**'It is all about feeling the aroha'
Successful Māori and Pasifika Providers**

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Abstract

"It's all about feeling the aroha": Successful Māori and Pasifika providers reports on 15 key informant interviews with Māori and Pacific post school training providers. These key informant interviews were designed to provide insight as to why the current education employment system is operating as it is in Māori and Pasifika communities. Positioned as a kaupapa Māori research project the focus was on highlighting successful education and training initiatives arising out of Māori and Pasifika communities. Historical and contemporary cultural, social and policy contexts impact on these organisations ability to fulfil the aspirations and visions they have for their young people and their whānau, and the communities within which they operate. The PTEs embedded cultural knowledge, values and practices in to their programmes and services to provide holistic support to fulfil the learning, training and cultural needs of their young people. The organisations that participated in this research spent considerable time talking about the increasing challenges they faced in delivering their services and consequently their ability to make sustainable changes to the lived realities of their young people. Despite the moving ground of the policy environment, diminishing funding opportunities and rising social alienation of young people and their communities, the organisations continue to deliver creative and innovative community programmes so that their young people can flourish. In doing so they talk back to government agencies and the standard story of Māori underachievement and talk forward to reflect and uphold the visions of their young people and communities.

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1. Introduction

'It is all about feeling the aroha': Māori and Pasifika Providers reports on research undertaken within Objective Three of the multidisciplinary and multi-sited EEL research programme. Objective Three of the EEL research programme seeks new knowledge to get at the heart of what is happening in Māori and Pasifika communities with regard to the choices and decisions rangatahi Māori and Pasifika young people are making about their transitions from school to work. So far in the five year project we have completed a literature review on current thinking about youth education employment linkages, and an exercise mapping out the terrain of formal provision in the four objective areas – school communities, regional communities, Māori and Pasifika communities and employer-led channels.

The research in Phase Three was designed to answer why the current education employment system is operating as it is in Māori and Pasifika communities. To date, very little dedicated research has been undertaken within these communities on this issue. Where research has been done it has mainly been on Māori and Pasifika communities rather than with them and much of the focus has been on negative outcomes and what is not happening. This project talks back to the standard story (McCreanor, 2005) of educational failure, and the deficits of Māori and Pasifika students and communities to highlight the elements of successful training provision and the barriers that providers face. Indeed when we began contacting potential participants in the research a common response was 'it is about time, we think we have a very successful programme going on here'. The report reflects, on the one hand, the frustration the Māori providers felt about being invisible and, on the other their seizing the opportunity to have a voice and talk about what they do. What follows is an account of what Māori and Pasifika providers consider is successful training provision in challenging times.

Often when we spoke to the providers they recounted stories about the young people they had had in their programmes. It was through these stories that what they did as providers came alive. Some of the stories were desperately painful while others were victory narratives (Phillips, 2003) of rangatahi who, once earmarked as failures, went on to further training or employment and became successful contributing members of their communities through the options and opportunities they had had as second chance learners. At 15 and 16, and in some instances as young as 13 years old, most of the young people that the providers worked with were disengaged and alienated from school and often from their communities as well. All but one of the thirteen providers who participated in the research specifically targeted 'at risk' young people. The lived realities of their young people not only framed the kind of programmes that they offered, they also provided the impetus for their establishment. Despite the often dire circumstances of their young peoples' lives the providers' narratives were passionate and positive not just about what they were doing but also about the young people, their whānau and the community within which they operated. The title of this report *'It is all about feeling the aroha'* encapsulates the passion and feeling that the providers have for their young people and their communities.

In many ways the narratives of the Māori providers talked back to the deficit perceptions and stereotyping of rangatahi Māori and Pasifika youth. In doing so they challenged the western view of success especially as it is articulated in current education policy. In this view gaining recognized qualifications and moving young people on to further training, education or employment are measurable signs of success. Whilst the providers worked to meet these outcomes they were not necessarily the focus of their provision. A sense of belonging,

confidence as learners and employees, and pride in their work alongside whānau well being were some of the measures the providers used to evaluate what constituted their success.

Despite some earlier initiatives such as the Māori Trade Training Scheme to address historical social and economic disparities there has been a systemic failure of education and social policies to advance equality between Māori and Pākehā. The state sector reforms of the 1980s had a huge and damaging impact on Māori and Pasifika communities diminishing the capacity of already impoverished communities to sustain themselves. Yet it was during this time with the increasing prominence of the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori calls for self determination, along with the devolution process to iwi self management, that led to the development of Māori training provision.

Since the 1980s Māori and Pasifika communities have been providing education and training initiatives for themselves. The majority of them were established out of a response to historical underachievement and disengagement in education to address not only the lack of culturally relevant curriculum and practices but also the deficit ways of thinking about youth, in particular rangatahi Māori and Pasifika young people. Thus they not only talk back (hooks, 1989), they also talk forward to reflect the aspirations of the communities within which they are located. Cultural knowledge, values and customs are embedded in their programmes and practices as they provide holistic services that wrap around their young people. Māori and Pacific determined linkages are important conduits in mediating and supporting young Māori and Pacific students' connectedness and success in their transitioning from school to further education or training or employment.

The constraints that the providers faced in delivering their programmes were wide ranging but mainly centred around outcomes, funding and compliance issues. At the heart of these issues was the ever changing policy landscape which presented ongoing challenges to the providers in their juggle to meet both government 'top down' outcomes and the complex of 'bottom up' aspirations which included their own, the young people enrolled in their programmes as well as the communities in which they operated. The systemic issues that Māori and Pasifika communities faced in accessing education, training and employment opportunities created further challenges to the providers because their origins arose outside of the scope of their provision. For example fluctuations in the New Zealand economy further marginalise already vulnerable Māori and Pasifika youth in the labour market. A further constraint was the social and cultural contexts in which Pasifika and in particular Māori youth grow up in. One provider made the eloquent point that it was difficult to substantively and sustainably change the lives of some rangatahi given that at the end of the day they go back to their homes and communities in which gang affiliations and violence are predominant. Despite the challenges the providers faced they remain resolute and successful in the work they do with and for their young people and their communities.

Chapter 2. The Contexts of Provision

The multiple social, cultural, political and economic contexts within which the Māori and Pasifika providers participating in this research are operating, both frame and shape what they do, how they do it and the kinds of aspirations they have for their young people and the community they operate in. These contexts in many ways are overlapping and mostly have served to delimit and limit the educational and training options and opportunities available to rangatahi Māori and Pasifika youth in the transition between school and employment. They also serve to reinforce particular ways of thinking about these young people that also affects their employability and work force participation. This section provides a brief overview to the various contexts within which Māori and Pasifika peoples and their young people live, learn and work.

Education

Historically Māori and Pasifika students have not fared well in New Zealand's education system. While educational experiences and outcomes are similar for both Māori and Pasifika students, as are the contexts within which they learn and work, there are nevertheless differences in the way that their respective experiences are understood and negotiated.

From the beginning education was an important feature of colonial native policy and it was used as the primary vehicle to assimilate Māori. Assumptions about the intellectual abilities and capacities of Māori determined the extent of their education. Thus the amount of schooling Māori received and the knowledge they were able to access was limited to what was necessary for Māori boys to become farmers and Māori girls to become farmers' wives. Yet Māori actively sought the full extent of Pākehā education as they saw it as a means to assist their lives as Māori. This is evident in the poem *E tipu e rea* that Apirana Ngata wrote in 1930 for his niece urging her to take hold of Pākehā knowledge while at the same time retaining her Māori identity, customs, values and language. The force of an education system intent on assimilation and seeing Māori in deficit ways has led to historical and entrenched educational and social disadvantage.

Pasifika students' experiences of education are not dissimilar to Māori with regard to the cultural mismatch between Pasifika learners and schools, deficit understandings of Pasifika students, and the consequent limited access to and outcomes of educational benefits (Coxon, Anae, Mara, Wendt-Samu and Finau, 2002). However, Pasifika peoples' stories began in the 1940s when they were encouraged to emigrate to meet New Zealand's unskilled labour demand (Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010). By 2006 the multi ethnic and heterogeneous Pacific population had grown to 6.9% of New Zealand's total population. Not only are there inter-cultural differences between Pasifika peoples there are also intra-cultural differences especially with regard to those born in the Islands and those in New Zealand (Coxon et al, 2002). And like Māori, the Pacific population is young and fast growing. It is estimated that by 2051 one in five school learners will be Pasifika students (Statistics New Zealand and Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2010a).

Both Māori and Pasifika students are more likely to leave school earlier with fewer or no qualifications compared to their Pākehā peers (Ministry of Education 2008, Ministry of Social Development, 2009). In 2007 43.9% of Māori and 56% of Pasifika students left school with

NCEA level 2 or higher compared to 70% of Pākehā students (Ministry of Social Development, 2009).

With fewer qualifications a large number of Māori and Pasifika students are limited in the choices and options they have when they leave school. Those students who leave school prior to gaining any qualifications are particularly vulnerable. In 2007 29% of Māori school leavers and 20% of Pasifika school leavers left school with no qualifications compared to 12% of Pākehā (Education Counts, 2009).[1]

Although it is compulsory to attend school until 16 years of age, students can apply for early leaving exemptions. Early leaving exemptions are given "on the basis of educational problems, conduct, or in the unlikelihood of the students gaining benefit from attending available schools" but a new application process introduced in 2006 has seen a sharp decline (85%) in the number being awarded (Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 23) and as a consequence there has been a corresponding decline in the number of under 16 year olds enrolled in Youth Training programmes (Mahoney, 2010). Yet Māori continue to be more likely than any other ethnic group including Pasifika to be exempt from attending school. Many of these rangatahi would have once been enrolled in Māori and Pasifika PTEs with the expectation that they would be transitioned into further training or work. The drop in exemptions potentially has deleterious consequences for alienated under 16 year olds as they no longer are eligible to be enrolled in the PTEs.

Young people who leave school and who are not in tertiary education, training, employment or care are referred to as NEET. Although it is difficult to determine the level of qualifications these young people have it is likely that a proportion of them leave school with no or few qualifications. Generally NEET youth are categorised as being "disengaged from both formal learning and work, and …missing the opportunity to develop their potential at an age that heavily influences future outcomes" (Mahoney, 2010, p. 15). It is estimated that the number of NEET youth is 8-10,000 higher than the numbers of youth in Youth Training. For example in 2008 the number of NEET youth was projected to be just under 20,000 compared to the approximately 10,000 learners in Youth Training (Mahoney, 2010, p. 16). In 2008 47% of young learners in Youth Training were Māori, while 11% were Pasifika (Mahoney, 2010). Between 1999 and 2008 the number of learners in Youth Training had declined. Māori participation had declined by 32% and Pasifika by 19%, but compared to Pākehā and 'other' learners they were still over-represented in training programmes (Mahoney, 2010).

In the 1980s a Māori response to the concern over the possible demise of te reo Māori (Māori language) and the crisis facing Māori education was the establishment of kaupapa Māori educational initiatives. With the introduction of kōhanga reo (preschool language nests) in 1982 and the subsequent establishment of kura kaupapa and whare kura (primary and secondary schooling), and whare wānanga (tertiary organisations) Māori placed te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), Māori values and practices (collectively understood as te reo Māori me ōna tikanga) at the centre of Māori education. The aspiration to be successful learners and contributors of society *as* Māori drives kaupapa Māori initiatives across the education sector, including the post secondary training sector.

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[1] The number of school leavers this represents includes students who were halfway or less to a Level 1 qualification and those with no formal attainment using school leaving statistics.

Employment

Young people in general but especially those leaving school early with few or no qualifications are more vulnerable to the labour market and its fluctuations. The unemployment rate for all young people in the 15-24 age bracket is consistently twice the rate of those aged 25-64 years (Ministry of Education, 2010). While the demand for labour has increased in recent times participation has not. Rather, the unemployment rate has grown slightly in the past year with the rates of unemployed youth and especially those of young Māori and Pasifika people increasing the most. Currently the rates of Māori and Pasifika youth unemployment are 30.6% and 25.8% respectively and are significantly higher than for all youth (18.2%) (Department of Labour, 2010). Complicating this situation are the regional differences in rates of unemployment. Northland, Auckland and the East Coast have the highest unemployment rates in New Zealand and are regions that also have high Māori populations. The majority of the Pasifika population resides in Auckland (Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry of Pacific Affairs, 2101).

According to the Department of Labour (2010) labour market conditions have improved in recent times; however it is experienced workers who are being employed rather than young people with few or low skills, and no work experience.

Young Māori not in education, employment or training are particularly vulnerable. In 2009 the NEET rate for Māori aged 15-24 was 14.9% compared to 8.2% for non-Māori (Department of Labour, 2009). Of concern is the even higher NEET rate for Māori males aged 20-24 years (19.1%) which has been steadily climbing since 2007. According to the Department of Labour (2009) this indicates that many youth are not going on to training, education or work beyond school, thus are experiencing long term unemployment.

The State Sector

Over the past 30 years social and economic policies have had a huge and largely damaging impact on Māori and Pasifika communities. What were already impoverished and marginalized communities became even more so with the corporatization and privatisation of state owned assets and deregulation. The cumulative effect continues to remain significant (Pipi, Cram, Hawke, Hawke, Huriwai, Mataki, Milne, Morgan, Tuhaka and Tuuta, 2004).

The state sector underwent major restructuring in the 1980s. Rural and small communities that were already marginalized became even more so with the State Owned Enterprises Act 1986 which corporatized and privatized many of New Zealand's publicly owned enterprises. Under this legislation those enterprises that weren't sold off were required to act as private companies and make a profit. Some enterprises such as NZ Railways and the Post Office were the anchors of small and rural communities and their privatization and subsequent withdrawal from communities took much of the economic infrastructure, training and employment pathways and opportunities out of them. To this day many communities have not recovered. Underpinning the structural realignment of New Zealand's economic and social policies was the move to a neoliberal political economy (Peters, Smith, Marshall and Fitzsimmons, 2000). Based on the freedom of markets and individuals to pursue their self interest a neo liberal orientation to the world is the antithesis of collectivist cultures such as Māori and Pacific nations people.

Since the structural realignment of social and economic policy, including welfare reforms that led to benefit cuts, there has been an increasing gap between rich and poor (Kelsey, 1995). For those communities already poor prior to the shift to a neoliberal political economy the

changes have wrought increased impoverishment. Rural communities, Māori, Pasifika, the working class, women and beneficiaries were particularly hard hit. Given that Māori and Pasifika peoples are located within many of these groups it is not surprising that their impoverishment is particularly widespread. Compared to other ethnic groups Māori and Pacific peoples are materially worse off (Cheung, 2007) and this has had a significant impact on the lives and opportunities of children and young people.

There is a strong link between socio-economic disadvantage and poor education and social outcomes for children and young people. According to Friesen, Ferguson & Chesney (2008) 20% of New Zealand's young people experience sustained poverty. Despite growth in the economy and arguably better social conditions in the last decade the rate has not dropped. Rather, it has remained relatively stable at 'near or above 20%" which confirms that "one in every four to five New Zealand children will be living in adverse socio-economic circumstances that are likely to affect their health, development and educational opportunities" (Friesen *et al*, 2008, p. 49).

The tertiary education and policy environment

Since 1959 a raft of policies and schemes has been implemented to address Māori education failure and counteract the "continuing rise of dissatisfaction and feelings of frustration" of young Māori (Te Ao Hou, 1975, p 35). The first initiative was the Māori Trade Training Scheme (MTTS) that was launched in Auckland by the Department of Māori Affairs to provide training and employment opportunities for young Māori. By the early 1970s the scheme had spread to the South Island. In 1975 the Hon. Matiu Rata, the then Minister of Māori Affairs, set a target of at least 1,000 trainees a year to go through the MTTS. In an address to Māori and Pacific organisations in Auckland Rata (Te Ao Hou, 1975, p. 34) spelt out the targets for the programme which included raising the median income for Māori wage earners, the upskilling of Māori workers and equitable participation across all sectors. The underpinning aim was to increase education, training and work opportunities for Māori so that their potential could be realised.

While little has changed with regard to the intent of policy and the targets, in the last 35 years there have been a range of schemes and programmes in attempts to better fit the ideological orientation of incumbent governments, the fiscal constraints they face and the needs of Māori and Pasifika communities (Kawharu, 2001). Take for example Gill (1989) who, in the late 1980s, did a stock take of training and work programmes and found 23 programmes that specifically delivered to Māori and Pasifika communities. If one takes into account all programmes that rangatahi and Pasifika youth might enrol in the options they had were large. Life skills, training programmes, employment and apprenticeship schemes have 'reappeared in various forms' over time to develop young Māori and Pasifika people's work readiness and to provide them with skills training, work experience, and employment options and outcomes (Kawharu, 2001, p. 2). Eligibility criteria and outcomes have also moved over this time, as have funding levels, auditing and administrative processes.

There are three programmes that the providers in this research delivered to their communities. They included Youth Training, Training Opportunities Programme (TOP) and Youth Transition Services (YTS).

Youth Training was set up to provide training for school leavers with no or low qualifications and was one of the primary funding avenues for Māori and Pasifika providers. The programme evolved out of the ACCESS and MACCESS schemes (the parallel initiative for Māori) that were established in 1986. In turn these had their genesis in TOP that began in

1993. ACCESS and MACCESS were established to provide training for those "who were disadvantaged in the labour market, and for whom traditional training methods were unsuitable or unavailable" (Mahoney, 2010, p. 10). The level of funding was based on the level of disadvantage trainees faced. MACCESS was administered by Māori authorities and delivered primarily by Māori providers.

The TOP programme, funded through Vote: Education and managed by then Skill New Zealand was targeted to specific groups including beneficiaries, long term unemployed, and school leavers with low or no qualifications so that they could gain recognized credentials and move onto further training, education or employment.   In 1998 the TOP programme was split into two with one focusing on youth and the other on long term unemployed adults. Funding of the two programmes was also split. Vote: Social Development took funding responsibility for long term unemployed Work and Income clients while Vote: Education retained funding for young people with low or no qualifications (Mahoney, 2010). The Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) which was previously Skill New Zealand continued to administer both programmes.

Most of the Māori providers in this research started out delivering trade training and MACCESS programmes in the 1980s. Some of these providers established Kōkiri Centres which were developed out of the Tū Tāngata policy that "introduced community based planning and implementation of policy and programmes for Māori at the local level" (Ward, 1997, p. 472). They provided skills training for urban youth in marae type settings (Gill, 1989). The vision by Kara Puketapu who developed the Tū Tāngata policy in the 1970s was for Māori to establish an economic base that would reduce unemployment and close the economic gap between Māori and Pākehā. Puketapu believed that economic success would lead to social and cultural transformation for Māori (Smith, 1994). Puketapu's vision has not been realized and Kōkiri Centres today work to holistically address the economic, social and cultural issues that their communities face.

Youth Transition Services is a relatively recent initiative to assist young school leavers with few or no qualifications into education, further training or work. The primary aims of the service are to enable young people to make good decisions and to contribute to young people's independence and wellbeing. The YTS providers are community organisations that are linked into the Mayors' Taskforce for Jobs and undertake a brokering role between the school leaver and their post school destination (City of Manukau Education Trust, 2006). School community relationships are critical to the success of the scheme.

Māori aspirations and tino rangatiratanga

From early on in colonial settlement Māori have both resisted colonial processes and expressed their desire for tino rangatiratanga. One forum in which they have done this is through Hui Taumata, summit meetings of tribal leaders. The first hui taumata was held in 1858 and at that hui tribal leaders discussed their aspirations for iwi participation in society, the retention of tribal economic resources and the terms of the relationship between iwi Māori and the crown (Durie, 2006). In essence these aspirations have remained the same over time. For example in 1984 the Minister of Māori Affairs, Matiu Rata, convened a Māori Economic Summit Conference that was attended by tribal leaders and organisations from all over New Zealand. Like the first hui taumata in 1858 the call from the conference was for "iwi determined, run and controlled economic and social services" (Smith, 1994, p. 103). In more contemporary times hui taumata with an educational focus have been held. The first focused on a framework for considering Māori educational aspirations (Durie, 2004). At this hui three broad educational goals were agreed to. They included:

- To live as Māori
- To actively participate as citizens of the world
- To enjoy good health and a high standard of living (Durie, 2004, p, 2)

These goals continue to underpin Māori education aspirations and provision. The most recent – Hui Taumata Mātauranga V – held in 2006 also called for Māori advancement and participation in society. At this hui the focus was on the centrality of whānau in advancing Māori aspirations (Durie, 2006). The recently launched Whānau Ora policy articulates the collective aspirations expressed in hui taumata and Māori communities across Aotearoa (Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives, 2010). According to the Taskforce authors the "goals of whānau ora will be met when whānau are: self-managing; living healthy lifestyles; participating fully in Te Ao Māori; economically secure, actively and successfully involved in wealth creation; and cohesive, resilient and nurturing" (2010, p. 7). It remains to be seen just how Whānau Ora will impact on Māori communities and the PTE sector in particular.

Underpinning Māori resistance and calls for self determination is the Treaty of Waitangi which continues to the present day to be the mechanism through which Māori claims are made. Thus it has been and continues to be used to articulate Māori aspirations, and reclaim and redress historical and contemporary inequalities. Notwithstanding its different versions and interpretations the Treaty of Waitangi continues to be underscored by a history of conflict. In 1987 the New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney General court case established a set of principles that with minor changes have become the primary way in which the government and its agencies understand and express their commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi. The four primary principles include: (1) protection and the Crown's duty to protect Māori lands, waters, possessions and self determination; (2) partnership and the idea that the Treaty established a partnership between Māori and the Crown and the duty of the Crown to act in good faith; (3) participation in which Māori are guaranteed all the rights and privileges of citizenship; and (4) consultation in which the Crown has a duty to consult with Māori.

Māori are critical of the 'principle approach' to the Treaty of Waitangi in that the principles have arisen out of a western legal framework. The principles, Māori argue, are Pākehā understandings and interpretations that diminish Māori understandings and aspirations, and, in effect, reflect the continuation of historical and unequal relations of power. Lashley (2000, p. 47) maintains that the current situation of Māori "is not exclusively a problem of abrogated treaty rights and sovereignty", rather she sees the increasing inequality between Māori and non-Māori arising out of multiple reinforcing structural forces that include de-industrialisation, economic restructuring, the public sector reforms, as well as the legacy of historical dispossession and marginalization. Notwithstanding this, Māori continue to use the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi, as well as the principles, to advance their claims for redress and equality.

Conclusion

The devolution of government funding in the 1980s meant that Māori and iwi organisations were "for the first time in colonial history…allowed to administer substantial budgets and to manage significant projects" for their communities (van Meijl, 2003). Yet questions remain as to the extent of devolution to Māori on the one hand and Māori self determination on the other given that the programmes are centrally funded and controlled. Devolution and deregulation has ironically seen increased government bureaucracy and regulation. While "management has been delegated or devolved …executive power has been concentrated even more at the centre" (Peters et al, 2000). It is in this policy context that Māori and Pasifika providers were established.

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the multiple contexts within which the providers established and delivered their programmes. The backdrop to the Māori and Pasifika providers is an education system that has historically marginalised young Māori and a socio-political system that continues to disadvantage Māori. Despite the way in which these contexts delimit what they are able to do, the providers in the following chapters talk back to the standard story of Māori educational underachievement, cultural marginalisation and social inequalities and talk forward to reflect the aspirations of their young people and the communities in which they operate.

Chapter 3. Methodology and Method

The research in objective three of the EEL programme, including this project, is conceptualized as kaupapa Māori research. It is important to emphasis this point as kaupapa Māori research is both the political and cultural space in which not just us as researchers work, it is also the space in which all the Māori training providers operated. Whilst kaupapa Māori research is anchored in a te ao Māori world-view it takes a theoretically eclectic approach to make sense of and transform the world. Graham Smith (1996 p. 27) argues that kaupapa Māori is a "complex arrangement of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis which collectively seeks to transform". Thus kaupapa Māori is a counter narrative, talking back to practices and ways of knowing that have marginalized Māori at the same time as reclaiming Māori ways of doing and being.

However, one of the challenges that a kaupapa Māori approach presents is its ability to resonate with meaning for non-Māori. Given that the scope of objective three and this project is attending to both Māori and Pasifika provider communities we have drawn on Taina Pohatu's notion of āta (taking care) and its underlying principles, or takepū as he calls them, to create a space in which to undertake research in diverse communities. According to Pohatu (2003 p. 5) āta is a tool that shapes and guides an understanding of relationships, connections and well being. With this in mind we took a considered and careful approach to working with the thirteen Māori and Pasifika providers and their communities. Outlined below is the concept of āta and its six takepū that informed our practice as researchers.

Table 1: Āta: A framework for undertaking cross cultural research

Takepū	Whakamāramatanga/Interpretations
Āhurutanga	Creating and maintaining quality space to ensure and promote the pursuit of best practice in any kaupapa.
Tino Rangatiratanga	The constant recognition of absolute integrity of people in their kaupapa, relationships, positions and contributions in any context.
Mauri-ora	The constant acknowledgement that at the core of any kaupapa and relationship is the pursuit of wellbeing.
Te Whakakoha Rangatiratanga	Recognition that successful engagement and endeavour requires conscious application of respectful relationships with kaupapa and people.
Kaitiakitanga	The constant acknowledgement that people are engaged in relationships with others, environments and kaupapa where they undertake stewardship purpose and obligations.
Tau Kumekume	The recognition that the ever-presence of tension in any kaupapa and relationship, positive or negative, offers insight and interpretation.

(Pohatu, 2004)

The takepū outlined above have also guided how we have analysed the interview data. It became apparent early on in the interviewing process that a key success element in all the providers, whether they were Māori or Pasifika, was the work they put into establishing and maintaining relationships not only with the young people in their charge, their whānau, and the wider community in which they operated (including other organisations, government agencies and employers) but they also gave importance to the relationship between organisational knowledge and skills and the success of their young people as learners, workers and contributors to their communities and to society in general.

Embedded in a te ao Māori worldview our analysis privileges Māori knowledge, values and practices at the same time as being informed by the knowledge gained from the literature review undertaken in Phase One (Higgins, Vaughan, Phillips, Dalziel, 2008). Pohatu (2003, p. 4) argues that by framing the analysis within a te ao Māori worldview we are "consciously utilizing our cultural thinking and knowledge to inform and guide practice … [to] discover the transformative energies of te ao Māori". This is in keeping with our intention to document the innovative practices of Māori and Pasifika providers.

Method

Sixteen semi structured key informant interviews were undertaken. An interview schedule (see Appendix 1) was developed to provide prompts for guiding the interviews rather than as script to be followed. Each of the interviews took between one to one and a half hours. The interviews were conducted in the PTEs and permission was sought for them to be audiotape.

The selection of key informant participants was informed by the mapping exercise undertaken in Phase Two (Vaughan, Phillips, Dalziel, Higgins, 2009). The primary criteria for inclusion in this research were that Māori and Pasifika providers were actively engaged in facilitating school employment linkages and that their programmes originated from within and were established out of their community priorities and aspirations. All but one of the participating organisations provided programmes for what they themselves identified as 'at risk' rangatahi or Pasifika youth who had left school early and/or had no or few qualifications. One organisation was invited to participate because of its unique structure and positioning within the education employment nexus as their focus was on supporting Māori senior school leavers into tertiary education either university or polytechnic. This organisation also had a mentoring programme for Māori high school students to encourage them to stay and complete their schooling.

Participants were selected using purposive sampling to ensure that there was a mix of South and North Island, iwi and community, rural and urban, and Māori and Pasifika organisations. Thirteen organisations agreed to participate in the key informant interviews of which eleven were Māori and two were Pasifika. Three of the Māori providers were part of iwi authorities or rūnanga. Five of the providers had close working relationships with the iwi in their communities and sometimes that meant having relationships with multiple iwi. In two instances the relationships were formalized in memorandum of understanding agreements.

Eight Māori and the two Pasifika providers were located in the North Island. Three providers were based in the South Island. Four of the PTEs were rural based. The nine urban based PTEs were located in a mix of urban settings − large cities, smaller cities and provincial towns. The spread of participating providers is outlined in Table 2.

Table 2: Type of Māori and Pasifika provider by urban and rural location

	Iwi Rural	Iwi Community	Community Urban	Community Rural
Māori	2	1	6	2
Pasifika			2	

The majority of the organisations provided Youth Training and TOP courses, two were contracted to deliver YTS, two provided mentoring programmes for young people in schools and one of them also provided support for rangatahi transitioning from school to higher education. Four providers also ran alternative education units for young people 13-16 years of age who were not attending school. See Appendix 2 for a matrix of providers by location and services offered.

Of the 16 key informant participants, 10 were managers, one was the CEO of the organisation, three were tutors, two were youth coaches and one was a mentor coordinator.

Fifteen of the 16 key informant interviews were used in the body of this report. While the key informant interview from the organisation that focussed on supporting young Māori school leavers into tertiary education was useful in informing this project the information they provided was not used in the report as they were not a PTE.

To ensure the anonymity of the providers in the report we have changed or removed any details that would identify them when using quotes. Nor have we attributed quotes to their author. Where it was important to link the providers with their narratives this has been done in a generic way.

Over the course of the last twenty years various terms have been used to refer to the collective of Pacific nations in New Zealand, for example Pacific Peoples, Pasifika, Pasefika and Pacific Nations (Coxon, et al, 2010). In the report we have used the word Pasifika to collectively refer to all the Pacific nations in New Zealand. We acknowledge that this is highly problematic given the cultural and ethnic diversity between and within Pacific nations along with the dynamic nature of Pacific identity that is mediated by the socio-economic and political contexts of living in New Zealand.

Chapter 4. Kaitiakitanga: Māori and Pasifika Providers

The establishment of the twelve PTEs who participated in this research began in response to the experiences of young Māori and Pasifika people in their communities. With a backdrop of low educational achievement and high unemployment rates for Māori and Pasifika youth, state sector reforms and the increasing economic and cultural impoverishment of Māori and Pasifika communities, urbanisation, training policy development and their desire to be self determining the providers' impetus lay in supporting their rangatahi to be confident, contributing and successful members of their whānau and wider communities. While the providers took a student centred approach to engaging with their young people, their focus was on the young person as an integral part of whānau and community.

The importance of whakapapa and place

All the PTEs considered that the whakapapa or genealogy of their service was important to their identity as a Māori or Pasifika provider, it defined not only the kind of provision they offered but also the way they practiced. For example the three iwi providers were embedded in the cultural, political and social affairs of their iwi.

> *The Whānau Trust was actually established in 1991 as a recognised Māori authority under the mantle or guardianship of Ngā Hapū; Hinengakau is the top half. The middle is Tama Upoko and the bottom region which we are in is Tupoho and there's nine marae in our rohe (region) and we were started as the administrative arm of Te Rūnanga, so that's sort of who we were here for. There's a few branches of Te Rūnanga, one was the health, the economic arm, education and social services and we are the education arm, so that's who we are.*

While the majority of the Māori providers were not part of hapū or iwi they were nevertheless connected to marae and operated according to the kaupapa of the iwi.

> *We originated from the marae, and under the umbrella of the hapū and iwi values. The upoko from the marae is our chairperson, and we have two other rūnanga representatives. We've been a registered private training provider for 26 years. It was to provide temporary employment and skills for our underemployed Māori and Pacific Island rangatahi because we noticed that a lot of them were doing nothing, so we gathered them up under the umbrella of the trust. The Council funded some work experience and initiatives for them. The marae was our hub.*

Indeed, all the providers including the Pasifika ones maintained strong links with and input from their local hapū and iwi, and communities. In most cases this link was formal through the PTEs having iwi representation on the providers' governing boards and in some instances the PTEs having links back into the iwi. For example one of the Pasifika PTEs related how they had Māori representation on their board and that their CEO sat on the local rūnanga.

> *We have a Māori representative on our Board of Trustees and our CEO sits on the [local] rūnanga. A lot of support was provided by the Māori community to help set up our services so the relationship goes back a long way.*

The Pasifika providers also maintained strong relationships within their local Pasifika communities. They ensured that they reflected and had representation from all the Pasifika communities in their area.

> *With the Pacific Island communities here the majority are linked to a church so there will be Tongan communities and the Tongan churches, Cook Island churches, the Samoan churches, the Kiribati community…our Board of Trustees comes from seven different Pacific islands. So all our communities are represented.*

The providers' strong connections and links to their local communities facilitated different kinds of relationships than was usually found in educational settings. One provider talked about how close whakapapa links and connections facilitated relationships that were based on whānau and the underpinning set of obligations and responsibilities that went with that.

> *We operate under the local iwi kawa. We have a MOU with the rūnanga that we are their preferred training provider in this area for our people. One of our trustees is a trustee on the rūnanga as well. We are definitely iwi, all our staff whakapapa to the land in and around this area. We think that is important – that our kids that come to us see that their uncles, their cousins, their relations are here making a difference for them, rather than at school where they get someone up front teaching them who doesn't give a stuff about them.*

An equally important component of whakapapa was recognizing and understanding the educational and labour market experiences of the young people in their communities. One provider talked about how they provided a second chance for marginalized rangatahi.

> *Our organisation came about in the mid 1980s because there was a need to give those who had lost employment or dropped out of the education system a second chance, this continues to be a major driver for us.*

The whakapapa of the providers was an important consideration in successful provision as it defined in tangible and embedded ways who they were, what they did, and how they delivered their programmes. This was as much about their cultural identity as it was their organisational ethos or values. Indeed these were not distinct elements, rather they were part of a whole way of providing services that were embedded in and informed their everyday practice in particular the relationships they had within and beyond the organisation. As one provider said *they're just a part of us every day*.

Ngā Moemoeā: envisioning the possibilities

The everyday practices of the organisations were guided by the visions they had for their young people and community. Their narratives revealed a range of visions they had not just for their young people but also for their community and wider society. These ranged between individual and collectivist aspirations.

Envisioning young people who are successful

All the providers, both Māori and Pasifika, desired their young people to be confident and contributing members of society who were able to realize their full potential and be successful in whatever they did. One provider recognized the importance of self-belief in being able to fully realize potential and talked about the opportunities they gave their students to not just wanting to be successful but also to participate successfully at the same level as non-Māori.

Our basic focus, our main principal focus is to ensure that our children are able to participate successfully at the same level as everybody else. We give them that opportunity, we give them more skills, we give them more training, we give them work placement, we give them the work. That is our vision that they aspire to be the best that they can.

My vision is for our Pacific young people to be successful, to continue to nurture our young people and support our families. And for our youth and young people to be able to look back in years to come and think I actually did that all by myself with the support of my community and support of organisations such as ourself. Being able to provide the choices, putting the choices and the opportunities out there, it is not just about saying now here is an opportunity go for it, it is actually about walking the journey with them and supporting them to fulfil their goals. I would like to see our youth living successful lives and being happy and able to support themselves and their families.

Envisioning a sense of belonging

The providers talked about fostering their student's sense of achievement through creating an environment in which they felt they belonged given their lived realities of being on the margins educationally and socially.

For our young people to be able to have a sense of self-achievement. For them to go out there and be successful and when they come back to tell us how great they are, what they've been doing, bring their first paycheck and show us. A belonging, I think they need to feel that they belong somewhere, because many of them are pillar to post.

Envisioning young people's agency

In contributing to young people's sense of achievement is to enable them to make effective decisions for themselves. One of the providers encapsulated this by using the metaphor of kai to explain what they did. This provider made it clear that the job of his organisation was not to tell rangatahi what they should do, rather it was to make sure that a full range of options be made available to them.

Our job is to make sure that all of the kai is on the table. Our job is not to dictate what people must eat but it is to minimalise the kai that might risk them and maximize their ability to access kai that might be good for them. You know you put everything out because you never know – you and I might not eat toroi [fermented food e.g. corn or mussels] but someone coming over might. And that might be the one kai that sustains them.

Underscoring the metaphor of kai used above is the cultural significance it has to both Māori and Pasifika. The full meaning is manifest in the whakatauākī *nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou, ka ora ai te iwi* (from your basket and my basket the people will prosper).

Some of the Māori providers talked about being kaupapa Māori organisations and providing a voice for urban Māori. This was more often applied in urban settings where the impact of urbanization had seen the dislocation of whānau from hapū and iwi relationships.

Where urban based Māori gather you actually need to have a voice there because they often fall outside of the rūnanga a iwi. That is what happens when you start legislating tribal boundaries. You end up with people being missed out

because our tribal boundaries were never that strict. Now all of a sudden we have got people who may have a marae that they belong to but then in every other way are disenfranchised from those links because they live in the city. So what do you do – well the idea is obvious – what you do is to allow those people in the city to work as best they can for themselves and you support them.

Envisioning future iwi leaders

For some providers their vision was anchored in building iwi capacity and capability. In this view young people are *the* future and are seen as playing an important role in the wellbeing and prosperity of the iwi. However as the provider below pointed out that may not be the future for every rangatahi.

The vision for us is that we build a vibrant and robust iwi and to do that our rangatahi need to be confident, be really confident and knowledgeable in a lot of areas. As an organisation, one of our real wishes is that rangatahi come in wanting to follow the path of the iwi, because our claims are really big, and like iwi management and that kind of thing, but if they come in not wanting that, that's fine too. I think the most important thing is that they can lead really successful and productive lives, not necessarily have the best jobs in town or the highest education according to somebody else, but they can be valuable members of society.

Envisioning culturally literate rangatahi

All the Māori PTEs desired the rangatahi in their services to be confident and literate in te ao Māori. One of the ways that this was done was to provide te reo Māori me ōna tikanga within their programmes however for some it was a matter of embedding Māori language and values into their everyday practice.

As time went on, the place evolved because in working with that high risk group of people, then you then found that they had issues around their lack of understanding of things Māori and they wanted the language and of course we were one of the first that had Kōhanga Reo. Te Ataarangi, the pilot was run here. They all came out from the Coast and this was the first pilot, so this has become a pilot place for a whole lot of different initiatives.

Envisioning te ao Māori in practice

A number of the Māori providers articulated their vision in collectivist terms that arose out of a Māori world view. Two providers in particular talked about their vision for moving forward as one.

The vision is te ao Māori - collectively we move forward and we go as fast as the slowest person. In te ao Māori it is to move collectively - our students need to be part and parcel of that way.

Our vision kōkiri i roto i te kotahitanga that is how it has always operated. We will move forward as one group. When we know that something needs to be done we will do it. If there is no funding we will still do it. And we will do cake sales or whatever we need to do to get it done.

Underpinning the collective ethos of a te ao Māori world view are specifically Māori values and practices. Values and practices such as aroha ki te tangata (care and respect for people),

manaaki (support), wairua (spirituality) and utu (reciprocity) were central to the Māori PTEs' provision.

> *We base our whole service on aroha and manaaki, if the money is not there the kaupapa still has to go on.*

One provider had instituted the whare tapa whā model as their organisation's core values and practice. Initially the holistic whare tapa whā model was developed within the context of Māori health but has been increasingly used in educational settings. This provider has embedded the model in not just how they related to their at risk young people but also in all their policies and procedures.

> *We are an education training institution we see ourselves as an entry level provider because we take at risk rangatahi. We are a Māori provider under a Māori kaupapa - a Māori community focus. We operate to the whare tapa whā model. What I did was incorporate the whare tapa whā model into policy and procedure so it is embedded.*

Envisioning Pasifika spaces

Pasifika providers also talked about the Pasifika cultural values that guided their practices and visions. The importance of family, language and cultural respectfulness were priorities in one provider's view.

> *As an organisation we don't have the language programmes. We rely on the families and the church. And within our own organisation because our staff are from right throughout the Pacific we have karakia – both here and in the training unit – and also across at the main office. So whichever team is leading you can choose a song from your own culture and we are learning and singing it at the same time. Kiribati, Tonga, Samoa, Tuvalu and so they communicate with each other. A Samoan conversation is going on over here, a Kiribati one over there a Tongan going on or a Tuvaluan conversation going on. That is actually encouraged and of course we all get together for our festivals – the language, the culture and the dance and the music and food of course, so we are able to share and bring along our food from our own country or family and share.*

Holistic provision

Whilst all the providers catered for 'at risk' youth, held similar aspirations for their young people and were tied to meeting government outcomes they nevertheless provided programmes and services tailored to the specific needs of the youth in their communities. This section identifies some of the common themes by which the providers attended to the learning, social and cultural needs of their young people.

Providing wrap around services

The success of the providers lay in the services they wrapped around their young people and included counselling, drug and alcohol counselling, health care, budgeting advice, smoke free programmes, and providing meals and transport. This was about, as one organisation pointed out, 'adding value' to the programmes they ran. Adding value to their organisation was essentially about embedding Māori and Pasifika values into their everyday practice. For all the providers this was not so much about delivering programmes, rather it was about a commitment to rangatahi, whānau and community and iwi well being. Specifically values

such as aroha ki te tangata, manaaki and whānaungatanga (the obligations and responsibilities associated with being part of a whānau) were evident in the Māori providers while in the Pasifika organisations the importance of family and respect were predominant.

In providing wrap around services the training providers all recognized the challenges in working with marginalized rangatahi and Pasifika youth. All the iwi and some of the larger providers had social and health arms to call on or employed counsellors and health workers to assist young people when needed.

> *We have our iwi health authority, they come in regularly and talk about Smokefree and the offer is always there if they [students] need assistance. We have an awesome support service through our Iwi Social Services. We have a lot of support services and they can put the offer out but we can't force them [the students] to take it.*

The providers that did not have the capacity to employ social workers or counsellors made sure that they had good relationships with the necessary social and health services in their area. Sometimes that meant having strong connections and relationships with the local iwi's social and health services or other Māori health providers.

> *Today we have things like Māori Women's Refuge, Māori Asthma Society, Smokefree programmes and we still have a lot of new projects. They're based here but they're not under our arm but they're still affiliated to us - they're all their own entities. We've helped care for them, put support behind them, so they're here in our space. We've had the Rangatahi Maia programmes and because of our work in refuge and stuff like that, we have a whole lot of programmes for kids of refuge, holiday programmes specifically designed around those kids and different programmes throughout the year like mau rākau… All the services that we have are a reflection of the needs of the people.*

The provision of services to support training were not funded but seen as necessary so that the providers could meet their organisational goals as well as TEC targets. For most of the organisations this meant providing young people with transport to and from the classroom. The reasons for this varied. Sometimes it was because the young person did not have money to get themselves to class, or it was about modelling and supporting the personal skills and discipline required when working.

> *We have a van that goes out. We are tracking their attendance all the time. So after two days if they are not here we go out, we don't wait for the five day absence because we have to withdraw on the fifth day. An awful lot of work goes in to trying to comply to the rule as opposed to delivering.*

Many of the organisations also provided meals. Some provided the makings of a basic breakfast every day, others provided a cooked meal once a week while a few provided a meal every day. The provision of kai was also a way in which values and practices such as manaaki and aroha ki te tangata were modelled. As the provider below stated 'sometimes the biggest learning is around everyday things'.

> *You put the kai around because you know that when people are rested, they are warm and sheltered and are healthy then they can eat. But you don't put anything out before you look after those. This is the first thing that they notice when they come into the unit – there is breakfast there, there is lunch there, they have a cooked lunch every day. There is always someone to sit down to have a kai with or there is always a tutor there. Sometimes the biggest learning is around everyday things. How do you talk to your tutor about not having enough money because so and so did this, and I did this and that?*

> *Every Wednesday, we have a big lunch. We have to be real to, that they can't work if they're hungry. It's also a really good thing because, they're also taught that you can make yourself food but you have to clean up, they must clean up after themselves.*

Staircasing students to reach their goals

At the time the interviews were conducted the largest of the training providers we spoke to ran 22 programmes. These larger organisations were able to provide their young people with a wide range of opportunities and choices for learning that went beyond training them for low level entry employment and living skills to staircasing students into degree programmes that responded both to the aspirations of their young people and the community within which they operated. For example, the largest of the organisations, which was also an iwi provider, provided the young people in their community with a range of options from youth training to industry specific training and apprenticeships in areas that reflected their communities social and employment needs.   At the same time it also offered a Bachelor of Teaching programme in partnership with Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa. The coordinator of their youth programme used the metaphor of building a house to explain their Youth Training programme.

> *We can direct our youth to any other of our programmes. Here's a prime example, a couple of our students had an interview last week in forest management, they've been accepted so they will start there next year. They will have spent 12 months with us then they will go and do six months and start doing their diploma in forest management. The easiest way to explain our rangatahi programme is it's like building a house. We can't put the floor down until the foundations are down. We're the foundation. We're the foundation and the other programmes become the floors and walls… we had a young lady here who has been here six years – her last year this year – she started here in the youth training programme and she said to me "I want to be a teacher'. As I say we're just the foundation of the floor of the whare.*

The larger providers were not alone in wanting to staircase their young people beyond low skilled employment opportunities. The medium to small providers also saw the need to provide stepping stone opportunities. However given their size they needed to be creative in making those options possible. In doing so they worked with other providers in their communities.

> *We only go up to level 2 but we do have a relationship with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa which are currently running their night classes out of the computer room. This is level 3 which is another stepping stone. We have a relationship with the local polytech, and we like to take our students and show them other training providers so they get to know what courses are available to them or what relates to them and their career pathway and training. At the end of the day we are kaupapa oriented but hopefully everyone is trying to help them to succeed.*

> *I do push them into careers. I am very careers oriented or business oriented. I will say [to the rangatahi] "there is a voluntary ten week service course in Burnham and I would like you to go and do that" But I still have to follow them through right until you take them to the plane, because they just haven't got the discipline to follow it through. [They say] "I am really scared" so "I will take you down to the airport". They do the induction and all that and they get to know that there is a connection.*

Providing more than opportunities

Just creating opportunities for rangatahi and Pasifika young people was not enough for the providers. The providers worked to ensure that their young people were enabled to make the most of the opportunities that they were presented with in addition to the programmes they delivered. Two hospitality training providers went further in supporting their students training and work experience by providing them with uniforms and equipment so that they could start work without having a cost burden.

> *They get a uniform to work in - some of them turn up in swandri and gumboots every day, that's all they have. I work with the local Dress for Success organisation to dress all my kids.*

> *At the end of the course when they graduate we buy them a set of knives, so they don't have a cost burden, we get them a uniform, knives, everything.*

Whānau tahi

Of critical importance to all the organisations was the provision of services that were centred on the young person and his or her whānau. A number of the providers made the distinction between provision that included whānau and provision that simply *was* whānau. The providers saw themselves as whānau, irrespective of whether there was a whakapapa connection, rather than providing services to whānau. This orientation had implications for the kind of relationships the providers established with their young people, whānau and communities. All the PTEs talked about the positive impact that a sense of belonging through being part of a whānau had on their students and their subsequent engagement with the providers and their programmes.

> *I think it's very Māori, because when you tell the kid you know their grandfather and this is what we used to do together, they're less likely to not turn up and to muck around like they might do with other organisations. A lot of our tauira [students], the majority are from the awa so you can find a connection somewhere. It's very rare that we can't and I think it also helps, a lot.*

> *When we talk about relationships it's an us and an us. For example, we have a kid here whose parent is a plumber and runs his own plumbing business. We have another kid here whose parent is an electrician, another kid here, whose father owns and runs a power line company, his kids are in a kōhanga and he has to come here for counselling. It's not a him and an us, it's an us and an us, because he's not a client, he's whānau. We've known that fullah for 40 years, his kid is in the kōhanga, he had a bit of a drinking problem, so we needed to get him some help there, and so on and so forth, and now his daughter has the mokopuna in there, and she went off and did a bit of training, so she comes back from time to time and helps us out with our IT, it's not a them and an us. That's whānau ah!*

> *Around this organisation every worker or kaumātua is mother or a father to every kid on the property and that is an organisational thing.*

> *Everyone was Aunty. I didn't know half my Aunties were from the other side of the island, or were Pākehā, because I was brought up in a community, where colour, race, iwi affiliations didn't matter.*

One PTE's entire service was focused on the notion of whānau tahi. For this provider the family came first in all that they did. In doing so they provided a 'cradle to the grave' service.

> *Our thing is from cradle to the grave – we are very interested in whānau tahi. The whānau comes first because our families have been disenfranchised. And the most disenfranchised are our children and our women.*

Another PTE, in acknowledging the high rate of parenthood amongst their students and the challenges that this group of young people faced, was inclusive of their students' children. Not only was this considered to be normal whānau practice, the provider talked about how being inclusive had a positive impact on student retention.

> *Our males, especially this year, probably half of them have tamariki and they will bring them in because a lot of their partners work, so they will bring their kids in one or two days a week, and it's okay as long as it doesn't disturb the flow. The whānau, the complete safety, it's very inclusive and it's very safe and I think that's one of the other things that keeps them coming. It makes a difference, it makes a huge difference.*

Creating literate young people

Whilst the providers worked to increase the education, training and employment opportunities of their young people, the heart of their provision was to increase the educative, employment and cultural literacy of their students. Many of the participants talked about the importance of numeracy and literacy in what they did. In the past this had been an important component of their services. In recent times the providers had had their funding for numeracy and literacy programmes cut, but because it was such an important component of their students learning they have continued working it into what they do.

The PTEs also talked about the importance of providing learning opportunities for students to facilitate their cultural literacy. One provider gave her students 'hands on' work on marae and at tangihanga to foster not only their literacy around work and employment but also their confidence in, and affirmation of their cultural identity and literacy.

> *So all of our learning is hands on. We do things like tangihanga, twenty firsts, kaumātua/kuia hui, like the Mayor always has us do all of his functions for the Council. So again that gives our kids that basic experience – work and tikanga. And we talk about mana! How can we talk about mana when our kids are not even learning in their own (cultural) environment? So we take a lot of our learners back into the environment where the kids are most comfortable. I tell you what, you should see them shine, it is quite amazing, quite amazing! The level of professionalism, I am just amazed at them. You get them in a group and they are feeling really proud of who they and they are all dressed up in chef gears. It just takes on another dimension… the whole uniform thing and the whole whānau concept, mahi tahi, manaaki, aroha, wairua that all comes into it. That's what our children [need] – they starve that eh? I think if we had more of that in the schools then we would have more kids staying at school.*

All the iwi providers delivered NCEA accredited courses that contained culturally specific knowledge that their students were already familiar with and took for granted. One of the providers talked about how the validation of Māori knowledge and skills that their students already had built up their confidence and had a (mostly) positive impact on their learning.

> *It sort of lets them know that things that they've taken for granted, because they're just things you do - you go to the marae, you have to do this work, and it's just what you do and everyone does it. Actually acknowledging that this is something quite special and [something] not everyone can do. We have those discussions and it's*

like they'll say, "How come you can get units for going to a pōhiri?" and we'll say, "Can anyone walk in and do that?" and it'll be like "Nah", "So it is special!". But because they've done it all their lives, they think everyone can do it. I've said "So you're pretty cool, you're pretty special, you do have skills". It's getting them to look [at themselves] that they do have these skills, and it gives them this self-confidence, and it just helps them grow. I'm not going to try and say that every one of our students does really well, because sometimes they fall off a little bit and as long as we're here to help them that's all that really matters.

However, most of the providers preferred to embed language and cultural knowledge and customs in their everyday practices rather than teach them as part of the curriculum.

The thing that I have learnt over the years watching government departments supposedly being Māori responsive or having Māori this and Māori that is that they have it as a separate unit. Māori sit over in a Māori unit and everything else operates over here when in actual fact it should be inclusive and embedded if they are serious it would be embedded in their procedures and policies…That's the trouble that we've gotten into, is the silo approach to everything and that is what we want to get away from. Get it integrated, sort of interfaced across everything, we run a community garden, growing Māori kai and because we have a kaumātua programme, they come out here with the training programmes and we invite the kura kaupapa to come and participate, so you're getting everyone involved and participating, so the language, te reo just becomes a natural part of that process. If you try and structure it and make it a learning exercise, then it loses its value and it's no difference from everything else. Once you structure it, put it in a single format, it loses its values. Well that's our view anyway. We think it should be an engaging exercise, that comes naturally, and inspires and challenges people.

Open door policy

Aspects of aroha ki te tangata and manaaki included the open door policy that most, if not all the providers, had. Very few providers turned any young person away even if they were not eligible to be enrolled in their programmes.

You know parents of 13 year olds ask "can you please take my child". "I can't I am going to get arrested." Ministry of Education is not happy with me because I have all these 15 year olds who are coming to the door. And I am just saying, "Yeh come in, if you are not going to school you might as well come here and do something". I am not going to send them back out on to the street.

As a result of having open door policies most providers were providing more places than they were funded.

We often take them on without funding and we'd rather have them here doing something than out on the street doing something, then when a place comes available we register them… We're not ever going to be a rich organisation, because we never have the money to be rich, however the pūtea is important to cover the basics of everything. But above that, I'm more concerned about giving these rangatahi somewhere to be and something constructive to do, because they fall into that area where they become involved in youth justice, and then they become involved in the District Court and they get down that road and it's extremely difficult to get them back. So it's better off to work with them and hopefully give them a sense of being, to be able to make a good choice.

However placing more students in programmes than was originally funded for creates its own issues. One provider talked about it becoming both a financial issue with regard to the resources that follow the students, and a physical issue with not being able to fit everyone in the van.

> *We tend to oversubscribe but it becomes a financial issue, you can only deal with so much in terms of that resource, then it becomes a physical issue because you can only fit so many people into a van for transport - a good 80% of our training hours are done on our farming properties.*

Alternative Education

Four of the providers ran alternative education units. Under Group Special Education, these units are for young people between the ages of 13 and 16 years old who have been alienated from the school system. As one provider, who at the time of this research had twelve students in their unit, said:

> *Alternative education is for kids who have been kicked out of school or kids that aren't just going to school, or where schools are just not for the kid. So they come and we pretty much teach them how to live in the community. If we can get them back to school that is a win for us. There is not too many that go back to school. We know all the principals but I wouldn't say that the schools are doing their jobs properly but our relationship with the schools and the school heads are good. We can go in and ask for resources if we need it. They refer kids to us, that is where we get kids from. Usually kids get referred to us from whānau but then 25% are referred by the schools. They are sent to us before they get really kicked out.*

The provision of alternative education units presented a dilemma on two counts for those providers who ran them. The providers felt that they were not only expected to teach the mainstream curriculum they were also expected to get students back into mainstream education. However, the whole point of the units, as one provider agued, was that they had been established precisely for students who were disengaged and alienated learners. Thus they questioned the usefulness of units that replicated regular classroom practices. Aware of these tensions one of the providers talked about re-envisioning alternative education practices so that they were inclusive of Māori knowledge, values and practices.

> *Education should still be exciting for kids. It should be something they want to do and you can't do that if you base all of your formatting of what education should look like on a system that already exists because we know that system isn't working. So why copy it? We introduced tikanga as a very very strong part of what we do as it is so easy to example it. You have kaumātua and kai mahi who are all very skilled with tikanga and understand what kawa is and what respect for our people is…We are not a bunch of do-gooders. What we are saying is that there is no room for failure. It is not part of our scripting we cannot allow that default experience to be the experience.*

Conclusion

The twelve providers who are represented in this report were embedded in their communities. Their provision arose out of the needs and aspirations of their community and especially their young people. They provided student centred programmes that were not about whānau but *were* whānau. This has had an impact on the way in which they were able to relate to the young people who enrolled in their programmes and their whānau. The providers identified a

range of aspirations that they had for their young people and their community. These aspirations were a mix of individual and collective visions that included young people having a sense of belonging, being successful in whatever they did, contributing to their community, being future leaders, being strong in their cultural identity and having agency. In doing so the PTEs provided holistic services that wrapped around their young people so that they could seize the opportunities that were presented to them and realise their potential. This meant focussing on students' overall wellbeing. Importantly, the PTEs provided stepping stone opportunities beyond low level skills and training, and employment opportunities.

Chapter 5. Aroha ki te tangata:
Rangatahi Māori and Pasifika Youth

The metaphor of 'putting kai on the table' used by one provider (p. 15) exemplified the orientation of all the providers to provide a range of options and opportunities so that rangatahi could make effective decisions about their future that fitted their aspirations. Given that the majority of PTEs provided programmes for marginalized youth, most of whom had histories of educational alienation, the key to successful outcomes were determined by each of the providers' ability to create positive learning places where rangatahi wanted to be. In order to do this the providers needed to have a critical understanding of the socio-political contexts within which the students and their whānau lived, know the students and their community well, and have a deep understanding of the teacher/learning relationship alongside the knowledge and skills required in the workplace.

Locating provision in context

Across New Zealand the providers who participated in the research reflected the diverse communities in which they operated. They also provided services to a diverse range of young people, mostly Māori and or Pasifika but not exclusively so. All of the PTEs provided services specifically for what they called 'at risk' youth whose experiences spoke to whānau, cultural, social and educational alienation.

> *A number of our kids don't have parents, a number of our kids have found their parents dead, a number of our kids have been shipped out of a very violent gang orientated whānau environment, you know we have to be very realistic about where a number of our kids are coming from.*

A number of rangatahi had been alienated from school for some time having had very little secondary, and in some cases intermediate, schooling.

> *Let's be honest, there have been kids here who have come here at 16 who haven't been to school since they're 13. We do have some who have come to us with some credits from school that they've already done, but the credits that they've achieved with us hook onto their record of learning, they're there for life.*

The social and educational disparities between the students on their courses and those that stayed at school and gained qualifications were alluded to time and time again. Yet in the face of their marginalization rangatahi and Pasifika youth were still very much influenced by dominant ideas about work, status and income, and desiring good jobs that paid well. Take for example one of the providers who talked about the alienation of their young people who, in spite of their exclusion from the mainstream, still had dreams and aspirations like any young person.

> *Put it simple they're the people that don't fit into mainstream. I look at it like this, there's a tunnel and there's always a light at the end of the tunnel, there's always an exit. What happens in mainstream is in that tunnel. The students that come to us are on the outskirts of that tunnel, and yet they still have got a vision, they still have a light. Why can't we face them in the direction of the tunnel, where they can go back through?*

A focus on the poor fit between rangatahi and the education system not only served to conceal or render invisible the aspirations they had, it served at the same time to label them as failures. Noting that rangatahi were generally held responsible for their failure rather than the education system, the Māori providers were critical of a system that continued to fail Māori students.

Whilst the providers were expected to 'sort out' the students, re-engage them in learning or training and then send them back to school (if they were under 16 years of age) they were critically aware of why the students were alienated in the first place. In this environment the primary concern of the providers was the well being and safety of their young people.

> *To be honest, those who have been in the school system, we find it very hard getting them back in, not a lot of schools will take them back in. So what I want for them is to continue on with their path of learning. I want them to be safe, to be in a place where they feel they're respected, to be at a place where they can learn at their pace, not to be pushed.*

Seeing and valuing the whole young person

The providers' identity and practice lay in their underlying philosophical orientation which in turn informed the learning relationships they formed with their students. Specifically Māori and Pasifika values underscored the way the providers viewed and worked with their students. As the title of this report suggests the work that the providers did with and for their young people, and how they perceived and treated them, was founded on aroha ki te tangata.

Valuing rangatahi and Pasifika young people

Māori and Pasifika young people were valued by the PTEs they attended. One Māori organisation exemplified the way in which students were welcomed, supported and valued for who they were rather than what they could do or not do. In this scenario the focus of the provider was on ensuring success instead of expecting failure through attending to their young people's well being.

> *Normally what happens with kids is that you chuck them into the school system and you throw stuff at them and what sticks we call knowledge and what falls off we call stupidity. Actually what you need to do is to bring them into the system, you mihi them in and you do the things that we do really well, we mihi, we whakatau, we pōwhiri, we tangi with them and we celebrate with them and then you have the educational stuff around the outside.*

Knowing and connecting with students

All the providers considered it important to connect to, and get to know their students so that they could enable them to fulfil their learning and work aspirations. Getting to know and connecting with students and their whānau began with whakapapa. Whakapapa connections were made wherever possible. In many instances the staff, particularly in rural or small town organisations, had close whakapapa links to their students. Being able to make whakapapa connections with students, however distant, placed people and relationships at the centre of learning. Many of the providers spoke of the qualitatively different kinds of relationships they had with their students because of their whakapapa connections.

> *When we do interviews 9 times out of 10 I can whakapapa back from their grandparents if not their immediate parent. As soon as they tell me their surnames,*

> *"I know your papa", and away we go. It's because I've been bought up in that environment. Once you start talking about that, straight away you can see it in their eyes, you start building a little connection between me and that particular kid, because you know their path and their path is important.*

Induction interviews where the PTEs met their students individually or with their whānau to talk about their aspirations and how they were going to realize them were routinely held at the beginning of courses. These initial interviews helped the providers to create positive learning experiences for their students by building on what they were good at.

> *We have to look at them individually. Why are they here? What's happened to them? What things do they like doing? What don't they like doing? What things did they like at school, what did they really hate? It's finding those little things that they were good at and building on them.*

The marae was also a place that opened up opportunities to connect with students and get to know what was happening in their lives so that they received appropriate support.

> *When we are on the marae we have the opportunity to have wānanga. And we wānanga and I learn about what is happening in the kids home, I learn about what is happening in their mothers' and fathers' lives, what's happening in their own lives in terms of trying to work through the courts with being in trouble with the police, the probation service, because they have got to keep reporting and it is working though all of that.*

Having high expectations of students

Rather than seeing their young people as failures or deficient the providers considered that they were just as capable as those students who stayed at school. It was in this context of acknowledging the potential of their students that all the organisations provided opportunities and chances so that their young people did indeed have choices. The quote below exemplifies all the providers' positive view of their rangatahi Māori or Pasifika youth. It also highlights the cultural 'boundedness' of what is considered success and how their students' experiences did not count in mainstream stories of ability.

> *All of our kids are capable of doing whatever they want to do. Again there is a stigma that if a kid is coming to the trust they are not, but it is just that school is not for them or they weren't getting on with a certain teacher or the parents are stoned and off their faces and not monitoring what they are doing. But our kids can do anything pretty much … you give them enough money to do themselves a hāngi, they can just do it. You go and ask a kid in the town to do that sort of thing and they would have no idea. Our kids can do anything it is just that they need to be given a chance. That's right our kids can do anything pretty much, it is just if they want to do it and whether they have the resources to do it and whether they have someone teach them to do things. What they deem as important to them… all of them want to earn a good wage, that is what they all want to do, they don't want to be scholars they just want to have the opportunity to have a good wage.*

Picking up on the relationship between low expectations, and educational underachievement and disengagement one of the Pasifika providers was conscious of not wanting to replicate the experiences their students had had at school. They noted that if they did not have high expectations of their students the students would opt out of their programme. For this provider having high expectations of their students was a simple first step in addressing their

students' schooling experiences. Moreover, as they pointed out it was a cost effective first step that had immediate and positive outcomes.

> *We'll look at our capacity, what barriers you can help them with, the first barrier is us, our expectation of them. They walk in here and if you think they're going to fail, then they know you think that, they're not stupid and they'll go, "Well I'm not coming back." There are things you can do without resources, that's just an excuse.*

Scaffolding a desire for learning

One provider used the metaphor of a tsunami to describe what it meant to enable and engage their rangatahi. The imagery of a ripple growing into a tsunami captures in a tangible way the pedagogy of creating desire and confidence in rangatahi so that they could acquire appropriate knowledge and skills to make successful choices.

> *Well, when we say we work together collectively, we start moving [as a group], we'll start the little ripple going as a group. What we want is that wave to become a tsunami by the end of the year. What happens then [points to the tracking sheets on the walls], we put these up on the walls. These are all the units [we have], and they are up on the walls. At the top of the unit there is the credit and what the module is and then all the names of our students. We do our units normally by module, they'll [the students] start creating credits that go up on the wall. Some credits we can put out in a day. They [rangatahi] walk past these and they look at them [and ask], "How come..?" or, "When can we come onto your [module]?" They'll eventually get there, so what happens is that we start the ripple at the beginning of the year, once they see this starting to work, they create the tidal wave. "How many credits have I got this month?" "I don't know; add them up."*

Students experiencing success

Thus the priority of many of the providers was not preparing their students for work rather it was enabling them to re-engage in learning and to experience success.

> *What I want is to create an environment where they want to learn, and with that knowledge I want them to create a situation where they can walk out the door feeling proud because they've achieved instead of being told they've never achieved. I want them to walk out the door because they have achieved.*

Ultimately, the providers created environments where their students could gain a sense of achievement, irrespective of whether it resulted in credits or employment. For some providers this was about their young people gaining work experience in their community and connecting, perhaps for the first time, with marae and iwi.

Creating culturally competent rangatahi

A large number of the students enrolled in the Māori training providers were disconnected from their hapū and iwi and had very little, if any, experience or understanding of Māori cultural knowledge and practices or te reo Māori. Thus, many of the providers worked to connect their students with their hapū/iwi, cultural traditions and practices, and te reo Māori. As the provider in the quote below pointed out, the benefit of incorporating tikanga in the classroom went beyond creating employable young people, it was about creating rounded rangatahi with cultural knowledge and values.

We have vehicles that pick them up and get them here. We supply coffee, tea, milk and bread for toast in the morning, and then we start at 9 o'clock, we're in this room here which we call the whānau room. We start with karakia in the morning, for lunch we have karakia before they go away for kai, and then in the afternoon when we wrap up we also have a karakia. At the start of the year, [the students] are very hesitant because it's something new to them, like I say to them, "Whenever you're on marae they're always having karakia. It's just nice to have you here safe and well in the morning when we get started, and in the afternoon when we drop you off, just be safe. Looking forward to catching up with you tomorrow." So a lot of that is new to a lot of our kids - just a karakia, just need to know. Waiata is new to them but as the programme progresses they start learning waiata, so I guess it's building that trust, getting them to understand the word values. You know it's not all about money.

Creating safe and culturally appropriate learning spaces

Given their students' prior schooling experiences, the organisations worked to provide safe learning spaces for their young people. All the providers did this within a cultural framework – either a kaupapa Māori, Pasifika or tikanga a iwi framework – that best reflected and met the needs of their communities. Like the organisation earlier in the chapter (p. 26) many of the Māori providers considered the cultural practice of mihi – greeting and connecting with the students – was an essential first step in providing them a safe and welcoming place.

Student centred learning

A significant part of providing safe and culturally appropriate learning environments focused on the interests and needs of the rangatahi and was student led rather than driven by the provider or government policy. Rather than shape their students many of the providers endeavoured to work with them and their whānau to determine the focus of their training. One of the Pasifika providers said:

At 16, 17, they don't know what they want, how do you know? Have you asked them? Actually ask them what they think they need. Ask them to talk to their families and think about what they want to do. We don't impose our opinions on them, which is a good thing.

Even if rangatahi and Pasifika youth did have some idea of what they wanted to do many changed their minds as they learnt more about the particular job they were interested in pursuing. In some instances the students had unrealistic perceptions about what was required to get and hold down a job, and about their own abilities. For many of the students it was a matter of changing interests, as one provider put it *they might come wanting to be train drivers but leave wanting to be carpenters*. Accepting that young people change their mind, an organisation's ability to be flexible and shift with their students were key factors in their successful provision.

There's some that come in with their goals and the tutor will work with them for a month or two and they might decide that their goal is not where they want to go and they'll change it, and we have a group of those who change their goals three or four times a year, and that's okay.

While young people's work interests changed, their training and pastoral needs did not.

We've got these courses that are running now, performing arts and like I said, that changes. One time there was a whole lot of young teenage girls, their interest was in doing their hair, that was a huge interest so we ran a hairdressing course for about

10 years. The kids don't change and their needs and issues don't change but their interests do, and if you're gonna keep abreast of them, and keeping wanting to help and focus on them, you need to be able to change with them.

Helping students to help themselves

The providers worked to enable their young people to take ownership of the decisions they made. Take for example one of the Pasifika YTS mentors who used his knowledge to provide culturally relevant and appropriate support to his young clients so that they could take ownership of their situation and help themselves. In this quote the mentor also alluded to the expectations that their young people had of them that came out of belonging to the same cultural group.

I might sit here 10 minutes with someone, we're in a good position of trust and it suits our people, that tailor made, relaxed… Some people don't want to sit here for an hour so instead of ticking all the boxes because you can see in his face he doesn't want to be here. So what is it he needs? If it is something we can help him with then that's cool. Some of them don't know, so you just offer suggestions. It helps to give them ownership, so we might ring an employer the first time and say can we organise a meeting with that young people and you try and prep them to go along. Eventually they have to do it themselves, especially young Samoan guys. Because we're Samoans and everyone knows that, they come in and say, "Oh can you get us a job?" We have to get them to help themselves, and then we will help them.

Critically engaging students and developing an entrepreneurial identity

One provider was particularly active in encouraging her students to not just become workers but to aspire to be business owners through developing their entrepreneurial identities. She took a critical learning stance with her students in encouraging them to have confidence and think beyond just being employees.

"Oh whaea you're the only Māori in the street." I ask, "Who else is in the street?" "Oh the guy who owns the Audi shop, the guy across the road who owns the BMW shop and the computer shop." They are just building on things in their heads, then I say "Do you think you will be able to take yourself to that level?' "Yeh, I am feeling more confident" It is just the picture we provide. … On Saturday morning we have three of them doing their own car washing thing. So it gets them into the feeling of yes I can achieve it. If I can achieve they can achieve it as well. I do a lot of business expos where we have a merchandise stall for our PTE. I get the kids out there. It is about teaching them how to handle money and how to set their goals for setting up their own businesses, how to get a feel for customer service. A lot of the kids come from homes where the only person that they have seen is mum and dad and communication is like [head down and not saying anything] – always always like that.

Keeping it real – providing practical strategies

While some of the young people chose to go to on a youth training programme many of them were referred by whānau, schools or the court system. This presented a challenge for the providers who in order to receive funding had to meet particular outcomes, yet they were providing services to young people who had disengaged from education and learning. One organisation estimated that only two percent chose to enrol in their programme with the other

98% having a whole lot of other reasons going on. In this context many providers talked about 'keeping it real' when it came to fulfilling obligations and meeting outcomes, and engaging students in learning. In 'keeping it real' the providers acknowledged the personal as well as educational achievements that the students came with. They put in place a range of practical strategies to maintain the interest of their students, to strengthen their confidence, and to increase their success as learners and as contributing members of their communities.

> *Interviews skills, job search skills, having confidence to apply for a job and able to fill in an application form, making sure that they have a wash in the morning…Yep, to develop them as whole beings, so the employability skills are equal to the other skills they need to live. It is all about making them into a person who can live in the community successfully, able to contribute to the community, that is what we try to do. If they come away at the end with a national certificate in business and computing well that is a bonus. It is what we try to do with the level of client that we have. They are the kids who have dropped out of school in the 4th form.*

Practical strategies

A range of practical strategies the PTEs implemented to engage and facilitate successful outcomes for their students were identified and are outlined below.

Walking alongside rangatahi and being the go between

The providers walked alongside their young people to support them in their training or job seeking. For example the manager and coach for a Māori YTS did not just find work for the young people who used the service, he walked alongside them to find them work, to ensure that they turned up every day and that they were doing a good job.

> *I will look at their CV and I will personally go with them, introduce them. Take their CVs to employers. We also do interview skills with them. If I put Joe into a job over here I will follow him for the next month or two and make sure that he is turning up. I will talk to the employer and make sure that he is doing a good job but I will also talk to Joe too. If he is not doing the job – he might not like the employer – then I have to find something else for him to do. I will pull him out and say, "This is not working". Or it might be the employers go, "Joe is not working out". Instead of giving it to the employer to say, "Hey you are fired", I can go in and say, "Joe look, it is not working out the employer says this it is not working out I am going to have to find you a new job". I am the go between guy.*

Making learning relevant

Scaffolding students' learning and making what they were doing relevant to the work place was seen as an important strategy in developing their confidence and understanding of what was required to get a job. One provider made the link between NCEA credits and potential employability in ways that rangatahi understood.

> *We try and tell them [pointing to NCEA credits] they're their CV that they're working towards. We do their CVs for them. We simplify everything for them. We say, there's two of you lining up for a job and someone asks, 'Have you got anything.' 'No I've got nothing.' 'Have you got anything?' 'Yes I've got six credits.' Who are they going to take? The one with six credits! 'Oh I need to get more credits then.'*

Creating optimal learning environments

All the providers undertook to create optimal learning environments for their students. Most of them recognized that their young people were more attentive if they broke up the day with focused learning in the morning and sport or physical activities in the afternoon. One provider talked about the way in which the sport that they organised in the afternoons served as an incentive for their students learning in the morning. Not only did this strategy engage their students it also worked to keep their attendance up.

> *We have quite a big attendance record here in Te Ao Māori, simply because they love being picked up in the morning. I have a saying: stimulate the mind in the morning through education, stimulate the body in the afternoon through activity. So what we've done now is to put a carrot in front of them all the time. The carrot to Te Ao Māori are all the outdoor activities we have because they all love sports. To be part in parcel of that sporting arena they have to be there in the morning doing education.*

Setting goals

Creating incentives for learning also served to teach the students about setting and realizing goals. The provider in the quote below used sporting events and an end of year trip as a way to foster students setting goals for themselves.

> *We set goals for them that they don't know we're doing by having them involved in those kinds of [sporting] events. They work towards Level 1 Employment Skills Certificate, we do the NZQA Outdoor Pursuits, we cover a number of different topics up to level 2. What we do is work in modules, we have three different modules running all year and they spend around about eight weeks on each module, whether they be outdoor activities, or basic core activities. Katerina delivers computing and Harry delivers the arts and it is all credit based. We have a trip in October to Korimiko Ridge where we take them for their leadership certificate. Our clients start with us in February and they need to have 40 credits before they can go on this fantastic trip.*

Individual learning programmes

A successful element of all the programmes was that they were tailored to meet the specific learning and skill needs of the student. Having an individualized programme also meant that a student's changing interests and aspirations could be accommodated quickly. One organisation's individual learning programme meant that students did not necessarily stay in the programme any longer than they needed to.

> *It's an individual pathways programme and one of the beauties is they don't have to stay the whole year, if they feel they need three months to get to where are, then they take that, or three weeks, whatever it may take, or a year and a half. One wanted to own their own business so she's been doing work in business management with the tutors supporting her, so that's where she is. Another one, his only goal was to get a job, so that was quite easy. It was like, "let's search for a job that would suit you" so that was good.*

Monitoring Progress

Many of the providers revisited students' individual learning plans regularly to monitor their progress to ensure that they were on track and still interested in continuing down the pathway they were on.

> *We do, we revisit that learning plan every month just to make sure we're on track with them, and they change, their thoughts change so every month we revisit their learning plans and we report that.*

Another provider's tracking system (p. 28) was set up so that the students could easily see their progress, on a daily basis, and what they achieved. In this organisation all the courses and the progress of the students were charted on the walls and were constantly being updated. This system also made reporting a more simple process.

> *What we have in Te Ao Māori, I think it's a unique way that we have here, it's a simple tracking system that our students know from month to month or just about day to day it tells them basically what they've achieved for that week, and as you know, all those need to be reported on.*

Hands on learning – work experience and building work identities

The PTEs also provided work experience for their students. Most had work experience as a component of their coursework, however one provider made it compulsory that their young people had a part time job when they enrolled. This particular industry provider wrapped the training around their students' work experiences. While the students undertook part time work they were also expected to attend classes based on specific learning modules that the provider considered were needed. Flexibility to fit industry requirements was a key aspect of the successful programme that this provider delivered.

> *The way we do it is that every kid that comes to us starts off on a job. So we do a lot of work with the local organisations. Before they come into class they must have a part time job because the way we work it is the job first and then they get the training while they are doing it. We go to the work site and we do a lot of that training on site. A lot of it is onsite. We still run classes like we always have students here. But it is sort of like rotated because we have flexible hours, our thirty hours are flexible during the weeks. We can hold those at night which we do sometimes because in our hospitality training, the unit standards, and the whole way that the system works does not take into account the long hours that we work.*

Work experience also provided the students with an understanding of not just the knowledge and skills but also the discipline required to be successful workers. As one provider said, the students were building their work selves through work experience.

> *The mayor came, we did a breakfast for him here a couple of weeks ago… he was blown away. He asked the kids what time they got here. "Whaea made us get up at four o'clock and get ourselves showered and that." "Do you mind doing that?" "No, no we knock off early today." They can see they are building their selves, seeing that unless I have this I can't achieve these other things in terms of getting a job, not only accessing a job but retaining a job.*

While work experience taught the students about what was entailed in the workplace some providers talked about its merit in teaching values such as respect and manaaki. This aspect of learning did not just happen. The providers, operating within kaupapa and tikanga Māori

frameworks, ensured that it happened through their own practice of manaaki and the notion of utu or reciprocity.

> *They have four modules of work experience a year, blocks, and with about a month ago, the rangatahi did the invitations, they invited everyone that gave them work experience, they cooked the kai, they did the shopping, they did the serving, they set up the room, they looked after those people that gave them work experience. It teaches them to give them that little bit of respect to those people who took the time to give them work experience. So we work very hard to make them feel good about themselves and that's what we want. We want them to feel good about themselves so when they go out of here they're ready to go out and work in a workplace environment, or we make sure that they have something else that they're going onto that's better.*

Tuakana/teina practices

A number of the providers ran school holiday or after school programmes for school aged students and enlisted the help of their students and whānau to run them. They acknowledged that having students help encouraged peer tutoring or the establishment of tuakana/teina roles and relationships. In the process the students had hands on experience of reciprocity and responsibility.

> *In the school holidays I run a cooking class for kids. We work with the intermediate and primary schools. A lot of peer tutoring goes on as the kids from the training course help out.*

Providing meals

All of the organisations that ran youth training and TOP courses provided meals for their students. Nearly all made breakfasts available and a number provided lunches as well. Providing food had lessons about manaaki and social responsibility.

> *Since our conception we've always provided kai on Friday so we know when they've left us they've had a decent meal, whether they eat again during the weekend or…we provide breakfast and on Fridays each group has a turn at [preparing] that.*

Outreach services

A number of the PTEs provided outreach services into the community. One of the Pasifika PTEs considered that providing outreach services was an important component of their work. They outlined in detail what the benefits of providing services that went out to the community had for their students and community.

> *Our services being outreach go into the homes. That works very very well for our people – sometimes they don't have transport and might be a bit too shy to come into the office or got to the doctors. Being able to provide transport if they need to come in. In the last 12 months we have started a cervical screening programme for Pacific women. And so they can be picked up from home and brought into the office. Still some of our women are too shy to ring up and make an appointment and go. We have two trained nurses in that area. They are available every day. Outreach is going out to the community and is about keeping in touch and knowing your community and what works really well or where there is a need in the social area, or someone might*

ask about training or about the home work centre and offer support. They might come back to talk to the social work or contact me to check out courses here or at the polytech. Sometimes they are not comfortable going on their own so they would ring up and we would take them and enrol them or whatever. So it is about taking our service out to the community.

Tracking students

Another strategy to maintain student engagement and facilitate positive work habits was to keep tabs on the students to ensure that they turned up to class. Phone calls and picking students up to take them to their course were two particular strategies used to track students.

We ring them up. We get on the phone in the morning and we ring them up. We're breaking bad habits. We'll send a van if we have to. We have one car going past Greenvalley so we pick those kids up then. We really hone into them that attendance is important, time keeping is important. If you aren't here, then text us. You really have to change their habit of getting out of bed at lunch time, staying up all night, playing video games, watching movies whatever they do. Break that habit, because we're not going to get them into work experience until they have, so we make a real point. Where are you? It's five past nine, where are you? So, and occasionally we get a parent who supports you, that's really important too.

Mixing age groups

Where organisations offered a range of programmes they endeavoured to provide opportunities for older and younger students to mix. Encouraging differing age groups to come together and interact taught the young students valuable lessons about respect. It also helped them to develop a sense of community. As one provider said:

I value that mix and for a lot of our youth, it is a very good mix. The other thing is we have night classes here, so I have 400 night students, so during the day those night students are in and out, and a number of those night students are older, and it gives them the sense that they do need to respect somebody that's older than them, and a lot of them get a sense of guidance from their elders, that they haven't had in the past.

Walking the talk, role modelling

Leading and teaching by example was an important tool for the providers. Not only was this used to transmit cultural values it was also used to model positive behaviour. One tutor talked about the accountability that comes with being a role model.

There's a number of people involved in the PTE umbrella, we've got Jane, we've also got the health and safety officer, we've got Hine who submits all our NZQA reports, there's a number of people you're accountable to, but at the end of the day, this is my own belief, I am accountable to my students. I'm with them six and a half, seven hours a day, if they understand or hear, that I smoke dope, drink alcohol, swear my head off, they're going to do exactly the same. A lot of these kids are looking for a role model and I look at a role model as a person that can stand up and say I'm going to be accountable to you.

Conclusion

To be successful service deliverers and provide a range of options and opportunities for their young people the PTEs needed to have a critical understanding of their students and the educational and socio-political contexts within which they lived. How they viewed their young people went on to inform the kind of programmes and services they offered and how they delivered them. All the providers had positive and high expectations of their young people and creating a desire in their students to learn was a priority. One of the ways that the providers did this was to provide a safe learning space in which the students could feel they belonged.

All the providers drew on a range of strategies to provide a positive learning environment in which their young people could acquire the credits and skills that would help them develop positive and confident learning and work identities. In doing so they were not just giving them access to opportunities they were providing them with the resources to participate and be successful.

In essence the providers took care of their young people to ensure that their mana was uplifted so that they could realise their potential. A manifestation of kaitiakitanga (guardianship, protection) the providers, through whakapapa and whānau connections, had an obligation and a responsibility to look after their students' overall well being alongside their educational and training needs. To fulfil their katiaki responsibilities the providers in turn required support and resources so that they could determine, without constraint, the priorities and outcomes of their provision.

Chapter 6. Te Whakakoha Rangatiratanga: Looking after relationships

Hutia te rito o te harakeke.
Kei hea ra te kōmako, e kō?
Kī mai ki ahau,
He aha te mea nui o te ao?
Māku e kī atu ki a koe
He tangata, he tangata, he tangata.

The whakatauākī (proverb) above asks the question where would the bell bird sing if the central shoot of the harakeke bush was plucked out. The question is answered by the asking of another question - what is the most important thing in the world. The reply to that question is that it is people. In its entirety this whakatauākī emphasizes and locates people in a web of relationships. This chapter reflects on the narratives of the providers within the context of the relationships they have with their staff and their community. Staff were key to the extent in which providers' were able to fulfil their aspirations and enable rangatahi Māori and Pasifika young people to be successful learners and go on to make effective decisions about their futures. The connectedness between the providers and the community in which they operated was also important to the successful delivery of training programmes. This chapter outlines the way in which the providers cared about and nurtured their relationships with staff and their communities.

Staff

Creating successful opportunities for young people was dependent on recognizing and valuing the people within the organisation. In recognising the centrality of staff to the successful provision of their programmes the providers also identified key aspects of the work that they did.

Kanohi kitea, the face that is seen

A number of the providers talked about staff being the face of the organisation. Having staff active in the community provided positive signals to young people, their whānau and the community about the organisation and its credibility. Thus it was considered more important to invest in the right people rather than spend money on buildings and frontages.

> *We've invested what we have got into the people, and the right people, and we send them out. There's no mega-building down the road, there's nothing flash about our frontage. It's not on the material, it's in the people. We've got the right people.*

Overall the providers identified a number of qualities that they considered were important for them and their staff to have.

Commitment

All the people who were interviewed were committed to their communities. Many saw the PTE as the vehicle through which they could give back to their hapū, iwi and community.

> *I wanted to give something back to the whānau, to the community. You stay away so many years at the end of the day you ask yourself how am I going to benefit my hapū? That was what bought me back to the trust. I have been here 4-5 years.*

Being passionate

The providers also talked about the importance of having the right kind of tutor in front of the classroom. That meant having tutors who were passionate about what they did and were able to connect with young people. This reflects recent educational research findings that have identified the critical importance of teachers to positive learning outcomes of their students (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh and Teddy, 2007). The providers talked about the dedication and passion that their staff brought to their work and the impact that had on their young people and the organisation.

> *I have awesome support from my staff. I have staff that are really dedicated and love what they do and I have a whole bunch of rangatahi out there that grow from what my staff give them and that's probably what keeps us going.*

> *To be open minded about where we are and what we're doing, I guess the main question that I ask is that if you haven't got a passion for this job then you'll have to look elsewhere, because there's times when we have to go outside what our salaries, our pay packets say because we have a passion for it. I think that's important, if you haven't got a passion, then don't get involved.*

One tutor not only talked about the passion that was required to do the job but also the importance of having high expectations and aspirations for their learners. When she looked at her students she saw herself which influenced her desire for them to succeed.

> *You look at some of the students and it is just like a mirror image and you just want them to succeed no matter in what field or in what area. You have to have a passion for it … that should permeate in the classroom and hopefully it does.*

Being knowledgeable and skilled

All the providers talked about the importance of having highly skilled and knowledgeable staff not only in delivering the programmes but also in dealing with the administrative demands of contractual obligations. In a number of instances, as in the quotes below, the knowledge and skills of the staff were because of their prior experiences as public servants working in TPK, the Ministry of Education or as teachers.

> *Probably one of the lifesavers we have is that we have been really fortunate to have some really skilled people. Right now for example, in the administration for investment plans, because one of the things we found really difficult was when it changed from being face to face people with TEC. We lost our regional branch, we lost the manager, we lost staff and we had one person here for about a year and he was crazy busy, not just with Māori PTEs but all PTEs, in charge of all of them. Then we get a letter late last year saying he'll be gone too and now it's all computer, so my job because I'm not tutoring anymore, I'm actually doing the admin side of*

things and so my job every morning is to spend about an hour and a half reading TEC and NZQA pages because if we miss things we get into trouble.

And again, we're really fortunate because of our staff, our tutoring staff especially, one of them has come from primary school and when she was there, it was when the numeracy packages were introduced by MoE into the system so she's sort of grown up with them so the progressions really change into the adult way of thinking so she's really good and we're really lucky.

I've sat on the NZQA board, on TEC, it's being at the right places at the right time.

While most of the providers did not consider that having staff with qualifications was necessary, a small number of them did. The provider in the quote below talked about how having qualified staff added to the PTEs credibility when it came to NZQA and TEC.

A couple are teachers and most of them have their national adult cert or they have the skill base. Like my computer tutors are highly qualified, high IT skills and qualifications and degrees. So I would say 80% of the tutors are highly qualified with degrees and national certs and now they are doing this national literacy. The managers are all degree holders and my financial manager is doing post graduate chartered accountancy. Your funders want to make sure there's credibility behind your people, they see credibility to be qualifications. Again, the compliancy is in the qualification, certification of staff.

Role modelling

A number of providers thought that modelling positive ways of being and behaviour was integral to being a successful provider (see also pp 22, 30, 35). Take for example one iwi provider's staff whose practical knowledge, skills and attributes were used as a vehicle to model what was required to be employable.

We tend to get very very practical people who have some good skills in their particular area, in their field, whether it be agriculture, forestry, fitters and turners, mechanics, builders, whatever. We use those practical skills as a vehicle for developing the personal attributes, the traits, the behaviours, the attitudes that kids need to make them employable. That's what we call values. And instil those values, and inspire them through physical activities and then bring in what we call the technical/education component when the kids are inspired and get some relationship between the practical and the technical.

One of the Pasifika providers talked about how he and his co-worker were positive role models in their community. They were highly visible in their community and known to be university educated members of their local church as well as musicians working in the local music scene.

We're real locals, we haven't just been here for the last five years, we're born and bred here and you can't beat that really. And we're both tertiary qualified, we're probably just by being here, we're an example especially to young males, because a big problem with YTS work are the young men, so we, just without even talking to them, we're already role models and cause we're involved in the community our local community, whether it's through running bands, or we're both at church.

Being a people and relationships manager

Given the contexts that many of the providers operated in with regard to the community, staff had to not only keep up with what was happening in it, they also had to be adept at relating to the diverse range of people they worked with.

> *If we didn't have the staff that we have, then we wouldn't be able to do what we're doing, and our staff work closely with our stakeholders, one of our staff works closely with youth justice as a number of our rangatahi come through youth justice, so there's a good knowledge of how that works, how rangatahi come through. Another one of our staff looks after presidential homes, we know where kids are going, we know what's going on out there, we know how to keep the frictions aside, we know whose bashing up who around the corner basically, we know who's not good. If somebody comes in, we have to look for drugs and stuff like that, that's what you've got to be doing.*

Being a good communicator

Part of being able to manage people and relationships is the skill of being a good communicator. Many of the providers noted they required particular skills to communicate effectively with rangatahi Māori and Pasifika youth. Trust, providing a safe environment and 'speaking young' were ways in which the providers were able to communicate effectively with their students. Below are three providers' experiences of relating to their young people. One provider commented that an indicator of success was the way in which they were able to keep lines of communication open with their young people.

> *You have got to be able to communicate with the kids at their level. You know you can't come in with a hoity toity attitude because they will just tell you to shove it. So you have got to really be able to relate to the kids where they just trust you. You have to respond to them in a way that they feel comfortable, that you are trusted to be one of them.*

> *"Oh miss I didn't have any petrol and I only had 5 bucks left and I was hungry" "Okay see you in 10 mins" [and] go pick them up. That is an achievement in itself opening up and leaving the lines of communication open. Some students come in and you can see their eyes are red but the thing is they came in. They might not get a lot of work done but they have got their work book out and they are trying to ask me questions and they want to be in the classroom. They feel safe in this classroom and the Trust.*

> *When I first started, I really had to learn how to speak young, I didn't have to dress up in a hoodie and that, but I needed to know how to really converse the way they converse, laugh at the jokes they laugh at, otherwise you're missing something. You've got to make sure you know.*

Resourcefulness

The providers recognized that resourcefulness coupled with dedication were required from their staff to get whatever was needed done. One provider highlighted the way in which their staff were stretched to the limits in doing their work.

> *Māori workers are stretched you know, there is this much of them (hands held out a little) and there is this much work (hands outstretched). We encourage staff to look after themselves but also we encourage staff to go that extra mile. Cos they are all the resources*

that we have. The biggest resource isn't these posters (pointing to the posters around the large wharekai) our biggest resource is our staff. Our staff, at a drop of the hat, will come together/link together to organise say a national hui in a week...That is what I like about Māori, I think we are incredibly smart, incredibly clever and give us a piece of string and two paper clips and we will make you a car, it might not be flash but it will be comfortable and it will get you there and everyone will have had a hand pushing it.

Ako, being a teacher and a learner

In acknowledging the kind of young people that enrolled in their programmes, the providers recognized the importance of being able to think outside the square, and being open to new ideas to accommodate their students' particular learning needs. One provider highlighted the reciprocal nature of teaching and learning when they talked about their young people being their best teachers. Developing reciprocal relationships and trust between teachers and students had positive spin offs for the students.

> *So everyone is learning off everyone. Even us we're learning, every day I'm learning something off my students and that's what I say to these guys, you need to allow your mind to always be open, we can't afford to put barriers up.*

> *A lot of people have very different views about a lot of things, and with our staff there's a lot of korero about what we should/shouldn't be doing for these students. Sometimes we have to move out of our own square to accommodate these students, but we have to make sure we're doing it correctly, that we have things in place. I maintain that our staff should always be learning and that's good and I've just put one staff member through the DARE training programme so they know all they need to in the areas of abuse, sexual abuse and suicide prevention and all of that. That's what we're working with, so they need to have that knowledge within themselves, but at the end of the day, those kids out there are our biggest teachers. We learn so much from our kids and the minute they become trusting of you, sometimes you wish you didn't know what they've told you.*

Mahi tahi, working together

Given the nature of what the organisations did, irrespective of whether they were large or small, they considered it important that their staff were able to work collectively. Part and parcel of that was having a shared vision of the organisation. Organisations were very careful who they hired and they made sure that prospective staff would fit in and be able to work as part of a team.

> *We all have our offices together, we all share the same whare, very much a whānau working together environment, we have to do that, we're all in each other's pockets, we all deal with the same people, they have to put up with our rangatahi through the day, our rangatahi have to put up with their students coming in and out so we have to do that. We meet with the staff every week to make sure that everything's okay, we have an open door policy. Jamie and I are always accessible for staff and that's important because if there's something brewing we need to be on it straight away.*

Being flexible

Working collectively also meant that the staff needed to be flexible and supportive of one another and be able to turn their hands to whatever was required. One provider pointed to the challenges that the ever-changing funding environment had on their staff. In this environment

staff were expected to able able to help each other and change roles quickly. Staff training was seen as being a critical component of resourceful and flexible provision.

> *We are small and we own everything. It is not so much a big hit that we take every time we have to make a change or something. It does mean that the staff have to be flexible and they have to be able to change roles quickly or to help each other. And pretty much if you are staff member of the Trust one, you are not going to get rich and two, you are going to have to change like the weather and three you have to jump in to help. They get rewards. We train our staff as much as we can. They all get a professional development pūtea every year to go and do whatever training they need to do.*

Staff also needed to be flexible in the content and delivery of programmes in order to meet the changing aspirations and needs of the community, and especially of the rangatahi.

> *As things grew all the governance/management were looking at what needs were out there and one of the big ones at the time was working with rangatahi because they really really needed a lot of work. We had a protected services programme where they came, and we scrubbed the word courses, the term individual programmes just worked a lot better for us, and so they came and people either wanted to be in the police force, the army, any of the armed services, fire, security. There was a huge physical component which was really good. But they also needed to know a lot about literacy and numeracy because that's one of the requirements to pass the exams. We had that running; that one ran for a couple of years and was really good for the people involved but we don't have that running anymore. Our programmes change as the need changes.*

Critical reflection

A number of the providers considered that effective provision was about staff being able to critically and honestly reflect on what was happening, and on their ability to make a difference in the lives of the young people. For example one of the Māori providers made the point that staff were not able to connect with and change the lives of every student that came through their door. However, they considered it important that the staff were able to critically reflect on what they were doing and take a reality check.

> *Those ones who need something else more than we can give them, because there's that reality too, and we have to be alert to that. What you can do may help a lot but it won't help them all, no matter what you're doing or how good you think you are, there's still some that are outside of your reach and if you're honest about that and can handle that, but you've got to be prepared to always look at yourself, critique yourself and not be afraid of your own criticisms.*

Cultural competence

It was evident in the narratives of the providers that working with rangatahi Māori and Pasifika youth required being aware and sensitive to the cultural nuances and experiences of their young person. Not only was this important in how the staff worked with whānau and community, it was also critical to the way they supported their young people's developing cultural literacy in ways that recognised where they were at rather than what they should be. The Pasifika provider in the first quote below reflected on how they worked with families and the cultural nuances that underpinned their practice. In the second, a community based Māori provider talked about upholding their kaupapa in ways that recognised the different cultural

locations of their students. In this PTE tikanga and te reo Māori was embedded in their everyday practice.

> We're always careful about how we deal with families, because almost every time a mother has brought her son down, it's a reprimand. It's not cool, we all know it's not cool, it doesn't make the situation better [even if] the mum is right, or the father, it's often the mum.

> Again what we do here is we are into role modelling behaviour and tikanga. Again over the years we used to have treaty workshops, we use to have te reo in the afternoon, the problem is that often in those groups you have people with different needs and some people don't want it. I do think the language is absolutely important. We do little things like put cards around so we do have a commitment even under our constitution to the reo so we just try and do it other ways. We will use it in our everyday conversation, we have it on the walls, we do karakia every morning, we have a waiata with karakia. We do promote our culture but we want people to come into that rather than force it.

Credibility in the eyes of the students

Many of the providers talked about the value of staff having credibility in the eyes of their students. Having staff who shared the same kind of upbringing and experiences of their students added value to the kind of messages that they were imparting about making decisions and choosing particular pathways.

> I come from a dysfunctional violent background, heroin addict at 18… so I know, I have lived what some of these kids have lived as well. That is really good because it creates a relationship plus it gives me cred, black power as well. I have a couple of other tutors who were street kids… I think having people who have been there like these kids is actually really helpful because it is also saying to them look at what they are doing now.

Strategic planners

Staff have also had to be strategic planners to ensure that funding and student numbers are kept up. For example one organisation's year is broken up into two half years even though their youth training programme is for one year. By breaking the year up the provider can maintain a steady stream of students in to the programme at the same time as staircasing the older ones into other programmes. This also had the benefit of mixing new and 'older' students in the classroom and the development of rangatahi leadership potential.

> The uniqueness of our programme is that we go half year to half year. What happens is, for instance now, half of ours will shift off this year into other outcomes, you know like forestry and business development and that kind of stuff, the other half will re-enrol with us, and then we will recruit to fill that berth up. Now what we have actually done is that we have some people for next year to start off who know the run of the place, so we are actually starting to bring back leaders, people who know the run of the course and people who can help implement the rules that have already been put in place with these new people. So what happens is that these ones that are on the overflow, know they're not going to be too far away because the second half year are nearly ready to move over, and they'll be the ones that we enrol for next year and I guess that's why we've been successful in that area, because we work on a half year basis for recruiting, I mean I already started recruiting two months ago.

Professional development

All the providers recognized the importance of providing professional development and training for their staff. It was one of the ways in which the providers could recognize the valuable contribution of their staff members. The providers also recognized that as training organisations they had an ethical duty to provide training for their staff. One provider talked about employing good staff on low wages yet rewarding them in other ways such as paying for their professional development and having a bonus system.

> *I personally think that they are underpaid. We should be paying them a lot more. But obviously we can't so we put in other benefits like professional development and two weeks professional development leave – we pay for that. So there are some good benefits for the staff. We think it is silly being a training provider and not providing those same opportunities to the staff. We do value the staff, the staff are taonga. We have bonus systems and if we do extremely well – I operate the budgets on a 92% occupancy" – so if we do better than 92 then I always go to the board and ask the bonus to be increased and let the staff share in some way. I suppose that is how we keep some of our staff because the base salary should be lot higher.*

One provider recognized that training staff was a double edged sword. For this large provider training staff opened the possibility of them moving on to more well paid jobs. While this might be a challenge for smaller organisations this particular organisation saw the potential spin offs of having their ex staff working in other organisations or government agencies. They considered that this was a way of increasing the networks and relationships they had with other providers and government agencies, and an extension to providing the best service they could to their community. In this provider's view ex staff remained part of their community. Not only was staff training developing individual knowledge and skills it was also about community development.

> *Staff training is one of the things we do really really well here. Now what that normally means for Māori organisation especially if you don't have the funds is that once you train them they will move to a better paying organisation. Fabulous! Once you are here you are here for life. So there are people in ministry positions working in different places who have got their genesis here so they know the value of the place. They always come back. They will work there, cut their teeth, get more qualifications and come back in and then you will see them back here doing contracts and doing their own stuff. It is about developing staff as well as your community. Staff are no different from the communities that we work with. If we want our communities to get healthy then you reflect the same thing in your staff so you allow your staff to do the training.*

Community Relationships

Throughout the narratives of the providers it became apparent that their notion of community was very fluid. Whānau, community, hapū and iwi were all used interchangeably to denote the idea of community. Just as a rangatahi Māori or Pasifika young person was not seen as a stand-alone individual nor were whānau seen as a single unit within hapū and iwi relationships. A sense of collective identity and action was strongly articulated by all the providers. The 'us and us' relationship talked about in an earlier narrative (p. 20) illustrates this collective mindset.

Embedded whānau relationships

Being part of a whānau requires working within the parameters of prescribed roles and relationships and comes with a range of obligations and responsibilities that guide practice. This was exemplified in the way that staff were seen as being part of the community they served. When the workers themselves were recipients of the services, it created an embedded community in which loyalty ties were felt with both the organisation and the community.

> *We have got people who work in the community at a grass roots level, all of our staff are based here in the community, they know the community either because they have been part of it and used the services so they know what it is like when they have gone. So there is this big cycle of a lot of our workers being recipients of services. What happens is that they come through and see how good it can be and that inspires them to come on board and get trained.*

All the providers were well connected in to their communities when it came to their students. In most instances when rangatahi Māori or Pasifika young people enrolled in courses the providers knew their whānau.

> *We know the whānau as well - all of them the grandmother, the grandfather, the mother, the father. We are all connected, very interconnected. Every marae is connected to the next one, to the next one.*

Having connections into the community and knowing the whānau of the young people meant that the relationship with the student and their whānau was a personal one. This also included communities where gangs had a strong presence.

> *We start off making connection with the whānau on who we should be talking to regarding any issues we have. I also initiated a meeting with the gang leaders. To be honest, we have had, over the past, a lot of our rangatahi, whose parents have been gang related. I got the leaders in and I have to say that they were very very good and they respected the whare, they respected the kaupapa, they came in and they met with me and I had to be honest with them and say leave your mahi out there, don't bring it here. Don't bring the issues you have on the street to our place of learning because the only person that misses out at the end of the day is your kids. They were respectful of that and they kept their stuff away from us.*

> *It's better to talk to the grandparents, a lot of the grandparents are ex [gang] members or [gang] members, they don't want to see their mokos go through what they went through, they want to see their mokos be able to travel the world - this is what I talk to the grandparents about - they don't won't their mokos looking over their shoulder in a small place like this, every time they go up to town.   They'd rather see their mokos get some kind of education or be able to travel... you know they understand what we are all about and are physically starting to bring their kids in now.*

Maintaining relationships

There was a range of ways in which the providers maintained the relationships they had with their communities. One large community provider had a yearly whakawhānaungatanga day and held monthly community meetings.

> *We also have a whakawhānaunga day once a year. This is set in concrete where the entire organisation comes together and that is all we do – is whakawhānaunga – we all get to know one another.*

Another way that providers facilitated relationships with their community was having community representation in the organisation through their staff or their board members. Earlier quotes (pp. 13-14) talked about the way in which the community was represented in many of the organisations and vice versa. Having strongly connected iwi and community members on the training provider boards benefitted the organisations ability to determine the needs and priorities of the community.

> *We're quite fortunate because of our board ... they're all involved in our rūnanga and iwi so we get a lot of good feedback and assistance through them. About four years ago, there was a big push through the river claims for fisheries. We wanted to have some commercial fishing so we did that, and probably every year we've revamped our programmes because we have to change.*

One iwi organisation had an open door policy for kaumātua to come into the organisation at any time. They also held kaumātua hui once a month which was also open for their local council to attend.

> *The last Thursday in every month we have a kaumātua hui here and that's where they all congregate, they meet in this room here and they discuss anything that needs to be discussed. If we've put something forward to them they will discuss that. The city council have a big input and come along to the kaumātua hui because they want to know how our rangatahi and community are going not only here in the organisation but in whole environment, especially around employment. So we have a big input into what happens, the kaumātua having input into what we're all about.*

Accountability back to the community

All the providers saw themselves as being accountable back to their communities. The relationship that the provider in the quote below had with their community, like all the providers had, was that it served as a check on what they were doing. This provider, like a number of them, held monthly community meetings to report back to the community and receive feedback and support in return.

> *I think the other thing is we have gotten better at saying, "Hey that doesn't work we are not going to do it. You have given us and you want us to do this but what we have identified and what our whānau are saying we need it like this and we need it to work like this". So that is what we attempt to do. The checks and debits around it are checked off through community meetings. We have a whānau meeting once a month – first Wednesday of the month – where the entire community has the floor. They tell us what we are doing right and what we are doing wrong.*

Fundamentally, the nature of the relationship between the community and the provider was a reciprocal one.

> *If you don't know what your community is doing it is very hard to participate. But it is also very hard to get them to participate. So what happens the more you are out there, the more you participate, the more you do, the more your community reciprocates that. That is actually the magic point. Why does our organisation work because it reciprocates, it is visible and it's accountable.*

Community expectations

A part of being accountable to the community was that the community had expectations of the provider to make a difference in the lives of their young people. For example one provider talked about their community, whānau in particular, having high expectations that they would be able to turn their son or daughter around.

> *Most of the whānau that come to us have high expectations. So the grandparents, or Mum, usually Mum, not often Dad, comes through the door with a ratbag, they come with the expectation that we can make a difference in this kid's life and make him somebody special, and that's pretty significant, knowing full well, that they don't have high expectations of their son or daughter, and if they continue down this pathway they know where they're going. When they bring them through the door they abdicate the responsibility to the Trust, they know there's going to be a change, and they expect a change. It's a very high mantle that the Trust sits under, and that's been built up over time and to be fair we've got several generations of families that have been with the Trust system from back in the 80s.*

Recruitment

One of the providers made the point that communities have memories when referring to the capacity of the community to respond to and provide support for the training provider. This in turn impacted on their approaches to recruitment given that it was their responsibility to find their own students. When an organisation is embedded in their community their success is exemplified in the referrals they get from government agencies and from families.

> *We're on our third generation of a number of families. Not an uncommon story. No. In fact I've got kids of kids that I was working with when I was teaching. They're on our courses now, their kids are coming on. I suppose at the end of the day, we often have a number of referrals from people that have been on courses. I'll get a phone call from, I don't know, the YJ team, youth justice, I've got so and so on the books, now someone of their family came on a course there 10 years ago and they want their kid to go there, or their brother. At the end of the day, although sometimes you wonder if you're banging your head against a brick wall when they're referring the family back to you. So yes we have a number of families that are second, third generation.*

Perhaps the best way to recruit potential students is through the young people themselves. Some organisations found that they did not need to actively recruit young people because their students did it for them. They found that word of mouth was best.

> *We don't advertise anymore, in the newspaper and places like that, we stopped about three years ago because we found that the absolute best way for us to be marketing ourselves was word of mouth, and we found our tauira were going out and telling people.*

> *You walk down the centre and someone says "hey I heard you helped my brother get his license, could you help us?*

Relationships with schools, organisations, and government agencies

The providers also facilitated relationships with schools, government agencies, other organisations, local courts and the councils. They saw that establishing and maintaining these

relationships was important in supporting their young people, determining their and their community's needs, providing relevant services and knowing what other services were out in their community. In some instances the trustees of the PTEs were networked into various agencies and schools.

> *We have very good networks with government agencies, the trustees have great networks. One of our trustees that you would have seen today works for Internal Affairs, another of our trustees he's the second in command for MFish. He used to be the CEO of Crown Forest Rentals. And then we have got other people that have worked at the trust who have gone on to work for TEC, the manager before me works at NZQA now. We have got the ins. We get to know things quickly and again because we don't have to go to a half a dozen meetings we can make changes quickly and we keep our finger on the pulse.*

> *Our relationship with the schools and the school heads are good. We can go in and ask for resources if we need it. They refer kids to us, that is where we get kids from. Usually kids get referred to us from whānau, but then 25% are referred by the schools. They are sent to us before they get really kicked out.*

Relationships built on excellence

For one iwi organisation having good relationships with government agencies that they had contracts with was about fostering relationships built on excellence.

> *Basically walking the talk. We're quite focused about what we want to do, we're not so taken with the idea of what the District Health Board wants to do, what the Minister wants to do. What we want to do is convince them that we can deliver to their expectations, in our own way. So that's the relationship. So, key to our contracting is performance, performing well above expectation in everything we do. So your contract managers, contract specialists, whatever you want to call them within government, we build our relationship with them based on our performance and we're delivering on the performance outputs, so they say, "Gee this organisation is quality".*

Facilitating pathways

Many of the organisations fostered relationships with other providers in their region. Sometimes this was about keeping up with what was being offered so that they could facilitate better pathways for their students once they had graduated from their programmes. For example one community provider was a member of their local association of Māori private training establishments and their local tertiary education providers' network. It is this latter relationship that they saw was important in stair-casing their students in to further training or higher learning.

> *We have our own Association of Māori Private Training Establishments and there are four PTEs in that. We also are a member of the PTE Association and in the last 18 months we've been part of the local Tertiary Education Providers, it's a collaboration between all the PTEs and the ITP. That's looking at how we can step our tauira up to higher education. The reality is that not a lot of our tauira are at a level where they will step up. We hear about what the government wants - higher levels and get them trained - the reality is they've come from places that to get to that level, it's probably not something they're aiming at. Maybe in the future when they're older but not right now, so we step them up to where they want to be.*

Outsourcing programmes

Another reason to have good relationships with other providers was when a provider did not have the capacity to provide particular courses or services for their young people. A number of providers outsourced programmes, parts of programmes or services for their students.

> *I will say "what do they want to do" "Oh hairdressing" I will say "I haven't got hairdressing but I know someone really good where this young person can go to. And then I make the contact with that organisation.*

Facilitating work experience and employment opportunities

Providers also worked at having good relationships with employers to facilitate work experience and or employment opportunities for students. The organisations actively maintained their relationships with employers to ensure that students fulfilled their work experience obligations, and as a way to recognize the part they played in enabling young people's opportunities.

> *When our rangatahi do their work experiences, I have a staff member who visits the employer. Our staff go out and visit every second day to make sure everything is fine. They will ring in the morning to make sure they've [young person] turned up for work. We do things that will assist our rangatahi to get employment, especially in their areas, so we do those things to assist workplace training. We include the employers, and we'll do something for them, and we include them in our graduation. We include them in any fundraising nights or anything that we're having, but we try to make them feel important and part of what we do as well.*

Informing policy makers

Most of the providers had relationships with politicians, councils and a range of government agencies in the hope that they could sway policy directions and facilitate funding opportunities.

> *Our manager has been thumping away at CYFs and WINZ and TPK and a number of other organisations for programmes for some of our rangatahi, especially the males. We find a lot of our young males don't have a lot to do and they find things [to do] which aren't always in their best interests. So ... this year we've bought in whakairo two days a week. Hands on - it is brilliant for some of them and it was really a taster to see if that's really what they wanted...*

> *I meet with the wānanga staff every second week to make sure that everything's working okay there, we have contracts with MSD, John is in charge of the smaller contracts, he maintains contact with them. MSD bring out new staff, so that they can see what we do. We have contact with Te Puni Kōkiri, once they've been in, we always make sure they know about our open door policy. If they're driving past, and they want to come in for a coffee, just call in, they need to know us, what we're doing and how we do it, cause we need them to trust us as well, we have to try and trust the government departments anyway. My big bug bear is our politicians who make the decisions and don't know what we do and I've had a number of politicians in over the last 12 months. I've been to the city council….*

Given the communities the organisations work in they also foster relationships with the local police and courts. Often the providers were called on to support their students who had been picked up by the police or those who had ended up in the court system. One provider

regularly brought the police into the organisation in order to change the mindsets of their students who may not have had any positive dealings with them.

> *Another thing we do is that we get the local iwi police officer to come in, as often as she can, so they have a different mindset, so they get to respect the officer for who she is not what she is. So just changing a lot of mindsets really for them because we have to be realistic…We have to be very realistic about where a number of our kids are coming from, we have to change the mindsets, our kids only see police when their homes are raided, or someone is arrested, they don't see them for what they can be in the community, so we make a point of getting the officer in as often as she can.*

Conclusion

It became apparent early on in the interviewing process that a key success element in all the providers that we interviewed, whether they were Māori or Pasifika, was the work they put into establishing and maintaining relationships with the young people in their charge, their whānau, and the wider community in which they operated including other organisations, government agencies and employers. From these relationships flowed culturally embedded connections between people. It was clear in the narratives that these relationships were reciprocated by the community who were interested and concerned to support not only the providers but also their young people.

Kanohi kitea or the face that is seen was an important component of building and sustaining respectful relationships for all of the organisations. The commitment the providers had to their communities arose out of the obligations and responsibilities that came with being connected to and having a sense of belonging. In many instances this was made tangible through whakapapa, in other cases it was through the notion of whānau based on a community of shared interests. Accordingly, the providers operated and expressed their respect and care for people and the relationships they had with them.

Chapter 7. Tau Kumekume: Barriers to Provision

Many of the providers talked extensively about the external constraints they faced in delivering their programmes and realizing their and their communities' aspirations. While the constraints ranged from lack of funding through to the macroeconomic environment, the crux of the issue for all the providers was the disjunction between policy and practice. Three issues – the changing policy landscape, funding levels and formulas and compliance – were at the top of the list of challenges that the organisations who participated in this research faced.

A changing policy landscape

Since Māori and Pasifika private training providers were first established a raft of policy, funding and compliance changes have occurred. The changing policy landscape has had a huge impact on providers, taking time and resources away from their core focus of supporting young people into learning, further training or work. The quote below encapsulates the experiences of the providers in an ever-changing policy landscape. Just as providers would 'get up to speed' with one policy direction a new policy would be implemented that would require working through.

> *There were always more things that were needed. I remember we had to go through charters and profiles, we sat down, at the time there were still about four of us [other providers], and we all got together and got our charters and profiles, that only lasted two years before they changed to investment plans. The changes are ongoing. You take a couple of years to work it out, where you need to be and get everything up to scratch and up to speed and then they change them on you again.*

The cost of policy changes

The providers talked about the costs associated with an on-going changing policy landscape. Not only did this cost providers time in understanding and implementing changes it also cost them financially when they had to change administrative systems. Because of the demands of compliance many of the providers employed administrative staff to attend to accreditation requirements to ensure that they were kept up to date and accurate. An overriding concern of providers was that if they did not meet audit requirements they would lose their contracts.

> *If we don't get accreditation, we don't get a contract. We've worked our butts off to get an audit - when NZQA first came to audit us they gave us a one year audit, which means they came back the next year. The next year we'd put so many things in place we got a two year audit, last year we got a three year audit. Not only does it save us ten grand a year, because we have to fly them down, we have to pay them to do the audit. Oh yes, and they charge us for every decision that they have to make. So it costs us anywhere between eight and ten thousand dollars to have an audit. We've worked really hard, so we've gone from a one year audit, to a two year audit, then we hit a three year audit then they changed it. They changed the whole process, so we don't have an audit, we have a review, so we have to start the whole process again. So you see why people just close their doors!*

Web based reporting

If the providers found it a challenge to keep up with the changing policy landscape, their experiences suggest that TEC staff also found it a challenge in keeping up with the administrative changes. One provider found that TEC staff were not always familiar with their own processes. Two of the providers talked about how they had inducted TEC staff on TEC processes.

> *When we finished filling out that application last week, they rang us back. We had to give them instructions on how to go through the website, so that they could find that we are registered for hospitality. Jane had to guide, via the telephone, the person on the other side looking at our application. We had to guide them through the process of going through the internet to click on us and they would see that yes we are registered and accredited to deliver hospitality. That person is looking at our contract to see if we can get it!*

Centralised management of contracts

A number of the providers talked about the difficulty in the current TEC environment of finding someone to talk to, to ask questions or have their contracts clarified. According to the providers TEC had changed to centralized management and online reporting processes. Where once they had regional managers and people who they could talk to and ask questions, on line reporting meant that they had no-one to contact.

> *The goal posts are always moving. You can never sit back and say cool. We didn't know anything about Rangatahi Maia until we read it ourselves, that the funding was cut back. We have nobody here from the Tertiary Education Commission that we can sit and talk with. We don't even have a TEC advisor anymore. We have to ring the 0800 number and more often than not there will be a message that will say that they're busy and can we email them. So you email them and three weeks later you're still emailing them to say we haven't had a reply yet…*

One provider questioned how the move to a decentralized, on line process is responsive to Māori given the importance Māori attach to the principle of kanohi ki te kanohi, of meeting face to face.

> *There is no face to face anymore when it comes to my contract this year. As I said the TOPs course has succeeded I want to fight to get those ten places back. Who do I go and fight with? I actually really don't know, like do I write to Wellington? Who do I write to in Wellington, how do I get to have a meeting, how do I get to increase my contract… it is all faceless and how is that responsive to Māori!*

The impact of policy changes on the wider community

One of the Māori providers talked about the impact that the changing policy landscape had on their whole community - the community, industry and most importantly young people. Like many of the providers they talked about their frustration when the Rangatahi Maia programme was axed. According to this provider Rangatahi Maia was discontinued because it was under subscribed rather than not meeting its target outcomes. They conveyed their growing exasperation at the government who wants successful outcomes but fails to provide adequate direction, funding and resources to ensure that they are met. Underpinning their frustration is the perception that policies are made without considering the full impact that they have on communities.

The reality is that they don't realise the impact that their decisions have. I wrote to government and to Tolley and asked why that decision was made, I was told the Rangatahi Maia funding was underutilised. Well we were never able to get more than 8 students, although we had 100% outcomes, we weren't offered anymore. Those decisions can be made without any consideration for the impact that that has on, whether it be us, whether it be the business, whether it be the business that we contract to do that, most of all the rangatahi, now if they can't get a student loan they can't get those qualifications. We're doing what the government says they want, we're getting kids in that have nothing and we're making sure that they leave here with qualifications and a vision for the future - goals that they want to achieve and more importantly the next place for them to move into. We do that whole transition with them. If we've got our rangatahi going into polytech, we maintain that with them, we take them there before, we go with them for visits, we're there checking up on them when they start, we're there how's it going, on the phone, ringing them up, to make that transition work, so they don't come out feeling like they've failed, that's what's most important, we need to do what we can to make that transition work, and it's a lot of work for staff to make that work, and we get kicked in the bum for doing that. So that's my beef, that's my frustration.

A number of providers also talked about specific policies such as the axing of literacy and numeracy funding, and changes to exemptions from enrolling in and attending schools and the independent youth benefit that all had an impact on their service. The providers considered that literacy and numeracy was an important component of their programmes because students often required these skills before they could begin learning. The recent policy changes for under 16 year olds to obtain exemptions from enrolling in and attending school had an impact. Prior to the changes these young people could get exemptions that would enable them to be enrolled in youth training programmes and have access to structured pathways to further training or work. Now it is more difficult to obtain exemptions. The outcome of such a policy change has meant that many under 16 year olds are falling through the gaps. Potentially this policy change fails already educationally disengaged rangatahi and Pasifika young people.

They're not allowed a school exemption anymore, in the past if I had a student from when they were 13 or 14 or 15 and I'd been able to integrate them into a learning programme, learning environment with one of our courses, like they would spend two days a week, working with one of our courses, and identify that they wanted to move into a course, so by the time they came to being 16 and able to enrol, then they'd be great and they'd get on their pathway, but that's all stopped, I can't register anyone until they're 16.

One provider was concerned that the programme that they had been running for pregnant young Māori women and those who had babies had been axed because of changes in policy. Despite showing that there was a critical need for such a programme these young Māori women were also falling through the policy gaps.

One key loss is that we spent a long time getting a programme for pregnant teenagers and we've been running that for three years now under our TAP umbrella. We ended up capturing that programme because the government changed their criteria because there was too much unemployment, people on DPB could get on the programme. We won't be promoting that programme here now because all the training opportunities programmes have gone. So we're at the whim, we have tried to change the government view but can't because they have no money, so that's lost,

and that's a huge loss for a community like this, 16 to 18 year old Māori because they can't register on the benefit before they're 18, so that group of young mums, there's no programme. When we did the statistics that determined the need for that programme in our rohe, we identified 84 young mums either expectant or had their baby and we said, there is a critical need for this programme but nobody would fund it.

Funding Issues

Funding levels

As far as the providers were concerned, in an environment where costs associated to the core work of the PTEs were continually rising, the level of funding they received was not sufficient to cover the services they provided.

> *Costs continue to rise all the time, and we have a whare that has to be maintained, it needs a building warrant of fitness every year, and has to be maintained to a standard that the Ministry of Education and the City Council say, we have to do that all on our funding from TEC, plus resources, plus wages.*

The providers talked about the impact that funding levels had had on their ability to employ suitably qualified staff. Many of them noted that the staff that did work for them did so because they wanted to give back to their community through supporting young people.

> *...Not enough resources and I am talking about staff... there are not enough trained staff out there to do the stuff that we need to do and we don't have the funds to pay them for what they do. So most people work here because they believe in the kaupapa.*

One provider had worked out that it made more financial sense to fund training opportunities for young people that would keep them out of trouble with the law, rather than keep them in prison.

> *We did a quick calculation, worked with some figures with the City Council - for $80,000 we could run chef training for 12 students. Not a lot of money is it? When you compare it with how much it costs to keep one person in prison for six months, whether they have counselling, social worker, correspondence, or when you look at the reasons that our rangatahi are going down ...$80,000 is not a lot out of their budget... it's just frustrating.*

Funding formula

While the providers considered they were not adequately funded it was towards the formula used to determine their funding that most of the providers directed their criticism. The youth training providers are funded by TEC and audited each year. The level of funding they receive is both outcomes focused and based on the number of students the PTEs had had enrolled in their programmes the previous year. The retrospective 'bums on seat' formula while in theory is a useful way to determine funding levels in reality presented a number of challenges for the providers.

Students' lived realities and participation

First, a 'bums on seats' funding formula does not take into account the lived realities of students. The decisions that students make while enrolled in courses goes on to have an

impact on their participation, potentially affecting the PTE's funding the following year. One provider argued that they were held responsible for the choices that their students made which, in conjunction with the bums on seats formula, meant it was impossible to receive full funding.

> *What I am trying to say is we are held responsible for young people - people who choose to go and commit crimes or you know through a mistake got pregnant. What I am saying is that we are not judged on the achievement whilst they are here or even based on 15 fully funded students which we never achieve because it is bums on seat. And so no provider can get a 100% funding it is impossible.*

Changing student demographics and interests

Furthermore, the retrospective formula does not adequately take into account the changing demographics of young people, their changing interests, nor the changing aspirations and priorities of the communities within which they live. With fluctuating student enrolments in programmes from one year to the next many providers experienced cuts to their funding.

> *Our numbers have dropped a lot over the years. We used to have 15 youth and 15 TOPs places and the hard part was that some years we'd be inundated with TOPs [students] and few youth, and another year we'd be inundated with youth. Every time one of those numbers or part of those numbers went down, they'd say, "Oh you obviously don't need them," and they'd cut them. So they've actually been cut down to 20 [altogether]. ...About two years ago we virtually had no youth so they cut those down to 4, but we also do other youth initiatives that aren't TEC funded.*

The economics of diminishing funded places

Cuts to the number of places a PTE is funded for have led to programmes being withdrawn because they were uneconomical to run with fewer students. For example one PTE talked about the economy of setting up a programme that became too costly to run because of the drop in funded places. Reflecting the uncertain times that they are operating in, this provider felt that the funding formula was one of the ways that they were being squeezed out.

> *Here is the other issue, we spent $30,000 on equipment and then it [the programme] got chopped. That makes all that [equipment] redundant. We didn't meet the outcome. It had 15 students, and they chopped it to 9. Well it is not economical, we can't run a course with 9 students. It became uneconomical to run that course, with the tutor and all its costs.*

However a cut in funded places for many of the providers did not necessarily mean a cut in programmes. Rather many of the PTEs worked hard to continue providing their full programmes.

> *Things do drop off because we can't capture that level of funding and we'll lose a third of our funding this year but our programmes won't drop by a third, we've got a business plan to try and minimise our loss.*

Timing of contract renewal

Another issue that the providers faced was the way in which TEC funded PTEs. The one year funding cycle created uncertainty for the providers making it difficult for them to plan from one year to the next. One provider, in particular, talked about the timing of the contract offer that happened at the end of the year and the impact that that had on planning for the next year.

So when you think about that, we're running a business, we have to maintain financial viability otherwise they're not going to contract us, and they know we're reliant on the pūtea [funding] that they give us. So what are we now, we're the 2nd of December? Our new courses start on the 18th of January, we close in two weeks time and we haven't got contracts for 2010 yet. They haven't been finalised. I've gone to the mailbox and pulled out a contract on the 23rd of December before now, so I'm not expecting a lot different but we're playing with staff.

Regressive funding model

Providers found that once funding had been cut it was difficult to get it back. One provider argued that the funding formula TEC had in place was a regressive funding model in which the pūtea they received to deliver programmes would potentially continue to diminish.

I call it a regressive purchasing model – and that is why we are the only one left standing. Because what happens is what happened to us last year where we didn't meet the 60%. We lost funding. This year we will meet the contract but will we get those places back? I am going to fight damn hard to get them back because if we don't get them back and we fail the contract next year we will get whittled away again and that is why you end up with nobody left.

Paying back 'overpayments'

When attendance outcomes were not met the providers were required to pay back a portion of the funding they had received. Because this money was usually spent in the previous year it took a well organised PTE to be able to cover payments back to TEC the following year.

They come in a year later and audit attendance sheets from the year before and they count those days so anything over five days they want the money back. So you can end up with a bill for $4,000 that you have got repay to TEC. Now when your funding isn't high anyway nobody can afford to have an agency who comes in to do an audit, which isn't an audit it's a purely a money grab back exercise. You know what audits are like, they are normally about identifying issues and working together to address those issues and do better. Not these guys. It is purely "how much money are we going to get back". Well that puts providers under, because you have already spent the money in the year before.

Yearly contracts and funding uncertainty and planning

Yearly contracts made it difficult for providers to plan ahead from year to year because of the uncertainty of the level of funding that they would receive the following year. This impacted on both the ability of the providers to employ high calibre staff and retain them. One provider talked about how yearly contracts made it difficult to invest in their service because of the uncertainty over funding and the risk of spending money in advance. The providers identified a lag between investing in improvements and what they were able to deliver.

So when you have a year's contract it's like 'do you buy $30,000 worth of resources, do you go and replace all those computers?' because you might not have that course next year. I am doing that right now it is May and I won't spend any money until I know whether I have got a contract next year. But really I want to spend some money now and upgrade some other computers and some other classroom resources. But logic dictates that I should wait before I spend 30 or 40 thousand.

Siloed funding

One provider outlined a range of challenges they faced because of the siloed funding approach taken by the government. In the context of their achieving high outcomes and being funded accordingly they are concerned that in the present policy and economic climate their funding will be pulled. They are not concerned about meeting their target outcomes, rather they are concerned that TEC will change the funding formula to focus solely on training and education. This, they argue, would present a huge challenge to them (as well as all the other PTEs who participated in this research) as they provided holistic services in which pastoral support was interwoven with their training and education. As a consequence they considered that their vision is at odds with the siloed funding approach taken by government.

> *The real difficulty for us is that we've always been over-funded in terms of our population base, because we've always had extremely high outcomes so it's been very difficult for the likes of education training agencies, Skills NZ, now Tertiary Education Commission to pull that funding, so they actually have to create a policy statement to pull that funding, because if you look at our programmes, they are a social support network interwoven with an education/training programme, and I imagine they will pull all that funding because of their need to focus on education and training not social issues. So those are the real challenges for an iwi but when we look at our goals, it's about education and training as a total package of need, and without a doubt 99.9% of the young people coming into our programmes have had some areas of social dysfunction and if you don't get that right, then there's no way you are able to teach them to read, write, add, count or do anything. So that's been our challenge all the way through, how do we sustain an education institution such as a PTE but maintain those core areas of social development. We could quite successfully deliver national certificates and cherry pick the young people in our community who would achieve those but I guess the vision, the commitment, the desire of the trust is about developing young Māori, so that's where we're at odds with the silo funding approach which is extremely difficult and we've just developed a way of trying to manage that the best we can.*

Inter-sector inequalities in funding

Two providers pointed out the inter-sector inequalities between the funding of PTEs and other tertiary providers such as polytechnics. While outcomes determine funding for the PTEs it does not factor in the way polytechnics and universities are funded.[2] They argued that the outcomes that the PTEs have to meet in order to get funding are much higher than those of the polytechnics.

> *Private training providers have outcomes that they have to meet, some very high outcomes that have to be reached. For our Rangatahi Maia to be funded, we need to reach 80% employment outcome, now we achieved all that, yet and I hate saying this but it's true, I could send the same A students to polytech and it wouldn't matter if they turned up or not, because they don't have an outcome, whereas we have outcomes, we're only funded on the bums on the seats, if we have only 20 people come in last month that's what we get funded for, not the 40 places, we don't get funded if the bum is not on the seat. I have to submit the outcomes to TEC. If one of*

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[2]   Since this research was undertaken the polytechnic and university sector is undergoing further changes, which is affecting the way they are funded.

our rangatahi is sick and has to be off for 10 days, I have to withdraw them, and then find a two month positive outcome, which is odd.

Many of the Māori providers felt that they were 'the poor cousins' compared to the polytechnics and universities when it came to the support that they got from TEC.

The other thing I know about them is that they don't want to do this stuff – youth training and TOPs – they are only interested in the polytech and uni – the big pūtea they are administering. I think they needed to be reminded where their roots are. They were with the Labour Department. And their primary role was youth/TOPs training. Now they don't want it. And the other thing that they are doing – all their stuff is about the fee paying courses so all their policies and everything the same thing going on, NZQA doing the same thing – treat every provider as getting the same type of funding in fact we don't, fee paying providers are paid a year in advance we are paid a month in arrears.

Funding gaps

Finding funding for courses that providers saw were needed in their communities was an ongoing challenge for them. One provider talked about the frustration of being constrained by the structured and imposed funding and governance regimes. They questioned how they were able to effect real change in their communities when there was no funding for fundamental programmes that endeavoured to prevent youth alienation.

I've been trying to source some funding for a mentoring programme for young boys in the age group of 8 to 11, because I've got a huge group of young boys from a primary school here who are basically out of control. Some of them have been excluded from attending school, and they're from single parent families who don't have good quality male role models. We want some basic funding so that we can capture those boys, just to begin to get rid of some of the anger and frustration and to build values that establish some relationships. So as an iwi, we are frustrated, extremely frustrated and it's because we need the money to survive, we need the resourcing to deliver quality outcomes and we need to be able to step outside of the very very structured and imposed regimes that we've got, within our schools, within our systems, within social services, justice and that's our frustration. So how do we actually change that? And how do we do that without primary resourcing? How do we help change that?

Auditing

In order to receive funding PTEs, like all tertiary education organisations, are required to meet specified outcomes and key priority indicators (KPIs). The providers are audited annually by TEC to ensure that they have met agreed outcomes that include "labour market, credit achievement and occupancy outcomes" as well as key priority indicators that are then used to determine their level of funding. PTEs are also audited by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority who are responsible for programme accreditation and quality assurance.

When it came to auditing, a number of the providers felt there was a focus on measureable outcomes, and in particular labour market outcomes, at the expense of the key indicators. This they considered disadvantaged Māori and Pasifika providers who delivered services to primarily disengaged young people, many of whom required significant pastoral and learning support before they could effectively engage in the training programmes.

> *Under our contracts anyway, they've got labour market outcome, credit achievement outcome and an occupancy. But they also have all these other indicators like do we meet the national tertiary goals, are we responsive to Māori, do we have Māori clients all that sort of stuff. But when it comes to annual contracts those other things go out the door. You know, diversity, if you are Māori or any of that it just goes out the door and they focus on these four, in particular labour market outcomes.*

All of the providers that were interviewed considered that NZQA auditing was an important component to the effective delivery and quality of their programmes. While on the one hand they recognized the value of audits on the other they considered that the costs associated with compliance were too high. Not only in terms of money, as the providers had to pay to be audited, but also in time and energy.

> *I feel we need to be audited, we need to make sure that we are delivering what we say we are delivering and that the clients are looked after properly and they are getting what they are coming for. I have no problem with that, but it is the time that it takes to do the compliance stuff, to do the auditing. Now if we were resourced for that - we don't get any money for that but are required to do it. Again we fall back on staff who have full time jobs anyway who have to pick up the slack. NZQA are now going through another system, now it is not auditing it is self assessment, external evaluation and so we are having to relearn all that kind of stuff.*

High and inflexible thresholds

Contracts with high and inflexible thresholds meant that many organisations failed to fully meet their targeted outcomes. The providers cited a range of reasons why they found it impossible to have a 100% positive outcome. The very nature of the lived realities of the young people who the providers catered for made it difficult to meet such targets as did the wider social and economic environment in which they operated and the young people learnt and worked.

> *Our contractual requirements are high. Very high, not only do our staff have to work with the rangatahi they have to work with, the social issues around that student, they have to work with the whānau to make sure that they're working in the same direction, the waka is got to be always going in the same direction. They've got to work to meet their requirements with TEC contracts, they've got to work with NZQA and what they'll want to see in their audit. They have to be working to meet moderation, it's a huge job for these staff, and it's a big job to make sure it's all happening, because if it falls over we're the ones who have to pick it up. So they're not only working with the rangatahi, they're working with government.*

The five day rule

All the organisations who provided youth training and or TOP courses considered that the 'five day rule', the way labour market and occupancy outcomes were determined was particularly problematic. Students absent from a programme for more than five days, ten if they were sick, were required to be withdrawn. Once withdrawn from the programme the provider then had to place the student in further training or work within a two month time frame. A student who left a programme and could not be placed for any reason is considered a negative outcome. Providers talked about the inflexibility of both the five day rule and the criteria what is considered a negative outcome.

We failed on one contract, a TOPs course, the first time in 20 years. Some of those outcomes were: a person in a hit and run and killed, he was a negative according to the agency; we place people in jobs, we are in a recession the companies [which had taken on students] went under so they reversed those outcome to a negative. So that is how we lost. We are an education training institution we do see ourselves as an entry level provider because we take the at risk rangatahi. We take at risk Māori.

The providers also talked about the way they felt constrained to respond to the five day rule in order to meet their contractual obligations. Many of the providers that were interviewed instituted tracking systems to monitor their students' attendance as well as to facilitate a positive labour market outcome. While tracking was considered to be part of providing a student focused programme, it was also seen as a compliance issue that took time and resources away from meeting the learning and pastoral needs of the students.

We have a van that goes out. We are tracking their attendance all the time. So after two days if they are not here we go out, we don't wait for the five day absence because we have to withdraw them on the fifth day. An awful lot of work goes in to trying to comply to the rule as opposed to delivering. It is much better to put your money and energy into delivering.

If we have a withdrawal we have to trace these students and try and place them or whatever within a two month period or we are going to lose the contract. So an awful lot of our time is spent on bureaucracy not actually on the delivery. I am not saying we don't do it because we have got a focus on student centred delivery and ensuring we are meeting their needs but a lot of time is admin, recruiting, chasing, all of those things.

Labour outcomes

Providers talked about being required to have a positive labour outcome for 60% of their students. Although a 60% outcome appears to be 'reasonable' the formula determining the outcome, according to many of the providers, was difficult to achieve. For instance a provider who was funded for 15 full time places but in actuality had 25 students go through the course (to maintain full occupancy) their labour market outcome would be assessed on the 25 students not on the 15 fully funded places. The provider in the quote below argued that the problem was not only in the way the 60% labour market outcome was determined in relation to throughput but also because of the inflexible criteria. They considered that this formula set them up to fail.

So they have a 60% outcome. Now that might sound reasonable until you see the formula they use. I'll tell you what that formula is. Firstly we might be funded for a particular course – funded for 15 students for 48 weeks which is based on bums on seat. So if we don't have 15 we don't get paid for 15. If there are only 13 registered that is all we get. The labour market outcome is based on throughput. It is not based on the 15 fully funded students, it is based on throughput and throughput comes about for a number of reasons with youth. One, they may move town; two, they go into prison; three they might have got hapū - those are all negative outcomes for the agency (laugh) that we are held accountable for. As I say throughput is normally connected with a perceived negative outcome. We then have to replace that student. If the student is registered for six days on our programme and leaves on the seventh we are required to get a positive outcome in two months. Now logic dictates that that student you had for six or seven days left because of a negative outcome – didn't turn up, wasn't for them, whatever. We then have to place them. So at the end of the year

> *if we haven't achieved 60% we are chopped…If we look at our occupancy over a year it actually amounts to 90 % of the funding of 15 places. So if you work on that we were fully funded for 13 students the outcome should be on the 13 not on the 26 that might have been the throughput and that is why I am saying that the contract is set up to make us failures.*

Competing for students and outcomes

A number of the providers also talked about the way they competed with other providers and agencies in their communities for students given the multiple providers and the range of programmes on offer. A twist on this is the competition for outcomes. For the first time in one provider's experience WINZ pulled some young people off their course, who they referred to the PTE in the first place. Although an isolated incident this PTEs experience indicated the way in which the differing agencies involved in training and work placement are competing for students and outcomes.

> *They are pulling the students off our course to go back to WINZ for job seminars or to be placed into employment and yet they know, they signed them off to do the course here. They pull them off into unemployment and we have a negative outcome!*

When being successful is potentially a negative outcome

Moving young people into work is a labour market outcome, yet if a young person finds work before a course finishes the provider, if they do not want to lose their funding, has to replace them which creates other issues for the PTEs.

> *We get these good outcomes for them and they get jobs and they move on, it does create other issues for the organisation because we have to replace them.*

Credential outcomes

A number of PTEs talked about the challenge of meeting the '20 credit outcome' when providing programmes for 'at risk' rangatahi who have opted out of the school system. Many of the providers considered it was simply unrealistic to expect educationally marginalised students to achieve credits in short term programmes given their often long term alienation.

> *Some of the outcomes that they require are just not achievable, 20 credits per student is one. We have at risk rangatahi here, some of them haven't even been to high school because they are transient, they have moved around. They are the students from dysfunctional once-were-warrior families, some of them are still in those sorts of situations.*

Reengaging young people in learning

The providers acknowledged that connecting with and reengaging these young people was difficult and not always successful. Many of the providers talked about the expectations they felt were placed on them to turn round the learning experiences and outcomes of their students. They felt that they were being held responsible for their students' failure. Making positive changes to the lives of 'at risk' young people, a number of providers argued, required a move away from a siloed mentality to a broad and integrated approach.

> *The Ministry of Education was calling us provider's failures with 15 year olds because they weren't staying. Well excuse me they failed in mainstream for how long? We have them for six months and we are the failures at least we were willing*

to take them and try and work with them. It would be true with the statistics – not a lot of success. I would agree with that but look at the nature of that fifteen year old. I think the expectation on providers is unreasonable. We get people who are very damaged, they are not going to be better in six months or 12 months. Secondly those kids go back to their community where the drugs are going on, P is happening, the Mongrel Mob, the Black Power being raped or whatever. And then they come back here the next morning. Of course they are still going to be damaged if their home life sucks or they haven't got anywhere to live. Working in isolation just in education isn't going to work. Hence why we have the social workers, why we go to court with them, why we get lawyers if we can.

Balancing tikanga and compliance

The providers also recognized that compromises needed to be made between tikanga and meeting TEC outcomes and NZAQ accreditation standards. One provider emphasized the point that their job was to provide a service to their young people rather than slavishly observe tikanga.

Any Māori organisation has to balance tikanga and compliance. That is why a lot of Māori organisations went down because tikanga was the most important and everything happened around it. Unfortunately the agencies don't think the same and chop goes the provider. So you have got to balance it out. I have a problem with having people away at tangi all the time. We are here to do a service for our people, we are paid to do that service and I think we should do it because it is Māori money and to provide value for money we can't have our Māori staff tipi haere all over the motu and never doing it [providing services].

Balancing student centred outcomes with credit outcomes

Notwithstanding the challenges the students faced in achieving credit outcomes, a number of providers also highlighted the tension between providing a student centred service and fulfilling their students' aspirations, and the government's focus on credit outcomes. Simply put, not all young people want to do courses that end in credits.

Another issue is that we only want them to do things that lead them to their ultimate goal that [means] they don't always get the 20 credits that go towards their NZQA qualifications. Like we can get them their license, but there are no credits.

Lack of equivalence between qualifications

Another problem with an outcome of 20 credits per student is that not all national certificates are equivalent in content or the time they take to complete. In addition to 'at risk' students' requiring pastoral and learning support to prepare them for training the 'one size fits all' credit outcome presents particular challenges to the providers who deliver student focused programmes where students may be interested in gaining skills and credits which take longer to achieve than what is funded for.

The other problem with the 20 credits is again it is one size fits all things by the agency. Different national certificates have different ... some of the units can be quite technical, quite in depth and run for three months, some of the business computing units for instance where as the Nat Cert in employment is very much a generic based unit standards three credits whatever they just don't compare. So some students are going to take longer.

<u>Screening students to meet credit outcomes</u>

Two providers in the past year have been faced with the issue of 'cherry picking' students who would successfully meet credit outcomes. For example one of the providers, who had failed to meet their outcomes the previous year and subsequently lost funding, was told that in order to meet their credit outcomes they should screen their students and only take those who were likely to gain credits. Because their funding had already been cut and they cannot afford to sustain any further cuts they are considering screening their students for the first time. Screening out 'at risk' students is in direct opposition to the provider's identity and kaupapa as a PTE working with 'at risk' rangatahi.

> *We got told last year we should screen and then we would meet our contract. Screen… yeah that's right! Well, who are we screening out? Well we are screening out the 'at risk' rangatahi because they're the ones who don't succeed (laugh). And they are the ones that we are here for. So it is an awful situation for us this year because for the first time since we began I have said we need to screen because if we don't screen this year we may not survive into next year.*

Wider cultural, social and educational constraints

Social and cultural alienation

A significant challenge for the providers involved in this study were the wider social contexts within which the young people who enrolled in their programmes lived. Time and time again we were told about the way in which drugs, alcohol and gangs were part of the everyday lives of many of the rangatahi who were enrolled in their programmes. A number of them also talked about rangatahi being disconnected to their whānau, hapū and iwi. Often the issues that the young people faced were intergenerational and systemic. Throughout the interviews the providers continually talked about their need to be realistic about their young people and their lived realities.

According to some of the providers a minority of whānau were not interested in their rangatahi. One provider in particular talked about the way some whānau were more interested in what they could get out of their children who were enrolled in PTEs than in supporting them.

> *Some whānau obviously don't want to know, don't care, couldn't give a stuff. Some mums and dads are just interested in the student being here so they can get the travel [money] off them. A lot [of rangatahi] aren't at home, they are transient – young woman not at home but on K Road.*

In the context of acknowledging the lived realities of their students the PTEs considered that it was important to maintain a working relationship with the various agencies to ensure the best possible outcomes for them.

> *To be honest, some of our kids are better off without it [whānau]. We all work with the same people, the YJ people are usually working with the same rangatahi, the CYFs people that we work with, they've often worked with them as well, the health professionals or the Ministry of Education are often working with other members of the same whānau, you're often working with the same whānau, more than one member, but then where would they be if we weren't here.*

However, a number of providers were critically reflective of their ability to effect sustainable change in the lives of their young people because of the environment they came from. Without attending to whānau well being and wider social issues the likelihood of substantively changing the lives of alienated youth is limited. For example one provider was critical of the multi-systems approach that had been established to attend to the complex needs of alienated youth. In doing so they talked about Epuni, a residential home that has implemented a multi-systemic approach to cater for alienated young people. Changing young people's lives without changing whānau and communities is not sustainable transformation.

> *This is the problem, no matter how great a programme sounds to start with they're still going back to that environment. At Epuni they built a house, when they tore down the old place, where they locked the kids up at the age of 14, they pulled that down and built a house and the idea was that families could come so that they [rangatahi] could get reintegrated back into the whānau, they could attend counselling together. I said that's not going to work. They're still going to go back to that environment. It's not only the home that has to change, it's the community that they're in. They still have the same friends, they still have the same affiliations. If the father's a patched member, he's going to be a patched member when they get home. That doesn't change. It's the whole community. You're sending him back to, not only to the same house, the same family but to the same community with the same issues.*

Work place constraints

A number of the providers talked about the difficulties they faced placing their young people into work given the current economic environment and the resulting contraction of job opportunities for young people. For those in rural or provincial areas this was particularly challenging as the number of opportunities were limited in the first place. The rural based providers not only talked about the limited number of work opportunities in their communities, they also talked about the limited scope of the work available. Predominantly low skilled and low paid with limited prospects for advancement, the employment opportunities in rural communities did not match the aspirations of the providers nor their young people. Furthermore, they felt that employers were increasingly wanting entry level employees to have a range of skills and experiences beyond the level of skills and qualifications that rangatahi and Pasifika young people could attain in their programmes.

> *We get our trainees to a level where they can achieve a national certificate or they have enough confidence and skills to apply for employment, but it is the amount of work and opportunity that is out there in our community and so a kid coming from us is always on the back foot even though our kid may have the desire to stay in the community whereas a lot of the other kids might be using that as a stepping stone…But like I said we are up against...if a job becomes available we are up against fifty other people.*

Some of the providers talked about employers in their communities reluctant to take on their graduates because of the negative perceptions the employers had of them.

> *No-one will take our students, no-one this year. As soon as they know they are from here, they don't want them. Why? Oh because they are druggies, they are this and that, they are all those characteristics that supposedly go with being 'at risk' – a bad employee.*

As one provider noted in acknowledging the reality of their young peoples' lives the requirement of employers to employ drug free workers has implications for the organisation.

Like all the providers who recognised the intergenerational and entrenched social issues in their communities this PTE conceded that they did not how to successfully turn this around except by positively role modelling behaviour and encouraging their young people to make effective decisions so that they could go on to realize their aspirations.

> *Yeah, and probably our biggest thing, one of our biggest problems and we acknowledge it is the social impacts of drugs, because there are a lot of our students who say "we want to do this", then we say "well we've got this job, all you have to do is pass a drug test", and it's like "well it's no good". And that's huge and we've found that with quite a few of the jobs that they're ready to go into, they wouldn't pass the drug test and so you have the implications that go with that too. Drugs and gang affiliations and that sort of thing, so we have our share of issues as well which we really have no idea how to get passed that, we just have to try, if we keep pushing them in this upward spiral then maybe those [drugs, gang affiliations etc] will just filter out, that's all we can ask for.*

Accessing support services outside the scope of the providers

Many of the PTEs talked about the increasing difficulty they had in accessing services and support from other agencies that enabled them to provide holistic services. The most often cited example was the way in which under 16 year old access to the independent youth benefit had declined. Other examples included access to mental health services and drug and alcohol counselling. The PTEs perceive that the threshold for accessing services is being ratcheted up so that 'at risk' young people are no longer fitting the criteria. Not only does this have serious consequences for the young people concerned it also adds to the work the PTEs do.

> *They are getting worse. A young woman – lives on the street, lives under these bridges out here – but they wouldn't put her on [independent youth benefit] because they didn't think she was in enough nee Luckily [our] social worker was with this young woman and she was arguing on her behalf. They then had to go and get a psych report to support it. Do you know that the case worker was still refusing to put this kid on an independent youth…you are dealing with people in WINZ who are poorly trained, low paid, high turnover... and a lot of them don't care either. But they are playing with people's lives.*

Culturally responsive provision compromised

All the PTEs that participated in this research provided services and programmes in which their knowledge, values and practices were embedded. Nevertheless they felt that they were compromised in what they were able to do given that the orientation of education provision in Aotearoa derives from a Pākehā world view. The national curriculum, as one provider put it, was not designed with a 'Māori heart' and despite its intent diminishes what it means to be Māori.

> *We still question what we do because the national curriculum that's been in place, wasn't designed for Māori in a Māori context and not in a Māori world …You can't take a Pākehā model and make it Māori no matter how much you translate. It's not ours, it wasn't designed in a Māori framework, it wasn't designed with a Māori heart. How could it ever be ours? What it misses is the āhuatanga Māori – that will always be missing. So you see each time we have to compromise what we do it becomes a lot more clinical, we have to keep checking ourselves and pull ourselves back.*

Another provider raised the issue of having to compromise but not to the extent that they lost their identity as a Māori provider. This was sometimes hard to do given that government agencies constrain Māori organisations to determine for themselves what they look like.

> *I think our years of experience shows us how to toe the line, and we do toe the line, we work to strive to make sure because there is no future if we have no funding. But I've got to say a lot of the times we question what the hell we're doing with them, because it's so funny, they look at how Wellington funds Māori services and in a very short piece of time they end up trying to tell you what that should look like, and that drives me crazy to no end and all the time we're questioning ourselves but times have changed from the times of the early 70s mid-80s you could rely on a lot of voluntary workers, times changed now, our people have so many demands on them, the cost of living has gone up, they have to put kai on the table and they can't do that with nothing so you know you have to have that money, although I hate it. When you try to do what you're doing without compromising too much on what you want to do, but there's always a compromise. Always.*

All the providers incorporated cultural knowledge and practices in what they did in the classroom that responded to their communities and particularly to their young people's cultural location and aspirations. The Māori providers talked about the environment in which this occurred. With the government's focus on hard outcomes, the resourcing and scope to deliver specifically Māori aspirational outcomes in recent years has diminished. Few providers who took part in the research offered dedicated courses in either te reo Māori me ōna tikanga or Māori knowledge and skills, some because they chose not to, others because there was no funding. Where providers did, the courses were more likely to be voluntary rather than compulsory.

> *But I will say if we were able to run a te reo course without that contract and it's outcomes I would. Personally I think there is a real need for te reo in youth training and TOPs and it should be accepted with a different set of outcomes. Why do we have to have the same outcome that Pākehā and everybody else has. Um tukutuku, carving we had all those… now there is none… there is absolutely none left. Why not? Because we were forced into closing them, I don't think it is because we don't want them it is just we haven't got a viable avenue to do it.*

Relationships with tertiary education organisations

Relationships with other tertiary providers, especially those that the PTEs could refer their students on to for further education and training, such as polytechnics and wānanga, were important. However, not all relationships were reciprocally sought or valued. The polytechnics in particular came under scrutiny for their lack of responsive to the PTEs in their community. The polytechs in particular were seen to be competing for the same students and funding.

> *We have an MOU with the Polytech, a memorandum of understanding. I did visit earlier this year to see how we could work closer together. We work, well… at arm's length. There's a real… we're all after the same funding. The Polytechnic chief here was very clear when he spoke to me earlier this year that he didn't want to do the work that we're doing, but governments made it that that's what's going to happen.*

One provider, operating in a provincial town, pointed out that while PTEs and the local polytech were all working towards the same goal of increasing the opportunities and

outcomes for young people in their community, as a Māori provider they were not included in contributing to the regional strategy on tourism and hospitality.

> *The Polytech does their own thing. They don't help me, they have not even invited me to a meeting. I keep on hammering them with "what is my role, how am I supposed to be participating if I am the only Māori PTE in this area, how do you want me to contribute to the regional strategy for tourism and hospitality and stuff?*

Another provider talked about the way they were used by their local polytechnic as a means to increasing student numbers in their courses but did not look after them once they enrolled. The PTE highlighted the different ways in which they and the polytech operated. The basis of Māori and Pasifika provision is to provide culturally responsive programmes and practices that reflect and acknowledge the students and where they are at in terms of their learning and personal needs. As the provider found, for polytechnics to neither address nor respond to the cultural, social and educational location of Māori students in effect closes down those students' options and opportunities.

> *We have a relationship with them, they use our buildings, we sent some of our trainees to them but we don't really ... they tend to not look after our kids once they are there... they are just treated like any other trainees and our kids don't tend to stay there. They get hōhā after a month and then they are back home again.*

One of the rural providers talked about the problem they had when successful and educationally engaged young people left their community to go on to higher education or find work. This they argued had a negative impact on their community as it left a large hole in the community's ability to progress. This particular provider considered that these young people are excluded from staying and participating in, and contributing to their local community because of exclusionary policies that see polytechnics and universities funded to provide higher education. A consequence of these young people leaving their community is that their work and cultural identities are shaped to see the world through national and global as opposed to local Māori eyes.

> *Exactly, they should be part of [our provision], but they're excluded, not by us, but by the funding policy, because they don't see that we are able to meet their needs, like the polytech or the university that have the sole rights to those kids. We want to turn that around because all they want to do is capture their potential and their talent, for what? That's not going to contribute back to iwi in a significant way, and you're only getting a very small number of those kids actually coming back to support their iwi and understand who they are. What they're [the polytechs and universities] trying to do is to educate, not deliberately, but educate their cultural identity out of them, and turn them into business flies, working in the corporate world and contributing I guess to New Zealand society in a different way. But we see them coming back and being a huge strength, but everyone's got this idea that they've got to stand on their own two feet, have the nuclear family, three cars, a boat on the marina and be excluded from their culture, because if they're rich and wealthy they tend to identify with New Zealanders who are rich and wealthy, so again another insidious process that undermines the connectedness to iwi.*

Competitive Māori provider models

One provider was concerned that the establishment of a competitive Māori provider model had damaging consequences for Māori communities, in particular those that were small and rurally based.

That still burns, within this community. The division between the Trust Board and the Trust and the evolution of establishing the competitive Māori provider models through this community, which were implemented by government policy in health, in social services. That bone on the table they all fight over. So those open wounds still exist, and tend to fracture quite significantly any progress. So how do you eventually heal those completely is a huge challenge for us, especially. We've experienced those situations here and it's been quite pointless but we've carried on. The wānanga basically still has a presence here, they've shifted and become a national body and moved on, so that's reduced some of that competitiveness within delivery for Māori. And we were never really successful at working to the strengths of that model. We had a strong staircased programme for Māori here in the community, but it was delivered as a destructive competitive approach, I do point the finger at government, for that. It's not been good for isolated rural communities.

Contracting for innovation versus bureaucracy

All the providers were innovative in their approaches to the issues and needs of their young people and communities. Their identities as providers were very much shaped by the way they responded to the cultural, learning and work aspirations of rangatahi and Pasifika young people. Their practices were also shaped by government calls for responsiveness to Māori and Pasifika and innovation in service delivery. Several providers considered that bureaucracy was at the heart of the difficulties that they had in fulfilling their contractual obligations. One provider in particular highlighted the tension that exists between policy calls for innovation, creativity, and diversity and the practice of bureaucracies.

Bureaucracies are bureaucracies ... how can they handle innovativeness they can't. Because of the nature of their institution they are not into innovativeness, creativity, diversity, and difference. They write about it in their documents and how these things will be achieved but in the actual practice their interactions on a daily basis with the provider are actually very bureaucratic…But if you are going to do innovative interventions, a bureaucracy isn't the best organisation to be administering it because it is a one size fits all thing.

Conclusion

The providers face a range of barriers to providing successful training and work opportunities for rangatahi and Pasifika youth. At the heart of the issue for the providers is the disjunction between government policy and practice. All the Māori providers felt isolated and unsupported in the face of changing policies, decreased funding, and the increased compliance costs associated with negotiating the changing landscape. A number of the providers are beginning to question their ability to continue to ride out the policy changes and funding decreases. As one provider put it the biggest losers in this scenario would be rangatahi.

I need to say that we haven't had support from any other government, any other party in politics at the moment whether or not we're the only Māori training provider, there's been a lot of letters sent out about the loss of our shared training course and there's been very few replies and unfortunately I thought that with Pita Sharples, holding an associate role in tertiary education, he would be right behind it, but I've never ever had a reply from his office. The decisions just keep being made and you know we're getting screwed back tighter and tighter and tighter and one day

> *it's going to come - can we continue to do this? At the end of the day only those missing out [rangatahi] are going to suffer.*

The socio-political climate in which the providers operated is hugely problematic. While educational gains have been made over the past 20 years they have not occurred in the core group of rangatahi and whānau who the PTEs cater to. The providers are weary of having to continually negotiate their status and survival in the PTE sector. It is perhaps not surprising that young people too are changing in response to their experiences in the world. One provider spoke about increasing youth alienation since she began working with rangatahi 20 years ago.

> *To be honest I have noticed huge changes in youth over the years. In 2010 what we have got presenting is a lot more youth who are attempting suicide, a lot of them I see the respect go over the years, I have seen the violence increase with rangatahi violence to others that is, just a sense of hopelessness. If I go back 20 years it wasn't that bad. Well there was all those criminal things going, the drugs maybe but not this total sense of hopelessness.*

Despite the challenges they faced the providers remained resolute in the work they did with and for their young people. Rather than decrease funding to the sector, the providers argue for more control over what they do and more resourcing to do it so that they can sustain their own communities cultural, social and economic health. In this scenario young people would not need to leave their community in order to find work and contribute back to their community.

Chapter 8: Successful Māori and Pasifika providers

Māori and Pasifika providers were asked what was working well in their services that enabled them to fulfil the education, training and employment needs of their young people. In responding to the question the providers not only talked about what success meant to them they also identified a range of features that they considered facilitated their success. Success was mostly defined in opposition to meeting the outcomes that the PTEs were required to meet and in terms of their resilience in the face of the social, economic and policy constraints they faced, and most importantly the lived realities of their students.

Reframing success

When the providers talked about being successful they talked back to the standard notions of success with regard to qualifications and employment outcomes although they acknowledged that they were important for funding. Rather they reframed success in ways that were meaningful for their practice as providers and their young people.

Young people's participation

Success did not hinge on fulfilling TEC outcomes, success was about young people participating in their services. Engaging alienated young people in learning was a significant outcome for the providers. For example the provider in the following quote made the connection between students' desire to participate and success. The key to success was their young people wanting to be part of the organisation. The provider considered that regular attendance was crucial if rangatahi were to become 'awesome members of iwi and society'.

> *We tend to see success a little bit differently than some other organisations might. Our success isn't hinged on that the rangatahi must work at this place for this many hours, although that helps the pūtea coming in. For almost all of them, their aim is to be working but our vision is that they work in a place that they're proud to work in and that makes them happy, because then they stay. If we're talking retention, well they're not going to stay in a place that they don't like, so that's our vision, that they can be awesome members of society and for our iwi. That's really huge, how do you determine success? Are you successful if you're allowed to speak on your marae?*

Incremental achievement

Success was seen as incremental, building from small personal successes to formal knowledge and skills and credentials, and employment. One of the tutors of a Youth Training programme balanced TEC outcomes with those of her students and considered that through little successes the students would build their way to greater achievements.

> *You look at one side of it and then you are looking at your TEC criteria and what you need to do for them. On the other side....we have a unit on personal presentation some of the kids have never used deodorant before or they have never learnt to put make up on or answer the telephone properly. Those [when they are able to do those things] are the small successes for me that I am talking about. Of course you have*

your educational obligations. But with small and simple steps hopefully great things will come to pass with each individual.

Whānau participation

Perhaps it was not surprising given the centrality of whānau that whānau participation and support was considered an indicator of success (see also pp. 45-46). For example one of the providers, in the context of a community riven by gang membership, considered that endorsement from whānau who were gang members was a significant gauge that the organisation was doing something right.

> *When I can talk on the side of the road to a father who is a true and true gang member and that father can say to me in front of his 17 year old son who's also standing there, "Boy, I want you to stay with Kara, I don't want you to end up how I ended up". When he can hear that from a hardened gang member, we're obviously doing something, "Stay with the people who love you and want to help you succeed, don't go where I went". At the end of the day I'm not there for the gangs, I'm there for their 16 and 17 year old kids and all I'm doing is offering them an opportunity.*

Community wide participation and support

Success was also measured by the way in which the communities participated in and supported the providers. The providers' reputations were built on intangibles such as manaaki, aroha ki te tangata, and whakakoha rangatiratanga. Although these qualities were difficult to quantify in themselves, the care the providers took with their young people and community and the way they fostered relationships with the wider community were considered measures of their success.

> *I think it's out there doing the work, aye that's what it is. I think it's that simple, we don't have galas, we don't have annual event days or nothing like that, we don't do that. I think the best promotion is by word of mouth, if you're any good at what you're doing people start to hear. But even if you're not good at it, if you know you genuinely care and you're trying your best, it might not be perfect but you're trying your best and you're genuine about that, that's what matters to our people, you might have got it completely wrong, but they come back, you might have ballsed up totally.*

The validation of Māori language and knowledge

One of the ways in which some of the Māori providers reimagined success was by working to have Māori knowledge and practices formally recognised as valid components of the curriculum. In doing so they were reframing taken for granted Māori knowledge and skills into recognised credentials that increases rangatahi opportunities to achieve and see themselves as successful learners (see also p. 22). For example one provider talked about tying their kaupapa and vision to credit outcomes by having Māori knowledge and skills recognised on the NZQA framework. This work is ongoing and currently they are working to get accreditation for 'field Māori' in collaboration with their iwi authority and NZQA.

> *We've been working on a few new projects and one of them has got to do with the retention of people on our marae and the reo. We have here our Iwi Education Authority and they are doing te reo, probably at a higher level and we're hoping to step people up to that. We got accreditation in te reo because we were finding a lot of our rangatahi are coming through and their reo is awesome but they don't get*

acknowledged for it in anyway whatsoever. Whereas if you had these units in English, you can tick them off here and there and everywhere and you can get all sorts of recognition for it. So we are now able to give formal recognition to them. We're looking at 'field Māori', seeking accreditation for 'field Māori'. It is a bit of a lengthy process with NZQA but you know we will get there eventually. So it brings those things that we do which are unique to Māori. Not everyone can do them but we do them as a matter of course, we just do them normally and so we take them for granted. But they can be formally recognized.

Features of Success

The providers identified a number of features of their provision that facilitated positive and successful outcomes. Many of these features have been discussed elsewhere in this report but are reiterated here as they were highlighted by the providers as contributing to their effective service delivery.

People-centred practices

Best encapsulated through concepts such as aroha ki te tangata, manaakitanga and whakakoha rangatiratanga all of the providers, both Māori and Pasifika worked to ensure that people were at the heart of their provision and practice. One provider articulated what many of the providers made oblique references to when they talked about the commitment they had to people.

> *I guess one of the best features of what we do, for us is keeping our commitment to people, we do that very very well. Very people-centred, we do that really really well. We're very very strong at building our internal human resource, mentoring them and growing them and I guess developing a work-base culture that supports them to deliver to their capabilities. So we do that really really well.*

Providing a safe environment for rangatahi to flourish

The importance of creating safe environments where students wanted to be was repeatedly mentioned by most of the providers (see Chapter 5) as not only being the key driver for the services they provided but also an important component in positive outcomes for their students.

Student-centred provision

All the providers considered that it was absolutely essential to tailor their services to the particular interests and aspirations of their young people (see Chapter 5). In order to tailor programmes that met the educational, social and cultural needs of their students the providers needed to have a critical understanding of not only the student but also the environment in which they operated.

Going the extra mile

The providers went to considerable lengths to get positive outcomes for their students. This was tied not only to TEC requirements but also to ensure the best possible outcome for students. Following through, or persistence in finding outcomes was commented on time and time again as an important criterion for their successful outcomes.

> *The thing is we'll follow up right through, we'll do door knocking right through until we find an outcome for them.*

Flexibility

Flexibility was an important aspect of being able to deliver programmes and services that meet the pastoral and training needs of the students, community and employers. Adjusting provision according to policy and auditing requirements, implementing new programme directions and initiatives when considered necessary, and responding to individual students, their specific needs and changing aspirations required a great deal of flexibility from the providers. Staff in particular needed to be sensitive and adaptable to their environment.

> *We're really flexible, the tutors they self-manage their programmes, so when we come to our staff hui, they say "we need to do this now, because it's not working" or "we need to change this" and things change all the time.*

Provider Resilience

A number of the providers talked about the current political and economic milieu they were operating in and considered that their survivability in the ever-changing socio-political and policy environment was itself an indicator of their success.

> *It's been a long journey, the changes from ETSA to Skill NZ to TEC and everything else and the funding issues and changes in government have had a huge impact on the organisation but in saying that, we're still here, but a lot aren't unfortunately.*

Although the organisations themselves did not talk about resilience, their narratives were clear that it was their kaupapa and passion for young people that had sustained them in the face of considerable constraints over the years.

> *When we get frustrated and we question ourselves over the hurdles we have to jump through…I always say we don't have to, we could walk away. Then I say what happens to the 20 or 30 [rangatahi] that we have on our programme right now, who will be there [for them] tomorrow? Where would they [rangatahi] go? Where would they go because you are sick of that extra form, or that extra piece of work that you have to do? Where would they go?*

Staying true to the kaupapa of their organisation

A feature of successful provision is the way in which the providers stayed true to their vision as it guided what they did and how they did it (see p. 14). The whānau was the central mechanism through which the providers identified themselves and delivered their services. The providers did not deliver whānau oriented programmes rather they *were* whānau (see p. 21). Thus whānau and its underlying responsibilities and obligations were embedded in their provision. Yet the providers also recognised that compromises needed to be made between tikanga Māori and TEC outcomes NZQA accreditation standards.

> *The positive is that we have really developed in that 23 years in terms of what it means to be a Māori organisation. So I think we have been through the issues that Māori organisations have and we are really in this great place. Our kaupapa hasn't changed, it is still the same it is a little kaupapa.*

Knowing their organisational capacity

While the focus of the providers was on providing holistic services to young people successful providers knew the limits of their own capacity to meet their training and pastoral needs. Where they did not have the capacity within the organisation the PTEs referred students on to other providers when they could not meet their training or social needs. For example one provider made the strategic decision to not grow too big at the expense of their ability to meet the education, training and pastoral needs of their students.

> *Two years ago we had this huge strategy hui with the Board and we talked about how we can market ourselves, how we can get out there and grow and grow and grow and we discussed it for some time. Basically we said that with the little numbers that we have we are able to produce really good results for the individual students. If we grow, can we continue to do that? At the time we said no [to increasing our size].*

Growing local strengths

Given that the PTEs were embedded in their communities much of their work was about strengthening their communities which resulted in their reciprocal development (see p. 44). Furthermore all the organisations worked with limited budgets to provide services for their young people. In order to survive the policy changes over the years and to develop programmes that met the training and employment needs of the community many of the PTEs utilized the strengths within their communities.

> *Suddenly the government changed and MACCESS went, and the Trust Board was in dire straits. They had 33 people employed and they were made redundant and they had no way of sustaining themselves, but we were in that mainstream area, we still identified ourselves as kaupapa Māori, so we started to generate some process there, we registered with the NZ Qualifications Authority. We wrote some specific programmes for delivery and then came through that evolution of the education and training support agency to Skill NZ and started delivering as a registered provider and 12 months later as a provider. We just grew our local strengths.*

Resourcefulness

The providers all shared the experience of operating on the 'smell of an oily rag'. In order to survive and be successful the organisations were required to be resourceful in how they spent their funding and what they provided. For example the provider in the quote below was very careful about how they spent their funding. Not only did they have contracts with a range of funders to ensure adequate levels of funding, they also were very careful about how they used the resources they had.

> *We have a look at how much money we're guaranteed to get that year, then we make course budgets out of that, so we're very resourceful, you have to be. We're very resourceful in what we do have. [For example] we have one television, so that services all of our courses, we have it an area where everyone can utilise it, things like that. We work in things like Oamaru stone when we're doing craft because we can resource that in our area, so we look at what we can resource. Sometimes we will host hui for groups, and in return those groups will come in and work with our students, to give them the knowledge on a craft in that area or something like that, or something that they need to do…We need to look outside the square for survival,*

we've entered into a number of other contracts with a number of organisations, and we run a number of courses.

A network approach to provision

The focus of Chapter 6 was on the importance the providers attached to establishing and maintaining effective relationships within and beyond their organisations. Relationships were the key to what the providers were able to do and achieve with their young people. One provider talked about the strengths based network approach they take in accessing government funding opportunities to fulfil their community outcomes. In order to get funding and apply it in ways that fitted the community rather than fitting the community to the funding not only required a great deal of creative and lateral thinking it also required establishing strong relationships with the community and with government agencies. The provider considered that their strengths based network approach worked well for them, enabling a win win situation.

> *We haven't been perfect and being able to deliver to the government contract outputs and our own kaupapa Māori outputs, we haven't been perfect in marrying those two, so we've lost programmes from time to time but what we have developed I guess is a model that is able to compromise the two, and funny enough, effectively in terms of our government contract but delivered very strongly to what we believe is the vision of the Trust. Over time we've developed quite a strong networked approach that draws on a strengths-based model, so you look at what the government needs and how we can actually fit that into all our models. Still meet them [government outcomes], but rather than what does the government need, set that up and actually dovetail what we need into their model…We've developed some programmes specific to meet the needs of young people but then we'll tack onto it some unit standards around National Certificate Employment to meet the outcomes of the government, but the key driver of the programme is the programme that we've developed around those kids, which in semester one is a personal development programme, semester two is about relationship and communication and semester three is about personal leadership so that's the package deal, but to satisfy the government we call it the National Certificate in Employment Skills and they do some credits around that. So it's matching and mixing the whole set up to suit the needs of this community rather than what the government thinks the needs of this community are. So that's how we've done it and we've become very very skilled at it.*

Innovative provision

All of the organisations were innovative in their approaches to provision. As one provider commented '*just being a Māori provider*' made them innovative. Some cited innovative approaches to creating holistic environments in which students were enveloped, others were creative in providing pastoral care for their young people while others were innovative in creating work opportunities for their students. For example an iwi provider talked about innovation in creating job opportunities in their rural community that had been devastated by the 1980s restructuring and privatization of government owned enterprises. They have worked to create community employment opportunities by utilizing resources that were already available in their community.

> *It's about being innovative. Simple things like the trust went up and had a look at a research station and we looked at tuna and tuna are farmed all around the world and it was a young Māori graduate who was doing her studies around tuna farming*

and it was her who set up the research centre there. Our focus was on tuna because we believe that there was a cottage industry that had huge potential but didn't need a lot of resourcing but would suit the particular needs of the Māori in this community, so there's things like that. Every single marae that we've got has some resource that is either not being used, or is seriously underutilised, how do you grow that resource, develop it? So we see our glass half full rather than half empty and it's just a matter of filling it up and all it needs is innovation, it needs people, it needs commitment, it needs a good solid purpose to be able to fill that up, and we can fill it up because we're half way there. So we believe we've got to create every bit of opportunity ourselves, and by creating we're going to fix up and make people want to be here, feel the ownership, we need commitment, you want to live here, we've got to then be able to give them something to look forward to and through them looking forward to that, contribute back to grow that potential, the iwi, that's the philosophy. We've grown our resource base, we own this campus, we own our Kowhai campus and we've pulled together just on 2000 acres of agriculture and forestry land so we're growing the capacity of the organisation. And the long-term vision of the trust is to set the cultural and educational centre as the hub, then grow a village concept around that.

Self evaluation

In aiming for high standards of provision all of the providers carried out their own evaluations and checks on their services and practices. One of the larger providers in particular talked about embracing the audit experience by training their staff in auditing.

> *We audit ourselves and we bring in external auditors very regularly to make sure that all management staff are skilled at auditing. Because of the different arms of the trust we will get managers from one arm to go and audit another arm.*

Good governance structures

Good governance structures that were representative of the communities were considered an important component of success for both the Māori and Pasifika providers. A number of the providers commented on how having clear and distinct roles for their boards and management facilitated effective provision. The provider in the quote below talked about the way in which their board supported and enabled them to do their job of supporting rangatahi.

> *The good thing about the Board is they have always been clear about governorship. I think in a lot of organisations there is blurred governorship and management. That has never occurred here. The board members tend to do 5 or 6 years. We have got a youth aid, Māori tourism operator, chartered accountant, we did have a Māori Labour MP. The board is small. It can be anywhere from 4 to 10 members and on average we tend to have between 5 or 6 [members]. Again I think that [small Board] is part of our success. Being the GM I am realistic that having worked with the boards over the years that they are all busy people and to expect them to put a significant piece of time here is unrealistic. They help when they can, and they totally support me. The staff don't see them a lot they just tend to see them at the dinners and the Christmas thing. To be quite honest I think that is why we are successful.*

Quality management systems

Good management systems ensured that the staff were supported in their work and had clear lines of responsibility that were open and transparent.

> *We've very very good at structure, compliance process, so we've got a good business model, very administrative, very very good attention to detail, make sure everything is flowing so that we can measure everything, we do that really really well. And by being able to do that well, I guess we've got the financial management too, but by doing that everything is open and transparent, so everyone can see us for what we are, and by making sure we deliver to everybody's expectations in terms of our contract need and whānau need, to our staff need, everybody is on the same page. So we're good at that, being honest, open and transparent in what we do.*

At the time they were interviewed at least two of the providers had been working on ISO900 certification to ensure they had quality business practices and management systems. They saw the connect between effective administrative and management practices with the quality of their service delivery.

> *It is no different from any other whānau setting though we do have the business nous to make very very good strategic decisions around that so we have got people who are specifically for instance who've been pushing for the last couple of years ISO900 standards to ensure that the quality of what we are doing is continually lifting.*

Conclusion

There is no one single nor mix of features that determines provider success. Different organisations in different locations deliver services according to the contexts of their local communities and experiences. The features that the providers identified when they considered what constituted successful provision is similar to what was found in the NZQA report on Māori and Pasifika PTE examples of good practice (Marshall, Balwin and Peach, 2008). However, there are some indigenous and Māori educationalists, including many of the providers in this research, who consider that provision embedded in an indigenous world view or a te ao Māori world view and is congruent with their students' and communities' experiences and aspirations is the key to innovative and successful provision. It is perhaps best for one of the iwi providers to have the last word in this chapter. The provider talks about the multiple layers to success, yet points to te ao Māori as the key to their successful provision. According to this provider te ao Māori provides a safe environment from which success emanates.

> *Here's a prime example, having these girls come back after 6 years, sit on that couch and have a kōrero, that's my key, having another ex-student come in and say this is my baby I named him after you, that's my key! To be honest, this place is made up of a number of different things and there's a number of different keys that open different doors and to be able to pick one key and open a door, it probably wouldn't open anyway, I can't put my finger on one key as far as I'm concerned, the environment of te ao Māori is a key in itself, having a safe established environment, being like a motor car, working like a battery in a motor car, that's how I look at te ao Māori. We know we're going to have the negatives, that's how you start a motor car, you got to have a negative and a positive on a battery, but once you start it you can throw that negative away and just as long as you put fuel in the car it'll go. So*

what have we got here, the kids will stay positive, but we have to accept that we can't start the motor car without the negative, the course has to run with the negative, it's not going to be positive all the time, but we have to get the negative out, like one bad apple put amongst the good ones.

Chapter 9. Conclusion: Successful Māori and Pasifika PTE Provision

The research in Phase Three of the EEL project sought to understand why the current education employment system is operating as it is in Māori and Pasifika communities. The project was designed to provide a rich and nuanced picture of what was happening in these communities in supporting their young people into education, training and employment. In doing so the PTEs' narratives reflect the joys, intensity and challenges of delivering successful training provision in increasingly challenging times. The providers talked back to the standard story of educational failure and the deficit views of Māori and Pasifika young people to reframe young people as competent and capable and to highlight the elements of successful education and training provision.

It's all about feeling the aroha encapsulates the orientation of the providers to deliver culturally responsive and workplace relevant services to primarily at risk rangatahi and Pasifika young people. In doing so the PTEs were also providing services to their community that included whānau, other organisations and employers. All the PTEs were tikanga driven organisations. What services they provided and how they delivered their programmes arose out of the communities within which they operated. How they saw and treated their young people was informed by the tikanga that underpinned their provision.

Although the PTEs provided student centred programmes their focus was on the student as an integral part of whānau and community. While personal and whānau well being were desired outcomes of the services the PTEs provided, being part of whānau was the vehicle through which rangatahi and Pasifika young people were supported into learning and training, and working towards fulfilling their aspirations. The providers' aspirations for their young people were a mix of individual and collective visions that included young people having a sense of belonging, being successful in whatever they did, contributing to their community, being future leaders, being strong in their cultural identity and having agency. In doing so the PTEs provided holistic services that wrapped around their young people to provide pastoral and learning support so that they could seize the opportunities that were presented to them and realise their potential. Importantly, the PTEs provided stepping stone opportunities beyond low level skills and training, and employment opportunities.

Providing holistic services that put their young people at the centre, and uplifted and valued them, their whānau and the community were important aspects of their success as providers. In doing so the Māori and Pasifika providers delivered locally specific services. This could not be achieved unless the organisations knew their young people and communities intimately. The providers were part of the community. In many instances they had whakapapa links to the land and to the people that brought with it a range of obligations, responsibilities and accountabilities. Where organisations did not have whakapapa links into their communities they nevertheless built strong relationships with hapū/iwi over time and had similar obligations and responsibilities as those of whānau and were built on the notion of whānau as a community of shared interest (Metge, 1995).

One of the key ways in which the providers were successful was through providing student centred services. In contemporary times this has presented a challenge to educators given the dynamic and diverse nature of young peoples' identities. Belinda Bottrell (2005) cautions us to not assume that all Māori youth share the same markers of identity, aspirations or tastes.

She found that location rather than imposed traditional markers of whakapapa determined the identity of rangatahi Māori in South Auckland. Similarly, in her doctoral study, Anne-Marie Tupuola (2004) found that young Samoan women challenged the essentialised and homogenized identities that confined their identities as being either Island born, New Zealand born or a mix of both. In order to provide the kind of programmes that took into account the dynamic identity of young people in their community and their histories of educational and social alienation, and to meet their learning needs, the providers were reflective in their practice and innovative in their approaches. An important first step was creating the desire in their students to learn. One of the ways that the PTEs did this was to provide safe learning spaces where the students felt that they belonged.

All 12 PTEs embedded cultural understandings, values and practices into their services. They saw the need to respond on the one hand to the cultural alienation of their students and on the other hand to their own aspirations to develop young people who were confident in their cultural identity. The providers were diverse in the way they were culturally responsive to their students. Some addressed the prioritization of cultural literacy in the curriculum, while others chose to embed Pasifika languages or te reo Māori, cultural values and customs in their everyday practices. Irrespective of how they delivered cultural responsiveness they were all concerned to point out, including those that provided courses in te reo Māori me ōna tikanga, that the provision of culturally embedded services was not about making what it is to be Māori or Pasifika a teaching subject or siloing things Māori, rather it was about *being* Māori or Pasifika. For those providers who did include Māori as a subject matter their doing so was about the formal recognition and validation of specifically Māori knowledge and practices. Role modelling and providing students with practical experiences such as on marae, or hosting functions, were important vehicles through which cultural knowledge was not just transmitted; it was lived and added value to the programmes they ran.

Critical to provider success was the importance they attached to establishing and maintaining respectful relationships not just with their young students and their whānau, but also to their community that included other organisations, government agencies, businesses and employers. The relationships that they established were not one way, it was clear from their narratives that the relationships they formed were dynamic and reciprocal. From these relationships flowed culturally embedded connections between people. This strengths-based network approach facilitated win win outcomes.

The overarching constraint that the providers faced was the ever-changing policy and funding landscape. The auditing regimes came up time and time again as being a significant barrier to the PTEs' provision. The overly technical audit culture that the providers experienced is, they argued, out of touch with the real world which is messy and complex. The providers highlighted a tension between providing a student centred service and the government's focus on outcomes. They talked about high and inflexible thresholds, not being able to control the way their students participated in their service, and the one size fits all approach to auditing that distracted them from doing their work. Much time, money and people resources went into fulfilling contractual obligations that could have been better spent on service provision, especially for small providers with fewer resources and little money to spare. The providers called for more control over their resources and better accountability/audit processes.

The provision of alternative education units also presented a dilemma for those providers who ran them. Not only did the providers feel that they were expected to cover the mainstream curriculum, they also felt that they were expected to get the students back into education. The whole point of the units, as one provider agued, was that they had been established precisely for students who were disengaged and alienated learners; thus they questioned the usefulness

of units that replicated regular classroom practices. The expectation that the units could re-engage students was at best naive and at worst an example of deficit policy making. It had the potential to let the schools off the hook and place the responsibility of disengaged learners on to the providers.

Although thirteen Māori and Pasifika providers participated in the research only 12 were represented in the body of this report. The organisation that was not included delivered a mentoring programme for Māori high school students to stay in school and provided support for students transitioning from school to higher education. Although not a PTE the organisation was established in partnership with their local iwi and TEOs in response to the historical educational inequalities between Māori and non-Māori post compulsory education experiences. This organisation defined itself as a kaupapa Māori organisation that provided culturally contextualized support for young people. According to the CEO the organisation is about:

> ... having rangatahi aspiring to higher education ideally, but certainly setting goals, planning a pathway and understanding and getting their whānau to understand what they are requiring along the way.

In order to subvert Māori disengagement from school and education the organisation endeavoured to 'reframe' how young Māori see education. According to the CEO, rangatahi did not see that aspiring to succeed in education was a "very Māori thing to do". Thus their focus is on achievement as opposed to orientation to particular pathways or tertiary institutions.

> We use connections to the past, the traditions of being Māori so that it is a much more broader thing about the value of education, the value of planning, the value of moving forward – planning a pathway and going ahead. It is neither career oriented or specifically oriented towards any institution. It is about achievement which is quite a different approach.

Recently they have put together a resource for Māori students and parents about NCEA. Like the providers in the body of the report this organisation also found NZQA a difficult pathway for people to follow. They also work to ensure that their partner institutions understand the situation of Māori students, the different pressures, obligations, backgrounds and experiences that they bring to their studies so that the TEOs would value and be motivated to put resources into supporting Māori participation in higher education.

Last year they tracked the students who had participated in their school mentoring programme and found that the majority of them had gone on to university or polytechnic study. Those students that did not go on to higher education had gone into work because they either hadn't got into the courses they wanted to do or they had been offered good jobs within their whānau. That students are not able to get into courses that they wanted to enrol in is a result of the recent policy and funding changes in tertiary education that has seen a cap on university student numbers, tougher entry criteria and access to student loans, and a focus on outcomes such as course and degree completions. Although not directly relevant to the PTEs in this project the changes do feed into the policy milieu of which they are a part. Not only do the PTEs compete for funding from the same source and to a lesser extent for students, the services they provide are also about facilitating students into further education if that is their aspiration. It might be that the pathway to higher education for Māori and Pasifika PTE students has become a dead end.

Mapping successful Māori and Pasifika provision

There is no single way to provide services successfully to young people nor is there one set of determinants that equate to provider success. It is more helpful to view success as multiply layered, complex and specific to local communities and conditions rather than a prescriptive set of features. Certainly this stance coheres with the providers' experiences and criticisms of the technicist audit processes which are arbitrary and inflexible. The key to innovative and successful provision is the culturally based world views that informed provider practice. Thus we summaries the findings of this research with a mind map of successful provision that emphasizes the culturally embedded practices from which success emanates. Figure 1, Te Tapuae o Rehua, expresses not only the dreams/aspirations of the providers and the community it also charts the steps taken to reach or fulfil those aspirations.

Figure 1: Te Tapuae o Rehua
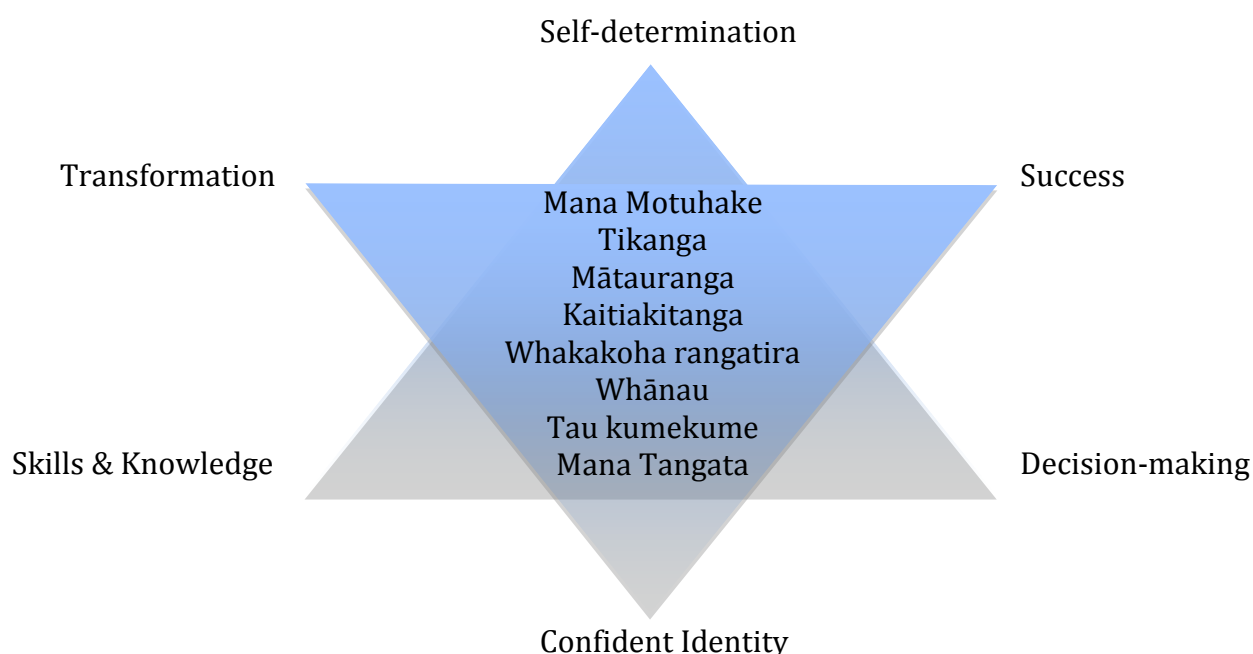
Te Tapuae o Rehua is literally translated as the footprint of the star Antares which is in the Scorpius constellation. The body of the star charts the seven interrelated ethical/philosophical principles that underpin the providers' culturally embedded programmes and practices. The principles also mirror the higher level aspirations that the providers consider are important for community development and well being. They also pertain to the young people in their service. The seven arms signify aspects of successful outcomes. All of them together embody the agency of rangatahi Māori and Pasifika youth. Confident young people who are firm in their cultural and work identities and who are armed with personal and work related skills and knowledge are better equipped to make successful decisions.

Mana Motuhake

Uniqueness (including cultural), integrity, aspirations, power and authority to be self determining.

The principle of mana motuhake is both aspirational and a way of being. The integrity of the organisation is based on their ethical practice. Successful PTEs provide culturally distinctive, educationally engaging programmes to young people, often in difficult circumstances. Confident young people who are firm in their cultural and work identities and who are armed with work related skills and knowledge are better equipped to make successful decisions, to be agentic. The PTEs consider that they know their young people and communities best and would like to see better resourcing and changes to auditing processes so that they can focus on what they were established to do and what they are good at.

Tikanga

Ethical protocols that guide what one does in culturally appropriate ways.

The PTEs operated according to their tikanga/ethical practice. The iwi providers practiced according to tikanga-a-iwi suffused with kaupapa Māori principles. Māori community PTEs identified strongly as kaupapa Māori organisations but worked with and acknowledged their local hapū and iwi. The Pasifika organisations operated according to Pasifika values and practices but also had input from their local iwi. For the young person, tikanga in the context of PTE provision is about guiding their learning and behaviour so that they are able to work within the rules and regulations of the service, but also to the requirements of employers.

Mātauranga

Knowledge and skills required for culturally relevant and successful provision.

To be successful the PTEs need to be knowledgeable and skilled in a number of areas. This means that they need to be competent knowledge holders across a range of areas such as traditional, subject matter related to course work, teaching and learning theory, human development, employment requirements, and policy and audit requirements. For young people to be successful as Māori, as Pasifika, as learners and as workers requires personal and work related knowledge and skills. Gaining appropriate knowledge and skills helps shape young people's identities as workers and successful learners. Many of the young people, given their experiences of education, resist learning or are hesitant about their ability to succeed. The providers worked to create scaffolded and systematic opportunities that built successful outcomes on little successes.

Kaitiakitanga

Guardianship and taking care of people and environments based on obligations and responsibilities.

The providers recognised that safe learning spaces where students felt they belonged were critical to successful learning. In these spaces the young people were holistically cared for and their pastoral and learning needs were met. Given that the PTEs' focus was to provide programmes and services to at risk young people this meant that the providers needed to be innovative and creative in what they did and how they did it. Beyond the young people, the PTEs were also concerned to facilitate community well being and development through their services.

Whakakoha rangatiratanga

Respectful relationships – the genuineness of thought and action in giving and receiving coupled with integrity and respectfulness.

A key aspect of successful PTEs are the relationships that they have with rangatahi, whānau, community, employers, and policy makers and auditors. Kanohi kitea was an important component of building and sustaining respectful relationships. The commitment the providers had to their students and the community arose out of the obligations and responsibilities that came with being connected and having a sense of belonging. This was made tangible through whakapapa or through the notion of whānau based on a community of shared interests. Respectful relationships are reciprocal relationships in which there are shared commitments and goals.

Whānau

Extended family relationships, responsibilities and obligations.

As a verb whānau is about practice and as a noun it is about identity. Whānau was important on both counts for the providers. The providers distinguished their provision from other PTEs by the way they positioned themselves as *being* whānau as opposed to incorporating whānau values into what they did. This set up a different dynamic to what they delivered and how they delivered it. Loyalty ties and the obligations, responsibilities and accountabilities that underpin whānau were part of their everyday thinking and practice. For many of the rangatahi the PTE was the place where they experienced affirming whānau for the first time. Much of what the Māori PTEs did was about the reclamation and reconnection of whānau in the lives of their young people by providing them a safe and positive place to stand.

Mana tangata

Uplifting the mana of people, valuing people. It can also be understood as aroha ki te tangata.

Underpinning the tikanga of all the providers is the way in which they valued and respected their young people, staff and people in the community. The PTEs had high expectations of their young people and created wrap around services to support their training. For many of the rangatahi who had histories of educational, social and cultural alienation reengaging them in learning and in structures that they had previously resisted takes time and aroha. The primary concern of the PTEs was about meeting the needs of their young people rather than the government outcomes they were required to meet.

Tau kumekume

Tensions, positive and negative, which are ever present in any kaupapa and relationship.

The barriers to provision that the PTEs experienced while challenging and took time and resources away from meeting the training and pastoral needs of their young people were also the impetus for their reflective practice and creative and innovative solutions and interventions. The providers, who themselves are marginalized within the TEO sector refuse to conform to standards and practices that do not fit their visions and practices. Their marginality opened up spaces from which they resisted and reclaimed culturally embedded provision that fulfilled individual and collective aspirations (Mansbridge, 2001).

Concluding remarks

The Māori and Pasifika PTEs who participated in this research are all successful providers. At the heart of their provision was the aroha and commitment they had for their young people and community. Whilst they themselves recognised that it was impossible to reach every young person that came through their doors, they nevertheless were committed to trying. Despite the challenges they face the providers remain resolute in the work that they do for and with their young people and communities.

In the asymmetries of power relations and the consequent asymmetries of advantage and disadvantage the PTEs can be considered mediating structures that stand between Māori and Pasifika communities and New Zealand society, in particular government policies and institutions. Not only do the PTEs mediate the outcomes of colonial processes by attending to the cultural, social and educational needs of their communities they also mediate the relationship between Māori and Pasifika training providers and the government agencies that are responsible for delivering to Māori. Thus they have a double focus of forward and backward thinking and action (Penetito, 2010). This is mirrored in the ways that they talked back to the government agencies and talked forward to reflect and uphold the aspirations of their young people and the communities in which they operated.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Interview Guide

Organisation
How would you describe your organisation and what you do?
- community, whānau, hapū or iwi
- Is location/place important to your provision
- Name of organisation, separate name of education arm/programme

Kind of service provided?
- Social, health, education,
- Mix of services
- Held on different sites

Mission statement/vision/kaupapa?
- Iwi, whānau ora, community

Philosophical, political orientation?
- Kaupapa Māori, ToW, tikanga a iwi, hapūtanga, holistic

Rangatahi
Target age group/s?
- 13-16
- 16-18
- 18-21
- How would you define your rangatahi – at risk, early school leavers, low/no credentials, in trouble with law, Māori, Pasifika?

How do young people get to hear about your programme?
- Referrals social welfare, schools, whānau
- Rels with school
- Advertising
- Website

Number of young people on courses?
- Steady numbers, fluctuating enrolments
- minimum – maximum numbers

Staff
- How many
- Who runs the programmes, who manages the contracts, is there a liaison person, counsellor, social worker etc
- Staff qualifications – formal/informal
- Formal requirement

Provision

What programmes are offered?
- NZQA registered?
- Funding?
- Where – on site, off?
- Why these programmes and not others?

Enrolment processes?
- Fees, no charge
- Interview process
- Contracts with young people – IEPs

Retention?
- Is retention an issue
- How do you ensure rangatahi complete programmes
- Set procedures/initiatives
- Include whānau

What is required to provide services?
- Resources (including funding)
- Community support
- Relationships – industry, tertiary providers, NZQA, MOE, MOH, MSD, MYA, schools, whānau. Community agencies
- Which relationships are important to foster and why
- Community & industry relationships – who initiated, how maintained, what are the benefits

What are the most important aspects of your work and why?

In your view what is successful about your provision, works well for you, for rangatahi Māori?
- Why
- What is the role of whānau in providing effective services, How does this work – is there someone whose job it is to work with whānau
- What about kaumātua, kuia
- What is the role of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga

What doesn't work well, needs improving?

What are the barriers you face to doing your work?

How do you ensure that what you do is effective?
- Internal evaluation programmes
- External auditing processes
- Employment opportunities for rangatahi

In your view what makes you a Māori/Pasifika provider?

What is your vision for rangatahi, for Māori, for society? What else would you like to say?

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Appendix 2

Table 3: The matrix of providers by location and services offered

Iwi	Community	Urban	Rural	Youth Training	TOPs	YTS	Alternative Education	Mentoring	Scholarship support	Health & Social Services
	Y	Y		Y	Y		Y			Y
	Y	Y						Y	Y	
	Y	Y				Y		Y		
	Y	Y		Y	Y		Y			Y
	Y					Y				
Y		Y		Y	Y					Y
Y			Y	Y	Y					Y
Y		Y		Y	Y					Y
	Y									
	Y	Y		Y	Y		Y			Y
	Y	Y		Y	Y					Y
	Y	Y		Y	Y					Y
	Y		Y	Y	Y		Y			Y

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