retrieved from http://www.ed.gov/news/speeches/call-teaching

Durie, M. (2003). *Launching Maori futures*. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia.

Dutton, H. D., Keil, M. P., Mayeda, D. T., & 'Ofamo'oni, I. (2012). *Māori and Pacific student success in higher education: Results for a qualitative study*. Lecture Presentation. University of Auckland, New Zealand.

Education Council New Zealand. (2014). Practicing teacher criteria.   Retrieved from https://educationcouncil.org.nz/content/practising-teacher-criteria

Education Review Office. (1995). *Barriers to learning*. Wellington, New Zealand: Education Review Office.

Education Review Office. (2006). *Wellington College education review*. Wellington, New Zealand: Education Review Office.

Education Review Office. (2009). *Wellington College education review*. Retrieved from http://www.ero.govt.nz/review-reports/wellington-college-27-10-2009/

Education Review Office. (2012). *Improving education outcomes for Pacific learners*. Wellington, New Zealand: Education Review Office.

Education Review Office. (2014). *Wellington College education review*. Retrieved from www.ero.govt.nz/content/view/pdf/200569

Education Review Office. (2016a). Equity and excellence.   Retrieved from http://www.ero.govt.nz/Review-Process/Frameworks-and-Evaluation-Indicators-for-ERO-Reviews/School-Evaluation-Indicators/Equity-and-excellence

Education Review Office. (2016b). *Raising student achievement through targeted actions*. Retrieved from http://www.ero.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/ERO-15298-Raising-Student-Achievement-FULL-v6b-WEB-002.pdf

Education Review Office. (n.d.). Priority learners.   Retrieved from http://www.ero.govt.nz/Review-Process/Frameworks-and-Evaluation-Indicators-for-ERO-Reviews/He-Pou-Tataki-How-ERO-reviews-early-childhood-services/PART-2-Outcomes-for-children-in-early-childhood-education/Priority-learners

Ermine, W., Sinclair, R., & Jeffery, B. (2004). *The ethics of research involving Indigenous peoples*. Saskatoon, Canada: Indigenous Peoples' Health Research Centre.

Fa'avae, D., Jones, A., & Manu'atu, L. (2016). Talanoa 'i 'ae talanoa—talking about talanoa: Some dilemmas of a novice researcher. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 12*(2), 138-150.

Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. (2010a). 'He's won, but he's lost it': Applying a Samoa gender lens to education outcomes. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 6*(2), 143-154.

Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. (2010b). Pacific youth connecting through 'Poly'. In C. Ward, J. Liu, P. Fairbairn-Dunlop, & A. Henderson (Eds.), Youth voices, youth choices: Identity, integration, and social cohesion in culturally diverse Aotearoa/New Zealand. Wellington, New Zealand: Foundation for Research, Science and Technology.

Retrieved from www.victoria.ac.nz/cacr/research/youth-family/youth-voices,-youth-choices/Youth-Voices-Youth-Choices-report.pdf.

Fairbairn-Dunlop, P. (2014). The interface of Pacific and other knowledges in a supplementary education site. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 44*(6), 874-894.

Farrelly, F., & Nabobo-Baba, U. (2014). *Talanoa as empathic research*. Paper presented at the International Development Conference 2012, Auckland, New Zealand. http://www.devnet.org.nz/sites/default/files/Farrelly, Trisia & Nabobo-Baba, Unaisi Talanoa as Empathic Research [paper]_0.pdf

Ferguson, P. B., Gorinski, R., & Wendt Samu, T. (2008). *Literature review on the experiences of Pasifika learners in the classroom*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.

Fletcher, J., Parkhill, F., & Harris, C. (2011). Supporting young adolescent students from minority cultural groups who are underachieving in learning. *British Journal of Learning Support, 26*(3), 122 - 126.

Fletcher, J., Parkhill, F., Taleni, T., Fa'afoi, A., & O'Regan, B. (2009). Pasifika students: Teachers and parents voice their perceptions of what impacts on Pasifika students' achievement in literacy, language and learning. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 25*(1), 24 - 33.

Flutter, J., & Rudduck, J. (2004). *Consulting pupils: What's in it for schools?* London, England: RoutledgeFalmer.

Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the "burden of 'acting white'". *The Urban Review, 18*(3), 176-206.

Fraser, P. (1939). Report to the Minister of Education: Appendix to the journals of the House of Representatives, 1939 Session I.   Retrieved from https://atojs.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/atojs?a=d&d=AJHR1939-I.1.1994&cl=&srpos=0&e=-------10--1------2--

Freire, P. (1973). Education, liberation and the church.   Retrieved from http://www.acervo.paulofreire.org:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/7891/1138/FPF_OPF_01_0002.pdf

Freire, P. (2014). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Frengley-Vaipuna, I., Kupu-MacIntyre, L., & Riley, T. (2011). Successful Tongan students in New Zealand secondary schools: Default or design? *Kairaranga, 12*(2), 42-51.

Furman, G. C., & Shields, C. M. (2005). How can educational leaders promote and support social justice and democratic community in schools. In W. A. Firestone & C. Riehl (Eds.), A new agenda for research in educational leadership (pp. 119-137). New York, NY: Teachers' College Press. Retrieved from http://www.rothaleading.com/b_file/110330033536A%20New%20Agenda%20for%20Research%20in%20Educational%20Leadership.pdf#page=132.

272

García, S. B., & Guerra, P. L. (2004). Deconstructing deficit thinking: Working with educators to create more equitable learning environments. *Education and Urban Society, 36*(2), 150-168. doi:10.1177/0013124503261322

Gegeo, D. W. (2001). Cultural rupture and indigeneity: The challenge of (re) visioning "place" in the Pacific. *The Contemporary Pacific, 13*(2), 491-507.

Gegeo, D. W., & Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (2002). Whose knowledge? Epistemological collisions in Solomon Islands community development. *Contemporary Pacific, 14*(2), 377-409.

Gershon, I. (2007). Viewing diasporas from the Pacific: What Pacific ethnographies offer Pacific diaspora studies. *The Contemporary Pacific, 19*(2), 474-502.

Gershon, I. (2012). *No family is an island: Cultural expertise among Samoans in diaspora*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Gewirtz, S. (2001). Rethinking social justice: A conceptual analysis. In J. Demaine (Ed.), *Sociology of education today* (pp. 49-64). London, England: Palgrave.

Gibson, J., McKenzie, D., & Rohorua, H. (2008). How pro-poor is the selection of seasonal migrant workers from Tonga under New Zealand's recognised seasonal employer (RSE) program? Retrieved from http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/14239/1/14239.pdf

Giles, D., Smythe, E., & Spence, D. (2012). Exploring relationships in education: A phenomenological inquiry. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning, 52*(2), 214-236.

Gilroy, P. (1991). It ain't where you're from, it's where you're at... The dialectics of diasporic identification. *Third Text, 5*(13), 3-16.

Glynn, T. (2012). 'Looking back, looking forward': An interview with Emeritus Professor Ted Glynn on his involvement in special education. *Waikato Journal of Education, 17*(1), 57-68.

Goldson, J., & Fletcher, T. R. (2004). Training for bicultural intervention with families. *New Zealand Journal of Counselling, 25*(2), 33-43.

Gorinski, R., & Fraser, C. (2006). *Literature review on the effective engagement of Pasifika parents & communities in education*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.

Greene, M. (1977). Toward wide-awakeness: An argument for the arts and humanities in education. *Teachers College Record.* Retrieved from http://www.rothaleading.com/b_file/110330033536A%20New%20Agenda%20for%20Research%20in%20Educational%20Leadership.pdf#page=132

Greene, M. (1978). *Landscapes of learning*. New York, NY: Teachers' College Press.

Guenther, J., Bat, M., & Osborne, S. (2013). Red dirt thinking on educational disadvantage. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 42*(2), 100-110.

Gutmann, A. (1999). *Democratic education*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Halapua, S. (2000). Talanoa process: The case of Fiji. Retrieved from http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan022610.pdf

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies, 14*(3), 575-599.

Harper, D. (2001). Online Etymology Dictionary.   Retrieved from http://www.etymonline.com/

Harvey, D. L. (1990). Introduction. *Sociological Perspectives, 33*(1), 1-10. doi:10.2307/1388974

Hattie, J. (2003). New Zealand education snapshot: With specific reference to the Yrs 1-13. *Knowledge Wave Conference 2003.* Retrieved from http://www.educationalleaders.govt.nz/content/download/48020/401086/file/John%20Hattie.pdf.

Hau'ofa, E. (1994). Our sea of islands. *The Contemporary Pacific, 6*(1), 148-161.

Havea, J. (2010). Welcome to talanoa.   Retrieved from http://forum.nuama.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=93:welcome-to-talanoa&catid=1:latest-news

Hawe, P., & Ghali, L. (2008). Use of social network analysis to map the social relationships of staff and teachers at school. *Health Education Research, 23*(1), 62-69. doi:10.1093/her/cyl162

Hawk, K., Cowley, E. T., Hill, J., & Sutherland, S. (2002). The importance of the teacher/student relationship for Maori and Pasifika students. *Set - Research Information for Teachers*(3), 44-49.

Hawk, K., & Hill, J. (2000). *Making a difference in classrooms: Effective teacher practice in low-decile, multi-cultural schools*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education Research Division.

Held, D. (2003). Introduction to critical theory. In D. Rasmussen & J. Swindal (Eds.), *Critical theory volume I* (pp. 11 - 22). London, England: Sage.

Helu-Thaman, K. (1988). *Ako and Faiako: Educational concepts, cultural values and teachers' role perception in Tonga.* (PhD), University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.

Helu-Thaman, K. (2003a). A conceptual framework for analysing Pacific educational ideas: The case of Tonga. In K. Helu-Thaman (Ed.), *Educational ideas from Oceania: Selected readings* (pp. 73-78). Suva, Fiji: Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific.

Helu-Thaman, K. (2003b). Culture, teaching and learning in Oceania. In K. Helu-Thaman (Ed.), *Educational ideas from Oceania: Selected readings* (pp. 3-12). Suva, Fiji: Institute of Education, University of the South Pacific.

Helu-Thaman, K. (2010). Teacher capacities for working towards peace and sustainable development. *International Journal of Sustainability in Higher Education, 11*(4), 353-364.

Hill, D. (2009). Culturalist and materialist explanations of class and "race": Critical race theory, equivalence/parallelist theory, and Marxist theory. Retrieved from http://clogic.eserver.org/2009/Hill.pdf

Hocks, M. E. (2003). Understanding visual rhetoric in digital writing environments. *College Composition and Communication, 54*(4), 629-656. doi:10.2307/3594188

Huffer, E. (2005). *Reinventing government in the Pacific: From values to institutions*. Paper presented at the Constitutional Renewal in the Pacific Islands conference, Port Vila, Vanuatu. Retrieved from http://ibrarian.net/navon/paper/REINVENTING_GOVERNMENT_IN_THE_PACI FIC__FROM_VALUE.pdf?paperid=7032553.

Huffer, E., & Qalo, R. (2004). Have we been thinking upside-down?: The contemporary emergence of Pacific theoretical thought. *The Contemporary Pacific, 16*(1), 87-116.

Hunter, Z. (2015, 28th October). Inaugural Pasifika festival a hit. *The Weekend Sun*. Retrieved from http://www.theweekendsun.co.nz/news/260-inaugural-pasifika-festival-hit.html

Hynds, A., & Sheehan, M. (2010). Iwi versus Kiwi: Racism, race relationships and the experience of controversial political debates within a context of culturally responsive school reform. *New Zealand Annual Review of Education, 20*, 102-121.

Jensen, S., Madjar, I., & McKinley, E. (2010a). NCEA subject choices in mid-low-decile schools: what schools and parents need to know about the university pathway. *Set - Research Information for Teachers*(2), 37- 43.

Jensen, S., Madjar, I., & McKinley, E. (2010b). Students and NCEA course choices and allocations. *Set - Research Information for Teachers*(2), 45-51.

Johansson-Fua, S., Manu, S., & Takapautolo, T. (2008). *Sustainable livelihood and education in the Pacific: Tonga pilot report*. Retrieved from http://repository.usp.ac.fj/5383/1/SLEP_TO_Jan_07.pdf

Johansson, M. (2014). Polynesian power and poly-vocal performance pedagogy: Sup and the spoken word revolution. *English in Aotearoa*(82), 16-22.

Johnson, K. (1982). *Communicative syllabus design and methodology*. Oxford, England: Pergamon.

Ka'ili, T. O. (2005). Tauhi va: Nurturing Tongan sociospatial ties in Maui and beyond. *The Contemporary Pacific, 17*(1), 83-114.

Kalavite, T. (2010). *Fononga'a fakahalafononga: Tongan students' journey to academic achievement in New Zealand tertiary education.* (PhD), University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Kaufmann, W. (1969). The origin of justice. *The Review of Metaphysics, 23*(2), 209-239.

Kearney, J., Dobrenov-Major, M., & Birch, G. (2005). *Local responses to the needs of Samoan students: Implications for pre-service education programs.* Paper presented at the Teacher Education: Local and Global conference, Surfers Paradise, Australia.

Kincheloe, J. L. (2005). On to the next level: Continuing the conceptualization of the bricolage. *Qualitative Inquiry, 11*(3), 323-350.

King, M. (2003). *Penguin history of New Zealand*. London, England: Penguin.

Koloto, A. (1998). Issues for education in the South Pacific: Change in the Kingdom of Tonga. In K. Sullivan (Ed.), *Education and change in the Pacific rim: Meeting the challenges* (pp. 119 - 137). Oxford, England: Triangle Books.

Koya, C. F. (2012). Cyberspace, place, identity & relationships: Are we digitizing the vā? Panel presentation on culture, education and ICT cultural dynamics of the 21st century. *International conference on ICT & Oceanian cultures.* Retrieved from http://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/11534274.pdf

Kupferman, D. W. (2012). *Disassembling and decolonizing school in the Pacific: A genealogy from Micronesia*. Dordrecht, Germany: Springer.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal, 32*(3), 465-491.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(1), 7-24.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2006). From the achievement gap to the education debt: Understanding achievement in US schools. *Educational Researcher, 35*(7), 3-12.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2012). Through a glass darkly: The persistence of race in education research & scholarship. *Educational Researcher, 41*(4), 115-120. doi:10.3102/0013189X12440743

Ladson-Billings, G. (2014). Culturally relevant pedagogy 2.0: a.k.a. the remix. *Harvard Educational Review, 84*(1), 74-84,135.

Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers' College Record, 97*(1), 47-68.

Lather, P. (1986a). Issues of validity in openly ideological research: Between a rock and a soft place. *Interchange, 17*(4), 63-84.

Lather, P. (1986b). Research as praxis. *Harvard Educational Review, 56*(3), 257-278.

Latu, S., & Young, A. (2004). *Teaching ICT to Pacific Island background students*. Paper presented at the Sixth Australasian Conference on Computing Education, Dunedin, New Zealand. Retrieved from http://crpit.com/confpapers/CRPITV30Latu.pdf

Latu, V. F. (2004). *There is more to learning mathematics than mathematics: Attributional beliefs and motivation of Maori and Pacific Island students*. Paper presented at the Mathematics Education for the Third Millennium: Towards 2010 conference, Townsville, Australia. Retrieved from https://www.merga.net.au/documents/RP402004.pdf

Lee, H. (2009). Pacific migration and transnationalism: Historical perspectives. In H. Lee & S. Francis (Eds.), *Migration and transnationalism. Pacific perspectives* (pp. 7-42). Canberra, Australia: Australian National University.

Lee, V. E. (1993). Educational choice: The stratifying effects of selecting schools and courses. *Educational Policy, 7*(2), 125-148.

Li, M., Baker, T., & Marshall, K. (2002). Mismatched expectations: A case study of Asian students in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Applied Business Research.* Retrieved from http://albanyrecreation.ac.nz/massey/fms/Colleges/College%20of%20Business/Communication%20and%20Journalism/Staff/Staff%20research%20files/MSLi/Mismatched%20Expectations%20A%20Case%20Study%20of%20asian%20Students%20in%20NZ.pdf

Lilomaiava-Doktor, S. (2004). *Faʻa-Samoa and population movement from the inside out: The case of Salelologa, Savaiʻi.*

Lilomaiava-Doktor, S. (2009). Beyond "migration": Samoan population movement (malaga) and the geography of social space (vā). *The Contemporary Pacific, 21*(1), 1-32.

Lincoln, Y. S., Lynham, S. A., & Guba, E. G. (2011). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences, revisited. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 97-128). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lindroth, M. (2014). Indigenous rights as tactics of neoliberal governance practices of expertise in the United Nations. *Social & Legal Studies, 23*(3), 341-360.

Loto, R., Hodgetts, D., Chamberlain, K., Nikora, L. W., Karapu, R., & Barnett, A. (2006). Pasifika in the news: The portrayal of Pacific peoples in the New Zealand press. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 16*(2), 100-118.

Luafutu-Simpson, P., Moltchanova, E., O'Halloran, D., Petelo, L., Schischka, J., & Uta'i, S. (2015). *Change strategies to enhance Pasifika student success at Canterbury tertiary institutions*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ako Aotearoa.

Lugones, M. (1987). Playfulness,"World"-Travelling, and Loving Perception. *Hypatia, 2*(2), 3-19.

Lyons, P. (2015, 25th November). NCEA pass rates hard for parents to cope with. *NZ Herald.* Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11550641

Mackenzie, N., & Knipe, S. (2006). Research dilemmas: Paradigms, methods and methodology. *Issues in Educational Research, 16*(2), 193-205.

Mackley-Crump, J. (2011). Malaga—The Journey: The Performing Arts as Motivational Tool for Pasifika Students in Aotearoa New Zealand. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology, 12*(3), 255-273.

Macpherson, C. (2002). From moral community to moral communities: The foundations of migrant social solidarity among Samoans in urban Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Pacific Studies, 25*(1/2), 71-94.

Madison, D. S. (2012). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Māhina, O. (2008). From vale (ignorance) to'ilo (knowledge) to poto (skill) the Tongan theory of ako (education): Theorising old problems anew. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship, 4*(1), 67-96.

Manu'atu, L., & Kepa, M. (2002). *Towards reconstituting the notion of "Study Clinics." A Kakai Tonga Tu'a community-based educational project*. Paper presented at the Community Languages and English as a Second or Other Language Conference, Auckland, New Zealand. Retrieved from http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED465291.pdf

Manuel, T., Lefono, T., Lagolago, W., & Zaveri, V. (2014). *Peer-based Pasifika pedagogies: Gift of knowledge*. Paper presented at the Samoa Conference III: Opportunities and Challenges for a Sustainable Cultural and Natural Environment, National University of Samoa, Apia, Samoa. Retrieved from http://samoanstudies.ws/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Theo-Manuel.pdf

Mara, D. (2013). Teu le va: A cultural knowledge paradigm for Pasifika early childhood education in Aotearoa New Zealand. In J. G. Nuttall (Ed.), *Weaving Te Whāriki: Aotearoa New Zealand's early childhood curriculum document in theory and practice* (pp. 55 - 70). Wellington, New Zealand: NZCER.

Mara, D., & Burgess, F. (2007). *O le ulua'i faitautusi ma le tusitusi: o a'oa'oga maoa'e ma lona a'oa'oina i a'oga amata a le Pasifika. Early literacy: Quality teaching and learning in Pasifika early childhood education*. Wellington, New Zealand: NZCER.

Marley, R. (1996). Tonga. In J. S. Olson & R. Shadle (Eds.), *Historical dictionary of the British Empire* (Vol. 1, pp. 1103). Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Martin, A. J., & Marsh, H. W. (2008). Academic buoyancy: Towards an understanding of students' everyday academic resilience. *Journal of School Psychology, 46*(1), 53-83.

Matsuda, M., Lawrence, C., Delgado, R., & Crenshaw, K. (1993). *Words that wound: Critical race theory, assaultive speech, and the first amendment*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

May, S. (2002). Accommodating multiculturalism and biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand: Implication for language education. *Waikato Journal of Education, 8*, 5-26.

May, S. (2013). *The multilingual turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL, and bilingual education*. London, England: Routledge.

Mayeda, D. T., Keil, M., Dutton, H. D., & Ofamo'oni, I. (2014). "You've gotta set a precedent": Mäori and Pacific voices on student success in higher education. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 10*(2), 165-179.

McClure, J., Meyer, L. H., Garisch, J., Fischer, R., Weir, K. F., & Walkey, F. H. (2011). Students' attributions for their best and worst marks: Do they relate to achievement? *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 36*(2), 71-81.

McGavin, K. (2014). Being "Nesian": Pacific Islander identity in Australia. *Contemporary Pacific, 26*(1), 125-155, 260.

McHugh, K. E. (2000). Inside, outside, upside down, backward, forward, round and round: A case for ethnographic studies in migration. *Progress in Human Geography, 24*(1), 71-89.

McMillan, A. (2012). *Exploring the role of the Rock and Water programme in the improvement of Māori and Pasifika boys' engagement with school.* (MEd), Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.

McMillan, J. H., & Reed, D. F. (1994). At-risk students and resiliency: Factors contributing to academic success. *The Clearing House, 67*(3), 137-140.

Merriam, S. B., Johnson-Bailey, J., Lee, M.-Y., Kee, Y., Ntseane, G., & Muhamad, M. (2001). Power and positionality: Negotiating insider/outsider status within and across cultures. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 20*(5), 405-416.

Meyer, M. A. (2001). Our own liberation: Reflections on Hawaiian epistemology. *The Contemporary Pacific, 13*(1), 124-148.

Mila-Schaaf, K. (2006). Va-centred social work: Possibilities for a Pacific approach to social work practice. *Social Work Review, 18*(1), 8-13.

Mila-Schaaf, K. (2011). *Polycultural capital and the Pasifika second generation: Negotiating identities* Retrieved from http://newsettlers.massey.ac.nz/publications_pdfs/Karlo%20Mila-Schaaf%202011.pdf

Mila-Schaaf, K., & Hudson, M. (2009a). The interface between cultural understandings: Negotiating new spaces for Pacific mental health. *Pacific Health Dialog, 15*(1), 113-119.

Mila-Schaaf, K., & Hudson, M. (2009b). *Negotiating space for indigenous theorising in Pacific mental health and addictions*. Auckland, New Zealand: Le Va.

Mila-Schaaf, K., & Robinson, E. (2010). 'Polycultural' capital and educational achievement among NZ-born Pacific peoples. *Mai Review.* Retrieved from http://web.its.auckland.ac.nz/ojs.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/viewFile/307/378

Mila, K. (2014). Theorising advantage in a context of disparity: Pacific peoples who grow up in New Zealand. In P. Fairbairn-Dunlop & E. Coxon (Eds.), *Talanoa: Building a Pasifika research culture* (pp. 32 - 52). Auckland, New Zealand: Dunmore Publishing.

Miller, G. (2011). Gifted and talented Māori and Pasifika students: Issues in their identification and program and pastoral care provision. In W. Vialle (Ed.), *Giftedness from an Indigenous perspective* (pp. 111-115). Wollongong, Australia: Australian Association for the Education of the Gifted and Talented.

Miller, G. (2015). *Academic success amongst a cohort of gifted and talented Māori and Pasifika secondary school boys: Elements that have contributed to their achievement.* (PhD), University of Waikato Hamilton, New Zealand.

Milne, A. (2013). *Colouring in the white spaces: Reclaiming cultural identity in whitestream schools.* (PhD), University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Milne, A. (2016). Where am I in our schools' White spaces? Social justice for the learners we marginalise. *Middle Grades Review, 1*(3). Retrieved from http://scholarworks.uvm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1035&context=mgreview

Milne, A., & Students of Kia Aroha College. (2015). *Speaking out as "Maori": Maori secondary students investigate our system's vision for Maori learners*. Paper presented at the Te tora titiro tawhiti: Emancipation through education. NZARE Conference 2015, Whakatane, New Zealand.

Ministry for Culture and Heritage. (2015). 1976 key events. Retrieved from http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/the-1970s/1976,

Ministry for Pacific Peoples. (2015). Welcome to the Ministry for Pacific Peoples. Retrieved from http://www.mpia.govt.nz/

Ministry of Education. (2001). Pasifika education plan. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Education. (2007). The New Zealand curriculum. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Education. (2010). Participation and attainment of Pasifika students in National Certificate of Educational Achievement.   Retrieved from https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0005/88592/Pasifika-Participation-and-Attainment-in-NCEA.pdf

Ministry of Education. (2011). *Tataiako - Cultural competencies for teachers of Maori learners*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Education. (2011, 7th June). Pasifika: TeachNZ reports number of Pasifika registered teachers rising. *Education Gazette.* Retrieved from http://www.edgazette.govt.nz/Articles/Article.aspx?ArticleId=8366&Title=Pasifika

Ministry of Education. (2012a). Pasifika education plan monitoring report 2010. Retrieved from http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/pasifika/22967/pasifika-education-plan-monitoring-report-2010

Ministry of Education. (2012b). *Pasifika education research priorities: Using research to realise our vision for Pasifika learners*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education Research Division.

Ministry of Education. (2012, 7th May). School planning and reporting. *Education Gazette.* Retrieved from http://www.edgazette.govt.nz/Articles/Article.aspx?ArticleId=8587

Ministry of Education. (2013a). Pasifika education plan.   Retrieved from http://www.education.govt.nz/ministry-of-education/overall-strategies-and-policies/pasifika-education-plan-2013-2017/

Ministry of Education. (2013b). Pasifika power up.   Retrieved from http://pasifikapowerup.co.nz/

Ministry of Education. (2014a). Bring it on! Accelerating Pasifika success. *Talanoa Ako.* Retrieved from http://www.education.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Ministry/Publications/Talanoa-Ako-Pacific-Education-Talk/TalanoaAkoJune2014.pdf

Ministry of Education. (2014b). Ethnic group codes.   Retrieved from https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/data-services/collecting-information/code-sets-and-classifications/ethnic_group_codes

Ministry of Education. (2015). Our purpose, vision and behaviours.   Retrieved from http://www.education.govt.nz/ministry-of-education/our-role-and-our-people/our-purpose-vision-and-behaviours).

Ministry of Education. (2016a). Enrolment schemes and legislation.   Retrieved from http://www.education.govt.nz/school/running-a-school/setting-up-and-managing-enrolment-schemes-zones/enrolment-schemes-and-legislation/

Ministry of Education. (2016b). Priority learners. *Te Kete Ipurangi.* Retrieved from http://nzcurriculum.tki.org.nz/Priority-learners

Ministry of Education. (2016c). Progress against Pasifika education plan targets. Retrieved from https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/pasifika-education/progress_against_pasifika_education_plan_targets

Ministry of iTaukei Affairs. (2010). Nature and scope of activities. Retrieved from http://www.fijianaffairs.gov.fj/index.html

Moll, L. C. (2015). Tapping into the "hidden" home and community resources of students. *Kappa Delta Pi Record, 51*(3), 114-117.

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2013). Towards an Australian Indigenous women's standpoint theory: a methodological tool. *Australian Feminist Studies, 28*(78), 331-347.

Nakhid, C. (2003). "Intercultural" perceptions, academic achievement, and the identifying process of Pacific Islands students in New Zealand schools. *The Journal of Negro Education, 72*(3), 297-317. doi:10.2307/3211249

Nakhid, C. (2006). Ethics and the obstruction of social justice for Maori and Pasifika (Pacific Islands) students in tertiary institutions in Aotearoa (New Zealand). *Race Ethnicity and Education, 9*(3), 295-305.

Nakhid, C., Pilisi, S., Senio, J., Taylor, S., & Thomas, L. (2007). Aua'ii le galuega: A Pasifika research design ensuring ownership and autonomy. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand, 32*, 106-125.

Neal, J. (2006). *Edgewalkers: People and organizations that take risks, build bridges, and break new ground*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

New Zealand Educational Institute. (1996). *Pathways to success: Pacific peoples in education. Report of forum proceedings*. Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Educational Institute.

New Zealand Qualifications Authority. (2014). *Annual report on NCEA and New Zealand Scholarship data and statistics (2013)*. Retrieved from http://www.nzqa.govt.nz/assets/About-us/Publications/stats-reports/ncea-annualreport-2013.pdf

New Zealand Qualifications Authority. (2015a). *Annual report on NCEA and New Zealand Scholarship data and statistics (2014)*. Retrieved from http://www.nzqa.govt.nz/assets/About-us/Publications/stats-reports/ncea-annualreport-2014.pdf

New Zealand Qualifications Authority. (2015b). Secondary statistics consolidated data files for 2014. Retrieved from http://www.nzqa.govt.nz/studying-in-new-zealand/secondary-school-and-ncea/find-information-about-a-school/secondary-school-statistics/consolidated-files/files-2014/

New Zealand Royal Commission on Social Policy. (1988). *The April report: Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy. Volume 3, part 2: Future directions, associated papers*. Retrieved from http://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=FL174 06181&dps_custom_att_1=ilsdb

Office of the Auditor-General. (2012). Roles of public entities in education for Māori. Retrieved from http://www.oag.govt.nz/2012/education-for-maori/part2.htm

Olson, P., & Gillman, L. (2013). Combating Racialized and Gendered Ignorance: Theorizing a Transactional Pedagogy of Friendship. *Feminist Formations, 25*(1), 59-83.

Openshaw, R. (2009). *Reforming New Zealand secondary education*. New York, NY: Palgrave McMillan.

Osborne, S., & Guenther, J. (2013). Red dirt thinking on aspiration and success. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 42*(2), 88-99.

Otsuka, S. (1966). Why do Asians do well at school? *Deep South, 2*(1). Retrieved from http://www.otago.ac.nz/deepsouth/vol2no1/setsuo.html

Otunuku, M. (2011). Talanoa: How can it be used effectively as an Indigenous research methodology with Tongan people? *Pacific-Asian Education Journal, 23*(2), 43-52.

Otunuku, M., & Brown, G. T. L. (2007). Tongan students' attitudes towards their subjects in New Zealand relative to their academic achievement. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 8*(1), 117-128. doi:10.1007/bf03025838

Peck, C. A., Gallucci, C., Sloan, T., & Lippincott, A. (2009). Organizational learning and program renewal in teacher education: A socio-cultural theory of learning, innovation and change. *Educational Research Review, 4*(1), 16-25. doi:10.1016/j.edurev.2008.06.001

Perrot, A. R. D. (2015). *Overcoming Challenges: Pacific students' experiences of being resilient through tertiary education.* (M Ed), Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington.

Podmore, V. N., Hedges, H., Keegan, P. J., & Harvey, N. (2015). *Children who learn in more than one language: Early childhood teachers afloat in plurilingual seas*. Retrieved from http://www.tlri.org.nz/sites/default/files/projects/TLRI_Podmore_Final%20report% 20-%20web%20ready_1.pdf

Poltorak, M. (2007). Nemesis, speaking, and tauhi vaha'a: Interdisciplinarity and the truth of "Mental Illness" in Vava'u, Tonga. *The Contemporary Pacific, 19*(1), 1-35.

Post Primary Teachers' Association. (2015). Pasifika teachers.   Retrieved from http://www.ppta.org.nz/communities/pasifika-teachers

Prescott, S. M. (2011). Using talanoa in Pacific business research in New Zealand: Experiences with Tongan entrepreneurs. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 4*(1), 127-148.

Rata, E., & Openshaw, R. (2006). Introduction: Of Mohammad, murals and Maori ceremony. In E. Rata & R. Openshaw (Eds.), *Public policy and ethnicity: The politics of ethnic boundary making* (pp. 1 - 24). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ray, S. (2009). New Zealand education in the twentieth century. In E. Rata & R. Sullivan (Eds.), *Introduction to the history of New Zealand education* (pp. 16 - 30). Auckland, New Zealand: Pearson Publications.

Refiti, A. (2015). *Mavae and Tofiga: Spatial exposition of the Samoan cosmogony and architecture.* (PhD), Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand.

Reynolds, M. (2016). Relating to va. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 12*(2), 190-202. doi:10.20507/AlterNative.2016.12.2.7

Ritskes, E. (2011). Indigenous spirituality and decolonization: Methodology for the classroom. In G. J. S. Dei (Ed.), *Indigenous philosophies and critical education: A reader* (pp. 411-421). New York: Peter Lang.

Robinson, V., Hohepa, M., & Lloyd, C. (2009). *School leadership and student outcomes: Identifying what works and why. Best evidence synthesis iteration* Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.

Rubie-Davies, C., Hattie, J., & Hamilton, R. (2006). Expecting the best for students: Teacher expectations and academic outcomes. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 76*(3), 429-444.

Samu, T. (2006). The 'Pasifika Umbrella' and quality teaching: Understanding and responding to the diverse realities within. *Waikato Journal of Education, 12*, 35 - 50.

Samu, T. (2013). *Pasifika Education: Discourses of difference within Aotearoa New Zealand.* (PhD), University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Samuelu, T. (1999). *E mamae le tava'e i lona fulu: A study of the impact of the Congregational Christian Church of Samoa on Vaigaga's social structure.* (PhD), Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Sanga, K. (2004). Making philosophical sense of indigenous Pacific research. In T. Baba, O. Mahina, N. Williams, & U. Nabobo-Baba (Eds.), *Researching Pacific and indigenous peoples: Issues and perspectives* (pp. 41- 52). Auckland, New Zealand: Centre for Pacific Studies, The University of Auckland.

Scheurich, J. J., & Young, M. D. (1997). Coloring epistemologies: Are our research epistemologies racially biased? *Educational Researcher, 26*(4), 4-16.

Schmidt, J. (2003). Paradise lost? Social change and fa'afafine in Samoa. *Current Sociology, 51*(3-4), 417-432.

Shenkar, O. (2001). Cultural distance revisited: Towards a more rigorous conceptualization and measurement of cultural differences. *Journal of International Business Studies, 32*(3), 519-535. doi:10.2307/3069495

Si'ilata, R. (2014). *Va'a tele: Pasifika learners riding the success wave on linguistically and culturally responsive pedagogies.* (PhD), University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Silipa, S. R. (2008). *Punāvai o le mālamalama: Spring of illumination: Framework of significant learning concepts and domains in the web of Samoan epistemologies: Cultural context, artefact and traditional oratory*. Christchurch, New Zealand: Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury.

Singh, H. (2015, 27th July). The Decile Drift. *NZ Herald*. Retrieved from http://insights.nzherald.co.nz/article/decile-drift

Siope, A. (2011). The schooling experiences of Pasifika students. *Set - Research Information for Teachers (Wellington)*(3), 10 - 16.

Siope, A. (2013). 'A culturally responsive pedagogy of relations': Coming to understand. *Waikato Journal of Education, 18*(2).

Siteine, A. (2010). The allocation of Pasifika identity in New Zealand classrooms. *Mai Review, 1*. Retrieved from http://web.its.auckland.ac.nz/ojs.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/view/301/383

Slack, J. D. (1996). The theory and method of articulation in cultural studies. In D. Morley & K.-H. Chen (Eds.), *Stuart Hall: Critical dialogues in cultural studies* (pp. 112-127). London, England: Routledge.

Smith, G. (2003). *Kaupapa Maori theory: Theorizing indigenous transformation of education and schooling*. Paper presented at the NZARE / AARE Joint Conference, 2003, Auckland, New Zealand. Retrieved from http://www.aare.edu.au/data/publications/2003/pih03342.pdf

Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies : Research and Indigenous peoples*. London, England: Zed Books.

Smith, L., Smith, G. H., Boler, M., Kempton, M., Ormond, A., Chueh, H., & Waetford, R. (2002). "Do you guys hate Aucklanders too?" Youth: Voicing difference from the rural heartland. *Journal of Rural Studies, 18*(2), 169-178.

Spiller, L. T. (2012). "How can we teach them when they won't listen?" How teacher beliefs about Pasifika values and Pasifika ways of learning affect student behaviour and achievement. *Set - Research Information for Teachers*(3), 58-66.

Spiller, L. T. (2013). *Teachers' misunderstandings that affect the learning of their Pasifika students.* (M Ed.), Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.

Spoonley, P. (1988). *Racism and ethnicity*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Stake, R. E. (1978). The case study method in social inquiry. *Educational Researcher, 7*(2), 5-8.

Statistics New Zealand. (2014). 2013 census ethnic group profiles. Retrieved from http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/ethnic-profiles.aspx

Stephenson, M. (2009). Thinking historically: Maori and settler education. In E. Rata & R. Sullivan (Eds.), *Introduction to the history of New Zealand* (pp. 1 - 15). Auckland, New Zealand: Pearson Publications.

Suaalii-Sauni, T., Wheeler, A., Saafi, E., Robinson, G., Agnew, F., Warren, H., . . . Hingano, T. (2009). Exploration of Pacific perspectives of Pacific models of mental health service delivery in New Zealand. *Pacific Health Dialog, 15*(1), 18-27.

Suaalii-Sauni, T., & Fulu-Aiolupotea, S. M. (2014). Decolonising Pacific research, building Pacific research communities and developing Pacific research tools: The case of the talanoa and the faafaletui in Samoa. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint, 55*(3), 331-344. doi:10.1111/apv.12061

Subramani. (2001). The Oceanic imaginary. *The Contemporary Pacific, 13*(1), 149-162.

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2008). Racial microaggressions and the power to define reality. *American Psychologist, 63*(4), 277-279.

Sue, D. W., Capolidupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A. M., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life. *American Psychologist, 62*(4), 271-286.

Symonette, H. (2004). Walking pathways toward becoming a culturally competent evaluator: Boundaries, borderlands, and border crossings. *New Directions for Evaluation, 2004*(102), 95-109. doi:10.1002/ev.118

Tamasese, T. K., Parsons, T. L., Sullivan, G., & Waldegrave, C. (2010). *A qualitative study into Pacific perspectives on cultural obligations and volunteering* Retrieved from http://www.familycentre.org.nz/Publications/PDF's/Cultural%20Obligations%20and%20Volunteering%20Main.pdf

Tanielu, R., & Johnson, A. (2013). *More than churches, rugby & festivals: A report on the state of Pasifika people in New Zealand*. Retrieved from www.salvationarmy.org.nz/socialpolicy

Taouma, J., Wendt-Samu, T., Podmore, V. N., Tapusoa, E., & Moananu, M. (2003). *Innovation and collaborative research development in an early childhood centre.* Paper presented at the Joint NZARE-AARE Conference, Auckland, New Zealand.

Taulbee, S. J. (2012). *You can't heal a wound by saying it's not there*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse.

Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. (2016). Ngā mihi : Greetings.   Retrieved from http://www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/learning-maori/tikanga-maori/nga-mihi-greetings/

Thatcher, M. (1987). Interview for Woman's Own ("No such thing as society").   Retrieved from http://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106689

Therborn, G. (2008). *From Marxism to post-Marxism?* London, England: Verso.

Thomas, G., & McRobbie, C. (2001). Changing teacher's and student's classroom practices. In J. I. Zajda (Ed.), *Education and society* (pp. 167 - 182). Melbourne, Australia: James Nicholas Publishers.

Thornberg, R. (2012). Informed grounded theory. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 56*(3), 243-259.

Thrupp, M. (1997). The Education Review Office and South Auckland schools. A case of ideology over analysis. *New Zealand Annual Review of Education, 6*, 51-70.

Todorov, T. (1984). *Mikhail Bakhtin. The dialogical principle*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Tossell, C. C., Kortum, P., Shepard, C. W., Rahmati, A., & Zhong, L. (2012). Getting real: A naturalistic methodology for using smartphones to collect mediated communications. *Advances in Human-Computer Interaction, 2012*, 10. Retrieved from https://www.hindawi.com/journals/ahci/2012/815972/ doi:10.1155/2012/815972

Toumu'a, R. (2014). *Pasifika success as Pasifika: Pasifika conceptualisations of literacy for success as Pasifika in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Wellington, New Zealand: Adult and Community Education in Aotearoa (ACE).

Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. *Psychological Review, 96*(3), 506-520. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.96.3.506

Tu'itahi, S. (2010). Kafataha: Strategies to preserve Pacific languages. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples, 6*(2), 134-142.

Tuafuti, P. (2010). Additive bilingual education: Unlocking the culture of silence. *Mai Review, 1*. Retrieved from http://www.review.mai.ac.nz/index.php/MR/article/viewFile/305/397

Tuafuti, P., & McCaffery, J. (2005). Family and community empowerment through bilingual education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 8*(5), 480-503.

Tuagalu, I. (2008). Heuristics of the va. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship, 4*(1), 107-126.

Tupuola, A. M. (2004). Pasifika edgewalkers: Complicating the achieved identity status in youth research. *Journal of Intercultural Studies, 25*(1), 87-100.

Turner, R., Irving, E., Li, M., & Yuan, J. (2010). *Availability of NCEA standards: Impact on success rate*. Auckland, New Zealand: Starpath Project, The University of Auckland.

Uncyclopedia. (n.d.). The Asian Five.   Retrieved from http://mirror.uncyc.org/wiki/The_Asian_Five

Vaioleti, T. (2006). Talanoa research methodology: A developing position on Pacific research. *Waikato Journal of Education, 12*, 21-34.

Vaioleti, T. (2011). *Talanoa, manulua and founga ako: Frameworks for using enduring Tongan educational ideas for education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.* (PhD), University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Vaioleti, T. (2012). Learning as spirituality and nurture - Pacific indigenous peoples' perspectives of lifelong learning. *Lifelong Learning in Europe, 17*(2), 39-47.

Vaioleti, T. (2013). Talanoa: Differentiating the talanoa research methodology from phenomenology, narrative, Kaupapa Maori and feminist methodologies. *Te Reo, 56*, 191-212.

Valencia, R. R. (2010). *Dismantling contemporary deficit thinking: Educational thought and practice*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Valencia, R. R. (2012). *The evolution of deficit thinking: Educational thought and practice*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Valenzuela, A. (2005). Subtractive schooling, caring relations, and social capital in the schooling of US-Mexican youth. In L. Weis & M. Fine (Eds.), *Beyond silenced voices: Class, race, and gender in United States schools* (pp. 83-94). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Visser, H., Unasa, L., Kennedy, S., & Airini. (2007). *Is your research making a difference to Pasifika Education?* Paper presented at the Education in the Pacific- NZARE Annual Conference Christchurch.

Waxman, H. C., Gray, J. P., & Padron, Y. N. (2003). *Review of research on educational resilience. Research report*. Retrieved from http://escholarship.org/uc/item/7x695885#page-1

Webb-Binder, B. (2009). Pacific identity through space and time in Lily Laita's Va i Ta Taeao Lalata E Aunoa Ma Gagana.   Retrieved from https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/14681/1/TSB25-34.pdf

Wendt, A. (1999). Afterword: Tatauing the post-colonial body. In V. Hereniko & R. Wilson (Eds.), *Inside out: Literature, cultural politics, and identity in the new Pacific* (pp. 399-412). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Whimp, G. (2008). Interdisciplinarity and Pacific studies: Roots and routes. *The Contemporary Pacific, 20*(2), 397-421.

Whitehead, T. L. (2005). Basic classical ethnographic research methods. Retrieved from http://www.cusag.umd.edu/documents/workingpapers/classicalethnomethods.pdf

Whittemore, R., Chase, S. K., & Mandle, C. L. (2001). Validity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research, 11*(4), 522-537.

Wilson, A., Madjar, I., & McNaughton, S. (2016). Opportunity to learn about disciplinary literacy in senior secondary English classrooms in New Zealand. *The Curriculum Journal, 27*(2), 204-228.

Wilson, S. (2010). *Le tofi ne'i vale tuulima: Perceptions of Samoan students, teachers and parents on the place of the Samoan language in New Zealand today.* (MA), Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.

Woulfe, K. (2014). NCEA: All shall pass. *The Listener*. Retrieved from http://www.listener.co.nz/current-affairs/education/all-shall-pass/

Wright, S., Lloyd, K., Suchet-Pearson, S., Burarrwanga, L., Tofa, M., & Country, B. (2012). Telling stories in, through and with Country: Engaging with Indigenous and more-than-human methodologies at Bawaka, NE Australia. *Journal of Cultural Geography, 29*(1), 39-60.

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 8*(1), 69-91. doi:10.1080/1361332052000341006