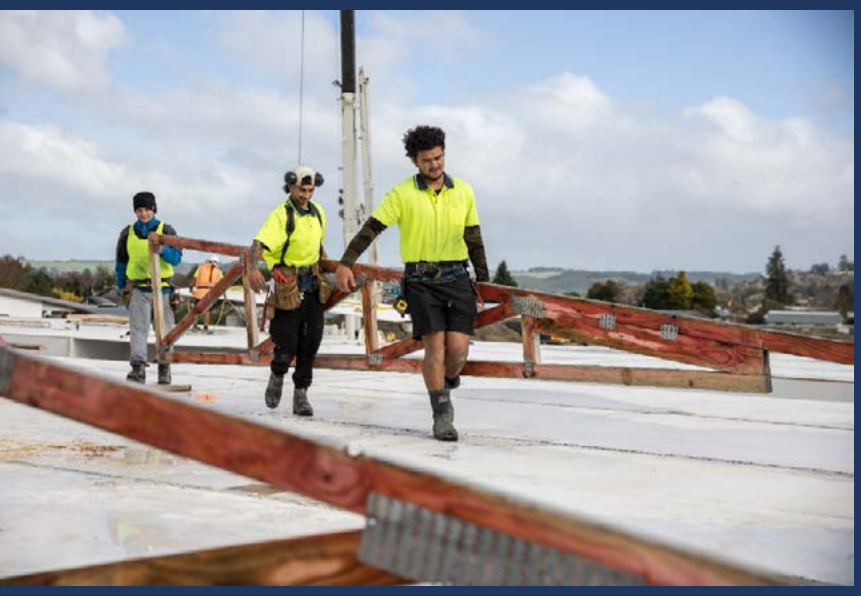

Beyond Tuakana Teina

Exploring Māori vocational pathways

Researcher: Dr Joshua Kalan

September 2024

Ako Aotearoa

Tawharau

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

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This karakia of commencement from the whare wānanga (house of learning) of Te Rawheoro, widely regarded as an epicentre of traditional Māori arts and crafts, in particular, wood carving, is used here as an appropriate way to open our study (Whatahoro, 1913).

E ngā rangatira, e kimi nei i te māramatanga, tēnā koutou katoa!

The aim of this study is to describe and consider tuakana teina approaches to trade training with Māori learners. The study centers on a case study of Tāwharau Housing Trust, a small whānau-based construction company in Rotorua and their approach to vocational training and apprenticeships with Māori learners in the building industry. The study relies on a mix of literature review, research interviews and samples of available quantitative data, as information sources.

What began as a seemingly straight forward exploration, however, soon morphed into a deeper and more nuanced approach beyond tuakana teina, and into the rediscovery of the depth and riches of an established indigenous tradition of vocational training dating back to customary times. This research was intended as an action research project, where Western concepts of ‘mentoring’ by the experienced (Henthorn, R., Lowden, K., & McArdle, K. (2022) became redundant, as traditional Māori concepts of tuakana teina prevailed and new concepts emerged.

This study therefore, also reveals the deeper cultural context about tuakana teina; that precolonial Māori society already had established traditions, models and frameworks of vocational training. It was inevitable that whānau, hapū and iwi needed to develop and maintain their own systems and means of transmitting and transferring the knowledge, skills, techniques, technology and expressions of material culture which were so critical

to their survival (Buck, 1938). Even a cursory perusal of exhibitions of pre-colonial Māori artefacts and material culture, for example like those found at our national museum, Te Papa Tongarewa, is compelling evidence to suggest that iwi Māori possessed advanced and sophisticated systems of vocational training to attain such scale, breadth and depth of technological achievements. How precolonial craftworkers and practitioners were able to achieve and maintain such high qualities of aesthetic, form and function, which we with modern tools struggle to replicate, is simply amazing. It is clear then that pre-colonial Māori artists and technicians had their own methods and systems of vocational training. We in contemporary Aotearoa have simply been conditioned not to think about it in those terms.

This study, *'Beyond tuakana teina: Exploring Māori vocational pathways'* argues that cultural artefacts, like tuakana teina, are best approached and appraised within their specific cultural context. This finding alone was the catalyst to new horizons and discoveries. For example, the study describes how tuakana teina is primarily a relationship and a natural consequence of a supportive and nurturing environment. As such, it should be appraised within its wider context of whānau and whakapapa (Royal Tangaere, 1997). Conventional approaches to tuakana teina in education settings, by comparison, resemble little more than cultural appropriation.

The case study of Tāwharau Housing Trust is similarly revealing and moreover validates their indigenous innovation and approaches to trade training, based on over fifteen years of vocational training with Māori learners in the construction industry. The lived experience account of Tāwharau Housing Trust's journey is furthermore a significant and generational appraisal of indigenous Māori approaches to vocational training, based on their inherited legacy and whakapapa links to several indigenous precursors to trade training.

The course of this research moreover prompted the emergence of a Te Ao Māori vocational training framework, based on the innovations of the past. The research also highlights four scenarios or 'workplace essentials' that underscore and exemplify Tāwharau's engagement with Māori learners in the trade training space. Finally, the research offers suggested 'takeaways' that prospective training providers and organisations may wish to consider as an aid and support in their own efforts with supporting learners in trade training.

Taiāhahā! Taiāhahā!

E hoa mā, kua tūwhera kē nei te tari o te ora, kua hora nei te tēpu,

nō reira, piki mai, kake mai, nau mai, whakatau mai, hara mai!

Mauri oho, mauri tū, mauri ora ki a tātau katoa.

Haumi e, hui e, tāiki e.

Honoured guests, all has been made ready for your inspection and enjoyment.
So, without further delay, proceed and enjoy!

Introduction

Collaborating closely with Tāwharau Housing Trust, our research delves into the nuanced dynamics of tuakana teina within a trade setting.

Tāwharau Housing Trust is a building and construction company operating out of Rotorua (see Figure 1 at right) in the Bay of Plenty, North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand.

As a small whānau (family) based company, this Trust is comprised of three generations of the Thompson family where several extended family members are employed as both management and apprentices.

Figure 1. Location of Rotorua, North Island, Aotearoa New Zealand

Tāwharau Housing Trust places an intentional focus on applying Māori approaches and values to develop the next generation of Māori builders and tradespeople for the construction industry. This study seeks to address the disparities in Māori participation rates in trades-based work and the unique challenges faced by Māori individuals in attaining qualifications in trades. Employing a kaupapa Māori case study methodology, the research employs a multifaceted approach involving focus groups.

Figure 2. Tāwharau Housing Trust and the Thompson whānau – with permission from the Thompson family

This research project presents a significant departure from other vocational training studies in that it reappraises the concept of Māori trade training and tuakana teina from their origins within te ao Māori in an exploration of whakapapa, values, practice, and legacy.

'Beyond tuakana teina: Exploring Māori vocational pathways' identifies some successful practices on effective implementation of tuakana teina within a vocational training context. The insights will be of particular interest to industry training organisations who work with Māori learners and trainees. The exploration of indigenous themes and approaches to trade training in this research may also resonate with international audiences engaged with the vocational training of minority groups.

Figure 3. Gaining qualifications on the job – with permission from the Thompson family.

Background

Although this study centres on learning models and trade training applications, it may be useful at the outset to provide some cultural context describing the concept of tuakana teina as it naturally occurs within a te ao Māori worldview. Following which, a brief description of the subject at the centre of this case study, Tāwharau Housing Trust and their legacy of Māori trade training, is pertinent to the kaupapa at hand.

What is tuakana teina?

> "Mā te tuakana ka tōtika te teina, mā te teina ka tōtika te tuakana."
> The older sibling perfects the younger, the younger sibling perfects the older.

As the above whakatauākī (proverbial saying) implies, the concept of tuakana teina within te ao Māori (the Māori World) refers to the social dynamics of interaction between older and younger siblings of the same gender and their corresponding familial obligations. Based on the values of whakapapa (kinship) and whanaungatanga (family relationships), the tuakana teina relationship and its inherent obligations, responsibilities and associated norms was a key element within traditional Māori society.

Tuakana teina dynamics can carry significant consequences. For example, the tuakana or teina obligations of one's whakapapa can determine customary responsibilities within the hapū, speaking rights on the marae, succession to whenua (ancestral land) and, not so common today, prospective marriage partners. Conversely, breakdowns in the tuakana teina relationship have led to whānau in-fighting and in cases, separation, expulsion, or the creation of new social groupings altogether (Reilly, 2010).

Perhaps the defining feature of the tuakana teina relationship that distinguishes it from conventional Western ideas of hierarchy and family pecking order is the reciprocity and mutual exchange inherent within tuakana teina. This sentiment is expressed in the whakataukī which opened this section. Considerations of who is more suited to a guidance role or supporting role within the tuakana teina relationship is not static and fixed, but dynamic and fluid, depending on the situation. Tuakana teina dynamics will oscillate and alternate, depending on the need and the circumstances.

The tuakana teina relationship then, involves reciprocal roles of support and guidance in a situational response. For example, it is only natural to acknowledge that some siblings and family members are more inclined towards or proficient in outdoor pursuits, mechanical aptitude, hospitality or academic activities than others. Everyone has different strengths and talents. A tuakana teina approach acknowledges this and accepts that roles and responsibilities can be adapted to the given circumstances. Arapera Royal Tangaere describes the tuakana teina concept within the context of Māori learning development theory.

> "Tuakana means older sibling (brother to a boy or sister to a girl), and teina a younger sibling (brother to a boy or sister to a girl). Therefore the idea of the learner taking on the responsibility of being the teacher or tuakana to her or his teina is acceptable and in fact encouraged from an early age. This is the essence of love and care for one another in the whānau. It reinforces the principles of whanaungatanga." (Royal Tangaere, 1997, pg. 50).

Tuakana teina moreover is a customary distinction within te ao Māori that finds expression within traditional creation narratives and pūrākau (oral histories and stories). The creation narratives describing the interactions between the children of Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother) is one example. Further examples are the accounts concerning the ancient and mythical figure of Maui, the demigod, and his amazing exploits (Winitana, 2012). Though Maui was the youngest of his siblings, he often took a lead role in dragging his older brothers into his misadventures. Was it the unfettered freedom from responsibility that came with being the youngest that encouraged Maui's tendencies toward mischief-making, risk-taking and thinking outside the square? Was it Maui's brothers' collective burden of responsibility and nurture which in turn obligated them to tolerate, endure, or even encourage his antics? A tuakana teina approach recognises these reciprocal dynamics and furthermore celebrates them.

Getting to know Tāwharau Housing Trust

This case study, informed by kaupapa Māori, explores the application of a tuakana teina model of trade training with Māori apprentices in the building industry. The study centres on the activities of Tāwharau Housing Trust and their experience with vocational training. With over forty years' experience in the construction industry the Thompson family started their own business in 2008 and in 2012 made the transition to include building design and construction. From the outset their ongoing focus has been to use their skills and experience to provide affordable housing, training and employment opportunities for tangata whenua (Indigenous people of Aotearoa). Established in April 2017, Tāwharau Housing Trust is a non-profit entity that puts their kaupapa and their people ahead of profits. Their guiding kaupapa is captured in the name 'Tāwharau' which literally means 'a shelter/ to shelter', but also encapsulates the following:

— The belief that everyone has a right to the shelter of a warm, dry, safe and affordable home.

— Housing is a basic human right and Tāwharau Housing Trust reaffirms their commitment to meeting this need through providing affordable housing as well as training and employment opportunities.

— 'Tāwharau' is symbolic of the shelter provided to staff and their whānau in an uncertain job market, through providing opportunities to gain qualifications and careers in the industry.

Figure 4. Worksite – with permission from the Thompson family.

Based on te ao Māori values and worldview, Tāwharau Housing Trust applies these same approaches to vocational training in the construction industry. A tuakana teina approach is central to the work Tāwharau Housing Trust is doing to instruct and support trainees and apprentices towards gaining their trade training qualifications. Inspired by the time-honoured traditions of knowledge transfer and skills acquisition models that were prevalent in customary Māori society, Tāwharau Housing Trust upholds that whakapapa and nurtures that legacy for the next generation.

He taonga tuku iho – A treasured inheritance

It is important at the outset to dispel any misconceptions that the idea of Māori trade training is simply a modern innovation that was only introduced to Aotearoa with colonial settlement. In reality Māori have enjoyed a long-established tradition of invention, creativity and the intergenerational transfer of knowledge across a broad spectrum of disciplines. The generational transfer of knowledge, skills and techniques involved in weaving or woodcarving, for example, was a time-honoured practice shared from older to younger generations, in what was typically a whānau affair. The teaching, learning

Figure 5. Map showing location of Te Uawa Nui a Ruamatua (Tolaga Bay). Image sourced from https://www.nzherald.co.nz/hawkes-bay-today/news/local-focus

and specialisation of trades was widespread, generally hands-on and touched upon all aspects of life and expertise, be it raranga (*weaving*), tā moko (*traditional Māori tattoo*), fishing, waka (*seacraft*) building or house construction. This was in addition to more esoteric forms of knowledge and curricula such as that taught within the whare wānanga or houses of higher learning.

Significantly for this study, it is through whakapapa (kinship) where Tāwharau Housing Trust's connection with the past is personal and runs deep. Beyond gaining inspiration from the learning and skills acquisition approaches of the past, Tāwharau Housing Trust's founders and directors are actual direct descendants of tohunga (experts and specialists) from the ancient whare wānanga (house of higher learning) and carving school, Te Rāwheoro (1550 to mid-1800's), in Te Uawa nui a Ruamatua present day Tolaga Bay (see Figure 4) on the east coast of the North Island of Aotearoa, New Zealand.

Te Rāwheoro

Whare wānanga were the established houses of higher learning based within Māori communities in traditional times. Their curricula centred on the transfer of specialist knowledge and skills beyond that which pertained to ordinary everyday life. One such whare wānanga was Te Rāwheoro in Te Uawa Nui a Ruamatua, in modern day Tolaga Bay, home of Te Aitanga a Hauiti (The descendants of Hauiti) on the East Coast of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. The significance of Te Rāwheoro was that it was a prominent school of traditional Māori carving which employed traditional tikanga and learning methods passed from tohunga (experts and specialists) to ākonga (learners and apprentices).

Te Rāwheoro is furthermore significant to this study in that the Tāwharau Housing Trust founders and directors – the Thompson whānau - have a deeply personal connection as direct descendants of tohunga, particularly Hīngāngāroa, from Te Rāwheoro house of higher learning. As the following excerpt attests, Hīngāngāroa was a skilled artisan, a tohunga whakairo (carving exponent), and a builder of waka (canoes) who moreover possessed the requisite skills, knowledge, tikanga and karakia consistent with his status as a tohunga (Walker, 2014).

'Ko Tātaiarorangi, Ko te Huapae rā,
Ko Te Rangihopukia, Ko Hinehuhuritai,
Ko Manutangirua, Ko Hīngāngāroa,
Ka tū tōna whare, Te Rāwheoro e,
Ka tipu te whaihanga, e hika, ki Uawa…'
Mai i 'Te tangi o Rangiuia'
(Ngata, 1993, pg. 39)

'Tātaiarorangi had Huapae,
Rangihopukia had Hinehuhuritai,
Who had Manutangirua, who had Hīngangaroa,
He it was who established his house, Te Rāwheoro,
And arts and crafts flourished, my son, at Uawa…'
From 'The lament of Rangiuia'
(Ngata, 1993, pg. 39)

As captured in this excerpt from an historic Te Aitanga a Hauiti lament, this speaks to the personal connection and legacy based in whakapapa and contextualises this kaupapa as a generational continuity of learning and knowledge transfer in a broader and deeper narrative which transcends a simple account of Māori apprenticeships.

Tāwharau Housing Trust's founders are directly descended from pioneering tīpuna (*ancestors*) who, following the First World War, founded and provided the whenua for Te Ao Mārama (*The World of Light*), the first Rotorua School of Māori Arts and Crafts (1926). This school was the forerunner to The New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute (1963), now known as 'Te Puia' in Rotorua, where the Tāwharau Housing Trust whānau also hold deep whānau connections. This legacy for Tāwharau Housing Trust continued with the Māori Trades Training scheme (1959–1989), where building and construction skills and expertise was acquired and thereafter handed down from father-to-son, culminating in the present Tāwharau Housing Trust team today. Significantly, the Tāwharau Housing Trust whānau can claim an unbroken and continuous legacy of Māori trade training that spans the generations predating colonial settlement.

A legacy of Māori trade training success

As mentioned previously, the concept of what we have come to understand as 'Māori trade training' is not new to Māori at all. If, by this terminology, we are referring to the intergenerational transfer of vocational knowledge, skills and expertise, then it is clear that Māori already had established and embedded systems of trade training and innovations that predate the disruption of the colonial era. Both the residual evidence and contemporary living examples of Māori arts, sciences, engineering, technology and material culture is clear proof of sophisticated, effective and sustainable trade training systems.

The successful acquisition and transfer of subject matter knowledge and expertise was absolutely critical in traditional Māori society because, as a social system of independent and separate self-determining indigenous territories, whānau (family), hapū (extended family collective) and iwi (tribal) prosperity and survival depended on it. Though some art forms, skills and techniques were suppressed or expunged with the disruption of colonisation, some pockets of knowledge acquisition and skills-transfer survived and persist despite the assimilative educational policies of the past two centuries. Other art forms have experienced revitalisation and renaissance – the resurgence in tā moko (skin tattooing) and whaikōrero (speech-making) are examples.

The generational acquisition and transfer of knowledge and skills was a mainstay of traditional Māori society and establishes the whakapapa of learning methodology that is a natural precursor to modern Māori trade training. This section of the background presents the significance of the personal and spiritual connection for Tāwharau Housing Trust.

The Rotorua School of Māori Arts and Crafts

Established by Sir Apirana Ngata in 1926, the Rotorua School of Māori Arts and Crafts, Te Ao Mārama (literally meaning, *'The World of Light'*), was an initiative to revitalise Māori material culture and technology. Initially operating out of Ohinemutu pā (village) near St. Faith's Church in Rotorua, the location soon became too small and so the school was relocated to a facility built by Jayden Thompson's great grandfather on whānau land in Whittaker Road. As with the connection to Te Rāwheoro, this initiative likewise demonstrates the intimate historical and deeply personal whakapapa and whenua connections with Tāwharau Housing Trust's legacy.

Referring to the image in Figure 6, director Jayden Thompson explains that:

> "My great grandfather, James Himiona Thompson, was instrumental in establishing the first Rotorua Carving School, building the first school when he returned from World War One on land given by my great-great-grandfather Tai Mitchell, to my great-grandmother Te Aira Mitchell." (Personal communication).

The school would follow the whare wānanga in the traditions of skills acquisition and knowledge transfer within a te ao Māori context of whanaungatanga and kinship through close working relationships between tohunga and ākonga. Key to this teaching and learning methodology was the kinship, whanaungatanga and camaraderie experienced between instructors and apprentices as they worked together on various projects. Students at the school were directly involved in the construction of numerous wharenui (meeting house), wharekai (dining rooms) and related community buildings throughout the country. Many graduates would go on to train the next generation of Māori carvers (Graham, 2014).

Figure 6. Left to right – Harold Hamilton, Te Aira Mitchell (Jayden Thompson's great grandmother), Ellen Batten, Jean Batten, Russell Te Aotata Thompson (Jayden's grandfather as a baby), James Himiona Thompson (Jayden's great grandfather) outside the Rotorua Carving School on Whittaker Road – with permission from the Thompson family.

Figure 7. The 'Rotorua School of Māori Arts and Crafts' showing returned servicemen completing carpentry training at Whittaker Road, Rotorua, 1944.

The New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute

The passing of its director, Harold Hamilton in 1937 and the disruption of World War Two would in due course force the closure of the 'Rotorua School of Māori Arts and Crafts' (see Figure 7). It would not be until 1963 that the school was reopened and rebranded as a national body in 1967 as the 'New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute', and relocated to Whakarewarewa, Rotorua. This institute continues in the whare wānanga tradition of generational knowledge and skill transfer through whakapapa, whanaungatanga and close working relationship between instructors and apprentices. Notable weaving and carving experts from the school are still recognised names today, including Rangi Hetet and brothers Pine and John Taiapa (Ballara, 1998).

The Māori Trade Training Scheme

Compared with the present apprenticeship environment, the Māori trade training schemes of the 1960's and 70's were noticeably effective in supporting Māori school leavers into vocational pathways. Under this scheme, candidates were relocated, usually from rural Māori communities to urban centres in Auckland, Lower Hutt and Christchurch, where they were to undertake specific vocational training. Beginning only with carpentry trade training, the success of the scheme would see it expand to plumbing, electrical wiring, mechanic, panel beating, plastering, welding, engineering, boiler making and fitting to encourage Māori into long-term skilled employment (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009).

On a personal note, this topic is close to home for the author of this study, whose father left home as a youth in the Eastern Bay of Plenty to learn sheet metal fabrication in Auckland under the auspices of the Māori trade training scheme. In time this would result in a lifelong career as a fitter-welder. Moving to Auckland under the scheme was also pivotal to him meeting his future wife, the author's mother, as well as providing the means to support a growing family. It is fair therefore to say that, were it not for the Māori trade training scheme, the author of this study might never have been born!

The transition from country life to the cities for trainees was eased somewhat by supported accommodation in hostels and boarding facilities, usually provided by churches and other support networks (Berwick, 1995). Some sources reveal how the Māori trade training schemes were actually inspired by the Te Rāhui Wāhine Hostels set up by Princess Te Puea at Tūrangawaewae in 1949 (RNZ, 2014). Central to the success of Māori trades training was the supportive whānau environment and guidance offered to learners based on traditional Māori values.

This included:

— Manaakitanga (host responsibility), where student wellbeing and welfare was paramount,

— Awhi (nurture), where students were fully supported in a holistic approach, and

— Whanaungatanga (kinship ties), where learners were welcomed into supportive relationships as part of a family environment, rather being left to fend for themselves as individuals.

This is not to say that those committed to the welfare of Māori trainees under the scheme were exclusively Māori. In fact, most studies would suggest the opposite. For example, former residents of Te Kainga Hostel in Christchurch have shared fond memories of how their transition from rural North Island Māori communities to metropolitan Christchurch was eased by the tireless efforts of an Australian, Bill Cox, who went to great lengths to provide consistency, build friendships and create a safe supportive environment for the new arrivals (RNZ, 2012). If anything, this underlines the importance of a supportive and safe environment, regardless of ethnic differences. Discipline for misdemeanours in the hostels was also not lacking and usually took the form of removing privileges (Miki Roderick, personal communication).

The Māori Affairs trade training scheme of the 1960's was a generally successful programme that had a significant intergenerational impact for Māori. For example, Tāwharau Housing Trust director Jayden Thompson's grandfather, Russell Thompson, gained his carpentry qualification under the scheme and in turn passed his skills on to Jayden's father and uncles who in turn taught Jayden, as he explains:

> "My koro trained my father, my father trained my brother, my brother has trained three apprentices to qualification, who each now train their own apprentices, who also guide and support the hammer hands."

Part of the success of the Māori Affairs training scheme was the programme's holistic approach that looked at the wide range of needs of each trainee, beyond focusing simply on the theory and practical aspects of the training (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2009). For example, trainees were provided with a wide range of support services including a steady wage, long term accommodation, budgeting advice, English and math's lessons and other services aimed at assisting young Māori with their training and the transition to city life from their rural homes.

Trainees were also encouraged to maintain their cultural knowledge, for example, by participating in the opening ceremonies of buildings they had completed, by way of haka and waiata, or providing a hangi meal for the guests. One hallmark of the Māori trade training scheme is it is quite common for the camaraderie and whanaungatanga developed there to result in life-long and nationwide friendships (RNZ, 2014).

The holistic approach to training is something which Tāwharau Housing Trust looks to emulate by supporting and arranging their staff into tight-knit peer groups where they can learn from and support each other.

Literature Review

This report - *'Beyond tuakana teina: Exploring Maori vocational pathways'* presents a literature review focussing on several factors that impact on tuakana teina approaches in the context of trade training with Māori learners. These factors are addressed here as:

— An appraisal of the deficiencies of the schooling system impacting on Māori learners and apprenticeship training.

— A critique of the current 'skills gap' in the New Zealand labour market as it impacts on the low rate of apprenticeship completions for Māori learners.

— The lingering effects of the Covid-19 virus outbreaks upon the employment levels for Māori and Pacific Peoples.

— Comment on the effects of 'cultural dissonance' between Māori learners and non-Māori employers, creating a major challenge for the vocational sector to effectively serve Māori learners.

— Comment on some of the prevailing interpretations of tuakana teina approaches within vocational settings.

Key Māori theoretical frameworks relevant to this study are included in the literature review, as they fundamental to this research project. These frameworks are 'Te Whare Tapa Whā' (literally meaning 'House of four sides' referring to the four dimensions of a person's well-being), 'Poutama' (stairway pattern, referring to a progressive pathway to achievement and enlightenment), 'The Ranga Framework' ('Ranga' meaning to weave or combine), and 'Ako' (literally meaning both 'to learn' and 'to teach'). Each of these Indigenous Māori frameworks derive from Aotearoa New Zealand; consequently, being a natural and appropriate fit for this kaupapa rangahau (research topic).

Deficiencies with the school system

Our schooling system, and to an extent the vocational education sector, continue to disadvantage Māori learners. Despite an increase in Māori school leavers achieving NCEA Level 3 between 2010 (21%) and 2020 (40%) (Infometrics and Te Rau Ora, 2022), Māori students are generally still leaving school at a younger age with lower levels of qualifications compared with other New Zealanders (Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, 2021).

Studies have shown that the disparity in Māori school achievement within Kura Auraki (English medium schools) can be attributed to inequities from a 'one size fits' all New Zealand education system (Bishop, Berryman & Wearmouth, 2014) that does not consider Māori student needs (Infometrics and Te Rau Ora, 2022). Poor quality of teaching and career guidance in schools and differing teacher expectations based on student ethnicity have also been identified (Hutchings & Lee-Morgan (Eds), 2016). These factors are compounded by high stand-down rates, prolonged absence from school and socio-economic factors. As a result, fewer Māori students remain at school long enough to gain higher qualifications (Infometrics and Te Rau Ora, 2022) and are less prepared for tertiary

study or vocational pathways, which can be a barrier to them entering trades training (Infometrics and Te Rau Ora, 2022). As a further consequence, the Māori population is over-represented in low-skilled, low-paying jobs with little opportunities or job security (Schulze & Green, 2017).

The Skills Gap

The current 'skills gap' in the New Zealand labour market is impacting on the low rate of apprenticeship completions for Māori learners. This is due to several factors, including increased automation within the manufacturing industry (Willis, 1994) and neo-liberal reforms which saw the privatisation of traditional vocational employers like the Post Office, New Zealand Railways, and the Government Printing Office, the late 1980's saw increases in nationwide unemployment and a sharp decline in the number of apprenticeships on offer (Baker, 2010).

The closure of the Department of Māori Affairs in 1989 also brought with it the end of the Māori Trade Training schemes (Berwick, 1995). In contrast with the post-war years and following decades, gone were the 'good old days' when school leavers could walk straight into a job, receive on-the-job vocational training, and have a job for life (Hazeldine, 1994).

The shortage of skilled labour in the domestic labour market saw a focus on increasing immigration levels to attract skilled workers to move to New Zealand to address the shortfall. For example, the Employers and Manufacturers Association admitted that several employers had disclosed that they could no longer hire apprentices or trainees due to the lack of skilled technical staff available to train them. In 2023, 71% of employers signalled that they could not find highly skilled people, compared with 40% in 2022 (Employers and Manufacturers Association, 2023).

Effects of Covid-19

Whereas employment levels in manufacturing and engineering for other ethnic groups now exceeds pre-Covid-19 levels, the same cannot be said of the employment levels for Māori and Pacific Peoples, which are yet to recover. While Covid-19 saw a rise in vocational training enrolments, this did not translate into an increase in Māori and Pacific training numbers in the workforce. This is due to the Māori and Pacific workforce being disproportionately affected by Covid-19, which included the economic demands to keep on working to support their households, the likelihood of being employed as 'essential workers', living in larger extended family groups and having lower vaccination rates than the general population. Māori and Pacific Peoples furthermore have a lower average skills mix than other ethnic groups. (Hanga Aro Rau, 2022).

The New Zealand Labour Government responded to the skilled workforce shortage, particularly in the wake of Covid-19, by reopening the borders to immigration to tap into the overseas workforce (Malcolm Pacific Immigration, 2023). The Government also placed a renewed emphasis on trade training and apprenticeships by supporting incentive schemes like Apprenticeship Boost, which is a monthly payment made to employers to help them take on new apprentices (Work and Income). The current 2024 Coalition Government in their recent budget announced continued support for this scheme - $65M over the next four years (Beehive 2024).

However, research suggests that the recent resurgence in trade training apprenticeships following the Government reforms in response to the Covid 19 pandemic (Labour, 2021), has had limited success with few apprentices going on to complete their trade training qualifications. For Māori apprentices the success rate is lower still, showing a significant gap between Māori and non-Māori apprenticeship completion rates (Alkema, 2016).

Cultural Dissonance

One significant barrier to Māori apprentices successfully completing their trade training is the issue of cultural dissonance between them and their non-Māori employers (Savage, 2016). Cultural dissonance occurs where the workplace culture and environment is incongruent with the cultural needs of Māori learners. This can include ignorance, indifference, or antagonism towards Māori culture (Kerehoma et al, 2013). Embedded deficit attitudes and stereotyping of Māori learners in the workplace was identified as a significant hurdle to their success (Savage, 2016). Generally unaware of how imbedded these views are within their organisations, workplaces simply accept Western ways of doing things as the norm.

Cultural connectedness and inclusive, relational support help to address cultural dissonance. For Māori learners, awareness of te ao Māori (the Māori World) and tikanga (associated cultural practices) has been identified as critical to Māori learner success (Kerehoma et al, 2013) as it makes the learning more meaningful. For trades-based learning, this includes culturally competent mentoring practices, like tuakana teina relationships.

Tribal cultural connectedness with building projects combats cultural dissonance. Research has found that when mana whenua (local tribe) are involved, either as a partner to the building project, or targeting potential apprentices for the building project, then the intrinsic benefits for Māori apprentices are multiplied (Savage, 2016). Such collaborative approaches between iwi and the vocational training of Māori apprentices are underway with Ngai Tahu (Revington, 2018), Te Āti Awa (Trafford, 2022), Ngāti Toa Rangatira (Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira, 2023) and Tūhourangi (Tūhourangi Tribal Authority, 2023).

Tuakana teina in educational and vocational settings

Within the field of adult learning and education in Aotearoa, the tuakana teina concept as a learning model came into prominence in the 1990's with the increased emphasis on student-centred learning and collaborative learning approaches. The tendency to interpret and apply tuakana teina as 'peer mentoring' (Education Review Office, 2024), or 'buddy systems' (Ministry of Education, 2022) has become standard practice now. It has also become established practice for schools and tertiary providers to adopt tuakana teina approaches to cultivate guidance, support, and school spirit within their learning communities, where Māori learners are involved. For example, tuakana teina support networks are currently used in the law school at University of Auckland (2024) and health careers at Te Whatu Ora – Health New Zealand (2024). Consequently, the research pertaining to the application of tuakana teina within education settings is well documented.

In vocational settings, tuakana teina type relationships are used to support Māori learners to develop a sense of belonging and family within their learning environment. This approach facilitates other support that learners may require, including academic and personal support Closely linked to traditional whānau practices, this type of learning approach fits well within the trades-based workplace learning environment, as these expert-novice or mentor-mentee relationships are a key difference between the work-based and non-work-based training (Tahau Hodges, 2010). The research into the use of tuakana teina approaches within the trade training sector is still lacking, with this research project adding to the cultural insights.

One innovative research project from the Open Polytechnic of New Zealand (OPNZ) broached 'tuakana teina e-Belonging' as an online mentoring space for Māori students to connect and establish relationships with other Māori students (Rawlings & Wilson, 2013). Described as "whakawhanaungatanga in cyberspace" (p.7), it is a 'space' for Māori, by Māori, to 'be' Māori. As a culturally relevant support programme to give Māori learners a 'sense of belonging' (whanaungatanga) and a 'place of belonging' (tūrangawaewae). Within this learning context it refers to a more experienced student (tuakana/mentor) looking after and guiding a newer student (teina/mentee) in a holistic manner; more specifically, a peer mentoring programme based on kaupapa Māori values and principles. The OPNZ programme was also informed by several theoretical frameworks, including Māori pedagogy, distance learning and a strengths-based approach. The study emphasised that a combination of Māori-centred mentoring practices and e-mentoring is the shape of things to come as far as supporting Māori learners in the open and distance learning sector. What implications for the vocational sector?

Theoretical frameworks

Four Māori theoretical frameworks inform this research project and are described here because of their relevance and utility in the Tāwharau Housing Trust trade training model; they are 'Te Whare Tapa Whā', 'Poutama', 'The Ranga Framework', and 'Ako'. Each of these Indigenous Māori frameworks significantly derive from whakapapa originating from this whenua (land) of Aotearoa; consequently, being a natural and appropriate fit for this kaupapa rangahau (research topic).

Te Whare Tapa Whā

The Whare Tapa Whā framework is a Māori health model made popular in the mid 1980's by prominent Māori psychologist Professor Mason Durie. As in Figure 8, Te Whare Tapa Whā literally means 'a four-sided house', but metaphorically outlines a holistic approach to health based on four dimensions of a person's wellbeing:
Te taha tinana (physical wellbeing)
Te taha hinengaro (mental wellbeing)
Te taha wairua (spiritual wellbeing) and
Te taha whānau (family/relational wellbeing).

The Whare Tapa Whā framework is based on the premise that one needs all dimensions functioning equally to achieve optimal wellbeing. Tāwharau Housing Trust included this framework as an organic part of their business philosophy, and more specifically, to meet the needs of apprentices.

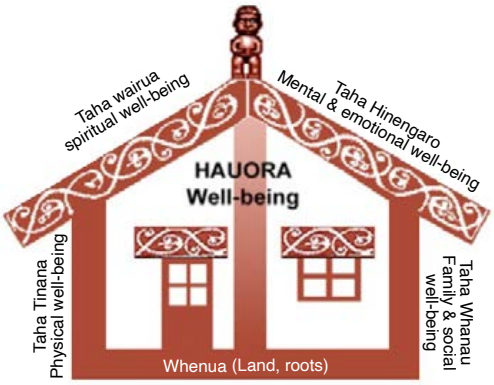

Figure 8. Whare Tapa Whā. Image sourced from https://tearairesarchgroup.wordpress.com/2020/02/21/the-bicultural-whare-tapa-wha-older-persons-palliative-care-model/

Poutama

Based on a traditional tukutuku (woven wall panel) pattern usually displayed in the wharenui (tribal meeting house), the poutama literally refers to a 'stairway', which speaks to a progressive pathway to achievement and enlightenment (refer to Figure 9). An example of this is given in the pūrākau (traditional narrative) describing Tāne-nui-ā-Rangi's ascent to the heavens to retrieve ngā kete o te mātauranga (the baskets of knowledge) for the benefits and enlightenment of humanity (Royal Tangaere, 1997).

A Poutama approach to learning acknowledges that knowledge and skills acquisition is a journey and process which takes place step by step.

Figure 9. Poutama pattern. Image sourced from https://www.sciencelearn.org.nz/images/3385-poutama-pattern

Western educational theorist, Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development theory, more commonly understood as 'scaffolding' (Billings & Walqui, 2017), could be simply described as a Poutama model.

Tāwharau Housing Trust intentionally and purposefully uses the Poutama model as a framework for learning and trade training of its trainees and apprentices, as the progressions equate to the stages of 'hammer hand' to apprentice, to qualified builder in the building context. In the trial work with the Building Construction Industry Training Organisation (BCITO) in 2023, the industry's first micro-credential qualifications were refined to mirror this scaffolding.

Ranga Framework

As an indigenous cognitive development model developed chiefly to facilitate the process of language and literacy learning for Māori learners, the Ranga Framework (Doherty, 2012) has clear applications for learners in the workplace. The word, 'ranga' meaning 'to weave', refers to the way in which knowledge and learning is acquired and expressed through the learner. As indicated in Figure 9, beginning as a Rangatahi (novice), a learner grows in knowledge and skills which develops into a process of Rangahau (self-initiated learning and research). Their development progresses through to acquiring Mātauranga (knowledge), which eventually results in Rangatira (skilled practitioner/mastery). In due course this knowledge and skills acquisition results in a Tohunga (subject matter expert and recognised authority). This sequence of learning stages has clear parallels with Tāwharau Housing Trust's poutama approach to learning in the workplace and trade training.

Figure 10. Ranga Framework. Image sourced from https://ako.ac.nz/assets/Knowledge-centre/ALNACC-Resources/The-Ranga-Framework/He-Raranga-Kaupapa/The_Ranga_Framework-info-sheet.pdf

Central to the Ranga Framework in Figure 10 is the understanding that local and cultural context is critically important in literacy and language acquisition. It is therefore important to understand the world view that sits behind a given language. For example, Doherty (2012) explains how the indiscriminate and widespread use of the term 'Māori' has come to displace the subtleties and nuances based in whānau, hapū and iwi, which find their basis and expression in whenua (land/geography). Consequently, as an example, generic 'te reo Māori' ('Māori' language) has come to supplant and displace 'te reo ā iwi' (tribal-specific language). Conversely, 'kaupapa Māori' might in all reality be a mere transition phase and stepping stone towards 'kaupapa-ā-iwi'.

Royal Tangaere (1997) warns of the potential for this disconnection from the whānau, hapū, iwi system as the learning and development is influenced by tikanga Māori and context. This has implications for how the tuakana teina concept has usually been approached within education settings. For the most part, the tuakana teina concept has been used 'off-the-shelf' in isolation and disconnection from its cultural and social context and foundations; consequently, educators in mainstream education settings can struggle to understand and implement culturally specific methods (Hauraki, 2019). Authentic tuakana teina therefore ceases to function in isolation from its broader context within whānau and whakapapa. Put simply, you can't have a tuakana or a teina without whānau.

Ako

Ako was first conceived by Rose Pere, (1982) as a 'to learn to teach' methodology for teachers. Royal Tangaere (1997) added that tuakana teina is also derived from the principles of whanaungatanga and that in the Māori world it is an acceptable practice for the learner to shift roles and become the teacher, and for the teacher to become the learner.

By contrast, Western learning and teaching usually frames the words 'teach' and 'learn' separately, which implies that a teacher only 'teaches' and a learner only 'learns' (Maitland, 2020). The concept of ako however, is acknowledged to be deeply relational and promotes caring, inclusive and productive learning environments and relationships where everyone's contribution is valued, and people are empowered to learn with and from each other (Ministry of Education, 2009). Ako is similar in approach and methodology to that of 'reciprocal learning and teaching' (Education Counts, 2024) as "an inclusive, collaborative teaching and learning approach" that builds thinking skills, comprehension, and supports learner confidence and wellbeing.

Emerging innovative thinking about ako with vocational learners are beginning to be explored in the vocational sector in Aotearoa New Zealand. This innovation prompted the title of this report – *Beyond tuakana teina: Exploring Māori vocational pathways.'* For example, the Ministry of Education has extensive examples of ako practices on their website. In recent years, Ako Aotearoa (National Centre of Tertiary Teaching Excellence) have produced an online Māori cultural resource which includes six applied practices related to the broader concept of ako (Ako Aotearoa, 2024).

Methodology and methods

This section describes the principal research methodology and framework for this study, which helped to define its objectives and parameters. It also describes the research methods, processes and techniques that were used to collect the data and inform the study.

Kaupapa Māori Research methodology

This case study uses a kaupapa Māori research approach. Kaupapa Māori research privileges Māori ways of knowing and being and promotes Māori strengths, aspirations and self-determination in a post-colonial reality. Kaupapa Māori theory makes space for Māori approaches to research, in the interests of improving outcomes for Māori and likewise addresses existing disparities in how research is usually done (Smith, G.H., 1997). This project is an appropriate one to engage with kaupapa Māori research theory because it explores a Māori concept, tuakana teina, as expressed and experienced by Māori participants in a specifically Māori context. The primary objective of this study is to investigate and identify effective strategies for Māori learners in trade training. In doing so, it is anticipated that the insights gained will motivate and inspire other organisations to integrate these learnings into their efforts with Māori learners in the field of trade training.

The significance of this study furthermore transcends the contemporary nature of the subject matter at hand. In raising the next generation of Māori building apprentices, Tāwharau Housing Trust is furthermore upholding a deeply personal and established tradition of generational knowledge transfer and skills acquisition – Māori vocational training - dating back centuries. This adds complexity and nuance to what might ordinarily be considered a fairly uncomplicated subject.

One of the main goals of kaupapa Māori research methodology is to make space for and champion Māori values, worldview and norms (McFarland et al., 2017). Ngāpō (2012) likewise explains that the main difference between Pākehā and kaupapa Māori research is that Pākehā research chiefly concerns itself with separating, reducing and narrowing a topic to its component parts to identify a single issue. Whereas kaupapa Māori research is generally expansive, seeking to make multiple wider connections within a broader context to look at the bigger picture:

> "Ko te tino rerekētanga o te rangahau Pākehā i te rangahau Māori, ki tā te rangahau Pākehā titiro, me whakawehewehe i ngā kaupapa, he whāiti te titiro ki te pūtake o te kaupapa. Ēngari, ki tā te rangahau Māori titiro, me tūhonohono i ngā kaupapa katoa kia whānui ai te kaupapa."
> (Ngāpō, 2011, pg. 20).

Although this study is indeed an exploration of tuakana teina approaches to Māori trade training, the bigger picture here is actually about whakapapa, the inter-generational transfer of vocational knowledge and skills and its enduring legacy – he taonga tau ukiuki. Kaupapa Māori research methodology therefore is a fitting approach to the research at hand.

Methods used in this research

The research examines the case study of Tāwharau Housing Trust and their approach toward Māori trade training and apprenticeships in construction, to explore and identify what works for Māori learners. A variety of data collection methods were used.

Personal narratives/Whānau narratives

The personal narratives of Tāwharau Housing Trust director, Jayden Thompson and the legacy of the Thompson whānau connections with the historical precursors to Māori vocational training were key sources of data collection for this research. This personal and whakapapa connection was the common thread interwoven through multiple sites of inquiry.

Digital images

Some digital Images of family memories were gratefully shared from the Thompson family photo albums, For project work and marketing, some digital images including those from their Facebook pages, have been used with permission for this research. This includes images commissioned by the BCITO in 2023.

Hui/meetings

Several meetings between Ako Aotearoa and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, including online hui, were conducted to clarify the requirements and parameters of the research project. Similarly, independent hui between Tāwharau Housing Trust, Ako Aotearoa and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi were also convened to support the progress of the research project.

Interviews

Focus group interviews with Tāwharau Housing Trust personnel, trainees and apprentices were a key source of data collection. Owing to the high-pressure timeframes and workload within the construction industry, conducting focus group interviews was the most efficient method of data collection across the highest number of participants in the time that was available.

Three focus group interviews were conducted across Tāwharau Housing Trust and included:

i. Support staff, management and personnel.
ii. New trainees and learners with an average of a year on the job.
iii. More experienced apprentices with more than two years' experience on the job.

Semi-structured qualitative interviews were sufficiently open-ended to elicit a rich variety of responses. Simple, open questions were used to identify key themes and methods in Tāwharau Housing Trust's training model, including tuakana teina approaches.

Quantitative data samples

Key Tāwharau Housing Trust documents including quantitative data collection from internal surveys and questionnaires were used to supplement the other types of qualitative data collection.

Findings

To reiterate, the aim of this study was to describe and consider tuakana teina approaches to trade training with Māori learners. Intended as an action research project, where tuakana teina approaches have been aligned to Western concepts of 'mentoring' (Henthorn, R., Lowden, K., & McArdle, K. (2022); this approach became redundant, as traditional Māori concepts informed the emergence of contemporary forms of tuakana teina relevant to training building apprentices.

These findings therefore comprise a culturally inspired approach and a collection of practices, narrative data, including an evaluation from a collaborative State-funded programme that Tāwharau Housing Trust engaged in over the period of this research project.

A culturally inspired response

Based on their 15 years of experience employing and training young Māori and guided by the successful examples of their forebears (Te Rāwheoro; Māori Arts and Crafts Institute; the Māori Trade Training scheme), Tāwharau Housing Trust has over time developed their own culturally inspired response to training and employment pathways for Māori. Their focus has always been steadfast; that is, to focus on transitioning learners from unskilled and unqualified unemployment into prosperous long term careers in the construction industry.

Through their experience of employing many young Māori over 15 years, Tāwharau Housing Trust has come to understand what tried and tested training models will work for them and what doesn't. Through trial and perseverance, Tāwharau has arrived at the conclusion that there are two key learning imperatives that are crucial to ensuring the success of young Māori trainees:

i. The learning and training approach must be holistic, and
ii. the pathway must be incremental.

As part of its holistic approach, and inspired by the pedagogy of Te Rāwheoro, Tāwharau Housing Trust also initiates its trainees into close-knit learner groups, forming strong ties through the dynamics of tikanga and whanaungatanga. Within the traditional whare wānanga learning environment, pia (*novices*), taura (*inductees*) and tauira (*model students*) were taught by senior tohunga under the oversight of a chief priest (Royal, 2005). This inspired several experimental ways of engaging tuakana teina relationships that employs peer-to-peer and age group to age group learning. The fruit of this experimentation is reflected in their 'Poutama trade training model' in Figure 12 later in this discussion.

The holistic approach reflected by the pedagogy of The New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, appeared to have been more relaxed than the more rigid roles of ancient traditional times. Tāwharau Housing Trust director, Jayden Thompson, shared further insights into the instructor – learner relationship, based on his conversations with the daughter of Hone Taiapa, a notable carver and head instructor at the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute:

> "She spoke of his friendship with both Hone and Pine, and how they, along with all the other carvers seemed to be just a bunch of mates that cruised around the country carving. There was no strict master and apprentice relationship among the tutors and student carvers, but rather a comradery of peers, learning from each other and growing the kaupapa as a whole."

Tāwharau Housing Trust tries to incorporate this strong sense of comradery in their own training, to encourage a supportive peer-to-peer learning environment where their staff can exercise the reciprocity of tuakana teina.

Having invested considerable thought and reflection into developing their own training approach, Tāwharau Housing Trust eventually settled on a model that addressed both the holistic needs of Māori learners as well as the need for an incremental learning pathway. This is an approach that, according to Tāwharau Housing Trust director, Jayden Thompson, has proven largely effective.

Figure 11. Tāwharau Housing Trust Whare Tapa Whā.

Tāwharau Housing Trust's 'Whare Tapa Wha holistic Trade Training model' as depicted in Figure 11 above is straight forward, practical and focuses on four key dimensions of support for their apprentices: cultural foundations and support, pastoral care, trade theory and practical skills. A balanced focus across these four key elements ensures that learners are well supported across the significant dimensions of their trade training journey.

Each of the four dimensions of this model will be addressed here:

Trade Theory

Book work and theory is not a strong point for many learners who have mostly left school with no qualifications. Tāwharau Housing Trust addresses this with incremental learning arranged in small achievable steps, reinforced by tuakana teina in a supportive peer-to-peer learning environment. In this way, senior apprentices can refresh and reinforce their learnings by guiding newer trainees through their book work. The pre-trade construction qualification provided by provider - Vertical Horizonz, furthermore provided a safe user-friendly introduction to workplace learning (see stage 1 of the 'Poutama trade training model' in Figure 12 below). The inclusion of Level 3 micro-credentials with BCITO in the learning programme also provided a basic level of carpentry theory which introduces trainees to the book work side of apprenticeships in a realistically achievable approach (see stage 2 of the 'Poutama trade training model' in Figure 12 below.)

Cultural foundation

Tāwharau Housing Trust acknowledges that Māori learners have differing needs and social norms than non-Māori learners. This is not a common industry perspective or practice. Tāwharau acknowledges the importance of Māori learners to understand and embrace their cultural identity, and likewise the importance of being culturally connected as a resilience factor in the modern world. In saying that, Tāwharau recognises that not all Māori learners are sufficiently connected or comfortable moving in Māori spaces.

Figure 12. Mau Rākau – part of culturally-situated learning.

To this end, Tāwharau initiates their learner's trade training journey with an introduction to traditional Māori principles of tikanga and whanaungatanga. This is achieved by way of regular marae-based wānanga and exposure to te ao Māori environments. Local kaumātua directly assist with the learning, which includes te reo Māori *(Māori language)*, mihi (*greetings*), Pepehā *(personal identity statement),* waiata *(song, chants),* haka *(posture dance),* mau rākau *(weaponry with a wooden stave)* and tikanga *(cultural practices)* as reflected in Figure 12 above. Learners also learn the ins and outs of the marae and practice manaakitanga by helping with the upkeep of the marae and looking after manuhiri. This helps to reconnect disconnected youth to their tangata whenua identity and helps to build resilience and a sense of pride. Strong cultural foundations furthermore promote group unity, harmony and whanaungatanga in the ideal context to reinforce tuakana teina learning approaches. As Tāwharau Housing Trust director, Jayden Thompson explains,

> "Marae based wānanga provides our tauira with a strong cultural foundation and understanding of who they are and where they come from. That gives them the confidence and drive to know where they are going in life in a positive direction."

Pastoral care

15 years of working with young Māori learners has shown Tāwharau Housing Trust that learners have unique and varied needs, but also that life outside of the workplace can at times impact negatively on their day-to-day performance, potentially disrupting their trade training journey. Tāwharau takes this into account with individualised pastoral support for each learner. After assessing the individual needs of their staff, they provide continuous pastoral support with their own dedicated in-house pastoral care worker. This person acts as a first point of contact for any issues that are outside of the normal employment issues, assisting with things like food, transport, accommodation, budgeting, grants, driver licenses and providing referrals to a wider network of social support services in the Rotorua area.

Focus group participants could not speak more highly of the care and support they received from Tāwharau Housing Trust, with comments like:

> "They go out of their way to support you."
> "They sincerely care for our wellbeing."
> "They walk the talk and delivered."

Several examples of extraordinary pastoral care and support are worth mentioning here.

— Tāwharau management noticed that staff were coming to work hungry because their pay packets were not lasting far into the next week. They address this shortfall by providing workers with nutritiously filling kai (*food*) from Monday to Wednesday, so that they can then fully focus on their mahi.

— Recognising the cost to purchase new trade tools could be prohibitive, especially for young people, Tāwharau management implemented a tool purchase and repayment plan where they cover the cost of new tools, which trainees then repay in instalments.

— One learner disclosed that he needed help to overcome his drug problem, to which Tāwharau responded by arranging help and support, rather than the industry standard response of going straight to disciplinary measures or dismissal. This again is not common industry practice, but it is wholly consistent with the Māori values of awhi (*help and support*) and manaakitanga. As Jayden Thompson explains,

> "Pastoral care provides the support for the office staff and apprentices to come to work happy, healthy and safe to work physically, mentally, spiritually and socially."

Practical Skills

Without exception, apprentices appreciated the opportunities for practical hands-on training available with Tāwharau Housing Trust. Tāwharau has developed a safe system of construction that is ideally suited for inexperienced learners to learn on the job. Trainees gain practical building experience in a wide range of tasks working on real world large scale developments, which reiterates the learning process by providing safe repetition at volume and speed. As Jayden explains,

> "Our unique system and processes allow our trainees to work on a wide range of tasks, developing from simple tasks in the factory like cutting noggs, right through to installing linings and finishings on-site, progressing and completing more complex tasks in their own time. Our purpose is to provide an opportunity to train and employ unskilled, unqualified and inexperienced staff, through increasingly complex tasks and responsibilities."

One problem with the conventional pass or fail approach to gaining school qualifications was that an all-or-nothing grading system failed to recognise the intermediary progress that learners could make. Moreover that learning is a process and a journey. Although the introduction of a unit standards-based framework and qualifications such as NCEA has come some way to address this reality, the rungs on the ladder are still spaced too far apart for some learners. In similar fashion the process to gain trade qualifications can be too long for learners to realistically achieve, or the learning milestones are too far apart to effectively traverse. This can be demotivating for some learners as it neither recognises that learning is a journey and process, nor does it give opportunity to celebrate what incremental progress has been made.

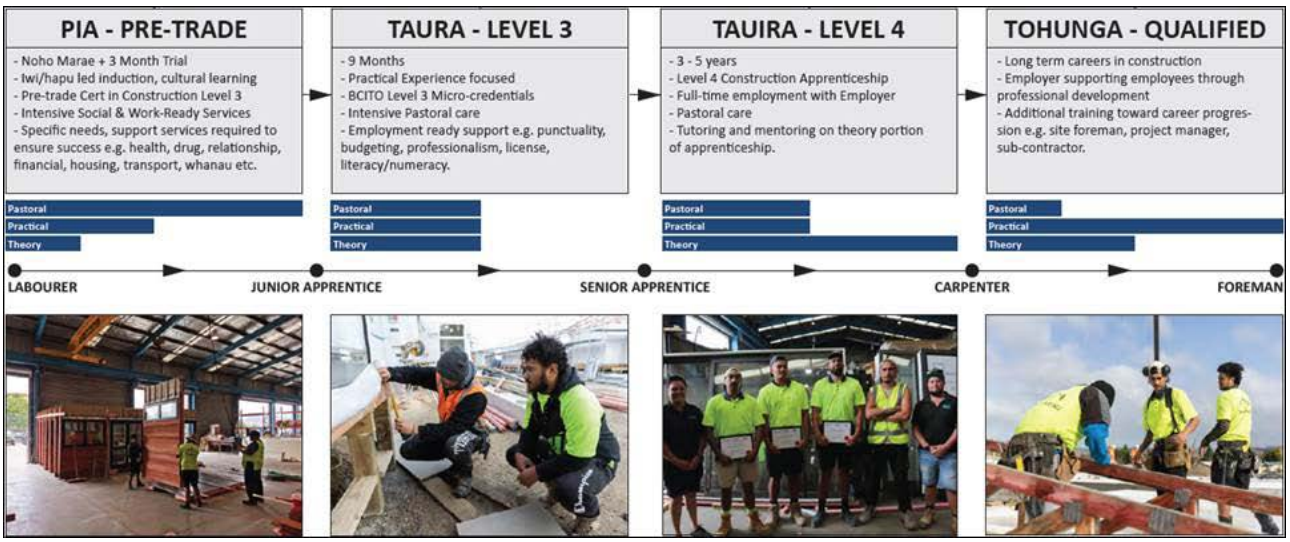

Figure 13. Poutama trade training model showing the transitions in training.

Tāwharau Housing Trust has addressed this discrepancy and shortfall with their 'Poutama Trade Training model', which breaks up a potentially daunting 3 to 5-year journey into realistic, manageable, and achievable incremental steps. The Poutama comprises 4 separate stages (as depicted in Figure 13 above), each with its own smaller milestones, that allow trainees to make small gradual steps toward their end goal, with opportunities to acknowledge and celebrate their achievements along the way.

Stage 1 – Pia/ Pre-trade/ Labourer/ 'Hammer hand'
A pre-trade construction qualification with Vertical Horizonz, a private training establishment which provides NZQA accredited safety training, is offered to all Tāwharau trainees. This includes a package of smaller qualifications including first aid, site safe, working at heights, scaffolding, manual handling, and forklift license.

Stage 2 – Taura/Level 3 apprentice
Tāwharau Housing Trust was instrumental in pioneering and developing the building industry's very first micro-credentials alongside BCITO. Level 3 micro-credentials provide a basic level of carpentry theory to introduce trainees to the book work requirements of their apprenticeships.

Stage 3 – Tauira/Level 4 apprentice
Tāwharau Housing Trust provides Level 4 carpentry apprenticeships, where trainee's skill sets are further developed and tested in the workplace in real world applications.

Stage 4 – Tohunga/ Qualified carpenter
Once apprentices have become fully qualified carpenters, they move into leadership roles, managing their own crew and are encouraged toward growing their skills further with management qualifications and business studies. As Jayden Thompson explains,

> "Apprentices progress through a series of stages that are graduated and celebrated along the way, slowly adding the skills and knowledge to their builders toolbelt. These steps make the daunting long-term goal seem within their reach and more achievable."

Adding to the poutama model, Royal Tangaere (1997) adds that the process of learning should naturally include time to pause, reflect and consolidate one's learnings, as indicated by the plateaus – horizontal planes – along the Poutama. It is during this period that the process of titiro, whakarongo, kōrero (repeating, practising, sorting, analysing, experimenting, and reviewing) is carried out until the task or activity is understood. Once this is accomplished, the learner is ready to transition to and ascend to the next stage.

'Mana in Mahi' trial 2019

Tāwharau Housing Trust's earlier efforts at vocational training with Māori learners mostly followed status quo approaches as determined by the building sector. The company was generally 'boxed' into conventional system-led arrangements with little room for innovation. For example, 'Mana in Mahi', was one such programme. As a Ministry of Social Development initiative in 2019, it was designed to support young people into full-time work, and a pathway into an industry qualification or apprenticeship (Work and Income, 2024).

Tāwharau Housing Trust engaged in a trial for 'Mana in Mahi in 2019, 2020, and the results were harshly revealing, as in Figure 14 below:

Mana in Mahi: A pilot project with the Ministry for Social Development, 2019

- 8-Week work-ready programme for unqualified, inexperienced WINZ beneficiaries.
- 25 candidates interviewed at Work Seminar.
- 12 candidates entered programme.
- 4 drop-offs after week 2 (drugs, personal issues).
- 4 drop-offs after 6 weeks.
- 4 candidates employed in full-time employment.
- 2 candidates terminated after 6 months.
- 1 candidate terminated after 12 months.
- 1 candidate retained and continued to apprenticeship with Tāwharau.
- 1 out of 25 remaining = 4% retention rate.
- No pastoral care, insufficient pre-employment training.

Figure 14. Mana in Mahi results.

As a pilot programme, it can be expected that there might be challenges, yet the government held high expectations that this programme would succeed. It became obvious very quickly that forcing young people into programmes like 'Mana in mahi' does not work if the right preparation before entering are not put in place; these include pastoral supports like drug and alcohol advice and mentoring, relationships guidance, and budgeting advice before they come into such programmes. Relying on the company to pick up these tasks stretched the resources of Tāwharau Housing Trust.

A deeper analysis of the 'Mana in Mahi' programme might suggest that learners potentially engaging under duress do not make the most motivated candidates for vocational training. As psychologist Abraham Maslow (1987) proposed, people need their basic and biological human needs met before they can be sufficiently free and motivated to pursue higher goals for themselves. The drop-off rate suggests this after 6 weeks into the programme, as Tāwharau Housing Trust director, Jayden Thompson, explains.

> "Despite our best efforts to support…the majority of those that did not continue were for personal issues like drugs and alcohol, relationship issues, punctuality and attendance, health and wellness and whānau issues like childcare. The sad part is the majority of these were good workers when they got to work and grasped the fundamental theory we introduced. Unfortunately, we can only help so much for so long and we soon realised our limits."

Some indigenous researchers have asserted that self-actualisation is only a step toward the higher purpose of community actualisation, not an end in itself (Bear Chief - Oom Kapisi, et. al., 2022). It was apparent that participants in the 'Mana in Mahi' pilot project were not in the right space to engage with that trade training model. Conventional status quo methods of vocational training were clearly not working for Māori learners, and something needed to change.

'Vertical Horizonz Employment programme' 2022

The frustration of failure led Tāwharau to rethink and reflect, with a growing realisation and feeling that perhaps the solution was not as elusive as it appeared. Could the answers be found in the innovations, wisdom and whakapapa of generations past? The result for Tāwharau was a distinct change in approach inspired by the tried and tested innovations of the ancestors.

It is acknowledged that the number of apprentices was low in this programme; however it was considered that any form of adjusted approach would provide insights in how to develop a training model that met the needs of Māori apprentices. At the time of this research, the natural learner group just happened to be four apprentices who were preparing for their next stage of training. Vertical Horizonz agreed to run a trial group.

In distinct contrast with the limited success of conventional trade training approaches with Māori learners, a concentrated focus on pastoral care and cultural support with Tāwharau's Whare Tapa Whā model and the introduction of their Poutama model, incorporating a pre-trade qualification through Vertical Horizonz, yielded significantly different and positive results, as Figure 15 illustrates on the next page.

This approach saw a distinct improvement in apprentice passes of the trade qualification and led Tāwharau to renewed trust and confidence in their own whakapapa insights, experience, and approaches to trade training. These results were to become a platform for further success.

Vertical Horizonz Employment Programme 2022

- A 12-week employment programme for unqualified, inexperienced WINZ beneficiaries.
- 6 candidates, 4 candidates placed with Tāwharau.
- Excellent pastoral care, extensive pre-employment training.
- Additional cultural dimension to the delivery of the programme.
- All 4 candidates still employed with Tāwharau after 18 Months.
- All 4 candidates complete Vertical Horizons Work Ready Qualification.
- All 4 candidates recently completed Level 3 BCITO qualification with Tāwharau.
- All 4 candidates currently preparing for Level 4 BCITO apprenticeship with Tāwharau.
- 4 out of 4 engaged learners representing 100% retention rate.

Figure 15. Vertical Horizonz results.

It must be considered that this time was the middle of the Covid-19 pandemic, and the staff and apprentices experienced many waves of infection. By the end of 2023, after the trial group with Horizonz training programme, the Building and Construction Industry Training Organisation (BCITO) learner record below in Figure 16 reflects apprentice achievement that surpassed expected results.

Pre-Trade Level 3			BCITO Level 3			BCITO Level 4		
Start	End	Duration	Start	End	Duration	Start	End	Duration
Apr-23	Jul-23	3				Mar-21	Jan-23	22
Apr-23	Jul-23	3				Mar-19	Jan-23	46
Apr-23	Jul-23	3				Jan-20	Jan-23	36
Apr-23	Jul-23	3				Feb-22		
Apr-23	Jul-23	3				Feb-22		
Apr-23	Jul-23	3				Feb-22		
Apr-23	Jul-23	3	Feb-23	Aug-23	6			
Apr-23	Jul-23	3	Feb-23	Aug-23	6			
Apr-23	Jul-23	3	Feb-23	Aug-23	6			
Apr-23	Jul-23	3	Feb-23	Aug-23	6			
Apr-23	Jul-23	3	Feb-23	Aug-23	6			
Apr-23	Jul-23	3	Feb-23	Aug-23	6			
Apr-23	Jul-23	3	Feb-23	Aug-23	6			
Apr-23	Jul-23	3	Feb-23	Aug-23	6			
Apr-23	Jul-23	3	Feb-23	Aug-23	6			
Apr-23	Jul-23	3	Feb-23	Aug-23	6			
Apr-23	Jul-23	3						
Apr-23	Jul-23	3						

Figure 16. Tāwharau Housing Trust learner achievement results

Practical applications of tuakana teina

The following examples of authentic practical applications of tuakana teina in the building and construction workplace gives some idea of how straight forward and natural tuakana teina is when embedded into the 'Poutama Trade Training model. Typical of action research projects, these situations were done with some thought as to consequences like – "If we….then…" or "how might XX work with YY?". It is only by trial and error, that such tuakana teina relationships will become apparent in real situations on a building worksite. Purposeful observation and feedback from leading hands provide evidence of successful tuakana teina relationships. Note the following practical applications of tuakana teina from the worksite:

— An apprentice strong in concrete formwork may be the tuakana during this work but becomes the teina to an apprentice more experienced and knowledgeable with framing.

— One apprentice who shows leadership skills in the workplace may be less confident on the marae and so other apprentices are able to step in and speak in the whare, lead the waiata or haka.

— One apprentice confident at the front of the marae, may rely on other apprentices that are hunter gatherers and better at preparing the kai.

— One experienced builder who had challenges relating to the young apprentices, is respectfully offered a position overseeing another part of the operation. His mana (self-esteem) is maintained, and then enhanced as he becomes in charge of a more complex part of the business.

Figure 17. Apprentice achievement of BCITO qualifications.

— One apprentice who excels in the theoretical learning may have a difficult family and home life and will seek the support of one of the senior apprentices who has the life experience and knowledge needed to support that tauira to address these personal issues.

— One apprentice who shows strengths in planning and organising daily tasks may not have the best quality assurance skills and so may be able to learn off other apprentices.

Final comment regarding practical applications of tuakana teina remains with the director, Jayden Thompson, who is adamant that,

> "the model places the group of learners on an even playing field where they can show their strengths while developing their weaknesses in a supportive environment. Although more experienced apprentices are promoted into leadership roles within the workplace setting, these roles become a lot more fluid and dynamic when it comes to the learning environment."

Summary

Action points for effective vocational training for Māori learners:

— **Develop a 'Whare Tapa Wha' training model** that addresses the four dimensions of support for their apprentices: cultural foundations, pastoral care, trade theory and practical skills.

— **Acknowledge the importance of Māori learners to stay connected to their cultural identity,** as a resilience factor in the modern world.

— **Encourage close-knit learner groups,** forming strong ties through the dynamics of tikanga and whanaungatanga.

— **Develop pastoral care practices** that are meaningful, realistic, are respectful, and that are responsive to the individual needs of the apprentices.

— **Experiment and trial ways of engaging tuakana teina** relationships that are peer-to-peer, or year group to year group learning.

— **Implement incremental learning pathways** derived from the ancient whare wānanga, melded with current forms of apprenticeship training.

— **Be prepared to trial small learner groups** in various training programmes or processes that are thought through clearly, and preferably in collaboration with the apprentices.

— **Seek a balance of user-friendly approaches to trade theory,** incorporating both paper-based and e-learning resources and complementing these with ample opportunities for that apply practical skills.

— **Seek ways that all staff** can exercise the reciprocity of tuakana teina, and to learn alongside of the apprentices.

Discussions

The aim of this study was to describe and consider tuakana teina approaches to trade training with Māori learners. Three major discussions are presented here.

'Kaupapa-driven legacy of Māori vocational training' is portrayed in the analogy of a tree representing how tuakana teina is viewed beyond more than a simple description of a mentoring model, but that it is best viewed in an organic process like that of a tree. The roots symbolically allude to the legacy stemming from ancient creation narratives passed down from the ancestors (Marsden, 2003). This provided a conceptual framework from which to locate the evolving whakapapa of Te Rāwheoro Whare Wananga, Rotorua Carving School, the Māori Trade Training Scheme, culminating in Tāwharau Housing Trust.

'Workplace Essentials' outlines of four key 'scenarios' or critical elements of Tāwharau's practice which are central, moreover essential, to Tāwharau Housing Trust's approach to vocational training in the workplace. The analysis of contemporary vocational training approaches with Māori learners against the backdrop of their customary precursors within te ao Māori contributed to the development of a Te Ao Māori vocational training framework, which is further described in the section following.

'Is that to have here or take away?' This section considers several take aways from the research and the potential for replicating aspects of Māori trade training in other vocational settings.

Discussion 1:

Kaupapa-driven legacy of Māori vocational training

This exploration into Māori vocational pathways has been revealing, to say the least! What was intended as a simple foray into observing tuakana teina practices in the building industry changed course quite unexpectedly into a surprising journey well beyond the confines of tuakana teina.

Viewed through the lens of history and whakapapa (genealogy), in training the next generation of Māori builders and tradespeople, Tāwharau Housing Trust is following and upholding an established tradition of Māori trade training which stretches back to the whare wānanga of ancient times. This places added gravitas and significance to the Tāwharau Housing Trust mission. While it is not necessary for other organisations to share a similar vocational pedigree to engage in Māori trade training, it does place Tāwharau's efforts in perspective within a wider historical and kaupapa-driven narrative.

At a philosophical level, to understand the cultural nuances of tuakana teina, the analogy of a tree is used in this discussion, as depicted in Figure 18 next page. Stemming from the roots, Tāwharau's activities are deeply rooted in the training traditions of their forebears, modelled from a blueprint for the two training models described earlier in this paper. This is represented as part of 'Te Pū', 'Te More' and 'Te Weu' of the growth cycle of a tree.

The trunk, leaves and fruit of the tree represent the both the 'Whare Tapa Wha Holistic Trade Training model' and the 'Poutama model' working in complementary ways together. At a building site level of understanding, tuakana teina relationships are central to Tāwharau Housing Trust's training success. As director Jayden Thompson stressed, it relies on the traditional Māori concepts of reciprocal roles between the tuakana and teina to the extent where learners within a peer group drive their own learning.

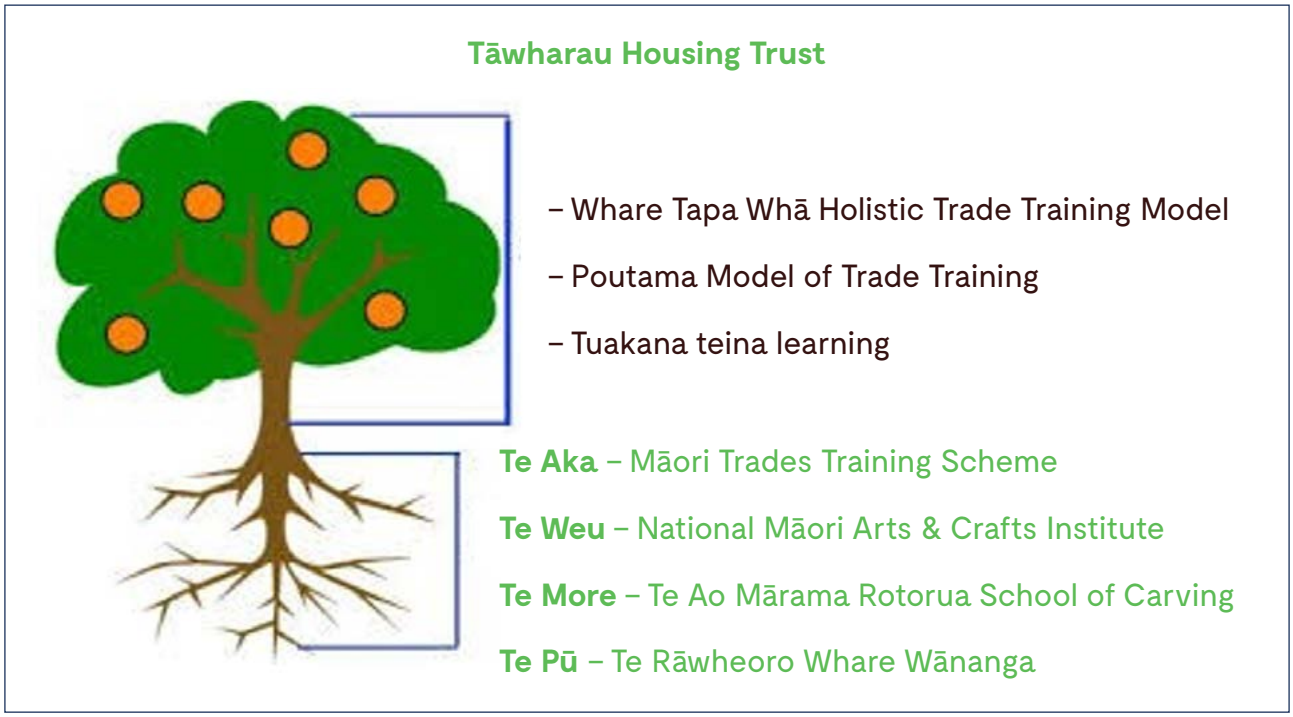

Figure 18. Tree analogy representing the cultural nuances of a 'Kaupapa-driven legacy of Māori Trade Training.'

The Māori creation narrative (Marsden, 2003), describing both the genesis of the living universe and the unfolding process of consciousness in terms of a seed germinating, establishing its root system and sending forth its shoots into the world (te pū, te more, te weu, te aka) is an appropriate metaphor with which to frame the whakapapa and origins of Tāwharau Housing Trust and moreover give context to the taonga tuku iho (treasures handed down by our ancestors) that is their kaupapa.

Tāwharau Housing Trust has furthermore combined sound theoretical underpinnings and authentic cultural support based in tikanga alongside industry best practice to develop a truly Māori approach to trade training. Their adaptation of Te Whare Tapa Whā model to include the pastoral care dimension alongside theory and hands-on learning is practical, simple and works. Likewise, adapting the Poutama model to facilitate the progression of learning and skills development, including pre-trade qualifications and micro-credentials, is likewise ingenious in its simplicity.

Importantly, Tāwharau Housing Trust has provided their team with a supportive and nurturing whānau environment grounded on a solid foundation of te ao Māori values. In the words of their trainees and apprentices, Tāwharau is "more of a whānau than a company." Tāwharau has shown that when there is an inclusive and nurturing whānau-centred environment based in whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and aroha, tuakana teina approaches will naturally flourish and thrive.

As Royal Tangaere (1997) attests, tuakana teina approaches cannot or should not be disconnected or separated from their natural location within whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe). Doherty (2012) reaffirms this position when he asserts that Māori words and concepts should not be interpreted or applied in isolation from their specific grounding within whenua (land) and by extension, whānau (family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe).

Royal Tangaere (1997) reiterates too that tuakana teina learning and development cannot be separated from the influences of tikanga Māori and the Māori context. This observance of tikanga within a supportive environment that integrates te ao Māori and furthermore embraces and supports the cultural identity of their learners is the difference that Tāwharau Housing Trust is modelling.

This has implications for how the tuakana teina concept has usually been approached and implemented within education settings. For the most part tuakana teina has been treated simply as an 'off-the-shelf' stand-alone learning method quite separate and disconnected from its roots and natural context within whakapapa (kinship) and whanaungatanga (relationships). However, approaching tuakana teina as a mere learning method overlooks the simple but important fact that to be a tuakana or a teina first requires belonging and expression within a whānau (family).

In this case study of Tāwharau Housing Trust, tuakana teina was simply a natural by-product or 'fruit' (as in the tree analogy described earlier) that, with minimal encouragement, formed naturally under the right conditions. In this instance tuakana teina learning was an organic consequence of social and cultural connectedness.

Conversely, efforts to reproduce tuakana teina approaches in the absence of a nurturing, supportive and culturally affirming environment are perhaps back-to-front and counter intuitive. Using the analogy of a how a fruit tree grows, such disconnected approaches would be like trying to conjure an orange or apple out of thin air. Such detached 'off-the-shelf' approaches would likely prove unnatural and potentially frustrating for would-be educators. Furthermore, suggesting a degree of 'genetic modification' which will likely have limited success.

In exploring Tāwharau Housing Trust as a case study, this research has identified a clear distinction between what can be described, for want of better words, as natural or 'contextualised tuakana teina' versus artificial or 'decontextualised tuakana teina.' Based on the findings of this research, it is possible that, like comparing a bowl of wax fruit alongside the real thing, some examples of learning models which have hitherto been presented as tuakana teina approaches simply may not be tuakana teina at all.

Why Tāwharau Housing Trust's approach works

Key to Tāwharau's success is a natural foundation in te ao Māori values, principles, and practice. One central value and practice is that of whanaungatanga, whereby Tāwharau Housing Trust functions more as a whānau than a conventional building company. Exposure and immersive experiences in customary cultural te ao Māori practices at Tāwharau is an integral part of the learner's vocational pathway, not an optional add-on or a 'nice to have.'

Tāwharau apprentices described the privilege it was to engage with and develop their cultural understanding 'on the job'.

> "The marae experience was a highlight…tikanga, waiata, haka practice… Finding out we were cuzzies and had a connection. It was a privilege to do that during mahi hours."

Tāwharau Housing Trust is not the only construction company with a Māori whakapapa. Nor is Tāwharau Housing Trust the only trade trainer engaged with Māori learners. For example, 'Toitū Tairāwhiti Housing Ltd', based on the East Coast of the North Island of Aotearoa, is an iwi collective construction company that champions te ao Māori values and practices in its 'Whītiki Ora Workforce Development strategy' (O'Connor, 2024). It is the intentional focus on normalising te ao Māori values and practices that sets Tāwharau Housing Trust and other kaupapa-driven organisations apart from conventional vocational training organisations.

In addition to, and inclusive of, the intrinsic expression of te ao Māori values and practices, is Tāwharau Housing Trust's application of its own te ao Māori trade training models, Te Whare Tapa Whā and Poutama, within the workplace. Based on a foundation of lived experience at the forefront of engaging Māori learners in the building industry, these trade training models reflect the key findings derived from Tāwharau's own research and experience, that Māori learners respond best to a training approach that is holistic (Te Whare Tapa Whā), alongside a learning and training pathway which is incremental (Poutama).

Tāwharau Housing Trust's adaptation of Te Whare Tapa Whā and Poutama as trade training models is elegant in its simplicity and understated in its practicality. As identified earlier, Te Whare Tapa Whā supports Māori learners by combining hands-on practical learning with achievable theory in a nurturing environment of cultural support and pastoral care. Similarly, the Poutama model provides a workable scaffold of incremental learning goals (pre-trade qualifications; level 3 BCITO micro-credentials; level 4 carpentry apprenticeship followed by further management qualifications and business studies) within a supportive group learning environment and approach to career pathways.

Transferability to other vocational areas

Adopting these te ao Māori trade training models into their engagement with Māori learners could potentially see improved levels of learner engagement and workplace qualifications for other trade training organisations. That said, as demonstrated with the conventional 'off the shelf' approaches to tuakana teina identified earlier, such a culturally disconnected approach is likely to meet with limited success (Royal Tangaere, 1997). As described previously, tuakana teina is a natural and organic consequence of a nurturing and supportive te ao Māori environment where pivotal cultural values and norms can develop and flourish. The effectiveness of te ao Māori models as adopted within culturally distinct trade training environments is beyond the scope of this study, but presents opportunity for further research.

Having established the efficacy of te ao Māori models, particularly when they are contextualised and expressed within a natural te ao Māori environment, it would be a mistake to assume that this dynamic happens in a vacuum without any foresight, effort or intention whatsoever. If anything, the example of Tāwharau Housing Trust has shown that those engaged in training Māori learners need to be intentional and deliberate to create and nurture the specific conditions and environment for supportive learning and growth. It won't just happen. This has highlighted what has been an unintended yet significant finding of this study, namely the practice of te ao Māori leadership within the trade training environment. Te ao Māori leadership is significant to Tāwharau Housing Trust's practice and will be discussed under Workplace Essentials, later in this discussion.

Tāwharau Housing Trust's organisational climate and culture makes it easy and natural for te ao Māori learning approaches with Māori learners to succeed and flourish. These approaches can best be summed up in the concept of Ako, which describes the oscillating and interchangeable nature and corresponding shift in roles between instructor and learner in each context. One person might be more proficient with book work, while another may be more hands-on with mechanical aptitude. Each can help the other depending on the circumstances. As identified earlier, the concept of Ako differs from the narrow confines of English language terminology where a teacher only teaches and a learner only learns.

As previously described, the basis of tuakana teina is whakapapa and whanaungatanga. Put simply, one cannot be a tuakana or a teina without first belonging to a whānau, which is where off-the-shelf and culturally disconnected approaches to tuakana teina fall short. Tāwharau Housing trust has importantly created the culturally and relationally supportive conditions and environment for tuakana teina and ako to grow and flourish.

Reciprocal roles and comradery

The reciprocity of roles, whanaungatanga and comradery that naturally occurs within the Tāwharau Housing Trust whānau and workplace differs significantly from the traditional and conventional master/apprentice model that was transplanted to Aotearoa from offshore. This conventional approach is in stark contrast to the historical te ao Māori precursors to Māori vocational training, identified earlier. As the director, Jayden Thompson explained,

> "Our model is contradictory to the traditional apprenticeship model of an older, more experienced and knowledgeable senior carpenter who takes a young apprentice under his wing - there is no space for reciprocal learning in this model. I could not imagine any older qualified builder admitting that a young apprentice may know more about something than he does."

The comradery and general workplace satisfaction observed within Māori models of trade training have likewise been identified by Professor Tā Hirini Moko Mead in his research describing the instruction of Māori carvers. Referring to an observation of war canoes being constructed at Kororareka last century, it was noted that,

> "The carvers were not being coerced and stood over by a bossy chief; rather, they all knew what was expected of them and worked with great dedication at their allotted task and seemed to enjoy what they were doing."
> (Mead, 1986, pg. 195).

The satisfaction of enjoying a job well done and the congeniality and pride that comes with problem-solving and completing tasks to a high standard as a team was also identified by Tāwharau apprentices as a rewarding and meaningful highlight of their vocational experience. Likewise, seeing the growth in their team members as they mastered new skills was equally rewarding to learners:

> "It's been cool to see the boys come a long way…to see the positive changes and progress in others."
> Senior apprentice, Tāwharau Housing Trust

Strengths-based specialisation

Tāwharau's approach to tuakana teina learning includes identifying apprentice strengths and weaknesses. Apprentices are encouraged in their strengths which also presents opportunities for them to teach others in the workplace. Conversely, apprentice's weak areas can be developed in a safe and supportive whānau environment.

With a strengths-based focus, each apprentice takes the lead during the stages of work with which they are most confident. Senior apprentices lead crews of junior apprentices in their specialty area of work. As the junior apprentices grow in aptitude, they get opportunities to lead and teach others the skill. Learning by teaching other apprentices serves to strengthen and reinforce their understanding even further.

Playing to one's unique strengths and skills was modelled from the New Zealand Māori Arts and Craft Institute. For example, some distinctions were observed between the competitive and complementary carving styles of Pine Taiapa, head carver and tutor, and his younger brother Hone, who would become the institute's first master carver (Ballara, 2020). Mead (1970) has described traditional methods of carving instruction, including the tendency towards specialisation, in his exposition on Māori carving, which highlights a systematic, almost production-line approach to Māori carving in teams:

> "Each would be required to be proficient at sculpturing but thereafter group members specialising in various decorative methods would take over. This recognised that certain individuals are better than others, and the group, as well as the work in hand, would benefit by their specialist services since high standards were maintained." (pg. 56).

This innovative and systematic approach to construction also has trade training applications in Tāwharau Housing Trust's bespoke prefabricated construction system which creates an ideal, closely monitored and safe environment for training unskilled, inexperienced staff through a range of increasingly complex tasks and responsibilities.

Figure 19. Qualified builder and Senior apprentice at work.

As will be discussed later in this report, a key strength and point of difference with Tāwharau Housing Trust's training approach is a whole-of-organisation learning culture which emphasises mutual support and learning together as a group. Conventional apprenticeship models place considerable focus on an apprentice's individual performance and achievement (Savage, 2016), which might simply reflect predominant society values. With little to no pastoral care and group support, apprentices under the conventional model are required to be sufficiently independent and career-driven to succeed (Savage, 2016). This potentially places some Māori learners at a disadvantage.

Towards a Māori vocational training framework

Three clear themes emerged from a Kaupapa-driven legacy of Māori Trade Training which potentially inform a vocational training framework for Māori learners; these themes are Whakapapa, Tikanga and Whānau, being the aspects that revolve around and channel the transmission of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and the science and body of knowledge pertaining to each specific vocation and skillset.

Whakapapa

In its efforts with Māori apprentices, Tāwharau Housing Trust embraces and draws inspiration from its unique whakapapa and legacy of vocational training within the construction industry. Whakapapa refers to the historical origins, multi-generational legacy and continuity inherent in committing oneself to vocational trade training. To learn a vocation in te ao Māori was also to be immersed in its whakapapa and was therefore a solemn undertaking. To meet the challenge of learning a profession was the profound privilege of upholding traditions and the solemn responsibility of advancing the artform further (Mead, 1986).

In terms of skills acquisition and vocational mastery, whakapapa literally refers to 'laying the foundations' of learning and the ensuing process of building upon that foundation as new skills, techniques and experience is acquired. The Poutama model as expressed by Tawharau Housing Trust is an example of this.

Whakapapa also commonly refers to one's natural family relationships. Since everyday life in traditional Māori society centred on the close-knit familial relationships expressed within whānau and hapū, it was natural that the vocational skills and expertise – Mātauranga Māori - involved in meeting society's manifold needs through the arts, technology and material culture were acquired and transferred within whānau relationships. Intergenerational whānau relationships provided the context where specific vocational expertise and knowledge was transmitted to younger generations. This covered the full scope of vocational training requirements including agriculture, architecture, fashion, fishing, navigation, medicine and warfare.

It was primarily within the context of whakapapa and relationships where specific vocational skills and knowledge could be furthermore honed and developed, resulting in specialisation of trades, skillsets and mastery within whānau. Indeed, trade specialisation within families has been common to societies throughout history where certain families become recognised experts in certain trades. In England a family's name could become synonymous with their vocation e.g. Baker, Cartwright, Fletcher, Miller, Smith and Thatcher etc. Similarly, certain whānau are renowned in te ao Māori for being recognised subject-matter experts and practitioners across different vocations, fields and art forms such as weaving, carving, traditional medicine, seafaring navigation and agriculture, to name a few. While vocational training is not so whānau-centric today, organisations and learners can benefit from creating a supportive team and 'whānau' environment that nurtures peer mentoring and tuakana teina relationships.

Tikanga

Vocational training in traditional Māori society was a serious undertaking where community life depended on its members performing their duties, roles and functions to a high standard. The requisite skills and technologies necessary for survival had been painstakingly honed and developed over time and failure came at a high price. Furthermore, as was the case in other indigenous societies, there was no distinction between the secular and sacred in pre-colonial Aotearoa. Consequently, the observance of tikanga and ritual applied to every facet of life, in particular the conventions of karakia and rāhui in navigating the rules, regulations and restrictions embodied within the conceptual frameworks of tapu (that which is sacred) and noa (the ordinary).

For this reason many forms of vocational training were underpinned by the strict observance of tikanga and ritual to ensure that the appropriate care and respect was taken with harvesting the raw materials from the natural world. This due diligence extended to the ensuing process of refining those materials in the manufacture and instruction in vocational training and material culture. For example, there were rituals and tikanga involved in the harvesting of harakeke – flax – and its subsequent use in weaving. Likewise, the harvesting of trees – the embodiment of the children of Tāne Mahuta - required specific rituals and tikanga. These protocols were further observed as

those resources were converted and their innate tapu focused, in the construction of buildings, canoes, carvings and weaponry. Some of these tikanga and rituals are still in use to this day:

Rukuhia te ata o te whakairo	Delve deep into the image of carving
Rukuhia te ata o te wānanga	Delve deep into the essence of knowledge
Rukuhia te ata o te wharekura	Delve deep into the image of the schooling
Whano, whano, hara mai te toki	Proceed! Advance! Bring forth the adze!
Haumi e, hui e, tāiki e!	Unite! Assemble! It is done!

(Walker, 2008, pg. 90)

Tikanga and ritual, while not as strictly observed today, is nonetheless important in Tāwharau Housing Trust's approach to vocational training with Māori learners. Tikanga and ritual practices help to initiate newcomers into the Tāwharau whānau, as demonstrated in the pōwhiri process and associated cultural protocols. Ritual prayers and incantations by kaumātua are conducted with the Tāwharau team before any work at a building site can commence. Likewise, tikanga and ritual come to the fore in acknowledging learner's milestones and achievements in their vocational journey, and typically includes celebrating with their whānau on the marae.

As one might expect within a typical industrial worksite, Tāwharau team members implement their own workplace tikanga, rituals and rules which help form team spirit and boost morale. The observance of tikanga and ritual at Tāwharau Housing Trust formally underlines the significance of the vocational training and the mahi; that you are part of something significant, and "not here just to bang around with a hammer". Tikanga and ritual fosters teamwork and whanaungatanga and importantly equips and encourages Māori learners along the journey to rediscover and recapture their cultural identity, which many have been disconnected from.

Whānau

As described earlier under considerations of whakapapa, traditional vocational training within te ao Māori was typically transmitted within a context of close-knit whānau relationships. This led to the development and cultivation of whānau trade secrets and specialist knowledge. Whānau-centred transmission of specialist skills and knowledge typically involved senior whānau members teaching younger whānau members of the same gender. For example, it was common for boys to be taught carving by their uncles, or girls to be taught weaving by their aunties or kuia.

Because it was typically based within the context of whānau relationships, traditional te ao Māori vocational training was long-term and lifelong as skills and techniques were constantly evolving and being perfected. Vocational training was furthermore a lifestyle as students shared life in close relationship and proximity with their mentors. Furthermore, in traditional times there was no such thing as a 9-5 job.

At Tāwharau Housing Trust, whānau finds expression in several layers - literal, extended and naturalised. Firstly, the Thompson whānau itself forms the nucleus of the organisation with leadership, pivotal roles, and responsibilities. Extended whānau members and in-laws are part of management and provide additional support and consistency. Trainees and apprentices moreover become naturalised whānau members

through the process of whakawhanaungatanga – getting connected – within an environment of nurturing, supportive relationships. For example, when three of the junior apprentices found themselves out of accommodation, the Trust rented one of the newly completed homes for these apprentices, who lived and worked on-site. This act cemented the whanau relationships even further

Mātauranga Māori

While the specific Mātauranga being acquired will vary from industry to industry (e.g. celestial navigation, horticulture or building construction etc.), the framework of whakapapa, whānau and tikanga remains a consistent support system to support the vocational training in each discipline. Relationships, particularly mentoring relationships, are key to vocational learning.

Mātauranga Māori in this framework refers to the specific body of subject-matter knowledge, expertise and skills pertaining to a particular art-form and industry. As Doherty (2012) suggests in the Ranga Framework, Mātauranga Māori naturally comprises Mātauranga-ā-iwi (iwi-specific knowledge) and kaupapa Māori, or more specifically in pre-colonial Aotearoa, kaupapa-ā-iwi (iwi-centric prerogative), flowing together in synergy.

Since indigenous forms of written technology had not yet been developed in Aotearoa, customary Māori society favoured and elevated the spoken word. One could argue that an oral culture had no need for writing. Others may argue that the art of whakairo and weaving patterns are forms of recorded and codified communication that meet the same functions as written text. One could also surmise that, in due course, an indigenous form of writing would have emerged in Aotearoa, as it did in other societies. Since the disruption of colonisation arrested such development, we can only guess. In the absence of books, libraries, You Tube or TikTok in customary society, people were the only repositories for knowledge. Consequently, the whole multiverse of tribal histories, experiences, knowledge and understanding could only be recorded by wholly committing it to memory. It was thereafter stored, transmitted and accessed through a comprehensive catalogue of whakapapa, pūrākau, waiata, haka and the whole gamut of indigenous oral technologies. Specialist subject matter – Mātauranga Māori - pertaining to vocational training, could only be transmitted by word of mouth and hands-on demonstration in the context of close and supportive relationships. There were no training manuals or unit standards to refer to in those times.

The relationship was the safeguard for the traditions of the vocation, the body of knowledge and the learner, ensuring the appropriate standards, regulations and tikanga were being followed. In that respect, the relationship functioned as quality assurance for products and services, as well as health and safety provision. By defaulting to written regulations and procedures, the contemporary Western workplace is arguably somewhat poorer for decentralising the significance of mentoring and vocational relationships.

Discussion 2:

Workplace Essentials

Numerous everyday examples of tuakana teina relationships were demonstrated in the Tāwharau Housing Trust workplace. These examples mostly involved mutual assistance between peers to help with specific skill sets and tasks (e.g. sharing more efficient methods of using the drop-saw or help with concrete formwork etc.) That said, it is perhaps prudent in this study to focus on several company-wide scenarios or practices that reflect the overall culture and tuakana teina ethos being followed at Tāwharau Housing Trust. These practices were moreover identified as being non-negotiable and essential elements of the Tāwharau Housing Trust workplace.

For this study, these practices are described as 'Workplace Essentials' and include:

1. Whole of Organisation Learning
2. Culturally situated learning experiences
3. Whanaungatanga
4. Te ao Māori leadership, Rangatiratanga

Workplace Essential # 1: Whole of Organisation Learning

Central to the Tāwharau ethos and embedded in the concept of 'ako' is the learning culture that is modelled throughout the whole organisation. The Tāwharau management personnel and staff take every opportunity to learn alongside their trainees, whether it be for first aid training, tikanga lessons, health and safety refreshers, drug awareness seminars, or best-practice updates. Regular classroom sessions are held with all staff, completing a wide range of qualifications including pre-trade to Level 3 micro-credentials, Level 4 carpentry qualifications and whatever topics are appropriate and

Figure 20. Whole of organisation learning.

relevant at the time. This 'one-in-all-in' approach is not common industry practice, but is totally consistent with tuakana teina, ako, and the traditions and lessons inherited from past generations of Whare Wananga, Carving Schools and Māori trade training described earlier. It is furthermore a potent example of Tāwharau staff role modelling the values of whanaungatanga and whakaiti (humility) in front of their learners.

When it comes to learning, management do not shut themselves away in the office, but are hands-on right alongside their trainees. Where mainstream methods can approach learning as a largely individual pursuit where one either rises or falls solely on their own efforts, Tāwharau operates from a whānau-centred ethos where learning is a whānau activity. This has the benefit of normalising group learning, builds togetherness and group morale and furthermore reinforces the notion that learning is for everybody in a lifelong journey which never ends. It also creates safe spaces where learners are free to make mistakes, as one new apprentice described as "without whakamā (without embarrassment)".

Participants from the senior apprentice group appreciated the all-inclusive approach to learning, preferring the whānau learning approach as opposed to the individualised approaches typical of the school system. One apprentice highlighted the whānau-centric mentoring approach, saying it was all-inclusive, and "like having five generations of older brothers."

Participants from the new trainees group likewise appreciated the group learning approach where trainees progressed and advanced through their training together, rather than being forced to go-it-alone, like back in school. This again is not common industry practice, but totally consistent with whanaungatanga and Te Ao Māori values.

Tāwharau management and office personnel, appreciated the opportunities for growth and new learning, including courses, mini-courses, and micro-credentials. All trainee groups enjoyed the opportunities for hands-on learning activities but also appreciated the supported group approach to book work and theory.

Workplace Essential # 2: Culturally situated learning experiences
In keeping with their holistic approach as per their 'Whare Tapa Whā' Training model, Tāwharau provides learners with a strong cultural foundation based on traditional Māori values of tikanga, whanaungatanga and manaakitanga upon which to begin their trade training journey. This is not common industry practice but is again totally consistent with te ao Māori principles. It furthermore goes a long way to address the issues of cultural dissonance identified in the literature.

This culturally situated learning takes the form of regular marae based wānanga, facilitated by local kaumātua, where staff learn te reo, mihi, pepehā, waiata, haka and tikanga. Apprentices also get hands-on experience to practice manaakitanga by doing marae cleaning duties and notably, preparing and serving a hangi (earth-oven steamed meal) for invited guests, including their whānau. The marae environment supports whanaungatanga and unity, where the physical and spiritual environment has the effect of being a 'great equalizer', where everyone is made welcome and included within the kaupapa, regardless of who they are or where they are from.

Marae-based wānanga may also be a more familiar setting to some learners, although Tāwharau management did divulge that the marae experience would have been a new experience for over half of the learners at their last wānanga. This apparent disconnection from culture could just be a sign of the times and the simple reality for many culturally disconnected young people in urban centres.

In saying that, the culturally situated learning on the marae provides an ideal opportunity for the apprentices to begin to make those connections and furthermore begin to build cultural resilience in a safe and supportive environment. Tāwharau management enjoyed watching their learners' confidence grow on the marae and how the wānanga helped to encourage respectful listening and interactions within the group. The marae-based environment was furthermore the natural venue within which to practice tuakana teina learning approaches with reciprocal learning and instruction consistent with the concept of ako. Culturally situated learning on the marae was also a positive experience for non-Māori learners as well. Tāwharau staff gave the example of how the whole group gathered around to tautoko (support) and awhi (care for) a tauiwi (non-Māori) student with dyslexia to deliver his pepehā (personal statement), which arguably would not have happened in a conventional classroom environment.

"The whole noho marae experience would have been new to over half of our tauira, but it's been awesome as we've gone to noho marae to learn waiata, pepehā and do kai prep – to watch that whanaungatanga and unity – oneness – to watch their confidence grow." Tāwharau Housing Trust trustee

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The cultural resilience gained from marae-based wānanga has seen the confidence of Tāwharau staff and apprentices grow to the point where they can be confident and safe in a marae environment. This was observed when the whole contingent of staff attended the tangi of one of their learner's family members. The local interaction and close iwi and hapū relationships formed by Tāwharau furthermore build their resilience and capability and establishes their presence in the community, to the point where the team has at times been warmly referred to as 'Ngāti Tāwharau.'

Participants from the group of new apprentices appreciated the opportunity to learn haka, waiata, pepehā and mau rākau (traditional Māori fighting art using a staff). In the words of one trainee,

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"The cultural support was 'mean' – and I found out that I had connections and was related to others in the group."

Making whānau connections is an ordinary part of the noho marae (marae stay) experience that brings people together. It is difficult to say whether this would have happened in a conventional learning environment.

Workplace Essential # 3: Whanaungatanga

The Tāwharau Housing Trust model of trade training draws strength from an organic cultural environment centred in te ao Māori values, principles and practices based on whanaungatanga, which literally refers to 'the state of being whānau'. As the basic social unit of te ao Māori, it is arguably within the context of whānau where Māori beliefs, behaviours and practices are best expressed and transferred. As a whānau-based company, Tāwharau Housing Trust is living out the reality of whanaungatanga among all Tāwharau whānau members, be they staff, personnel or trainees – all are whānau.

The foundation of whanaungatanga is central to the overall ethos and practice of Tāwharau Housing Trust. This was reiterated in the staff and trainee interviews where participants affirmed that Tāwharau was more like a whānau than a workplace. Whanaungatanga finds expression in the day-to-day manaakitanga and aroha expressed in daily operations, as shown with their exceptional pastoral care practices, like generously providing accommodation or kai for their workers. Whanaungatanga is furthermore strengthened in Tāwharau through the nurture of tikanga and opportunities for te ao Māori growth and experiences for Tāwharau whānau members.

Whanaungatanga expressed through Tāwharau Housing Trust can be simply summed up in a 'We vs Me' ethos. This does not mean that the interests and welfare of the individual are outweighed by the interests of the collective, but rather that the vocational training journey is a team effort where whānau members are there for each other, accountable to each other, leaving no one behind or to fend for themselves. The difference between conventional 'me-centred' vocational training pathways and Tāwharau's 'we-centred' approach was concisely summed up by a trainee,

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"If you fail [over there] it's all on you. But here [Tāwharau], it's all on us."

Feeling part of the Tāwharau Housing Trust whānau was identified as a key source of support and strength by trainees as shown in comments like,

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"Whānau is the strength."
"I love you [team] - you're my whānau."

As an example of the comradery and whanaungatanga developed at Tāwharau, staff coordinators shared anecdotes of 'the boys' not wanting to go home at 'knock-off' time, preferring to hang out on site or at the Tāwharau factory with the team – the Tāwharau whānau. This was confirmed by 'the boys' themselves,

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"We don't really ask each other how our weekends went cos we already know - we spent it together!"

Whanaungatanga has also been demonstrated in the 'whole-of-organisation' approach to learning identified earlier where Tāwharau takes a collective 'no one left behind' approach to learning. Whanaungatanga is expressed through peer-mentoring and study groups:

> "We don't leave anyone behind. There's no such thing as people cheating and looking up answers because we're actually working together to get the same result. So it [group learning] actually benefits everyone – you're helping each other. We're sharing each other's understanding of it [theory and course work]."

Tuakana teina learning partnerships pair novices up with senior apprentices. In addition, Tāwharau's seasoned practitioners offer advanced tutorials. Whanaungatanga likewise extends to ensuring that each individual trainee is up to speed before the whole work team can proceed with assessments. In the process of helping each other learn, tauira (students) can discover new skills in communication and instruction, further building their own confidence and resilience. One senior apprentice who now has a key role supervising junior apprentices and learners explains,

> "Definitely during my apprenticeship, we got a lot of help. We would have little study days, or study in the weekends on Saturday or Sunday. We'd do a few hours study and then be on to our test the following week. They've [Tāwharau} just been really supportive, especially for a lot of us who are not so good at English – we used to spend a lot of time googling words to see what they mean. The support was just unreal for me, because I'm not the best with English, but having that support made everything easier and left me feeling more motivated."

Whanaungatanga and group harmony is further cultivated and nurtured at Tāwharau through immersive cultural learning experiences identified previously, including noho marae, learning waiata, pepehā, mau rākau and additional team-building activities like catering for manuhiri on the marae. As mentioned previously under considerations of tikanga and ritual, the Tāwharau apprentices and trainees reinforce whanaungatanga and espirit de corps through positive peer pressure and the typical banter and good-humoured ribbing one would naturally expect to find in industrial workplaces. Self-regulation by way of mutually agreed consequences for workplace slip-ups or unjustified absence is another light-hearted way of boosting team morale and encouraging whanaungatanga.

Manaakitanga – the act of affirming another's mana - as demonstrated by Tāwharau's uncommon pastoral care practices, further reinforces whanaungatanga within the team, building trust, confidence, loyalty and respect. There is no practice manual or desk file which prescribes 'how to do' manaakitanga, just as there is no service manual on how to show aroha. Perhaps they simply represent the natural side-effects of accepting others as family. As such, whanaungatanga is a 24/7 relationship which lies beyond the norm and transcends the transactional limits of 9-5 business hours in the workplace. This can present challenges in a significant departure from the relative safety of the conventional, contractual employer-to-employee arrangement. That is not to say that Tāwharau's expressions of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga have been without their challenges or risks, as with any family.

Tāwharau Housing Trust examples of whanaungatanga expressed through manaakitanga include assistance with basic needs outside of work, be it food, accommodation or help navigating social services. It can include approving time off to deal with extenuating personal circumstances, or just hanging out with each other outside of work. Director Jayden Thompson has likewise made himself available on occasion to support team members at critical moments like court appearances. To be part of Tāwharau then, is to belong to a whānau, which was deeply appreciated by Tāwharau trainees as reflected in their comments:

"They go out of their way to look after us – they sincerely care for our wellbeing."

"It's a family vibe – it feels more like whānau than staff."

"There's support available outside of work – you don't have to worry about losing your job – there's no whakamā [shame/embarrassment]."

"It makes you more confident in sharing."

"It makes you want to stay."

Workplace Essential # 4: Te Ao Māori Leadership, Rangatiratanga

In view of what has been established thus far about Tāwharau Housing Trust's approach to vocational training, it would be remiss to overlook what remains an understated yet critical aspect of Tāwharau's ethos and culture. It might be entirely plausible for any organisation to attempt to replicate certain aspects of Tāwharau Housing Trust's vocational training approach, yet in the absence of leadership, specifically te ao Māori leadership, or rangatiratanga, such disconnected, out-of-context approaches as identified previously, are unlikely to succeed.

Te ao Māori leadership, unsurprisingly, reflects the values, norms and practices consistent with a te ao Māori worldview. It is the presence and practice of te ao Māori leadership which forms the basis for te ao Māori innovation and development, in this case, Tāwharau's vocational training with Māori learners. The te ao Māori precursors to vocational training identified earlier also represent expressions of te ao Māori leadership, from the tohunga and instructors at the whare wānanga, Te Rāwheoro, to Sir Āpirana Ngata and the Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, to the innovators of the Māori Trade Training Scheme. Te ao Māori leadership, or rangatiratanga, is undoubtedly the natural framework within which to align and champion te ao Māori values, expressions and practices. The absence of this critical element risks repeating the same culturally disconnected, artificial and forced responses to the vocational training needs of Māori learners identified earlier.

Unsurprisingly, te ao Māori leadership or rangatiratanga differs in scope and quality with contemporary and Western models of leadership. A literal rendering of the word 'rangatiratanga' provides the first clue as to the nature of te ao Māori leadership. As described previously with the Ranga Framework (Doherty, 2012), the word 'ranga' derives from the word 'raranga', meaning to weave or plait together. 'Tira' refers to a group of people. A 'rangatira' therefore is a person who can weave and knit groups of people together in a common purpose. The suffix 'tanga' following the verb denotes the art,

science or craft of performing that verb. 'Rangatira-tanga' therefore refers to the art, science and craft of weaving groups of people together.

Early manuscripts by prominent Māori scholars provide further clues to the nature of te ao Māori leadership and rangatiratanga. Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke of Ngāti Rangiwewehi and Himiona Tikitū of Ngāti Awa, both rangatira, each separately describe the customary attributes of a rangatira in their writings. Their descriptions cover various aspects of leadership including courage, skills in oratory, productivity in food cultivation, warfare and the ability to settle disputes (Mead, 1995, pg.5-6).

Further to these descriptors and pertinent to this study are two chiefly qualities common to both authors' work:

i. The mastery of the required knowledge, skills and technology to construct large scale structures including meeting houses, storehouses and canoes.
ii. The ability to provide for and take care of one's people.

Te ao Māori leadership is central to Tāwharau Housing Trust's approach to vocational training. In addition to the typical aspects of leadership one would expect to find in the workplace, to practice te ao Māori leadership specifically means to diligently care for the needs and welfare of one's people. As identified previously, Tāwharau Housing Trust demonstrates this through whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and pastoral care for the Tāwharau whānau. The examples of entrepreneurial success where Māori were able to exploit agricultural and shipping opportunities during the colonial period demonstrates the strength of collective Māori approaches to enterprise, which is relevant to this study. While there is no suggestion that company director Jayden Thompson and the Tāwharau Housing Trust team have intentionally set out to incorporate a te ao Māori leadership model into their practices, by purposefully and authentically incorporating te ao Māori values and ideals into their practices, this is exactly what has been achieved. By innovatively tackling the challenges of the building industry in a collective whānau-centered approach, Tāwharau Housing Trust embodies significant aspects of te ao Māori leadership. Drawing inspiration from traditional te ao Māori models of trade training in their efforts to be tūturu (authentic) and pono (faithful/true) to te ao Māori values and practices, Tāwharau Housing Trust is demonstrating a contemporary model of te ao Māori leadership that is not without precedent.

Discussion 3:

'Is that to have here or take away?'
This section considers several takeaways and the potential for replicating aspects of trade training which could potentially support and increase engagement from Māori learners. Hopefully sufficient argument has been made by now to stress the point that 'off-the-shelf' and culturally disconnected (Royal Tangaere, 1997) learning approaches are likely to fall short, resulting in limited success. Just as cordless power tools will not function apart from their own unique power supply (i.e. battery), so too, borrowed cultural artefacts will likely not function correctly apart from the power of their cultural underpinnings. For example, typical disconnected approaches to using tuakana teina in education settings. The temptation remains for well-meaning organisations to attempt to emulate culturally inspired approaches quite separately from the cultural values, beliefs and foundations which shaped them. Such forced and artificial efforts for the most part reap results which are unproductive and, for the cultural owners themselves, amount to little more than tokenism.

That said, several generalised points for consideration have been identified in this study which could potentially support and engage Māori learners in vocational trade training. Prospective providers and employers should be mindful however that, as with any other people group, Māori cannot be boxed into a one-size-fits-all definition.

A workplace family
The practice of whakawhanaungatanga literally refers to the practice and process of becoming family. To transform the conventional employer/worker relationship to the connectedness and interdependence of a workplace family will naturally prove a challenge for most workplaces. It will however be a good starting place from which to build and develop workplace culture and dynamics moving forward. Compassion and empathy are key.

A focus on pastoral care
When team members are primarily considered part of a workplace family, pastoral care should come naturally. A workplace family looks out for each other's needs and welfare. Prospective employers and trade training providers should moreover recognise that not all learners come to vocational training on an equal footing and may have other pressing needs, issues and competing priorities, either going on in the background, or front-and-centre of their lives, which could detract from their learning and diminish their capacity to be fully 'present' in the workplace. Think Maslow's hierarchy of needs, or, in the wisdom of an African proverb, 'an empty stomach has no ears.' Fifteen years of experience of helping Māori learners with vocational on-the-job training convinced Tāwharau Housing Trust that trade training needed to encompass a holistic approach.

For some Māori learners, the accumulated hangover of generational trauma is their actual lived experience and manifests in their world in various ways (Rua, et. al., 2019). It is not being overly dramatic to state that situational awareness in pastoral care can be a lifeline for learners and make all the difference between bright future and oblivion. For example, Tāwharau Housing Trust staff shared how they at one time had three learners join them, who were 'destined for patches.

Because of the inclusive workplace focus on whanaungatanga, Tāwharau has a firm tikanga discouraging gang tensions and regalia at work. While one learner would not comply and opted out of the programme, the remaining two went on to continue their trade training journey. Uncommon pastoral care – manaakitanga – made all the difference.

Cultural support and cultural capability for staff

Flowing logically from the previous considerations, learners do not come to vocational training in a cultural vacuum but belong to distinct cultural and social worlds. These cultural and social worlds have their own unique needs, norms and rules which contribute to a learner's overall sense of identity and hauora (wellbeing). Workplaces and learners alike could potentially benefit from being sensitive to the cultural needs of learners, regardless of their ethnicity and culture. Cultural sensitivity and support can be as 'simple' yet powerful as learning to pronounce someone's name correctly, being sensitive to their cultural or religious dietary requirements, or just acknowledging and respecting their cultural identity. It means embracing the whole person as part of the workplace whānau. For example, in te ao Māori, a mokopuna is a mokopuna, regardless of their ethnicity or DNA. They belong to a whakapapa. There is no such thing as a quarter-caste mokopuna!

In terms of Māori learners in vocational trading, a significant number are likely to be school-leavers who have been failed by the mainstream school system. By the time they enter trade training they are more likely to have experienced cultural incongruence, indifference or animosity by societal systems and institutions they have been in contact with since birth (Cormack, 2020). This includes the compulsory school system, WINZ, Oranga Tamariki, the public health system, or perhaps even banks and department stores.

Prospective employers and vocational training providers have the unique opportunity to break the chain of disrespect and ignorance with awareness, inclusiveness and respect in the interests of supporting the whole person. A culturally supportive workplace potentially creates flow-on effects for overall job satisfaction and productivity.

Building cultural capability for staff is equally important. The most basic requirement should be demonstrating correct pronunciation of people's names, placenames and a basic knowledge of local iwi and marae, including tribal boundaries. A basic knowledge and observance of tikanga, in terms of proper etiquette and cultural 'dos and don'ts' is also valuable. Beyond these foundational 'cultural support 101' considerations are the deeper capabilities of awareness of marae protocols, tangihanga (*bereavement*) rituals, and an understanding of core Māori values including manaakitanga, aroha and whanaungatanga.

Incremental stages of learning

For learners who did not perform so well in the public school system, it makes little sense to replicate that environment in a traditional 'school' and classroom approach to vocational training. It likewise makes little sense to stand at the top of the training ladder and insist that learners make the arduous climb to the top. For many learners the journey and climb is still too long or the rungs are placed too far apart. Far easier to use a 'scaffold' or better still, an 'elevator', that comes down to the learner's level and takes them stage by stage to where they need to go.

Tāwharau Housing Trust demonstrated the simplicity and effectiveness of incremental learning steps with their Poutama model. Taking this unconventional approach might be more inconvenient at first for prospective employers and providers, but the experience with Māori learners by Tawharau Housing Trust showed that was worth the extra investment of resources.

Hands-on learning

One critique of the traditional mainstream school system is that it is not well suited to boys (Irwin, 2009), who generally best respond to a range of activities and approaches to help them fully engage with learning. Such learners cannot be expected to sit still and be passive recipients for extended periods of time. Neither does mainstream education generally cater to kinesthetic learners who are more practical and hands-on with their learning. Likewise, vocational training strategies should reflect the needs of most vocational learners who are typically young people whose brains and bodies have not yet fully developed. Prospective employers and providers can cater to these learners through a hands-on and practical approach that supports and enlivens the more theoretical and conceptual aspects of the training curriculum. Likewise, theoretical and conceptual content can be more readily grasped by learners if it is supported with practical hands-on object lessons and application (Kerehoma, 2013).

Figure 21. Working as a coordinated team.

Group Learning versus Individual Learning
As indicated previously under considerations of Ako and Reciprocal Roles and Comradery, Tāwharau Housing Trust has demonstrated the effectiveness of group-learning approaches with their trainees and apprentices. This is unsurprising given what we have learned from traditional te ao Māori approaches to vocational training. The strength of customary Māori society was the collective, based in whānau, hapū and iwi – to the extent that one's identity and survival was inextricably linked to one's whakapapa and kinship group.

Where industrialised Western society generally champions individual accomplishments, responsibility and independence, indigenous kinship-based societies regard these traits as unhealthy signs of disconnection and weakness (Bear Chief - Oom Kapisi, et. al., 2022). While not discounting the place and achievements of the individual, the compelling examples from post-colonial iwi entrepreneurship, over a century of overseas service with the New Zealand armed forces, including two world wars, and widespread success in multi-disciplinary team sports, suggests that Māori resonate with and excel in team-based activities (Quinn, 1993). To adopt a group-centred approach to Māori learners in vocational training, therefore, is to simply reaffirm and reinforce what is natural, familiar and consistent with Māori experiences.

Summary

Three major discussions are summarised here:

Develop a 'Kaupapa-driven model of vocational training' that is organic and draws on successful insights stemming from ancient Whare Wananga and the Māori Trade Training Scheme of the 1960-70s. This includes incorporating the relational values and practices like whakapapa, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, and tikanga, with practices that guide the vocational training like Te Whare Tapa Whā, Tuakana-teina, and other ako-type actions.

'Workplace Essentials' drawn from this study include the following:
1. Whole of Organisation Learning
2. Culturally situated learning experiences
3. Whanaungatanga
4. Te ao Māori leadership, Rangatiratanga

Take aways from this research and the potential for replicating aspects of Māori trade training in other vocational settings:
1. A workplace family
2. A focus on pastoral care
3. Cultural support and cultural capability for staff
4. Incremental stages of learning
5. Hands-on learning
6. Group learning versus individual learning.

Conclusion

This study initially set out to describe and consider tuakana teina approaches to trade training with Māori learners. The research centered on Tāwharau Housing Trust, a small whānau-based construction company in Rotorua and their approach to vocational training and developing apprenticeships for the building industry. We started with a specific kaupapa in mind, only to end up with something entirely different, albeit something potentially more significant, substantive and refined.

As the study progressed, particularly in the survey of the related literature, it became apparent that conventional approaches to tuakana teina methods in education settings have generally reflected a pick-and-choose 'supermarket mentality' where predominantly mainstream educators, either by ignorance or intention, have generally picked indigenous learning methods 'off the shelf' with little regard for cultural context and underpinnings. Such efforts amount to little more than cultural misappropriation or theft of indigenous knowledge.

This simple yet profound revelation became the catalyst to move beyond tuakana teina and examine the concept more closely within the broader, authentic cultural context of te ao Māori values, beliefs and practices. For example, it is generally accepted within the Māori community that tuakana teina can only derive authenticity, meaning and definition within the context of whakapapa and whānau, and not in isolation or a vacuum. This highlighted the distinction between what has been described elsewhere in this research as 'contextualised versus decontextualised' tuakana teina. Prompted by Tāwharau Housing Trust's own culturally inspired training approach, this critical insight in turn led to deeper exploration and appreciation of te ao Māori concepts and frameworks. The catalyst and resultant insights inspired the title of this final report – *'Beyond tuakana teina: Exploring vocational pathways for Māori apprentices.'*

What followed was the 'rediscovery' of culturally authentic approaches to vocational training which could potentially transform conventional trade training for Māori learners today. Tāwharau Housing Trust's own legacy of whakapapa precursors to vocational training reveals that Māori already had their own established training systems predating colonial settlement. They had simply been buried, sidelined and displaced in the wake of colonisation. Herein was an opportunity to uncover the hidden treasures of the past, revealing the wealth of indigenous wisdom and insight for the benefit of a contemporary audience.

This study has underscored the point that cultural innovations work best within the considerations and elements of their cultural context, not in isolation or separation (Royal Tangaere, 1997). For example, to use a metaphor from gardening, tuakana teina is simply the natural response and outgrowth of cultivating and maintaining the right social conditions. Tuakana teina is best expressed within its natural context of a whānau-centered, culturally supportive, highly relational and caring environment. Tuakana teina therefore, is primarily a relationship and should therefore be approached and valued as a relationship, not simply reduced in status to yet another learning strategy for the educator's toolbox.

In similar vein this study traced the whakapapa of Tāwharau Housing Trust's inherited legacy of distinctly te ao Māori vocational training approaches, which serve as guidance and inspiration for their ongoing efforts with Māori learners. The trade training inheritance and lineage dates back to precolonial times, beginning at te whare wānanga o Te Rāwheoro, and cements their efforts within a fitting context that imparts gravitas and authority to their modern-day mission. Based on this whakapapa, it would not be unreasonable or presumptuous to say that trade training is in the blood – or indeed their destiny.

A study of Tāwharau's whakapapa of indigenous vocational training also helped to inform the development of a Te Ao Māori vocational training framework, where subject-specific Mātauranga Māori is transmitted and maintained through the dynamic interplay between whānau, whakapapa and tikanga.

'Beyond tuakana teina: Exploring vocational pathways for Māori apprentices' highlighted Tāwharau Housing Trust's culturally-inspired approach to vocational training. The research demonstrated the effectiveness of te ao Māori models and strategies within it's appropriate cultural and contextual frame. The unique adaptation of Te Whare Tapa Whā by Tawharau, which combined practical skills, trade theory, their brand of pastoral care within a strong cultural foundation, is a model of simplicity. Likewise, based on their own 'research' of trial and error, the application of the Poutama model effectively meets the needs for a more incremental and supported approach to Māori learners' training requirements.

In addition, this study highlighted several significant aspects of 'workplace essentials' that further demonstrate the efficacy of indigenous te ao Māori phenomena as they apply to Tāwharau Housing Trusts' approach to trade training with Māori learners. These workplace essentials were:

i. Whole of organisation learning
ii. Culturally situated learning experiences
iii. Whanaungatanga
iv. Te Ao Māori leadership

This research furthermore considered aspects and elements – take aways - that may be useful and helpful to other vocational training providers and organisations in their own training efforts.

Potential opportunities for further research:
As a catalyst to further explore ideas around vocational training and identify potential opportunities for further research, this project - 'Beyond tuakana teina: Exploring vocational pathways for Māori apprentices' may be only the beginning. The following potential opportunities offer scope for further research:

— A comparative study across a broader range of Māori training organisations and their approaches to vocational training with Māori learners to identify their similarities and points of difference.

— A study on how Māori vocational training approaches can be successfully applied to culturally distinct (non-Māori) organisations, workplaces and training environments.

— How the unique customary cultural learnings of indigenous international audiences can similarly inform their own contemporary efforts with the vocational training of their people.

— An exploration of how Mātauranga Māori – traditional knowledge, values and practices – can inform contemporary vocational training across multiple disciplines, industries and sectors, e.g. agriculture, fashion, engineering, architecture, design, hospitality, IT, maritime safety, the Defence forces, sports, health and medicine.

— Deeper exploration on how customary concepts, Mātauranga Māori and traditional approaches can be applied across a variety of contemporary scenarios and needs, e.g. Civil Defence, disaster recovery, climate change, political representation, justice, law enforcement, the housing shortfalls and global pandemics.

We trust that this research has made a positive contribution to the ongoing conversation and development of vocational training, not just for Māori learners, but for all vocational learners and training providers in general. These findings may also yield potential benefits to a broad cross-section of vocational training sectors and industries. That said, we would not be surprised if the findings of this research have a broader appeal to a wider audience, with applications and flow-on effects quite beyond the trade training sector.

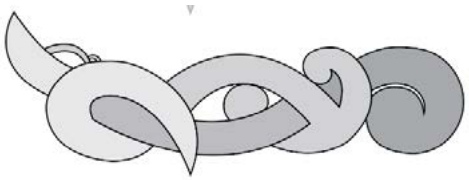
Lastly, it is hoped that this research might inspire other indigenous vocational providers, employers and training institutions to likewise rediscover and revive their unique values and approaches of their past to meet the challenges of today. If this research and the inspiration of Tāwharau Housing Trust's journey helps to restore indigenous communities' trust, confidence and belief in the power of their own agency and cultural resources, it would be a welcome result.

I mua i te katinga ō ēnei kōrero, kei te mihi tonu atu ki te whānau o Tāwharau, e whakapau kaha nei ki te takahi nei i ngā tapuwae ō koutou mātua tīpuna mai i a Te Rāwheoro, tae noa mai ki ēnei rā, haere ake nei. E kore e mutu ngā mihi ki a koutou e hoa mā, kei i āku rangatira.

Kia whakairia te tapu
Kia wātea ai te ara
Kia turuki whakataha ai
Kia turuki whakataha ai
Haumi e, hui e tāiki e.

Postscript

Towards the end of the project, Tāwharau Housing Trust was affected by the 2024 downturn in the construction industry. However, this experience provided the opportunity for Tāwharau Housing Trust to future-proof their position and the training of their apprentices moving forward. The economic downturn moreover confirmed to Tāwharau the need to broaden their influence and horizons beyond trade training and into a more enduring and holistic response which will safeguard the needs and welfare of their people and company moving forward. Their business concept has been refreshed, and this new business and training journey will be launched under the auspices of 'Ora Build Ltd'.



Ora Build Ltd.
'Whakanuia te inanahi, whakamanahia te inaianei, whāngaia te ātahirā/
Let's celebrate the past, honour the present, and nurture the future!"

"The logo of Ora Build Ltd. is depicted by a mythological and supernatural manaia figure which has great significance in Māori culture. The manaia represents our tupuna (ancestors) and the knowledge passed down through them. The mango pare (hammerhead shark) represents strength and the empowerment of the youth. The koru (unfurling fern frond) represents the future and new beginnings. Together they are the essence of our business and training aspiration of Ora Build Ltd. which allows the knowledge and experience from the past to be taught to the youth for the future".

- Jayden Thompson (Director of Ora Build Ltd.)

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Ako Aotearoa

Tawharau

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi