Māori whānau talk about whānau success: Findings from Round 1 of *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru*—the Māori and Pacific Education Initiative (MPEI) longitudinal study

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From 2009 to 2014 Foundation North, a philanthropic trust serving Auckland and Northland, funded a Māori and Pacific Education Initiative (MPEI) designed to facilitate Māori and Pacific students' educational achievement. The longitudinal study, *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru*, described here was funded in late 2014 to explore what happened next for families and students who had been involved in MPEI initiatives, with a focus on family success and student educational success. The first data collection round of this study took place in 2017, and 69 families were interviewed. This article examines what the 35 Māori whānau (56 individuals) said about family success and about supporting the success of young people in their whānau. For many whānau, success embodied happiness, collective wellbeing, and good whānau relationships, alongside education and having a plan for the future. This success was most often hampered by financial restrictions. Whānau wanted young people to be achieving in education, working hard, and engaged in extracurricular activities.

Getting distracted by outside influences (e.g., social media) was seen as the main barrier to young people's success. Implications from this study for the evaluation of initiatives designed to support whānau success are presented.

The Māori and Pacific Educational Initiative (MPEI) was funded by Foundation North from 2009 to 2014, after a lengthy community-engagement process about what the kaupapa[1] should be for the $20 million funding it had committed in 2006 to Māori and Pacific educational achievement in Auckland and Northland. The initiatives that were funded were also evaluated, with the Foundation dedicated to learning what works for Māori and Pacific learners and their families (Kinnect Group & Foundation North, 2016). As the funding for these initiatives came to an end, the Foundation expressed interest in understanding the longer-term journeys of the students and families who had been involved. The resulting longitudinal study, *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru*, was funded by the Foundation as a collaboration between the Centre of Social Impact and five of the schools that had been supported to deliver MPEI initiatives. In discussion with the Foundation's Māori and Pacific Committee, the schools, and the research team, it was agreed that the focus of *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru* would be on family success and student educational success (Trotman et al., 2018). This article examines what the Māori whānau involved in Round 1 of the study in 2017 had to say about whānau success and rangatahi success, including how they defined success and what the enablers and barriers were to them being successful. The input of whānau ideas into understandings of success can help improve outcome indicators for initiatives designed to support whānau as well as inform the design of these initiatives. To set the scene for this,

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1   Words and terms in te reo Māori are glossed at the end of the article.

this introduction explores what is known about Māori whānau "success", including how whānau support good outcomes for rangatahi. Following this, the present study is described.

Māori whānau and success

Whānau is described by the Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives (2010, p. 12) as "Māori who share common descent and kinship, as well as collective interests that generate reciprocal ties and aspirations". Whānau has persisted as a way Māori organise and live in their social world (L. T. Smith, 1996) even when this means that whānau relationships and connectivity extend over several households (Cram & Kennedy, 2010; Kukutai et al., 2017). The persistence of whānau comes through in the nearly three in four Māori in the 2018 Te Kupenga survey of 8,500 Māori who rated the wellbeing of their whānau 7 out of 10 or higher (StatsNZ, 2020). This does not mean that Māori whānau members are homogeneous in terms of their social, economic, or cultural circumstances, or their aspirations (G. H. Smith, 1995, p. 18). As Penehira and colleagues (2014, p. 97) write, Māori "are very fluid and flexible in the way that we live as Māori and our acceptance of the huge diversity of people who identify as Māori".

Whānau is also widely recognised as the foundation of Māori society (Ministry of Health, 2002; Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives, 2010). Successive governments have placed whānau at the centre of Māori policy and intervention initiatives over the past two decades. According to the Ministry of Health (2002), quality of life is achievable for whānau when environments (policy, intervention, community) facilitate whānau rangatiratanga. This message has been reinforced in the Whānau Ora initiative, where whānau are supported to access the services and goods they need to participate fully in society and in te ao Māori, to be economically secure, to live healthy

lifestyles and be self-managing, to be nurturing, cohesive, and resilient as a collective, and to exercise stewardship of the natural environment (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016). As Edwards and colleagues (2007, p. 13) note, "whānau are key sites for the intergenerational transfer of knowledge, wealth and power in Māori society and every opportunity to strengthen and build these structures will benefit Māori and the wider community".

Boulton and Gifford (2014) found that a key motivator for whānau to be striving for whānau ora is their desire for their children and future generations to have better lives. They also found that as a day-to-day aspiration, whānau ora is about being warm, fed, clothed, sheltered, happy, and healthy. Within this, supporting one another and being connected to friends and community are also important, along with a sense of hope for the future. Many whānau also saw financial security as underpinning the pursuit of whānau ora. Boulton and Gifford (2014, p. 11) concluded from their interviews with whānau that "the achievement of whānau ora requires a recognition that Māori must be able to live, act, and associate as Māori, and have the opportunity to participate in cultural institutions and traditions of significance".

From their interviews with whānau who had experienced adverse events (including redundancy, death of a whānau member, dissolution of a partnership or marriage, chronic illness or disability, and/or incarceration), Waiti and Kingi (2014) identified the importance for these whānau of: whanaungatanga and the emotional, cultural, and practical support they received from those in their relationship networks; pūkenga; tikanga; and tuakiri ā-iwi. They concurred with Durie (1998), Kruger et al. (2004), and others that mutual obligation and interdependence, rather than independence, is the healthier goal for Māori. In a similar vein, Lawson-Te Aho (2010, p. 10) writes that an individual's "mental, emotional, physical and spiritual state is shaped, maintained and contained in the context of whānau

relationships". The majority of the 80 participants in a Ngāi Tahu Whenua Project also identified their ties to their whānau as a source of their wellbeing (Reid et al., 2016).

The interconnectedness of whānau collectivity and individual wellbeing has been canvassed by Professor Sir Mason Durie (2001, 2006). His framework for measuring Māori wellbeing encompasses universal and Māori-specific measures across three levels of wellbeing: Māori individuals, collectives, and populations. For whānau, he defines six primary capacities (i.e., Manaakitanga—Whānau care; Whakamana—Empowerment; Whakatakato Tikanga—Planning; Whakapūmau Tikanga—Cultural endorsement; Whakawhanaungatanga—Whānau consensus; Pupuri Tāonga—Guardianship). Durie's (2006) individual wellbeing is based on Te Whare Tapa Whā, and its dimensions of taha wairua, taha hinengaro, taha tinana, and taha whānau. The interconnectedness of whānau wellbeing with rangatahi individual holistic wellbeing is explored further below.

Tamariki and rangatahi

Whānau interviewed by Jellyman and Allport (2016, p. 13) described how "getting things right for the whānau was … the pathway to make it good for children" as their whānau gave them a sense of belonging and a sense of who they are. Most of the 1,701 rangatahi who participated in the 2012 Youth 2000 Survey said they had one or more parents who cared a lot about them, with nearly three-quarters saying they felt close to their parent(s). Many also reported that they had fun with their whānau, while just over half said they mostly got enough time with their parent(s) (Crengle et al., 2013). This connectedness with their whānau can buffer rangatahi Māori from an adolescent "trough" in wellbeing (Stuart & Jose, 2014) by supporting their identify development when other information sources (e.g., media) often promote negative portrayals

of Māori (Fox et al., 2018). Fox et al. (2018) interviewed rangatahi (9–15 years old when first interviewed) over 3 years and found that their wellbeing in the third year of the study could be predicted by their cultural embeddedness in year one. This relationship was mediated by the adoption by rangatahi of adaptive coping strategies (i.e., "efforts taken, in response to challenging situations … to prevent or reduce distress, loss, harm, or threat" [pp. 15–16]), sourced from Māori culture, that included collectivity and interdependence.

During their interviews with 27 Māori young people (aged 12–27 years) in Counties/Manukau, Edwards et al. (2007) asked about their whānau in order to understand environments that supported rangatahi (young person) wellbeing. The young people described a diversity of relationships with their parents, ranging from their parents being liberal (e.g., a lack of guidance) to more conservative (e.g., strictness). The support their parents expressed through their attendance at participants' sporting, social, and cultural events was seen as key to healthy family relationships, with participants expressing their desire to spend more time with their family. At the same time, stress within their "core" whānau unit was buffered by grandparents, and many participants had spent time living with their grandparents and others in their kin networks. In addition to kin networks, the importance of community for rangatahi, especially sports teams and cultural groups, was stressed by whānau in West Auckland. Being in an urban environment often means that rangatahi live outside their iwi rohe, so their associations with iwi and whenua are from a distance, whereas local teams and clubs can provide a closer connection they can identify with (Allport et al., 2017).

These studies of whānau ora and wellbeing are clear that the web of support that encompasses whānau and extends into the community protects the wellbeing of rangatahi. In its absence, rangatahi are at risk of abuse and self-harm (Ngā Pou Arawhenua et al., 2020). Rather

than treading a pathway of "wellbeing", *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru*—the MPEI longitudinal study—chose the language of "success" to claim another aspirational term for Māori and Pacific families. Although we did not necessarily expect that success and wellbeing would be separated in families' holistic notions of good family life, we were keen to understand how they defined success for themselves as a collective and for young people in their family.

The present study

The first round of *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru* was co-designed by the research team in conjunction with Foundation North and six of the provider organisations that had received MPEI funding from Foundation North (Trotman et al., 2018). Community researchers identified by the provider organisations supported the testing, refinement, and implementation of the survey questionnaire. They spent time getting to know the families they were visiting, engaging in culturally appropriate rituals of encounter and departure.

The focus of this article is on what Māori whānau said about "family success" and the success of rangatahi in their whānau. This article then considers, in the Discussion, the implications of what we learnt for evaluation. The Māori whānau findings are presented separately from the Pacific family findings in respect of participants' wishes. As Edwards et al. (2007, p. 3) argued with their qualitative study of young people's experiences, we also wanted "to respect the integrity of each [cultural milieu] rather than pre-ordain specious 'compare and contrast' exercises". This article therefore canvasses the views of Māori whānau involved in Round 1 of *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru*. The views of Pacific families are being reported elsewhere.

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Method

Recruitment

Five of the provider organisations in Auckland and Northland that had received MPEI funding were involved in Round 1 of the study (Sylvia Park School, Rise UP Trust, He Puna Marama Trust, Manaiakalani Education Trust, and Oceania Careers Academy). Each organisation identified up to 20 students and their families to be invited to participate in the study. The inclusion criteria for selection were that the students would be Māori and/or Pacific, aged 5–16 years, and from families who were keen and willing to commit to a long-term study. Aside from these criteria, the organisations were asked to select a range of learners and families. Three organisations nominated 20 families, one nominated 15 families, and one identified six families. From the 81 nominated families, 69 agreed to be interviewed.

Participants

Thirty-five families self-identified as Māori whānau (56 people), including nine families who self-identified as both Māori and Pacific. Between one and five people attended each interview, with mothers (of the students) the whānau member most likely to be involved in the interviews. The average age of the 42 interview participants who completed the "About You" questionnaire (see below) was 34.3 years (s.d. = 12.7 years).

Interview

Interview arrangements were made with whānau by the Māori community researchers, who also then interviewed whānau. Whānau decided who would be present during the interview, including whether the student from the provider organisation (see above) would participate. After appropriate formalities of greeting and introductions were completed, whānau were given a formal, written information sheet that included an invitation to participate in the study. The community

researcher read the information sheet out loud and responded to any questions. Each whānau member present was then asked to give their written consent to be interviewed.

On average, the interviews took approximately 2.5 hours, with whānau generally happy with the length of the interview when they were asked about it in a short debriefing at the end. The community interviewers took food with them to interviews, and each family received a $50 grocery voucher as a koha for their participation. Responses to interview questions were recorded on a paper version of the survey questions (so that whānau could see what was being written down) as well as audio-recorded so a fuller record of the interview could be entered into the database for analysis.

Whānau responses to questions about whānau and rangatahi success are reported here. The interview component on "About success" asked how they defined whānau success; what supports and what challenges that success; and what success for them would look like next year. They were asked similar questions about rangatahi success. There were two other main components in the interview: "About your family/whānau" (including questions about accommodation, connection with culture, and sense of belonging), and "Educational success" (including questions about adult experiences of education, family support for rangatahi education, and their educational provider(s)). When wrapping up, whānau were asked how they had found the interview and if there were other questions they felt should be included in the next round of the study. The information from the other two components is currently being written up.

Each person present at the interviews was also asked to complete a short questionnaire "About You", including first name, relationship to the student, age, gender, whether they lived in the family home, ethnic group(s), whether born in Aotearoa, languages spoken and understood, educational qualifications, and main occupation/activity.

Ethics approval for the study was gained from the New Zealand Ethics Committee (NZEC 2017_18).

Analysis

The qualitative questions were analysed thematically (with two of the research team doing reliability checks and discussing and reaching agreement about any disagreements) (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The themes for each question are included in the findings tables if they were mentioned by 20% or more of the whānau. Quotes from whānau are included to illustrate the responses given.

Findings

The first findings section explores what whānau said about success for them as a whānau, followed by what they said success for rangatahi looks like.

Whānau success

Whānau were asked how they would describe "success" for their whānau. If needed, they were prompted to describe what it would look like if their whānau was doing really well. Whānau often listed a cluster of the things that described success for them. For example:

> Our family is happy, healthy. To have food in the cupboard. Communicate with each other. Be supportive of each other. Kids are doing well at school. My husband and I are doing well at work. And we get to spend time together in the holidays.

> Own home. Having jobs that make you want to get out of bed. Making a difference—helping others. Maintaining a level. Kids managing their school day well, happy kids, school, sport. Well fed.

Two-thirds (*n* = 24, 68.6%) said happiness was part of what success looked like for their whānau (see Table 1). Other common components of success described by whānau were having a plan for the future (e.g., making plans, doing things well, making good choices)

(n = 16, 45.7%), collective wellbeing (n = 16, 45.7%), being in education (n = 15, 42.9%), and having good whānau relationships (n = 14, 40.0%).

Table 1. Whānau success characteristics (**n** = 35)

Characteristics[1]	n	%
Happiness	24	68.6
Having a plan for the future	16	45.7
Collective wellbeing	16	45.7
Education	15	42.9
Good whānau relationships	14	40.0
Health	11	31.4
Good community relationships	10	28.6
Paid work	8	22.9
Good communication	8	22.9
Basic needs being met (shelter, kai, warmth)	8	22.9
Cultural identity	7	20.0

Note 1. Characteristics are listed here if they were mentioned by 20% or more of the whānau.

Whānau were then asked what helped them to be successful as a whānau. While one whānau found this hard to answer, others listed a cluster of things that often included a combination of success characteristics and facilitators of success. In the first quote below, a whānau expands on the importance of communication and how their happiness is tied to their children being happy, which in turn comes from their children feeling loved and attended to. The whānau in the second quote also describe the importance of communication, alongside having basic needs met:

> Providing kai, as nutritious as it can be. Partner having a stable job. Having a roof over our heads. Communication with the kids, I tell them to come and tell me about anything, and make sure I'm paying attention and make them feel like I'm listening. I can only be as

happy as my kids, if they are happy that is an indication to me that they feel loved. (Whānau)

Having stable jobs. Having a roof over our head. Communication with children is encouraged and the parents are paying attention and listening. Be able to give our children good advice. Make sure they feel loved. Hug a lot, say 'I love you'. Have a good day at school. Be safe. Flexible routine. Making sure the household is happy. (Whānau)

Nearly two-thirds of whānau (n = 21, 60.0%) said a caring support system was important to ensuring the success of their whānau (see Table 2). This included working together as a whānau and accessing support from outside the whānau. Positive communication (n = 19, 55.9%), and having a plan for the future (e.g., having a plan, following through, making good decisions) (n = 14, 41.2%) were also mentioned often.

Table 2. Factors supporting whānau success (**n** = 35)

Support factors[1]	n	%
Caring support system	21	60.0
Positive communication	19	55.9
Having a plan for the future (e.g., planning, setting goals)	14	41.2
Love	8	23.5
Good whānau relationships	7	20.6

Note 1. Support factors are listed here if they were mentioned by 20% or more of the whānau.

When asked about the challenges or barriers to them succeeding as a whānau, whānau often listed two or three of the things they thought of as challenges. In the first quote below, a whānau expounds upon the challenges they face when money, time, and/or energy are in short supply. In the second quote, the whānau also mention finances along with challenges that include a lack of understanding of tikanga:

Finance is always a barrier to anything and everything we do. Providing opportunities for my children sometimes is hindered by money. Time—not having enough hours in the day to commit to activities, to extracurricular. Energy after a long day of mahi, not enough energy to support the kids, take them trainings, trials, etc.

Financial. Drug and alcohol (over the years, extended). Whānau not understanding tikanga Māori. Challenges and pressures from all of the above.

Nearly half (*n* = 16, 45.7%) of whānau said that money or their financial situation was a challenge (see Table 3). Other challenges included not having enough time (*n* = 7, 20.0%), poor health (*n* = 7, 20.0%), and poor relationships (*n* = 7, 20.0%). Two whānau said they did not have any current challenges.

Table 3. Factors challenging whānau success (*n* = 35)

Challenges[1]	*n*	%
Lack of money/poor finances	16	45.7
Not having enough time	7	20.0
Poor health	7	20.0
Non-supportive relationships	7	20.0

Note 1. Challenges are listed here if they were mentioned by 20% or more of the whānau.

Rangatahi success

Whānau were asked what success looked like for the young person in their whānau (who had been the point of entry for recruiting whānau), at the present time. Educational achievement was mentioned by half of the whānau (*n* = 18, 51.4%), while just over a third said working hard (e.g., a positive drive to be successful, that their child was competitive) (*n* = 13, 37.1%) and/or involvement in extracurricular activities (*n* = 12, 34.3%) were important (Table 4). While the whānau in the quote below begin with a food joke, they then move to educational success before returning to describe a whānau competition:

> Through his little eyes, success for him is eating more than Dad …
> honestly though success for him is moving up through the reading
> grades he's all about that, doing better at arithmetic he's pretty pas-
> sionate about that, and beating me at [the game] Connect 4.

If the rangatahi themselves were present, they were invited to describe
what success looked like to them. For example:

> Liking school, my friends and my teachers. Mum get me everything
> I need. I help my baby brother.

Table 4. Rangatahi success characteristics (**n** = 35)

Characteristics[1]	n	%
Educational achievement	18	51.4
Working hard	13	37.1
Extracurricular activities (e.g., sport, hip-hop)	12	34.3
Having good friends	8	22.9

Note 1. Characteristics are listed here if they were mentioned by 20% or more of the whānau.

Nearly two-thirds of whānau (n = 22, 62.9%) mentioned the impor-
tance of family support as helping students' general success (Table 5).
Other supports mentioned were teachers (n = 10, 28.6%), school (n =
9, 25.7%), the young person being self-motivated (n = 9, 25.7%), and
their friend network (n = 7, 20.0%). For example, the whānau quoted
below include themselves, friends, and teachers in the circle of those
who support the success of their rangatahi:

> Support from me and the rest of the whānau. Friends play a part. His
> friends, one in particular is very bright. In terms of academics he has
> friends there, and he's sporty too, a good mix, good group of friends.
> And good teachers.

Table 5. Facilitators of rangatahi success (**n** = 35)

Factors[1]	n	%
Family support	22	62.9
Teachers	10	28.6
School	9	25.7
Being self-motivated	9	25.7
Friend network	7	20.0

Note 1. Factors are listed here if they were mentioned by 20% or more of the whānau.

Half of the whānau (*n* = 18, 51.4%) said that distractions (i.e., outside influences, peer pressure) were the main barrier to rangatahi achieving success, followed by a lack of parental support (*n* = 6, 17.1%):

Sadness at home if there is conflict. Wrong crowd at school.

Mum and Dad putting too much pressure. Friends, peer pressure to not participate in her sports.

Nearly two-thirds of whānau said they were generally supportive of their child/ren (*n* = 22, 62.9%) (Table 6). More specific support described included: supporting extracurricular activities (*n* = 11, 31.4%), providing resources (*n* = 10, 28.6%), being organised and helping with planning (*n* = 10, 28.6%), encouraging and believing in them (*n* = 9, 25.7%), and supporting schooling (*n* = 7, 20.0%). For example, a whānau listed in their response, "Everything. Driving around. Funding whatever she needs. Fundraising. Giving our time."

Table 6. Family support of student success (**n** = 35)

Factors[1]	n	%
General parental and whānau support	22	62.9
Supporting extracurricular activities (including transport)	11	31.4
Providing resources (including financial support)	10	28.6
Being organised and helping with planning	10	28.6
Encouraging and believing in them	9	25.7
Supporting schooling	7	20.0

Note 1. Factors are listed here if they were mentioned by 20% or more of the whānau.

Discussion

In this first round of the MPEI longitudinal study, *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru,* whānau were asked open-ended questions about what whānau success and rangatahi success looked like for them, including what supported success and what challenged it. Our goal in taking this whānau-led approach to our enquiry was to allow whānau to be in the "driving seat" and to tell us about success, rather than us taking some preformed notions to them of what success looked like. *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru* stresses the importance of whānau-centric goals and outcomes, so that whānau are in charge of what success looks like for them and who/what can best support them in their aspirations for it. We found that whānau were articulate on these issues, alongside understanding the structural barriers that impeded their opportunities to be successful. In this discussion we examine the implications of what whānau said for the evaluation of initiatives designed to support whānau to achieve their aspirations.

What whānau told us can be portrayed within a model of Māori whānau success based on Durie's (2006) framework for measuring Māori wellbeing (Table 7). Each of the components of whānau success in this model is described below, along with suggestions of potential ways of measuring whānau success and rangatahi success.

Table 7. Measuring Māori whānau success[1]

Whānau success	Measures	Rangatahi success	Measures
Manaakitanga—Whānau care			
• Happiness • Health • Basic needs being met	• Whānau-reported happiness and quality of life • Level of access to health care to meet health needs • Whānau income and financial ability to meet basic needs		
Whakamana—Empowerment			
• Good community relationships • Work	• Participation in unpaid community work • Participation in community groups and organisations • Work participation and satisfaction	• Having good friends • Extracurricular activities	• Strength and virtue of social networks • Self-reported quality of relationships • Participation in extracurricular activities
Whakatakato Tikanga—Planning			
• Having goals or plans for the future • Education	• Goal or plan achievement • Engagement in education and/or ongoing learning	• Educational achievement • Working hard	• Gaining of certificates, acknowledgements, and qualifications/ skills and knowledge • School, parent, and self-reports of work and achievement
Whakapūmau Tikanga—Cultural endorsement			
• Cultural identity	• Cultural affiliations and activities • Experiences of cultural affirmation		
Whakawhanaungatanga—Whānau consensus			
• Good communication • Collective wellbeing • Good whānau relationships	• Whānau decision-making methodologies • Self-reported quality of relationships		

Notes 1. Based on Durie (2006, p. 4, Table 2) and drawing on what whānau in this study said about whānau success (Table 1). 2. The sixth capacity from Durie (2006), Pupuri Tāonga—Guardianship, was not raised by whānau as a success characteristic.

Manaakitanga—Whānau care

The Manaakitanga (i.e., happiness, health, and meeting of basic needs) described by Boulton and Gifford (2014) as occupying the day-to-day lives of whānau also came to the fore in this study, with happiness being key to whānau success. It seems likely that the happiness of whānau is fed by the other components of whānau success (Table 7), particularly Whakawhanaungatanga and Whakamana which have a relationship focus (Marsden, 2003). From her interviews with 13 young Māori, Ebony de Thierry (2012) found that happiness for Māori encompasses relationships and whānau, achievement, spirituality, and both a sense of belonging and a sense of freedom. All are about being in relationships. We suggest that ways to measure Manaakitanga include the self-reported happiness of whānau, individually or as a collective; the access whānau have to health care; and their ability to meet basic needs, including their income. It is possible that Manaakitanga, and also Whakapūmau Tikanga, did not feature strongly in whānau descriptions of rangatahi success because these are taken-for-granted by whānau as needs that are catered for largely by them.

Whakamana—Empowerment

Whakamana—Empowerment, as a component of whānau success, includes membership of community organisations, participation in unpaid community work, and work satisfaction more generally. The first two are embodied in the concept of mahi aroha, or work done out of a love for the people (Cram, 2020). Mead (2003, p. 359) defines *aroha ki te tangata, he tangata* as "a person concerned about people who wants to help whenever possible". This is the "economy of affection" that underpinned traditional Māori society, the traces of which continue to "resonate in contemporary Māori beliefs and practices" (Henry & Pene, 2001, p. 235) and valuing of collectivism. Whakamana can be measured through whānau self-report of their

involvement in their community and the paid and unpaid work they do. Asking whānau about these things can include the same questions used in national surveys such as the NZ Social Survey and Te Kupenga, to enable a comparison of whānau activity and participation against national and possibly local Māori norms.

Whakamana, as a component of rangatahi success, was embodied in their relationships with whānau and friends. This sets a context for their hard work and achievement, as rangatahi more often succeed when part of a collective (Hapeta et al., 2019). Rangatahi success in the study also largely revolved around what rangatahi did outside of the home; namely, education and extracurricular activities. This may reflect the confidence of whānau that rangatahi are nurtured at home (Crengle et al., 2013) or within a multihome whānau network (Edwards et al., 2007), so that their success is seen by whānau to revolve around how they move, work, and achieve within their relationship network outside the home. This includes their participation in extracurricular activities.

Whakatakato Tikanga—Planning

Whakatakato Tikanga includes whānau plans for the future, including the role they see education playing—especially for rangatahi (Table 7). Hard work and educational achievement were priorities for rangatahi. Boulton and Gifford (2014) describe this as whānau having a sense of hope about the future. In her writing about the PATH (Planning Alternative Tomorrows with Hope) Planning Tool Kataraina Pipi (2010) describes the importance of the diversity and inclusion principles that enable PATH to be facilitated as a tailored support for individuals and groups. In addition, facilitation of the PATH planning process showcases the principle of "begin with the end in mind", as participants are encouraged to create a moemoeā or dream for their future. As an evaluation tool, PATH therefore embodies hope for the future as whānau define their own aspirations,

outcomes, processes, and inputs, and come away with a graphic plan. We suggest that methods that incorporate PATH or other planning tools can highlight whānau moemoeā and help establish a baseline against which whānau achievement of their goals might be evaluated. This includes assessment of the role played by educational engagement and achievement in supporting whānau success.

Whakapūmau Tikanga—Cultural Endorsement

Whakapūmau Tikanga gives expression to whānau cultural identity. This is often thought of as knowledge of whakapapa, ability to recite pepeha and speak/understand te reo, and visits to marae and other cultural places. While these are important, the first Te Kupenga survey in 2013 also highlighted other avenues that Māori participants used to express and reinforce their identity as Māori, including watching television programmes about Māori, wearing Māori jewellery, and going to Māori cultural events (Thomas, 2014). Evaluators assessing cultural identity outcomes should therefore be open to a wide variety of ways that whānau express their Māori-ness. This inquiry should also extend to the everyday micro-affirmations (e.g., eyebrow raise) that whānau experience.

Whakawhanaungatanga—Whānau Consensus

Whakawhanaungatanga or Whānau Consensus includes shared whānau decision making and good whānau relationships. When we say "whānau" we often mean "whanaungatanga"—that is, the sense of kinship and belonging that being a whānau can cultivate.[2] Mead (2003, p. 318) lists whanaungatanga (alongside manaakitanga, mana, tapu, utu, noa, and ea) as one of "the values underpinning tikanga [that] cannot be ignored". This, however, does not imply that whānau should be kin. Whanaungatanga encompasses non-kin collectives that strengthen whānau members' connectedness (e.g., kinship

2   Moetatua Turoa, Ngāti Raukawa, personal communication, 26 May 2010.

among a male couple and the street kids they foster in their home) (Cram & Kennedy, 2010). How whānau in the present study assessed the success of their whānau was connected to their perception of how well their whānau was getting along. In addition, Māori who are very satisfied with their own life are also much more likely to assess their whānau wellbeing in very positive terms, regardless of their age (Kukutai et al., 2017, p. 5). As supported by the present study findings, satisfaction and connectivity, alongside decision making and strength of relationships, may well be the in-roads evaluators need when inquiring about whanaungatanga with whānau and rangatahi.

Pupuri tāonga—Guardianship

Whānau were unlikely to describe success characteristics aligned with Pupuri Tāonga, or management of whānau estate, in their description of whānau success. This is possibly because largely urban whānau were interviewed and their minds were on day-to-day matters that may not have involved the management of whānau land in another location (if they had shares in whānau land that needed managing). Given that a specific question about whānau land was not asked, it is not possible to tell whether this would have prompted a future-focused "success of the next generation" dialogue about land. In addition, the 2018 Te Kupenga survey questions about Kaitiakitanga signalled a potential broadening of Pupuri Tāonga to include recycling and restoration projects (e.g., restoring waterways). These issues will highlight the importance urban whānau place on the natural environment in their day-to-day lives (StatsNZ, 2020). These are also aligned with the capability for environmental sustainability outlined in the Māori Statistics Framework (Statistics New Zealand, 2002) and the Whānau Ora outcome of whānau being responsible stewards of their natural and living environments (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016). Although not stressed in the present study, the exploration of whānau guardianship roles and engagement remains worthy of consideration by evaluators.

Economic constraints on success

While collectivity among whānau members and the connections that whānau have within their wider community may underpin a more whānau-oriented sense of belonging, their rangatiratanga and their ability to achieve their plans and be successful, our findings reinforce that this may be compromised by a lack of financial independence. The Māori Statistics Framework (Statistics New Zealand, 2002) is clear that economic self-determination is important. It is therefore concerning that nearly half of the whānau in the present study identified financial constraints to their capacity for success. While Māori workforce participation at the 2018 Census was up compared to the 2013 Census, Māori remain over-represented among low-income earners and under-represented among high-income earners (StatsNZ, 2020). This interest in economic barriers to success highlights the dual focus that evaluation needs to take; that is, shining a light on Māori lived experiences while at the same time interrogating structural impediments to the realisation of Māori success (Cram et al., 2018; G. H. Smith, 2012).

Round 2 future research

The deep dive we took into the lives of whānau in Round 1 of *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru* has provided insight into their life worlds and aspirations for themselves and for their children. A strength and a limitation of the present study is that it provides quite broad but somewhat initial findings around whānau descriptions/beliefs on whānau success in this study. While common themes emerged from the open-ended questions asked, the findings do not give an account of what whānau might have spoken about if they had been prompted. The findings from this first round have therefore been woven into Round 2 questions that ask whānau to choose the items that are important for them, from the common Round 1 responses to the same questions. They were then asked to choose their top three from each of the sets

of items they generate. This follow-up exercise provokes much debate and laughter from whānau as they try to come to a consensus about their priorities. These interviews with families have been taking place over 2019–20 and are almost complete.

Rangatahi were not present at all of the whānau interviews in Round 1 so it is important that the presence of their voices grows within *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru* (Cram, 2019). In addition to being invited again to the Round 2 whānau interviews, rangatahi are being interviewed separately from their whānau. Each whānau is being asked for permission to contact all their tamariki and rangatahi through their schools for a brief interview to gain their reflections on success for their whānau and for themselves. These interviews are also almost complete as at October 2020.

Conclusion

Although common themes about whānau "success" emerged from Round 1 of *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru*, whānau offered their own mix of these themes when they described what success was for them. The provision of supports to whānau therefore needs to be flexible and tailored to whānau-identified needs, wants, and priorities, and according to their own recipe for success (and not those imposed upon them by others). Allport et al. (2017) also stress the importance of supports that grow whānau vitality by allowing whānau to be in control and be empowered to achieve their aspirations. In turn, the support offered to whānau should be holistic; that is, include cultural, social, economic, environmental, and any other supports identified by the whānau themselves (Kukutai et al., 2017). Evaluation must also be whānau-centred and attuned with assessing whether whānau are getting what they need from an initiative and are being supported on their journey to fulfil their aspirations.

The draft framework for measuring Māori whānau success outlined here provides a starting point for evaluation conversations with funders, provider organisations, whānau, and rangatahi about how the success of whānau and rangatahi is facilitated and strengthened by initiatives. A challenge for evaluators will be to measure aspects of success as well as to build understandings of how these aspects are interconnected for whānau. The longitudinal nature of *Ngā Tau Tuangahuru* will also support these understandings, as findings from Round 2 and beyond are analysed. In addition, the barriers to success raised by whānau highlight the need for evaluation to have a structural analysis (Cram et al., 2018). In this way, evaluation can be part of what supports whānau to create a world where whānau can "live the kind of life they want to live" (Statistics New Zealand, 2002, p. 5) and where future generations can aspire, achieve, and prosper as Māori (Allport et al., 2017; Durie, 2011).

Acknowledgements

Glossary—te reo Māori

iwi	tribe
kaupapa	agenda
pūkenga	skills and abilities
rangatahi	young person
rangatiratanga	self-determination

taha wairua	spiritual health
taha hinengaro	mental health
taha tinana	physical health
taha whānau	relationships with family and community
tikanga	outlook, beliefs, and values; cultural protocols
tuakiri ā-iwi	cultural identity
whānau	kinship collectives
whanaungatanga	kinship
Whānau Ora	Māori family wellness
whenua	homeplace, land

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