

Cultural identity transforming work-related learning

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Work-related learning (WRL) and employability programmes seek to provide an effective means of testing and applying knowledge gained through academic studies within the workplace. Proponents have argued that WRL provides an opportunity for individuals to learn about the work environment and the relationship between work and future career aspirations. This study, situated in New Zealand, sought to determine whether WRL was an effective way of guiding both career decisions and improving educational outcomes among a group of 16 Māori students. Findings suggest that while Māori students develop career opportunities and awareness through WRL experiences, it is the context that allows Māori to express themselves as Māori that provides an equally, if not more meaningful experience.

Keywords: Work-related learning (WRL), Māori, cultural identity, career development, learning, tertiary education

Tertiary education in New Zealand equips students with the knowledge and skills to be successful in the workplace and life (Ministry of Education, 2019). It enables students to obtain skilled employment and higher incomes, while developing responsiveness to change and innovation. Yet, little attention has been given to exploring employability skills gained while in tertiary education from the perspective of New Zealand's cultural Māori people. While educational participation and completion rates for Māori have been improving over recent years, Māori are still less likely to study at the bachelor degree level and less likely to see their degree through to qualification (Education Counts, 2020; Theodore et al. 2017). Providing support and opportunities for Māori students to develop career-oriented pathways within the tertiary sector may go some way in improving these educational outcomes. For example, the integration of career development learning initiatives within curricula which reflects Māori lived realities and is centred around Māori pedagogical approaches. This study was seeking to determine the ways in which work-related learning (WRL) activities support educational outcomes for Māori, and how WRL programmes could be better developed to support Māori students.

The New Zealand Government is providing strategic priorities to guide collaboration between industry and employers to ensure learners have the skills, knowledge and pathways to succeed in employment post-graduation (Ministry of Education, 2019). This has provided opportunity within the tertiary sector to develop work-oriented programmes that facilitate the transition from the tertiary sector to the world of work. Given the sharpened focus on the post-graduation journey, education providers have developed a range of activities that expose students to workplace settings. These activities have involved industry partners in the development of the employability of the institute's students. Programmes have aimed to develop the skills, understandings and personal attributes that make "graduates more likely to gain employment and be successful in their chosen occupations" (Yorke, 2006, p. 10).

Institutional practices that support employment outcomes following graduation are factors that have come under increased scrutiny by potential students and their families in their selection of tertiary institute (Farenga & Quinlan, 2016; Ministry of Business, Education and Employment, 2019; Ministry

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of Education, 2014; Palmer et al., 2018). Such is the focus, that employment outcomes are now being measured within university ranking systems, reflecting the increasingly competitive market for students, both nationally and globally.

WRL is an approach for developing the knowledge, skills, and work practices across a range of learning experiences (Department of Education and Skills, 2006 as cited in Fergusson & van der Laan, 2020). It includes the acquisition of knowledge through self-directed learning experiences, through exposure to the workplace, and through exposure to those working within their respective organisations. WRL involves those who support learning about ourselves in a work-based context, with an additional focus on identity development (Dirkx, 2013). This may involve personal exploration of where and how work fits into the broader context of our life, that is, social and cultural contexts.

By comparison, work-integrated Learning (WIL) encapsulates a myriad of experiences designed to engage students in a work-based context to enhance development and employability. WIL includes work placements and non-placement models as part of the education provider's curriculum and may, therefore, be seen as overlapping with WRL".

This study has drawn on career development and guidance literature to further understand the student experience of WRL. Savickas (2011) contends that individuals construct their career and life by weaving themes from their past, present, and future life stories, to pattern a career identity. Career identity and decisions are, therefore, shaped and influenced by life experiences, personal values, and beliefs. While WRL also accepts identity construction and personal meaning of work for individuals (Filliettaz, 2013), career literature places these as central to epistemological and ontological approaches.

Sultana (2020) has questioned universalist approaches in career guidance and suggests that a focus on localisms is more likely to "reflect reality and meaning as perceived, experienced and constructed by particular groups" (Sultana, 2020, p. 4). He argues that career guidance has historically been Eurocentric with limited attention to people from non-dominant groups, including Indigenous communities. The work of Sultana (2020) appears to support definitions of WRL, with a sharpened focus on the importance of context designed specifically to support diverse and contrasting learning encounters and experiences (Filliettaz, 2013). WRL activities are highly contextualised and based on the types of learning outcomes that are sought. While there has been some attention to Māori in WRL, these have tended to focus on apprenticeships and industry traineeships (Chan, 2011; Kerehoma et al., 2013). The significance of mentoring within the workplace for learning development and pastoral care, particularly in their support of Māori learners has also drawn the attention of researchers (Kerehoma et al., 2013; Savage, 2016; Theodore et al., 2017). However, there remains a need for developing and evaluating WRL activities for Māori within the tertiary sector.

One agreed strategy for increased participation by Māori in higher education is the recognition of cultural identity as a catalyst for successful learning (Durie, 2011; Māori Tertiary Reference Group, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2014). Some tertiary institutes have established WRL programmes with connections to cultural identity, and culturally grounded notions of success in an attempt to build on indigenous student outcomes. Research with Canadian Aboriginal students found it was important for students to develop strong relationships with faculty staff and engage with culturally relevant curriculum (Archibald & La Rochelle, 2017). In the Australian context, Andersen et al. (2008) advocate for dedicated staff to support Indigenous students culturally and academically throughout their journey in higher education. In the New Zealand context, Theodore et al. (2017) and Gorinski & Fraser (2006) have identified barriers and facilitators to tertiary success. As WRL experiences are offered

towards the final year of a degree programme, such experiences may be seen as influential to completion rates and provide opportunities for tertiary institutes to further improve Māori educational outcomes.

Although support for WRL has grown within the labour market and tertiary sector, very little is known about what drives individuals or family groups to support these initiatives. While the development of WRL programmes has grown at pace, there is less known about the types of activities that may positively influence Māori employment outcomes. Frameworks developed within a kaupapa Māori (those that assert a position that to be Māori is taken for granted) approach go some way to supporting Māori learners in a tertiary context, but there remains more to be done to ensure the Māori student voice is heard (Apanui & Kirikiri, 2015). Understanding Māori perspectives will improve the capability of programmes and encourage Māori potential by providing evidence of pathways that demonstrate uniquely Māori attributes, values and self-efficacy. Due to the lack of literature around Indigenous student participation in career development learning activities and WRL, there is a need to connect the development of cultural identity with the development of career identity from an Indigenous, in this case Māori, perspective.

MĀORI IDENTITIES

Māori identities are complex and attempts to understand identity have posed significant and ongoing challenges for researchers (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; Kukutai, 2004; McIntosh, 2005). Walker (1989) and Durie (1994) have long advocated for a Māori identity that could be defined more broadly to emphasize self-identification, diverse realities and the changing contexts in which Māori live. Similarly, some 20 years on, Houkamau and Sibley (2010) support the claim that broader socio-historical contexts are central to Māori identity and need to be understood if we are to fully appreciate what it means to be Māori, beyond a tendency to apply rigid labels to identity.

As already noted, Durie (1994) proclaimed the heterogeneity of Māori identities and laid the groundwork for subsequent theorizing around the challenges of understanding the lived experiences of Māori. Other frameworks have been developed according to characteristics of Māori identity and experiences (Williams, 2000), which centred on a positive expression of cultural identity and access to Te Ao Māori (the Māori world). Similarly, McIntosh (2005) described contemporary Māori identities such as fluid and forced identities. She contends that while traditional and perhaps more overt markers of Māori identity still exist, there are meaning and practices of identity in everyday life which continue to assert the diversity of Māori. The work of Houkamau (2006) also bears similarities to the work of Durie, Williams, and McIntosh. She describes three groups which conceptualised Māori identity. The groups were the Encultured/Protected; Detached/Bicultural and Renaissance Māori, derived from the subjective and dynamic experiences of a group of Māori women. The research of Māori scholars has established identity as a co-construction of self and a social context and is a lifelong process of continuous changes, adaptations and negotiations.

In this study all participants described themselves as Māori and reported diverse experiences of being Māori. The study was not focused on measuring or testing Māori identity but instead on exploring the subjective experience of 'being Māori'.

RESEARCH CONTEXT

Consultation for the project was developed within a larger body of Māori and Pasifika researchers working at the University of Auckland as part of a year-long research programme, examining the

teaching practices with Māori and Pasifika students in higher education. This programme provided the context in which the study developed and provided opportunity to consult on aspects of the research process to ensure the research was culturally resonant with Māori and Pasifika communities. It was agreed that this research would focus solely on Māori students. This research uses a kaupapa Māori approach to privilege Māori knowledge, voices, experiences and reflections, and seeks to transform the lives of Māori (Bishop, 1996). The study is related to being Māori, is connected to Māori philosophy and principles, and is concerned with Māori self-determination (Smith, 2012). Both researchers are Māori and have worked professionally with Māori in developing career identity, and consequently bring an understanding of the theoretical underpinnings of career development learning. The shared experience of being Māori allowed the researchers to identify socially constructed experiences related to employment decisions.

Participants were recruited through the University's careers service which records attendance data at WRL events. Information sheets were distributed by email from the Māori and Pacific Careers Advisors to those who had participated in some form of Māori-specific WRL activity. The WRL experiences were created or facilitated by the University's Careers Services with the aim of exposing students from all disciplines to the work environment in a context where Māori values were expressed and practiced. Potential participants were invited to contact the researchers should they wish to participate in the research. A total of 16 agreed to participate, and self-identified as Māori. Participants were at varied stages of their tertiary education, including both undergraduate and postgraduate students, and four were recent graduates and in paid employment. The cohort comprised four men and 12 women, and all were living in Auckland at the time of the interviews.

Using a kaupapa Māori approach, the researchers conducted *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi kōrero* (face-to-face conversation) with participants. Out of respect for the *mana* (personal authority) of participants, all were given a choice as to how they wished to be interviewed. As a result, a paired interview, a group interview with four participants, and ten individual interviews were held. Māori protocols guided the interviews in ways that acknowledged *tangata whenua* (the Indigenous People) and Māori ways of being. Before beginning each interview, a *mihi whakatau* (informal Māori introduction) was held to welcome participants, to introduce researchers, and share the purpose of the research. Researchers provided opportunities for *whakawhanaungatanga* (creating connections) at the beginning of each *kōrero*, and informally over *kai* (sharing food).

The researchers began each *kōrero* by asking participants why they had decided to attend University. Further questions focused on their experiences of WRL activities and whether Māori-specific WRL activities and contexts had proved beneficial for them. Participants then shared how these experiences informed their tertiary study and aspirations. Prompts and clarifying questions were also used to ensure that participants were able to expand on their individual experiences. The interviews moved forward when participants felt they had covered everything they thought relevant. Interviews lasted up to one hour, and the paired interview and group interview, up to an hour and a half. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed and did not include non-verbal input such as physical gestures or pauses.

The process started with listening to the interviews and reading the transcripts to gain an overall impression of the data. General impressions were discussed before the researchers then independently coded and organised the data into linked themes and ideas. The following phase involved repeated *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi* discussion of the codes and themes and whether these addressed our initial research questions. These discussions also allowed us to share our own experiences as Māori and to

draw from our topic knowledge to collectively identify the most significant codes and themes. The transcripts were subsequently reviewed in light of the agreed themes. These were interrogated on multiple occasions through the final phase of analysis with the purpose of confirming or rejecting the original interpretation.

The focus of this research was to better understand why Māori students chose to participate in WRL events and activities, and how these experiences may have supported their career awareness, pathways, and opportunities. Furthermore, WRL events designed for Māori students were a focus, and participants were asked to comment on their perspective of these events. These experiences have informed, enabled, challenged and affirmed an evolving and developing narrative of being Māori in work and in higher education.

Ethical approval was granted by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee in March of 2018 (UAHPEC-020218).

FINDINGS

Our findings indicate WRL events provided pathways and a context to develop and construct a career identity.

Benefits of Participating in Work-Related Learning

Support networks within the tertiary environment at both the individual and faculty level were integral to the success of some students, who may have missed opportunities without encouragement. Participants described the support and encouragement they received from lecturers, careers and faculty staff at the University. One participant described the positive influence of a lecturer:

we developed quite a good relationship and she [lecturer] really encouraged me to apply for several different things, but not only that she also was really helpful in developing the way that I apply to applications and just the confidence in general. (L)

Another participant described support from University careers staff:

from the very beginning of university, I met [careers staff member named] and he pushed me to go to all events, mainly the networking ones and from the very beginning of attending those I always felt like it was a very good thing to be Māori and was very valued to be Māori. (SA)

Another participant endorsed the role faculties played in facilitating entry in to a career:

Going into the law school we were kind of drilled that into our head like that's what we're exposed to the value that we bring to these top tier firms and the kind of environments where Māori and Pacific Islanders aren't really in and I think that hearing from them it was just a reminder that we have a place here too. (D)

Support of Career Pathways and Employment Opportunities

Participants described WRL events as supporting opportunities into employment. WRL events included recruitment sessions for key organisations, externships (a 1-3 day practical experience on-site at an organisation typically with a small group of students), internships, networking events, shadowing, and listening to guest speakers.

Participants gained clarification around the workplace environment and the broader knowledge of what employment opportunities were possible with their degree: “I looked at hospitals as something for doctors and nurses, and that was it, I didn’t know that there were other aspects, other careers that were available to people who weren’t in health sciences” (S).

The following participant found value in informal networking and challenges to the assumptions they held about particular organizations:

I think for me I liked how we were able to hear from those who actually work there, because I think going in I had a certain idea of what might be going on, but it wasn’t really backed up with any, like I dunno, it was just my idea of it, so to hear actually what happens, it was useful to see because it kind of changed my view of whether I wanted to work there or not. (D)

While another participant described her experience as confirmation of where she did not wish to be employed!

It helped me [to decide] to not work at x, because of the nature of the organisational structure ... The public sector experience showed not the power, but more the influence those types of organisations have ... I think it taught me that you have to choose really wisely the teams you want to be in and the people you want to work with because it will make or break your work experiences. (AM)

Thriving in Māori Environments

Participants were asked to comment on WRL events for Māori students. Participants valued cultural values and practices at the events, for example, a safe and caring collective space: “It just feels warm, and it feels more inviting ... The Māori and Pacific events are centred around culture, family, just similar reasons to why we are at uni” (P).

Within a Māori WRL environment participants felt supported in their expression of being Māori: “Doesn’t matter where you are on your cultural journey, but they do acknowledge where you are from or what you are bringing” (T).

The context appeared conducive to enabling self-discovery and the valuing of being Maori as experienced by these participants: “There’s a real collective feel with the Māori and Pacifica ones [events], you’re not an individual ... that word ‘I’ was missing.”

Another participant described the events as a place to feel encouraged to bring your culture into the workplace:

I think they want you to mostly bring who you are in terms of your culture to work, even though a lot of people at x [organisation named] won’t be Māori and they won’t have a Māori background and understand the culture, they want you to be able to bring that culture to work regardless and be yourself. (SA)

Participants conceptualized their future employment where expressing their Māoriness was normalised. Participants also sought out Māori WRL environments to claim rangatiratanga (autonomy and self-determination).

Participants often connected cultural values with people facilitating the WRL events. Most speakers were Māori staff from the invited organisations, and appeared to serve as strong role models and mentors for participants. One participant spoke at length of how events provided insight into being Māori in a corporate environment:

I attended because they had all these partners or people who currently work at top-tier firms or well-known organisations just sharing with us their experiences of being Māori in a predominantly pākehā (European descent) environment. Yeah that was really helpful. It just gives us students, I dunno, like hope. (T)

Participants agreed that events with a focus on Māori students were supported by the organizations involved. These organizations provided opportunities to work with Māori staff on projects relevant to Māori communities, and to listen to Māori staff sharing their achievements.

Narrating Māori Identity

Cultural identity was a powerful influence on the way participants constructed their stories about WRL events. Discussions often returned to participants' expressions of being Māori. Some participants drew attention to a lack of a traditional Māori identity grounded in te reo me ngā tikanga Māori (Māori language and customs). Participants used a range of expressions when comparing their upbringing with other Māori. Comments such as "yeah I felt like I wasn't Māori enough" or "I know I'm quite fair" (J) were used to describe their experiences of being Māori. Another described himself as "still being on his journey" (A) towards connecting with his iwi (tribe). He went on to share that he was an iwi scholarship recipient and that this had been the "catalyst for learning more about the iwi and my place in it".

Some felt excluded from Māori events in the tertiary environment that appeared to target Māori who were assumed to have had a traditional Māori upbringing:

On my application to Uni I'm down as NZ European and Maori student, but I don't feel like a Maori student in terms of having that cultural identity ... I do utilise Tuākana [a University of Auckland academic support programme for Maori] and stuff like that and did feel a little bit uncomfortable there, because it felt like it wasn't really for me. (R)

I grew up quite Pākehā so I actually felt quite uncomfortable using Tuākana and ever going into Ngā Tauri Māori [University of Auckland Māori student association], because I'm not familiar with the culture, because I wasn't brought up with it and a lot of university students who are Māori are that, they are half-caste. (AM)

For me I don't think I've had much in the way of a typical Māori upbringing. I think my parents raised me in a pretty Pākehā way. My mother, who was the Māori in my family, didn't seem to embrace her side of her culture too much. I think she felt a bit, like ashamed about the stigma that came along with being Māori. (C)

I just felt going to those types of activities that there was always a sense that I don't fit in and, for example, for me cos I'm European, Samoan, Māori, bit of a mix, there was always a tendency that I didn't fit in both worlds. Growing up in South Auckland, I felt like I didn't fit in South Auckland, flatting in Mt Eden, still don't feel like I fit in Mt Eden. It's like there's no place, but you just deal with it. (A)

While there may have been some initial misgivings about engaging in Māori WRL events, participants felt welcomed and viewed their experience as a vehicle for strengthening cultural identity. One participant described her experience:

I was actually brought up not in that environment. My parents did not really teach me the language or anything, and all the schools I went to were predominantly Pākehā. I think it wasn't until I came to uni where I realized that I'm different, but different in a good way because I was around more Pacific Islanders and there was something about them I never really experienced for myself. (D)

A summary of our findings illustrates a desire to participate in a Māori context where participants' experiences of being Māori were normalised and valued. For all our participants, WRL activities were considered opportunities towards a continued expression of being Māori.

DISCUSSION

The attention to WRL and career development learning activities within the tertiary sector has been growing. Our findings indicate two key outcomes for those who participated in WRL. Firstly, our findings underscore the importance of WRL as a means of developing both awareness of the world of work and the development of career aspirations. Secondly, our findings indicate that participation in Māori-focused events provides opportunity to develop and affirm a positive Māori identity within the context of work. The dual focus of developing career awareness and a secure Māori identity indicates the value of Māori-specific WRL programmes.

Analysis of the experiences of participants revealed a motivated group of students who valued their WRL experiences. Nonetheless, the success of the programme relied on university staff who provided academic and pastoral support and encouraged students to participate. This resonates with other studies that highlight the important role of relationships within the tertiary environment for Māori students (Curtis et al., 2012; Theodore et al., 2017), as does showcasing Māori role models and culturally appropriate teaching practices and activities (Airini et al., 2009; Curtis et al., 2012; Greenwood & Te Aika, 2009; Henley, 2009). Encouraging strong relationships between university staff and industry partners will continue to be important in facilitating exposure to the workplace.

Some participants attended WRL events that had no obvious link to their majors, while others reported that they attended to broaden their career focus. Less emphasis was placed on how the knowledge gained in the classroom was applied in the workplace, which is a finding duplicated elsewhere (Martin & Rees, 2018). The events provided participants with opportunities to reflect on the importance of the soft skills, such as communication, networking, and critical thinking.

More prominent than the development of career identity within our *kōrero* with students was the value placed on Māori-focused events. Māori-focused events provided opportunities for participants to access and engage in *te ao Māori* (the Māori world). Engagement with *te ao Māori* was particularly important because most participants within the study have been separated from a traditional upbringing by a generation or more. This reflects a contemporary reality for many Māori students. Not all Māori subscribe to the same cultural values and beliefs, and not all have the same access to Māori society and its structures. Nonetheless, discussion with participants revealed the importance of developing their Māori identity. Experiences and expressions of being Māori heightened well-being and sense of belonging among participants, which has been articulated in other studies (Bishop, 2010; Sciascia, 2017). Articulating their personal and *whānau* (family) perspectives of what it means to be

Māori generated deeper and more meaningful insights into how students perceived their pasts and futures. Within this context participants began to articulate a world and future where they envisaged being Māori and how they might contribute as Māori.

Career identity has been described as a dynamic construct which changes over time and incorporates broad interests, personality traits, values and beliefs (Savickas, 2005). Our research suggests that participants prioritised their cultural identity ahead of career identity. While career identity has featured in career scholarship, cultural understanding and identity have been comparatively neglected (Sultana, 2017). Contexts are rarely neutral. Understanding the meaning of cultural identity requires an acknowledgement that context matters. When context is imbued with culturally embedded knowledge, stories, values and practices, Māori identity is asserted and becomes central to interpreting and understanding WRL experiences. Continued understanding of the meaning and significance of being Māori is likely to be where the transformation of career development learning and career services for Māori will have the greatest impact.

CONCLUSION

Despite the different types of workplace learning, the experiences of Māori tertiary students thriving as Māori in a work context remain largely overlooked. This research has focused on the perspectives and opportunities for Māori to engage in workplace experiences and practices. The study provides evidence for the need of workplace learning programmes which frame an indigenous world view. A striking feature within the study was that students prioritised their Māori identity, and cultural and social aspirations, rather than an exclusive focus on work identity. The students' participation in Māori-focused workplace learning has informed, enabled, challenged, and affirmed what it means to be Māori, first and foremost. This study adds to the body of research which normalises indigenous ways of knowing. The research may be of value to indigenous staff from external organisations wishing to support indigenous success in tertiary institutes. This research has also highlighted the impact of respectful relationships between students and others involved in the delivery of workplace learning. Relationships are vital to understanding identity, and in this study a cultural identity was nurtured by meaningful encounters in work. As students learnt about themselves in work, they entered a deeper relationship with their cultural identity.

STATEMENT OF PLACE

Lynette Reid

Ko Pukehapop te maunga
 Ko Waiomoko te awa
 Ko Tereanini te waka
 Ko Tutekohi te hapū
 Ko Ngati Konohi te iwi
 Ko Lynette Reid toku ingoa

My ancestral mountain is Pukehapopo; my ancestral river is Waiomoko; Tereanini is the waka (vessel) that brought my tūpuna (ancestors) to Aotearoa; Ngāti Konohi is my tribe; Ngāti Tutekohi is the subtribe to which I belong; Lynette Reid is my name. This *pepeha* is an introduction to my whakapapa. Whakapapa is at the core of who I am as Māori and has a significant influence on my knowledge of the world, and the kinship value base I live amongst. My teaching, research and scholarship enact this whakapapa every day.

Tia Dawes

Ko Whakarongorua te maunga

Ko Utakura te awa

Ko Ngātokimatawhaorua te waka

Ko Ngāpuhi te iwi

Ko Ngāti Toro te hapū

Ko Joyces te whānau

Ko Tia Dawes toku ingoa

My ancestral mountain is Whakarongorua; my ancestral river is Utakura; Ngātokimatawhaorua is the waka (vessel) that brought my tūpuna (ancestors) to Aotearoa; Ngāpuhi is my tribe; Ngāti Toro is the subtribe to which I belong; the Joyces are my whānau (family); Tia Dawes is my name. This *pepeha* is an introduction in which I connect myself to my people, past and present, and to those still to come. It is central to my identity and sense of belonging as Māori. It reinforces the values, beliefs and understandings of the world that underpins my research approach.

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