WHĀNAU, EDUCATION,

AND

MĀORI POTENTIAL

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Hinana ki Uta, Hinana ki Tai

The fifth Hui Taumata Mātauranga occurred almost exactly 150 years after an event that shaped New Zealand's future. In November 1856, at Pukawa on the banks of Lake Taupo, and on the invitation of Iwikau te Heuheu, 1600 tribal leaders gathered to discuss how they might address perceived threats to Māori survival.[1] At the meeting, to become known as '*Hinana ki Uta, Hinana ki Tai*' ('search the land, search the sea'), a major goal was to elect a King who might act as an authority and unite the tribes.[2] Over the preceding two years the possibility had been canvassed around the country but the office of king had not been a post that all leaders sought. There were concerns that the position could impose too many demands on iwi creating burdens for future generations and a further concern that the notion of a national leader, a king, was not compatible with the style of leadership based around tribal structures and tribal authority.

At the same time there was unanimity that in view of the radically changing times the establishment of a united Māori nation could bring advantages to all tribes and there was agreement that the search for a king should be thorough. But when eleven chiefs at the Hui were asked to accept the post, for various reasons they declined. Eventually, although Potatau te Wherowhero was not at Pukawa, he became the unanimous choice for King and finally agreed to be anointed in 1858. The Pukawa Hui had delivered a result.

Although the anointment of the King came at a time when there was growing Māori disquiet about the alienation of tribal lands and the loss of voice in decision making, the position of Māori king was not primarily a challenge to the authority of Queen Victoria. Instead it envisaged a high level of Māori authority to complement the authority of the Crown, and to cement a closer relationship with both parties under the protection of the same God. The King movement was also intended to stop inter-tribal fighting and to place all tribal lands under the King's authority.[3]

Meanwhile, although finding a king had been an important task for the 1856 Hui, a more fundamental goal at Pukawa was to bring leaders of the day together so they might reach agreement and stand together in the face of mounting alienation of tribal land and a progressive undermining of tribal leadership.[4]   As migration to New Zealand from England, Scotland and Australia escalated and Māori were soon to be outnumbered, it was clear to the leaders that the future would be dramatically different to the familiar past and a new approach was necessary. Rather than tribes competing with each other and acting more or less independently, the Pukawa meeting resolved that a collective approach to planning for the future was necessary.

Even though the goals shaped at Pukawa in 1856 were inspired by quite different threats from those operating in the twenty-first century, both goals – kingitanga and kotahitanga - remain high on Māori agendas in 2006. The wide level of support for Kingitanga for example was no more evident than at the death of Te Atairangikaahu and the anointment of her successor Tuheitia Paki in August 2006. Not only has Kingitanga survived into the twenty-first century but it has become a stronger force than it was during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and has emerged as a powerful national and international symbol of indigenous autonomy and determination to resist assimilation.

The second goal of Pukawa, kotahitanga, also remains important for Māori in 2006, though is less easily evaluated than Kingitanga. Kingitanga has a structural foundation and is imbued with a personality, so that its progress can be visibly tracked. Kotahitanga, however, defies ready measurement and is often more evident when it is absent than when it is present. However, the goal has been kept alive, not only through Kingitanga but also through a number of efforts that have emerged from time to time in order to counter fragmentation and divisiveness. Importantly, just as they did in 1856, Ngāti Tuwharetoa has played a significant role in creating platforms for kotahitanga. The National Māori Congress convened by Sir Hepi te Heuheu, and the Hui Taumata Mātauranga convened by Tumu te Heuheu have essentially been about the promotion of Māori accord. The Congress sought to promote consensus among tribes, the Hui Taumata Mātauranga have searched for Māori agreement on educational policy and the delivery of educational programmes.

The Pukawa Themes

Underlying the two broad goals of Pukawa – kingitanga and kotahitanga – it is possible to distinguish four themes: a united iwi front for Māori advancement, the participation of Iwi in the 'new' society, strategies for the retention of tribal economic resources, especially land, and the terms of Māori engagement with the Crown. Not only were the themes important to the economic and political climate in 1856 but they can be applied with equal relevance to the twenty-first century and to the five Hui Taumata Mātauranga held since 2001.

Table 1   The Pukawa Themes

Themes	A united Iwi front for Māori advancement	Iwi participation in society	Retention of tribal resources	Engagement with the Crown
Results	Agreed directions for Māori advancement under the aegis of a King	A strong Iwi voice in the economic and political life of the nation.	Cessation of land sales. Economic security	Terms of engagement between Māori and the Crown. A model based on equality.

The first theme, *a united Iwi front for Māori advancement*, recognised the advantages of collective agreement, a unified approach, and strengthened inter-tribal relationships. In 1856 negotiating a framework within which tribes might agree to co-operate and adopt a united stance must have required a major attitudinal shift and a readiness to set aside animosities and rivalries that had dominated interaction for centuries. Agreeing on a king was a significant indicator of consensus and an important step towards kotahitanga. But the land wars and other events prevented the Pukawa delegates from meeting again to examine the theme of consensus in greater detail. Nor were they able to establish a permanent forum for negotiating inter-tribal relationships. In its place the Māori King and Tainui carried the dual burden of Kingitanga and kotahitanga, at least until 1892 when Paremata Māori emerged.

Iwi participation in the 'new' society, the second theme, was a response to the introduction of settler economies, new laws, and limited tribal decision-making opportunities. Having previously acted in a more or less autonomous way, tribes now had to consider how they might best relate to a new environment, avoiding marginalisation, and instead having a degree of control over the development of the colony. A major shift in power relationships had occurred and the threat of being rendered poor and powerless was a matter of considerable concern. The question was, how best to position tribes so that participation in the economy and in society could be strong. This presented a serious challenge in 1856.

Strategies for the retention of tribal economic resources were a major discussion item at Pukawa in 1856. Alienation of land, coupled with the introduction of a cash economy, discouragement of subsistence living, and exclusion from political and financial decision-making added an element of urgency to the debates. Aware that tribal economic stability was under threat and Iwi were unable to stem the rate of change or halt the sale of lands, it was increasingly evident that unless Māori took proactive steps from a position of collective strength, erosion of tribal estates would continue unabated with dire economic consequences.

Engagement with the Crown, the fourth Pukawa theme, is based around a model of equality between Māori and the Crown. Recognising that they were losing control largely through a 'divide and rule' tactic, the tribes agreed on an approach that would be considerably more authoritative than if they engaged with the Crown on a tribe by tribe basis. A King would provide some comparability with the British Crown creating a more even relationship with equitable distribution of power. The aim at Pukawa was not to pursue a totally independent pathway or to retreat from colonial society, but to engage with the Government and the emerging settler society from the strength of a collective base and with a greater sense of purpose. The intention was to take back the initiative and to adopt a proactive stance rather than simply reacting to Crown proclamations. And underlying the theme was the determination that the Māori Crown relationship would be consistent with the preservation of Iwi integrity – a degree of autonomy, retention for Iwi estates, observation of Iwi custom and lore, and recognition of Iwi as indigenous peoples in Aotearoa.

Whānau and Education

The fifth Hui Taumata Mātauranga centred on the role of whānau in education. Discussions revolved around whānau contributions to Māori advancement through educational achievement, effective whānau engagement with schools, iwi strategies for education and whānau development, and trans-sectoral government policies that had impacts on whānau. Opportunities for educational gains were identified at several levels - effective schooling, iwi programmes, government policy, the wider economy. But the focus came to rest on the contributions that whānau might make, not only to educational achievement at school but also as agents of education in the broader sense of gaining knowledge and applying it to economic, social and cultural advancement.

It also became apparent that the themes canvassed at the Hui Taumata Mātauranga V were reminiscent of the discussions at Pukawa. They reflected Māori advancement (through education), Māori participation in society (and especially education), Iwi strategies for development and education, and Government policies (Table 2). But unlike the Pukawa discussions, where the focus was on tribes, the themes were applied to whānau and the key areas where whānau influence was especially relevant to education.

Table 2   The Pukawa Themes 1856 - 2006

	A united Iwi front for Māori advancement	Iwi participation in society	Retention of tribal resources	Engagement with the Crown
1856 Tribes	Agreed directions for Māori advancement under the aegis of a King	A strong Iwi voice in the economic and political life of the nation.	Cessation of land sales. Economic security.	The Crown-Māori relationship Terms of engagement with the state A model based on equality.
2006 Whānau	**Whānau contributions to Māori advancement through education:**	**Whānau engagement with education sector:**	**Iwi strategies for whānau development and educational gains:**	**Government policies for whānau across the sectors.**
	• promoting a culture of learning, • intergenerational transfers, • te ao Māori • access to the knowledge society • building positive relationships	• Whānau as learners • Whānau as advocates • Whānau partnerships with schools	• Strategic relationships with key agencies • Brokering on behalf of whānau • Facilitating whānau entry into te ao Māori.	• Educational policies to 'live as Māori and be citizens of the world' • Coherent policies across sectors • Integrated whānau interventions.

Whānau as contributors to Māori education

In 1856 tribal leaders were searching for ways in which they could collaborate with each other in order to bolster the Māori position. In modern times whānau also provide a basis for positive development and for promoting educational achievement. Whānau have a dual interest in education. Not only are they interested in outcomes for Māori learners, but they are themselves educators laying the foundations for a culture of learning. A primary whānau role is the transmission of culture, knowledge, values and skills. Intergenerational transfers encompassing cultural values and experiences, including associations with turangawaewae, are significant sources of identity and contribute to learning, development, and the realisation of potential.[5] While educational institutions have been major contributors to the revitalisation of te reo Māori and Māori culture, the shaping of language, values, and cultural world views is a fundamental whānau function. The fact that it is not always well executed does not reduce the expectation that whānau will be the primary carriers of culture, whānau knowledge, human values and life skills and in that sense will themselves exercise an important educational role. Even when they live in different parts of the country, whānau are still able to maintain meaningful relationships, increasingly with the aid of modern communication technologies.[6]

Constructive relationships between parents and children and with grandparents, siblings, uncles and aunts, cousins are important determinants of successful learning, and lay the foundations for positive relationships in later life. There is some evidence, however, that whānau relationships are often stressed to the point of abuse or neglect[7] and there is further evidence that relationships between teachers and students[8] and between parents and teachers, are often an impediment to good educational outcomes. Whānaungatanga, building relationships is a critical whānau function that contributes to human potential and to successful engagement outside the whānau.

The depletion of tribal land holdings and an increase in the size of the Māori population has meant that the Māori economy can no longer depend on a physical resource base. Instead there is an increasing recognition that a knowledge-based economy will be important to Māori and whānau will be significant points of access.

'Indigenising' entrepreneurship from a whānau base and greater whānau participation in the economy were each recommended at the Hui Taumata 2005.[9]

For many whānau the shift towards a knowledge-based economy has been rewarding. Māori have the third highest rate of early-stage entrepreneurial activity compared to 35 other countries and there are some 56,000 Māori entrepreneurs amongst the 444,000 entrepreneurs in New Zealand.[10] Whānau entry into small and medium sized businesses has also attracted attention. Collective whānau resources provide a significant catalyst for business success but business expertise and leadership are equally important ingredients.[11] In that respect opportunities for training and retraining remain critically important to whānau.

Whānau engagement with the education sector

Whānau engagement with the education sector has several dimensions, not always centred on a school or designed to support a school. Three levels of engagement can be identified:

- whānau as learners,
- whānau as advocates for education,
- whānau educational partnerships.

Whānau as Learners

Entry into the knowledge economy requires provision of learning opportunities that are accessible to whānau. Although Māori participation in tertiary education is now at a high level, many whānau members have not previously been part of a knowledge society. 'Literacy Aotearoa' has therefore been important for large numbers of adult Māori, providing a first step towards greater literary and numeracy competence. Many whānau were introduced to new learning when their children entered Kohanga Reo and in that respect Kohanga have acted as catalysts for whānau learning with benefits that extend well beyond a focus on the child. Wānanga have also provided important opportunities for parents and grandparents to embark on journeys of learning. Unrewarding experiences in secondary school, and a lack of opportunity for tertiary education often confined whānau to occupations that depended on manual labour or seasonal work. The focus of wānanga on 'second chance' learning,

however, has significantly expanded many Māori horizons. In 2004 almost a quarter of Māori adults (23%) were involved in formal tertiary education, many at wānanga, and most at levels one to three (equivalent to senior secondary school) where the average age was over 25 years.[12]

An important consideration for Māori adult learners has been choice as to provider and mode of learning. Distance education has also enabled mature Māori learners to undertake serious study while working, often in areas that are remote from universities or polytechnics. Apart from wānanga, polytechnics, and universities, Māori have also been learners in private training establishments (PTEs). Although the overall number of learners attending PTEs has declined, largely as a result of government policy to limit PTE enrolments, PTEs remain a significant portal to tertiary education for Māori and Māori participation has been relatively steady since 1998. In 2003 there were 122 private training establishments identifying as Māori providers with 3,683 students, accounting for 30 percent of the total number of Māori students enrolled in PTEs.[13]

Whānau as Advocates for Education

The National Education Goals 2000 appear to have been successful in ensuring that schools consult widely with Māori communities.[14] The consultation has led to greater whānau involvement in surveys about student needs and learning experiences, whānau support groups, parent-teacher meetings, and contact with whānau for school cultural events.

Whānau are also keen that their children should have a range of options for schooling. Māori medium learning has become an important option and 16% of all Māori school children were enrolled in kaupapa Māori schooling in 2005, most in bilingual classes (34%) but also in immersion schools – Kura Kaupapa Māori (24%) (including designated character schools).[15] Enrolment in Correspondence School is a further option for many Māori. More Māori learners are enrolled at Correspondence School than at any other single school in New Zealand. In 2005 over 26% of all learners at Correspondence School were Māori, accounting for some 1700 students. Reasons for the Correspondence option include lack of access to local schools, greater subject choice, and an education programme that matches parental aspirations.

Often, being able to enrol in more than one school at the same time has been important to parents. It has enabled their children to pursue customised programmes especially where one school has not been able to meet all requirements. The trend is likely to increase in the future.[16]

Whānau Educational Partnerships

Motivation for learning comes from both internal and external sources. But allowing whānau and students to have a sense of ownership and control over 'what is learned, how it is learned and when it is learned'[17] has been shown to be a powerful motivating factor that transforms 'schooling as an obligatory activity' to 'schooling as a sought after opportunity'. A customised pathway provides scope to include services beyond the traditional academic and identify solutions that allow all students to grow into confident adults. Co-construction is at the heart of customised learning. Whānau, student and teacher work together to develop a personalised programme of learning where the teacher's experience and knowledge combines with the goals and aspirations of whānau and student to create pathways for achievement.[18]

Individual Education Plans[19] have already been introduced in some schools including Ngā Taiatea Wharekura in Hamilton, and have a longer history for students with special needs. Sometimes, however, Individual Educations Plans, where they are currently in use, are limited in that they are designed around a narrow curriculum choice and must be applied within a constrained framework. Customised Learning Pathways envisage a more fundamental approach to individualised learning.

For many whānau contact with school only occurs when there is a crisis or a problem, or funds to raise or a hāngi to prepare. Parents are often placed in a defensive position which all too often leads to a deteriorating relationship with school. The crisis approach to whānau involvement is not one that will induce a sense of whānau enthusiasm for learning or for education. While it is important that parents are kept informed of difficulties, it is more important that parents are also able to work with schools to identify potential and then to jointly construct pathways that will enable promise to be realised.

Underlying the relationship between whānau and school should be the interests of the student. All students should be able to expect that the learning process will recognise their unique potential and play a constructive part in preparing them for the years ahead. *Students First* is about placing the goals aspirations and context of each student at the centre of delivery, whānau and teachers working together to build a system around their futures, and expecting that they will succeed.[20]

Iwi Contributions to Whānau and to Education

Many Iwi have developed educational plans and some have whānau development plans. Although whānau plans have often revolved around the delivery of services such as health services, there has also been considerable interest in creating programmes of learning for whānau members to encourage return to work or entry into a knowledge society. Three broad types of Iwi contribution to education and whānau can be recognised. An important one has been the establishment of strategic relationships with school, educational agencies such as NZQA, and local authorities. As agents for whānau and parents, Iwi are in a position to provide advice, contribute to planning, and monitor progress, and to promote the inclusion of learning opportunities that will contribute to the wider goals of tribes and Māori communities. Formal partnerships between Iwi and the Ministry of Education have allowed Iwi to take up innovative roles to support Māori learners: mentoring and tutoring, programmes to reduce truancy, social support to learners and their families.

A second educational contribution is more directly linked to the interests of whānau. Some iwi have established wānanga where parents and other whānau members can participate in learning programmes that will improve chances of full participation in the knowledge society. Programmes in communication and information technology, management, health promotion, tribal history and tribal research (often is association with a Treaty of Waitangi claim) for example have provided whānau with opportunities to engage in learning and in the process to seed a culture of learning for whānau members. Other iwi have seen their role more as a broker of educational services rather than providers, and have used relationships with a range of providers to encourage whānau participation in private training establishments, wānanga, polytechnics and universities.

However, a more universal Iwi experience has been the promotion of whānau entry into te ao Māori. Iwi efforts to revitalise te reo Māori and tikanga Māori have placed emphasis on marae hui, creating accessible learning opportunities for whānau. Although not all whānau have direct access to marae, or sufficiently strong iwi links to participate in iwi activities, nonetheless the influence of iwi on marae development and the promotion of te reo Māori, including through the medium of iwi radio and television, has been highly significant as a vehicle for learning and whānau educational gains.

Government Policies for Māori education and for positive whānau development
Across its several agencies the Government is in a position to develop strategies that will facilitate Māori success in education. There has been general acceptance of the recommendation from the first Hui Taumata Mātauranga that Māori learners should be able to 'live as Māori and be citizens of the world' and that schools and the curriculum should play a key role in that process. However, there is not always clarity about the significance of indigeneity – being indigenous – in educational policy, and how indigeneity differs from ethnicity. While ethnicity and cultural diversity are important to New Zealand society, and with demographic change are likely to become even more significant, indigeneity is not primarily about ethnic identity or cultural difference but about the position of Māori as an indigenous people. A practice in New Zealand, at least since 1984, has been to address the indigenous dimension by reference to the Treaty of Waitangi, both in legislation and in policy. Were references to the Treaty to be removed, other mechanisms for addressing Indigeneity would need to be introduced, unless it was concluded that being indigenous did not warrant any particular consideration. But discounting indigeneity or disputing the validity of Māori as indigenous New Zealanders would run counter to the evolving New Zealand tradition and would certainly fly in the face of emerging world opinion about the position of indigenous peoples.

Within the education sector there are a number of government agencies, all of which have developed Māori strategies though not necessarily from the same basis or intended to provide pathways that are in agreement with each other and easy for whānau to navigate. An overarching education policy that can provide a higher level

of integration and a consistent approach to all phases of education would benefit whānau and Māori learners and add value to the efforts of Government.

Similarly, although the education sector has a lead role in formal learning, education has a broader context that embraces many sectors and government agencies. The impacts of policy on whānau are obvious when there is a family focussed policy but all policies have the potential to affect whānau and perverse policy effects are not unknown. In considering whānau contributions to education, the importance of a cross-sectoral approach is especially significant. The Families Commission has investigated the possibility of a model of Family Impact Assessment that can be applied to all polices, including those that at first glance have little to do with families.[21]

At a community level a number of agencies from a range of sectors are often involved in whānau interventions but in a fragmented way. Health workers, well-child care workers, educational agencies, truancy officers, employment agencies and services for children and young people focus on particular objectives and interact with whānau to advance those goals. However, whānau do not live their lives in sectors and the uncoordinated approach from a variety of workers may ultimately bring more confusion than light. Government proposals for *Strong Connected Families*, including the *Early Years* project will provide integrated health, education, and social services for families in need. By adopting an inter-sectoral strategy programmes such as Strengthening Families are designed to create a consistent and coherent approach - but they tend to be the exception rather than the rule. The development of an integrated framework for whānau interventions and whānau policy is a priority for the Families Commission. Too often there is fragmentation of effort and a consequent risk of duplication or a failure to hone in on a major issue. Despite a variety of workers, each interested in a particular problem, the underlying whānau dynamics may be entirely overlooked. Nor should it be assumed that statutory agencies are necessarily the best to lead whānau interventions. Community groups with a proven track record in interacting with whānau may be more appropriate and more effective.

To overcome some of these difficulties, Te Puni Kokiri has recommended a 'Māori potential approach' as a basis for Māori policy and development. The 'potential

approach' encompasses wellbeing, knowledge, influence and resources and the desired outcome is one where Māori succeed as Māori. Built on the complementary pillars of rawa (wealth), Mātauranga (knowledge) and whakamana (autonomy and control), the focus is away from deficit and failure towards success and achievement. Whānau development has been identified as a Ministry priority for implementing the Māori potential approach.[22]

Whānau and Education as Keys to Māori Potential

Māori futures are certainly linked to the notion of potential and especially to the potential within all Māori children and young people. Findings from neuro-science suggest that potential is shaped quite early in life, probably before five years[23] and in this respect whānau and education hold the key to Māori potential. Although many factors influence outcomes, whānau have the power to unleash or alternately diminish potential. Unleashing potential does not necessarily mean having all the insights and knowledge to realise latent strengths but it does mean recognising inherent talents and skills and taking steps to launch a journey where they can find full expression.

Most parents are alert to potential in their children often to the point of exaggerating capability. But even allowing for over-estimates, Māori educational progress over the past two decades has been transformative. High participation rates in early childhood education and tertiary education suggest a new enthusiasm for learning while a parallel shift towards Māori medium education has resulted in new generations of Māori speakers who are competent in two languages to an extent that would have been difficult to predict even a decade ago. Rising standards of oratory at the Manu Kōrero competitions and brilliance in sport, music, commerce, and the professions such as law and medicine, as well as a rapidly increasing cohort of Māori who enter doctorate programmes,[24] are indicators that Māori potential is being realised in a number of areas.

But the greater challenge facing whānau is to unleash the potential of all Māori children. In 2004 a little over a half (58%) of Māori in year 11 met both literacy and numeracy requirements for an NCEA level one, while fewer than half of all Māori students in years 11 and 12 gained a level one or level two NCEA qualification and only 12% of Māori school leavers had a qualification that allowed them to attend

university. Further, although Māori participation in the tertiary sector is high, it is largely concentrated in sub-degree programmes and too many Māori learners experience unsatisfactory outcomes. While overall retention and completion rates for Māori are higher than for non-Māori in qualifications below degree level, they are lower for undergraduate degrees and postgraduate qualifications.[25] Currently completion rates (i.e the proportion of students who complete a qualification within a five year period) are less than 50 percent for all qualifications including levels 7, 8, 9, 10. For levels one and two trainees in ITOs, completion rates are around thirty percent; and at level four are now closer to 40 percent.[26]

A failure to realise potential is also evident in the prevalence of poor health within some whānau. Relatively high levels of cigarette smoking, obesity, and youth suicide for example preclude the realisation of potential.[27] In addition Māori potential is greatly diminished by whānau abuse and violence, road casualties, and criminal victimisation.[28]

Whānau Transitions: Converting Unrealised Potential to Potential Realised
A major focus at the Hui Taumata Mātauranga V was on the realisation of Māori potential and the conversion of unrealised potential to potential realised. Despite the pockets of brilliance, the level of unrealised potential remains sufficiently high to leave little room for complacency.

The Hui identified four broad strategies for addressing unrealised potential:
- changing perceptions & attitudes to whānau and Māori learners
- normalising success
- expanding options for schooling
- reconfiguring policies and programmes for whānau education

Attitudinal shifts: From Deficit to Potential
Although the pathways to success are complex with multi-determinants, there is empirical evidence that student achievement is very often a product of the attitudes of others – parents, teachers, whānau, peers – and self expectation. It is also apparent that expectations for Māori learners are not always high and in some situations are

greatly diminished. The stereotypic low-achieving Māori student becomes a self fulfilling prophecy, compounded by policies that place greater emphasis on access to education rather than excellence in education, and policies that target Māori because they are 'at risk' rather than because they have potential.

A deficit model assumes that Māori are problematic and energies should be focused on uncovering problems, or making a diagnosis, or identifying areas where family dysfunction blocks progress. Moreover, the preoccupation with disparities and comparisons between Māori and non-Māori, as if that were the most significant indicator of progress, creates a distorted picture of actual progress and assumes that the non-Māori benchmark captures whānau aspirations.

Reversing entrenched attitudes will be no mean task. Often potential may be so heavily masked by defiant behaviour or negative attitudes that both teachers and parents never catch any glimpse of latent potential. Similarly a tendency to focus on problematic behaviour rather than potential is often mirrored by agencies who are involved in supporting whānau. While many whānau interventions are concerned with the identification of problems such as learning difficulties, conduct disorders, truancy and obesity, few agencies or workers focus on the detection of potential.

Ignoring problems as if they did not exist is not a sensible answer but balancing problem detection and problem solving with equal weighting on identifying promise and potential could create another level of engagement that leads to longer term positive outcomes. In other words solving the problem may only be a first step in encouraging the realisation of potential. The challenge for whānau, schools, and for those who provide whānau support is to shift from a paradigm of deficit and risk, to one of potential and discovery.

Normalising Success
For many whānau success, especially educational success, is sufficiently exceptional to warrant celebration even for quite small accomplishments. Celebrating success, no matter how great, is always worthwhile but success should become less and less the exception and more and more the whānau norm. Success is sometimes measured by entry into an educational system – participation being seen as a sign of

accomplishment. However, while participation has been an important step towards the realisation of potential, it is not itself an endpoint. Instead, successful completion should be the goal, and the reason to celebrate.

Whānau and schools need to work together to improve Māori educational outcomes at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. Moreover, success should be benchmarked against high achievement rather than merely satisfying minimal requirements. 'Centres of excellence' where potential in academic accomplishment or sport or music or art, might well be considered as part of the educational landscape for Māori learners, providing additional options and increasing delivery options to maximise opportunities for success.

Extended Options for Schooling

Māori educational success has been bolstered by increasing the options available for schooling and aligning options with Māori aspirations. Most whānau access local primary and secondary schools, not necessarily because they provide the best option, but because they are the only option. For many students, the result is satisfactory but for many others a 'one size fits all' approach fails to meet particular needs or to assist whānau meet their own goals.

Māori medium schooling including Kura Kaupapa, whare kura and bilingual classes have become embedded in the Māori educational landscape, and long standing alternatives such as the Paerangi cluster of integrated Māori boarding schools offer another environment. Niche learning communities that can accommodate curricular and extra-curricular interests together with flexible school hours have been usefully applied in some areas. The Tu Toa Trust for example offers a supervised distance education programme (through the Correspondence School) for a limited number of students who are involved in high level sport.

An important task for whānau is to match aspirations, skills and potential with the learning environment that will unleash potential. Distance education may be a more viable option for students who do not adjust well to regimented programmes, or who for one reason or another cannot attend regular classes; and there is largely unexplored opportunities in e-learning for Māori learners.

Reconfiguring Whānau Policies and Programmes

All policies impact on whānau and families, some more directly than others. Often, as already noted, whānau impacts are disadvantageous and emerge as unexpected consequences. But if, as the Families Commission maintains, whānau and families are the foundations of New Zealand society, then it goes without saying that all policies should determine the possible impacts on families. Taking whānau into account not only requires as assessment of household impacts but also the impacts on the educational outcomes of family members – young and old - health outcomes, environmental outcomes and outcomes related to full whānau participation in society.

Part of whānau policy assessment also includes a consideration of the way whānau participate in te ao Māori, Māori society. Will a policy facilitate or diminish Māori language use by whānau? Will whānau access to customary resources such as Māori land be eased or impeded? Will whānau choice as to schooling be constrained or expanded? Will whānau aspirations for future generations be seriously entertained or glossed over? The fact that there is no reliable whānau assessment tool that can be reliably applied to all policies, is insufficient reason not to examine all polices for their likely impacts on whānau.

Policies that have direct applicability to whānau should also be consistent with each other. Whānau do not lead their lives in sectorised silos but as dynamic units where health, education, employment, recreation and leisure are intertwined. Policy coherence within sectors, especially within the education sector, and between sectors is of major importance. So too is coherence in the delivery of whānau services. Several case studies have shown that multiple agencies are often involved with a single whānau but in a fragmented way so that a piecemeal approach emerges and the main point may be lost. An integrated framework for whānau intervention at community levels is needed and the most appropriate agency for leading the intervention requires more consideration.

A specific focus on whānau development will be a useful way of addressing the needs of Māori children in the future.[29] It will need to include opportunities for growing expertise in whānau relationship building, effective parenting of Māori children, and

providing clear pathways for young children who can benefit from preventative programmes. Within this approach there is a place for increasing the skills of kohanga reo teachers, teachers at primary schools including kura kaupapa Māori, and professional and community Māori health workers. Implicit is a shift away from training a workforce to address specific disorders or problems such as truancy, and focussing instead on skills needed to address the developmental needs of whānau.

Effective whānau-centred interventions will require a re-think about the way services are funded and measured, greater co-ordination between providers so that duplication and confusion are avoided, and the systematic development of educational and training programmes to prepare whānau practitioners from a variety of backgrounds for improving whānau outcomes. Māori agencies, whether urban authorities or runanga-ā-iwi have major roles to play in developing whānau relevant intervention methodologies that can traverse sectoral interests and address whānau potential.

Unleashing Māori Potential

The Hui Taumata Mātauranga V has demonstrated that many factors determine the realisation of Māori potential. It is possible to group the determinants into those which operate from a distance (long distance factors that provide context), factors that are more obviously related to whānau wellbeing but not in a direct one to one way (medium distance factors) and factors that have immediacy for whānau (short distance factors).

Among the long distance factors, demographic change will be a significant determinant. Over the next three or more decades there will be an increasing Māori population relative to other populations, an ageing population, and an ethnically diverse population. Similarly macro-economic trends, trends for the Māori economy, and global economic trends will ultimately impact on whānau. And new technologies along with new patterns of work and leisure will have some influence on whānau though what that influence will be is not yet clear.

Medium distance factors are related to the policy environment – policies that will affect the way whānau participate in education and in the economy, and policies that will determine how whānau might participate in te ao Māori.

Short distance factors are those that have immediacy for whānau and the Hui Taumata Mātauranga focussed on the intersection between whānau and education.

The whānau education interface provides a site where Māori potential might be advanced in a direct and meaningful way. Where whānau and school can share positive attitudes, aspirations and expectations for students, success will be more likely. Parental involvement in schools can occur at many levels but it is especially important at the level of educational planning. The co-construction of an educational plan involving parents, student and teacher will make it possible to customise learning in a way that matches whānau aspirations and student potential. It will also indicate whether learning needs can be met in a single situation or whether the student's interests might best be served by enrolling in another centre of learning if only for a particular subject. The other centre of learning might well be web-based, though could equally be on a marae or through distance learning.

The realisation of Māori potential then, depends on multiple pathways and is influenced by a range of variables, some acting at a distance, others more direct, some linked to te ao Māori others to te ao whānui – wider society. But the most immediate factors revolve around whānau and education and the interface between family and school. The ways in which the two institutions – whānau and school – relate to each other will have a profound effect on Māori potential.

If there is a single conclusion to the Hui Taumata Mātauranga V it is that Māori potential in the future will be strongly influenced by relationships – relationships between Māori and the Crown, between Iwi and the state; relationships within whānau, between whānau and schools, and between whānau and wider society. Whānau relationships are three dimensional insofar as different generations carry messages about the past, the present and the future. Whānau provide continuity with the past but must also grapple with the present and at the same time anticipate the future. And, importantly, through a series of extended relationships whānau are gateways to education, the economy, society, and Māori potential.

This is not new. In 1856 the Pukawa debate was along similar lines. It was essentially about building consensus, strengthening relationships, providing continuity with the past, and creating new approaches to anticipate the future.

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