REPOSITIONING WITHIN INDIGENOUS DISCOURSES OF TRANSFORMATION AND SELF-DETERMINATION

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He Mihi

E ō maunga tapu, e o awa e tere ana,

E ō moana piataata,

E ō marae, e ō whare tipuna,

Ki a koe, ki ō whānau, hapū, iwi, tēnā koutou katoa.

Tēnā koutou katoa ngā mihi ki a koutou e pānui ana i ēnei whārangi kei roto i tēnei pukapuka.

Ngā mohiotanga kei roto i tēnei whakatakotoranga kaupapa, mo tātou katoa, ahakoa nō hea.

To your sacred mountains, to your flowing rivers,
To your glistening seas,
To your tribal places, to your ancestral meeting houses,
To you and to your people, I greet you.
Greetings to all who read within the pages of this book.
The knowledge within is for you, be you people of this land or any other land.

This thesis is for my parents, Wharepapa and Betty, for they gave me my past, the foundation to become who I am today. This thesis is also for my granddaughter Karamea and for all the other Māori children whom she represents for me, for they are our future. This thesis is also for my own family and the research-whānau with whom I work. Without their support and assistance it could not have been completed, for this thesis is about them, and as such, it is by them.

I would like this thesis to challenge other educators and researchers to consider how they might contribute more effectively towards ending the disparities faced by earlier generations of Māori children. Just as we may have contributed to these past disparities, we have the agency to ensure change, in order that the next generation have more equitable opportunities to develop their potential. For those who wish to travel this pathway, this thesis is for you, for you have the agency to change the status quo and contribute towards a better future.

Nōreira, atawhaitia ngā rito, kia puāwai ngā tamariki.

Ako i ngā tamariki, kia tu tāngata ai, tātou katoa.

Therefore, cherish and nurture the shoots, so the children will bloom.
Learn from and with these children, so that we all can stand tall.

Abstract

This thesis reflectively and critically examines a series of research case studies initiated by a research-whānau. It explores the thinking, experiences and reflections of this research-whānau, as they worked to enhance the educational achievement of Māori students. Authorship of the thesis was undertaken by me (Mere Berryman). However, the methodology involved a collaborative, retrospective and critical reflection of research-whānau experiences and thinking, in the light of the research findings and experiences since the inception of this research-whānau in 1991. In the course of this work, the research-whānau have been able to explore what it has meant to put the principles of kaupapa Māori research into practice while working within a mainstream organisation (Specialist Education Services then the Ministry of Education). Our research work has involved repositioning ourselves from dependence on Western research methodologies to a better understanding and application of kaupapa Māori conceptualisations of research.

The thesis begins by identifying mainstream and kaupapa Māori events that have historically and still continue to impact upon Māori students' educational experiences. These events provide the wider context for the work of this research-whānau at the interface of Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākehā, and for the 11 case studies that exemplify changes in our thinking and research practice over a period of 15 years. The thesis employs an indigenous (and specifically Māori) worldview as the framework for description, critical reflection, and theorising around these case studies. Common themes are collaboratively co-constructed then each theme is explained in relation to relevant Māori theory.

The thesis concludes with the shifts in theorising and practice made by the research-whānau during the course of our work as we sought to contribute in ways that were more transformative and self-determining. We argue that these shifts in theorising and practice are also required of others if we are to change the status quo and contribute constructively to improving Māori students' potential.

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Introduction

Over successive generations, the mainstream New Zealand education system has continued to perpetuate the ongoing failure of disproportionate numbers of Māori[1] students (Ministry of Education, 2005a). European colonisation has problematised and pathologised Māori in a way that non-Māori[2] are not (Bishop, 2005). Smith suggests that Māori continue to be caught at "the intersection of two distinct colonising imperatives – 'cultural oppression' and 'economic exploitation'" (2002, p.2). These imperatives are associated with policies and practices that are embedded in the epistemologies of the dominant culture that best "serve the interests of a monocultural elite" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.12; Durie, 2005b; Smith, 1999).

Scheurich and Young (1997), Banks (1995) and others (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Stanfield, 1994) contend that in many colonised countries, epistemologies are embedded in the fundamental principles of the dominant culture. These principles, they argue, are the direct result of epistemological racism resulting in ongoing patterns of dominance and cultural superiority that further perpetuate the marginalisation of minority groups and result in disparate outcomes for these same groups.

Successive New Zealand governments have tried to address these issues for Māori. However, a wide range of ongoing evidence from the social, health, and education indices shows little improvement for many Māori (Durie, 2005b; Statistics New Zealand, 2001). Traditional research and education theories and practices have continued to support and exacerbate this situation (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003; Bishop, & Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1999). In New Zealand, research located within the cultural praxis of Western epistemologies, rather than within the cultural preferences and practices of Māori, has traditionally disadvantaged and distanced Māori from real participation and voice (Bishop, 2005; Smith 1997; Smith,

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[1] Māori is a colonial term used to collectivise the indigenous tribal groups of New Zealand.

[2] In New Zealand non-Māori were traditionally European settlers who also became known as Pākehā. More recently the group termed non-Māori include large numbers of refugees and migrants from all other parts of the world who rather than be called Pākehā are usually referred to by their ethnicity or country of extraction e.g. Asian, Ugandan, Samoan, etc.

1999). Within many mainstream research and training contexts, Māori as indigenous people, are still regarded as distanced *others,* or as junior rather than autonomous partners (Bishop, 2005; Bishop, & Glynn, 1992, 1997, 1999; O'Sullivan, 2007).

Evidence of this is seen in the way many Non-Māori researchers have insisted on the superiority of information transmitted through writing, over information transmitted orally, while many Māori people value the reverse. Māori people's experiences, understandings, and evaluations of the reliability and validity of oral over written means of transmitting information, as well as their preferred learning contexts and learning styles, may be quite different from those of Non-Māori (Glynn, & Bishop, 1995). Increasingly, in contexts involving Māori, Māori researchers are seeking to retain ownership and control of the research questions, the research methods, the training agenda, as well as how and where the research will be understood, presented and used (Bishop, 2005; Mead, 1997[3]; Smith, 1990a, 1990b, 1997; Smith, 1999).

Education located solely within the cultural preferences and practices of Western epistemologies rather than within the cultural preferences and practices of Māori has presented similar challenges. Education for Māori has been dominated by a mainstream system that has continually espoused an interpretation of egalitarianism as treating all children the same. However, given that learners all come with different cultural experiences, interests, strengths, and preferred modalities for learning, treating everyone the same, as defined by the cultural majority group, is pedagogically flawed, given that treatments such as these will be more supportive of students with cultural capital in the majority cultural group (Bourdieu, 1977), while simultaneously disadvantaging students from minority groups.

This situation has impacted upon Māori in a number of ways, including the following:

1. The colonial research and educational agenda in New Zealand has perpetuated the imposition of colonial values and at the same time belittled, marginalised and jeopardised much Māori knowledge and theorising.

2. Research and education praxis that have come from the perspective of this dominant worldview have also generated and perpetuated discourses and metaphors of deficiency and pathology about Māori.

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[3] The author Mead, 1997 appears elsewhere as Smith. Mead, 1997 is Linda Smith's Doctoral thesis.

3. The marginalisation and redefining of Māori are further exacerbated by ongoing educational policies and pedagogies that fail to fully engage Māori students with learning and result in disproportionate numbers of Māori students being unable to participate fully in the wider society.

4. For many Māori, this situation perpetuates state dependency and acceptance of hegemonic practices, such as fostering the belief among Māori that their own culture is inadequate for success in the modern world. These beliefs in turn further increase disconnectedness from all that it means to be Māori.

5. At the same time other Māori have to struggle for cultural affirmation and self-determination within environments where they experience dual accountability, to the mainstream majority and to Māori.

Currently, the Ministry of Education's strategic direction, aimed at improving education for Māori, is informed by outcomes and targets set by the government, by the government's Education Priorities, by the Ministry's statement of intent, by strategic work emerging from the Hui Taumata Mātauranga and by partnerships forged between iwi Māori and the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, 2005a). Within bicultural discourses such as these, that have increasingly informed education policies since the 1980s, it has been argued that Māori aspirations could be better met (Durie, 1998). However, from previous experience, these initiatives are unlikely to make a difference unless they also attempt to address the dominant discursive positioning, inherent in many colonised societies, that continues to pathologise and problematise the indigenous condition (Shields, Bishop, & Masawi, 2005; Walker, 1990), in this case, New Zealand and the indigenous Māori population (Bishop et al., 2003; Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2007; Smith, 1999). One major response to these discrepancies by Māori themselves has been the generation of a grass roots movement of resistance termed kaupapa Māori[4]. Kaupapa Māori, as both a movement of resistance and of revitalisation, calls for new theories to be sourced from within te ao Māori (the Māori world) and a return to Māori theorising and authority. In short an autonomous, self-determined Māori response that requires us to move beyond biculturalism (O'Sullivan, 2007). O'Sullivan (2007) suggests that

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[4] Kaupapa Māori as Māori philosophy and praxis is defined further in Chapter Three.

self-determination and biculturalism are underpinned by different assumptions of power, with biculturalism offering the role of junior partner, ongoing colonial dependence and only limited progress towards self-determination. Self-determination, on the other hand, requires us to actively engage in the possibilities of non-colonial relations between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples to a discourse of "relative yet relational autonomy between peoples, each of which is autonomous in their jurisdiction" (Maaka, & Fleras, 2000, p.90), and thus to a political order that does not "systematically continue to define, shape, prioritise and distort" (Maaka, & Fleras, 2005, p.22). Self-determination asserts the right to determine one's cultural, social, economic and political destiny (Durie, 2005b), thus engaging and belonging with political status and rights at both a national and community level (O'Sullivan, 2007). Such a transformative action will require a movement away from previous policies of biculturalism to engagement with, what is now being termed, a politics of indigeneity (Tully, 2000).

Research Questions

This thesis attempts to answer the following three questions:

1. What does the research literature tell us about how both the problems and the solutions for Māori students in education have been defined and responded to in the past?

2. In what ways does the work of one research-whānau-of-interest[5] (Bishop, 1996a, 2005) constitute more effective responses to enhancing Māori students' potential in education?

3. How can kaupapa Māori theory and practice contribute to research that will create more effective educational responses for Māori students?

This thesis seeks to answer the last two questions by examining evidence of the work of a research-whānau and by exploring their research experiences through the conscious reflections of members' participation in this work throughout 1991 to 2006. In order to generate some practical responses for the future, a deeper understanding

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[5] Group formed as a metaphoric family for the purpose of conducting research, also referred to as research-whānau (further defined in chapter three).

was sought of the personal construction of reality within which this research-whānau have worked at the interface of te ao Māori (the Māori world) and te ao whānui (the wider global society, Durie, 2003).

I have written this thesis as a member of this research-whānau, engaged with other members of the group within our own cultural aspirations, preferences and practices. This process has provided the support to undertake a critical reflection on our own research (including published work) in order to co-construct new collaborative research understandings (Bishop, 1998b).

Chapter one examines historical New Zealand contexts to develop an understanding of the power differentials, central to colonialism, which have pathologised and minoritised Māori people in society in general, and in education in particular. Chapter two looks to te ao Māori for solutions to the ongoing underachievement faced by Māori in education as the result of their ongoing pathologised, colonial heritage. Chapter three follows the kaupapa Māori movement that emerged in the 1970s in education, and then in research. Chapter four details the methods and methodologies employed in this thesis. Chapters five to eight present the collaborative reflections and re-examination of 11 research studies (previously carried out and reported by the research-whānau) as case studies, contextualised amongst other important events we have encountered. Chapter nine synthesises, both the contexts in which the research was undertaken and the results of the work of the research-whānau in order to identify key elements of our practice and the major shifts that have occurred. Chapter ten presents the wider implications of these findings.

As both a member of the research-whānau and the theoriser working on behalf of this group, and as the writer of this thesis, I am able to bring rigour and transparency to the research methods in terms of being responsible for presenting both the chronology (as a series of research case studies embedded in particular events) and the collaborative, critical reflection. Parts of this thesis are written in the third person (defining the problem, identifying how others have theorised about this problem and setting the parameters of the research), and parts of it are written in the first person where it represents my position as an insider in this research-whānau while telling a story on behalf of myself and its members.

This thesis seeks to identify and reflect collaboratively and critically on the discourses that have guided this research-whānau (Bishop 2005) on our hikoi[6] towards greater self-determination in our research. Therefore, this story is co-constructed from the perspectives of a group of research-whānau members in order to story and re-story the shared understandings (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2000) that have emerged on this research journey. The research-whānau have looked for the themes and patterns that will help bring about a better understanding of our own social reality and research practice so that others can critically reflect upon their own circumstances and evaluate how this might be applied elsewhere, for example, where others strive to work within mainstream institutions in ways that are determined by Māori and succeed on Māori terms, but are also accountable to both Māori and the mainstream.

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[6] Hikoi is to walk. Metaphorically it is a proactive movement of both resistance and self-determination.

Chapter 1: Contexts of pathology and resistance

The oppressor elaborates his theory of action without the people, for he stands against them. Nor can the people – as long as they are crushed and oppressed, internalizing the image of the oppressor – construct by themselves the theory of their liberating action. Only in the encounter of the people with the revolutionary leaders – in their communion, in their praxis – can this theory be built.

(Freire, 1996, p.164)

Introduction

Chapter one examines some of the competing discourses and practices that have continued to pathologise the condition of Māori, the indigenous people in New Zealand society. These discourses and practices have continued since the initial impact of colonisation (Consedine & Consedine, 2005; Shields, et al., 2005; Smith, 1999), generating an education system imposed upon Māori by the state, that has been founded on unequal power relations (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). In other words, pathologising discourses have contributed to "a structural relationship of Pākehā dominance and Māori subjection" (Walker, 1990, p.10).

Discourses and Metaphors: Making Sense

Parker (1992) defines a discourse as "a system of statements which constructs an object" (p.5). Burr develops this idea further by asserting that a discourse refers to "a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events" (1995, p.48). In their work, Bishop, et al., (2003, 2007), have applied the concept of discourse, as being the sets of ideas, influenced by historical events that in turn, influence one's practices and actions and thus how one relates and interacts with others and then understands and explains those experiences. They have found that discourses are a major influence on the images and experiences that teachers and Māori students have of the other, and therefore on the relationships and interactions that exist between teachers and Māori students.

Burr (1995) makes the point that, "numerous discourses surround any object and each strives to represent or 'construct' it in a different way… claims to say what the object

really is, claims to be the truth". However claims as to what is the reality, what is the truth, "lie at the heart of discussions of identity, power and change" (p.49). Burr suggests that the meaning behind what we say "rather depends upon the discursive context, the general conceptual framework in which our words are embedded" (p.50). One's actions and behaviours, how one relates to, defines and interacts with others, are determined by discursive positioning, that is the discourse within which one is metaphorically positioned. Discursive positioning therefore can determine how we understand and define other people with whom we relate (Bishop, et al., 2007; Shields, et al., 2005). Within this context, Heshusius (1996) explains that metaphors are used to "make sense out of reality and construct reality, people's lives, their thoughts, actions, and experiences, are generated by metaphorical images, the very vehicle for shaping the content of consciousness" (p. 5). Metaphors to Heshusius (1996) are "a deeply creative act, an act that gives rise to our assumptions about how reality fits together, and how we know" (p.4).

Fundamental to discourses is power (Burr, 1995), given that within discursive positioning and in the development of relationships and interactions with others, some sets of discourses can be and are privileged over another. Foucault (1972) argues that when metaphors from the language of the majority discourse are able to dominate, then the minority discourse will be understood in deficit terms. Foucault suggests that discourses, rather than being understood as merely linguistic systems or texts, should be understood as discursive practices where power relations are extolled in the sets of rules and conditions that are established between groups and institutions. These power relations become embedded and are explicit in the economic and social practices and other patterns of behaviour (Bishop et al., 2007). Indeed, these assumptions of superiority are both explicit and implicit in the metaphors and discourses of the colonisers, many of which have continued to theorise Māori in deficit terms up to the present day. For example, aspects of Māori culture such as kapa haka (cultural songs and movement), prowess in warfare, and today, prowess in sport, were and still are being used to reinforce the colonial metaphor of *savage other* (Consedine, & Consedine, 2005; Hokowhitu, 2001).

Walker (1990) contends that, "[T]he colonisation of New Zealand by the British during the era of European expansionism in the nineteenth century was a historic process predicated on assumptions of racial, religious, cultural and technological

superiority" (p.9). The dominance of this discourse ensured that Māori soon became "'less than' and 'inferior to' everyone and everything European. Settler thinking was that Māori were lazy, immoral, degraded and dirty, and suffered from 'natural depravity'" (Consedine, & Consedine, 2005, p.210). As the colonial rule became more pervasive, the racial traits imposed upon Māori were the antithesis of those qualities understood by the colonist to be most desirable. Māori were represented as "physical, unintelligent and savage… immoral and sinful, ruled by mythical ritual and an encumbering collective" (Hokowhitu, 2001, p.1), while the colonists were "virtuous, secular, liberated in thought and autonomous" (Hokowhitu, 2001, p.1).

In New Zealand's formal education system, principles derived from colonial images have served to guide teachers' actions and explain the basis for those actions. From this pattern of images and principles, education policies and rules of practice were developed that required indigenous students to metaphorically leave their culture at the school gate in order to participate in education (Bishop, et al., 2003). Indigenous languages, values, beliefs and practices have not been represented and legitimated within New Zealand's classrooms and schools. This has resulted in the education provided by the state playing a major role in destroying Māori language and culture and replacing them with that of the colonisers.

This situation has created the need to construct new metaphoric spaces in which people from indigenous or minority cultural backgrounds can feel safe to bring their own prior knowledge and experiences to mainstream educational contexts in order that they can more effectively relate to, interact with and learn from each other. Therefore this thesis begins by investigating the metaphors and discursive positioning that have informed the pedagogical contexts of both the indigenous tāngata whenua (people of the land) and the colonisers.

Educational Contexts: A Tāngata Whenua Perspective

Despite the period prior to European colonisation in Aotearoa/New Zealand being termed by some Pākehā historians as pre-history (King, 1983, 1997) there was, undeniably, a history at this time in which the worldview of the tāngata whenua dominated rather than that of the Pākehā historians. King (1997) notes how European historians in New Zealand, at the turn of the 20th century, took huge liberties in turning historical narratives from widely different sources into a homogeneous Pākehā

account of history. There is general agreement however that the original settlers in Aotearoa migrated from other regions of the South Pacific (King, 1997; Orbell, 1985). Modern day voyages, using replicas of traditional vessels and celestial navigation techniques, have retraced the journeys around the Pacific identified in traditional tribal histories and waiata (traditional songs). These successful voyages strongly suggest that this migration was planned and self determined rather than accidental (Lewis, 1980; Thatcher, 2002a, 2002b). On their arrival in Aotearoa the early Polynesian explorers found a land that was much colder than their Pacific origins, and one that had more pronounced seasonal climatic change and vastly different fauna and flora (King, 1997). These explorers settled in this new land, learned new skills which enabled them to adapt to the very different demands of the new environment, and soon developed highly specialised knowledge of this new land and its resources (King, 1997; Lewis, 1980; Orbell, 1985). From their homelands they brought with them their own beliefs, epistemologies and social structures which were maintained through this time of adaptation and innovation, from hunter, fisherman and gatherer to horticulturalist and settler (King, 1997; Orbell, 1985).

From the arrival of these voyaging canoes, settlements emerged around iwi (tribal) groups, iwi groups being further divided into hapū (sub tribe) and whānau (family and extended family) groupings. Entirely dependent upon each other and their immediate environment for their survival, these people soon developed new skills, knowledge and ability with which to harness resources from the environment in which they had settled. Their relationship with their environment on a physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual level shaped both the very form and the processes of their theorising. Thus, the origin and nature of the universe and all who lived there-in were explained and understood through their relationships with their environment (Marsden, 2003; Orbell, 1985). The descendents of these people are the indigenous people of New Zealand. Already they had demonstrated a pattern of resilience and adaptation (to the new environment) in order to achieve more effective and self-determined outcomes.

Tāngata Whenua

While stories of inter-tribal warfare from these times are still recounted, there are many other stories that tell of collaborative inter-tribal interactions as the result of exploration, networking, communication and trade (Belich, 1988; Bishop, & Glynn, 1999; Orbell, 1985). These early tāngata whenua enjoyed a successful lifestyle that

benefited from a shared in-depth knowledge of and respect for their environment. This indigenous body of knowledge, much of which still exists to this day, links the people, plants, animals and gods together and acknowledges their relationship, one to the other, as well as their interdependence. This worldview is based around concepts such as tapu (protection by the spiritual dimension) and noa (removal of the spiritual dimension and return to everyday status) that work to regulate and maintain the balance between the spiritual world, the world of people, and the land (Durie, 1998).

Further aspects from the worldview of Māori are described in chapter two. Central to this indigenous knowledge was the Māori language with its wide ranging genre of oral traditions and pedagogies that served to create, maintain, and hand on knowledge. Knowledge such as this was also captured and maintained through static images and art forms.

Traditional Pedagogies of the Tāngata Whenua

Salmond (1983) and Smith (1995) suggest that, at this time, the tāngata whenua practised a functional and sophisticated system of education that was supported by complex knowledge structures, education principles and practices. Smith (1995) writes that this system involved:

> … a complex oral tradition and a dynamic ability to respond to new challenges and changing needs. The traditional system of education, while complex and diverse, was also fully integrated in that skills, teaching and learning were rationalised and sanctioned through a highly intricate knowledge base. The linking of skills, rationale and knowledge was often mediated through the use of specific rituals.

(p.34)

Learning within these traditional contexts included a variety of cognitive, oral, auditory and visual processes aimed at maintaining and extending cultural mores and knowledge as well as harnessing, maintaining, conserving and at the same time extending their assets and resource bases (the land and the sea). Hemara (2000) suggests that traditionally the tāngata whenua clearly understood the centrality of students and teachers within the learning process and promoted the importance of life-long intergenerational learning and knowledge. Learning was based upon previous experiences and built on the students' strengths. Giftedness and special skills were

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identified early and nurtured specifically. Small student numbers and one-to-one interactions, grounded in lived experiences, were important and curricula were mixed and complementary (Hemara, 2000).

Prior to encounters with the first European explorers, there is much evidence to show that the tāngata whenua enjoyed a holistic life-style that recognised the importance of spiritual and mental well-being as well as physical health and strong family relationships. This is captured within Durie's (1994) contemporary concept of whare tapa wha (four sides of a house). In this model the four sides of a house represent four complementary dimensions of well-being: taha whānau (the family side); taha tinana (the physical side); taha hinengaro (the thoughts and feelings side); and taha wairua (the spiritual side).

From Tāngata Whenua to Tāngata Māori

Drawing on 18th century records from Cook, Banks and Du Fresne, Hemara (2000) contends that initial contacts between tāngata whenua and European explorers were by and large driven by curiosity and trade. He and others (Consedine & Consedine, 2005; King, 1997) however suggest that records from 1820 onwards show that the European explorers' attitude towards the people had begun to change as European powers began to vie to establish colonies by acquiring land and resources. Hemara (2000) writes that these records, "appear to be driven by colonial enterprise, Darwinian theories and theological dogma" (p.7). To this end and from these early colonial origins, Cunningham (1998) contends that the term *Māori* was introduced as a settler-devised construct designed to group and amalgamate the different indigenous populations (iwi) and distinguish them from the colonial population. This process was supported by the pervasive belief of these early European colonisers that the races of the world ranged from inferior to superior, from savage to civilised, with the British in particular viewing civilised as being synonymous with Christianity (Simon et al., 1998). These beliefs underpinned not only the amalgamation and renaming of tribal peoples into one homogeneous group for the convenience of the coloniser but also underpinned a determined effort to redefine tribal peoples in other ways through the colonial education system.

The Education of Māori

From 1816, with the setting up of the first mission school in Rangihoua (Simon et al., 1998), the missionaries began a movement to civilise Māori away from paganism and

traditional oral traditions, towards written literacy. Many of the first converts were the slaves, held by Northern tribes, whom the missionaries worked to free. Once freed, many slaves were trained as Māori missionaries, and helped to return to their own iwi to spread the written word of Christianity (Binney, 1969; King, 2003). By 1820 early missionaries had formulated a grammar and orthography of the Māori language, they had translated the bible into Māori by 1827, and had begun printing and distributing the scriptures in Māori between 1830 and 1840 (Simon et al., 1998). However while these schools taught about Christianity and European ways they also taught their pupils to read and write in Māori. Beaglehole (1970) reported that by 1840 a large number of the Māori population could read and write in Māori. Although mission schools were limited to a few geographic areas, the printed word was carried by non-Māori and Māori missionaries alike. While the impact differed from iwi to iwi, literacy soon began to influence a wider range of the population (Binney, 1969; Howe, 1973, 1984). James Coutts Crawford, travelling around New Zealand in 1839, writes:

> Strolling around the village, we found the Maoris collected in groups around numerous fires, and very busy sending messages to each other on slates. The art of writing had just been introduced, and the Maoris seemed to have acquired a furore for it. They wrote everywhere, on all occasions and on all substances, on slates, on paper, on leaves of flax, and with a good, firm, decided hand

(Crawford, 1880)

There is much evidence to suggest that Māori were in control, they were able and willing to take on board new technologies and they were numerically superior. Jenkins (2000) describes this historical Māori relationship with Pākehā in terms of *aitanga*, concluding that Māori brought immense strength, integrity, diplomacy and determination to their relationship with the colonisers. This was a time of social, political and economic prosperity for Māori (Belich, 1988; Temm, 1990) where Māori undertook "commercial enterprise on a large scale while still living in a Māori traditional society based on tribal divisions of whānau, hapū and iwi" (Bishop, & Glynn, 1999, p.32). Ernst Dieffenbach, a Naturalist for the New Zealand Company on board the Tory in 1839, wrote the following of Māori:

A desire of instructing themselves, and a spirit of curiosity, pervade young and old. They are very attentive to tuition, learn quickly, and have an excellent memory. Many know by rote hundreds of traditions and songs, and will repeat word for word the Christian catechism, or whole chapters of the gospel. In attention to the objects which surround them – in quickness of perception - they are superior in general to the white man: plants, animals, stones, and so on, are designated by their own names, the knowledge of which may be said to be common to all. This spirit of curiosity leads them often to trust themselves to small coasting vessels; or they go with whalers to see still more distant parts of the globe. They adapt themselves readily to European navigation and boating, and at this moment a native of New Zealand is master of a whale-ship; and in Cook's Straits many boats are manned by them alone.

(Dieffenbach, 1843, p.108)

Consedine and Consedine, (2005) estimate a thousand ships visited the Bay of Islands during the 1830s bringing a mix of Europeans looking to either trade or to settle. These settlers included seamen jumping ship and convicts escaping the penal colonies in Australia. Undoubtedly introduced diseases brought by these visitors and tribal wars had significantly reduced the Māori population by 1840. However Pool (1991, p.238) suggests that Māori would still have outnumbered Europeans by about 50 to one. In 1831, some Māori and missionaries too, dissatisfied by the behaviour of many of these early settlers, petitioned King William IV to send a representative to New Zealand to control the settlers. The lack of law and order and the successful participation of many Māori in international and local trade and other aspects of European life, together with French interest in colonising the South Island, saw increasing pressure on Britain to participate (Orange, 1987). At the same time the New Zealand company was promoting their own plan to colonise New Zealand which they saw as a source of "cheap land, plentiful raw materials and unlimited trading opportunities in a distant paradise" while Britain was "in a state of domestic crisis, and a population excess, coupled with pressing poverty" (Consedine, & Consedine, 2005, p.87).

Britain's response was to extend the laws of New South Wales to cover New Zealand and appoint James Busby as British Resident. Busby, who intended to create a Māori nation state, was soon instrumental in bringing together 34 leaders of northern hapū

into what became the Confederation of Northern Tribes of New Zealand for the signing of a Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand in 1835 (Durie, 1998). Although this was a definite shift away from the iwi social structure that had applied for Māori up until this time, Durie asserts that if it were not for this declaration of independence the Treaty of Waitangi may never have followed, suggesting "[h]aving recognised Māori sovereignty and independence then, Britain needed a mechanism to justify imposing its own will on Māori" (Durie, 1998, p.176).

The Treaty of Waitangi

As a result of the rapid expansion of immigration both from Europe and Australia, Britain sent William Hobson as consul representing the Crown to negotiate a treaty between the Crown and representatives of Māori (Orange, 1987). According to Moon (1998), Hobson's specific instructions from Lord Normanby and the Colonial Office were to negotiate a treaty that would be understood fully by both sides and with the "free and intelligent consent of chiefs". Māori "title to the soil and to the sovereignty of New Zealand is indisputable and has been solemnly recognised by the British Government" (Moon, 1998, p.48). Hobson was to obtain sovereignty only if Māori were willing to cede it, and obtain land only if Māori were not disadvantaged. This meant that Hobson should have ensured that Māori had a clear understanding of the Treaty, were not disadvantaged in any way, and were able to retain enough land for their own purposes.

Despite Hobson's instructions, two conflicting versions of the Treaty were prepared, one in English and one in Māori. The English text acknowledged collective Māori *sovereignty* over New Zealand which Māori agreed to cede to the British Crown. In return Māori were promised "undisturbed *possession* of their lands and estates, forests and fisheries, yielding an exclusive right of pre-emption to the Crown over such lands as the chiefs wished to alienate at prices agreed by both parties" (Consedine, & Consedine, 2005, p.88). Māori would also receive all the rights and privileges of British subjects. The translated Māori text on the other hand was much more acceptable to Māori for it only gave the Crown kawanatanga (governance) over the land, while promising to Māori "tino rangatiratanga (the unqualified exercise of authority) over their lands and villages 'and all their treasures'" (Consedine, & Consedine, 2005, p.88). Māori were also promised *protection* and the same rights and duties of citizenship.

The Māori text was eventually signed by some 512 Māori over a period of seven months and some 39 Māori signatures were appended to an English version. That is, most Māori signatories had neither seen nor signed the English version. British sovereignty was imposed with both sides operating from different texts, different understandings and different worldviews (Consedine & Consedine, 2005). The Treaty was seen by the coloniser as a transfer of administrative authority from Māori to British control, while the Treaty was seen by Māori as a partnership between two nations. Māori understood that they would determine how Māori people and Māori possessions were administered while the British would take care of the settlers.

In signing the Māori language version of the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori understood they would be preserving "their chieftainship and their land" in order that their "peace and quietness may be kept with them" (translated from the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi by Sir Hugh Kawharu). Māori understood the Treaty of Waitangi to be a charter for power sharing between Māori and the Crown, the two groups of signatories. Under Article 1 of the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori acknowledged that "kawanatanga katoa o rātou whenua" was about the right of the Government to govern and assume administrative control of their land but they understood that Māori would be guaranteed a share in related decision making with dual partnership roles and responsibilities. In the Māori version under Article 2, the Crown ceded to Māori full chieftainship and control or tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) over their lands, their villages and all their taonga (all that was held precious). Māori retained their sovereign rights to define, promote and protect their treasures and resources. This has subsequently been defined by the Waitangi Tribunal[7] to include specifically the creation, retention and transmission of language and cultural knowledge. The chiefs ceded to the Queen's appointee the right to purchase land that Māori were willing to sell. Under Article 3 of the Treaty, Māori were guaranteed the full rights of participation as afforded to all British citizens. In short, under Article one, the Crown undertook to enter into a *partnership* with Māori. Under Article two Māori would receive *protection* of the right to define their treasures and under Article three Māori

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[7] The Waitangi Tribunal was established for Māori tribes to voice their grievances to the government in a systematic and self-determining manner.

were guaranteed *participation* in the benefits that the Crown had to offer (Bishop, & Glynn, 1999, Orange, 1987).

Māori understood that the signing of the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi would enable them as the indigenous people to participate equally in future decision-making processes that would help determine their own future. Such participation could guide intercultural relations and interactions within New Zealand and be aimed at self-determination for Māori and social justice for all. Despite the promises to Māori, implicit in the Treaty of Waitangi, as a charter for shared power and collaborative decision making in determining the processes to be employed in running this country, and for Māori to be able to determine their own destiny as the tāngata whenua of this land (Walker, 1990), the fulfilment of these promises are still being sought in the legal court systems at the beginnings of the twenty first century.

The signing of the English version of the Treaty of Waitangi paved the way for Hobson, now Governor, and the Crown to formally subsume "the powers of governance and sovereignty from Māori-without a single Māori signature in sight, and still with no Māori mandate for this sovereignty to be extended to cover Māori" (Moon, 1998, p.4). FitzRoy, the second colonial Governor, who had earlier championed Māori rights, tried unsuccessfully to protect Māori interests while helping settlers to purchase cheap land. Fitzroy was replaced by George Grey who was anti missionary and pro the New Zealand Company.

From 1846 legislation became increasingly anti-Māori and anti-Treaty and was aimed at removing Māori from land ownership by any means. For example, Grey reinstated the pre-emption clause in Article 2 of the Treaty meaning the Crown had exclusive right to purchase land seen as "surplus". Further, the Native Land Purchase Act of 1846 outlawed leases on land and restricted trade in timber and flax making Māori ownership of land uneconomic (Consedine & Consedine, 2005). In 1847 in support of this settlement process, Governor Grey also introduced the Education Ordinance, beginning a process of government policy that swiftly sped up assimilation, accelerated settlement and further strengthened colonial institutions. This ordinance expanded upon existing Methodist, Catholic and Anglican missions by offering subsidies to support boarding schools for Māori children, thus increasing the numbers of Māori children away from their homes and villages into a colonising environment of religion, the English language and industrial work. The Crown then began to utilise

"its right of pre-emption to acquire Māori land at low prices, on-selling much of it to settlers at significant profits in order to raise funds to develop infrastructure in the rapidly growing colony" (Consedine & Consedine, 2005, p.92). By the late 1850s, as the settler population overtook that of Māori and the demand for land exceeded supply, the Crown became even more determined in its control of land acquisition. Colonisation moved rapidly and by 1858 with the high numbers of settlers and the continuing decline in Māori population due to introduced diseases, the settler population equalled that of Māori (Consedine & Consedine 2005).

The 1852 Constitution Act

The New Zealand Constitution Act in 1852 made it possible for the immigrant settlers to establish a form of local government[8]. In so doing the door was opened for settler legislative and political power in New Zealand. This was the beginning of the transfer of authority and power from the British Crown to a New Zealand administrative authority.

Problematically for Māori, the New Zealand Constitution Act gave voting rights to European males who were landowners. On the other hand Māori men who were part of communal land ownership were denied voting rights, the settlers only being prepared to understand communal land ownership in deficit terms. As the majority of colonial settlers vied to appropriate land and other assets from the Māori for their own benefits, a social pathology about the Māori population began to expand (Bishop & Glynn, 1999) to justify the appropriation of land from Māori. This included myths surrounding the inability of Māori to achieve within their communal socio-political structures of whānau, hapū and iwi. Henry Taylor, an Inspector of Native Schools in 1862, writes:

> Tribal rights destroy personal ownership, few among them can boast of owning an acre of land as absolutely and wholly his own. In the same way stock, houses, farm produce, and even the very children, are held as the common property of a tribe, with the exception of horses, perhaps, few attempts have been made by the Natives to individualize property.
>
> (AJHR, 1862, p.35)

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[8] An earlier attempt in 1846 was declined by the British parliament.

The Government was so adverse to any notion of collective ownership it deemed that land that was held by communal ownership did not qualify as property. In so doing parliament became the platform for wealthy European settlers and land speculators. Despite the efforts of the Tainui Confederation of Tribes and the emerging King Movement in 1858 to put a stop to further land sales by setting up a parallel parliament based on shared sovereignty, the settler government refused to recognise this or other attempts by Māori to determine a part in parliament (Orange, 1987). Parliament instead "proceeded to develop coercive mechanisms to ensure that the alienation of Māori land continued" (Consedine & Consedine, 2005, p.93). The Constitution Act effectively placed all of the power into the hands of the settlers and is seen by some as the reason for the land wars which were to follow from 1840 to 1860. Although these wars were directly about colonial acquisition of Māori land they were also about sovereignty and political control (Orange, 1987).

The effect of the 1852 Constitution Act in the field of Māori education was also significant. This push from the colonisers, to impose their own life style upon Māori, was aimed at influencing Māori to individualise title to land so that the colonisers could access more land and gain further control. When influence failed to achieve this, coercion, provocation and war followed. One impact of the land wars was the engendering of a sense of mistrust between Māori and Pākehā, with the result that many Māori families removed their children from the existing school system. By 1865 only 22 Māori children were attending any type of school (Openshaw, Lee, & Lee, 1993).

Given the considerable difficulties that the mission schools were facing in the 1850s as Māori parents withdrew their children, the government introduced the Native Schools Act in 1858 which introduced funding to mission schools educating "children or adults of the native race and 'half-castes'" (Openshaw, Lee, & Lee, 1993, p.39). Conditions for funding, that is, control of educational resources, required schools to be connected with a religious body, English to be the language of instruction and pupils to be both boarded and educated (Openshaw, Lee, & Lee, 1993). Again the assimilatory function of these schools was paramount "[t]heir goal was not to extend the pupils intellectually but rather to provide them with sufficient schooling to become law abiding citizens" (Simon, et al., 1998, p.17). Māori were viewed as subsistence farmers rather than entrepreneurs with an innate inability to cope with the

impact of the more complex and culturally superior way of life of the colonisers. Taylor, the same inspector above wrote "Native habits of filth and laziness also impede the progress of civilization" (AJHR, 1862, p.6). Māori language itself was seen as being:

> [A]another obstacle in the way of civilization, so long as it exists there is a barrier to the free and unrestrained intercourse which ought to exist between the two races, it shuts out the less civilized portion of the population from the benefits which intercourse with the more enlightened could confer. The School-room alone has power to break down this partition between the two races.

(AJHR, 1862, p.35)

The Native School System

In response, the government of the day introduced a dual system of education. The Education Act of 1867 established a separate Native School system for Māori students. Native schools, in the main, were to educate Māori children who lived in remote tribal areas and who had little contact with Europeans, and public schools were for everyone else. The Native Schools Bill highlighted three principles that were underpinned by the ongoing pathology of Māori that was to dominate education for years to come. The first principle was that the Europeanization or assimilation of the Māori population in order to civilise Māori was appropriate government policy. Second, social control was seen as the purpose of schools and third, schools would be provided only in those areas where Māori had asked for schools and would commit their own resources (Openshaw, Lee & Lee, 1993) or in other words their own land. Thus, education for Māori clearly continued as a means of assimilating Māori students into European culture and society (Codd, Harker, & Nash, 1990). These notions of assimilation as social policy continued to be driven by 19th century European beliefs about races of the world being ranged in hierarchal terms from civilised and superior to savage and inferior (Simon, 1992; Simon, et al., 1998). Education, within this context, failed to address any aspiration of the ethnic minority (Spoonley, 1990; Ramsay, 1972), or even acknowledge that any such aspiration existed. Māori knowledge, language and culture were demeaned and at the same time Pākehā knowledge was held up as useful and superior.

These schools perpetuated the beliefs that Māori students were less capable and followed a reduced curriculum, from that of the Board schools for Pākehā students, with an emphasis on health, hygiene and manual work. Again, as with the Mission schools, English was the medium of instruction, and increasingly and well into the next century, punishment was meted out to those students who spoke their own language (Māori) on the playground or in classrooms. Practices such as this did much to endanger the survival of the Māori language. However, so too did many Māori parents, who as a result of this hegemonic process of assimilation petitioned Parliament to teach English and forbid the use of Māori language in schools. While being native speakers of the language, many Māori parents refused to speak the language to their own children. English had become the language of success and Māori themselves began to participate in driving the process of assimilation.

The Reverend Stack, another Inspector of Native Schools in 1875, writes:

> As the schools are regarded as one of the chief civilising agencies, it is desirable that the teachers should be encouraged to keep the buildings and premises in good order, and advised to enlist the sympathies of the neighbouring settlers in their work; for the Maoris are proud of showing off before their Pakeha friends the acquirements of their children, and while their vanity is fed, they are unconsciously being weaned from Maori prejudices, and they and their children trained to regard with greater favour the educational advantages with which the Government has provided them.

(AJHR, 1875, p.14)

These paternalistic and pathologising myths have continued to be applied to inform and justify subsequent education policies of assimilation. Importantly, as noted above, these myths also began to be taken up by some Māori themselves as truths. In this way, the identity of Māori continued to be defined and re-shaped in deficit terms by many Māori and non-Māori alike. In addition, the restricted curriculum offered by the Native Schools limited higher education and employment opportunities for their Māori students. However, in spite of government control, Te Aute College for Boys stood out as different, offering matriculation classes that opened up University as an option to its students (Simon, 1992). Public outrage at this led to a government inquiry and a recommendation that the school return to its previous limited curriculum and agrarian focus. Significantly, from this school emerged New Zealand's first Māori

university graduates who were to become leaders in politics, medicine and social sciences.

It is important to note that Māori and Pākehā held opposing views on why these schools were established. Māori leaders thought that education taught in the Native schools would lead to Māori being able to participate more readily in the European economy but also being able to participate on their own terms. The coloniser, on the other hand, clearly saw these Native schools as the way to speed up the process of assimilation of the Māori children into the lower rung of European culture and society, and in this regard they were very successful. Underpinning the push to assimilate was the ongoing pervasive colonial pathology of Māori as can be seen in the following education inspector's report.

> I do not advocate for the Natives under present circumstances a refined education or high mental culture; it would be inconsistent, if we take into account the position they are likely to hold for many years to come in the social scale, and inappropriate, if we remember that they are better calculated by nature to get their living by manual than by mental labour.
>
> (Report of the Department of Education, AJHR, 1862, p.38)

Native schools however did teach literacy and numeracy although these skills were largely gained at the cost of the loss of traditional knowledge. The responsibility to educate their children was taken away from the elders and whānau members and the traditional knowledge, lores and values of the Māori began to be marginalised and lost. New roles based upon the acquisition of European language, knowledge and beliefs began to emerge as English literacy skills began to be more highly valued as the means of communicating information, proving land ownership, and retaining and transferring knowledge. With the Amendment to the Native Schools Act of 1867, many Māori expressed, through the four newly elected Māori members of Parliament, that Europeanisation was appropriate for Māori. Another detrimental result of Native schools therefore, was the increasing loss or belittlement of Māori epistemology. These changes, which at the time were favorably accepted by many Māori, were to have massive repercussions on Māori knowledge and education for future generations of Māori students.

Consequences

Although the Native Schools Act of 1867 is often seen as the beginning of state involvement in education, the Governor had begun giving subsidies to schools run by missionaries for Māori students 20 years before this (Simon, 1992; Simon, et al., 1998) in order to gain control over the education agenda. Although there were struggles between the community and the secular governors over what language would be the most appropriate language of instruction, the teaching of a colonial curriculum in English at the expense of Māori was the eventual outcome of this agenda. Many Māori were deemed to be inadequate and their subsequent failure exacerbated their loss of language, culture and mana (personal prestige). State controlled education resulted in Māori being educated within a system that not only devalued them as a people but emphasised the negative features of Māori knowledge and culture (Barrington, & Beaglehole, 1974).

By 1900 the Māori population had dropped to 45, 000 while the European Pākehā population had climbed to 770, 000 (Pool, 1991). Most Māori lived in isolated rural locations (Hill, 2005), and in "makeshift camps without sanitation…" where they suffered "high infant mortality…" and "succumbed easily to infectious diseases" (Consedine, & Consedine, 2005, p.99). A pervading sense of racism by the colonial settlers was captured by Stenhouse in his reference to Dr Alfred Newman, an influential doctor and businessman of the day, who suggested that, "the disappearance of the race is scarcely a subject for much regret. They are dying out in a quick easy way, and are being supplanted by a superior race" (Stenhouse, 1996, p.126).

The disproportionate levels of assistance provided by the Government to Māori, which was far less than that offered to the rest of the New Zealand population, may well have also contributed to this. Three notable examples of this can be seen in the low interest loans available to Pākehā under the Advances to Settlers Act (1894) that were not available to Māori; the turn of the century old age pension that was again available to Pākehā but not to Māori (predicated on the assumption that Māori could not prove their age); and the ballot for farms available to Pākehā servicemen at the end of World War 1, but not to Māori (predicated on the assumption that Māori already had their own land) (Orange, 1987). Another example arose during the depression when unemployed Māori men were given only half the unemployment benefit of Pākehā (predicated on the assumption that Māori had their own land

resources to sustain them) (Consedine, & Consedine, 2005). However, from owning some 29, 880, 000 hectares of land in 1840, Māori land ownership had reduced to 1, 813, 000 hectares by 1940 (Durie, 2005a). All of these examples directly contravene Article 3 of the Treaty that guaranteed the same citizenship rights to Māori as were available to the settlers. By the end of World War II, 75% of Māori still lived in rural locations around or on the greatly reduced areas of ancestral land. At this time, poverty and search for employment saw the beginnings of a rapid move to urban areas. By the 1960s almost 60% of Māori had moved and were settled in urban areas (Pool, 1991).

At this time Hunn (1960) reported Māori as having the worst health and education outcomes in the country. These findings continued to draw upon deficit theories about Māori families to explain the cause of their inadequacies and gave rise to an ever increasing sense of guilt and hopelessness amongst Māoridom. With the closing of Native schools in 1969 and the influx of Māori pupils into mainstream facilities, educators finally began to realise that if Māori students were to meet with more success, their cultural and social needs had to be better addressed (Simon, 1983). Assimilation policies shifted to policies of integration whereby the retention of Māoritanga was to be achieved from within a Pākehā framework (Fleras, & Spoonley, 1999). Consequently these policies of integration still continued to assimilate or absorb Māori into Pākehā society, on terms dictated by Pākehā society.

Consedine and Consedine write:

> From the time of the signing of the Treaty until the mid-1970s Māori went from being an industrious, vibrant, economically viable and entrepreneurial society successfully adapting to a rapidly changing world to a dispossessed, marginalised, threatened and involuntary minority population in their own country. Māori were becoming strangers in their own land, seen as useful only for entertainment, tourism, sport, armed services, and for marketing New Zealand as a South Pacific Paradise with the best race relations in the world.
>
> (Consedine, & Consedine, 2005, pp.96-97)

The Impact of Power Relations in Education

Shields, Bishop and Masawi (2005), identify the important role of power relationships in public education systems that allow education systems to pathologise the lived

experiences of groups of indigenous children and to continue to support and perpetuate social inequality. They refer to these students as 'minoritized', using the term to emphasise that whether students are in the numerical minority or majority, many of these students are subjected to oppression and suppression by proponents of the dominant discourse, in that they continue to be excluded from decision making and other positions of power.

These authors argue how these practices have perpetuated the generation of policies that continue to pathologise the lived reality of colonised peoples and in turn perpetuate unequal educational outcomes for the children of these same people. Shields, Bishop and Masawi (2005), define pathologising as:

> … a process where perceived structural-functional, cultural, or epistemological deviation from an assumed normal state is ascribed to another group as a product of power relationships, whereby the less powerful group is deemed to be abnormal in some way. Pathologizing is a mode of colonization used to govern, regulate, manage, marginalize, or minoritize, primarily through hegemonic discourses.
>
> (p.X)

By examining the discourses of educators and questioning their effect on students, Shields, Bishop and Masawi (2005) identify the severe and debilitating effects of teacher pathologising on the lived experiences of indigenous children. Shields conducted her research with a group of educators and parents of Navajo students in the United States, and Masawi with a group of educators of Bedouin students in Israel, Bishop worked with a group of educators of Māori students in New Zealand. Although their research was conducted in three vastly different settings, the pervasive similarity of one setting with the others is clear. Their guiding beliefs, grounded in social justice, moral leadership and critical constructionism, challenge educators to examine from the perspectives of these children and some of their educators, the lived realities of other indigenous peoples in education and subsequently in the wider society.

Unequal Access to a Fair Share of Educational Benefits

In New Zealand, the results of historical colonial practices that overpower, and pathologise Māori are still very evident today. Māori are consistently worse off than

other ethnic groups in terms of a wide range of social indicators (e.g. unemployment, incarceration, health problems, illegal drugs, gangs, unmarried mothers). This is especially concerning in education where the national education achievement statistics of Māori students have consistently appeared below the national averages of all other ethnic groups while at the same time appearing disproportionately higher on negative indices such as absenteeism, stand downs and expulsion from schools. In 1990, Smith and Smith (1990) reported that, "in almost every crisis index associated with Māori [in] education, Māori pupils as a group are shown to perform worse, receive fewer opportunities and benefit least in comparison to their Pākehā counterparts" (p.127). Discrepant educational achievement results for Māori have shown little change in recent years and may be further exacerbated because the highest percentage of Māori students (86%) continue to be taught in English medium classes (Ministry of Education, 2005b) where participation informed by a Māori worldview is very seldom an option. The relative under-achievement in, and disaffection from, the education system of Māori students, and their proportionately high exclusion rate continues to be a focus of investigation in New Zealand educational research (Bishop et al., 2003, 2007).

While there are clearly many challenges in providing effective education for Māori students, these challenges are further compounded when students are identified as having learning and behaviour needs. Educational programmes that spring from deficit models address the under-achievement of indigenous and other ethnic minority students by providing activities and experiences to compensate for those perceived to be lacking in the students' own homes, families, and cultures (Glynn, Fairweather & Donald, 1992; Glynn & Bishop, 1995). Additional educational input from the majority culture (either from home or community based pre-school enrichment programmes, or from school based remedial programmes) was considered essential for children from indigenous cultures to succeed. Such programmes typically involved more frequent or more intensive teaching of knowledge and skills, which the majority culture judged as essential for success. Uncritical implementation of such "remedial" programmes may undermine the capacity of minority cultural groups to maintain their own language and culture (Wong-Fillmore, 1991) and further impacts negatively on achievement.

Summary

The historical signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 still influences, to varying degrees, the lives of all contemporary New Zealanders. While this Treaty promised power sharing and self-determination for both groups, relations between Pākehā and Māori, according to Bishop and Glynn (1999), have, "been one of political, social and economic domination by the Pākehā majority, and marginalisation of the Māori people" (p.50). For Māori, the result of this overpowering stance by the Pākehā majority continues to be an inequitable share in the benefits that New Zealand has to offer, while at the same time continues the suppression and belittlement of indigenous knowledge, language and culture (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). As previously mentioned, the belittlement of indigenous knowledge, together with contexts that maintain power imbalances, leads to the perpetuation of cultural deficit explanations (victim blaming) of low performance. This in turn maintains on-going mainstream discourses about the indigenous or cultural minority situation and continues the maintenance of power over what is determined to be pedagogy and knowledge in classrooms (Bishop, et al. 2003; Bishop, & Berryman, 2006).

Despite Māori expectations of the promises implicit in the Treaty of Waitangi, and although many New Zealanders consider this Treaty to be the founding document of this nation, partnership and self-determination by Māori has not ensued. On the contrary, the majority Treaty partner has historically exerted and continues to maintain political dominance with the result that Māori as the minority continue to be socially and culturally oppressed. Historically this has involved land wars and loss of land through confiscation, but has continued through biased legislation and successive educational policies and initiatives that have imposed the majority's language and knowledge while at the same time marginalising and denigrating Māori knowledge and language (Consedine, & Consedine, 2005; Bishop, & Glynn, 1999). Government educational policies aimed at assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and biculturalism, determined largely by the non-Māori majority, have resulted in Māori sacrificing more and more of their own indigenous knowledge, educational aspirations, their culture and their language to the needs and goals of the mainstream. Participation in mainstream education in New Zealand has come for Māori at a cost of their culture and language (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Bishop et al., 2003). Importantly however, as stated by Linda Smith:

To acquiesce is to lose ourselves entirely and implicitly agree with all that has been said about us. To resist is to retrench to the margins, retrieve what we were and remake ourselves. The past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures languages and social practices – all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of resistance and hope.

(1999, p.4)

Accordingly, as a means to further mediate this world of colonial oppression and seek these spaces of "resistance and hope" created by preceding Māori academia, this thesis will now reconnect to Māori epistemology. Reclaiming Māori space and seeking to work with solutions that are informed by the wisdom of the pre-colonial Māori past is, "a way of decolonising the mind and is a critical part of recreating, restructuring a national and cultural consciousness" (Mead, 1997, p.11). For as Freire suggests "just as the oppressor, in order to oppress, needs a theory of oppressive action, so the oppressed, in order to become free, also need a theory of action" (Freire, 1996, p.164). Kaupapa Māori theory suggests that reconnection with one's own heritage enables greater opportunity and ability to reclaim the power to define oneself and, in so doing, defines solutions that will be more effective for Māori, now and in the future.

Chapter Two: The Māori world: A Context for Revitalisation and Growth

> ...the solutions to marginalisation do not lie in the culture that marginalises, rather solutions to issues of power and control; initiation, benefits, representation, legitimisation and accountability (Bishop, 1996a, Bishop, et al, 2001a) can be addressed in mainstream classrooms by reference to Māori culture in ways that will eventually benefit all students.
>
> (Bishop, et al., 2003, p.11)

Introduction

This chapter examines features from the traditional Māori worldview (te ao Māori), in order to consider how te ao Māori can still continue to shape and guide contemporary Māori. Traditional Māori conceptualisations of creation, personal and cultural identity, knowledge, education, research and whānau (family, extended family and metaphoric family) are identified and some of the issues and solutions that have emerged from Māori experiences within these contexts are examined. In so doing, te ao Māori provides the setting to seek some of the knowledge that was marginalised through colonisation and to begin to reconstruct Māori knowledge and practice in these specific domains to better inform Māori responses to the challenges presented by colonisation.

The Arrival of the Tāngata Whenua

Ancestors of the race of people known today as Māori maintained, and in turn were sustained, by their own traditional view of the world for at least 600 years before the first colonisers began to arrive in Aotearoa (Walker, 1977). When groups of these first Māori people settled in Aotearoa after their skilful navigation of the Pacific, they did so as autonomous peoples in accordance with their own traditions and practices (King, 1983; Orbell, 1985). Their complex prior knowledge and skills enabled them to survive many environmental challenges and adapt to the very different climate, geography, flora and fauna that they encountered in Aotearoa (King, 1983; Orbell, 1985; Patterson, 2000). Traditional knowledge and cultural mores had been and are still being handed down and continuously evolving from generation to generation. It was because of their cultural strength and knowledge that individual tribes flourished

and contributed to becoming a distinctive and autonomous cultural entity in the South Pacific (King, 1983; Orbell, 1985). Therefore, when thinking about contemporary solutions, both traditional knowledge and cultural mores are crucial points.

A strong oral heritage and the practice of keeping history and genealogy alive through stories, songs, static images and other art and craft forms has helped to ensure that many of these traditional practices and understandings continue to varying degrees, to this day (Dewes, 1977; Kāretu, 1977). Dewes (1977) contends that oral traditions, extending continuously from the past to the present, ensure that Māori can be seen as, "master of his (sic) environment with a brain, heart and soul; with a religion, a philosophy of life and of nature; who had (has) highly sophisticated educational institutions and agencies of culture transmission to preserve and perpetuate knowledge" (p.53). This is supported by Kruger (1998) who asserts that for Māori, any pursuit of knowledge and learning requires te ao Māori, as determined by traditional Māori knowledge, to be firmly acknowledged.

Accordingly, this chapter proposes that te ao Māori is a powerful context for responding to contemporary challenges, and is a context for solutions, revitalisation and growth as it has been for previous challenges. In order to understand this context better, the chapter begins with two stories that come from the traditional world of the Māori. Much of the detail in these traditional Māori stories differs from tribe to tribe, but structurally there is consistency and relevance for all (Marsden, 1977; Reed & Calman, 2004; Shirres, 2000). Attempting to deconstruct the complexity within the many different twists and turns of these traditional stories is a challenging and problematic process. The attempt to do this has been made with the greatest respect to authenticity and to previous learned Māori writers who created the space for others like me to engage in this same discourse. The first story links to Māori beliefs and understandings about the universe and humanity's place within that universe. The second story presents traditional Māori beliefs and understandings about the acquisition, maintenance and generation of knowledge.

Traditional Māori models for understanding the origin and workings of the universe have existed for at least one thousand years (Shirres, 2000). Despite successive attempts to displace the validity of Māori mythology with that of non-Māori (Walker, 1978), the knowledge within these traditional Māori models has been sustained and handed down through the traditions of oral literature. Many of these oral traditions are

still maintained and accessible in the Māori language, karakia (prayer), waiata, haka (chant and actions used to incite), whaikorero (oratory) and whakatauākī or whakataukī (traditional sayings) and other art forms practised by Māori (Kāretu, 1977). Many of these models are still evident in contemporary Māori ideology, and can be seen as they are played out in the metaphors, imagery, concepts and practices still used by many Māori today. For example, the All Blacks, arguably New Zealand's most famous sports team, always haka (chant and actions used to incite) to their opponents before international games. While this may not exactly engender fear in some of their opponents, it now undoubtedly does engender passion, pride and belonging in many New Zealand spectators, both young and old, whenever it is performed. Increasingly some of these models and the narratives behind them are also being maintained through print and electronic means (Kāretu, 1977), despite a reluctance of many elders such as Te Uira Manihera, to do so:

> … a lot of people… would sooner take a knowledge of their own traditions with them than pass them on to the present generation. They believe that if it goes out to another person outside the family, in a short time it will have dissolved, absorbed by all the other people who have access to it.

<div align="right">(King, 1978, p.13)</div>

While Manihera's concerns are still relevant today and must be acknowledged and respected, many people disagree and there are now many attempts to archive Māori knowledge.

Creation from a Traditional Māori Perspective

Traditional Māori narratives explain the complex evolution of existence that provide the conceptual basis for Māori society and the descent of Māori people from supernatural beings (Durie, 1997; Marsden, 1977, 2003; Walker, 1990). While these narratives about creation may differ in detail and complexities according to tribal area, the general outlines are similar (Marsden, 1977; Shirres, 2000). Sometimes, as in Shirres (2000), the origins are told in terms of the unfurling and growth of a tree, "Te pu, te more, te weu. The primary root, the tap root, the fibrous root" (p.23). Sometimes they are told as the unfurling of consciousness:

Ka hua te wānanga   Knowledge became fruitful

Ka noho i a rikoriko	It dwelt within the feeble glimmering;
Ka puta ki waho ko te po	And so night was born:
Ko te po nui, te pō roa,	The great night, the long night,
Te po i turituri,	The lowest night,
Te po i pepeke	The loftiest night,
Te po uriuri,	The thick night
te po tangotango	The night to be felt

<div align="right">(Shirres, 2000, p. 23)</div>

Sometimes they are told as the story from conception to birth but again with the emphasis on the unfurling of consciousness:

Na te kune te pupuke	From the conception the increase
Na te pupuke te hihiri	From the increase the thought
Na te hihiri te mahara	From the thought the remembrance
Na te mahara te hinengaro	From the remembrance the consciousness
Na te hinengaro te manako	From the consciousness the desire

<div align="right">(Shirres, 2000, pp.24-25)</div>

Buck (1949) cites three different and distinct sequential states involved in the genealogy of human beings. This sequence begins with the creation of the cosmos (cosmogony), continues with the creation and study of the primal gods, their creative powers and how they inter-relate (theogony), and finishes with the origins of humankind (anthropogeny). The cosmogony phase is further delineated into three states of existence, Te Kore (the void), Te Pō (the unknown) and Te Ao Mārama (the world of light), and again each of these states is further delineated and qualified (Walker, 1990). Walker (1990) describes these states of existence:

> Te kore signified space, it contained in its vastness the seeds of the universe and was therefore a state of potential. Te Pō was the celestial realm and the domain of the gods. This was the source of all mana and tapu. Te Aomarama is the world of light and reality, the dwelling place of humans.

<div align="right">(p.11)</div>

Walker (1990) explains the origins of Māori society as being contained within three myth cycles that begin with the creation myth of Ranginui, the sky father, and Papatūānuku, the earth Mother. The second myth cycle deals with the exploits of the

demi-god Māui and the third myth cycle deals with the life of Tawhaki. Characters central to this cycle of myths are the gods in the first cycle, their progeny in the second cycle and their human descendants in the third cycle.

The Reverend Māori Marsden from the Tai Tokerau people in the far north of New Zealand presents a story of creation that encapsulates elements from all of the previous writers (Marsden, 1977, 2003). Amongst other things in his lifetime, Marsden was a tohunga (chosen one, healer and spiritual leader), graduate of a whare wānanga (kaupapa Māori tertiary institute), writer, philosopher and ordained Anglican minister. These experiences placed him in a unique position to theorise from a Māori worldview about the Māori world and about the interface of this world with the worldview imposed by colonisation and the theology represented in the Christian faith. Marsden provided substantial evidence on Māori cosmology, theology, anthropology, and philosophy.

Marsden's story of the creation (1977, 2003) begins with Io the Supreme Being who in the beginning dwelt alone within the tranquillity and void of Te Kore. Io used his essence to fertilise Te Kore and then laid out all of the essential foundations for the creation of the universe. Next, Io created the night realms, dividing them into various temporal planes from Te Pō Nui (The Great Night) to Te Pō Tahuri Atu (The Night That Borders Day) and then illuminating them with various degrees of soft light. Io then divided Te Pō Tahuri Atu into Te Wheiao (the dawn light) and Te Ao Mārama (broad daylight). In the night regions of soft light, Io established the realms of Hawaiki that became the sacred dwelling places of other gods and heroes. Having thus created the nights and the realms of Hawaiki, Io created the first two gods and with them the male (Rangiawatea) and female (Papatūānuku) principles from whom all life is derived. Although Marsden's (2003) view of creation as descending from Io, the one supreme God, is generally accepted today as being influenced by Christianity, and with validity in limited settings only, his abridged genealogy of the cosmos, in Māori and in English, provides an insight into this view of the world:

Io	Creator, root cause
Te Kore	The Void
Te Kōwhao	The Abyss
Te Anu	The Cold
Te Pō	The Night

Te Mauri	Life Principle
Te Pū	Shoot
Te Weu	Taproot
Te More	Laterals
Te Aka	Rhizome
Te Rea	Hair root
Te Rapunga	Seeking
Te Whāinga	Pursuit
Te Kukune	Extension
Te Pupuke	Expansion
Te Hihiri	Energy
Te Mahara	Primordial Memory
Te Hinengaro	Deep Mind
Te Whakaaro	Sub-conscious Wisdom
Te Whē	Seed-word
Te Wānanga	Consciousness Achieved Wisdom
Te Hauora	Breath of Life
Te Ātāmai	Shape
Te Āhua	Form
Wā	Time
Ātea	Space
Ranginui/Papatūānuku	Heaven-Earth (the Natural World)

(Marsden, 2003, p.181)

Te Ao Mārama: The World of Light, the First Space

Rangiawatea (the god of space and light, often referred to as Ranginui) and Papatūānuku (the earth mother) clung together in a tight embrace. From their union came sons. These sons, forced to live within the stifling confines of their parents' embrace, could only crawl around or lie about on their sides. Light did not penetrate their world, thus they were unable to mature or bear fruit (Reed, & Calman, 2004). The brothers, discontent with their world of continual darkness, tried to resolve their situation by forcing their parents apart. Tāne, the eldest brother finally succeeded in separating the two parents. His actions allowed light into their world and Te Ao Mārama (the world of light), the third state of existence came into being (Walker,

1990). Te Ao Mārama emerged as the first space in which humans and life were first created and existed. Within these spaces, challenges were faced and solutions were sought from a traditional Māori worldview and from this perspective they were effectively responded to. Many Māori, working to revitalise Māori cultural knowledge and language, are still trying to determine spaces such as these, today.

After successfully bringing light into the world, Tāne took on tasks critical to the development of humanity. First Io commissioned Tāne to complete the heavens thus earning him the name of Tānenuiarangi (the great heavens of Tāne). This completed, Io commissioned Tāne to delegate tasks to the brothers in order to continue the creation and population of the universe (Marsden, 1977, 2003). In some versions of the story, the number of offspring differs, as does the order of their creation (Reed & Calman, 2004). Marsden (1977, 2003) describes a genealogy of seven gods with Tāne being the first-born and after him Tangaroa, Rongomatāne, Tumatauenga, Haumiatiketike, Ruaimoko and Tawhirimatea. Other writers (Buck, 1949; Durie, 1998; Shirres, 2000; Walker, 1990) talk of six supreme gods with other less important gods, amongst whom Rūaumoko is listed. As Gods the brothers became important in the creation of the elements with each taking responsibility for creating and maintaining guardianship over their own domains within the environment (Durie, 1998; Marsden, 1977, 2003). Tangaroa became the guardian of the sea, Rongomatāne the guardian of cultivated crops, Tumatauenga the guardian of human beings, Haumiatiketike the guardian of fern roots, Rūaumoko the guardian of earthquakes and Tawhirimatea the guardian of the weather elements. Tāne became guardian of the forest (Tāne-mahuta) and birds (Tāne-mataahi), thus earning him new titles. Their role as guardians was to protect and care for their own domain, understood to be a part of an interacting network of inter-related elements requiring maintenance and balance for future generations (Durie, 1998).

This concept is exemplified in the creation narrative with the personification of the sky (Ranginui) and the earth (Papatūānuku), the well-being of their offspring and in turn the well-being of all life (Durie, 1998). This narrative not only explained the origin and nature of the sky, the earth, and the elements, as well as the creatures, and plants that inhabit the world, it also laid the foundations for defining the characteristics and roles of men and women and the nature of the cultural roles, relationships and responsibilities that exist between them. These traditional roles and

responsibilities continue to be important for Māori today in many contexts including the rituals of encounter when new groups meet. These include encounters in traditional settings such as occur during pōwhiri on the marae (rituals of encounter using traditional protocols and places) or encounters in contemporary settings such as the workplace when family and other associates might go to show support of their person to the new employer on the first day. Males will take on the roles of whaikōrero (speechmaking) and karakia (prayers) that involve tapu or sacredness that only the complementary and inseparable female role can return to the state of noa (removal of tapu) sometimes by means of waiata (singing).

Creating the Female Element

The complementary and inseparable roles between male and female were further prescribed when Tānenuiarangi took responsibility for finding and creating the female element in order for humanity to begin. In the completion of this task we learn how Tānenuiarangi took earth, moistened with water and shaped it into the form of Hineahuone, the first female. Literally her name means the female formed from dust. Tānenuiarangi breathed his life force or mauri out through his nostrils and in through hers, thus imparting life into her (Marsden, 1977, 2003; Walker, 1990). This practice of sharing the breath of life is still seen today in the meditative pressing of noses when two people greet in the traditional hongi. Hongi usually follow formal rituals of encounter when new groups come together or hongi may be used when renewing relationships with friends and acquaintances after periods of separation. The phrase, "tihei mauri ora (I sneeze, it is life)", a phrase regularly heard in Māori oratory also links back to this story and to the practice of hongi.

From the union of Tānenuiarangi and Hineahuone, came a daughter Hinetitama. Tānenuiarangi then went on to father children with Hinetitama. When Hinetitama found that her husband was also her father, she fled in shame to the underworld where she became Hinenuitepo, the guardian of all those who were returned at death to the spiritual realm. She would receive the children of Tānenuiarangi into the underworld when they died. The genealogical descent of the progeny of Tānenuiarangi and Hineahuone was finally to produce the demigod Māui and then down to the first human, Tawhaki.

Traditional Māori Understandings about Knowledge

Another of the many tasks Tānenuiarangi undertook was to ascend into the heavens to retrieve the baskets of knowledge. According to one oral tradition, in this quest, Tānenuiarangi had to ascend through all of the heavens to Te Toiongārangi the uppermost heaven and the abode of the Gods. Tānenuiarangi climbed using the poutama or layered ascending steps in this quest for knowledge. Throughout his journey Tāne had to pass many tests and challenges that the gods and guardians of each heaven had specially prepared for him before he was deemed worthy enough to be entrusted with the three baskets of knowledge and two small sacred stones (Marsden, 2003). Tānenuiarangi then returned down through the heavens to the place where his brothers had built the first whare wānanga or house of higher learning. Here the sacredness of the Gods was lifted from him and he entered the whare wānanga, where he hung the three baskets of knowledge above the place of the tohunga (high priests). One basket was called Te Kete Aoranui and contained beneficial knowledge from the natural world around us. One basket was called Te Kete Tuauri and contained knowledge to do with ritual and prayer, the world where "the cosmic processes originated and continue to operate as a complex series of rhythmic patterns of energy to uphold, sustain and replenish the energies and life of the natural world" (Marsden, & Henare, 1992, p.3). The other basket was called Te Kete Tuaātea and contained knowledge that could harm, including knowledge of black magic and evil (Best, 1924). Tāne then deposited the two stones beside the rear post of the house. Hukatai the white stone was deposited to the left, while Rehutai the red stone to the right of the post (Marsden, 2003). Reed and Calman (2004) assert that these stones were used at the end of the schools of knowledge to impress the learning on the minds of the students and to add mana (prestige) to what was taught. It was only after Tānenuiarangi had completed all of the complex and rigorous tests and rituals of purification that knowledge could be brought back to the physical world to be utilised by the world of people in whare wānanga (schools for higher forms of learning).

From a Māori worldview the three realms from the baskets of knowledge constitute the "basis for the holistic approach of the Māori to his (sic) environment" (Marsden & Henare, 1992, p.16). Kruger (1998) uses this traditional Māori explanation of how knowledge was acquired from the spiritual world then brought to the physical world to show that knowledge is of spiritual significance as are the rituals undertaken when

learning. Kruger (1998) reminds us that according to the Māori world, knowledge is a quality you can represent, not a commodity you can have or own. One may discover knowledge but there is no individual ownership of knowledge, rather it is a collective enterprise.

After succeeding through the twelve heavens to obtain the baskets of knowledge, Tānenuiarangi developed a plan associated with the maintenance and distribution of the knowledge from the three baskets. Accordingly, the processes of wānanga (a forum where knowledge is shared) and hui (meeting, run according to cultural protocol, around a shared agenda) were determined by the different components of knowledge from these three baskets. In turn, these processes have defined for Māori a collective and collaborative approach to distributing knowledge whereby, when knowledge is treated with proper respect and following appropriate tikanga (practices), all have a right to access it. For example, at a contemporary book launch, art exhibition or presentation that involves Māori knowledge and/or Māori people, traditional rituals including karakia (prayer) usually occur before the new resource is able to move into the public domain. These procedures have taken place all over the world when important Māori knowledge is shared and they are crucial for understanding Māori aspirations for knowledge and education today.

Perceptions of Reality, Worldview and Culture

People's perceptions of reality, what they regard as actual, probable and possible is conceptualised according to what they perceive reality to be (Wearmouth, Glynn, & Berryman, 2005). This view of the world is patterned on traditional experiences, belief systems and ways of thinking. These conceptualisations and patterns of life extend from the past and are inherent in the beliefs, narratives, and logic that form a people's *worldview* (Marsden, 2003). According to Marsden (2003), traditional Māori myths and legends were "deliberate constructs employed by the ancient seers and sages to encapsulate and condense into easily assimilable forms their view of the World, of ultimate reality and the relationship between the Creator, the universe and man" (p. 56). Walker (1978) adds further support to this argument by referring to the themes or *myth-messages* embedded in these stories that he also suggests offer:

> … precedents, models and social prescriptions for human behaviour. In some
> cases the myth-messages are so close to the existing reality of human

behaviour that it is difficult to resolve whether myth is the prototype or the mirror image of reality.

<div align="right">(p.32)</div>

Marsden and Henare (1992) suggest that a worldview forms the central system of "conceptions of reality to which members of a culture assent and from which stems their values system. The worldview lies at the heart of the culture, touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of the culture" (p.3). From our worldview comes our culture and to this understanding a definition of culture that encapsulates both responsive (how we relate and interact) and appropriate (cultural iconography) elements, often associated with culture (Bishop et al., 2003), comes from Quest Rapuara (1992):

> Culture is what holds a community together, giving a common framework of meaning. It includes how people communicate with each other, how we make decisions, how we structure our families and who we think is important. It expresses our values towards land and time and our attitudes towards work and play, good and evil, reward and punishment.
>
> Culture is preserved in language, symbols and customs and celebrated in art, music, drama, literature, religion and social gatherings. It constitutes the collective memory of the people and the collective heritage which will be handed down to future generations.

<div align="right">(p.7)</div>

Walker (1978) suggests that the messages or cultural imperatives within traditional Māori stories must be more clearly signposted if they are to be better understood. Given this challenge it is useful to consider that different people may be viewing the same thing or listening to the same discourse, but interpreting it from a different worldview and cultural perspective.

Bruner's approach to culturalism (1996, 2004) also links to the importance of understanding traditional narratives. Bruner (1996) proposes that the way the human mind has developed and works is linked to "a way of life where "reality" is represented by a symbolism shared by members of a cultural community in which a technical-social way of life is both organised and construed in terms of that symbolism" (p.3). In turn this shared symbolism is "conserved, elaborated and passed

on to succeeding generations who, by virtue of this transmission, continue to maintain the culture's identity and way of life" (Bruner, 1996, p.3). Patterns of life that extend from the past are inherent in discourse and metaphor, in logic and narrative. Communications such as these provide evidence to interpret the understandings and intention of a particular group of people (Bruner, 1990). Bruner (1990) suggests:

> … it is culture, not biology, that shapes human life and the human mind, that gives meaning to action by situating its underlying intentional states in an interpretive system. It does this by imposing the patterns inherent in the culture's symbolic systems - its language and discourse modes, the forms of logical and narrative explication, and the patterns of mutually dependent communal life.

> (p.34)

As mentioned in chapter one, metaphors are more than just an analogy or likeness between things, they are a creative means of understanding and making sense of our own reality (Heshusius, 1996), that is, they are in our "toolkit" (Bruner, 1996). Heshusius (1996) and Bishop (1996a, 1998a) make connections between the metaphors a culture uses and the pedagogies that a culture also employs and consequently on to the relationships and interactions that they will form with others as a result. For example, for Māori there are many important metaphors related to waka (canoe), including the various parts of the waka or actions to do with waka. Related metaphors used commonly today include being "on the waka" (commitment to the agenda), or the kauhua (the prow of the waka, therefore the leader), or "all paddling in the same direction" (collaborating). These metaphors have genealogical connections, they emerge from the waka that Māori can claim their descent from at the level of iwi.

Bishop (1998a) contends that the metaphors used in practice have a "powerful influence on how we and those we interact [with] understand, or ascribe meaning to particular experiences and what eventually happens in practice" (p.3). Kawagley (1995), of the Yupiaq nation contends that the principles and shared symbolism that we acquire throughout our lifetime in order to make sense of the world around us contributes to the formation of our worldview. We learn these principles from birth from the values, traditions, customs, myths, legends and other stories shared and modelled, first by one's own immediate family and/or caregivers, then the community

in general. These in turn, through the discourses and metaphors used, form the basis of how cultures relate and interact with others and thus shape a culture's social reality.

Traditional Māori stories are therefore part of the cultural symbolism that forms the foundation of a Māori worldview, a view of the world that is also maintained in many traditional cultural practices and that still forms an important part of Māori society today. These traditional understandings or lack of these understandings contribute to how we perceive our identity as Māori in contemporary New Zealand society today, and also how others perceive Māori to be.

Māori Identity

As previously mentioned in chapter one the term "Māori", literally meaning "normal or ordinary", whilst being indigenous in derivation is understood to be a mainstream construct with early colonial origins, designed to collectively group and categorise the indigenous tāngata whenua population and keep them distinct from the colonial population (Cunningham, 1998; Mead, 1997). Undoubtedly the majority of Māori, who perceive themselves as Māori, do not generally understand themselves to be one single nation, but rather a number of separate tribal groups, each with their own ancestral stories, their own dialect and with their own special association with the land where their people have lived for several centuries (Durie, 1997).

The link to the land results from the specific waka or canoe on which key ancestors first travelled to New Zealand from the Pacific, and from whom all members of particular iwi (tribe or tribes) descend. At times, several different tribes have descended from separate important ancestors, said to have travelled on the same waka. This common ancestry linking people from different iwi also connected them to specific areas of land and landscape features where often their waka landed and/or their iwi originally settled. Therefore, waka and iwi membership, together with explicit links to the land and waterways, to turangawaewae (birth place) and marae, provide the very foundations of a Māori person's cultural and societal identity. The whakataukī (adage, wise saying), e kore koe e ngaro, he kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea, (do not forget, you are a seed descended from Rangiatea) enables those with Māori blood to trace their whakapapa back to the beginning of time and to the creation of the universe (Mead, 1997), as understood within a Māori worldview.

After successive generations, many Māori people can still demonstrate descent from waka and key ancestors, enabling them to claim their iwi identity and their hapū standing. This allows these people to establish functional whānau (family) relationships and share a common heritage with a large number of people. Therefore, Māori identity is defined by not only one's blood links and linked to important ancestors from the past but to contemporary links with people to whom one is whānau or hunaonga (where relationships are through marriage). Attachments to waka, iwi and hapū are deeply important to defining one's identity as Māori and subsequently to one's spiritual, intellectual, social and emotional well-being. Those who have lost these whānau connections, like the many Māori who moved away from their cultural homelands to urban areas in the sixties, have lost their very identity as Māori, thus forcing many to look for new identities through attachment to other types of groups such as gangs.

Whakapapa (genealogy) therefore is not only about the identity of an individual but is also about their connection to an immediate group and extended group of people who share a common genealogy. Further, whakapapa links people through their various connections to a common turangawaewae. Whakapapa provides not only the relationships or connections between iwi, hapū and whānau members but underpins the structure of a community that includes rangatira (leaders), kaumātua (elders), pakeke (adults), rangatahi (young adults), taitamariki (adolescents), and tamariki mokopuna (younger children of both genders). Within the context of whakapapa, each group of people has an important role in generating and maintaining relationships and promoting interactions for the involvement and participation of all and for all concerned. Whakapapa also provides a continuum of life from what existed (from what has gone on before), to what is living. Māori people have long respected their tupuna (those who have sprung from a common lineage) both living and dead. The philosophy behind whakapapa is that everything that passes from one generation to another, traditionally, passes from one ancestor to another, from the deceased to the living. Without these connections, Māori would not be the people they are today, nor would they continue to hold these taonga tuku iho (values, beliefs, traditions, history, customs and rituals), so valued by contemporary Māori, as guides for the future. It is from these teachings that Māori can and do rekindle the connections to their ancestors and understand how their ancestors actually lived, interacted and learned from each other and from this land. In the words of another old whakataukī, ngā tīpuna ki mua,

ko tātou kei muri (the ancestors in front, we come after). With this knowledge, successive generations of Māori can move forward. Whakapapa therefore is fundamental to how one comes to understand the world and their place within that world (Rangihau, 1977). Citing Smith's (1987) contention of whakapapa as a strategy for learning to read the printed word, Mead (1997) contends whakapapa to be "a way of thinking, a way of learning, a way of storing knowledge and a way of debating knowledge" (p.210).

In traditional Māori society, whakapapa links were integral to who was chosen to learn, what they learned and how and by whom new knowledge and learners were developed. People in a whānau were not expected to learn everything, but each person was responsible for learning and understanding different concepts of knowledge that would in turn benefit their whānau, hapū, iwi and so too their whole society. Kruger (1998) contends that in agreeing to participate in learning, knowledge no matter how small was very much a collective enterprise of families and whole communities. This concept meant that whakapapa was important when choices were being made around who would learn what. The notion of distributive leadership pertained to life in general as well as to who would participate in learning and in the creation of new knowledge. Given any situation, usually the elders of the group would choose the person deemed to have the best experience or qualification and skills for the task. However there was a clear understanding that they did not learn for themselves or for their own private good, they learned for the collective good. Therefore, the wider experiences of the group were available, tasks shared and resolutions more likely to be owned by all. These are important principles to inform contemporary education and research contexts, and for this current research exercise.

Metge (1983) examined traditional Māori ways of learning and teaching, recording these principles and practices for the benefit of others. She describes five of these important educational principles as being reciprocal learning and teaching as in ako, story telling, memory and rote learning, learning through exposure, and learning in groups. These are further described.

1. Ako: Pere (1982) describes ako as not distinguishing between the roles of teacher and learner. To teach and to learn are seen as reciprocal activities. Metge (1983) describes ako as a, "unified cooperation of learner and teacher in a single enterprise" (p.2). Ako suggests that the tāngata whenua

understood that learning was interactive and knowledge was co-constructed between teachers and learners.

2. Story telling: Story telling was used to transmit and maintain sophisticated and complex information in the form of tribal history, genealogy, history and geography. Stories came in many different forms that included ancient karakia, waiata and carving. These practices are still important today. Stories are a way of representing what is true to different groups of people. Rather than be dominated by a single version, different versions allow people to maintain their version or perspective of the truth.

3. Memory and rote learning: Memorisation of knowledge to mastery was understood as important. Through exposure to a range of oral literacies, as above, knowledge began to be transmitted to children from an early age. Royal (1993) describes this as the planting of information in the puna mahara (memory), that is then built on through continued exposure and experiences in culturally appropriate contexts. Particular children were often chosen to be the recipients of a particular body of knowledge and preparation for mastery began at a very young age.

4. Learning through exposure: This principle involves the modelling, by older and/or more experienced people, that occurs in a wide range of formal (for example complex rituals associated with welcoming guests) and informal learning contexts (for example planting of food crops). The role of the less experienced (learners) is active looking, listening, thinking and learning in preparation for the time when it will be their turn to begin to take on the role and responsibility. The strong socio-cultural contexts in which learning such as this occurs means that learning is seldom accompanied by explicit instruction or feedback. For example, very young children soon learn and maintain the rhythm required of kapa haka from watching older siblings or adults perform and long before they are part of the group themselves.

5. Learning in groups: Metge (1983) suggests group learning is a learning context preferred by Māori, as is the strategy of incorporating new learners into pre-existing groups involving a range of expertise. The example noted above is a particularly strong one, kapa haka groups seldom start completely

anew. New learners, placed amongst more experienced group members, are able to learn from the models of others around them.

While a great deal of the traditional Māori ways of learning and teaching were lost as a result of the formal European education system that came with colonisation, the importance of these five practices have remained well into the 21st century. In 2005, Rangiwhakaehu Walker (one of the support group and introduced formally in chapter four), the youngest of 12 children, shared the following story when she was 79. Her story incorporated relationships and interactions from her own childhood experiences. In listening to her story it is important to consider which metaphors and discourses are resonant with traditional Māori preferred ways of learning and which ones may be a reflection of Māori responding to and adapting within the constraints of colonialism.

> **Rangiwhakaehu:** Our parents were farmers. We had cows and pigs but we also had several large gardens and grew crops such as maize, potatoes, kumara and kamokamo. We all helped with those jobs and we learned by watching and being taught by our parents and older brothers and sisters.
>
> I remember the time for growing potatoes and harvesting the crop. My father would use the horses to plough the field, to prepare the ground then each of us had our own jobs that we were responsible for. My father would make the furrows to plant the seed-potatoes in. Then my brothers would come along with their sugar-bag of manure and line the furrows with manure. The girls would then place the seed-potatoes in the furrows and finally our father would cover them up. What we liked best was when it came time for harvesting. The potato crop would be dug up and placed into a big pile. Then our mother taught us how to sort them out ready to store in the kauta (shed). Our father and brothers would prepare the large wooden bins lined with bracken fern. We had to collect fresh fern each season and I remember we were not allowed to gather the fern by the urupa (cemetery) for this job[9]. The potatoes were sorted out according to size. The big ones kept the best, they would be saved for last, or we would use them for our own visitors or they would go to the marae. The small ones would be used first and even though we would moan because they

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[9] Cultural imperatives to do with tapu and noa means that fern gathered by the urupa would be seen as tapu and not able to be used to line bins of potato which as food are noa.

were the hardest to peel this is what she taught us and that is what we did. Some of the potatoes were set aside as seeds for the next seasons crop and some were ponaho or useless. Those we fed to the pigs.

We learned about growing kumara in the same way, alongside our brothers and sisters and from our parents. The kumara seed-bed was in the sandy soil where it was nice and warm. When it was time to pick them we were shown how to do that carefully so that we did not damage the roots. By the time we were nine or ten we had learned to do all of those things.

Rangiwhakaehu talks about "learning and living it". In this context of daily life, Rangiwhakaehu and other family members were co-constructing meaning or together *making sense* of their shared life experiences. Responsive, social contexts for learning such as this allow learners to bring their own lived experiences to the learning context and to participate fully. The power and control over learning interactions is shared between the learner and the teacher, with children able to become active agents in their own learning (Glynn, Wearmouth & Berryman, 2006). In this responsive social context, Rangiwhakaehu was learning important survival skills and cultural knowledge that included the interdependent roles and responsibilities of family members in their collaboration and caring for each other. They were also learning about the complexities of tapu and noa in everyday life and in their caring for the land. These practices are still relevant today but have been marginalised from many New Zealand contexts.

If we look at this story from the perspective of today's mainstream New Zealand curriculum we can see that Rangiwhakaehu was learning language (language structures as well as everyday and specialised vocabulary), maths (number, size, seriation, quantity and qualities), science (the soil, growing things, living things, seasons, conservation), social studies (life of our forefathers), health (working with others), and technology (how to prolong the storage of potatoes). Although these concepts are arguably just as valuable as the previous understandings, if we listen to Rangiwhakaehu's story longer we would learn how her Mother made the choice for her brothers to continue with formal education while the girls learned to be home makers. Rangiwhakaehu's mother had learned from the coloniser that education or certain parts of higher education were for her sons but not her daughters. It is ironic that one of her brothers became a member of parliament while Rangiwhakaehu

became one of the founders of the Kōhanga Reo movement in Tauranga, a movement begun to save the very language and culture that the education provided by successive colonial governments had all but annihilated. Although many traditional forms of knowledge remain valid and can be seen within Māori contexts or spaces to this day, undeniably much traditional knowledge and the language itself faced annihilation with the impact and growth of colonialism and the determined redefining of what it was to be tāngata whenua.

Summary

To reiterate, the traditional Māori world links the celestial world (the universe and gods) with the terrestrial world (humans, plants, animals, land, sea) (Walker, 1977; Patterson, 2000). According to some, in this model of the universe Io is both the origin and originator of all things (Marsden, 1977, 2003). Shirres (2000) contends that the world of the gods is not separated from the world of humanity while Marsden (1977) suggests "a two-world system in which the material proceeds from the spiritual, and the spiritual (which is the higher order) interpenetrates the material physical world of Te Ao Mārama" (p. 160). Within this world, all things possess a mauri or life essence and, because the physical state is complemented by a spiritual state, any distinctions between inanimate and animate objects are blurred (Durie, 1998). Just as the guardians of old had a role to protect and care for their own domain within Ranginui and Papatūānuku, human beings are now a part of this interacting network of inter-related elements that must be maintained in balance for future generations (Durie, 1998). Links to these relationships occur in many rituals practised today. Notably, links to these collective relationships that connect the past with the present and the spiritual with the temporal are made in the whaikōrero (speeches) and waiata that accompany pōwhiri.

Walker (1978) argues that, "in a culture that lives and grows, there need be nothing outmoded or discredited about mythology" (p.19). He suggests that Māori did not question the validity of their own myths and traditions until they were displaced by the myths and traditions of the colonisers' Christian culture. Walker further suggests that Māori mythology and traditions, when properly understood, provide cultural myth-messages that can "provide prescriptions for practical behaviour in given situations" (p.19) for contemporary Māori. He also suggests that perhaps the colonisers will come to question their own myths when they in turn are challenged by

what counts as knowledge and pedagogy in a Māori cultural context. Bishop (1996a, 1998a) suggests that one's use of Māori metaphors, in research and in pedagogy, repositions one "within Māori sense making contexts", contexts where Māori "experiences, representations of these experiences and sense making processes are legitimated" (pp. 3-4). This is especially challenging, but also especially affirming, when one is working as a collective, and with collective knowledge and understandings. Whakataukī metaphorically make these linkages while at the same time provide advice on how to move forward.

Oral traditions, static images and other art forms have helped Māori ideology, metaphors, concepts and social realities to survive successive attempts of marginalisation and assimilation. Increasingly, many of these cultural messages, embedded in mythology and tradition are, again, increasingly employed to make better sense of the contemporary world and are, again, making an important contribution to contemporary Māori ideology. Chapter three explores some important areas where this has occurred.

Chapter Three: Rangatiratanga and the Quest for Mana Māori

> The whole process of colonisation can be viewed as a stripping away of mana (our standing in our own eyes), and an undermining of rangatiratanga (our ability and right to determine our destinies). Research [from a Western world view] is an important part of the colonisation process because it is concerned with defining legitimate knowledge (Mead, 1997, p.185).

Introduction

When educational structures that resulted in unequal educational outcomes for Māori began to be questioned and challenged in the 1970s, Māori increasingly sought opportunities to develop structures and policies for themselves and to assume responsibility for their own knowledge, language and culture. This has seen a search to reclaim the mana of the people, through rangatiratanga (the right to be self-determining). Hill suggests that:

> Given the immense power of the state, then and now, to ignore or downplay it when considering the history of Maori agency is actually to down play the achievements of Maori in their assertion of agency - to denigrate Maori gains for rangatiratanga in the face of state determination to assimilate it out of existence.

(Hill, 2005, p.4)

What Māori have achieved, they have achieved in spite of the state's actions.

This chapter describes some Māori responses to the ongoing challenges presented by colonisation. Solutions have arisen from an examination and engagement with Māori experiences, within Māori conceptualisations of creation, personal and cultural identity, knowledge, education, research and whānau.

The Political Context

The Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975 saw the relationship between Māori and the Crown, as detailed in the Treaty, finally recognised by statute. Parliament gave to Māori the right to bring grievance claims against the Crown and to have their grievances heard by the bicultural, Waitangi Tribunal. It also called for Crown agencies to have appropriate policies in place when dealing with Māori clients. From

the 1980s to the 1990s biculturalism became the popular discourse around which, it was argued, Māori aspirations could be better determined. Durie (1994) described biculturalism as a continuum with a gradation of goals and possible structures. Durie's structural continuum ranged from unmodified State institutions at one end, through State institutions superficially modified by Māori values and perspectives, to actively modified, parallel institutions, and finally to independent Māori institutions able to operate according to the agreed Treaty of Waitangi framework at the other end. More recently, O'Sullivan (2007) highlights the contrasts between the philosophical underpinnings, assumptions of power and intended outcomes of biculturalism and self-determination. While O'Sullivan suggests that biculturalism has created a philosophical climate in which levels of self-determination are more possible, the underlying assumptions of power within biculturalism, limit increased Māori autonomy. In this regard O'Sullivan (2007) contends that, "biculturalism is inherently colonial. It positions Maori in junior 'partnership' with the Crown and oversimplifies the cultural and political make-up of its assumed homogenous Maori and homogenous Pakeha entities" (p.3). Change has been very slow with Māori still experiencing the extreme limitations to their autonomy when power is maintained by the political majority that is their *bicultural partner*. This also raises the interesting question of who is meant to be bicultural, most Māori already are, so who is it that needs to become so?

For Māori, O'Sullivan (2007) and others (Maaka & Fleras, 2000; Tully, 2000) argue for a pathway beyond biculturalism, to a politics that does not continue to see indigenous peoples as a problem to be fixed or as a competitor to be removed but rather as equal partners with whom differences may be overcome by developing relationships of co-operation and co-existence. Māori have increasingly and actively begun to drive initiatives in order to seek solutions such as these. This is a task of some complexity given the many experiences faced by Māori, as an indigenous culture largely embedded within a pervasive colonising culture. It is complex because of the variety of issues that occur across multiple contexts and the diverse range of people with whom Māori relate and interact. This is particularly so given that these interactions occur within a particular socio-political framework that has long imposed particular modes of thinking and acting in which relationships of power and subordination continue to define our interactions (Bishop, 1996b; Durie, 1998; Smith, 1990a; Smith, 1999). This in turn impacts on and is further influenced by the wider

socio-cultural contexts in which these interactions occur (Glynn, et al., 2006; Hohepa, Smith & McNaughton, 1992). This chapter argues that traditional Māori ways of knowing, thinking and acting have begun to lead the way to more effective contemporary understandings of pedagogy and research methodology and thus solutions.

Links to Identity Today

Durie (1998) supports the notion that there is no homogeneous or single Māori identity. Grace (1978) goes so far as to say, "Maoris [sic] are as different from one another as Pakehas [sic] are different from one another – as different from one another as individual members of any race are different from one another"(pp. 80-81).

Hohepa (1978) and Rangihau (1977) concur that, from traditional times, identity was first expressed in terms of iwi, hapū and whānau and for many Māori today, identity still begins with their iwi connections. John Rangihau (1977) a respected leader from Tūhoe explained:

> Although these feelings are Maori, for me they are my Tuhoetanga rather than my Maoritanga. My being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person as against being a Maori person… Each tribe has its own history. And it's not a history that can be shared among others. How can I share with the history of Ngati Porou, of Te Arawa, of Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am a Tuhoe person and all I can share in is Tuhoe history.

> (p. 174).

However, just as tradition informs who an individual is, so too do contemporary realities that are resulting in greater and more diverse ways in which to grow up Māori (Durie, 1997). Durie (1998, p.58) describes four cultural identity profiles for Māori (secure identity; positive identity, notional identity; compromised identity). Those with "secure identity profiles" have "definite self-identification as Māori" as well as ready access to Māori language, culture, whakapapa, land, people and other elements of te ao Māori. Those with "positive identity profiles" have a strong sense of being Māori but less accessibility to Māori social and cultural resources. Those with "notional identity profiles" understand themselves to be Māori but maintain little contact with or accessibility to the Māori world, while those with "compromised

identity profiles" do not describe themselves as Māori but may still have considerable accessibility to the Māori world.

Witi Ihimaera's (1998) edited anthology of Māori experiences of growing up provides a rich account of the diversity of Māori lived realities. As noted by Durie (1998), not all Māori are actively linked to their tribe even though they might be able to identify their tribal affiliations, while others have been alienated from their tribal links due to the escalation of urbanisation in the 1950s and 1960s. Growing up Māori in today's world means that Māori may have both a traditional and contemporary face. Having only one or the other however, does not preclude or protect one from the experiences and harsh realities that can come with growing up Māori and being educated in the mainstream school system (Bishop et al., 2003; Bishop, & Berryman, 2006). Not knowing your whakapapa connections, or being conversant in the Māori language, a situation faced by many Māori today as a result of the education they and successive generations have received, does not necessarily mean that you do not want to know your language or culture even though others, Māori and non-Māori, may often cite this as so (Bishop, & Berryman, 2006). It may mean that preceding family generations believed the messages implicit and explicit in their own mainstream education, from mainstream teachers and (so-called) helping professionals, that success could only come from the skills and knowledge generated from such sites. Being able to live one's own culture is a challenge when all those around are living another's (Glynn, Berryman, & Atvars, 1996).

The major contributor to this problem is that the years of colonisation have resulted in the coloniser, and not Māori, being largely responsible for defining what it is to be Māori. Bishop (1996a) cites the work of Foucault (1972) to argue that the production and function of power-knowledge was to regulate people by "describing, defining and delivering the forms of normality and educability" (p.13) that resulted in what constituted normality for some and marginalisation or oppression for others. Smith (1999) warns of the ongoing loss of one's own intellectual and cultural knowledge juxtaposed with being "fed messages about their worthlessness, laziness, dependence and lack of 'higher' order human qualities" (p.4). Bourdieu (1977) also identifies the pervasive long term impacts of oppression on minoritised groups, while Bruner (1990) notes the important influence of historical narratives on society and on culture when different versions of history are perpetuated. Denzin (1989) suggests that:

The point to make is not whether biographical coherence is an illusion or a reality. Rather, what must be established is how individuals give coherence to their lives when they write or talk self-autobiographies. The sources of this coherence, the narratives that lie behind them must be uncovered.

(p.62)

Hence the need for Māori, when seeking coherence, to uncover the solutions from within te ao Māori, within Māori narratives (Walker, 1978). From this search for "spaces of resistance and hope" (Smith, 1999, p.4) in which to maintain one's rangatiratanga, one's autonomy to determine one's own story, emerged a movement termed kaupapa Māori.

Kaupapa Māori

According to Mead (1997), the term kaupapa implies a framing or structuring around how ideas are perceived and practices are applied. Kaupapa Māori locates this structuring or agenda clearly within Māori aspirations, preferences and practices.

Kaupapa Māori emerged from Māori dissatisfaction with the effects of the rapid urbanisation of Māori in the post-World War II period and culminated in what has been viewed as an intensifying of political consciousness and a shift in the mindset of large numbers of Māori people in the 1970s and 1980s (Awatere, 1981; Bishop, 1996a; Smith, 1990a; Walker, 1989) away from that of the dominant colonial discourse. This renewed consciousness featured what Bishop (1996a) notes as "the revitalisation of Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices as a philosophical and productive educational stance and resistance to the hegemony of the dominant discourse" (p.11) that was responsible for producing a range of societal changes that are still impacting more than four decades later.

Kaupapa Māori theory therefore involves challenging previous Western ideas of what constituted valid knowledge, so that rather than abuse and degrade Māori and Māori ways of knowing, it allows Māori communities to take ownership and supports the revitalisation and protection of all things Māori. Given this stance, kaupapa Māori also opens up avenues for critiquing western worldviews and approaches. This involves looking at the effects of colonisation, power and social inequalities and challenging western ideas about what constitutes *knowledge*. However, in order for this to occur, it is vital for the centrality of power to be analysed and imbalances

within these relationships to be addressed (Bishop, 1996a, 1996b, 2005). Bishop (1996a) suggests kaupapa Māori provides "the deconstruction of those hegemonies which have disempowered Māori from controlling and defining their own knowledge within the context of unequal power relations in New Zealand" (p.13). In response, Bishop (1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1997) developed a model for *empowering research* and for *evaluating research* that seeks to honour the Treaty of Waitangi as well as respond to Māori demands for self-determination by identifying the locus of power and addressing issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability.

Bishop's model is based on five critical areas of questioning that address issues of power and control. The first elements are concerned with how the research is *initiated* and who *benefits* from the research. Traditional Māori approaches to research have within the very culturally determined process a means of establishing benefits for each member of the research group and for the group as a whole. Locating research within Māori cultural perspectives is essential for ensuring positive outcomes and benefits to Māori. The third element is *representation,* whose ideas and realities are represented. In Bishop's model the research must be located within Māori discourses, that is, Māori ideology, metaphors, concepts and social reality must be represented throughout the study. For too long Māori knowledge has been constructed from the Western researcher's expert perspective for ease of understanding and use by the colonisers. The fourth element is *legitimation.* Whose needs, interests and concerns does the research represent? Legitimately, a Māori voice must be used if appropriate meanings and sense are to be made from Māori life experiences and social reality. Finally, Bishop encourages researchers to examine the question of *accountability.* To whom are the researchers accountable? Given that traditional Western research paradigms have been able to dominate and marginalise Māori knowledge and ways of knowing by maintaining power and control over these critical issues in the past, Bishop contends that Māori metaphors and positioning will determine the authenticity of the Māori cultural content. In this manner Bishop's model maintains that Māori must be the ones to identify the authenticity of the Māori language and cultural experience themselves. Therefore, going back into te ao Māori is essential to this process, albeit whilst also acknowledging the impact of colonisation. By maintaining power and control over these critical issues in the past, traditional Western research paradigms have been able to dominate and marginalise Māori knowledge with the

result that Māori people have begun to refuse to participate in research where they are without a voice (Smith, 1999).

Smith (2003) contends that the Māori language revitalisation movement that began at this time produced visible signs of mindset shifts that were "away from waiting for things to be done for them, to doing things for themselves; a shift away from an emphasis on reactive politics to an emphasis on being more proactive; a shift from negative motivation to positive motivation*" (p.2). Smith observes that these mindset shifts involved numbers of Māori moving from merely talking about de-colonisation, which places the coloniser at the centre of attention, to talking about *conscientisation* or consciousness-raising which put Māori at the centre of attention and in a position where changes could be made.

Smith (2003) explains this situation as one where Māori are taking more responsibility for their own condition and dealing with what he terms the "politics of distraction". Instead of "always being on the 'back-foot', 'responding', 'engaging', 'accounting', 'following' and 'explaining,'" (p.2) to the coloniser, a critical element is the rejection of hegemonic thinking and practices (Gramsci, 1971) and becoming critically conscious about one's own needs, aspirations and preferences. Friere (1996) notes that in order to achieve critical consciousness, it is necessary to own one's situation; that people cannot construct theories of liberating action until they are no longer internalising the dominant discourse. Smith (2003) notes also that rather than being reactive to colonisation (thus putting the focus back on the coloniser) as in practices associated solely with de-colonisation, kaupapa Māori is a proactive transformative stance. Kaupapa Māori therefore keeps the focus on Māori while at the same time repositioning Māori away from positions of deficit theorising (about their state within colonisation) to positions of agency (where Māori can take responsibility for transforming their own condition, Bishop et al., 2003). An important part of repositioning involves looking back into te ao Māori for the myth messages (Walker, 1978), the discourses and metaphors to guide us. In searching for these taonga tuku iho (cultural aspirations, Smith, 1997), we must seek solutions that ensure cultural identity is strengthened rather than continually rendered meaningless or invisible.

While a range of definitions of what constitutes kaupapa Māori theory exist, most Māori researchers believe that Māori must determine and define what this is (Smith, 1999, Glover, 2002, Cram, 2001). Reid (1998) and others (Bevan-Brown, 1998;

Jackson, 1998; Mutu, 1998) argue that kaupapa Māori must endeavour to address Māori needs while at the same time give full recognition to Māori culture and value systems. This means that kaupapa Māori theory is underpinned by a worldview determined by Māori culture, values, and unique life experiences, as distinctly different from Western models of knowing. This indigenous body of knowledge, as argued previously, links the gods, plants, animals, the land and humans together and is based around concepts such as tapu (sacred) and noa (removed from tapu). Such concepts are often tribally specific and work to regulate life (Cram, 2001; Te Awekotuku, 1991).

In summary Smith (1997) identifies that the essence of kaupapa Māori theorising and positioning:

- relates to being Māori;

- connects to Māori philosophy and principles;

- takes for granted the legitimacy and validity of Māori;

- takes for granted the legitimacy and validity of the Māori language, beliefs and practices; and

- is concerned with the struggle for Māori autonomy, both cultural and political.

Bishop (1996a, Bishop et al., 2003) further argues that solutions for Māori do not lie in the culture that has traditionally marginalised Māori; rather, solutions lie in Māori culture itself. Importantly, this knowledge stems from both traditional and contemporary cultural knowledge. Perhaps *solutions* for the coloniser lie in facilitating more space for Māori autonomy, rather than in their continually trying to *solve* the problem. Today kaupapa Māori theorising is used more widely, informing policies and practices across a range of sectors and initiatives (Bishop, 2005; Mead, 1997; Smith, 1999). As such, it is a dynamic framework in which to understand the world and to work for change. Kaupapa Māori education and kaupapa Māori research are two sites of kaupapa Māori initiatives.

Kaupapa Māori Education

Socio-cultural perspectives on human learning emphasise the importance of the responsive social and cultural contexts in which learning takes place as being key components to successful learning (Glynn, et al., 2006; Gregory, 1996; Rogoff, 1990;

Vygotsky, 1978; Wenger, 1998; Wertsch, 1991). When striving for effective cultural, social and learning outcomes for Māori students, it is clear that benefits could ensue when pedagogical principles connect to the traditional Māori worldview and learning practice comes from a socio-cultural perspective. However, social and pedagogical structures for learning from traditional Māori society only began to be acceptable within mainstream New Zealand society following the establishment of the Kōhanga Reo movement in the early eighties.

Driven by kaupapa Māori, towards the revitalisation and retention of the Māori language at an iwi, hapū, whānau, and individual level, Kōhanga Reo led an increasing number of people to both learn in and teach through the medium of the Māori language (Smith, 1995). Whānau of kōhanga reo graduates started the wave of rumaki education (accessing the curriculum through the medium of the Māori language) into primary schooling. Kaupapa Māori theory and pedagogy allows for kaiwhakaako (teachers), kaiāwhina (teacher aides), kaimahi (workers), tamariki (children), whānau and the communities they exist within to learn and grow together. Most importantly, the traditional kawa (cultural protocol) and tikanga (cultural practices) applied to guide these processes ensures that the knowledge gained empowers, protects and embraces all that it means to be Māori. Today the resurgence of Māori language and culture is occurring at all levels of the educational sector, from early childhood through to tertiary.

The Ministry of Education's shift in policy direction (Ministry of Education, 1998b) enabled Māori language to be taught as the centre of the learning process and as the medium for delivery of the entire curriculum (Māori medium education or rumaki), rather than merely as a separate subject within it or, as a *foreign* language in secondary schools. The development of kura kaupapa Māori (schools designed by Māori for Māori to uphold and present authentic Māori values and beliefs), and rumaki classrooms or schools, focused on two important objectives. These objectives have been the promotion of higher levels of achievement for Māori students and the revitalisation and maintenance of the Māori language (Education Review Office, 1995). Te Aho Matua, the set of traditional cultural principles that have become the foundation of kura kaupapa Māori, are an important representation of taonga tuku iho to guide and inform contemporary practice.

Kura kaupapa Māori successes were responsible for the drive to develop kaupapa Māori secondary schools (wharekura) and kaupapa Māori tertiary institutions (whare wānanga). Contemporary kaupapa Māori education initiatives in 2005 included approximately 501 kōhanga reo and 63 kura kaupapa Māori with another 10 kura teina waiting full kura kaupapa status. Of the 63 kura, 20 are wharekura, with two applying for wharekura status. In the tertiary sector there were three whare wānanga working to support the development of Māori and mainstream knowledge. This knowledge was also being taught in communities through marae based learning and Māori private training establishments (PTEs, Ministry of Education, 2006).

In 2005, approximately 16.4% of all Māori students accessed some form of Māori medium education within the compulsory sector, either bilingually or Māori alone. Forty-seven percent of these students were in Level One immersion programmes where 81% to 100% of the programme was taught in Māori. These figures include kura kaupapa Māori as well as rumaki students. Thirty-eight percent of these students were in either Level Two or Three immersion programmes where more than 31% of the programme was taught in Māori and 14% were in Level Four, receiving 12 to 30% of the programme in Māori (Ministry of Education, 2006).

The demand to access learning opportunities in Māori is expected to continue. This reflects the increasing population of young Māori students, the desire among Māori to become bilingual and the increased participation of iwi and Māori organisations in setting priorities for education and delivering education services. Issues facing Māori-medium education are complex and interrelated but tend to over-emphasise the lack of research and information on effective practice in Māori-medium teaching, learning, pedagogy and assessment, which subsequently impacts upon teacher proficiency in these settings (Ministry of Education, 2002).

Greater success for Māori students has resulted from these initiatives that promote teaching and learning from a Māori worldview (Smith, 1992). However, by far the majority of Māori students (approximately 83.6%) are learning totally in English medium, mainstream classrooms (Ministry of Education, 2006). For all Māori students there is a need to clearly address learning issues in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi. Article 2(a) sets out that "the Treaty cedes to Māori the undisturbed right to define, protect and promote all of their taonga". Included amongst these taonga (treasures) are te reo Māori (Māori language) and mātauranga and whakaaro Māori

(Māori knowledge and thinking). Concerns about the rights of Māori to define and transmit knowledge locate the Treaty of Waitangi principles firmly within the contexts of pedagogy and curriculum (Glynn, 1998).

Seeking Greater Autonomy for Māori in Education

Kaupapa Māori initiatives that have sought autonomy by first moving outside of mainstream structures in order to revitalise traditional knowledge and thus grow capacity, such as the Kōhanga Reo movement, is one model applied in education. Kaupapa Māori models that have attempted to maintain autonomy while working within mainstream structures to bring about change to those mainstream structures face even greater challenges (Glynn et al., 2001). Bishop's (1996a, 1996b) evaluative model for research as mentioned previously was further presented in Bishop and Glynn (1999) as a model for planning and evaluating educational activities in schools and classrooms. The model is one way of responding to these challenges given that it helps participants to ensure Māori voices are present and at the centre of every level where decisions around initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability, are made.

In the past six years, Tūwharetoa (a tribe from the central North Island) have worked in association with the Ministry of Education to host national conferences of Māori leadership in education (Hui Taumata). These meetings and their ensuing effect on educational policy provide another kaupapa Māori model through which traditional Māori social structures can support the sharing of knowledge between both Māori and Pākehā educators in today's society but in ways that protect the legitimacy and authority of Māori knowledge. An important outcome of these meetings has been the framework for considering Māori educational achievement provided by Durie (2001b). This framework now influences how education will be delivered to Māori in mainstream and kura kaupapa Māori settings. The New Zealand government goals for education in 2005 identified a commitment to two key priority areas, these being to "reduce systemic underachievement in education" and "build an education system that equips New Zealanders with 21st century skills" (Ministry of Education, 2005a, p.6). Sitting alongside these two priority areas, within the Māori education strategy, is Durie's framework of "Enabling Māori to live as Māori; Facilitating participation as citizens of the world; Contributing towards good health and a high standard of living" (Ministry of Education, 2005a, p.19). Flowing from this framework are the education

strategy goals for Māori. These involve raising the quality of mainstream education, supporting growth of quality kaupapa Māori education and supporting greater involvement and authority of Māori in education. These goals have influence across all sectors (early childhood, compulsory and tertiary).

If mainstream education in New Zealand is to ensure that Māori students participate fully in the New Zealand curriculum and receive effective instruction, then mainstream schools must also address, from a social and cultural perspective, the learning needs of Māori students at a class and school level. It is crucial to address issues of pervasive pathologising of Māori as discussed in chapter one, together with raising the legitimacy, status and value of Māori culture and language. An essential part of the whole strategy to improve learning for Māori students must be to consider how kaupapa Māori can inform the wider education contexts in mainstream New Zealand schools.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Despite the traditional and legitimate ways for conducting research maintained by Māori prior to colonisation (Bishop & Glynn, 1999), non-Māori political control over the decision-making processes in general also extended control over research (Smith, 1999). Research conducted on Māori issues since the beginning of colonisation was largely undertaken using Western methodologies that continued to privilege Western ways of knowing while perpetuating a pathological focus on the negative issues and circumstances faced by Māori (Bishop, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2005; Smith, 1999).

Stokes (1985) identified that while a great deal was written about Māori, non-Māori researchers wrote the large proportion of it, using Māori as "guinea pigs for academic research" (p. 3). Stokes adds that while some academics have made successful careers out of being "Pākehā experts on Māori", Māori themselves have gained little from the process. Other Māori academics have also identified that Western imposed research models typically gave Māori little opportunity to construct meaning about the research topic from their own cultural worldview (Bishop, 1997; Smith, 1990b; Smith, 1999). Research carried out from a Western European worldview too often failed to understand (Scheurich & Young, 1997), ignored or belittled indigenous minority beliefs and practices (Bishop, 1997; Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Smith, 1992; Smith, 1999). This in turn perpetuated the political and economic marginalisation of Māori (Stokes, 1985; Bishop 1997; Jackson, 1998; Durie, 1998). Past research findings may

also have led to the marginalisation of much Māori knowledge so that this is now difficult for even Māori to access (Smith, 1999). Mutu (1998) reminds us that those who control the resources required to implement the research can also construct barriers to restrain or impede the research from taking place. Those who control the resources can determine how the research will be framed, staffed, implemented, interpreted and evaluated. Subsequently, how non-Māori researchers undertook, processed, interpreted and evaluated research, has been of increasing concern to Māori (Bishop, 1997; Smith, 1990a; Smith, 1992). Smith (1999) suggests that while the "cultural protocols broken, values negated, small tests failed and key people ignored" were important, of greatest concern were "the creeping policies that intruded into every aspect of our [Māori] lives, legitimated by research, informed more often by ideology" (p.3), ideology from the researchers' own communities. Smith considers that while researchers such as these may have been well liked and respected by the communities in which they conducted their research, their research was understood, "in terms of its absolute worthlessness to us, the indigenous world, and its absolute usefulness to those who wielded it as an instrument" (p.6).

Strong resistance and challenges to these past impositional research agendas determined by the dominant culture, that have marginalised Māori knowledge and Māori voices, have seen the emergence of alternative research practices from within the kaupapa Māori movement (Bishop, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2005; Irwin, 1994; Mead, 1997; Smith, 1990b, 1992; Smith, 1999). Although kaupapa Māori research responds to the same fundamental challenge, researchers often understand it and talk about in different ways (Mead, 1997). Glover (1997, 2002) suggests that as with the majority culture, there is no one way or right way of conducting Māori research but that it involves a multitude of paradigms, theoretical models and analytical frameworks that seek to reclaim and employ the indigenous knowledge and systems that were in place prior to colonisation. Takino (cited in Tapine, & Waiti, 1997) also asserts that there is no solitary or privileged way of knowing and therefore no single *correct* form of Māori theory. Kaupapa Māori research can recruit methodologies from the past or from anywhere, so long as the process is under Māori ownership and control.

Smith (1995) describes kaupapa Māori research as research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori. However she also argues that not all research by Māori can be described as kaupapa Māori (Mead, 1997) but may in contrast be Māori-centred research where

control still rests within mainstream institutions but be undertaken by Māori researchers. Cunningham (cited in Glover, 2002) argues research only qualifies as kaupapa Māori if the project is under Māori control. According to Mead (1997):

> Kaupapa Māori research is a social project, it weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, western ways of knowing, Māori histories and experiences under colonialism, western forms of education, Māori aspirations and socio-economic needs, and western economics and global politics.
>
> (p. 208)

Pihama (cited in Glover, 2002) feels that an analysis of the existing political and social structures is intrinsic to kaupapa Māori research. However, Cleave (1997) considers research operating under kaupapa Māori as being, the reclaiming of a tradition that provides the right to speak and inquire on the legitimate and authentic basis of an indigenous value system, thus involving conceptualising the entire research process from a Māori cultural framework. Kaupapa Māori research often involves participation of kaumātua throughout all stages of the research process (Irwin, 1994; Harawira, et al., 1996). However, it is important to examine the roles asked of kaumātua to ensure that they are not being used merely in *figure head* roles but rather in roles where they are authenticating cultural values and practices and passing this knowledge on to others (Berryman et al., 2004). Smith (1999) goes further to suggest that kaupapa Māori theory and methodology also involve de-colonising previous ideas and methods of research involving Māori. This means Māori being able to regain control over Māori knowledge and resources in the quest for rangatiratanga – Māori control over their own destiny. One of the challenges according to Smith (cited in Glover, 2002) is the need for Māori researchers to convince Māori of the value of research for Māori, and at the same time convince the powerful non-Māori research community of the need for greater Māori involvement not only in the conducting of research but in the design and interpretation and *making sense* of research. Smith (1999) believes that such development must take into account previous and current research but not be limited by it.

Inherent in the conceptualisation and operation of kaupapa Māori research, as with kaupapa Māori education, is the following and utilisation of appropriate traditional kawa (cultural protocols) and tikanga (practices) by their members. It is acknowledged that Māori research methods and associated kawa are ultimately based

on different epistemological and metaphysical foundations from Western-oriented research. In the past such Western methods have caused a lot of harm to Māori communities (Bishop & Glynn 1999; Smith, 1999) and this affects the way research and professional development is approached and conducted today. It often means that researcher determined direct routes to engaging Māori participants in research will not always be appropriate. In kaupapa Māori contexts, links will first be made through whakapapa (genealogical connections) at the whānau, hapū or iwi level (Cram, 2001). It allows for control of the research to rest with the people, giving them the opportunity to define the relationship so that they can benefit from the process.

Kaupapa Māori research and practice therefore involves legitimising Māori worldviews, supporting the revitalisation of Māori culture and language and empowering Māori communities, so that within research contexts, they can again have control over their own lives and well-being. Kaupapa Māori research positions the researchers, the kaupapa (the research agenda) and those with whom the research is being conducted into culturally legitimate, safer spaces. Approaches fundamental to kaupapa Māori research, require researchers to address questions around who initiates the research, who benefits from the research, whose knowledge and intellectual property is represented, whose culture legitimates the research and to whom are the researchers accountable (Bishop, 1996a; Bishop, & Glynn, 1999).

Whānau-of-interest

Bishop (1996a) argues that within a kaupapa Māori framework, groups can develop relationships and patterns of organisation similar to those that exist within a traditional Māori extended family and establish themselves as whānau-of-interest (a metaphoric use of the concept of extended family). The whānau-of-interest operates at all times according to Māori protocol using collaborative Māori decision-making and participatory processes (Bishop, 1996a; Bishop, & Glynn, 1997) that affirm the cultural identity and validate the culturally appropriate protocols and processes followed by its members, and hence facilitates the engagement and commitment of Māori kaumātua, professionals, and family members. The imagery, metaphors and theorising constructed by these participants is from a Māori cultural context. Cultural values and practices are not set aside for, as Mead (1997) quotes from Javier Perez de Cuellar (1996, p.15), "development divorced from its human or cultural context is

growth without a soul" (Mead, 1997, p.1). Therefore, Māori cultural values and practices are an essential part of the day-to-day whānau practices.

Research-whānau-of-interest

Whānau-of-interest provides a kaupapa Māori research model through the formation of a research-whānau-of-interest. As above, the research-whānau-of-interest operates according to Māori protocol using collaborative Māori decision-making and participatory processes that affirm the cultural identity and validate the culturally appropriate processes of its members. Ownership and control of the entire research process, including selection of particular research paradigms and methods of evaluation, is thus located within Māori cultural perspectives (Glynn, Berryman, Bidois, Furlong, et al., 1996).

The whānau-of-interest model provides interesting parallels to the *community of practice* model (Wenger, 1998). In the community of practice model the collective knowledge of the *community* is in the relationships, understandings, and skills of its community members as well as in the community's resources and regulations with which identity and knowledge is managed and also developed in order to determine new meanings of their own. Theories of power that avoid oppression and domination, together with theories of meaning as situated experience, are found within both the whānau-of-interest and community of practice models. These models provide a way of conceptualising practical responses to challenging issues such as understanding and organising research and education in ways that promote the participation and expertise of all. For example, within the research-whānau-of-interest model, while Western research methodologies may be used (e.g. quantitatively assessing, monitoring and measuring behavioural and academic shifts) the specific tools may be designed, contextualised and implemented by the whānau or community themselves (Glynn, Berryman, Atvars & Harawira, 1998). In this context, western concepts of reliability and validity are understood from the perspective and experiences of the whānau or community. While these concepts pose important challenges for all qualitative methodologies (Creswell, 2005), representation and authenticity may be more important concepts for evaluating kaupapa Māori research.

Relationships within a research-whānau-of-interest stance are not characterised by *objectivity*, *distance*, *detachment*, and *separation* (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Heshusius, 1994; Bishop, 1998b). Within this kaupapa Māori stance a focus on *self* is

blurred (Bishop, 1998b), so much so that the focus becomes what Heshusius (1994) describes as a situation where "reality is no longer understood as truth to be interpreted but as mutually evolving" (p.18). From an operational perspective, positivist epistemological and methodological concerns may well be set aside by the research-whānau, so that they as researchers can focus instead on addressing the concerns and issues of the participants in ways that can be understood and controlled by the participants. Within this stance the same concerns and issues also become those of the researchers (Bishop, 1998b) and the participants become part of the common purpose and group that drives the research-whānau. In turn, the research-whānau maintains control over its research and decision-making processes as well as over understanding the outcomes in terms of their meaning within Māori cultural contexts.

These practices stand in direct contrast to other researchers who are highly disparaging of, or ignore the need to be connected to the participants and who persist in addressing epistemological and methodological questions of their own choosing from a detached and distanced stance in the name of objectivity (Bishop, 1998b). They see researcher connectedness as *bias* and to be eliminated. Bishop (1998b) suggests that such questions often ignore questions about who will benefit from the research project or, as Heshusius (1994) suggests, fail to answer moral issues of "what kind of society are we constructing?" (p.20)

Inclusion[10] of non-Māori

Opportunities for non-Māori to work within Māori research models exist within self-determining and participatory research models such as this. Bishop (1996a) suggests that the whānau-of-interest model also provides an opportunity for non-Māori to seek acceptance through their participation as a whānau member. Acceptance by the whānau can be a challenging yet effective means by which non-Māori researchers can engage in research in the Māori world without adopting a controlling, impositional or liberating position, and yet also without being left to take up an *outsider* position as a consultant or adviser.

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[10] Inclusion refers to a political process that increases the participation of a minority group on the terms set by the majority.

Walker (1990) and Bishop (1994) assert that as Treaty partners, non-Māori have an obligation under the Treaty of Waitangi to support Māori research. Rangatiratanga (self-determination) is not simply about Māori solving the systemic and endemic injustices handed down from their post-colonial heritage on their own. These problems of inequity must be solved from a position of shared strength, knowledge and resources. This requires addressing power imbalances so that there is dual accountability to both partners. The research-whānau-of-interest model provides one safe way of including highly skilled non-Māori who demonstrate a willingness to work within contexts controlled by Māori and according to Māori protocols. Participation in this way may prove to be *liberating* and lead to researcher re-positioning for the non-Māori researcher. Importantly, the whānau-of-interest control over the research process can result in empowerment for Māori and the regaining of control over research into the lives of Māori (Bishop, 1994; 1998b).

In order to do this non-Māori need to seek inclusion in a whānau-of-interest in terms of their being able to establish relationships with and respond to obligations to all other whānau members. Non-Māori seeking to engage themselves within Māori-constituted practices and cultural understandings need to be prepared to develop sufficient grasp of the language and culture to be able to operate comfortably within a Māori worldview. This knowledge encompasses Māori cultural concepts, metaphors, ideas, spirituality and practices. Non-Māori need to be prepared, and able to live and experience the world from a Māori frame of reference (Bishop, 1998b; Bishop & Glynn, 1997).

Non-Māori can participate as part of the research-whānau (Glynn, Berryman, Bidois, Furlong, et al, 1996) but the establishment of whānau reciprocity, connectedness and commitment are paramount. The rewards for the research-whānau are that they are able to access new skills and knowledge but control over initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability remain with the whānau (Bishop, 1998b) who are able to define access and protect knowledge. Power, within the research-whānau, does not remain with any one individual, rather it is participant driven (Bishop 1996b) and shared within the group. Guarantees to Māori implicit in the Treaty of Waitangi of an equal share in power relations can be maintained but at the same time Māori are safely able to access new skills and knowledge from mainstream contexts and decide whether or not to apply them for Māori.

Self-determination

Tully (2000) suggests that indigenous peoples can resist colonisation in two ways:

> First, they struggle against the structure of domination as a whole and for the sake of their freedom as peoples. Second, they struggle within the structure of domination vis-à-vis techniques of government, by exercising their freedom of thought and action with the aim of modifying the system in the short-term and transforming it from within in the long-term.

(p.50)

Anaya (2000) argues that self-determination such as this, relates to the "rights that human beings hold and exercise collectively in relation to the bonds of community or solidarity that typify human existence" (p.5). As the world moves into the current century there are many indigenous peoples, including Māori, who are seeking to distance themselves from governments and agencies that still hold painful memories of colonisation (Durie, 1998; Maaka, & Fleras, 2000; Tully, 2000). Durie sees this movement towards self-determination as "bound to the aspirations and hopes within which contemporary Māori live," and being about "the advancement of Māori people, as Māori" (p.4). Durie describes three important dimensions involved in self-determination. The first dimension involves a real commitment to the economic, social and cultural well-being of Māori at both an individual and collective level. The second dimension has implications to do with power and control and is again from an individual and/or collective perspective. This dimension involves better self-management of natural resources. While these include improved productivity and protection of the environment they also include the active promotion of Māori health, education and language with decision-making that reflects Māori realities and aspirations. The third dimension is about achieving self-determination whilst retaining a Māori identity and growing numerically, economically and culturally (Durie, 1998). Once these dimensions have been achieved, the ability to influence and change a majority partner, as identified by Tully (2000), may become more of a reality.

Changing Majority Partners

Glynn et al., (2001) proposed an analogy with personal life partnerships in order to assist majority cultures to establish effective partnerships with indigenous people. They suggested that what is known and understood about conducting personal

partnerships in life may be used as a guide to help *make sense* of work in support of indigenous minority groups. In their experience, living with more powerful, dominating and controlling partners could result in a sense of powerlessness and the destruction of personal identity and self-esteem. Glynn et al., (2001) suggest that dominant partners often speak and act for or on behalf of the weaker partner, claiming to *know* what the other wants, thinks and feels, and what is best for their partner. What the dominant partner perceives as best for their weaker partner all too often involves the dominant partner applying pressure so that new initiatives, requests, or even demands are complied with. An abusive relationship may result when the dominant partner resorts to power and control to ensure compliance. Such relationships can cause serious long-term damage to the weaker partner.

For the same reasons, Glynn et al., (2001) asserted that the hurt and damage occurring to weaker partners in abusive relationships can also occur within relationships between majority or mainstream and minority indigenous cultures. Mainstream groups frequently speak and act for and on behalf of indigenous people. The historical New Zealand education system and the construction and delivery of the New Zealand national curriculum over the last 150 years are cases in point. Educators have frequently claimed to know how indigenous people thought and felt, and why they acted as they did (Bishop, & Berryman, 2006). They frequently claimed to know what was best for indigenous people.

Sometimes schools and education systems ensure compliance of indigenous cultural groups by resorting to political or economic power to perpetuate mainstream visions. Power abuse has caused serious long-term damage reaching across generations. Worldwide this has resulted in many indigenous peoples losing autonomy and control over their own knowledge base, their own language and cultural practices, and ultimately, for many, loss of their individual and collective identity (Durie, 1998; Glynn et al., 2001). These continuing losses exacerbate the long term, intergenerational damage resulting from the loss of land and natural resources. Given the extent of this damage, attempts to improve relationships with indigenous people are best viewed as first steps on a long journey before these attempts can hold some credibility in both cultures.

While the personal life-partnership analogy helps to illuminate problems it may also suggest solutions. Glynn et al., (2001) identified two types of possible solutions. The

first is that the less powerful partner breaks out of the relationship and withdraws to repair the damage and regain their personal autonomy and strength and in effect the partnership is dissolved. Reaching this solution usually requires a great deal of support for the less-powerful partner, from friends or from professionals. The second solution requires addressing the power imbalance and restoring the relationship. This situation results in dual accountability to both partners.

In trying to repair the damage done within the historical relationship between Māori and non-Māori in New Zealand education, many Māori have chosen the first solution. A noteworthy example of this in New Zealand has been the development and implementation of Te Kōhanga Reo as previously discussed. Kōhanga Reo has pursued strategies of resistance to mainstream educational policies and practices and, at the same time, they have pursued positive actions to reclaim control over their own culture and language, and the education of their children. In all of these institutions Māori teachers, students and families work together from a Māori worldview that both validates and affirms their own language and culture.

New Zealanders still have a long way to go to address the second solution, and restore and honour the partnership between the two peoples, formalised in 1840 by the Treaty of Waitangi. As noted in the analogy with life partnership, if the restoration of the Treaty partnership with Māori is to be effective, the dominant and controlling partner must be the one to change. Trying to change overpowering partners, who neither see themselves as part of the problem nor wish to relinquish power, is complex given that overpowering partners such as these find it threatening to acknowledge that their minority Treaty partner has a language, culture, curriculum and pedagogy, rendered largely invisible within the very system that has been set up to educate (Glynn et al., 2001).

Summary

Over many years, Māori people have continually tried to assert their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi to define and promote Māori knowledge and pedagogy. Despite this ongoing resistance, successive Māori students, educated in mainstream New Zealand classrooms believe that their success in these classrooms has been at the loss of their own language and culture (Bishop et al., 2003; Bishop, & Berryman, 2006). Many mainstream educators still operate from the position that Māori students are

welcome to participate fully in the national curriculum provided in mainstream schools, so long as their language and culture remain at home (Glynn et al., 2001; Bishop, & Berryman, 2006). The language and culture of the mainstream is very much present at school. In 1978 Māori academic Pat Hohepa wrote, "[c]onformity to a monocultural society is not equality; maintaining the right of different ethnic groups to be different is" (Hohepa, 1978, p.101).

This thesis joins in the work of a research-whānau that looked beyond the existing relationship offered by biculturalism (O'Sullivan, 2007), for equality such as this, where they and other indigenous peoples are not perceived as problems to be fixed or as competitors to be removed but rather as equal partners with whom differences may be overcome by developing relationships of respect, co-operation and co-existence. This quest for self-determination, for the research-whānau and for others with whom we work, comes from within a mainstream organisation. This thesis focuses on our research theory and practice as we have undertaken our hikoitanga[11], this proactive movement towards greater self-determination, always striving in our work to achieve credibility in both cultures, for the betterment of the Māori students and their families whom we seek to support.

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[11] Hikoitanga literally means the act of walking. Hikoi have become proactive, public forums of resistence.

Chapter Four: Research Design and Methodology

Introduction

This chapter examines the kaupapa Māori methods and qualitative research approaches that were used in this thesis in order to reflect on and critically examine a series of research projects that were initiated by a research-whānau (research-whānau-of-interest as described in chapter three). This examination has drawn upon the support and guidance of other members of this research-whānau including kaumātua, however, authorship of the thesis was undertaken by myself. The method by which the content of this thesis was compiled, involved a collaborative, retrospective and critical reflection of the processes, experiences, and research findings of the wider research-whānau since its inception. As discussed in chapter two, this collaboration and reflection, primarily with kaumātua, but also with other members of the research-whānau, is integral to traditional Māori practices, especially with regards to the generation and preservation of knowledge.

The research projects, together with the settings and contexts in which they occurred, are presented here as a series of case studies. Each case study reports on the specific research project under focus and is contextualised in kaupapa Māori processes, experiences and practices. The case studies, which cover a period from 1991 to 2006, are presented in four sub-sets in order to illustrate the growth of this research-whānau. In response to the challenge of qualitative researchers to be non-prescriptive, this thesis provides a collaborative reflection on the series of studies, as well as on the working relations, interactions and chronology of a research-whānau over a period of 15 years. The specific focus is on the way that research-whānau members have both conducted and made sense of their research and the impact of this work on both their professional and personal lives.

The thesis uses an indigenous and specifically Māori worldview as the foundation for describing and theorising around these case studies. Common themes are collaboratively co-constructed then each theme is explained in relation to relevant theory. Because the research-whānau began its projects, from within a Western worldview also, the examination of these case studies also draws upon the Western worldview research approaches of grounded theory, participative inquiry, personal experience and case study methodology. Accordingly, methodology from both

worldviews and from mixed methods (Creswell, 2005), both qualitative and quantitative research paradigms, have informed this analysis. The degree to which these research paradigms were utilised was dependent upon the parameters and research questions of each specific study.

The 11 Case Studies

All 11 studies focussed, in the main, on working with Māori students, their families, and their teachers with the aim of ensuring more effective educational outcomes. This thesis examines both the processes of the research-whānau itself and the way they operated within the research process. It asks questions about how the research-whānau determined and prioritised the research questions, who benefited from the research, what methodologies research-whānau members used to provide the *best fit* for participants and researchers alike, how these research processes and findings were understood and legitimated, and to whom the research-whānau were accountable (Bishop, 1996a). The 11 case studies are presented as follows:

1. Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi: A Māori language one-to-one reading-tutoring programme that was applied in two separate studies using tuakana teina, or peer tutoring strategies (Glynn, Atvars, Furlong, & Teddy, 1993; Glynn, et al, 1993; Berryman, et al, 1995; Glynn, Berryman, Atvars, & Harawira, 2000; Glynn, et al, 1996).

2. Hei Āwhina Mātua: The development and evaluation of a home and school behavioural programme (Berryman, & Glynn, 2001; Glynn, Berryman, & Atvars, 1996; Glynn, Berryman, Atvars, & Harawira, 1997).

3. Tuhi Atu Tuhi Mai: A responsive writing programme that was applied using tuakana teina or peer writing responders within a Māori language context (Glynn, Berryman, O'Brien, & Bishop, 2000).

4. A home and school literacy intervention from a community literacy project in nine separate schools (Berryman, & Glynn, 2003; Glynn, & Berryman, 2003; Glynn, Berryman, & Glynn, 2000a; Glynn, Berryman, & Glynn, 2000b).

5. An evaluation of two Māori Resource Teachers Guidance and Learning (Glynn, Atvars, & O'Brien, 1999).

6. Toitū te Whānau, Toitū te Iwi: A community English transition intervention with Year 6, 7 and 8 students in a kura kaupapa Māori (Berryman, 2001; Berryman & Glynn, 2003).

7. Hui Whakatika: A culturally appropriate and responsive intervention included as a case study for a report on effective special educational interventions for Māori families (Wilkie, 2001; Wearmouth, Glynn & Berryman, 2005).

8. Te Toi Huarewa: a report on effective Māori medium teaching and learning, literacy strategies (Bishop, Berryman, & Richardson, 2001).

9. Te Whānuitanga: One example from a scoping exercise that investigated Māori students' participation in Year 9 and 10 classrooms (Bishop, et al., 2001).

10. Sites of effective special education practice: A project that investigated effective special education practices for Māori students in five different English or Māori medium settings (Berryman, et al, 2001).

11. Akoranga Whakarei: A scoping exercise that investigated the special education practices that enhanced cultural, social and learning outcomes for Māori students in four Māori medium schools that included two kura kaupapa Māori and one wharekura (Berryman, Glynn, Togo, & McDonald, 2004).

The projects are presented in four sub-sets in order to examine some of the different phases on this hikoitanga, that our research-whānau are embarked upon. The sub-sets include:

1. The emergence of a research-whānau and its role in the development and trial of a Māori language reading-tutoring programme.

2. The setting up and initial workings of the Poutama Pounamu research-whānau within a mainstream organisation.

3. The research-whānau working with other indigenous (Māori) research groups.

4. The research-whānau undertaking research in a more autonomous and self-determining manner.

Members of the research-whānau, including kaumātua provided the stories that contextualise these studies within the context of the important people and places, and the sequence of events that occurred along the way. The interactions of these research-whānau members create the space to theorise on the impact that each of these

studies has had on the research-whānau itself, on Māori students and their families, and on others.

Research Participants

This thesis is contributed to by members of a research-whānau, most of whom are employees of the Ministry of Education (MOE). Two members of this research-whānau have both participated in the 11 studies under examination and have provided the writer with support to deconstruct, critically reflect and theorise on the studies under analysis. This group of participants (Group A) include two kuia (respected female elders), Rangiwhakaehu Walker who is employed as the kuia whakaruruhau[12] to the research-whānau and Mate Reweti who is employed as a researcher and Māori language advisor. Group A also includes me, as both a researcher in this research-whānau and the manager of the research centre. As such I am an active participant in this analysis and also the writer. These research-stories are told in verbatim quotes, in first person recount and in third person. At the point in the thesis where each person is introduced, an account is given of their pepeha, that is, a traditional saying that makes geographical connections to the lands of their tribe and thus to who they are. This is done in order to pay due respect to kawa. People who were former members or associates of the research-whānau and who were considered by this group to be essential to the retelling of these case studies were included as a secondary group of participants (Group B). Group B participants have been called upon to legitimate and add their voice to the detail.

Research Methodology

Clandinin and Connelly (1994) contend that because social sciences are concerned with the way people relate to others and to their environments, the study of these inter-relationships as *experiences* is the appropriate starting point for social science inquiry. However, they point out that scientific, social and philosophical conventions also collectively work to define what is acceptable (and not acceptable) in the study of experience. They cite Rose (1990) who argues for social forms and the study of the

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[12] Kuia whakaruruhau is a female elder (kuia) whose role is to provide cultural protection and guardianship (whakaruruhau).

meanings contained within texts, as the way towards social science inquiry. This formalistic argument views social organization and structure rather than people and experience as more appropriate starting points. In contrast Clandinin and Connelly (1994) identify a reductionistic argument that views experience as "too comprehensive, too holistic, and, therefore, an insufficiently analytical term to permit useful inquiry" (p.415). Clandinin and Connelly (1994) suggest that while these arguments may each contain elements of truth it has been more useful for them to find some middle ground where they can be involved with the study of experience while recognising the politics of the methodology.

From an assumption that experience is both temporal (chronological and worldly) and storied, they have come to the study of experience through narrative and story telling. In their view, experiences are the stories people live. People reaffirm and modify stories in their retelling and they also create new stories. They advocate for the importance of human connections (whakawhanaungatanga) and relationships when using personal experience methods, both between the researcher and participants, but also amongst the researcher, participants and intended audience. Clandinin and Connelly (1994) speak about the tensions of working within a method of inquiry designed to capture the voice of the participants' experiences while attempting to express one's own voice in a research text that will speak to a range of audiences.

This last point is particularly relevant in this thesis because the researcher may be seen as a participant in that she has had personal experiences of each of the studies, but she is also working in participation with the personal experiences of other members of a research-whānau. The research process is a process of collaborating (mahi tahi) and collaboration (kotahitanga), or where the researcher and participants are an inextricable whole and where there is minimal distance between the researcher and the participants.

The thesis explores, develops and reflects on the experiences (of practice) of these participants during their participation in the various research projects. It also explores their subsequent experiences when making sense of the possibilities that might emerge in terms of new learning from each study and how this new learning was to be understood and recorded. These personal experiences contextualise the research projects presented in each of the cases, firstly from within a cultural context through the people, processes and places that were important to each of the studies, and then

from within a thematic context, by order of events and overall trends occurring at the time. This kind of research uses an open questioning technique where the nature of the questions cannot be determined in advance but depends upon the way in which the story emerges and develops. This thesis also draws on a review of a range of documents that have resulted from these studies and a review of related literature. These elements together serve as a context for better understanding the results and implications of this work.

Research Strategy

This thesis is constructed from an understanding of narrative and retrospective co-construction as a legitimate form of knowing. In the Western (Denzin, 1989) and Māori tradition (Bishop, 1995; Walker, 1978, 1990), narrative provides a valid means whereby both the narrators and the listeners (the participants) are able to participate in making connections between particular events.

Narrative Inquiry

In the past the traditional positivist researcher has taken the position of the narrator or the person who decides what the narrative will consist of and how the research narrative will be told (Bishop, 1995, 1996a). Practices such as these have resulted in many indigenous people (Brayboy & Deyhle 2000; Rains, Archibald & Deyhle, 2000), including Māori, expressing concerns over issues related to power and control within the research (Bishop, 1995, 1996a; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1990; Smith, 1999). Connelly and Clandinin (1990) emphasise the dangers of merely listening, recording and presenting participants' stories of experience because of the potential impact of the researchers' own tacit experiences and theorising that in turn determines what will be presented to the wider community, who it will be presented to and how this will be done. Bishop (1996a) calls for methods that promote commitment to the research participants and acknowledge connectedness. Clandinin and Connelly (1994) suggest that the experiences of the researcher and the participant must be intertwined so that the two are intimately linked. Brayboy and Deyhle (2000) contend that when researchers work with participants to give the fullest possible picture of what occurred through both the researchers' and participants' interpretation of the same events, then a more holistic view is formed. Personal experience methods such as narrative, when related to both the structure of the experience to be studied

and the methodological patterns of inquiry, can enable researchers to participate in ways that promote the possibility of transformations and growth (Clandinin, & Connelly, 1994). As with whakawhanaungatanga, methods such as these cannot exist without first building relationships between researchers and participants. Clandinin and Connelly (1994) also highlight the importance of relationships between researchers and their audiences if individual and social change is going to be possible.

Narrative inquiry can also be seen as a culturally appropriate means of giving voice to the research participants. Participants in this thesis collaboratively provided advice on both the epistemological and methodological perspectives of the study then they chose the studies that would best represent the research-whānau and who should be consulted throughout this process. As well, they collaborated with me, to co-construct the common themes from the case studies and make culturally appropriate sense of them. They also gave ongoing advice about how this thesis should be presented.

Research Design

Figure 4.1 below shows the research strategy at a general level. This thesis is concerned with critical reflection on the relevance of both the practice and research findings for other researchers and educators. Participants in Group A undertook this examination calling on former members or associates of the original research group (Group B) to help provide additional contextual information.

Research context: A critical reflection on research undertaken by a research-whānau, how the studies were undertaken and implications of both the practice and research findings indicate for themselves and for others.

Research Participant Group A: Three members of the original research-whānau undertook this examination by choosing the studies then collaboratively synthesising, analysing, critically reflecting and co-constructing meanings.

Research Participant Group B: Former members or associates of the original research-whānau provided additional contextual information related to the 11 case studies.

Research approaches, methodologies and methods came from both a Māori (Indigenous) and Western worldview. See Figure 4:2 for further detail of this component.

Figure 4.1: Research Design

Western Worldview

**Māori (Indigenous)
Worldview**

**Kaupapa Māori Research
Approaches:**

- Kaumātua, kawa, tikanga
- Whānau-of -interest

Guiding Methods, Metaphors and
theorising:

- Whakapapa
- Whanaungatanga
- Kanohi ki te kanohi
- Whakawhiti kōrero
- Mahi tahi/ Kotahitanga

**Qualitative Research Paradigm
Approaches:**

- Grounded theory
- Participative inquiry
- Personal experiences
- Case studies

Methods:

- Narrative inquiry
- Collaborative story
- Review of documents
- Review of literature

Metaphors and theorising

Quantitative Positivist Research Paradigm

- Review of documents
- Review of literature

Figure 4.2: Research Methods

Figure 4.2 above shows the specific range of the research approaches and methods
employed by the participants, to collaboratively identify the emerging themes and co-
construct their meanings. Kaupapa Māori research approaches were followed that

utilised culturally appropriate kawa[13] and tikanga, which were implemented and overseen by kaumātua (elders) and were undertaken by the research-whānau, within a context of power sharing and collaboration. As already noted, Western worldview approaches also contribute to this research design. In the following section each of the approaches and the methods utilised are further detailed and connections between the two worldviews and paradigms are noted where they were seen to occur.

Indigenous Worldview: Kaupapa Māori Research Approaches

As was discussed in chapter two, Māori have their own worldview and prior to colonisation it was from this position that they asked their own questions, developed their own methodologies, and also theorised in order to make greater sense of their world (Smith, 1992, 1999; Bishop, & Glynn, 1999). Undoubtedly Māori were able to operate in ways similar to contemporary Western researchers and scientists. That is, problems were identified, information gathered and solutions were proposed, trialled and theorised upon. Research in traditional times would have been conducted within the rigorous and demanding lores of kawa and tikanga leaving researchers answerable and accountable to both the celestial and terrestrial realms. Traditional Māori understandings or view of the world can provide contemporary researchers with a range of research approaches that simultaneously avoid harmful impositional research practices and challenge the traditional dominant Western worldview (Smith, 1990b; Smith, 1999; Bevan-Brown, 1998).

Kaumātua Participation and Tikanga

Irwin (1994) identifies the importance of kaumātua mentorship when undertaking kaupapa Māori research if it is to be culturally safe, relevant and appropriate. Irwin's research is grounded in a paradigm[14] that is located within a Māori worldview and in Māori language, kawa and tikanga. As was discussed in chapter one, the loss of Māori cultural knowledge, especially language, resulted from education that marginalised the Māori child's educational experiences and replaced them with the colonial curricula and agenda. Throughout this process traditional Māori cultural settings, such

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[13] Kawa and tikanga embody the traditional Māori customs, values, beliefs and attitudes within which ritual, ceremony and life in general has been embedded.

[14] Paradigm refers to a set of understandings, values and ideas carried within languages and discourses.

as marae, remained one of the few places where Māori culture, including language, could still exist. However, even here, English language began to intrude as people moved away from their traditional homes to urban centres in search of employment following World War II. This movement of people away from their traditional homelands placed Māori knowledge, culture and language in even greater jeopardy. Listening to and working alongside kaumātua became essential for people wanting to to revitalise traditional knowledge, and learn about and from Māori cultural practices.

Given that the use of kaupapa Māori theory and research methodology involves abiding by relevant kawa, it follows that Māori researchers may therefore often need support and guidance from cultural experts such as appropriate kaumātua. Although access to kaumātua is not always possible, the ability of kaumātua to aid researchers in the most appropriate use of mātauranga Māori (customary Māori knowledge), kawa, and tikanga is essential as Māori researchers make their way within Māori communities (Irwin, 1994). Kaupapa Māori research often involves participation of kaumātua throughout all stages of the research process, from asking the questions to interpreting research findings. However, it is vital that the kaumatua-researcher relationship is defined by kaumātua (rather than by young researchers) to prevent belittlement of their important cultural role, or marginalisation of their role and contribution to the research (Harawira, et al., 1996).

Research-Whānau-of-interest: A Collaborative Research Approach

Traditionally for Māori, whānau was the core social unit (Metge, 1990). In the 1920s Makareti (1986) wrote the following of whānau:

> The Māori did not think of himself (sic) or do anything for his own gain. He thought only of his people, and was absorbed in his whānau, just as the whānau was absorbed in the hapū, and the hapū in the iwi

> (p.38)

She continued by saying:

> So important was the whānau or hapū to a Māori that even if he (sic) were at enmity with another whānau, and anyone from another hapū or tribe said anything against any of his people, or tried to harm them in any way, he would at once set aside all personal feeling, and help his own people.

> (p.39)

Evidence of this selfless, altruistic whānau face remains today, "a persistent way of living and organising the social world" (Mead, 1997, p.203). These principles have been an important aspect of the kaupapa Māori approach and central to both Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori as a means to organise participation and decision making (Smith, 1995).

Mead (1997) further suggests that the concept of whānau can be used as a way to organise both the research and the research group, "a way of incorporating ethical procedures which report back to the community, a way of 'giving voice' to the different sections of Māori communities, and a way of debating ideas and issues that impact on the research" (p.204).

As was discussed in chapter three, kaupapa Māori research emphasises a collaborative approach to power sharing and therefore demands that ownership and benefits of the project belong to the participants (Bishop, 1996a). Within a kaupapa Māori framework, research groups can develop relationships and patterns of organisation similar to those that exist within a traditional Māori extended family and establish themselves as research-whānau. Ownership and control of the entire research process described in this thesis, including selection of particular research methodologies and methods of evaluation, is thus located within Māori cultural perspectives (Glynn, et al., 1997). While non-Māori may be involved and Western research methodologies may be employed (quantitatively assessing, monitoring and measuring behavioural and academic gains) in kaupapa Māori research, specific researchers will be chosen and tools may be designed and implemented by the research-whānau themselves (Glynn, et al., 1998). Western concepts of reliability and validity are handled from a Māori perspective. These, as in qualitative research approaches, are handled more in terms of *trustworthiness* and *authenticity*. In short, the research-whānau maintains control over its research and decision-making processes as well as over understanding the outcomes in terms of their meaning within Māori cultural contexts.

In this thesis the inclusion of the voices of two Māori elders, who participated actively in all aspects of the study as part of the research-whānau, ensured that traditional Māori practices, protocols and values have been incorporated into all aspects of this study. These women oversaw the conduct of the research and contributed to the writer's sense-making. Their contribution ensured that practices were carried out in ways that were tika (appropriate) and pono (just) and also with the best interests of the

wider research-whānau clearly at the fore. Just as knowledge from te ao Māori informed their input so too did knowledge from te ao hurihuri (the contemporary Māori world). Bishop's (1996a; 1996b; Bishop, & Glynn, 1999) evaluation model, as was discussed in chapter three, which seeks to address the locus of power within the research by addressing issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability, was also used to evaluate and monitor the research from a Māori worldview perspective.

Conducting kaupapa Māori research is not without difficulties and limitations. These are partly brought about by conflicts between Māori and Western worldviews but also because some of the unique characteristics of Māori researchers and their communities and how they relate to each other have been overlaid by many years of researcher imposition and the stifling of Māori voices. In the past such Western methodologies, for example Western emphasis on individualism in contrast to Māori emphasis on collectivism, have caused a lot of harm to indigenous communities. This has left its mark on the way research is understood and conducted among indigenous peoples today.

Kaupapa Māori research approaches that adhere to appropriate cultural beliefs and practices, and that work to ensure collaborative power sharing practices, are based on different epistemological and metaphysical foundations from Western oriented research. This means that direct, researcher determined routes to engaging Māori participants in research will not always be appropriate, and may often be counterproductive. In some kaupapa Māori contexts, links will first have to be made through whakapapa (genealogical connections) at the whānau, hapū or iwi level (Cram, 2001). Māori can maintain control over research by utilising practices and methodologies from their own worldview and taking from a Western worldview only what will best contribute to their own agenda. This approach allows for control to rest with the people, giving them the opportunity to define the relationship so that they can benefit from the process. Within this kaupapa Māori approach five research methods based on Māori metaphors were important in this thesis. These metaphors have been applied both literally and figuratively.

Research Methods using Māori Metaphors

Whakapapa (Genealogical Connections)

Whakapapa is fundamental to how we came into the world and how we come to know the world (Rangihau, 1977). It is the genealogical descent of Māori from the devine sources of creation to the present day. Whakapapa determines both individual and collective identity and status, which in turn determine the permission to access certain ancestral knowledge or taonga tuku iho. Whakapapa reflects the order in which all things were created and as such, it is one of the most prized forms of knowledge for Māori (Barlow, 1991). Given that whakapapa has, to the present day, underpinned the bloodline connections and relationships between people within Māori society, great efforts are made to preserve whakapapa accurately and in its entirety. Within the context of whakapapa each generation of people play an essential role in ensuring that participation, engagement and interactions occur to the benefit of all concerned.

Mead (1997) suggests that whakapapa intersects with research in a range of ways affecting aspects of the research setting and contexts, as well as when and who will participate in the actual project. Smith (1987) contends whakapapa is a way of thinking, learning, storing and debating knowledge. Undoubtedly the connections and relationships between researchers and participants must be carefully established, and the mana atua (spiritual power and prestige) and mana whenua (worldly power and prestige) of participants acknowledged and respected. However through whakapapa, both the people and places with whom the research studies were conducted and the order in which they occurred, must also be carefully acknowledged and detailed. The whakapapa of the research-whānau in this thesis unfolds through the development of a kōringoringo or spiral. This process involved discussions by research-whānau members constantly spiralling back over research events in order to co-construct a richer picture and deeper understanding of each of the case studies and to the series of case studies as a whole.

Whakawhanaungatanga (the process of building relationships and connections)

Closely aligned to whakapapa is whanaungatanga. When one encounters new people, whakawhanaungatanga, or making connections through a ritual called mihimihi (reciprocal introductions), provides a formal opportunity for people to announce their familial connections, and to make connections to other people (both living and dead)

and also to inanimate objects such as the canoe that brought their ancestors to this country, their mountain and their waterway. Connections are seldom made about who one is in terms of work or title until these whakawhanaungatanga connections have been properly established. Mead (2003) maintains that making whanaungatanga connections reaches beyond actual familial relationships and includes relationships to people who are not kin but who through shared experiences feel and act as kin. Whakawhanaungatanga therefore is the process of establishing links, making connections and relating to the people one meets by identifying in culturally appropriate ways, whakapapa linkages, past heritages, common respect for places and landscape features, other relationships, or points of engagement. As such whakawhanaungatanga brings with it connections, responsibilities and commitments. Relationships such as these between researchers and amongst the research group are essential when conducting qualitative research.

Bishop (1996a) presents whakawhanaungatanga as a "culturally constituted metaphor for conducting kaupapa Māori research" (p.215). Bishop describes the role of whakawhanaungatanga in the research process as a culturally appropriate means of both engaging and connecting to the research participants in ways that reorder the relationship of the researcher and researched alike, "from one which focuses on researcher as 'self' and on the researcher as 'other', to one of collaborative research participants" (p.239), thereby displaying one's *tacit commitment* to the research participants and to research that is participant driven. Connectedness amongst the research group (both researchers and participants) must be established through whakawhanaungatanga before the research task is likely to begin with any degree of common understanding and purpose. This tacit commitment of researchers to the research participants made it important to reconnect with original participants from the 11 research studies and seek their support in this thesis so that studies in which they had been involved were accurately represented. In so doing their legitimation brought greater authority to the new research stories.

Kanohi ki te Kanohi (face to face)

Kanohi ki te kanohi, or literally *face to face*, is an essential concept to the effectiveness and efficiency of kaupapa Māori research. It enables researchers and participants to define and set the boundaries for the relationship. Even if at some stages face-to face meetings are not always practical, some physical connection needs

to be made and this ultimately will ensure more effective outcomes (Cram, 2001). This might mean meeting before, during and even after the research begins in order to form trust and continue to build connections and credibility.

In this thesis, kanohi ki te kanohi involved face to face meetings with people who were considered to be important to the whakapapa or context of the case studies. In some instances, these meetings were carefully planned, sometimes they happened by chance, and sometimes meetings were repeatedly sought but never eventuated. Where people have been named in this thesis, their permission was given through kanohi ki te kanohi or personal contact or where they are deceased, permission was granted through a close relative. This process applied to both Māori and Pākehā participants. The whakataukī, he kanohi kitea (the seen face), suggests the importance of being seen and known to the participants.

Whakawhitiwhiti Kōrero

Whakawhiti kōrero is a term used to describe the oral exchanges or discussions that occur in order to bring enlightenment to any given situation. Literally the two terms whakawhiti (to interact) and kōrero (to talk) provide a metaphor for collective sense making that is driven by discourse and is played out rather like a balanced conversation between people of equal status. This type of talk is exemplified in what Bishop (1996a) describes as *spiral discourse* in that the participants and researcher develop a shared narrative based on the construction and reconstruction of their shared experiences (Connelly, & Clandinin, 1990) and what Heshusius (1994) describes as a process by which reality can be mutually evolving.

Mahi tahi/ Kotahitanga

Mahi tahi is a term used to describe the unity of people working towards a specific goal or the implementation of a task often in a *hands-on* fashion. The philosophy of mahi tahi comes from traditional times when working closely together was a vital part of the way Māori society was organised. The mutual support provided through mahi tahi ensured that relationships were strengthened and tasks were achieved. Kotahitanga is the state of being united and thinking and acting collectively.

Kaupapa Māori research is a collaborative approach with knowledge flowing both ways and with researcher and participants both having something important to contribute and to learn (Cram, 2001). Bishop (1996a) identifies one example of this as

koha[15] (donation or gift), an appropriate term to describe this aspect of the relationship. It describes the offering of the research project as a maioha (gift) to the participant/s such that it is their choice to accept it or not. Cram (2001) suggests that if they decide to enter into the relationship then the relationship will be seen as ongoing with "no boundaries or time constraints" (p.43). Researchers should also make the effort wherever possible to provide opportunities for research participants and communities to develop and learn the skills needed for conducting their own research. This is a vital part of empowering the community and enabling the community to define that empowerment. The solidarity and sense of collective understanding and purpose that mahi tahi can engender within a group of people is powerful and this kind of relationship has been known to sustain itself long after the project has been completed (Berryman et al., 2001). For example, ongoing and reciprocal relationships between school participants and research-whānau members have continued, in some instances, well after the research has been completed, often leading into new collaborative research opportunities.

While these concepts may be difficult for non-Māori to abide by, they are less difficult for Māori who have a vested interest in seeing Māori succeed and grow, and who want to be a part of that process. Māori researchers are not just helping people they are helping themselves and their own people, to whom they are also accountable. Because of this personal accountability, they do not have the freedom to walk away and never be seen again. Through the ongoing support of original and past research-whānau members, mahi tahi enabled this thesis to be completed.

Ethical Considerations

It was the intention of this study that all ethical considerations as outlined in University of Waikato guidelines as "General Principles for Research Involving Human Participants" and the code of ethics of the New Zealand Association for Educational Research (NZARE) were strictly adhered to. The studies being further analysed are already in the public domain however, given that the writer has been closely involved and taken lead roles in much of the research presented in the case

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[15] Koha is the cultural act of repaying obligation or contributing by gifting (koha). Traditionally koha came in the form of food and other resources, today koha are more likely to come in the form of money. While there is no obligation to provide koha, there is also no obligation to accept koha.

studies, there were other important ethical considerations for this research. Importantly, although the research experiences of the writer are closely interwoven into this thesis it is important that they do not overpower the discourses of other research-whānau members.

Kaupapa Māori: Researcher as Insider and/or Outsider

Cleave (1997) asserts that "Every culture has a right to present its own culture to its own people*"* (p.15). This can result in a number of difficulties at a personal, cultural, ethical and political level. I, as the writer of this thesis, am also a participant in this research process. Carpenter (1999) notes that it is clear that researchers take their *biases* with them into the research process but suggests that these biases can be understood as historical and contemporary resources that have the potential to colour the "framed pictures" that emerge in subsequent writings. When one takes one's biases into the research process, one is taking one's complete self into the process. Carpenter (1999) and Milne, (2004) take the position of writing from "within the text", while Ladson-Billings (2000) asserts, *"my research is my life and my life is a part of my research"* (p.268).

According to Cram (2001), it is essential for Māori researchers to ensure they are not writing about their communities as if they were outsiders, viewing the participants as *other*. Writing from the perspective of *insider* allows for authentic interpretations of the Māori world that according to Marsden and Henare (1992) can only lie through a subjective, passionate approach. Smith (1999) maintains that Māori researchers can be subjective and still conduct valid, reliable and rigorous research. However, being a researcher and a member of the researched group is not an easy task especially when the researcher carries a variety of different roles. These roles may include their being insider to the indigenous community being studied and being employed for this reason. However because of their Western academic training, and/or employment status, as well as iwi connections, linguistic ability, age and gender, researchers may also represent *outsiders* (Smith, 1999). Hill Collins (1991) describes this positioning in research as the "outsider within". Smith (1999) suggests that:

> "…sometimes when in the community ('in the field') or when sitting in on research meetings, it can feel like inside-out/outside-in research. More often, however, I think that indigenous research is not quite as simple as it looks, nor quite as complex as it feels!" (p.5)

Smith (1999) continues that in spite of the difficulties identified in this section "indigenous research is a humble and humbling activity" (p.5) for the researcher. However given the range of this discursive positioning it is important to recognise that unless researchers have a tool for critically evaluating their research approach as for example in Bishop's (1996a) model (discussed in chapter three) for evaluating power sharing relationships, they might well be using an impositional approach, albeit unwittingly.

Working alongside kaumātua throughout the research process of this thesis certainly highlights both the humility of this researcher position and the privilege that comes from working under the protective mantle of kaumātua or kuia whakaruruhau. As previously mentioned it is the inclusion of the voices of two Māori elders in this thesis, who actively participated as part of the research-whānau, that have ensured that traditional Māori protocols, values, understandings and practices have been incorporated throughout. Their contribution ensured that the research practices in this thesis could hold up to scrutiny from Māori while still be ethically acceptable to non-Māori.

As well as utilising research approaches from a Māori worldview the following range of Western worldview, qualitative research approaches were also used.

Western Worldview

Qualitative Research Approaches

Although quantitative research methods were important elements of most of the research projects in each of the cases studied in this thesis, the major research approaches and methodology employed throughout this thesis fit best under the qualitative research approaches. Qualitative research is a set of interpretive practices that draws upon and utilises many different research approaches, methods and techniques (Denzin, & Lincoln, 1994). These interpretive practices attempt to study situations that involve real life relationships, interactions and/or outcomes in their natural settings. It does this by researchers working alongside and with their research participants, in order to interpret and make sense of the meanings that the participants themselves make of their own situations (Bishop, 1996b, 2005; Denzin, & Lincoln, 1994; Heshusius, 1994). From a Māori worldview Bishop also describes this type of research as activating self-determination or rangatiratanga. Denzin and Lincoln (1994)

describe qualitative research as involving *"the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives"* (p.2). Denzin and Lincoln (1994), suggest that by utilising a wide range of interconnected methods researchers are constantly attempting to "get a better fix on the subject matter at hand,*"* in order to add to the richness, rigour, depth and breadth of the research (Flick, 1992) and *"with objectivity, clarity, and precision report on their own observations of the social world, including the experiences of others"* (p. 12).

Writers of qualitative research (Denzin, & Lincoln, 1994, 2000; Weinstein, & Weinstein, 1991) suggest that the wide range of methodologies and methods employed in qualitative research can be seen as a *"bricolage"*, with the choice of research practices, methodologies and tools not necessarily being determined by the researcher in advance but being dependant upon the questions being asked, on participants' responses to these questions, and the context of the research, and with new tools and methodologies being developed as the need arises. The term *bricolage* has been used to describe both the methodologies employed and the complex outcomes from qualitative research represented by the, *"dense, reflexive, collagelike creation that represents the researcher's images, understandings and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under analysis"* (Denzin, & Lincoln, 1994, p.3).

The role of the researcher

Given the parameters of kaupapa Māori and qualitative research as outlined above, researchers must be able to understand and perform a wide range of diverse and complex cultural, methodological and interpretive tasks. This means that they must also be able to understand a range of interpretive paradigms and theoretical frameworks such as cultural studies and constructivism. These paradigms may then be utilised in order to make sense of the research findings with greater reliability and validity for the participants (Denzin, & Lincoln, 1994, 2000, 2005). The potential political impact and implications of research findings means that the qualitative researcher must understand the implications of their own personal, historical, social and cultural paradigms within the inter-activeness of this research process because these beliefs shape not only how the qualitative researcher sees the world but also determines how they act in it (Denzin, & Lincoln, 1994; Guba, & Lincoln, 1994). The

research method must allow for the belief systems researchers bring with them into the research context to remain non-judgemental and flexible when interpreting and telling the story of the people within the site they have studied. For example interpretive problems may result when researchers and researched come from different cultural backgrounds. However, just as this has strong implications for the researcher working from an outsider's position it also has strong implications for researchers working from an insider's position. For example, Fine, (1994) maintains the need, no matter how close the relationship, to be conscious of how qualitative researchers (as in self) construct the other especially when "sitting within and across alienating borders" (p.71). hooks (1990) uses the term "politics of location" to stress the importance of asking critical questions about power relations and positioning before representing the voice of the other and seeking spaces for transformative practice:

> Within a complex and ever shifting realities of power relations, do we position ourselves on the side of colonizing mentality? Or do we continue to stand in political resistance with the oppressed, ready to offer our ways of seeing and theorizing, of making culture, toward the revolutionary effort which seeks to create space where there is unlimited access to pleasure and power of knowing, where transformation is possible?

> (hooks, 1990, p.145)

"I" as Both the Researcher and Writer

In writing this thesis it has been essential to acknowledge that I as the writer could take the position of both an insider with self as a research participant as well as an outsider or other. This could have resulted in the imposition of my own particular views when theorising on the research findings. Given that I have, to some degree, contributed to each of the case studies, it cannot be denied that I am privy to inside information. However this position poses both problems as well as benefits. Understanding that there is a difference between kaupapa Māori and qualitative research, in this instance, the input from other members of the research-whānau served to challenge the writer to avoid adopting an impositional stance. The following research approaches have been chosen with this possible tension in mind.

Grounded Theory

Strauss and Corbin (1994) define grounded theory as a general approach to developing theory that is grounded in the systematic gathering and analysis of data. Theory evolves throughout the research process from the "continuous interplay between analysis and data collection" (Strauss, & Corbin, 1994, p.273). The centrality of comparative analysis throughout this research approach has seen it also referred to as the "constant comparative method" (Glaser, & Strauss, 1967). Glaser (1978) contends that such a methodology explicitly involves the generation of theory and social research in practice as being part of the one process. Within a grounded theory approach, data may be used to generate theory or existing (grounded) theory may be used to generate areas of investigation that in turn serve to generate new data, and new theorising. Providing there is relevance, and the researcher is rigorously matching theory with data, researchers can make connections between theories from previous and current research projects (Strauss, & Corbin, 1994). This process, also applicable with quantitative research, has been important as the researcher has sought to make sense of the 11 case studies in this thesis alongside the renewed theorising of research-whānau members who have contributed throughout this process.

Collaborative Storying

Collaborative storying involves the identification, development and examination of the participants' sense making through the interview process itself, thus enabling the researcher to engage with the participants in a way described by Heshusius (1994) as "participatory consciousness". Through thematic analysis the researcher can weave together the various participants' perspectives in order to add definition and clarity to the discourses around what can be learned from the processes, experiences and practice of this specific research-whānau. This enhanced knowledge might contribute to greater understandings about effective educational practices for Māori students and their families and effective research practices for researchers working in settings that involve Māori students and their families.

Participative Inquiry (Participatory Research)

Participative inquiry may be seen as a reaction to positivist research approaches that have increasingly placed the researcher outside and separate from the subject of their research in their search for objective truth (Reason, 1994). Reason (1994) contends that participative inquiry comes from a more "holistic, pluralistic and egalitarian"

worldview that "sees human beings as co-creating their reality through participation: through their experience, their imagination and intuition, their thinking and their action" (p.324). Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) contend that this type of research emerged, "more or less deliberately as forms of resistance to conventional research practices that were perceived by particular kinds of participants as acts of colonization" (p.572). They suggest that while other more conventional social research may claim to value neutrality it "normally serves the ideological function of justifying the position and interests of the wealthy and powerful" (p.568). Participative inquiry has useful application to problems raised in kaupapa Māori settings and contexts as it allows both groups to collaborate from the outset to determine the problems, participants, methodologies and finally determine the solutions.

Heron (1992) maintains that the worldview driving participative inquiry values the right of humanity to co-create their own reality through their own experiences, actions, imagination and thinking. In short, by participating in their own inquiry, researchers are able to co-create their own reality. Skolimowski (1992) relates this *reality* to a product created from "the dance between our individual and collective mind" (cited in Reason, 1994, p.324). Reason (1994) also emphasises participation as being central to this approach to inquiry and reiterates that while it brings with it the challenge of *"self-reflexive critical awareness-in-action"*, it has the benefits of creating spaces for "establishing liberating dialogue with impoverished and oppressed peoples" (p.325). For the dialogue to liberate or allow oppressed peoples a space for dialogue it must be undertaken on their own terms. This method is more likely to address Māori aspirations for self-determination.

According to Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) participative inquiry can be distinguished from other conventional research because of three particular features used in the creation of knowledge, these being "shared ownership of research projects, community-based analysis of social problems, and orientation toward community action" (p.568). Given the linkages between knowledge and power, Reason sees participative inquiry as enabling more collaborative relationships with each other and with the environment. However, this is not without also raising the political question of who owns the knowledge and therefore who can define the reality? While there is a range of different approaches sitting within participative inquiry, this thesis, which is

an investigation of practice and research findings, draws on theory and practice from both critical action research and participatory action research.

Investigating Practice in Participative Enquiry

In the investigation of practice, Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) pose five different perspectives, each with a different focus:

1. The individual's practice is viewed from external *objective* outsider perspectives.

2. The group's patterns of social interactions are viewed from external "objective" outsider perspectives.

3. The individuals view their own practice from an internal, *subjective* position of cognition.

4. The group views their own practice from an internal subjective position of cognition but also as a group who must represent their practice to themselves and to others. This aspect is concerned with the language, discourses and traditions of their practice.

5. All four aspects listed are taken into account and understood as "reflexively restructured and transformed over time, in its historical dimension*"*

(p. 574).

They suggest that these aspects are regarded by some to be mutually exclusive, by others to be pluralistic and compatible and by others to be talking past one another to the point that they do not allow for "reciprocal critique and debate", nor enable the "exploration of complementarities and points of connection between them" (p.574). Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) detail two dichotomies (a focus on the individual rather than the social group and this being perceived from either an objective (outsider) or subjective (insider) perspective) that appears within these perspectives of practice. This has implications for the need to focus on the individual as being *connected* and embedded within the group rather than as *disconnected*, and separate from the group. Kemmis and McTaggart suggest the need to move away from thinking in terms of dichotomies of *either/or*, towards a thinking that encapsulates the need for *both* and sees them in terms of being dialectically related and requiring both

to achieve a comprehensive, rich perspective on practice. Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) suggest the fifth perspective is both reflexive and dialectical, providing the view of both the subjective and objective relations and connections. It is reflexive from the perspective of being a collaborative process where one learns from and changes the way they engage in the process of transformation, in contrast with a position where researchers adopt an emancipatory stance. This collaborative perspective is more likely to result in a focus on practice as "socially and historically constituted, and as reconstituted by human agency and social action" (p. 576).

Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) contend that the five epistemological perspectives on practice as detailed above, can be used to determine a tradition of researchers' positioning and perspectives, and in turn the methodological response they will make when studying and reporting on practice. For example, practice can be seen in terms of the behaviours that occur by one tradition, as the participants' values and interests by another and as being discursively formed by yet another. They suggest a multi-faceted, methodological approach that is driven by an understanding of the relationships between social and educational theory and practice as being more useful. A clear understanding of what constitutes theory and practice in the research context will determine the kinds of evidence and analyses that will be most appropriate and in turn, from multiple perspectives, the most appropriate research methods for the task. One clear implication of this is that researchers in *professional* contexts must have knowledge and experience of the cultural beliefs and practices of the profession being studied.

This thesis adopts the integrated approach offered in Kemmis and McTaggart's (2000) fifth aspect of practice to investigate the practice of the research-whānau. Individual members of this group have reflected on their practice from their positions as members of this research-whānau and through a review of internally produced documents related to studies that they have completed. In order to better understand how the language, discourses, metaphors and traditions of their practice appear to others, individual members of this group have also reflected on external documents related to the work of the research-whānau and talked to people who have interacted with this research-whānau in the past. It sought to do this in ways that were both critical and participatory.

Critical Action Research

Action research, of whatever kind, must begin with the identification and analysis of the problem that is to be addressed and overcome, then comes the planning of the intervention. As with other critical action research (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000), this thesis has made a commitment to draw together social analyses that are broad, self-reflective, and provide a collective self-study of the work of the research whānau. This involves the way the research-whānau participates, is organised and undertakes research, the language that is used, and the way that we have worked to improve conditions for Māori students and their families. As with other critical action research groups (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2000), this research-whānau involves a mixed group of participants, that includes elders, researchers, university academics, teachers, family members and students, all with their own interests and expertise. As this work is undertaken, networking or whakawhanaungatanga has been important as the research-whānau have sought input from others to inform and initiate changes and make improvements.

Participatory Action Research

While participatory action research appears to have communities with differing practices, in general participatory action research addresses the political aspect of knowledge production as an important instrument of power and control (Reason, 1994). Tandon (1989), cited in Reason (1994), argues that participatory action research:

> Values the people's knowledge, sharpens their capacity to conduct their own research in their own interests, helps them appropriate knowledge produced by the dominant knowledge industry for their own interests and purposes, allows problems to be explored from their perspective, and, maybe most important, liberates their minds for critical reflection, questioning and the continuous pursuit of inquiry thus contributing to the liberation of their minds and the development of freedom and democracy.

(p.329)

Participatory action research therefore, provides people who wish to conduct research and produce knowledge based on their own agenda, participation and control, with an alternate system to hegemonic dependence on outside experts while also allowing

them access to a full range of qualitative and quantitative methodologies (Reason, 1994).

Kemmis and McTaggart (2000) suggest that participatory action research occurs when people want to make changes thoughtfully and after critical reflection. It emerges, they contend, when, "people want to think "realistically" about where they are now, how things came to be that way, and, from these starting points, how, in practice things have changed" (p.573). Critics of participatory action research have suggested that many participatory action research projects lack sufficient, specific details to ensure that the reader (presumably from a different experiential and cultural base) is able to learn fully from their account (Reason, 1994). The issue here might also be not whether an outsider could replicate the project, but whether there is sufficient specific information for others, with sufficient common experiences and understandings, to replicate the process.

Key features of participatory action research are a spiral of overlapping cycles of problem analyses, planning, acting and observing, and reflecting on the actions and observations. To this extent it is understood that the original 11 projects of this present study, each contained the cycle of planning, acting and observing, and reflecting on the actions and observations. Kemmis and McTaggart, (2000) contend that participatory action research has seven further features that are just as important as the self-reflective spiral. These in order involve participatory action research as being:

1. A social process that aims to explore the relationships between individuals and groups, and the social processes in which they engage.

2. A participatory process that engages people in examining their own understandings of their actions, skills and values in authentic situations.

3. A practical and collaborative process that works to reconstruct social interactions by reconstructing the acts that constitutes them.

4. An emancipatory process that aims at self-determination by exploring the ways in which wider social structures shape and constrain practices.

5. A critical process that provides a means by which people can contest and reconstitute unproductive and alienating ways of interpreting and describing their world and/or working and relating to others.

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6. A recursive (both reflexive and dialectical) process that aims to both help people investigate their own reality in order to make change and to change their own reality in order to investigate it.

7. A process that aims to transform both theory and practice by articulating each in relation to the other.

Kemmis and McTaggart's (2000) list provides useful reference points for this thesis that recalls, then further theorises on the practices of a research-whānau, on their knowledge about those practices, on the social structures that shaped and constrained their practices, and on the social milieu or cultural context in which their practices are expressed. This collaborative reflection on the actions and observations contained within a series of research projects was undertaken in order to inform the social processes involved in the theory and practice of the education of Māori students and the undertaking of kaupapa Māori research.

Case Study Research

Case study research can involve both qualitative and quantitative research and aims to gain in-depth understandings of a research site by studying the relationships and interactions as they occur in their real life setting. Stake (1994, 2000) describes a case study as the study of a functioning, specific, integrated and *bounded system*. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) also describe a case study as a bounded system and suggest that this type of study involves the study of a single instance in action. Stake (1994) suggests, however, that although certain features sit within the system or the boundaries of the case, other features that might sit outside the case, for example historical or political events, can also provide important contextual information. Yin (1984) further defines case study as "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomena within its real life context especially when the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident" (p. 13). Case study research therefore provides opportunities to learn about the case as well as from the process and from the product of the learning.

Stake (1994, 2000) suggests that case studies can be classified into three different types, these being intrinsic, instrumental and collective. An intrinsic case study is undertaken because of a specific and intrinsic interest in the case. An instrumental case study involves the study of a particular case in order to generate generalisations or provide further or additional insights into the case, and a collective case study is

when a number of cases are studied co-jointly "in order to investigate a phenomenon, population, or general condition" (p.437). Given these distinctions it is undeniable that the research-whānau and participants have an *intrinsic* interest in the cases in this thesis and that the cases are unique and specific to these contexts. However because the case studies are made up of different research projects and cover experiences, relationships and interactions that occurred over a period of time there are also elements of the other two types of case studies (instrumental and collective) in this thesis.

In unpacking the case studies in this thesis, I have attempted to use "thick description" (Stake, & Trumbull, 1982) in order to help generate generalisations in response to the research questions. This is achieved by drawing on the contextual, descriptive narrative from research-whānau members, into which, reports of the research studies are interwoven. Rich descriptive narratives can assist readers to vicariously experience the events and begin to process understandings and make "naturalistic generalisations" (Stake, & Trumbull, 1982) in order to co-construct new knowledge (Stake, 2000).

Stake (1994, 2000) notes six conceptual responsibilities for qualitative case study research. These are listed in the first column of Table 4.1 below. The second column indicates how the approaches and methods in this thesis respond to the specific conceptual responsibilities at the level of the 11 cases studied.

Table 4.1: Case Study Response using Stake's Conceptual Framework

General Focus: The experiences of the research-whānau from 1991 to 2006, and 11 research studies that resulted in increasing or identifying educational effectiveness for Māori students.	
Conceptual responsibilities	**Concepts and/or Research Strategies**
1. Bounding and conceptualising the cases.	1. The emergence of a whānau of interest and the development and trial of a Māori language reading programme. 2. The setting up and operation of the Poutama Pounamu research centre. 3. Working in partnership with other indigenous (Māori) research groups. 4. Two research projects conducted autonomously and interpreted from an indigenous worldview.
2. Selecting the focus research questions.	What can be learned from the experiences of a specific research-whānau that might contribute to greater understandings about: • More effective educational practices for Māori students and their families; • More effective research practices for researchers working in settings that involve Māori students and their families?
3. Seeking patterns in the evidence to respond to the focus.	Whakapapa Grounded theory Participative Action Research Whakawhiti kōrero Mahi tahi
4. Triangulating and interpreting key findings.	1.Tikanga and kotahitanga 2. Participants' personal research experiences and related narrative. 3. Re-analysis of research findings and other related materials and literature
5. Identifying and selecting alternative interpretations.	Whakapapa and koruru Grounded theory Participative Action Research Whakawhiti kōrero Mahi tahi, Kotahitanga
6. Generating assertions and generalisations from the case study.	Whakapapa and koruru Grounded theory Participative Action Research Whakawhiti kōrero Mahi tahi, Kotahitanga

Reviewing Printed and Electronic Evidence

The preparation of the case studies involved the careful identification, review and consideration of archival evidence in the form of printed and electronic data (see Table 4.2 below). These data have been gathered from sources that are internal to the research-whānau as well as external sources. Given that the cases studied in this thesis cover a period of more than a decade, a growing body of evidence has built up with external evidence often adding richness to and validation of the internal evidence generated by the research-whānau. Evidence such as this, termed "mute" by Hodder (2000), is able to endure separation from its producers across time and space and helps to establish material culture. Hodder (2000) raises two tensions that can result from working with material culture, suggesting that interacting with insider perspectives often has limited possibility. He further suggests that when there are insiders they often have little to contribute about why they did things in the way they did. This was not found to be the case in the writing of this thesis, rather, working with the material helped to recall events and contextualise the material prior to its interpretation, which was another important consideration raised by Hodder (2000). Hatch (2002) terms printed and/or electronic evidence as *unobtrusive* evidence, suggesting that it may provide insights into the cases under investigation without interfering in the research contexts. This research has attempted to apply suggestions from both these writers.

Table 4.2: Evidence reviewed for this thesis

Internal Archives		External
Printed Data	**Electronic Data**	**Related Reviews, Research & Requests**
Original field-notes Research reports	Research reports	Evaluations, related research, information used in university papers, and citation by others.
Conference papers	Conference papers	
Articles/ Papers	Articles/ Papers	
Books and chapters in edited books	Books, chapters in edited books and videos.	Requests to write chapters in other people's books.
Related professional development resources	Related professional development resources	Requests for materials and training

Pamphlets		Pamphlets
Photographs	Photographs	Photographs
Letters		Letters
Diaries	Emails	
Artefacts		Awards citations and gifts from others.
Research data		MOE TKI website and requests from others
Strategic plans	Strategic plans	SES and MOE, SE Strategic Plans and Policies
Monthly reports	Monthly reports	SES and MOE, SE reports

Unobtrusive evidence, such as presented in Table 4.2, have been used, together with the experiences and contribution of members of this research-whānau, as insiders or producers of the evidence, as a tacit strategy to further contextualise the evidence in this thesis. Unobtrusive data and contributions from research-whānau members were triangulated with my own tacit knowledge. Sourcing evidence from multiple sources helped to ensure greater consistency and validity (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 1984), and also helped to address the potential imposition that could have resulted from working with my tacit knowledge alone. Anonymity of people named in archived data, both internal and external, was maintained unless specific approval to use their name was provided by the person concerned or in the case of their having died, specific approval was sought from a close living relative.

The analysis of printed and electronic data used personal experience, narrative inquiry and collaborative storying. The researcher listed the research projects that the research-whānau had been involved with according to the sequence in which they occurred. This list was then discussed with Group A, who collaboratively selected a sample list that would best tell the story of this research-whānau from its inception. Throughout the duration of the thesis writing, as new projects were finished they were considered as possible additions to the sample list. On the basis that it added something new, one new project was added in this way to the original sample list.

Once the sample list was generated, internal evidence was gathered and organised according to specific studies on the list. External data that related to these studies were also sought and again organised according to the specific project. Individual projects were then presented back to the participating research-whānau members in the form of a series of whakawhiti kōrero or discussions. Sometimes these discussions involved viewing a video or looking at photographs or documents. These discussions were iterative, circular and spiralling in nature (see Figure 4.3 below). They served to recall and verify the methodology, participants, events and outcomes of the original studies. Contextual information about the projects emerged, further questions were asked and further directions of inquiry were identified. Theorising in the form of thematic metaphors salient to the projects and subsequently to the research-whānau also began to emerge. These thematic metaphors have been returned to again and again in subsequent discussions throughout the duration of the thesis.

• The sample list of projects is collaboratively generated	• Evidence from individual projects are presented • Methodology, participants, events and outcomes are recalled and verified • Reflection, more questions and new lines of inquiry are set • Contextual information is identified • Thematic metaphors and theories begin to emerge	• Evidence from the next project is presented
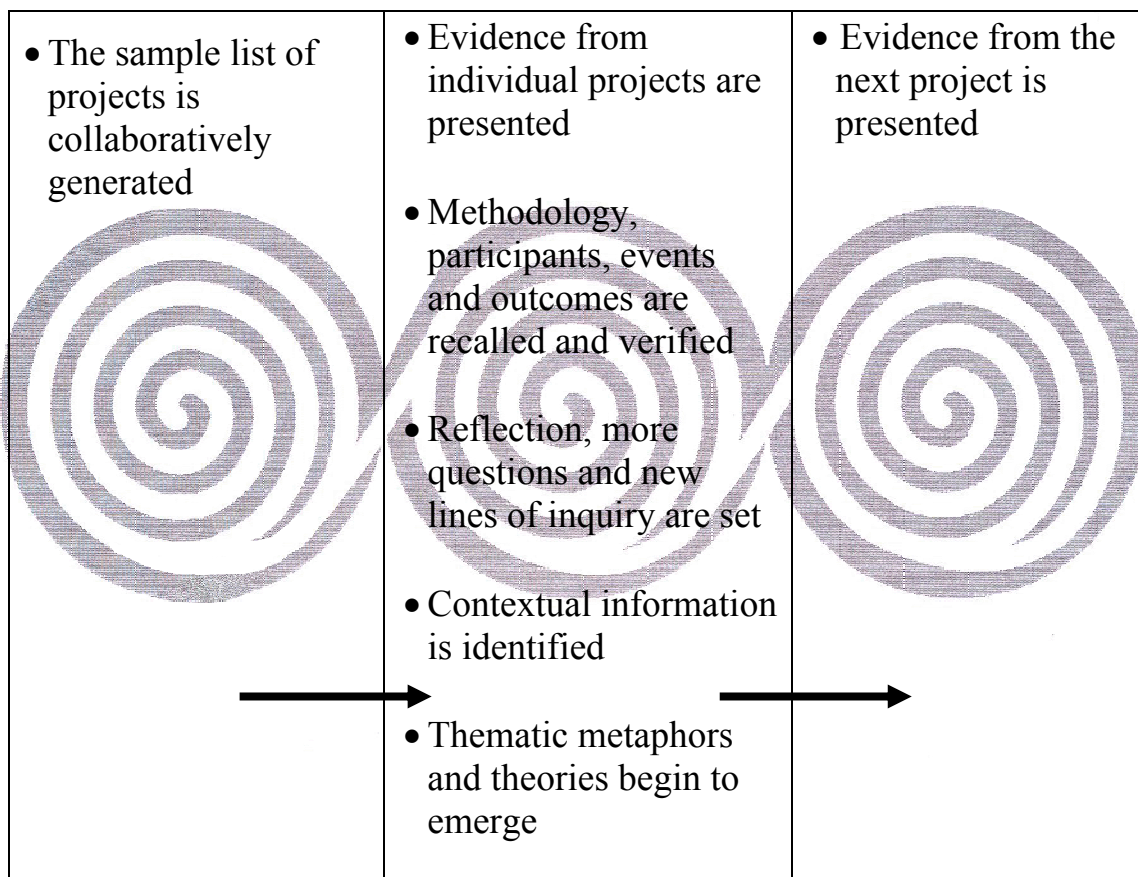
Figure 4.3: Whakawhiti Kōrero/ Spiral Discourse the Reflection Process used in the Analysis of Documents

Summary

Literature that considered historical, political, sociological and economic issues that have impacted upon Māori and that detailed the scope and scale of the historical and current effects of colonisation and research practices on Māori, particularly on the education of Māori students, has helped to define the problem. Literature that provided possible solutions, as informed by theorising from a Māori worldview as well as from the perspective of other indigenous and minority groups, was used to help direct the focus of the thesis. Literature on research methodologies, both qualitative and quantitative, provided a mixed methods approach (Creswell, 2005) that helped to define and detail the research procedure.

Chapter Five: Te Tūtakitahitanga

The interesting story is how the Crown, with all its coercive and appropriative power, and with the help of sites of collaboration, failed to crush aspirations for rangatiratanga.

(Hill, 2004, p.56)

Introduction

This chapter introduces three members of the research-whānau including myself, the writer. In so doing it highlights the kaupapa (shared aspirations and agenda) that brought us together at the start of our research. A collaborative, retrospective and critical reflection of the processes, experiences, research findings, that also includes the reflection of others in the wider research-whānau, provides a context for understanding the development of the resource that brought us all together. The development of relationships and interactions within the research-whānau and with other people, and important events within this research are also discussed.

Members of the Research-whānau (Group A)

The three members of the research-whānau, who have collaborated on this thesis, first met in the early 1990s. The first member of this research-whānau is a fluent native speaker of Māori, a kuia (respected female elder) recognised as a leader at a hapū and iwi level in Tauranga Moana and a driving force behind local Kōhanga Reo. Rangiwhakaehu introduces herself.

> Ko Mauao te maunga
>
> Ko Tauranga te moana
>
> Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāiterangi ngā iwi
>
> Ko Ngāi te Ahi, Ngāi Tamarawaho, Ngāti Tapu ngā hapū
>
> Ko Hairini te marae
>
> Ko Ranginui te tipuna whare
>
> Ko Rangiwhakaehu Walker ahau.

In this pepeha (traditional saying making geographical connections), as is customary, Rangiwhakaehu makes connections, to her ancestral mountain (Mauao) and waterways (Tauranga), to her tribe (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāiterangi) and to her sub-tribes (Ngāi te Ahi, Ngāi Tamarawaho, Ngāti Tapu), to the traditional meeting place of one of her sub-tribes (Hairini) and their meetinghouse (Ranginui), then finally to herself. Within this pepeha are Rangiwhakaehu's important genealogical connections. In sharing her pepeha with others, Rangiwhakaehu provides some understandings of where she comes from and thus who she is. It is through pepeha that many other Māori continue to make their own genealogical connections with her today.

> Ko Mokohiti rāua ko Titihuia Reweti oku mātua, tekau ma rua a rāua tamariki, ko au te potiki o ta rāua whānau.

In the introduction of her father (Mokohiti) and mother (Titihuia) we learn that her family name is Reweti. Rangiwhakaehu shares that in a family of twelve children she is the youngest member (potiki). A vision that began as a young child still has the capacity, at 80, to keep her actively engaged as a leader and driving force behind this research-whānau. We pick up her story from chapter three.

> **Rangiwhakaehu:** I went to Maungatapu Native School and finished in form two (age 13). My mother believed that boys in our family were the ones that had to have further education, so they also went to college and university. The girls stayed home and learnt to care for the whānau and the home. When I finished school, my thoughts were to be a teacher but because my mother died in my final year [at school] nothing happened as far as going on to further training and becoming a teacher. I had to help look after the whānau, my father and two brothers who worked on the farm and my crippled sister. By then my eldest brother had moved to work the other farm.
>
> My opportunity to be involved in education did not happen until after I had raised my own family. It was in 1981 with the advent of the Kōhanga Reo movement for the revival of te reo Māori. The first Kōhanga Reo at Tauranga Moana was established on my own marae at Hairini. Because I was a fluent speaker of te reo Māori, I was chosen by my whānau to be the kaiako (teacher). Our vision at the time was just to teach our babies te reo Māori. We used our own experiences and upbringing to visualise how we could put this into practice. We knew we had to gather the kōrero (language) and resources

to teach our tamariki (children). We talked about the things and experiences that we knew. We had the advantage of being based on the marae so we had the people who lived and worked on the marae to help us support the oral language as well. We told the stories of our people. We organised going to the beach or to the bush and we collected resources such as shells, stones and leaves from these places. We talked about the trees, the sea, and the land. We talked about some of the tikanga (cultural rules and practices) to do with those things. Just as we had learned about these things from our own parents they became our resources, our teaching tools for teaching our tamariki. Much of those teachings had been in danger of being lost. Just as I had learned to sort the potatoes, I used stones as a sorting activity with the tamariki. We made up waiata to go with the activity and we taught the reo in this way, in the way that we had learned the reo, by modelling and through practical hands-on experiences.

That was the beginning of my teaching experiences and that lasted for 20 years. I found it a challenge but also rewarding because I was able to watch and see our children speak their reo and gain more and more confidence by the day. My journey through Te Kōhanga Reo took me into Māori research and into the wider field of education.

Rangiwhakaehu is known to all in the research-whānau and to others with whom she works closely, as Aunty Nan. She grew up and in turn raised her own family in Tauranga, where the research-whānau was formed and located, and continues to operate today.

The second of these people is again a fluent native speaker of Māori, a woman who after teaching for much of her adult life was preparing for comfortable retirement in the early 1990s.

Ko Hikurangi te maunga,

Ko Waiapu te awa,

Ko Te Whānau o Hinerupe te hapū,

Ko Ngāti Porou te iwi.

Ko Hirini Te Waiariki rāua ko Parekura Smith oku mātua.

Ki te taha o taku pāpā ko Te Rahui taku marae, ki te taha o taku māmā ko Rongoitekai taku marae.

Ko Mate Reweti taku ingoa,

I tipu mai au ki Tikitiki.

Mate also makes links to her mountain (Hikurangi), and her traditional waterways (Waiapu), then to her sub-tribe (Te Whānau o Hinerupe) and tribe (Ngāti Porou). Next she introduces her father (Hirini Te Waiariki) and mother (Parekura) and the traditional meeting places of her father (Te Rahui) and her mother (Rongoitekai). Finally Mate introduces herself and makes links to Tikitiki, a settlement on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand where she was raised.

Mate begins with the vision she shared with her late husband Tamihana.

> **Mate:** Having worked in education for the most part of my adult life both my late husband and myself, believed that it is only through learning and education that we can develop a sense of self worth and a sense of self-determination. It was always our vision that our children should grow up with those aspirations and the culmination has been that they have all done well and are still fulfilling these same aspirations. Two are working in education themselves.
>
> The importance of education for me began emerging while a student at Turakina Māori Girls' College. Although my choice of a career at the time was to become a nurse, I can now applaud my parents and the principal of Tikitiki Māori School at that time (Mr. Percy Eaton) for their vision that teaching was my forte. Since then I would hope that I have continued to instill these aspirations into the students whom I have taught over the years.
>
> Education for Māori is high on my priorities and I am still working in education for our tamariki and mokopuna. An important part of this is the preservation of our traditional language and cultural practices. We must be strong enough to uphold the reo and tikanga ourselves if we are to maintain and spread it. Send our children and mokopuna to Kōhanga Reo, kaupapa Māori schools, immersion schools, and bilingual schools. Teachers also have to do their part. Teachers of the Māori language should make learning the reo a fun thing, model it, dramatise it so as to make it more interesting for our

children to learn and not have them opt out of learning their reo. But teachers need the support of good resources that are well researched. That is why I have chosen to continue working in this area, to do what I can to continue supporting the work myself by being a part of this whānau.

No reira e kī ana tētahi whakataukī "Whaia te iti kahurangi, ki te tuohu koe me he maunga teitei".

Mate finishes with a whakataukī that reminds us all to seek that which is precious. If we must bow down, then let it be to a lofty mountain. Mate does not see her or Rangiwhakaehu's ages as being a barrier to their continued participation in this work. Certainly the research-whānau have continued to learn how essential they are to the work that we do.

I am the third person, and the author.

Ko Maungapohatu te maunga.

Ko Ohinemataroa te awa.

Ko Matatua te waka.

Ko Ngāi Tūhoe te iwi.

Ko Ngātirongo te hapū.

Ko Tauarau te marae.

Ko Rongokarae te tipuna whare.

Ko Kohunui taku ingoa whānau.

Ko Wharepapa rāua ko Pēti oku mātua

Ko Mere ahau.

Again the introduction makes traditional geographical links, this time they are to the mountain (Maungapohatu), traditional waterways (Ohinemataroa) and canoe (Matatua) of my ancestors. They link to my Tribe (Ngāi Tūhoe) and sub-tribe (Ngātirongo), as well as to the traditional meeting place of my sub-tribe (Tauarau) and to our meetinghouse (Rongokarae). Links are then made to my family (Kohunui), to my parents (Wharepapa and Pēti), and then finally to myself.

Mere: I was the middle child in a family of nine children. My eldest sister and I learned from our mother to help care for our younger siblings. My four older

brothers learned from our father to hunt in the bush, to gather food from the sea, the estuaries and streams. Together we all learned to nurture and cultivate Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, who in turn would sustain and nurture us. Our table was always supplemented by the foods we had gathered or grown ourselves, and we always shared these foods with others. In turn, our gifts were reciprocated. We learned the traditional ways, the tikanga associated with everyday occasions and life in general. However, although my father and mother spoke Māori they did not teach the language to us.

I remember hearing my mother talk of enrolling one of my older brothers at school. Our paternal grandparents who spoke mainly Māori had raised him until school age when he returned home to us. A short while after Mum had enrolled him in school she was told he had a problem. That is, the teacher could not understand him. Mum was told to keep him at home until he could speak English. The fact that he also had a severe hearing impairment was not diagnosed until years later when it was too late to remediate effectively. His inability to speak English because of his Māori language was seen as the problem. Interestingly, the teacher's inability to understand him was never the problem.

Our Mum supported our brother with his speaking of English. He lost proficiency in his first language and that remains until this day. Our parents made sure they did not have to repeat the exercise with me or my other siblings. How that must have made them feel, I can only imagine. However, the fact that Māori was seldom used to communicate in our home after that is one clear indication.

The importance of the traditional learning that I had experienced growing up at home, that was marginalised from the classrooms of my schooling, and that remained marginalised for my own children's education even though I had become a part of the education system myself, is the mainstay of my vision. I am working to *re-normalise* these ways of knowing, for myself, my grandchildren and for other Māori with whom I live and work. These are the aspirations that brought me to my place in this research-whānau.

Case Study One: Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi

Case study One involves the work that brought us all together to develop a Māori language one-to-one reading-tutoring programme, Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi, that was trialled in two separate studies using tuākana and tēina (peer) tutors. The first study involved Years 4 to 6 students in a Māori language immersion setting (Glynn, Atvars, Furlong, & Teddy, 1993; Glynn, Atvars, Furlong, Davies, et al., 1993), and the second involved, Years 7 and 8 students in a bilingual setting (Berryman, et al., 1995; Glynn, et al., 1996).

The Wider Social Setting

As mentioned in Chapter three, Te Kōhanga Reo and later Kura Kaupapa Māori were the essential drivers in the re-establishment of a Māori language education system in New Zealand. Accessing the curriculum through the medium of the Māori language provided rewards but also challenges. The first challenge was the expectation of many educators, that establishing a Māori medium system would be based on duplicating the English medium system. This generated the need to develop focused Māori language training programmes and resources. Māori language literacy skills, for delivery by Māori to Māori students, parents and families were seen as one essential component. Towards this end Matewai McCudden (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti kahungungu[16]), the Kairaranga or National Māori advisor to the Special Education Service[17] (SES) at the time, invited Professor Ted Glynn, a Pākehā researcher, to adapt Pause Prompt Praise, a reading tutoring programme for parents or peers, for use in Māori language educational settings.

Pause Prompt Praise is a set of one-to-one oral reading tutoring procedures designed to assist older students who are experiencing difficulties in learning to read in English. These procedures were developed from the Mangere Home and School Reading procedures developed in South Auckland (Glynn, et al., 1979; Glynn, 1995). Over more than 30 years, Pause Prompt Praise had been researched and documented in New Zealand (Glynn, et al., 1979; McNaughton, et al., 1981; Glynn, & McNaughton, 1985; Medcalf, & Glynn, 1987), in Australia (Houghton, & Bain, 1993; Houghton, &

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[16] Tribal affiliations have been inserted after the person's name where they exist and can be verified.

[17] Now known as Group Special Education within the New Zealand Ministry of Education

Glynn, 1993) and in the United Kingdom (Wheldall, & Mettem, 1985). These reading tutoring procedures have been successful when English has been the first language and also when English has been the second language (Glynn, & Glynn, 1986).

Preparing for this presentation provided Professor Glynn, as a Pākehā researcher, with many challenges. The background to the procedures, the procedures themselves and the case for trialling these in a Māori language context meant that they needed to be presented in Māori. He decided to lay them down, at Matewai's invitation, in the form of whakapapa or genealogy in te reo Māori and as a koha, an action which conveyed three important cultural messages. Matewai's invitation and Professor Glynn's response using koha, signalled that they saw this as mahi tahi or as a collaborative partnership response that came at the initiation of Māori. The presentation in the form of the genealogy of the resource in Māori signalled an understanding that current events and understandings are best understood in terms of the people, language, actions and events from the past. These ideas were not being imposed on Māori and as the people at the presentation had the right to accept or reject this koha, the researcher was signalling his awareness that control (the decision to pick-up the koha or leave it there), would remain with Māori.

For Professor Glynn, being a Pākehā interacting in a Māori socio-cultural context was a particularly daunting task. This was especially so given he understood his place as Pākehā in another's (Māori) cultural domain and he also had some understanding of the important cultural implications that come with the laying down of koha. Knowing that he had the support of Matewai gave him some confidence. In terms of Bishop's (1994) framework for evaluating power relations with Māori, working within these circumstances would indicate that the power to initiate, define, accept and legitimate was not imposed and the power or accountability over the process remained with Māori. Professor Glynn was comfortable with accepting that the outcome of their presentation could have been a "thanks, but no thanks".

These events at Poho o Rawiri marae in Gisborne, contributed to the genesis of this research-whānau. Professor Glynn, in response to Matewai's invitation, modelled the Pause Prompt Praise procedures with his daughter in Māori. He then laid the procedures down as a possible useful tool for Māori SES workers to assist children learning to read in Māori language education settings. Te Waiarani Harawira (Ngāi Tūhoe) and Kathryn Atvars (Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāti Awa) were

amongst those who observed the modelled tutoring session and the placement of the koha. Both were visiting teachers working for SES out of the Bay of Plenty. Kathryn had used the English tutoring procedures with tutors herself and had experienced the exciting outcome of students' reading improvements after using the procedures with experienced tutors. They accepted the koha and took it back to Tauranga. Although only one group took up what was offered and others did not, it is important to note the way self-determination was played out by all through the process of koha.

Wai consulted with her kaumātua from Tūhoe in Ruatoki who suggested that the koha go to Tauranga. They also reminded her of her direct hunaonga relationship (through marriage) to these people through her husband. Meanwhile Kathryn organised a series of consultation hui (meetings) with local kaumātua at her own home and at Hairini marae. At these hui people talked about the koha, they talked about the person who had placed the koha down and the manner and purpose of its placement. They also met Professor Glynn and talked with him about where he was from and who he was. Finally, they also talked about the possible reconstruction of the Pause Prompt Praise resource for use in a Māori language revitalisation context. Kathryn ensured that interested kaumātua were amongst those who attended these hui. They included Rangiwhakaehu, Mate, her late husband Tamihana Reweti (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi, Te Arawa) and other local kaumātua who have since passed on including Manu Te Pere (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi), Rangiteaorere (Tame) Heke (Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Ranginui, Te Arawa, Tainui) and Pomare Sullivan (Ngāti Awa). The group understood these kaumātua to hold the same role, esteem and authority of respected elders in any family (Bishop, 1996c). It was understood from the outset that, without their active commitment, drive and participation, the idea of reconstructing the resource may have been rejected outright and this research-whānau may not have begun. These kaumātua also affirmed Wai's hunaonga connection to them and the importance of her ongoing participation.

Teachers, family members and at times children also attended these hui, at which the possible use of the koha with their own tamariki mokopuna was discussed. However, progress in terms of buy-in from kaumātua was slow until Wai modelled the procedures for them with her own bilingual mokopuna (grandchild), bringing about a turning point in the discussions. All at the hui were able to see for themselves the

benefits that could come from using the tutoring procedures for their own mokopuna learning in Māori language settings.

Collaborative decision-making undertaken in these culturally supported contexts saw the formulation of plans and a proposal written to access funding. These actions resulted in the reconstruction of the Pause Prompt Praise procedures into the Māori language resource known today as Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi, carried out under the umbrella of SES. Important participants in this collaboration were the staff and students from the nearby Maungatapu School Māori language immersion unit. Kaumātua had identified them as the people to work with on this task. These kaumātua had attended this school as children themselves when it had been a native school, built on land gifted to the Education Board by their own whānau. When this project began, many of the staff and students were related to this kaumātua group. Many of the students were also kōhanga reo graduates having learned te reo Māori from Rangiwhakaehu as pre-schoolers. Staff and students from this school volunteered to participate in the video and in the first trial of the Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi procedures.

Professor Glynn, who was working at the University of Otago at the time, brought links with others from the South Island. The University of Otago audio-visual crew came to Tauranga to film on-site material for the video. As a group, they were formally welcomed onto Hairini marae where they acknowledged the status or mana whenua[18] of the local people as holders of the land and owners of the resource, and publicly stated their active participation and commitment to the goal of Māori language revitalisation. Kaumātua from Hairini marae formally extended their blessings and guidance to the project inviting Professor Glynn to become a member of the group responsible for this project, thus openly beginning to establish a closer, less formal relationship with Professor Glynn whom they had now begun to see as *Ted*, a member of their research-whānau. Part of this invitation involved these kaumātua providing advice on the roles and responsibilities required of members of the group. For example Pomare urged Ted to seriously consider the opportunities extended to him by Māori, to work in collaboration. An important part of this was the need to

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[18] Mana whenua refers to the local tribal people who have genealocical connections to the land and as such, responsibilities to maintain gaudianship of the land.

continue learning and using the Māori language that he had already learned, in the contexts in which he was working with Māori. As the resource was re-constructed and the first trial began, these kaumātua continued to clearly define Ted's role within the research-whānau.

Kaumātua also provided their advice throughout the filming of the video, making many important decisions and also appearing in the video themselves. They ensured that the students in the video would be acting the part of remedial readers, but not be remedial readers themselves. In this way none of their grandchildren would be placed in a situation where they might feel whakamā[19].

The students themselves also provided important learning opportunities, especially for Ted who experienced at first hand the strong relationship and responsibilities that operate within the tuakana-teina relationship. This first emerged when the actors went to lunch at McDonalds. To Ted's surprise some of the food went uneaten. It transpired, however, that these students (as tuākana) were not about to waste their food. They were saving it for their younger siblings (their tēina), who were at home and missing out on the treat. Understanding of the cultural relationship of tuakana teina and the responsibilities that come with it was to bring benefits to the tutoring relationship in the first study and to subsequent studies that employed older or more experienced students working to assist younger or less skilled students.

Part of the reconstruction of Pause Prompt Praise involved many hui around choosing the best name for the resource. The name emerged as a result of this careful and thorough consultation. Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi can be directly translated as pause prompt praise, however in Māori, tautoko carries the message of supporting rather than prompting and tauawhi carries implicit messages of awhi (embracing) atawhai (kindness) and aroha (love). These are messages implicit in the warm supportive relationship characterised in effective tutoring relationships.

Two members of this kaumātua group, Rangiwhakaehu and Pomare, then travelled to Dunedin with Wai and Kathryn to edit the video. They met with two kaumātua from the South Island, Mori Pickering (Ngāi Tahu) and Huata Holmes (Ngāi Tahu,

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[19] Metge (1989) describes the complexity of this word, seeing it as characterised by withdrawal or unresponsiveness and used to convey feelings or behaviours that exemplify inadequacy or hurt.

Waitaha), who added their advice and also appeared on the video. Of note is the fact that Pomare Sullivan was blind. Pomare listened to the sound track from every possible piece of video footage in order to assist in the selection of examples that would portray the students and the key messages from Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi in their best light. Pomare always wore a small tape recorder and would often tape conversations. He taped much of the footage that was presented to him so that he was able to re-listen to the pieces long after he had left the editing suite.

Just as Walker (1978) urges us to unlock the messages in our myths, kaumātua participation had ensured that important cultural images and messages appeared on the video. The video (Atvars, & Glynn, 1992), including the opening and closing shots, is rich in important cultural images, metaphors and messages from te ao Māori. The video begins with Ranginui the ancestral meetinghouse on Hairini marae. Metaphorically, this meetinghouse, as with all other meetinghouses, represents an ancestor, both as their body and as the ancestral home for all of their descendants. Ranginui is the ancestor that this meetinghouse is named after. It is here that his descendents have and will continue to celebrate important occasions such as marriages, Treaty negotiations and wānanga, and it is here that the vast majority will be returned when they die. Rangiteaorere, Tamihana and Manu, three of the kaumātua from this marae, who supported the process, sit alongside Wai and Ted. The meetinghouse represents the generations of people from this marae who have passed on, connecting them with those who are living and yet to be born, thus connecting the past with the present and the future. As well as making these important connections, the meetinghouse is also viewed as the repository of cultural knowledge, while the kaumātua, as mentioned earlier, represent the caretakers of this cultural knowledge for the well-being of future generations. The karakia offered by Rangiteaorere formerly connects the past with the present and the spiritual world with the physical world. Tamihana then makes explicit connections to Hairini and the people of this marae and signals their support of this video. The video was understood by these kaumātua to be contributing to language and cultural revitalisation for their tamariki mokopuna (progeny), and their participation as proactive and self-determining.

The presence of Wai, a senior woman within this group, exemplifies the important reciprocity of the roles of men and women and the interdependent nature of their cultural relationship. Furthermore, Ted's presence as a Pākehā within this group of

Māori exemplifies the acknowledgement of the group and Ted's appreciation of his place and his responsibilities within the development and implementation of the resource. Given that it is a group constituted through Māori cultural processes that address power relationships, Ted was included as a member within the group rather than as an outside expert. As a member of this group, Ted was to have responsibilities to the group the same as any other member.

Within the video Wai, as the narrator, and Rangiwhakaehu in her role as one of the cultural advisors, indicate that the video is ready to go out around the country for others to use. The kaumātua from the South Island, take the mauri (life force or spiritual essence) back to the place where the video was edited (Dunedin) by responding to Wai and Rangwhakaehu's messages. Images of their tribal lands add strength to the messages from Huata and Mori. Huata acknowledges the people who have produced this video and the places that they have come from, welcoming the use of the resource for others. Mori's karanga is to the children who have appeared on the video and who have been a part of the project. The offering of this resource to others in this way strongly supports the traditional belief, as discussed in chapter two, that knowledge is a quality, not a commodity one can have or own. One may discover knowledge, but not possess it. There is no individual ownership of knowledge, rather, creating and protecting it is a collective enterprise.

Through these important cultural images and messages the video presents, in a clear and didactic manner, the optimum contexts for implementation of the Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi procedures and the procedures themselves. Within this portion of the video there are further important cultural messages to do with the common kaupapa, the clear sense of importance and excitement that comes from learning (about the culture) from and in the Māori language itself. This principle of the inseparability of culture and language is richly conveyed in the metaphors in the following whakataukī.

>Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori.
>
>Tōku reo, tōku oho oho.
>
>Tōku reo, tōku mapihi maurea.
>
>Tōku reo, tōku whakakai marihi.
>
>*The Māori language is the principle life force of Māori.*
>
>*My language, my inspiration.*

My language, my special 'ornament'.

My language, my special treasure.

Language is an essential skill that not only helps us to communicate but also helps to identify our culture and who we are. Barnard (2003) asserts that: "the connection between children's language and their cognitive and cultural development is so close as to be indivisible" (p.1). He cites the term "languaculture," coined by Agar (1994) to indicate the inseparability of language and learning. Drawing from a socio-cultural perspective, Barnard emphasises that language is the main tool by which learning is mediated: "language is the cultural tool by which common knowledge is sought and mutual understanding is reached" (p.1).

The second message comes from the warm and supportive relationships that best support the tutoring interactions. In her narration, Wai points out the importance of avoiding material and situations that may "kei patu te wairua o to tamaiti" (attack the spirituality of the child) (Atvars, & Glynn, 1992). The context in which the child learns is paramount to the learning process, as is the important cultural understanding that the child is central to the learning process within the support of whānau, hapū and iwi (Pere, 1994).

Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi: The Resource

As with the Pause Prompt Praise resource, the Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi resource provides strategies to support older low progress readers with more opportunities to self-correct errors and to practise problem-solving strategies when challenged by unknown words in their reading. Tutors are trained first to preview the story, thus contextualising it with the reader, before the story is read. The tutor then assists the reader using the following tutoring procedures. The first procedure involves tatari, or pausing briefly when a reader makes an error thus allowing the reader an opportunity for self-correction. Where the error is not self-corrected, tutors next offer different types of tautoko (prompts) to support the reader in understanding the meaning of the word. The first type of prompt is the pānui tonu (read-on) or whakahokia (read-again) prompt, which assists readers to pay closer attention to any clues that may be in the context of the sentence, in which the error occurred. The second type of prompt provides the reader with information or clues about the meaning of the word (tautoko kia mārama ai). However, where the error indicates that the reader has already come close to understanding the meaning of the word, the tutor may use the third type of

prompt which cues the reader to use phonemic information (tautoko kia ata whakarongo), or visual information (kia ata titiro ai). Tutors also give tauawhi (specific praise) to reinforce readers' use of independent strategies such as self-corrections and corrections following tutor prompts, as well as correct reading. Finally, tutors are trained to conclude their tutoring sessions by reviewing the story read, with their reader.

Study One: Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi, in a Māori language Immersion Setting

In 1993, when this first study was carried out, there was no nationally recognised way of organising Māori language reading materials into increasing levels of difficulty nor were there procedures for determining what successful reading in Māori by second language learners might look like. In order to monitor students' reading progress in Māori the research-whānau needed to first develop appropriate reading assessment procedures. In this first Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi study, individual students' reading achievement was monitored by analysing audiotapes of three-minute samples of oral reading in Māori. Teachers were asked to identify appropriate instructional texts for each of the students in the study. At two separate times, students were then asked to read the same texts onto audiotapes (pre and post assessments). The audiotapes were analysed using an oral reading data analysis sheet. These three-minute reading samples provided data on:

- *reading rate*, the number of correct and also incorrect words per minute;

- *self-correction rate*, the overall rate of errors self-corrected;

- *reading accuracy*, the percentage of words read correctly.

With the decision to monitor children's reading in Māori using three-minute reading samples, the initial ten-week trial of Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi in a peer-tutoring context with seven tuakana-teina (tutor-tutee) pairs took place (Glynn, Atvars, Furlong, & Teddy, 1993, Glynn, Atvars, Furlong, & Davies, et al., 1993). This study highlighted the cultural context of the tuakana-teina relationship. Within a Māori context, the relationship carried with it more than just the connotation of peer tutoring or buddy support. As already noted, the relationship also carried cultural understandings to do with the relationship of an elder sibling towards a younger sibling including the rights and responsibilities that each has towards the other within

a kinship relationship. In this context, tutoring sessions lasted 15 minutes and took place two to three times a week.

Tuākana (tutors) readily learned to implement the Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi procedures. Following training, tuākana greatly increased their use of tatari (pausing), and increased their already considerable use of tauawhi (specific praise). Tuākana also increased their use of tautoko (prompting) and reduced their reliance on simply telling their tēina (tutees) the correct word.

By the end of the first trial, tēina had increased their correct reading rate (from 38 to 43 words per minute) and slightly decreased their incorrect reading rate (from 2.4 to 1.8 words per minute). Tēina were also able to self-correct more of their errors following the Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi tutoring, given by their tuākana. Tuākana, who in their own reading were already displaying higher correct rates than tēina, did not further increase this. However, like their tēina, tuākana reduced their incorrect reading rate, from 1.6 to 0.6 words per minute. These results were consistent with those from previous Pause Prompt Praise research studies reporting gains for tutors as well as tutees in English language peer-tutored reading contexts (Houghton, & Bain, 1993; Houghton, & Glynn, 1993; Limbrick, McNaughton, & Glynn, 1985; Medcalf, & Glynn, 1987; Tavener, & Glynn, 1989; Wheldall, & Mettem, 1985).

By the end of the first Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi trial, the research-whānau had developed the Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi training video (Atvars, & Glynn, 1992), and written training resources (Harawira, Glynn, & Durning, 1993; Atvars, Berryman, & Glynn, 1994). These resources won a New Zealand Education Institute Excellence award in 1993. The research findings and resources were returned to Hairini marae to share with kaumātua and other whānau members. One outcome of this presentation was that kaumātua made two decisions. The first decision was that others around the country should receive access to and training in the resource and the second was that funding should be sought to take the resource and research findings to the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference in Education to be held in Wollongong, Australia in 1993. Kathryn took responsibility for continuing to lead this process.

Professional Development

The SES Corporate Management Team funded the delivery of a national professional development programme. Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi training was offered to Māori field workers in ten SES areas across the country. This resulted in the development of

training and certification processes that involved two separate levels of training. The first level involved the field staff being trained to use the procedures themselves, thus gaining a *user's* certificate. The second level involved the field staff training parents, whānau members or teachers to use the procedures while members of the research-whānau monitored the training and provided feedback. Adherence to kaupapa Māori procedures, cultural protocols and practices, was a vital component in the training, and a key requirement in the demonstration of competency with the Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi procedures. Members of the research-whānau also scored audio-taped Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi sessions provided by the field staff to confirm this aspect of their competency. These requirements were stringently adhered to and eighteen Māori field staff completed all training requirements and gained their *trainer's* certificate.

World Indigenous People's Conference in Education

Members of the research-whānau including kaumātua, parents, a student, teachers, other SES educators and Ted travelled to Wollongong to present the resource and the initial research findings at the World Indigenous Peoples Conference in Education in Wollongong. Indigenous people from all over the world attended the conference speaking on a wide range of educational topics. The research-whānau attended many workshops that theorised about the implications of colonial domination and indigenous peoples' struggle for self-determination. While our presentation did not explicitly espouse these theories we set out to show how our work modelled a culturally appropriate response for change, or as defined by Smith (1997), *transformative praxis*. The research-whānau had two presentations accepted, an ongoing static display during the week and a paper presentation of the first study towards the end of the conference. The static display involved showing two videos, the English Pause Prompt Praise and the Māori Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi, set up to play simultaneously, as well as a series of large charts that included photographs of the peer tutoring/tuākana tēina pairs, along with data from their results and specific instructions on how to implement the procedures. A rotation of whānau members ensured that there was always someone available to speak to the display.

> Mere: Our display was tucked away in what seemed like the remotest corner
> of the display hall, furthest away from the entrance. I remember some of us
> were rather disappointed by the space we had been allocated, having hoped for
> a better location that people could not fail to miss. Our kaumātua told us not to

worry, to present our display in the best possible way and to be patient. I remember as soon as we turned on the Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi video with its traditional flute music, people were drawn to our display from all corners of the hall. Once there, our people and the images of the work itself ensured a constant stream of interested people.

Ted: I was impressed by the people who found us obviously by having heard and followed the music. However, I remember one of the things that impressed the people who came to our display was actually finding that the people on the video were present there to talk and engage with.

On the day of the paper presentation, Ted, the only one of the research-whānau who had presented in such a forum, was the most nervous. His unease came from his sincere belief and respect for the principle of self-determination for indigenous peoples. Despite his acceptance by a Māori controlled research-whānau, he maintained an ongoing uncertainty around his own place in this space. In my mind, there was also the question of whether we would be challenged for having translated a reading resource designed for the English language into a reading resource designed for and delivered in the Māori language. The practice of translating existing English resources from across the curriculum into Māori for Māori medium education was being strongly questioned at the time. Although this was quick and convenient, many people were questioning whether it was effective practice, or just another method of majority imposition. Importantly also, given the phonemic regularity of the Māori language and the limited Māori language experiences of many Māori students entering Māori medium classrooms at five (Berryman, et al., 2001; Ngā Kete Kōrero Framework Team, 1996), reading in Māori for emergent readers was proving to have quite different challenges to reading in English. Many Māori medium students had been quick to grasp the regular phonemes of the Māori language in order to master the grapho-phonics of reading in Māori. However, their limited oral language knowledge soon outstripped their ability to talk (in Māori) about, what they had read.

Given these constraints and others that can arise when presenting papers at conferences, we knew timing and planning was critical and had carefully planned for these contingencies. The research-whānau wanted the paper to speak to other indigenous peoples about their cultural journey. The paper included much more than a

literacy resource and outcome data which meant that all eight members of the group needed to be involved.

Pomare began the paper formally with karakia in which he acknowledged the indigenous peoples of Australia. He greeted them, then, he made links to Māori and to us as a reseach-whānau. Rangiwhakaehu and Kathryn followed by talking about the genesis of the resource. I participated by giving a live demonstration of the procedures, albeit in English, with Kathryn's son Maia, a student from the first study, and so the presentation continued. As planned, and unheard by our audience, our contributions were meticulously timed by Pomare who had set his watch to beep quietly when our respective times had finished. An inconspicuous signal from him meant we needed to speed up our presentation or it was time to sit down. Our presentation went to plan and in the pre-allocated time, we called for questions from the audience. Several questions and comments were raised before Scott, a young indigenous academic who had been our guide at the conference, wanted to know why and how a non-indigenous academic was allowed or able to orchestrate a group of indigenous people in this way. Undoubtedly, rightly or wrongly, Ted's fears were starkly realised. The question took the rest of us by surprise, given that we clearly understood that the power lay with our kaumātua and not with Ted. However, it was obvious that this was not understood by all of the audience. In respect to kaumātua participation Bishop (1996c) emphasises:

> There is no equivalent position with this sort of power in traditional research groups. Within a whānau of interest research group, this senior elder has the power to facilitate, to veto, to control, to question, to chastise, to guide, and above all to cherish and nurture, indeed the venerable power of an esteemed elder member of a functioning family. Such interactions and positionings are evidence of what non-Māori people would refer to as ethical, management or control mechanisms within the research group. In whānau of interest research groups, such controls are constituted in the same way as traditional whānau, as taonga tuku iho, literally those treasures passed down to us from the ancestors, those customs that guide behaviour and relationships.

(p.15)

Indeed for the research-whānau, kaumātua participation was and still is unequivocal. Furthermore, kaumātua had determined and supported the participation of this

particular non-Māori from the outset. Kaumātua had responded from a traditional Māori perspective. Understanding one's place within whānau structures and the commitment that this requires of every member is paramount. Ted, like the rest of the research-whānau had, and continues to have, only one voice. For us the principles that underpin the power relationships in our research-whānau was and remains through the guidance, protection and leadership of kaumātua.

Kaumātua had also responded from a Treaty of Waitangi perspective. Kaumātua and research-whānau members clearly understood, in accordance with the Treaty of Waitangi, that if Article 2 (protection) had been upheld then Māori would not need to be actively seeking to re-vitalise the language and culture today. They also understood that this was a problem created by two peoples, therefore a vision, focused on raising Māori students' achievement while at the same time revitalising the traditional language and cultural aspirations through whānau participation, needed access to a wide range of expertise. We understood that under Articles 1 and 3 of the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori were promised partnership and participation respectively. Therefore non-Māori as Treaty partners had an obligation to collaborate with Māori so that Māori could access benefits of participation in education.

Pomare and Rangiwhakaehu had led this conference presentation as they had been leading our practice since the koha had been brought back to Tauranga. Scott's question however raised many questions for us around how others (indigenous and non-indigenous) perceived our relationships and interactions. While Ted's participation was clearly acknowledged and supported by the research-whānau it was clearly not appreciated by indigenous people outside of the research-whānau, and perhaps for different reasons, nor was it understood by many of Ted's non-Māori academic colleagues, some of whom had openly expressed difficulty understanding why he would want to work with a Māori group from the North Island. Was this because they too wondered whether he was intruding in the manner of a *colonising academic* or was it because they thought he was compromising his own academic career? Ted and Pomare continued to reflect on Scott's question. Pomare's advice for Ted was to continue learning the language and take the opportunities to contribute when Māori sought him out to do so. Pomare died not long after this conference. However, his insightfulness, wisdom and humour remain with us to this day.

As indigenous and non-indigenous peoples continue to try to understand the place of power in bicultural relationships and interactions, Scott's question remains relevant today, within this research-whānau and within similar groups all over the world. Ironically, as the research-whānau strove to develop greater independence and autonomy by developing relationships of co-operation and co-existence with others, and work in ways that were self-determining, we continued to face these challenges from Māori and non-Māori alike. We know that if we do not keep this tension at the forefront of our work then we are in danger of reverting to an ideology of assimilation or subjugation rather than explore cross-cultural partnerships that are safe and beneficial for Māori, as a counter hegemonic stance of transformative praxis.

Study Two: Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi in a bilingual Setting

In 1994, Rangiwhakaehu and another key person from the first study at Maungatapu had shifted to work in the school where I was senior teacher in charge of a Māori medium bilingual unit. They brought with them their considerable skills and expertise in Māori knowledge and in the use of Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi. Hence, the second study, which built on the findings from the Maungatapu study, was implemented with students from a Māori immersion and bilingual teaching syndicate at Mount Maunganui Intermediate School.

Monitoring and Assessment in a Māori Language Context

Although the assessment procedures used in the first trial of Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi provided very worthwhile information, I had two concerns. As previously mentioned, given the phonemic regularity of the Māori language, and because students had shown low levels of self-correction, I was concerned that students might be reading with high levels of reading accuracy but with little comprehension. I also wanted to be able to present students with texts at increasing levels of difficulty rather than use the same texts for both teaching/tutoring and assessment. Accordingly, the second Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi project provided opportunities to further refine and trial these reading assessment procedures. With the support of fluent native speaking Māori medium teachers a range of Māori language texts was selected and arranged into increasing levels of difficulty. Comprehension probes (comprised of both oral questions and oral cloze items) were then developed for each text. We then adapted the previous assessment procedures to take these new developments into account. The Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi procedures now involved:

1. Preview of text. The researcher began the session with a brief discussion of the story relating it to the reader's experience. The reader was then given three minutes to read the story independently.

2. Oral recall questions (comprehension task). The researcher then asked three oral questions. If the student was unable to answer any of the questions correctly the researcher chose another book at an easier level. If the student got at least one correct answer they were then asked to proceed the assessment with that book.

3. The three-minute oral reading sample. This was the timed three-minute, audio taped sample of students' oral reading. Prior to reading, it was explained to the student that when they heard the timer signal they could read to the end of the sentence before stopping. The audiotapes were analysed using a further refined oral reading data analysis sheet.

4. Oral Cloze (comprehension task). The student was then presented with a cloze card that included appropriate picture clues. Each cloze used a sample from the identical reading text with target words blanked out. The researcher read the text to the student with the appropriate words omitted. Each time an omission occurred, the student was asked to supply the word that would best fit in the gap. Exact word and appropriate word substitutions were accepted.

The three-minute reading samples now provided data on:

- *reading rate,* the number of correct and also incorrect words per minute;

- *self correction rate,* the overall rate of errors self-corrected;

- *reading accuracy,* the percentage of words read correctly;

- *comprehension accuracy,* the percentage of combined (oral questions and cloze) correct responses to comprehension probes;

- *book level,* the research-whānau allocated the level of text difficulty at which each student should begin reading.

This study monitored both the Māori and English reading progress of 26 tuākana-tēina pairs and eight control students from three Māori immersion and bilingual classes (Berryman, et al., 1995; Glynn, et al., 1996). To reiterate, in this study a system of increasing levels of text difficulty and comprehension probes were incorporated into

the reading assessment process and the three-minute reading assessment procedures were conducted in both English and in Māori.

Results showed that tēina students progressed successfully (meeting the criteria for accuracy and comprehension) through increasingly difficult levels of Māori reading texts, they increased their correct reading rate by 15 words per minute and lowered their incorrect rate by almost two words per minute. They also increased their comprehension scores by between 20 and 46 percent. Tuākana students also benefited from participating in the tutoring role. They made gains through increasingly difficult text levels and increased their correct reading rate by 7 words per minute. They also slightly lowered their incorrect rate (0.8 words per minute) while increasing their comprehension scores by up to 41 percent.

In this study, all students read exclusively Māori language texts during classroom reading times and the Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi procedures were implemented predominantly in Māori. However, gains were made also by both tēina and tuākana on measures of reading in English. Tēina improved their English reading levels and increased their comprehension in English by 20 percent. Tuākana also improved their English reading levels and increased their comprehension in English by 25 percent. Again important cultural learning also took place.

It was an intention of this study to have a control group of students with whom to compare progress of students in the intervention. Rangiwhakaehu and the teachers however viewed this group as *missing out*. The cultural challenge that came with Western research expectations of a control group, used to determine the benefits of some students as opposed to benefits for all students, was debated and seen to be inappropriate. Therefore, it was decided that in the time set aside for tutoring, the control group would receive an alternative but equally beneficial intervention that focussed instead on traditional Māori games and pastimes. Literacy gains made by the control students were indeed smaller than those of the tutoring students. However, it would almost certainly be true to say that, if measures of the knowledge and skills of other literacy genre such as traditional Māori games and past-times had been taken, the control group's performance on these measures would have outweighed the tutoring group. As with the first study, students again demonstrated their understanding of, and value for, the tuākana-tēina relationship and its two-way

responsibilities, thus highlighting the inseparable linkages between language learning and cultural learning.

Two further and inter-related studies were Ngā Kete Kōrero (The Language Baskets) and the use of Pause Prompt Praise in a bicultural setting. The findings from Study Two fed directly into assessments developed for Ngā Kete Kōrero, as discussed next.

Ngā Kete Kōrero

Ngā Kete Kōrero was a New Zealand Ministry of Māori Development study in which Ted and I participated. This study produced, for the first time, a national framework for assessing the levels of difficulty in junior Māori language reading resources (Ngā Kete Kōrero Framework Team, 1996). The three-minute reading assessment procedures were further employed in the second phase of this study and were directly responsible for helping to identify books at the Kete Pīngao (early fluency) and Miro (fluency stages) reading stages in Māori.

These three-minute assessment procedures subsequently become known as Iti Rearea and are being used in some Māori language classrooms for assessing student's reading at the early fluency and fluency stages. This name comes from a well known Māori whakataukī from the Tūhoe tribal area. Elders from Maungapohatu gave Wai permission to use their whakataukī in this manner. In full this whakataukī is:

> Iti rearea
>
> Teitei kahikatea
>
> Ka taea

The rearea, a small (iti) bird from the forests of Tūhoe, and kahikatea, the tallest trees in the forest, serve as metaphors for the ability to overcome challenge. In this case they refer to the reader's ability to progress through increasing levels of text with greater success. Although the rearea is the smallest bird in the forest it can fly to the tops of the kahikatea trees. When applied to the three-minute assessment procedure, iti rearea is seen as a means of capturing a small sample of reading that when carefully analysed can provide formative information to guide and assist readers' progress.

Pause Prompt Praise in a bicultural setting

While the Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi procedures had proven to be highly effective for Māori students learning to read in Māori language classrooms, the great majority of Māori students are in mainstream classes, and many of them require additional support when learning to read in English. The research-whānau decided to train volunteer Māori adults, many of them grandparents, who were members of Ngāi Te Rangi Iwi (local tribal) Social Services group and the Māori Women's Welfare League, to tutor low progress Māori students using Pause Prompt Praise. These senior Māori women each worked individually with up to three Māori students who needed help with their reading. Being able to connect with and relate to their readers from a cultural perspective (whakawhanaungatanga) enabled the women to establish their own relationships with the students, as well as to implement the reading tutoring strategies. This ensured that the readers were working within a responsive, social, learning context that was also culturally safe. All the students in this study made positive reading gains. In due course, these results were reported to the Ministry of Education who had funded the project. A presentation of the outcomes of this study, at a national Māori Women's Welfare League conference in Gisborne, saw members of the league commit their support to the programme on a national basis.

From Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi to a Research Centre

Conducting these literacy projects established and strengthened the relationships amongst a group of people committed to working as a research-whānau to promote more effective educational opportunities for Māori students and families, while also promoting the revitalisation and maintenance of Māori culture and language. We understood that research was used to inform practice and practice in turn could be used to inform research. We wanted to be able to concentrate on other research opportunities that would enable the ongoing reflective nature of this work to continue so as to improve education opportunities for Māori. Although members of this research-whānau were working in different jobs and in different parts of the country, the writing of proposals to set up a research centre began in earnest. Kathryn and I, with Ted and Rangiwhakaehu's support, wrote a number of proposals to set up a research centre and presented proposals to anyone who was in a position to fund such a centre.

At the time, SES had a Tangatawhenua Policy based on the following whakatauākī reportedly used by Potatau at his coronation ceremony in Ngaruawahia in 1858 (Kelly, 1949).

Kotahi te kōhao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro mā, te miro pango, te miro whero.	There is but one eye of the needle through which passes the white thread, the black thread, the red thread.

This whakatauākī simultaneously endorses cultural diversity and the path of one culture to determine its own destiny within a nation of others. It challenges assimilation policies and practices that impose mono-cultural responses. Instead, the whakatauākī points to the integrity of separate but entwined pathways. Te Miro Mā (the white thread) represents the influence of non-Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi. Te Miro Pango (the black thread) represents Māori influence and Te Miro Whero (the red thread) represents a bi-cultural perspective where both cultures work together in collaboration. The three threads, although entwined, remain separate and distinct. They do not *blend* as would different colours of paint. Each strand is seen in relation to the other, representing its own unique authority and integrity, while at the same time all threads are interdependent, working together (Berryman, et al., 1999). The principles of partnership, protection and participation (Durie, 1998) from the Treaty of Waitangi were also integrated into the SES Services for Tangatawhenua policy.

In 1994, the proposal to set up a research centre at Tauranga was argued on the basis of the Tangatawhenua Policy, specifically with regard to the implementation of Policy Point IV: The three threads for the future. This point outlined how work centres would be set up within SES centres to deliver appropriate quality services to tangatawhenua. The proposal sought permission and funding to establish a work centre at Tauranga to support Māori field staff in all areas by developing and trialling culturally appropriate resources in order to respond more effectively to Māori clients. The resources would include the development of learning programmes, assessment tools and behaviour intervention programmes specifically for Māori. The proposal also stated a clear commitment to operating in culturally inclusive ways by ensuring adherence to kaupapa Māori procedures. While many people applauded the kaupapa and our

commitment to this vision, only Ross Wilson, the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of SES at the time, was prepared to provide the means to make this happen.

Ross Wilson's decision to fund the setting up of a research centre within SES, with a mandate to focus specifically on working with Māori whānau in order to respond more effectively to ensure Māori students' participation in education, caused immediate speculation within the organisation as to where such a centre would be located. Naively we had expected that it would be located in Tauranga and remain with us. The SES Kaumātua Kaunihera (Council of Elders) had other ideas. The Kaumātua Kaunihera was a particularly strong pan-tribal group of elders, who provided cultural advice to the SES Board about the way SES should be organised to benefit their Māori staff and clients. The Tainui[20] elders, at least, thought the research centre should be located in the Waikato SES district. Having seemingly passed all of the hoops in terms of accountability to a Crown organisation we were now going to be held accountable by Māori and be judged by a group of esteemed kaumātua. We knew that they would be an extremely critical audience because they too, had a stake in the outcomes for their own whānau. The location of the Māori research centre was put onto the agenda of a Kaumātua Kaunihera hui to be held on Kirikiriroa marae at Hamilton in the Waikato. We put a case for this part of the agenda to be held in Tauranga so that kaumātua could meet the students and whānau from our latest research project. By this time Wai also held a national SES Kairaranga position and worked closely with Matewai McCudden and the Kaumātua Kaunihera. Eventually, after a lot of debate, the group agreed to meet in Tauranga.

Strategically, we located this hui on Hungahungatoroa marae, the marae that many of the students from the second Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi study and their whānau could whakapapa (establish genealogical connections) to. This marae also had direct links to Hairini marae. Importantly Rangiwhakaehu's daughter, Ani, was also in charge of catering on this marae. The students understood the importance of the occasion and were well prepared for the task. As part of the host group, they supported their koroua and kuia (grandparents) to welcome these important guests. Matewai had organised a fleet of Previa vans and delegated drivers to move members of the Kaumātua Kaunihera the 100 plus kilometres from their meeting in Hamilton to Hunghungatoroa

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[20] Elders and leaders from the confederation of tribes located in the Waikato district.

marae. One of the drivers delegated with the responsibility of bringing these kaumātua to Tauranga was Ted.

> Ted: I was extremely nervous with the responsibility entrusted in me. Here I was driving one of the vans loaded with key kaumātua, many of whom I did not know. While trying to drive carefully I was also trying to take an intelligent role in conversation while struggling to answer the barrage of questions being asked of me, in both English and Māori. The thought of what might happen if I crashed the van over a cliff or into a tree petrified me. I arrived at Hungahungatoroa literally shaking at the knees while everyone else in the van was laughing loudly and in very high spirits. However, when I saw the kaumātua, whānau and students from Tauranga Moana, there to welcome us, I knew then that I was meant to be more than an *outsider* in this group.

During the welcoming speeches the students listened intently to the challenges that were issued from both sides as to the purpose of the hui and after their koroua had spoken they stood and sang his waiata[21]. When the formal rituals of encounter had ended, food was shared before the main agenda of the hui was pursued once more, this time in English. We talked about the benefits from our recent research and also pointed out that this was not about Tauranga capturing a resource that would not be accessible anywhere else. Already this work had pan tribal connections with members of the research-whānau representing many tribes. This part of the hui culminated in the students performing action songs and haka for the guests and a sumptuous meal prepared especially for the occasion under Ani's direction.

After the meal, the poroporoaki[22] took place. As members of the Kaumātua Kaunihera stood to have their final say, we knew that we had convinced them that the research centre would be safe in Tauranga. Matewai talked about leaving the Waikato on a cloudy dark day and when the convoy of vans carrying the kaumātua reached the summit of the Kaimai range overlooking Tauranga, they could all see Tauranga

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[21] After speech making, traditional waiata are sung to enhance the speaker's message. In some areas the singing of waiata is also considered important in ensuring the speaker is returned to a state of noa or free from the restrictions imposed by the rituals of speech making.

[22] One role of porporoaki is to reiterate the events of a hui, discuss benefits that arose, state future outcomes and thank the hosts.

bathed in bright sunshine. She for one had taken this as a prodigious sign for the future location of the research centre, and now there were others who voiced their agreement. The parameters for setting up the research centre could now begin in earnest.

In memory of the important role undertaken by Tamihana, Manu, Rangiteaorere, and Pomare, in paving the way for our research-whānau we extend to them, a poroporoaki[23].

> Koutou kua takahia atu ki te pūmatomato ki Tikitiki-o-Rangi.
>
> Tēnei te papakowhaititia i ngā rārangi korowai, aroha, kupu whakatau, i ngā whakaaro maioha mo koutou kua riro atu ki te pō kenakena.
>
> Haere ki Hawaiki taputapuātea o Tāwhaki, te marae tapu o Io Matua Kore, e moe, takoto, okioki i raro i te toiongarangi o Io Matua Pūtahi.
>
> He rarangi tāngata ki te whenua ngaro noa, ngaro noa.
>
> Ānei ngā rarangi īngoa e whai ake nei:
>
> Tamihana Reweti,
>
> Manu Te Pere,
>
> Rangiteaorere Heke,
>
> Pomare Sullivan.

The participation of Tamihana, Manu, Rangiteaorere, and Pomare, demonstrated the importance of involving kaumātua, at all stages of the research process. These kaumātua provided the cultural authority and guiding wisdom to both nurture as well as question critically. Their participation ensured that the group would be redirected if necessary onto safer, more culturally appropriate pathways, thus providing safety for the group and importantly for the kaupapa that had brought us together, and also for those with whom we engaged.

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[23] Another role of poroporoaki is to allow the living to speak directly to the deceased after they have passed on and their spirits have ascended to the heavens. A translation of this poroporoaki is in the Appendices, Appendix 1.

Summary

The metaphor for this chapter comprises tutakitahitanga (to meet, to encounter and to come together). Literally this metaphor speaks of the coming together of a group of people. Members of this group talk about the events, agenda and people that brought them together as a research-whānau. Wearmouth (2002), in line with Bruner (1990), suggests that, "… any story must be told by a person and that it will inevitably carry the voice of its narrator. Experience will be reconstrued through a particular set of personal lenses" (p.30). Bruner (1986) terms this process as *subjectification* and sees:

> … the depiction of reality not through an omniscient eye that views a timeless reality, but through the filter of the consciousness of protagonists in the story… We see only the realities of the characters themselves… viewing only the shadows of events we can never know directly."

> (p.25)

Accordingly, we acknowledge that these events and common experiences come from particular research-whānau members. We respect that others within the research-whānau may have viewed their own experiences in these events, differently.

The external events that impacted upon the work and understandings of the research-whānau and the themes that emerged from this part of the journey and the case study outlined in this chapter are summarised in table 5.1 below. These themes are then discussed in detail in Chapter nine.

Table 5.1: Summary of Emerging Themes

Chapter Five: Important Contextual Events	
Kōhanga Reo graduates precipitate the growth of Kura Kaupapa Māori	• Push for language and cultural revitalisation • Lack of specific knowledge and resources for Māori medium settings • The need for committed educators collaborating with whānau
Name of the Case Study	**The significance of the study and the new learning for the research-whānau**
Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi	• Two world views acknowledged • Importance of the kaupapa • Importance of kaumātaua and whānau participation • Learning how taonga tuku iho could be applied in practice and learning from that practice • Complementary roles and responsibilities • Proactively working with success (rather than actively working with failure) • Usefulness of a quantitative research methods to answer questions of importance to the research-whānau

Whānau, Kaupapa and Taonga Tuku Iho

This story began with the laying down of the koha at Poho o Rawiri Marae, whereby the power to initiate, to accept or leave the koha, were with Māori. A group of people, constituted as a whānau, began to emerge. The koha was returned to their own marae, led by kaumātua and within the very culture of that iwi. As such, Māori metaphors and cultural aspirations or taonga tuku iho were central and *normal* to the way the whānau related and interacted. Accepting the koha and returning with it at the level of hapū and whānau ensured the continued initiation, definition and legitimation were with Māori and, importantly, guided by kaumātua. The whānau had come together to collaborate on the kaupapa of raising the achievement of their own children through Māori language and cultural revitalisation, within a resource development and research agenda. The story continues.

Chapter Six: Te Arataki

Introduction

This chapter continues by outlining the continued growth of the research-whānau within a research centre. It is mainly concerned with four case-studies that are seen as important next steps in our research journey. These four studies were chosen as interventions that address the complexity of education and the challenges faced by Māori students and their families by utilising the skills of people from their own communities. The four case-studies are (case study two through to five):

- Hei Āwhina Mātua which developed and evaluated a home and school behaviour programme (Glynn, et al., 1997).

- Tuhi Atu Tuhi Mai which involved a responsive writing programme applied using tuākana and tēina writing responders in a Māori language context (Glynn, et al., 2000).

- The Rotorua Home and School Literacy Project in which nine primary schools in Rotorua participated in a community-based home and school literacy intervention (Glynn, Berryman, & Glynn, 2000a).

- An evaluation of the service delivery of two Māori Resource Teachers, Guidance and Learning, the basis of which were the cultural issues arising from their work and training (Glynn, Atvars, & O'Brien, 1999).

Each of the four studies brought with it new people, new relationships and new themes from which to learn. Overarching themes were the importance of the cultural context in which the research-whānau were able to collaborate, and the increasing impact of dual lines of accountability to Māori and to our Crown agency employer.

Establishing a Research Centre

Ross Wilson as the CEO of SES in 1994 had a huge impact on the research-whānau when he accepted the proposal to establish a separate research centre focussed entirely on research and resource development and aimed at raising Māori student achievement. While there was excitement around the vision becoming a reality, aspects of the setting up were also very daunting.

The funding provided rental for a working space and all reasonable associated running and communication costs including a work car. It also covered salary for one full time staff member and someone to provide overall management of the centre. Kathryn took up the full time staff position and Wai who was already in an SES national Kairaranga (Māori Advisor) position, became the manager. Her new role of research centre manager was to be carried out on top of an already crowded work schedule that required regular national travel. This was further complicated by the fact that Wai was not located locally but in Wellington, while she also had homes in Taupo and Ruatoki. Although the management role created administration and working tensions for both Wai and the rest of the research-whānau, strategically it meant that Wai was a part of the National Management Team that was making decisions about the way SES would work with and for Māori. This relationship also linked her with the expertise to make the demands of managing a research centre more achievable. Being positioned out of national office was also important because it resulted in the research centre having a national position rather than being part of any one local district. This close association with the national office has continued to be important to the way the research-whānau have operated because the association facilitates national and pan tribal links.

From the outset it was expected that the research-whānau would write more proposals and that these proposals would cover the costs of research projects and employing new members. Bringing new members into the research-whānau raised two concerns. Some members were concerned about their lack of depth of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori. Other members were also concerned about their lack of research experiences and academic qualifications. The first concern stemmed from an acceptance of accountability to te ao Māori when working specifically in this domain. The second concern stemmed from an acceptance that working within a Crown Agency meant that we owed certain accountabilities and responsibilities to our employers. We also understood that working as researchers and targeting Māori students and their whānau meant that our projects would be closely scrutinised by mainstream and Māori researchers alike. These concerns have continued to be important over the years and we have constantly endeavoured to address them by increasing proficiency in Māori language and gaining more university qualifications ourselves and by bringing new people in with qualifications, or by collaborating with other researchers and universities.

As described in the previous chapter, by this time we were a core group of people working as a whānau and focussed on research and resource development that would improve learning contexts for Māori students. This was despite the fact that we were also working in other positions and for some far removed in terms of location (Dunedin). We were all working towards a time when we would be able to collaborate more closely. In order to achieve this, proposal writing began in earnest.

Choosing a Name for the Centre

Conversations around the naming and branding of the centre, the relationship of the research-whānau to other Māori iwi groups and to the wider SES, the formalisation of goals for the research centre, the roles and responsibilities of existing members, and new roles needed, were happening concurrently. Two metaphors, poutama (the layered ascending steps Tānenuiarangi used in his quest for the baskets of knowledge) and pounamu (nephrite jade or greenstone, traditionally seen by Māori to be very precious), were suggested by various members of the research-whānau as well as a range of whakataukī (metaphorical sayings). The way that the research-whānau had already begun, and would continue to work, was also discussed. Part of this conversation involved the naming of the research centre as the Poutama Pounamu Education Research and Development Centre and the setting of its mission statement. This statement focused on improving the quality of education for Māori students, who were in Māori medium or English medium settings. Given that we were part of SES the focus was also to be on students with special learning and behavioural needs. The centre located within the Bay Of Plenty Polytechnic campus and was formally opened by Ross Wilson on the 26th of February, 1996.

Developing Research Methodology

Research-whānau members first met Russell Bishop (Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Pukeko) during the editing of the Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi video. Ted had already been strongly influenced by and affirmed by Russell in their time together as members of the Education Department at the University of Otago. As a result of these meetings we also began to benefit from Russell's research and publications on empowering research through the application of kaupapa Māori principles (Bishop, 1994) such as whakawhanaungatanga (Bishop, 1996a). These writings connected us to the research and publications of Graham Smith (1990a, 1990b, 1992), Linda Smith (1992, 1997),

and others who had been writing about kaupapa Māori in terms of research and education. Publications such as these supported the direction we were taking. It also highlighted the power of Bishop's model for ensuring that we modelled power-sharing relationships (Bishop, 1994; 1996a; 1997) throughout our research. In this way we could honour the Treaty of Waitangi as well as respond to Māori demands for self-determination. From the work of other Māori researchers, we were better able to understand how traditional Western research paradigms had been able to dominate and marginalise Māori knowledge and ways of knowing in the past, by maintaining power and control over these critical issues. Māori academia provided us with the space and clear directions for the methodology we would employ when conducting our own research.

We would continue to ensure that our research took place in culturally appropriate and safe contexts for Māori, contexts that were responsive to Māori ideas and aspirations. Further, our research at all times would continue to be controlled and determined by Māori (Bishop 1996a; Smith, 1990a; Smith, 1999) and in carrying out that research we would continue to use traditional as well as contemporary Māori knowledge and practices. Finally, in order to produce knowledge from a Māori worldview, we would attempt to interpret our research findings from a Māori worldview and evaluate against standards set by Māori. This highlighted the importance of continuing to seek to engage kaumātua in our projects and ensure that kaumātua were able to participate on their own terms.

The research-whānau agreed that we would continue to embed these understandings into all of their research from the very outset. This decision saw us extend the network of kaumātua on our next research project. The location of the first school determined that we would approach kaumātua who traditionally supported this school and seek out their willingness to participate. Rangiwhakaehu issued an invitation on behalf of the research-whānau to Potahi Gear (Te Arawa, Ngāi Te Rangi) and Tureiti Stockman (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi), and their wives Eileen (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi) and Pareteuaha (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi). Their willingness to participate saw us welcomed to Waikari, their home marae, which became the marae for the following study.

Case Study Two: Hei Āwhina Mātua

The first proposal was to the Ministry of Education (MOE) for Hei Āwhina Mātua (strengthening parents). This project arose from serious concerns raised by kaumātua, family members, early childhood and kōhanga reo kaiako (teachers) and SES workers in Tauranga. They saw an urgent need for positive and effective behaviour management strategies and educational resource materials that focused on the needs of young Māori pre-schoolers. Strategies and resources were required to support kaiako working with families and children in the district. This concern was voiced at two consultative hui (meeting) involving SES and the Kōhanga Reo District Coordinator. These hui resulted in SES staff delivering a training programme to teachers which incorporated elements of tikanga Māori and information on child development. The training programmes involved the development of Individual Education Plans (IEPs), language, special needs, child behaviour management, first aid and health issues as well as community resources. Evaluation and feedback after the delivery of this programme indicated clearly that kaiako wanted further training input in the behavioural area.

Kathryn, together with SES education psychologists from Tauranga and Rotorua, delivered further training, adapted from the Assertive Discipline programme (Canter, & Canter, 1992) and focused on how behaviour is learned. Following this three-day programme, oral and written evaluation from kaiako indicated the need for further and continuing input into child behaviour management.

It became clear that kaiako would benefit from specific training in positive behaviour management principles and practices, such as rule setting and the effective use of antecedents and consequences for changing behaviour. Principles such as these come directly from behaviourist psychology and from a Western worldview. Kōhanga reo teachers challenged the appropriateness of behavioural concepts, principles and negative sanctions packaged and contextualised within programmes such as the American Assertive Discipline programme (Canter, & Canter, 1992). They suggested that from a Māori epistemological perspective, Western psychology such as this may not be appropriate. Furthermore, uncritical implementation of such programmes could lead to continuing, unchallenged colonial imposition and hegemony. Equally of concern were the growing national suspension and expulsion rates of students with challenging behaviours that included disproportionate numbers

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of Māori students. A more positive response to these challenges was seen to be kaupapa Māori research responding to challenging behaviour that incorporated the perspectives of local kaumātua, whānau and teachers throughout the entire research and development process.

Although the Hei Āwhina Mātua project was first conceived to address the needs of kaiako and whānau of children in kōhanga reo settings, my relationships with a local school and our concerns with the growing levels of suspension and expulsion focused the whānau onto intermediate aged students. The manager of the MOE research division at the time was Hans Wagemaker. After negotiation with him, the research proposal was accepted and I was able to consider formally moving from my teaching position to begin working full time with the research-whānau for the duration of the contract. The intention to resign from my teaching position was met with intense disapproval from my own father who could not see why I would want to give up a "good secure" position to work in a short-term contracted position. Furthermore he was concerned that although I said I would be working with Ted, he knew Ted worked in Dunedin. It was decided that he would have to meet Ted for himself. Ted was unaware of the implications behind this meeting. My father and Ted stayed with my family overnight and Ted was given the *once over*. I remember that it was not until I was driving Dad home the next day that he asked what Ted's job was. Dad was less concerned with Ted's profession, however, he was concerned with understanding the kaupapa (agenda) behind my intention to resign from teaching and Ted's place in relation to that kaupapa. In due course Dad agreed to my resignation and, although I know meeting Ted played an important part in this decision, he also had a clearer picture of the kaupapa that was bringing us all together, and he was also very pleased that I would be working closely with Wai who was the daughter of an old friend. The strength of the kaupapa and whanaungatanga (establishing and strengthening networks) had just helped to officially secure my place in the research-whānau.

As well as my personal and professional role merging, for a time my teaching and researcher role also merged as the syndicate of teachers and students with whom I worked became School One on Hei Āwhina Mātua. Hei Āwhina Mātua proposed to take up the challenge of researching ways of overcoming behavioural and learning difficulties encountered by Māori students by listening to the voices of the students themselves. In addition, Hei Āwhina Mātua sought to make decisions with the

students, about what was in the best interests for them when they were challenged by behaviour. This seemed sensible given that socio-cultural perspectives on learning (Vygotsky, 1978; Wearmouth, Glynn, & Berryman, 2005) explain children's learning and intellectual growth in terms of their recurring interdependent social interactions with others. In these contexts interpersonal relationships are both initiated and enhanced through the process of co-constructing knowledge, thus inextricably linking intellectual and interpersonal learning (Glynn et al, 1996). From a Māori cultural position we also knew we stood a better chance of success if we began the work where we already had strong relationships with students and families.

By this time Mate Reweti also worked alongside us in this school and she too became an important part of this research. Although she was not formally employed as part of the research-whānau until some time later, Mate continued to add her voice to the research throughout this and ensuing projects. Ted also strengthened his role in the research-whānau by spending his next period of sabbatical leave in Tauranga working on Hei Āwhina Mātua. The vision of working to improve education settings for Māori students that had drawn us all together was strengthening with the increasing respect, trust and belief in the kaupapa and in each other.

The Research

The Hei Āwhina Mātua research took place within three schools from the Tauranga area, over a period of two years. All of these schools had a strong commitment to Māori medium education. Accordingly, a kaupapa Māori approach was employed in order to ensure that Māori language, cultural values and preferred practices were utilised and that kaumātua exercised their important leadership role throughout. Kaumātua guidance also ensured that the students themselves were able to claim a share of responsibility and control over the study, profoundly influencing its design, methodology and outcome. Student input began when we consulted with kaumātua, Potahi and Rangiwhakaehu as to how Ted would be welcomed for the first time to their school. Many of these students had participated in the second Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi study, and although they knew Ted had supported their teachers, they had not met him. It was decided that a pōwhiri should be held with three boys performing a full wero (challenge) in keeping with the status of the visitor. Rangiwhakaehu would support a girl, specially chosen to perform the karanga (first call of welcome), and all students would support Potahi and one of the fathers with their waiata. A teacher, who

was well known to Ted, accompanied him through these rituals of encounter during which time his credibility and potential relationship were evaluated by students, kaumātua and whānau alike. Ted recalls being met at the gate by three warriors, then being called into the hall by Rangiwhakaehu and Puke (the senior girl chosen for the karanga) where over 100 students were ready with their haka pōwhiri (actions and chants of welcome).

> **Ted:** It was quite a daunting and humbling process for me. It made me hugely aware of a sense of place, a sense of belonging, a sense of responsibility and a sense of accountability, all at the same time.

I can only recall how immensely proud I was to be standing alongside these students, their teachers and their kaumātua. Standing together during these formal cultural procedures ensured that we were all able to participate with cultural competency and pride. Following the formal acceptance of researcher and research agenda at this pōwhiri the research was able to begin.

The Hei Āwhina Mātua study comprised three phases.

Phase 1: Developing the Resource in School One

Teachers and students in this school worked with us to develop the Hei Āwhina Mātua behaviour checklists (Glynn, Berryman, Harawira et al., 1997) that would be used to identify student behaviours. Students, family members and teachers then responded to the checklists. The checklists provided information about home, school and community settings from the perspective of the students, families and school staff. One checklist identified the behaviours that were most problematic, another, the settings in which these behaviours occurred and another, the behaviours that were most valued. On the basis of this information the Hei Āwhina Mātua behaviour video and training manual were developed around real life scenarios that were of most concern to these students, their family/whānau and teachers.

Getting a full response to the checklists from family members was expected to be a challenge. We decided to combine several important events and invited school whānau to an evening hui. We let people know by notices and also by word of mouth that this hui would be conducted by kaumātua. We would be introducing Ted to the wider community and talking about Hei Āwhina Mātua. We would also be farewelling one of the teachers who had won a teaching position at the local

Polytechnic and, because of this, students would be putting on a cultural performance. The evening followed appropriate cultural protocols and was hugely successful. A full turn out of parents for whichever part of the agenda saw family members fill checklists out on the night and take spares home for other family members to complete.

From the behaviour checklist data it was clear from family members and students that arguing and fighting with brothers and sisters were priority concerns. Other problem behaviour items shared between student and family/whānau member lists, were shouting and yelling, not listening, teasing, taunting, not following instructions, tantrums, packing a sad[24] and hitting. These contexts provided a strong focus for constructing the resulting home setting skits on the Hei Āwhina Mātua video.

Students and teachers also gave high ratings to school sports, fitness, playtime, and other outside activities, as contexts in which problem behaviours occurred. These data suggested supervision of playground and sporting activities were concerns that teachers needed to address. They also identified a need for skills on the part of students and teachers in negotiating and following rules for playground games. Two behaviour skits were developed around these concerns, with ways to resolve them.

The valuable input into the project provided by the students themselves throughout various stages of the study was impressive (Glynn, et al., 1997). Students contributed to writing behavioural checklists and assisted in prioritising behaviours and settings of greatest concern. They wrote and acted in eleven video skits that portrayed those behaviours, and the home, school and community settings in which they occurred. They assisted in producing and directing the video skits that present parents and teachers with constructive ways of responding to student behaviour. Some students joined with the research-whānau to present a progress report to the Ministry of Education and travelled to Dunedin with kaumātua to help edit the video. It was clear from their own comments that the students had a firm grasp of the purpose of producing the video skits, and of their role in the process:

> **Bronwyn:** The teachers thought that if they had written the scripts themselves nobody would have believed what was happening. We all agreed. It would

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[24] A colloquial term meaning to sulk.

have seemed that we were just kids doing a video because we had to, and we didn't know what we were doing. I thought it was good for us that way. (12 years)

Troy: We went through the skits and were told we were allowed to have a say in writing any of the scripts. I thought that was neat because we had people my age saying how people my age are talking. Not people the teachers' ages saying what they would have said when they were as young as us. (13 years)

These students moved the project from one of management of student behaviour by teachers and family/whānau to one that incorporated the students' own self-management strategies. One of the challenging contexts students opted to include in the video was coping with peer pressure when being urged to steal from the local shopping centre. They decided that the best strategy to employ in this situation was to choose carefully which friends to go with before entering the shopping centre and then to enlist their help in saying "no" to invitations from others to steal. This response was seen by these students as likely to be more effective in the first instance, as well as more enduring in the longer term.

The Hei Āwhina Mātua video (Glynn, Berryman, & Atvars, 1996) followed the cultural model set by our first video. The video begins with a new dawn breaking on the beach at the foot of Mauao, the ancestral mountain. A contemporary waiata, written and sung by Anituatua Black (Ngāi Tūhoe), using traditional metaphors and images, signals our ability to learn from many different sources including the past, the people and the land in order to make more informed choices. The shot then moves to Waikari marae with Tureiti further linking the viewer through his tauparapara (traditional chant) to the ancestral water way, mountain and marae of Tauranga thus representing the generations of local people who are part of this video. Important cultural messages on this video include the challenge that comes from living one's own culture when it is surrounded and overpowered by another more powerful culture. This situation can lead to loss of cultural identity that is further exacerbated when one's lived experiences are pathologised by others (Shields, Bishop, & Masawi, 2005). Examples provided by the students, of specific problem contexts and behaviours, are followed by their suggestions for improvement.

Phase 2: Trialling the Resource

Wai translated the Hei Āwhina Mātua checklists into Māori (Glynn, et al., 1997) and they were again used to gather responses from students, teachers and family/whānau members in School Two, a kura kaupapa Māori. Priority behaviour rankings were similar to those identified in School One which meant that the Hei Āwhina Mātua video and training manual could be usefully trialled in this kura. As the research-whānau addressed the behaviour and learning needs of students in School Two, it became evident that a great deal of curriculum and staff development resources had to be developed before the Hei Āwhina Mātua behavioural strategies could be fully implemented here. Observation procedures had to be developed and trialled in order to gather the necessary school-wide and classroom data about student and teacher behaviour. Reading and writing assessment procedures, in line with the Māori language curriculum document also had to be developed and trialled in order to monitor the reading and writing progress of target students. We had to work with both staff and target families in order to determine the effectiveness of the strategies from the Hei Āwhina Mātua training resources. In the first year of this phase we worked separately with staff in the school and families in the home. Working separately resulted in very little progress by either group and continues to be a major issue in devising effective collaborative home and school interventions, whether for behavioural or learning concerns. Rangiwhakaehu wisely suggested we get both groups together and take the training back to Waikari marae. Returning to the marae ensured that people would work together and that the cultural safety of the people and the kaupapa would be overseen by kaumātua. In this way, the invitation to develop effective and balanced working relationships between parents/whānau and educators would more likely be accepted. Kaumātua supported those present to acknowledge and support the expertise of the other and all were seen as part of the solution. The students themselves, their families and their educators were able to bring their own expertise to defining not only the problem but also the solutions. Problems were then responded to collaboratively.

Phase 3: Marae-based Training

A bilingual numeracy assessment component had to be developed before the Hei Āwhina Mātua resources could be implemented once more in School Two and introduced into School Three, a bilingual school that contributed students to the

original intermediate school (School One). Again the Hei Āwhina Mātua checklists were used to prioritise the problem behaviours and settings of School Three students, teachers and whānau members. Checklist data from all three schools were then combined to identify the highest ranked problem behaviours and settings as well as the most valued behaviours common to all school settings.

Target students from School Two and Three were also assessed pre-programme using the reading, writing and numeracy measures that had been developed. At the same time, playground and classroom observations were carried out. This was followed by the presentation of Hei Āwhina Mātua training workshops at Waikari marae. The workshops involved kaumātua, family members, students and teachers from both schools in collaborative activities such as classifying behaviours, discussions, role-plays and group presentations. The training aimed to develop, in a fun way, new understandings and strategies for responding more effectively to their children/students. Positive evaluation data were collected from people who attended these workshops.

Results

Comparison post-programme data from School Two and Three were collected at the end of two school terms. Observation data showed increased levels of appropriate student behaviour in the classroom and on the playground. Data revealed a higher level of teacher presence in the playground. Assessment data also showed overall academic and behaviour improvements made by target students.

Russell Bishop, who was still working at the University of Otago at the time, was approached by the research-whānau to evaluate this project in terms of our implementation of kaupapa Māori procedures. After speaking with many of the kaumātua, parents, teachers and the students themselves to identify why this research had been particularly successful, he wrote:

> … the teachers and kaumātua kept explaining themselves in terms of the researchers using an approach that was 'ordinary' or 'natural' to Māori people… They described how the centre (Poutama Pounamu) personnel undertook the research within the ordinary day to day activities and understandings of Māori people, contexts that to Māori people were no different from any other activity. In this way, the research became just another topic being brought to the marae for debate, where all people could come

along and contribute to the debate and judge where the benefits of the research really lay, where the focus was on the children as key members of the extended whānau.

The revitalisation of kaupapa Māori educational contexts in which the Poutama Pounamu Centre is positioned has promoted the awakening of parents and whānau members to their own power of representation and an insistence on Māori epistemological modes of legitimacy and avenues of accountability outside of their own marae.

(Bishop, 1996c, pp.10-11)

The research-whānau also found that it was essential for the Hei Āwhina Mātua process to not only include kaumātua but also to include Board of Trustee (BOT) members, principals, teachers, students, parents and other whānau members, working together within Māori cultural contexts. Through active participation in a range of activities involving reflection, sharing and problem solving around behavioural and learning issues, the school and community were able to work collaboratively and effectively towards solutions. We had been unable to reach these solutions in School Two in phase 2, while working separately with teachers in school settings and parents at home.

Today, Hei Āwhina Mātua continues to be used by trained MOE Special Education staff. These procedures still include kaupapa Māori strategies, culturally-based training contexts for teachers and whānau, and professional development.

Understanding Behaviour

Efforts to understand and change students' behaviours that are seen as problematic are fraught with difficulties arising from the way in which language and culture is used to label and contextualise those behaviours (Wearmouth, Glynn & Berryman, 2005). Researchers must strive to find ways of talking about behaviour that avoid or minimise problems of labelling. The approach taken to describing behaviour in Hei Āwhina Mātua follows the behavioural inter-actionist perspective (Wheldall & Glynn, 1989). In this perspective, behaviour is observed and analysed within the social and physical contexts in which it occurs. Behaviour is interpreted and understood in terms of the social interactions with other people around shared tasks and challenges. The place to start seeking for understandings and solutions to the problems generated

around students' behaviour lies within the interactions that students have with teachers and peers around regular classroom tasks. Students' input into the design and evaluation of the resources and programme in Hei Āwhina Mātua is one of its most important and distinctive features.

At the end of Ted's sabbatical leave and during this study Rangiwhakaehu suggested to him that he should look for a University position closer to the research-whānau. Subsequently Ted applied for and won a chair in Teacher Education at the University of Waikato.

The Challenge of Transition

When the students from School One moved from their intermediate school to one of the local secondary schools the research-whānau learned a harsh lesson. Many of these students had been an important part of the second Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi study (see chapter five) as well as phase one of Hei Āwhina Mātua. They had been taught in a bicultural, bilingual setting in which they were listened to, their contributions were valued and they had agency to contribute and co-construct much of their learning. For many their transition to secondary school was catastrophic. Unaware of the implications of the initial testing they were presented with, students were soon placed in streamed classrooms as the result of the school's application of the English language Test of Scholastic Abilities (TOSCA) (Reid, Jackson, Gilmore, & Croft, 1981). This inappropriate testing context resulted in many of these students being labeled as underachieving and thus being placed in classes way below levels at which they would be academically challenged. Subsequent deficit theorising of these students by many of their new teachers saw this group of once confident, capable Māori students begin to resist their new educational setting, only to become threatened by the system and vulnerable within it. The rules had changed and power was once again firmly in the hands of the new school. Despite presenting previous academic evidence to the contrary, one parent recalled how it had taken two terms for the school to even consider moving her son out of the bottom stream remedial class. Sadly, deficit theorising had been applied to students enrolled in both English and Māori medium settings.

When we sought to continue working with a group of students who we knew had proficiency in te reo Māori on the next study our request was rejected, as according to their new teachers these students did not possess these skills. A personal approach to

the principal, in the name of the *Professor*, finally resulted in a formal welcome to the bilingual unit that these students attended. The teachers conducted the pōwhiri while the same students, who had formally welcomed Ted in their previous school setting, were placed in the culturally unfamiliar role of spectators.

The sight of these students sitting noho puku[25] on the floor of a cold cultural meetinghouse, non-engaged, non-responsive, with no spark, at all provided a stark contrast to the highly energised, agentic and engaged students whose expertise had led the Hei Āwhina Mātua research in the intermediate school. It was extremely difficult to watch these students, who we knew understood fully the cultural implications of these rituals and who had proven skills in oratory and waiata koroua,[26] being prevented from participating in any real way.

Although this school no longer uses TOSCA, the classes are still streamed. Unfortunately this story is all too common in the New Zealand secondary school system (Bishop, et al., 2003) and it is little wonder that many more Māori students fail within these alien environments where they feel culturally alienated and their experiences and identity are pathologised, or totally ignored.

Concurrent with phase two and three of Hei Āwhina Mātua we devised and implemented a project that looked at developing students' writing skills in Māori that became know as Tuhi Atu Tuhi Mai or responsive writing.

Case Study Three: Tuhi Atu Tuhi Mai – Responsive Writing

Responsive written feedback (Glynn, Jerram & Tuck, 1986; Jerram, Glynn, & Tuck, 1988) encourages another writer (a responder), to write regular (weekly), brief and personalised responses to students' writing. The focus of this approach is on the process of writing (Graves, 1983) rather than on the product. The strategy is to respond in writing to the student's messages conveyed within the piece of writing and not to focus upon structure, error correction or evaluative comments. The other writer

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[25] Noho puku in this sense refers to cultural sanctioning that relegates one to both a metaphoric and physical space, where you are not permitted to contribute. Often the lifting of cultural sanctions of this kind can only come with age, with experience and/or with perceived expertise.

[26] Traditional songs that make historical and/or genealogical connections that often are complex and long in nature.

is encouraged to respond to what they are able to understand of the messages in their students' stories rather than responding to student errors. Teachers are trained to monitor and collect ten-minute writing samples of unassisted writing from the target students. Target students generate writing samples in the classroom. Writing done in the classroom is then given to the responders who provide their responsive written feedback. The responsive writing books are then returned ready for the next week's writing time. The aim is to carry out this procedure once a week, for at least ten writing exchanges.

This Tuhi Atu Tuhi Mai research study was implemented over a period of 12 weeks, using a multiple baseline design across three groups of four tuākana-tēina pairs. First, writing samples were gathered from all students to establish baseline data. The responsive written feedback programme then began with the first group. After four weeks it was introduced to the second group and after four more weeks it was introduced to the third group. This design allowed for programme assessment across the three groups at four different time points. An independent assessor scrutinised all tuākana responses to gather treatment integrity data. A second independent assessor enabled checks to be made on inter-assessor agreement. This design allowed for all students to receive the programme and was understood to be a more culturally acceptable strategy than comparing a *target* group with a *control* group.

Students and Setting

Twenty-four students, from two different Bay of Plenty primary schools participated. The tuākana students (seven boys and five girls) ranged in age from eight to 11 years and attended a year 4 to year 5 Māori immersion unit within a mainstream school. They had between nine months to five years of Māori immersion education experience. The tēina students (six boys and six girls) ranged in age from seven to nine years and attended a year 3 to year 4 Māori immersion class within a Māori immersion school.

Tuākana students were chosen by their teacher on the basis of their confidence and competency to respond in writing in Māori to a younger, less able writer. Tēina students were chosen by their teacher on the basis of their desire and commitment to writing and to improving their language skills in Māori. Tēina students were randomly matched with tuākana and organised into paired groupings.

The teacher of the tuākana students was a fluent native speaker of Māori who had taught for a few years only. She was assisted by an experienced kaiārahi i te reo (Māori language expert and guide) who was also a native Māori speaker. The teacher of the tēina students was younger but had a similar amount of teaching experience. He was a second language learner who could speak, read and write Māori with competence and confidence. All had previously contributed as teachers to Ngā Kete Kōrero, (See chapter five). Their decision to participate in the present study and became part of the research-whānau, was influenced in part by their positive experience with Ngā Kete Kōrero.

We discussed the responsive writing strategy as well as a wide range of other strategies for assessing and improving students' writing in Māori. Rangiwhakaehu and Tamihana voiced a concern, asking how students would learn from their mistakes if this strategy did not provide corrective feedback. Although we suggested correct language strategies and spelling could be modelled by the responder within the context of the responsive written feedback, we knew that our kaumātua were not convinced and that we needed to monitor this work carefully. One way to do this would be by developing an effective means by which to monitor the students' writing progress. We knew that we were also going to be held accountable for how we trained others and implemented the programme. Again we were utilising their time and expertise and working with their mokopuna, so accountability to them was to be expected.

Developing Writing Assessments

Timed samples of students' writing were carefully analysed. In order to identify correct and incorrect writing, decisions were made about what counted as an error. Teachers, researchers and kaumātua developed a list that comprised: punctuation errors; spelling errors; words that were not recognisable Māori words; unclear messages; incorrect language structures and tenses including the a/o category; and incorrect use of macrons. The use of English words that were proper nouns such as Maude, or recently developed words such as technology were not considered to be errors. We considered that it was important to assess not only how much and how accurately students were writing, but also how well their messages were being conveyed and what impact these messages might have on the reader. Therefore it was

important to assess writing fluency, accuracy and quality. Both quantitative and qualitative measures were needed.

Quantitative measures, (correct and incorrect writing rates) were calculated by counting the number of words written correctly and the number of words written incorrectly per minute, across a 10-minute writing session. Qualitative measures of audience impact and Māori language competency were obtained from two seven-point holistic rating scales. These writing assessments (Berryman et al., 2001) were applied in the Hei Āwhina Mātua study and have since been used in many other settings.

Training

The kaiārahi i te reo from the tuākana school was trained along with other family/whānau members in the responsive written feedback procedure. Training involved observing the procedures demonstrated and then reflecting on and discussing the process. This was followed by other opportunities to practise using responsive written feedback and engage in further reflection with others. Finally, the kaiārahi i te reo received one-on-one specific oral feedback on her use of the procedure with non-target students.

Tuākana training involved working alongside this kaiārahi i te reo. The procedures were demonstrated and discussed at a tuākana training session prior to programme. The tuākana were given time to practise then discuss the procedures, then as each set of tuākana moved into the programme, the kaiārahi i te reo and I monitored their first three sets of written responses. Tuākana were given oral feedback as required. After this, monitoring was continued by the kaiārahi i te reo only.

Once a week, tuākana and tēina wrote their responses or writing samples at their own schools, separate from the rest of their classmates. Tēina students were given their most recent responsive writing sample from their tuākana, with five to ten minutes for reading their writing sample and for any questions or concerns. Writing did not involve any form of planning. Tēina were instructed to begin their ten minutes of writing, using pencil and at the end of ten minutes pencils were collected and exchanged for pens. Tēina were then asked to try to improve their piece of writing in any way possible using the pen. An additional five minutes was then allowed for editing. During the writing and editing times students were free to use resources from around the room to assist them although in this *test* situation, seeking help from other

students was discouraged as it would consume the time allocation of both students. Stories were gathered in and delivered to the school attended by the tuākana. Tuākana followed these same procedures responding to these stories within the week and returning their stories to their tēina by the following week.

Analysing the Writing

Writing assessments compared the tuākana and tēina group mean performance on samples gathered at baseline (pre-programme) with their performance on samples gathered at each phase of programme. Kaa O'Brien (Ngāti Pikiao, Ngāti Awa), a research-whānau member who was also a fluent native speaker and an experienced teacher of Māori language assessed these writing samples. Apart from being trained for this task, Kaa had no previous involvement in the study. On four separate occasions, at least 30 writing samples (10% of the total, at least two per student), were randomly selected for further qualitative analysis by Mate. Writing samples were scored in terms of the quantitative and qualitative measures described previously. Percentages of writing samples containing main themes and employing different genre were also obtained. The first tuākana sample was used to assess treatment integrity. This was the extent to which the tuākana implemented responsive written feedback by responding to the messages written by their tēina. Treatment integrity was assessed using the eight feedback categories described by Jerram, et al., (1988). These categories were: personalisation of feedback; identification with the characters; identification with the theme; anticipation of the development of the theme; sharing of an experience; empathy with the writer; conversing with the writer; and enjoyment of content as a result of this study. Mate identified that a ninth category occurred frequently. This culturally specific category, feedback which encouraged tēina learning of Māori language, supported the kaupapa of the research. Percentages of samples containing each of the nine categories were obtained.

A detailed analysis of 50% of the total writing samples was carried out to identify the frequency of recurring themes in both the tuākana and tēina writing. A further analysis was carried out to identify the genre used by both tuākana and tēina. For tēina students the sample was selected randomly across the programme. However, because tuākana writing during the programme was largely dependent upon their response to tēina writing, their sample was selected from baseline only.

Results

The samples of tuākana feedback analysed, each contained four or more of the eight responsive written feedback components as defined by Jerram et al., (1988). Furthermore, almost all samples contained examples of the response category identified by Mate of encouraging their tēina in the use of te reo Māori. Examination of the samples suggested that tuākana were sharing quite complex messages with their tēina. In some cases a single theme might continue to be developed over a series of two or more exchanges. As the relationship between tuākana and tēina developed through the exchange of writing, there were increases in personal disclosures and sharing information about families. Both tuākana and tēina looked forward to receiving the next writing sample and there was always an instantaneous buzz about the writing responses. Writing the response to be returned to the other group was never a problem and was always done enthusiastically and independently.

Tēina gained considerable benefit from participating in this study. Overall, they increased their correct writing rate by 2.9 words per minute. Despite the fact that they were writing more words per minute there was only minimal difference in their incorrect writing rate (0.7 to 0.9 words per minute). Tēina also received increased ratings of audience impact and Māori language quality following the introduction of responsive written feedback.

Apart from slight decreases in writing rate when they first introduced responsive, written feedback, tuākana went on to increase their writing rate and decrease their error rate in comparison with baseline levels. As occurred with tēina students, tuākana received increased ratings of audience impact and Māori language quality following the introduction of responsive written feedback. Clearly, taking the time and trouble to assist their tēina not only had no adverse effects on tuākana writing, but instead resulted in positive gains in both rate and quality of their writing. This finding is consistent with findings from the previous Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi reading tutoring studies (in chapter five) which reported measurable gains for both tuākana and tēina.

Recurring themes and genre in the tuākana and tēina writing showed that these students wrote about those things that they knew best and used the style with which they were most familiar. Students wrote about their everyday experiences. Most themes were written from within contemporary Māori cultural contexts. For example

there were stories about the sea and the gathering of kai moana (seafood), stories about traditional occasions held on the marae like tangi (funeral following appropriate Māori protocols) or contemporary family gatherings like birthdays and Guy Fawkes celebrations.

Important cultural learning also occurred in his study. Again through direct participation, students gained a better understanding of the dual commitment and responsibilities involved in the tuākana-tēina relationship. This was especially noticeable in the tuākana initially dropping their writing rate to match that of their tēina rather than overpowering their tēina with their higher level of proficiency. Each group learned from the relationship as well as about it. They learned to value their Māori language skills and they learned that these skills were valued and affirmed by others. These important linkages between written language acquisition and cultural learning are consistent with the findings from an observational study of oral language in a kōhanga reo by Hohepa, Smith, Smith and McNaughton, (1992). This study provided more evidence to show how much easier it is to construct one's own cultural identity and feel comfortable with it, in learning contexts where that identity is recognised, valued and affirmed.

The publication of this study also saw the completion of Hei Āwhina Mātua and subsequently my contract with SES. By this time Ted had taken up a position at Waikato University and the research-whānau had won another contract for the following study. This new contract ensured my employment for at least the duration of the next study. Lack of permanent positions presented an enormous challenge to the stability and growth of the research-whānau. As well as this work involving both Kathryn and I on new learning pathways in terms of research methodology and practice, we were engaged with our own academic study and we were also expected by the SES management to bring in contracts that would not only fund new research initiatives but would also fund new researcher positions. Smith (2003) coined a term "the politics of distraction", to describe a situation where Māori are diverted from the kaupapa by other lesser matters. This has continued to be an issue when trying to make changes from within a mainstream organisation, as first you must expend huge amounts of energy towards changing the thinking of the organisation, to allow you to address the very issues that you have already identified.

Case Study Four: The Rotorua Home and School Project

The Rotorua Energy Charitable Trust, with support from the Ministry of Education funded a home and school literacy project in nine Rotorua primary schools. The project aimed to improve the reading and writing of seven to eight-year old students who were experiencing literacy difficulties.

The research-whānau assisted the schools to develop a working partnership with their students' parents or other family members. As with Hei Āwhina Mātua this partnership was developed to combine the different knowledge, expertise and commitment that parents and teachers have concerning children's learning. The project collected information across the nine schools from three groups of students: Māori students in English medium (mainstream) education; non-Māori students in English medium education; and Māori students in Māori medium education.

The project funded each school to employ and train a home-school liaison worker (either a school staff member or a community person). Using a combination of modelling and specific feedback, I trained these liaison workers in Pause Prompt Praise or Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi and the responsive writing tutoring strategies as discussed in the previous case study. I also trained the liaison workers in ways of sharing these strategies with parents and family members. Training and monitoring of the home and school reading and writing tutoring procedures was introduced sequentially to three schools, at intervals of two school terms between term 4 1997 and term 3 1999.

Across the nine schools, over 140 students participated in the project with 121 students completing baseline, post programme and maintenance assessments in both reading and writing. All students had been identified by teachers as being within the targeted age group and displaying the lowest levels of reading and writing performance in their schools. Approximately half of the participating students in each school were randomly assigned to receive additional, direct learning support from the home and school partnership procedures implemented by their school's liaison worker and the research team. However, other students also received considerable additional (though indirect) support. This resulted from one or more teachers in some of the schools choosing to include in their general classroom teaching some of the reading and writing tutoring strategies that had been introduced within the home and school partnership context. Furthermore, a number of parents who were working in the home

and school partnership condition chose to share the skills they were learning with other parents. These events presented strong threats to the planned, multiple baseline across schools design.

Researchers assessed students' reading and writing performance in either English or Māori (depending upon the classroom language of instruction) on four occasions between term 4 1997 and term 3 1999. Each assessment involved gathering reading measures of rate, accuracy, and comprehension (as described in case study one), and writing measures of rate, accuracy and quality (as described in case study three).

Results were analysed separately for Māori students and non-Māori students learning to read in English, and for Māori students learning to read in Māori. Reading data indicated marked gains in the difficulty level of texts that all three groups of students were able to read accurately and fluently. Māori and Non-Māori students also maintained or improved their scores on the cloze (comprehension) task, despite the increasing difficulty of the texts being read. However, being able to answer oral cloze questions in Māori proved to be much more of a challenge for students in Māori medium education as their reading progress brought them into contact with increasingly difficult texts. Performing well on oral comprehension tasks requires a high level of fluency in oral language. For students learning to read in Māori being able to demonstrate comprehension orally clearly depended on their having continuing access to hearing and speaking Māori in settings other than the classroom. One impact of the history of assimilation and neglect of the Māori language and culture within mainstream schools and in the community is that many Māori family members are not able to provide effective Māori language support without additional support themselves.

Writing data indicated that children who participated in the home and school programme tended to write more, to make fewer errors with simple words and to include more interesting or challenging words in their writing. Independent ratings of the quality of the writing tended to be higher for students in the home and school group than for those in the school following the programme delivery. Ratings for the school group tended to increase when schools took responsibility for continuing the programme.

In general, most schools were able to extend the programme to other students following the withdrawal of direct programme support from the research team for

students in the *home and school* group. A number of students in several schools achieved gains in the school programme that were as good as or better than those achieved by those in the home and school programme. Schools were able to apply, and improve on, what they had learned from the home and school programme when working subsequently with their remaining students. A key to the success of the programme lay in the relationship that developed between schools and their targeted parents. Largely this depended upon the extent and ways in which schools met with and collaborated with the parents of target students in order to demonstrate the reading and writing strategies, and to support their parents in implementing them.

Collaborating with Māori Communities

The findings from this study again emphasised how much parents (Māori and non-Māori), in both English medium and Māori medium education, care about and want to help their children succeed at school. Across the three sets of schools the project identified a number of challenges, as well as a range of positive responses that resulted in teachers and parents collaborating to improve children's reading and writing.

In one of the nine schools four students were learning in English while five were learning in Māori. In this school two mothers of students in Māori immersion settings, who initially had minimal Māori language themselves, were given additional support using sets of Māori language cue cards and specific feedback from audiotapes of their reading tutoring. Provided with this additional support these mothers successfully helped their sons improve their reading in Māori. Gains made by these students compared very favourably with the gains made by the rest of the home-school students who were being tutored by their more fluent Māori speaking family members. The development of confidence, skills and expertise for these mothers and their sons was understood in terms of the reciprocal learning relationships that ensued (Berryman & Glynn 2004). The success of these mothers was due in part to the collaborative expertise and support that was provided by Hiro Grace (Te Whānau a Apanui), the home-school liaison worker. Hiro's support was understood to be a critical component in the success of these mothers and others at this school.

Attending a Masters level paper on kaupapa Māori research introduced me to collaborative storying (Bishop, 1996a), an approach where major themes are identified, developed and examined within the interview process itself. This enabled

me as the researcher to engage with Hiro in a way Heshusius (1994) described as demonstrating "participatory consciousness". Hiro's story provided a means by which we could reflect on our own practice and decision making, interpret, make choices, develop our own understandings, and apply new knowledge to practice through our interactions and conversations. Hiro's story was able to be heard and recorded while at the same time allowed me as the researcher to attempt to participate in her story and in her consciousness (Heshusius, 1994). By being invited to share in Hiro's experiences, and listen to her understandings of these experiences, the distance between me as the researcher, and Hiro as the researched, was reduced. Subsequently we have all benefited from a closer insight into how Hiro understood her contribution to this project (Glynn & Berryman, 2003). Hiro talked about the group she had worked with as a whānau.

> **Hiro:** Well they sort of formed their own whānau and helped each other too. That didn't matter that they weren't brother and sister… whanaungatanga came out very strongly with that group of parents, with their 'network' going. We also had to share cassette recorders, and so one of them would finish with it, and go round the corner and pass it on the next one down the street. …they did the rounds…. I didn't have to go and pick them up from each one. They would just pass them on to the next one… And they helped each other in that way… Having that family feeling working together as part of a whānau. …might all be from totally different areas but when you get together you all work towards the whānau goal, helping each other.

> **Mere:** That strong whānau network that had developed, I haven't seen it in any of the other places. How do you think you got it?

> **Hiro:** That's the way our school is. Well we've got about 90% [Māori students and whānau]. And that's the way our school is run. It's run like a big whānau whether you are in mainstream [English medium] or immersion [Māori medium]. Everything is whānau.

Connelley and Clandinin, (1990) maintain that the collaborative relationship goes beyond mere contact to a relationship that more resembles friendship. Hiro suggests it was whanaungatanga or whānau processes and connections, rather than friendship that underpinned the collaborative relationship between her, the people from her school and the research-whānau. Even before we had all met, cultural links and whānau

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connections were being established, thus bringing with them cultural responsibilities and obligations.

The family members in this school reached decisions through group discussion and consensus. Individual experience and strengths were utilised to ensure that all members, students, parents and the school wide community were able to participate by bringing their own experiences to the context of learning, sharing and mutual support. Mutual trust and respect strengthened these relationships. Because everyone shared common goals and aspirations about improving their child's reading and writing, everyone was supporting the kaupapa.

Time and commitment from both home and school to establish and maintain these relationships was freely given. The way Hiro worked to maintain relationships with this community was fundamental to the success of the home and school collaborative partnership. Time and commitment from both Hiro and the research-whānau was also fundamental to establishing understanding and trust in the process of narrative inquiry so that a collaborative story could emerge. Te Hennepe (1993) suggests that until this happens the research may not move beyond reporting partial truths. However, if all aspects of the process are respected then the storyteller may signal ownership of the narrative by allowing their name and their story to be used.

Further Developments

Hiro's community allowed us to video their work. Parent tutoring provided a valuable authentic context from which other family members could participate. Two videos were developed. One was a new version of the Pause Prompt Praise, reading tutoring that they had been involved with (Berryman, Glynn, & Glynn, 2001a). The other was a video about building culturally competent and responsive home and school partnerships (Berryman, Glynn, & Glynn, 2001b). The first video shows how family members and staff alike learned to successfully implement the reading tutoring procedures. The participation of this community and the reciprocal benefits to both the home and school partners is the basis of the second video. The close and effective working relationship between this school and its community rested squarely on the openness and honesty with which information was exchanged and on the ability of the school to *locate* strategies in contexts that were culturally appropriate and affirming for teachers, students and families alike. This school was responsive to their community, rather than tell their community how to engage with the school. Families

were able to participate from their own worldview and on their own terms. Family participation was not directed by the school. Rather, Hiro, as their home-school liaison worker facilitated opportunities for them to participate in ways that they understood were *natural* ways of helping their children and in ways that legitimated their own culture and promoted their own power of representation.

Interdependent, Power-sharing, Relationships

Family members were able to freely access school resources to use in the home with their children. They were also encouraged to join the school for all academic, sporting and cultural activities. Within this collaborative home and school partnership, relationships were interdependent and there was a balance of power. Because there was a balance of power, both sides were able to focus on and work towards the common goals located around the success of their children.

In this school it was very difficult to see the boundary between the school and home community, so close and supportive was the connection between the principal, staff, BOT members, teachers, parents and other family members, and their commitment to one another. Community people moved freely in and out of the school and indeed appeared to *own* their school, and take personal pride in the achievement of any and all of its students and teachers. Whānau, hapū and iwi relationships and responsibilities were not left outside the school gate but continued to operate throughout staff room, classroom and playground. The school valued and respected its community and the community valued and respected its school. In this context, this school-whānau were taking a proactive, self-determining stance for their children.

Case Study Five: Training of Māori Resource Teachers (Guidance and Learning)

In 1996, two new Māori Resource Teachers Guidance and Learning (RTG&L) were appointed to work in 14 closely located schools. Ten of these schools were English medium and four were Māori medium (including two Kura Kaupapa Māori). In the English Medium schools the proportion of Māori students enrolled ranged from 23% to 49% while in the Māori medium schools, students were almost all Māori. Appointing Māori RTG&L provided an opportunity to gather information about the professional development required to work effectively with students in these schools, and specifically with the Māori students.

This research therefore focussed upon the preparation of RTG&L who could assist teachers to improve the effectiveness of their response to students identified as having learning and behavioural difficulties. The work of the Māngere Guidance Unit (Thomas, & Glynn, 1976) provided some of the training components for support staff such as these RTG&L. This study also asked questions about the need to respond more effectively to cultural issues affecting the teaching and learning of Māori students and how the expertise to be found in Māori communities might assist in this work. Despite clear evidence that Māori students were greatly over represented amongst students with identified learning and behavioural difficulties, the Thomas and Glynn (1976) study, and the subsequent training of RTG&L teachers had not specifically addressed this area. This study reflected back on the Thomas and Glynn study to consider what would be most useful in the preparation of RTG&L and the role of the later-established Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour (RTLB) to meet the needs of Māori students as intended in the Government's Special Education Policy Initiative (SE2000).

A research proposal to carry out this study was accepted by the MOE enabling the Poutama Pounamu whānau to bring on board an additional researcher, Kaa O'Brien (already introduced in case study three in this chapter), into this project. Kaa came to the whānau as an experienced teacher, and a fluent, native speaker of Māori with extensive local and national, education and Māori networks through her own family and the Māori Women's Welfare League. Kaa's inclusion in the research-whānau also ensured the added support of her husband Mikaere O'Brien (Ngāti Ranginui). The two new Māori RTG&L were appointed in terms of a memorandum of attachment with a management committee that over saw their training and monitored their work. This committee included the Board of Trustees of Arataki Primary School, kaumātua from Tauranga iwi groups and members from the Poutama Pounamu research-whānau.

The research was undertaken in two phases.

Phase 1: The Teaching and Learning Contexts.

Phase 1 of the research involved conducting structured interviews with principals (or nominees) at each school to establish the proportion of Māori students, Māori teachers and other Māori staff. These interviews also sought to establish the extent of Māori content taught across the curriculum, the availability of supporting resources to assist Māori students, and the nature of support to families that was available in these

schools. This task was designed to provide an information base that would identify and prioritise the tasks that these resource teachers needed to address if their schools were to meet the behavioural and learning needs of their Māori students more effectively. These tasks included networking with appropriate iwi and other Māori organisations, establishing links with kaumātua and kuia from local marae, and helping schools to better understand the principles and structures within contemporary, as well as traditional Māori organisations. The research aimed to seek evidence of change over time on some of these dimensions.

The study found that all schools had at least some form of Māori language and cultural content in the curriculum. This ranged from kapa haka groups to one to two hours of Māori language enrichment per week through to varying numbers of bilingual and immersion classes. However when the visibility of Māori culture and society across the entire school curriculum was considered it appeared that the largest proportion of input (both resource and time) related to presenting students with traditional myths, legends and Māori cultural practices from pre-European contact times. While researchers acknowledged the importance of including traditional material they were concerned that contemporary Māori society and culture received considerably less emphasis. Māori appeared to be a people from traditional times only, a people invisible in today's society. Of concern also was the paucity of resources and assessments for Māori medium classes. Interestingly, in the English medium schools, despite having fairly high percentages of Māori students (many above the national average) there was a very low prevalence of Māori topics and themes included throughout the curriculum at all levels.

All schools with Māori medium classes and programmes requested urgent assistance with the assessment of literacy. The two Māori RTG&L were trained in the procedures developed by the Poutama Pounamu whānau and as a result were then able to respond to this need. The RTG&L trained Māori medium teachers in the use of the Ngā Kete Kōrero framework, for placing Māori language texts in order of increasing difficulty (Ngā Kete Kōrero Framework Team, 1996). They also learned to train teachers in strategies for the assessment of reading and writing in Māori and collaboratively developed school-wide reading in Māori assessment packages.

This phase of the project also found that these mainstream schools had a very low level of liaison with iwi agencies, and most of them were unaware of the services

provided for Māori students and families by the various Māori agencies that operated in their communities. One year after the appointment of the two RTG&L, most schools had dramatically increased their level of contact with iwi and other community agencies. A total of 21 contacts were reported over fourteen schools during a ten week period in 1996. As a result of assistance from RTG&L, this increased to 165 contacts over a ten week period in 1997.

Phase 2: The Analysis of Case Work.

Phase 2 of the research involved an analysis of a sample of the casework and strategic interventions initiated by the RTG&L within each of the 14 schools. This analysis focussed on different behavioural and learning difficulties encountered by Māori students in mainstream schools, and on culturally appropriate and effective strategies developed for dealing with these. The analysis focussed on ways in which the RTG&L might assist schools to establish support systems that would be inclusive of families and caregivers and encourage their assistance with Māori students.

Data from an analysis of information from the case files of the first 45 students referred to the two Māori RTG&L provided information on the distribution of referrals across the 14 schools, as well as the specific learning support provided by RTG&L and their strategic interventions.

The major conclusions about the impact of the work of these two Māori RTG&L were that schools had developed a greater awareness of the concept of mana whenua status and were increasingly able to recognise the iwi identification of their Māori students. As a result schools' contact with iwi and Māori community staff showed a major increase (from 1.5 to 17.2 contacts per week). At the same time family participation in both school policy development and in school support practice also showed a major increase. Analysis of the behavioural concerns featured in 80% of the referrals, illustrated the strong interconnections between learning difficulties and behavioural difficulties. As with similar studies a disproportionate high number of Māori students were among the first 45 referrals. This may have reflected the national trend in these schools, that Māori students are over represented among students experiencing behaviour and learning difficulties. Or, despite principals clearly indicating that the services of these two RTG&L were available for all students, this may have reflected that the schools perceived these two RTG&L were to provide a service explicitly for Māori students. This analysis nevertheless established the range of behavioural and

learning difficulties encountered by Māori students in mainstream and Māori medium schools, and identified culturally appropriate strategies for responding to these challenges. Four major implications that arose from the findings in this study were the need for:

- training of future Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour (RTLBs) in culturally appropriate literacy assessment and intervention strategies in both Māori and English;

- recognising the major contribution of kaumātua working with Māori RTLB in the development of effective home and school partnerships;

- ensuring a consultative/collaborative approach to service delivery in that the professional focuses strongly on staff development rather than simply on being an additional one-to-one, hands on with individual students;

- including kaumātua or their nominated Māori community personnel in designing management structures and school systems to meet the cultural, learning and behavioural needs of Māori students (Glynn, Atvars & O'Brien, 1999).

The study clearly suggested that what really made a difference in assisting Māori students in these schools was the resource teachers' ability to network with key elders, thus connecting students to support people within the Māori community. Whanaungatanga, as discussed previously, again emerged as a powerful intervention strategy in itself as it led to students being provided with whānau support that helped to overcome both school-based and home-based problems. An example of the power of whanaungatanga as an intervention was observed at one school when one of the resource teachers called Rangiwakaehu in to assist with a child whose learning and behaviour was of concern to teachers. The mother had been difficult to contact in person and had been unresponsive to letters home. Rangiwhakaehu quickly identified the child's grandparents whom she herself contacted and with whom she discussed the school's concerns. Soon the school and the home were working in collaboration rather than against each other as they had been previously. The study identified how the process of whanaungatanga within a school can also help promote the Treaty of Waitangi principle of rangatiratanga (self-determination) by creating opportunities for Māori to take responsibility for the well-being and achievement of Māori students within each school.

These findings, together with the resource teachers' experiences in identifying and overcoming the barriers faced by Māori students and teachers has since contributed to the curriculum training of over 800 RTLB who in turn would assist their own schools to meet the needs of students with mild to moderate behaviour and learning difficulties (Brown, et al. 2000).

This research also identified the importance of fluent speakers of te reo Māori who could be designated to work solely in Māori medium settings. These RTLB Māori or Pouwhirinaki as they have become known, aim to help clusters of schools to work with families and respond more effectively to the learning and/or behaviour of Māori students in English or Māori medium settings. In 2005 there were approximately 50 Pouwhirinaki working mainly in rumaki sites, and 762 RTLB. The two RTG&L in this study became part of the first cohort of RTLB trained under the SE2000 initiative and the findings from this project ensured that 25% of their training course content would be a compulsory bi-cultural component woven throughout all of the four university papers that constituted the RTLB academic qualifications. Consistent with the SE2000 Special Education Policy RTLB were trained as itinerant, collaborative consultants who were knowledgeable in inclusive teaching strategies and who assisted teachers to better meet students' needs.

Wai was an important part of the first cultural advisory team for this training and Ted was one of the people who led the development of the University qualifications, offered nationwide through a consortium of universities. Rangiwhakaehu, Mate, Kaa and I, have all, to various degrees, helped with the training on this course over a number of years. The funding generated by this professional development work contributed to the on-going running costs of the research centre.

Moving On

The research and training of Māori RTG&L was the last project that Kathryn was involved with as a member of the Poutama Pounamu reseach-whānau. After the completion of this project she left to set up her own business as an education consultant. Two more of our kaumātua Potahi and Tureiti had passed on by the end of these projects and we poroporoaki[27] to them, acknowledging that their invaluable

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[27] A translation of this poroporoaki is in the Appendices, Appendix 2.

leadership and support ensured the success of Hei Āwhina Mātua and other projects such as those reported in this chapter.

Tiwhatiwha te pō, tiwhatiwha te ao.

Ahakoa kua ngaro o kōrua tinana i te tirohanga kanohi

Ko te tohu o o kōrua tapuwae e kakahutia tonu ki te mata o te whenua

Tauwhare ana mai te pūkohu ki te take o Mauao

Kua tukuna atu kōrua ki te ao o te papa

Ki ngā hau e whā

Kōrua kua ngaro atu moe mai, moe mai ra.

Ānei ngā rārangi īngoa e whai ake nei

Potahi Gear

Tureiti Stockman.

Summary

Te Arataki, the metaphor for this chapter, comprises the words ara (pathway) and taki (to lead, to follow). Metaphorically, Te Arataki speaks of the pathway that this research-whānau would continue to follow. This pathway involves the continuation of the kaupapa of raising the achievement of Māori students using the aspirations and collaboration of the group, to develop and support new initiatives.

The contextual events that impacted upon the work and theorising of the research-whānau and the main themes that emerged from this part of the journey and the case studies outlined in this chapter are summarised in the table below. These themes are discussed in full in Chapter nine.

Chapter Six: Important Contextual Events	
Setting up a research centre focussed on Māori students and whānau	• needing to generate both research and revenue • Learning how to research • Acquiring academic qualifications within the research centre
Name of the Case Study	**The significance of the study and the new learning for the whānau**
Hei Āwhina Mātua	• The need for and added benefits from operating in two world views • Developing understandings about kaupapa Māori • Power of student voice and their powerful role as collaborators • Interdependent roles and responsibilities • Collaboration between home, school and community settings • Importance of kawa and tikanga (the right way to do things) • Importance of place (working on the marae) • Importance of setting and context • Challenge of transition at Year 9 • What worked for Māori students in this mainstream setting worked for kura kaupapa and rumaki students
Tuhi Atu Tuhi Mai	• Importance of responsive, socio cultural learning contexts • Writing as a process as well as a product
A home and school literacy intervention	• Importance of school based cultural leadership and literacy facilitation • Usefulness of a qualitative research methods to answer questions of importance to the research-whānau • What works in kura kaupapa should be available for Māori students in mainstream • The importance of interdependent, power-sharing relationships
An evaluation of two Māori RTG&L	• Perception of Māori as a people only of the past • Constant redefining of Māori by non-Māori that results in ongoing Māori disadvantage

Whanaungatanga and Ako

Whanaungatanga or strategic connections and relationships that would support the kaupapa, were actively being sought and maintained with other iwi groups and between Māori and non-Māori. The enormity of the kaupapa meant that all who wanted to contribute could, but in order to participate, they would need to be prepared to accept the interdependent roles and responsibilities determined for them by the kaupapa and by the entire community. Such a response was more powerful than any individually determined response. Strategic cultural connections and alliances become

increasingly important as the research-whānau worked to develop new understandings by learning from the kaupapa and by teaching and learning from each (ako) other.

Chapter Seven: Te Whānau Whānui

Introduction

This chapter presents research that widened the networks of the research-whānau as well as increased our research understandings. These four case studies all involved the development of collaborative relationships with other groups. These groups include a school-community group and two different research groups. Each study continued with the important focus of listening and working with Māori students and their families in order to support the contexts in which they are educated to become more responsive and thus more effective. The four case studies are (case study six through to nine):

- Toitū te Whānau, Toitū te Iwi which involves a community's response as their students transit from kura kaupapa Māori to a mainstream bilingual secondary school (Berryman, 2001; Berryman, & Glynn, 2003).

- Hui Whakatika, a case study in which cultural processes subsequently contributed to an investigation of how special educators could respond more effectively to Māori students in a range of different settings (Wilkie, 2001).

- Te Toi Huarewa, which reports on effective Māori medium teaching and learning strategies, focussed in particular on literacy strategies and resources (Bishop, Berryman, & Richardson, 2001; 2002).

- Te Whānuitanga, an alternative education site, from a wider scoping exercise that contributed to a preliminary investigation of Māori student participation at Years 9 and 10 (Bishop, et al., 2001).

This chapter also includes critical reflection on the increasing connectedness between cultural and research understandings and its impact upon the position of the Poutama Pounamu research-whānau within SES, a Crown Agency.

Case Study Six: Toitū te Whānau, Toitū te Iwi

The Background

Transition to English medium settings can be severely challenging for students who have been educated in Māori immersion settings. A shared understanding between the kura (school) and home community, of the need to prepare for learning in English

while still maintaining competency in Māori, and how each group needs to contribute, is a priority. This study was initiated by a community that understood this priority but were unsure of how to address it.

The People

Eru Koopu (Whakatohea, Whānau Apanui[28]), the tumuaki (principal) from this community, actively sought support from the research-whānau to develop a programme to assist Year 8 students (all of whom were fluent in Māori), with their transition to a mainstream bilingual secondary school. When I received Eru Koopu's letter I believed that we had too many work commitments and other constraints to even contemplate working with this kura for at least six months. These constraints included the existing demand of workloads, the distance to travel and lack of funds. Accompanied by Kaa, who had extensive teaching experience in the Māori language, I travelled down to share this message kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) rather than by phone or letter. From our perspectives, we would be expressing an interest but indicating that our participation would have to wait until we had time available to concentrate on a project such as this.

The meeting was hosted by all members of the kura staff, the chairperson and other members of the Board of Trustees as well as other family and community members. One of the kaumatua, Rossi Kurei (Ngāti Ira) formally welcomed us to the school. During their mihimihi, Eru and Koro Rossi (Koro denotes male elder) both reminded me, as the person to whom the request had been directed, of my close kinship connections through Tūhoe to the hapū that students from this kura came from. I knew the connections had been made to show my responsibilities at a hapū and iwi level. They then opened the agenda of the meeting for discussion.

The community stated their concerns around their Year 8 students who were highly competent in Māori but who were meeting with failure when they entered the local secondary school. They believed that this, in part, was due to their own failure to prepare their students with sufficient English to respond confidently and competently to the challenges of bilingual schooling. A general discussion about reading at school

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[28] As in previous chapters where Māori people are introduced for the first time their iwi or tribal affiliations will also be introduced.

and home led to the group identifying that whānau and other community members could provide powerful support in the commitment of the kura to improve their students' literacy in English. While not all whānau and community members were fluent Māori speakers, they were all fluent English speakers.

Eru and Kura Loader (Whānau Apanui), the teacher of these students, expressed an interest in the use of Pause Prompt Praise (discussed in Chapter five) and two writing procedures, responsive writing (discussed in Chapter six) and a form of structured brainstorm (Whitehead, 1993). As I spoke specifically about these programmes I also agreed that implementing them by means of home and school collaboration could certainly provide a worthwhile solution. The kura staff and whānau present indicated a willingness to provide their support. However when I identified my unavailability for the next six months they responded by saying that for their group of Year 8 students, that would be far too late. The intervention had to start immediately.

Understanding the implied responsibilities that came with having a whakapapa that linked to these people, I tried to seek some middle ground. I agreed to train the community in the programmes that we had discussed and assess the students, if the community tutored the students and the kura took responsibility for monitoring the programme. The teacher of the Year 7 and 8 classes immediately undertook to liaise with the families and community, to monitor the programme, to participate in the programme herself and to provide the essential link between what was happening in the kura with myself as the researcher. Despite the enormity of these tasks, this teacher was so committed to maintaining her students' mana (prestige and authority) through a more planned and strategically supported transition to college that she readily accepted this challenge. To support the commitment of its community, the BOT further agreed to provide a budget for researcher travel and accommodation.

I agreed to capture these ideas in a brief written proposal and submit it to the tumuaki before a second meeting was held. At this meeting Eru, Kura (the teacher), the kura whānau (school community) and I, collaborated in setting the final parameters for the project. Important elements around the kaupapa emerged from this meeting. First, here was a Māori community (kaumātua, teachers, whānau, rangatahi/young adults) that was absolutely committed to the success and well-being of their children. Part of this commitment meant that key people in the community had readily taken on board their role in the research process, both as initiators of the research and developers of

the research design. Further, I was not seen as an outside researcher constructing and imposing the research design. Rather the community had identified me as being connected and linked to them. As such, I enjoyed the same privileges but I also had the same responsibilities as any other whānau member. Just as they had roles to fulfil so did I but by working together I was assured that challenges could be overcome.

Research Procedure

The study aimed to evaluate the effectiveness of Pause Prompt Praise, responsive written feedback and structured brainstorming as a means of supporting fluent Māori medium students in their transition to English medium classrooms. The study took place over a one-year period. Although the programme concentrated on developing reading and writing in the English language only, we decided to monitor changes in reading and writing in both English and Māori to determine that the learning of the new skills in English were in no way detrimental to the progression of skills in Māori.

I began the study by gathering baseline assessments using iti rearea, three-minute taped oral reading samples (as described in chapter five). These were used to assess reading accuracy and reading rate in English and in Māori from all Years 6 to Years 8 students. Oral responses to recall questions and cloze items were used to assess oral comprehension. Ten-minute writing samples in both English and Māori (as described in chapter six) were used to assess writing accuracy, writing rate and the extent to which individual writers were using more adventurous words. Qualitative measures of audience impact and language competency were also obtained from two seven-point holistic rating scales. Reading and writing data in English and in Māori were gathered at pre, post-programme and maintenance for all three groups of students.

I then trained tutors from the home community to implement the reading and writing strategies with students prior to their transition to English medium classrooms. The intervention then began with tutors implementing the programme with the group of Year 8 students in term four of 1998 for ten weeks (one term). In term one of 1999, tutors then introduced the programme to the group of Year 7 students who in 1999 were in Year 8. Then, after ten weeks (one more term) tutors introduced the programme to the final group who were the original Year 6 students and who in 1999 were in Year 7. Again the programme lasted for ten weeks. Immediately prior to the programme, and once all students had been through the programme, all students were assessed across all measures. This design allowed for a built-in evaluation of the

programme by means of a multiple baseline comparison across three groups of students with repeated-measurements taken across all students at one-term intervals from pre-programme to maintenance. The effectiveness of the reading and writing English transition programme implemented by this kura and its community was also evaluated in terms of process (treatment integrity or treatment implementation) as well as outcome measures taken with and between groups.

Findings

After this ten-week intervention devised largely by the kura and its community, treatment integrity data showed that tutors had efficiently implemented the programmes and outcome data showed that all Year 8 students were now able to read stories written in the English language and talk about them at age appropriate reading levels. Importantly, students displayed improved rates of writing in English while maintaining their progress in reading and writing in Māori. The 10-week programme and results were replicated over a further three terms with the Year 7, and again with the Year 6 students.

A later statistical analysis of all reading and writing measures using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) confirmed the statistical significance of these outcome data (Glynn et al., 2005). Māori immersion students each demonstrated statistically significant improvement in their reading and writing of English, as shown by comparisons of mean assessment scores taken immediately before and immediately after their English transition programme. At the same time, data analyses of Māori reading and writing assessments for these same students were either, initially high and remained stable, or showed statistically significant improvements across the four assessment points. Further, many of the quantitative and qualitative writing gains that occurred within the target language (English) were also evident in the non target language (Māori) although these gains were often smaller and less strongly associated with each group's introduction to the English transition programme. Importantly these data showed very clearly that the significant gains in English reading and writing made by these students had not compromised their continuing progress in Māori (see the English and Māori reading data of Year 8 students, in Appendix 3).

Student and Tutor Narratives

At the end of the programme, I asked the participants to reflect on the processes that we had used and the people who had participated. This helped to identify specific

elements that this kura and their community believed had contributed to the success of the intervention. This second round of fieldwork provided the opportunity to explore the attitudes, feelings and beliefs of these people during their experiences with this English transition research. As described in case study 4, this part of the research involved collaborative storying utilising a series of in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with the teachers, students and whānau who had been central to the project. Interviews were organised into a collection of participants' narratives that aimed to develop a rich detailed picture of how participation in this research had impacted upon their lives. Interviews focused on the collaborative home and school partnerships and the tutoring relationships that underpinned this study. A small section of these interviews that focus on the tutor-tutee relationship appears next. Most names have been invented to protect confidentiality. The students talked about the positive outcomes from the programme which included their developing confidence and ability to talk, read and write in English, and the strong relationships they had developed with their tutors.

> **Pauline:** It was very hard [not being able to read and write in English], kind of difficult in a way. I'm from a Māori school. It was hard at the time for me to read [in English], because I hardly learnt Pākehā at the time and yeah I was mostly into reading Māori and writing Māori but I could speak the language. I could communicate [in English].
>
> I remember my tutor she took me during school for about half an hour to read simple books to begin with then she took me on to harder ones. We had reading with our tutors two or three times a week and sometimes I read at home as well. The reading helped me learn how to pronounce words properly and their meanings.
>
> **Terry:** I remember my tutor taught me how to read even all the long sentences. I'm not sure how it happened but it did.
>
> There were some of the words that I'd never seen or heard of them and I didn't know what they were. It wasn't just about reading the stories though we used to talk about them too.
>
> **Karen:** My tutor was Kerry and she was an awesome tutor. She took me through a few stories, she talked about the stories, she helped me work out

words, she broke up some of the words that were too difficult for me to read, and in the end I found it easy.

I knew the stories were getting harder because I never had long words to pronounce when I first started but at the end I got those long words in my stories that I had to read to my tutor and I finally knew how to say them.

We had a lot of laughs together. If I didn't know how to read, she would tell me to give it a go, I'd just laugh and she would laugh with me. She was real cool. Getting to know my tutor better was an excellent part of the reading.

Two of the reading tutors talked about their tutoring experiences and the reciprocal benefits they believed came from their tutoring. All had found tutoring to be a positive experience. They talked about the results that had been achieved and the pride they felt in their students.

Stacey: Well like on the reading side, it boosted Pauline heaps. She struggled a lot when we first started reading but in the end yes she was awesome. I was really proud of what she had achieved. I think her spoken language would have probably improved a lot in that time too I'd say. She was prone to talking a lot of slang and I noticed now and again when we'd start talking and she'd introduce some of these words that she had learnt when she was reading, so I suppose her oral language also improved.

I think the whole lot of it was really positive. Right from the start, even though she looked nervous she was keen on it even though she was really shy. She was frightened at first I think and then as time went on she started getting a bit more confident, started moaning about the books she had to read and was commenting on how easy it was or whatever.

The one thing I really remember was her last day at school. They had their Christmas party and all the form twos [Year 8] had to get up and have a little kōrero and stuff and she commented on how she had learnt how to read English and stuff and she was crying, made me cry, it was choice. It was really neat. I was freaking out. I was so proud, I felt really choice. Like I was proud of her for that, she actually thought that whole process was good for her.

I learnt, like at first I didn't really know her very well, I think she's my cousin or something, but towards the end we started, even down the street, she would

give us a yell and come over and have a little natter [colloquial term for talk] and stuff to see how things were going. I asked if she had started to read at home yet and it was always a no. That was just something that I kept trying to drum into her to pick up a book every now then if she got bored at home.

I tried to encouraged her to go further

Craig: I really enjoyed the whole thing, it was awesome, it was a real learning experience, I think for both me and Terry. I didn't find any negatives or downers about it. It was awesome.

I definitely saw improvements in the reader who I was teaching. I think it improved his confidence a lot with his reading, definitely his confidence improved. And he could read a lot better afterwards.

Yes, like even in himself I could see that he was a lot more confident at school even outside the reading. He got to know me a bit better. I'm the same sort of age level, not a big distance in the age, and I got along with him quite well.

To start off with there was a bit of hesitation and then as he became more confident as he went through the course, he improved a hell of a lot, yeah.

This tutor discussed the importance of the family relationships that existed between many of the tutors and their readers. However, given that he was unable to connect at this level, he revealed how these close reciprocal relationships were developed at times other than tutoring in order for successful benefits to ensue.

Craig: Well we were all from the area, part of whānau and stuff from there, and I think just improving everyone's confidence and stuff, yeah.

I think that was important because then all the kids already knew the people that they were being tutored by, it wasn't just someone they didn't know or anything like that. I definitely I think it would be better if you knew the person.

It's about that relationship, not having to worry about having to build up a relationship.

Even though it wasn't the same with me and Warren, like I've been in school with him doing computers and stuff so we sort of had a little bit of a relationship built up already.

I played sport with them at lunchtime, stuff like that. Played touch, rode on the bus home with them. I took the bus home every day

The other guys who were tutors they were there all day, they took the bus as well. I think some of them were doing a course at the marae at the time as well but they were going from there and helping out at the school at the same time.

The students' ability to read and to give things a go was clear evidence for Craig that the programme had been successful. Craig replied:

I could tell Warren was definitely improving because he was trying harder words and stuff, he would have a go at everything, like at the start he would just go, "I don't know". Part way through the programme he would start to have a go at words. That made me feel good. Yeah I felt that it was good, that I was actually achieving something with him.

I think for these kids and for us, the tutors, that there was like, that element of an emotional experience in terms of having gone through something important together. I did feel that I'd helped Warren a lot, yes. It was mainly that he could read afterwards, like just him trying stuff was really great seeing him having a go at stuff, improving his confidence.

The students also talked about the responsive writing. Silomiga (Soli) Weiss (Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Mamoe), a research-whānau member, had been the person who provided written responses to the students' writing. Given that the students in the programme never actually met the responder until the ten exchanges were completed, nor was she from their community, it was interesting that they had experienced the power of writing sufficiently to talk about her as intimately as they talked about their reading tutors who they had been seeing at least three times a week.

Pauline: Our stories were given in to the teacher and the teacher sent them to Soli. Writing these stories really helped me to get better at writing. I really liked getting Soli's stories back too. That was awesome.

Karen: At first I found it quite difficult and after a while I finally picked it up and then it got better.

It was good getting our stories back because everyone had different stories and we all used to read each other's. We used to like that. We looked forward to our stories coming back to us and reading what Soli had written.

Hinemaia: I really enjoyed writing to Soli, because she encouraged me to write better and do better at everything I do. Since I have been writing to her, I have expressed my true feelings about all my writing and now when I write to anybody, I think about Soli and how she encouraged me through my writing. It almost feels like I know her.

Tama: It was cool writing to Soli because she shared her own stories with us. The stories she sent back to us were always very interesting. Soli always wrote back to us. She wrote about the things that she did and they were the things that we did too. Horse riding, rugby, swimming at the river or whatever.

Wiremu: It was cool Soli writing back to us because I have never had somebody write stories for me ever before. I enjoyed that one. I liked to share my story with her and it was never a hōhā (nuisance).

It is clear from the responses from students and tutors that a relationship of trust had developed between them. She had come to know about the students and their hopes and aspirations through their writing exchanges.

Silomiga: I guess it was pretty cool getting to know these students through their writing. I got to know them through what they shared with me in their stories. Who they were, who was in their family, where they were living, who they were living with, who had aunts, who had a koro (Grandfather). Every day things. Even their feelings, how they felt. They shared those thoughts with me too. Who they thought was really neat and what they thought was neat.

Hinemaia's stories stood out. She had the ability to write her feelings down on paper right from the start. When she wrote, her feelings really showed through. When she told me about her Grandmother, you could see the relationship that they had between the two of them. It was really sad when she shared with me about her grandmother dying. I tried to help her by saying in my writing that while her grandmother was no longer there physically she would always be there in her heart. I also shared with her how my uncle had passed away and how that had made me feel. I hope that helped make her feel a bit better. I related my experiences to their experiences in their stories.

It was also important for me knowing the situation that they were in. Just by helping them with this writing I might be able to make a difference. This

writing might in turn build up their self-confidence, their self-pride. Knowing that they can do this. Helping them to believe in themselves. That they could write stories in English.

Just going back and reading their stories again brought it all back. After we had exchanged a few stories I noticed that they began to check their work more themselves. That was a really good sign because at first they hadn't checked their work.

I really enjoyed the whole experience. Meeting them after the ten weeks of writing was great, putting the names to the faces. I don't think I held any expectations of what they would be like. They all came up and introduced themselves. Both the boys and the girls. They showed me their room and what they were up to. They were easy to talk to. We just talked about all of the things that we knew we had in common. I think they found it easy to talk to me. They were cool kids.

Silomiga also spoke of the relationship that formed between her and these writers. Hinemaia's writing exchange that Silomiga speaks of, that exemplifies the close relationship that developed between the writers and this responder, is presented in Appendix 4. All of the students interviewed believed that the programme had been of benefit to them in their preparation for secondary school and that their relationship with their tutors had been an important part of this preparation.

Tiare: Yep, it was easy, easier for me than I thought it would be. I was nervous to begin with 'cause I didn't really know how to read and write in English. My tutor helped me with my reading.

Warren: I really liked it because it helps you a lot and once you get to college it helps you to actually understand what you are writing and reading about in English

Karen: I learned to increase my English and my writing and I was able to read and write faster and better.

It was good to have somebody to listen to me, to talk with me and to laugh with me. I had a good relationship with my tutor.

To provide an example of the progress that these students speak of, Hinemaia's writing exchange discussed above and written in week five, is compared with her tenth writing exchange and is presented in Appendix 5.

Craig, one of the tutors, has the final say:

> Well just being able to communicate a lot easier through being able to read a lot easier. It took the stress off them, they knew that they could do it in English now and they could feel good about having the Māori as well. What they can do when they are reading with English they can do in Māori. You know, think about words they don't know. What does it mean? And give it a go. And also understanding what they are reading about and being able to talk about it. Knowing that they could do that in both languages, I think that's pretty awesome. It must make you feel pretty good about yourself.

Implications

This study documented for the first time, data on tutors' use of three literacy tutoring procedures as well as the reading and writing gains in English and Māori made by three groups of students (Year 6, 7 and 8) undertaking transition to English and to subsequent bilingualism and bi-literacy. Assessments were taken across four separate assessment points over a full year. The kaupapa Māori research approach, in which we chose to use mixed qualitative and quantitative methods, ensured that the English transition programme in this one kura kaupapa Māori was able to be undertaken and evaluated within culturally appropriate and responsive means. The use of narrative enquiry and collaborative storying helped to clarify and better understand how the school and community viewed the outcome and importance of the transition programme. The use of quantitative data analysis from the findings of the intervention enabled us to elaborate the extent to which students' writing and reading competencies appeared to have improved.

This project has been the start of a collaborative journey that has brought together a community united in the pursuit of their children's future success and forged a relationship of trust between the whānau from this community and the research-whānau. This community responded positively and in ways that were self-determining, to the questions they had raised themselves about how they could better support their children's transition to English from Māori immersion programmes.

Toitū te Whānau, Toitū te Iwi speaks metaphorically of holding on to the strength that comes from family and tribal identity.

The kura have independently continued their transition intervention on a yearly basis for their Year 8 students with minimal input and support from the research-whānau. In 2003 we were invited back to assist with the monitoring of a new group of six year 8 students. Again, data were analysed using SPSS following the implementation of the school and community literacy programme for these students. Again, statistically significant improvements were observed on several different measures of students' reading and writing. After approximately four months of participating in the school and community literacy programme, these students were reading English texts between two and three levels in advance of the levels they were reading at pre programme. They were reading these more advanced texts with increased comprehension, with fewer errors, and with a significantly increased word recognition vocabulary. Furthermore, the students were receiving significantly higher quality ratings for the audience appeal and for the overall language quality of their writing in English, and the accuracy of that writing was also significantly improved. The analysis of reading data from this project is included as Appendix 6. The collaborative relationship between the Poutama Pounamu research-whānau and this kura continues.

Collaboration with other Māori Researchers

Networking with other Māori researchers provided an opportunity in the next case for the research-whānau to work with the group of Māori researchers from the New Zealand Council of Education Research (NZCER).

Case Study Seven: Hui Whakatika

The case study of the Hui Whakatika (meeting to make things right) intervention is told retrospectively through the personal narratives of a grandmother, the teachers of these students and a member of the senior management team. The full details of this intervention were included in Matauranga Motuhake (Wilkie, 2001), an NZCER report on special education for Māori written for the Ministry of Education (MOE).

Initiation into the Intervention

The intervention in this case study was one in which Rangiwhakaehu Walker and I, were both involved. It concerned one Māori medium syndicate within a large

mainstream school that responded using the traditional process of hui (a meeting held within Māori cultural protocols), when three year 7 and year 8 Māori students experimented with marijuana in their school grounds. Members of the school staff, including the principal, sought advice from Rangiwhakaehu. Her advice resulted in these staff members, the three students and members of their families involving themselves in seeking solutions and collaborative decision-making within the supportive and culturally appropriate learning context provided by the traditional hui or meeting (Macfarlane, 1998). The hui whakatika procedures are often likened to restorative justice procedures as their aims are similar. Restorative practice in schools requires:

> …that harm done to a relationship is understood and acknowledged and that effort is made to repair that harm. In order for that restoration to happen, the voices of those affected by the offence need to be heard in the process of seeking redress.

> (Restorative Practices Development Team, 2003, p. 11)

The Procedure

The hui was held in the school room designated as the whare wānanga (house of learning). At Rangiwhakaehu's direction the three boys had each brought family members with them for support at the meeting including a grandmother who was there for her own mokopuna (grandchild), as well as for the other boys. The principal, deputy principal, senior teacher, classroom teacher and Rangiwhakaehu attended. Her participation ensured that correct cultural protocols were adhered to, thus protecting both the people and the kaupapa. Rangiwhakaehu began the meeting with mihimihi (greetings), then karakia (prayer) that asked for guidance and support, followed by further introductions. A cup of tea was shared and the agenda was jointly set. All members of the hui agreed that we would be seeking to fully address the problem without creating a situation of shame and blame. The principal gave his commitment to support whatever decisions came from the meeting, thus handing the power to redress the situation and restore relationships back to the hui participants. After much discussion and debate, the consequences were collaboratively determined. The students involved in the incident assisted in both the debate and the determining of solutions. The hui continued with poroporoaki when everyone was given an opportunity to have a final say. It then concluded with a karakia.

The Solution

As a result of this hui, the group planned a four-day in-school suspension intervention supported on a daily basis by people from each boy's family. Interaction with their in-school classmates was discouraged and although teachers did not actively discuss or police this, this was promoted by all of the students themselves. Teachers set up a separate programme aimed at providing these three students with positive Māori cultural messages and role models as well as specific information about marijuana and the consequences of drug abuse. These students then attended each of the related lunchtime workshops facilitated by visitors and focussed on the effects of marijuana, with their own family members.

The Results

This response ensured that these students remained at school and after the in-school detention they were accepted back by their classmates as if nothing untoward had happened. Importantly this response opened up more effective two-way communication and support between the homes of these students and their school. All groups learned from the process, the outcome was seen by all to be just and equitable to the misdemeanour, and more importantly, none of the groups (school, student or whānau) lost mana.

This incident happened over a decade ago. The boys all remained at college until at least the end of year 11. The youngest of the three boys, successfully finished his year 12 having competed in top college sports and cultural teams throughout his secondary schooling. For these boys, no repeat incidents such as this occurred throughout their schooling.

Olsen, Maxwell and Morris (1994) identify four features crucial to pre-European Māori discipline. First, there was an emphasis on the whole community reaching consensus. Second, the outcome needed to be acceptable to all parties rather than merely isolate or punish the offenders. Third, and upon an implicit assumption that there may have been problems in more than one context, it was important to examine the wider contexts of the misdemeanour. Finally, there was more concern with the restoration of harmony than with punishing the wrongdoer. Macfarlane (1998) asserts that these four core-functions, implicit in the traditional Māori discipline model (consensus, reconciliation, examination and restoration), are quintessential to an effective school conference or hui. Participants involved in this intervention,

interviewed some years later, all mentioned the importance of keeping everyone's mana intact. Drewery, et al., (1998) theorising and writing about the kinds of interactive dialogue that is required if suspension is to be avoided, also highly value a quality or principle that they term the psychology of mana. Tate (1990) asserts that the psychology of mana goes beyond personal magnetism to being a force that brings about change.

The participants in this hui were looked after by leaders who understood the importance of mana. Kaumātua ensured that all of the appropriate traditional practices and protocols, including those implicit in traditional Māori discipline, were employed throughout the intervention. This in turn ensured the safety of all and the ultimate success of the intervention. Bishop and Glynn, (1999) suggest that the reassertion of Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices, supported and legitimised by kaumātua, can lead to more effective participation and learning for Māori students. This intervention highlighted how this can be especially important for those at risk in our education system.

Changes within SES: The Research-Whānau Continues

In 2000 Ross Wilson retired from his position of CEO and a time of restructuring in SES followed. The restructuring was a time of serious uncertainty that saw many people, previously essential to the organisation, suddenly becoming redundant. This included our Poutama Pounamu manager Wai Harawira and the Kaunihera Kaumātua (the national reference group of elders) that she had helped put in place. The hurt was still evident years later, when I spoke with one of these kaumatua, Te Uru McGarvey (Ngāi Tūhoe). She told how, after being part of this ratified national group that sat parallel to the SES Board, they heard that they were no longer needed. They did not even have the opportunity to meet together one last time. From a Māori worldview, this violated the essential importance of closure through poroporoaki. This time of uncertainty resulted in our research-whānau exploring alternative funding and support opportunities in case we were the next group targeted by the restructuring. We met with Professor Noeline Alcorn, the Dean of the School of Education, at the University of Waikato. These discussions resulted in our feeling valued and affirmed, and importantly, at the time, with an alternative avenue if the need had arisen.

For a while, we became the direct responsibility of Tony Davies at National Office. Even his position was not safe from the restructuring. Nevertheless, we have much to thank him for in the short time he held this position. Importantly he made it possible to employ more people at the centre on a permanent basis. This meant that we were no longer distracted by the task of funding a core group of researchers. As previously mentioned, only one researcher position and the administration position had been permanent since the setting up of the centre while other members of the research-whānau were on short-term contracts. In all of this time Rangiwhakaehu was paid only when we had a contract which brought with it additional funding to do so. Rangiwhakaehu often admonished us, reiterating time and again that what she did was done out of her commitment to raising Māori participation and achievement in education and her aroha ki te tangata (love for people). Although she had been happy to participate in this way other members of the research-whānau were concerned by this situation. A job description for kuia whakaruruhau (female elder who takes the role of protector) was drafted with her input, and since this time she has been officially employed for one day per week. This gave her time to work with us but also gave her time to concentrate on her own hapū and iwi tasks. From the point of view of the research-whānau, the payment she received was an important acknowledgement by the organisation of her mana. Wai's leaving also meant that we would have to make decisions about who would take responsibility for managing the centre through this period of uncertainty. Rangiwhakaehu and Mate encouraged me to apply for the position and, in due course, I was appointed. A second researcher position was advertised, and for the first time the appointment was made into a new permanent position. Mate and Kaa's positions (both 0.5) also finally became permanent.

A Research Partnership

By this time, Russell Bishop had moved from his position at the University of Otago to take up the Chair of Māori Education at Waikato University. One of the initiatives he put in place at Waikato University was to set up an informal Māori education research centre which was to develop into the Centre for Māori Education Research (CMER). Russell and members of the research-whānau met to discuss opportunities for collaboration. In order to maintain the mana of each group, it was decided that such collaboration would be undertaken within a partnership relationship. This step saw us now working closely with, and learning alongside, other Māori academics. A

stocktake and preliminary evaluation of diagnostic assessment tools in Māori medium education (Bishop, Berryman, Glynn, & Richardson, 2000) and an evaluation of teachers' perceptions and use of Aro Matawai Urunga-ā-kura, an assessment resource for five year olds that became known as AKA (Bishop, Berryman, Richardson, & Glynn, 2000), led up to a project called Te Toi Huarewa (Bishop, Berryman & Richardson, 2001, 2002).

Case Study Eight: Te Toi Huarewa

The name of this project was suggested to Mate by Waihoroi Shortland (Ngāti Hine, Te Aupouri). It comes from the hanging vines or toihuarewa used in some stories by Tānenuiarangi to climb to the heavens to obtain the baskets and stones of knowledge (see chapter two) and in others by Tāwhaki, the first human, who is credited with this same task (Reed & Calman, 2004). Whatever the case, the metaphor of accessing knowledge was seen by both Mate and Waihoroi as being appropriate to the purpose of this research.

Purpose

The main purpose of Te Toi Huarewa was to observe and reflect upon the teaching and learning strategies used during literacy programmes by a range of previously identified, effective, Year 1 to Year 5, Māori medium classroom teachers. Researchers aimed to identify effective teachers then co-construct with them a picture of how they, as effective teachers, operated in Māori language, literacy-learning contexts. This project also sought to identify the teaching and learning materials that these teachers considered to be most effective and the ways in which they used these materials for improving their students' Māori medium literacy skills. As researchers we wanted to describe and report on these findings in such a way that other teachers reading the report could reflect on their own practices and experiences and thus develop similar processes for creating a more effective Māori language, literacy-learning environment in their own classrooms.

Researchers

Rangiwhakaehu, Mate and Kaa were an important part of the research team as we worked in partnership with CMER. This group, all with extensive educational experiences and fluency in the Māori language and culture, assumed the role of kaiwhakaruruhau (cultural guardian), giving advice and supporting the research

throughout all stages. Their participation meant that although members of the research-whānau were now also a part of new wider group we could still relate and interact as a whānau-of-interest with this new group. These relationships and interactions meant that the research would be carried out in culturally appropriate ways and ensured that the kaupapa or research agenda, and the people who participated (participants and researchers) as well as the knowledge that emerged, would be kept safe.

A core team of researchers took responsibility for establishing the parameters of the research, co-ordinating and administering the research processes, developing and trialling the data-gathering instrument and reporting on the findings. A further team of researchers (including Mate and Kaa) took responsibility for gathering the data and reporting these findings back to the core team. A smaller writing team took responsibility for drafting sections of the final report. A key informant group supported the research whānau by providing feedback and advice at two points within the study. As the two team leaders, Russell and I contributed across all groups.

Research Procedure

In order to identify teachers considered suitable for placement within this study, the first step in this project was to develop a process of triangulation to identify effective teachers. We drew on our own considerable networks (whakawhanaungatanga) to establish relationships with a key informant group. The key informants were people such as Resource Teachers of Māori (RTMs), Māori Advisors, principals, teachers and others involved in Māori medium education who were knowledgeable about what constituted sound teaching practices in these settings. The key informant group developed a list of criteria that they all considered relevant to the effective teachers that we were seeking. They then identified individual teachers who from their experiences, they considered effective Māori medium literacy teachers.

Once key informants identified an effective teacher, researchers completed the triangulation process by seeking the advice of others from the community of the teacher (the principal, teaching colleagues, families and/or other community people) who were also able to comment on the identified teacher, from their own experiences. Sites targeted for the research were those where all three key informants had confirmed that the teacher ran a very effective Māori medium literacy programme with Year 1 to Year 5 students.

Development of Research Tools

In order to describe quite specifically what these effective teachers did in their classrooms and why they participated in this manner, we developed an observation and reflection tool, based on stimulated recall interviews (SRI). SRIs provided a framework for focussing on specific incidents and observing and recording these in detail. Teachers were then encouraged to reflect upon these observations to co-construct a *rich* descriptive picture of their classroom practices. Given that different researchers gathered the information it was important that fieldwork at each targeted site was undertaken consistently. This meant that the structure of the contact time with the teacher and the nature of some of the questions and SRI prompts were determined in advance. Consequently, we developed an observation and interview instrument and protocol for gathering data at each site.

This data-gathering instrument consisted of six separate sections. The first section gathered background information about the teacher's school. The second section involved five separate pre-observation activities. Activity 1 required teachers to sort a selection of literacy resources into three separate categories and discuss according to the perceived and actual usability of these resources in the classroom. Activity 2 asked for information about teacher planning while activity 3 called for the researcher to take photographs of the classroom environment. Activity 4 asked the researcher to look for evidence of available technological aids and activity 5 asked teachers to articulate their personal teaching and learning philosophy.

The third section of the instrument continued from activity 5 but attempted to focus more closely on specific classroom relationships, pedagogical practices and interactions observed by researchers. This section consisted of a framework and prompts for four separate observations and then the stimulated recall interviews. Observations included lesson commencement, classroom organisation, teacher student interactions, matching learning intentions to students and finally the teaching strategies being used.

The fourth section of the instrument involved three separate tasks and again consisted of a framework and prompts for observations and stimulated recall interviews. Researchers were asked to observe evidence of teachers establishing teaching strategies to address the differential levels of learning in the classroom as well as

classroom routines. Researchers were also asked to look for evidence of how learning and behaviour were being monitored.

The fifth section of the instrument invited the teacher to discuss how others were involved in their programme, how student progress was monitored and what literacy strategies and materials were used. This section also asked how other teachers in the school taught and interacted with each other in the areas of students' literacy learning programmes. This section required researchers to discuss with the teacher their perceptions of the role of the learner, the relationship of Māori oral traditions to classroom literacy programmes and the processes involved in reading. Finally researchers collected samples of students' literacy work.

Before implementation, the data-gathering instrument was modified by further collaboration with others in the research team and the advisory group, then trialled in one school. Further modifications were made during this time, then Mate translated the revised instrument was into Māori. A training day attended by all research fieldworkers was then held to familiarise everyone with the instrument and organise the procedures for the fieldwork. Prior to the fieldwork, this project was reviewed and approved by the School of Education Ethics Committee at the University of Waikato.

The Fieldwork

As key informants identified effective teachers, principals were contacted, the project was introduced and detailed, and with their approval the teacher was consulted and invited to participate in the project. Principals were advised that they would receive two teacher relief days for teachers who participated in the study.

Researchers participated in cultural rituals of encounter, as instigated by the schools, before data gathering began. First, researchers met the teacher and their class, then spent the rest of the day responding to teacher questions, gathering pre-observation information and materials and inviting the teacher to respond to the set questions. The box of teacher and student resources from Activity 1 of the pre-observation activities was discussed and left for the teacher to consider further before organising their feedback overnight.

On the second day of fieldwork, the researcher arrived to be in the classroom ready for the start of day. Observations and researcher recordings took place in the morning.

The researcher then took the teacher out of the school in the afternoon to lunch. Lunch was followed by the stimulated recall interviews based on the morning's classroom observations. Researchers justified the removal of teachers from the school grounds on the basis that a reliever had been provided and the teacher should have the space to relax and reflect away from classroom and school demands. Hui protocols and processes ensured that teachers were provided with the space and the time to have their say.

Data gathering therefore occurred through in-class observations, semi-structured interviews and stimulated recall interviews. The teacher and the researcher collaborated throughout these interviews to provide a narrative based on their responses to the questions on both the interview and the observation sheets. The researchers were then required to make sense of their recording processes before returning these to the research team for further analyses. The notes went back to participating teachers for their further consideration and verification.

Findings

Te Toi Huarewa findings suggested that effective teachers were readily identifiable in Māori medium education. This was despite Māori medium education, as we know it today, beginning in the early 1990s and thus still being in its infancy, and despite knowledge about the most effective resources and strategies for this setting still undergoing development. The effective teachers observed and interviewed were, however, making very good use of the limited resources available while increasing their understanding and expertise in the range of strategies that were available to them.

Effective Teachers

The qualities of effective teachers from Te Toi Huarewa were compared with the qualities of effective teachers from other studies, for example those described by Fraser and Spiller (2000). We found that Te Toi Huarewa teachers compared very favourably in that they had depth of subject knowledge and a passion for what they taught. They also had a clear philosophy of teaching and learning goals, and a desire to share this knowledge. Further, they were committed to developing students' understanding and growth by showing a genuine interest in students' work, giving quality feedback and using calm, non-confrontational behaviour management approaches. These effective teachers continually reflected on their own teaching, and

sought opportunities for further professional development in order to maximise their own performance and consequently improve conditions for their students. They cared for their students but also set high expectations for them. These teachers were also aware of, and concerned with, the wide range of variability in language levels of their students. Te Toi Huarewa teachers understood the benefits of students working to support each other. They organised their strategies and literacy programmes to cater for the wide range of Māori language skills by grouping and teaching students according to their Māori language competency. One teacher described the focus in these junior classrooms as being an "oral language-saturated environment". Teachers tended to tailor the strategies they used to the oral language that the students had. This provided students with the support to go from the known to the unknown, working interdependently with others in ways that promoted their own cognitive processes and problem solving strategies, to promote future independence.

The Importance of culture

Key informants had collaboratively defined effective Māori Medium teachers prior to fieldwork, as teachers who worked in a professional manner to make a positive difference for Māori children and their families. These teachers understood what they were doing and could explain why they were doing it. They also had competency and ability in te reo Māori and in tikanga Māori (cultural practices). Te Toi Huarewa teachers clearly met these criteria. They knew what to do in their classrooms, and were able to explain and theorise their actions from a Māori worldview perspective.

The critical difference between these effective teachers and others was that in their relationships and interactions with students and other people, in their selection of appropriate and meaningful strategies and materials, and in the monitoring of their own processes, they lived and taught through their culture. That is, these teachers embedded teaching and learning in the culture of their students and they understood how crucial this was to their students' social and educational success. Further, they acknowledged the necessity for themselves to be competently involved in these cultural practices. These effective teachers actively sought the advice of experts such as kaumātua, in matters that they did not fully comprehend or were not the most appropriate person to undertake. This was particularly noticeable for teachers working outside of their own tribal area. These effective teachers were observed constantly striving for their own and for their students' cultural competence.

Glynn, Wearmouth and Berryman (2006), and Hohepa et al (1992) amongst others who discuss learning from a socio-cultural perspective, suggest that it is not the curriculum per se, but student engagement in particular curriculum practices through their relationships and interactions with others in social situations that leads to the development of cognitive and intellectual skills. Children learning in these settings were being socialised through learning and learning in turn through socio-cultural processes. In this way, learners were active, not passive and the emphasis by the teachers promoted learning through real-life activities. The socio-cultural context influenced the literacy-learning context and all other learning contexts.

Being committed to competency in traditional Māori cultural practices meant that these teachers were also committed to competency in te reo Māori through their own awareness of the constraints their own language competency had upon students' learning. All the teachers spoke of the challenges of keeping up with the creation of new words and the concepts found in each of the new curriculum documents and had responded in a range of effective ways to this challenge. In the classrooms of these effective teachers, Māori language and traditional cultural practices were embedded in all they did, in their relationships and interactions with people, with places and with things. Their beliefs, understandings and practices were whānau-based and so they behaved accordingly. Accountability was to the students and through them to their families, or vice versa. Relationships and responsibilities were reciprocal and truly collaborative. The whānau initiated the education process, its benefits were for the whānau, it represented the whānau view and it was legitimated within the whānau. This influenced their desire for all children to be healthy, have positive self esteem, be confident, well educated and with full cognisance of their own indigeneity. Their motives, in line with Durie's (2001b) analysis of what makes Māori people successful, identified the importance of indigeneity as the basis for competent and satisfactory participation in the global community.

The Importance of Pedagogy

These effective teachers not only sought cultural expertise they also actively sought opportunities that would enhance and increase their own pedagogical effectiveness as classroom practitioners. They knew the areas that they wished to develop and constantly sought new ideas, often cramming these opportunities into an already packed schedule. Interaction with critical friends provided opportunities to reflect on

their own classroom practices and to learn from each other within effective professional learning communities (Timperley, & Parr, 2004). These communities shared student outcomes and resources, and they debated what happened at the grassroots, that is, what happened in their classrooms.

There was little evidence to suggest that these teachers saw teaching merely as a job or for personal gain. Rather, there was evidence to suggest that these effective teachers saw teaching as their purpose or mission in life. Often this belief was both, internally and externally motivated.

Despite the problems faced by the teachers in Māori-medium settings, these teachers remained positive and future focussed because of their close personal ties with other educators, both in and out of their schools. A major feature of this process of developing learning relationships was that these teachers were interested in listening to others involved in the education process. Importantly this included the children and their parents and extended whānau.

The next opportunity for collaborative research between the whānau and CMER came about through a scoping exercise that sought to investigate Māori student participation at Years 9 and 10 (Bishop et al., 2001). This scoping exercise forms the basis of the next case study.

Case Study Nine: Te Whānuitanga

This case study focuses on one of the sites from a scoping exercise that aimed to provide information from which to develop a range of models and theories to explain Māori students' educational achievement. From the emerging findings, researchers aimed to generate theories that could be tested in a longer-term research project. Experiences around the transition to secondary schools from Year 8 to Year 9 were also explored. Te whānuitanga is a metaphor that speaks of making connections. Pseudonyms have been used to protect confidentiality.

The Research Procedure

The scoping exercise first involved a detailed examination of a range of literature pertinent to this topic as well as a series of in-depth interviews with a cross-section of approximately 60 Māori students at Years 9 and 10 (ages approximately 12 to 15). These students attended a range of school types including state secondary schools, Paerangi boarding schools, wharekura (Māori-medium secondary schools) and an

alternative education setting (for students excluded from the school system). The research focussed on student achievement by exploring the relative effects of various historical, social and educational factors on student achievement as understood by the students and educators from each of these sites. Researchers sought student and educator perspectives and incorporated these into the final report.

The Alternative Education site

The site chosen for this case study was a secondary school Alternative Education site that accessed the students' academic programme from the Correspondence School[29]. This programme was then delivered to students largely by two teacher aides. Staff also worked closely with the families of these students.

The students

All students came with a perceived background of being at risk, having been seen by teachers as presenting extreme behavioural and learning problems in the past and having been involved with a range of other support agencies. Students' referral to this site had included extremely challenging behaviour such as school refusal, bullying and physical abuse. One student had been diagnosed and was on medication for Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD). In line with national trends, disproportionate numbers (55% to 80%) of students in alternative education are Māori. Five of these six students (83%) at the present site being discussed were Māori. The negative experiences recalled by these students relate largely to the schools from which they had been excluded.

Three of these students participated in the discussion. Thoughtfully and openly they shared that they wanted education to result in good work and travel opportunities.

> **Lisa:** I want to get skills so I can get a proper job. Like one of those business jobs and not working in a shop or doing kiwifruit, doing the same thing over and over.

> **Rangi:** I want to go overseas.

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[29] The Correspondence School has national coverage. It was set up to provide education for students unable to access schooling because of remoteness. This criterion is now broader and includes students unable to access schooling for other reasons.

Sam: Just to be happy.

They expressed that their desire to have a say in their own learning, being presented with wider choices, and being listened to, had helped them begin to learn again.

Lisa: [Being allowed] …to make our own decisions, to have a say in the work that we do.

Sam: Doing things in different ways not just the same thing all the time. That's boring.

Rangi: Have a tape that plays the question and tapes your answer instead of just reading and writing. Instead of writing find a different way to do it.

Lisa: Being able to choose for your self. Like if you are sore or you don't feel like doing P.E. [at school] you have to do it unless you have a note. I think we should be listened to if we're sore we don't have to do it.

Students were clearly concerned with not being able to do their work properly. They also talked about the sorts of things that had held them back in their previous schools.

Rangi: Not doing your work 'cause you can't. 'Cause you don't know how.

Sam: Sometimes 'cause they [teachers] just don't explain it properly.

Rangi: Yeah just tell you, "here do it" and don't tell you how.

Lisa: Don't give you any help and so you can't.

For some students this problem had worsened when they moved from a single classroom teacher at Intermediate to a range of specialist teachers at secondary.

Sam: Sometimes, like when I was in intermediate I had one teacher and that was good. I got to know the teacher better and I liked that. When I went to college I had lots of different teachers. You have to go to different parts of the schools, to different rooms. It changed all the time.

Lisa: Sometimes they're [classrooms] a long way away. Right across the school or something. There were lots of different teachers, separate art class, one teacher, two teachers for subjects like maths. I wouldn't mind having some different teachers but not for everything. I didn't like that 'cause it changed all the time.

Students believed in the benefits of being able to relate positively and consistently to teachers.

> **Rangi:** I reckon it's better like that [having different teachers] cause you don't have the grumpy teacher all the time.

> **Lisa:** But, your teacher may be nice to you, not grumpy.

They acknowledged that sometimes misbehaving with peers had held them back and in these instances, it was important to have teachers who listened.

> **Rangi:** Sometimes it's the kids, if they get smart to you and you get smart to them the teacher sees you and you get in to trouble and they [the other students] don't. They [the teachers] don't listen to you. They [the teachers] don't want to listen to you.

When asked what good teachers were like they replied:

> **Rangi:** A teacher that you know, a teacher that knows you.

> **Lisa:** One that isn't grumpy in the mornings and stuff.

> **Rangi:** A teacher that will listen to the reason why you are in trouble.

> **Sam:** A teacher that doesn't growl as much.

> **Rangi:** A teacher that doesn't just give you things and tell you to do it. A teacher that explains things properly.

For these students two important influences emerged. The first was the important influence of the relationships between students and teachers. These students wanted teachers who they could relate to and trust, who would listen to them and who would explain things properly in order to help them make better sense of their learning. If time was not spent in developing these relationships with teachers one of the likely consequences for Māori students was that they would simply disengage and, as evidenced by these students, do what it takes to move out to a space where they were more comfortable.

> **Rangi:** It's alright I don't really care 'cause I didn't want to be there [last school], it was boring. I didn't like it. Those teachers didn't even know me. They didn't want to know me.

The second influence that students indicated was that they would like to have some say in what and how they learned. Pedagogy must contain the reality and life experiences of the students themselves if they were to succeed.

> **Lisa:** I like to have a say. A say in what we do. How we do it. Like mind maps to help me learn things, help me remember. That's good. That's what I've been doing. It helps me to know.

One of the students recalled how extremely frustrating it was trying to understand yourself when you are being judged by others.

> **Lisa:** In College some of the teachers had a racial problem. They had this thing going. There were four Māori girls in the class who the teachers said had played up. Just because one played up they put all the Māori girls in the seventh form class for a week to teach us a lesson. They put us on report just because one played up. So we weren't with our own class.

When asked what she understood about the punishment, the student said:

> **Lisa:** I don't know. They never told us.

Not being able to make connections between the behaviour of the group (only one was remembered as misbehaving) and the punishment being imposed, together with being removed from their own classmates and routines was hugely problematic. Lisa remembers that only Māori students were identified as the troublemakers and she understood the punishment of being isolated and marginalised from her classmates as racism. Rangi and Sam had similar frustrations of getting into trouble from something that was instigated by other students. The frustration for them was that teachers did not seem to be very good at finding out what caused the misbehaviour or who should be punished. Nor, from these students' perspectives, were teachers very good at appropriately matching the behaviour to the punishment or indeed the reward. This tended to result in student frustration:

> **Rangi:** Some teachers aren't fair. They don't listen to us.
>
> So why should we listen to them?

The Staff

The group interviewed consisted of five staff members, the director, a trainee social worker, a special educator and two male teacher aides. The ex-director also

participated in the conversation. Both directors and teacher aides were Māori, the other two had immigrated recently. The group talked about what they would like to see for these students. They have been identified by their employment designation.

Ex-Director: The thing that I want for these students is that they get positive role modelling and mentoring.

Director: I would like to see the students with motivation to go on and do the good things in their life.

Ex-Director: I would like to see them continue to be part of the decision making process, to go from here and lead a productive life and have the tools to do that… that our students believe in their own skills and have hope and direction for the future.

Director: They need social learning. At the moment they don't seem to care a lot. I don't think they have any confidence that they can do anything.

Ex-Director: One of the contributions that I would like to make is to be able to mentor them into career activities for the future and treat them in a one on one mentor process and help them to look at what they are going to be doing in their life and when they make money.

Special Educator: Some children don't fit into the [current secondary school] education model. Some do not have the parents that say yes you can do this, yes you can do that.

Director: People to support their personal aims and dreams. I can remember as a child that I always wanted to have a brief case and a company car. I remember my brother saying you will never get a brief case. But my parents were there to say you can be what ever you want to be. But when I got to the sixth form they said we can't afford to send you to school any more so go to work. These children often don't have those people around them and if a student said they wanted to own a brief case, their peers would laugh. Parents don't appear to care, don't listen, don't care. We need to help them to face reality. Working alongside the staff [in the group] I would be able to mentor the students on a one to one. Nobody is taking any notice of these students, schools, parents why not

Special Educator: I have a personal goal to work with Māori students and get them not judging white people differently. We have talked about colour issues.

Let it be on what they see, what they experience, not on what they hear [making judgments].

Director: Where do they get their beliefs?

They pick up their beliefs from out of here and they really believe what they hear. They don't realise they are being programmed. They don't think. They need to be shown to think and why they should think.

Special Educator: I see a hatred and dislike. One thing I would like to see when they leave is not to question. When you first meet the Māori students there is a certain amount of dislike [of others].

Clearly, these staff had a range of different experiences which had influenced their beliefs and in turn their responses. However from their perspectives it was about what needed to happen to and for students. The two teacher aides however put the focus clearly back on adults.

Teacher aide 2: People behave as the models around them.

Teacher aide 1: Respect. We as adults treat them with respect. We treat our students in the same way as we treat our colleagues. In the same way that we hope they will treat each other.

Teacher aide 1: I would like to see acceptance of self. Self-confidence, be able to stand up for themselves. Learning to think for themselves.

Teacher aide 2: Having the skills to think for themselves, do it on their own judgement and not on the judgement of others.

Teacher aide 1: We should look at cherishing our differences.

I asked whether it was just about Māori students accepting themselves and Māori students changing or was it also about others changing.

Teacher aide 1: I would like our [Māori] students to learn to treat others in the same way that they want to be treated. We need to help them to change their attitudes. A kid with a good attitude is better than a kid with a good

education. Although a kid with a good attitude is likely to also get a good education.

The ex-director clearly saw the importance of the centre.

> **Ex-Director:** This organisation has the ability to do what ever it wants to do [for these students] whatever it needs to do. We are going to do it to make a difference in whatever way we see fit. That's the beauty of it. It's the ability to make a difference in whatever way we think will move the child along.

> **Director:** I think our children need to have the ability to dream. To be taught to have dreams for the future. What are their peer-groups doing? I was talking to [Lisa] one of her friends is pregnant for the second time, another friend is into drugs and she doesn't want to be part of any of that. I was talking to her about what she wanted to do and she said that she wanted to travel so I told her about how people working in a travel agency might go overseas to plan trips for others and she said, "wow, you can get paid to travel?"

> **Social worker:** She told me that she wanted to work in a hotel.

> **Director:** Yes she told me about that as well so I told her if she trained to work in the hotel she could always get jobs in hotels in other parts of the world. If you put in the hard work now, go to school and do the work and stay focused.

> **Teacher aide 1:** The children are able to give us the answers we have to listen. My Grandmother always used to say that we needed to give the best to everyone else. You don't keep the best for yourself. When a child misbehaves, that's them not you. You don't have to be like them. I would like them to think as a real Māori, like my Grandmother.

The group sought the need to clarify what he meant when he said, "to think as a real Māori". From his perspective he was referring to traditional cultural knowledge. The practices and ways of knowing that he considered his Grandmother herself had and that she had passed on to his own family as children and that he was in fact sharing with us today. Teachings, he believed, these students did not have and were not getting. Another member of the group talked about the young age of grandparents today and suggested that many of the grandparents of today might also not have these skills and understandings and therefore be unable to pass them on to their mokopuna.

Director: Influence of grandparents is not what it used to be. Grandparents are getting younger too.

Ex-Director: I would only put my time in where I see that there is value. I would take [Lisa] into a travel agency and show her. I would try to make her successful. Recently I found out that the government have thrown money to young enterprise and I want to use this money to add value [for students]. Turn that dream to be a travel agent into a reality. Get the funding and work together to get the end results.

We asked the group to consider what would be the main student outcomes from the learning experiences provided by this centre. After an interactive discussion about religion, spirituality and culture the group agreed that they were talking more about spirituality related to traditional Māori epistemology rather than Western religion.

Director: We don't talk about religious instruction in schools today, has this made our society better or worse?

Teacher Aide 1: We do it in some schools.

Director: The principles of religion are missing in our children.

The Special Educator indicated that she was strongly opposed to religious instruction in schools.

Teacher Aide 1: Māori itself [the culture] is very religious with very close family bonds. Everyone has a religion. Some have a car, or a big house as their religion. It's the interpretation of the word religion, how you see it.

Director: Education has changed the world of Māori. In all of our major determinants, Māori are at the bottom. The systems at the time manipulated the information.

Ex-Director: I am concerned with the high number of Māori students who are at the bottom of the social system.

Director: We look at what's driving these cultural issues and it's the programming from adults.

Teacher Aide 1: Traditional teachings taught the children to live in the light. Who teaches this now to the children?

> **Ex-Director:** You're right. Lots of our kids come wearing hoods to school. It took [a male student] two years to take his hood off.

> **Teacher Aide 1:** We need to teach our children to have the light on all the time that they are open to knowledge all of the time.

> The concept is you did certain things during the day and wānanga during the night. The word ownership did not exist in Māori. We were considered to be kaitiaki or guardians. We were taught to share what we had.

From a Māori worldview, the metaphor of living in the light refers to te ao mārama (see chapter two). Te ao mārama refers to the world in which we live, the earthly world as opposed to the beginning of time in which darkness reigned. It also refers to the spiritual world, the world we enter when we have passed. However, it also refers to the acquisition of knowledge that takes one from a state of ignorance or darkness to a state of light or enlightenment (te ao mārama, Barlow, 1991). Other cultural understandings were shared. The special educator asked how one could learn these things.

> **Teacher Aide 1:** Again, my grandmother would be at home, my brother would bring ten mates home and she would share the kai (food). To share what we had. That was what we would do.

> **Special Educator:** Education of his grandmother was very different to what is learnt about Māori in schools today.

The second teacher aide then commented:

> **Teacher Aide 2:** None of the kids have to come here but they do.

The negative impact on students' participation and achievement from pathologising cultural experiences in the school setting (Shields, Bishop, & Masawi, 2005) is well documented. I used his comment to refocus the group for here was an understanding that students' attendance was not compulsory at this site and yet they continued to return on a daily basis. I also commented that staff did not appear in any way stressed after yet another week of teaching students often perceived as the hardest to teach in our education system. Rather they were prepared to meet with the research team and share their experiences. The discussion that followed created an opportunity to focus on what they all wanted students to achieve in their time in this Alternative Education facility. The group agreed that they would want students to experience the following:

- Skills to get a job.

- Self-confidence, liking themselves, positive self esteem.

- The ability to think for themselves, to be able to evaluate and judge, to be analytical to be able to reason. To think about what part they were going to take in each [Māori and Non-Māori] society.

- To love each other. They'll do really well when they love themselves and know who they are as "real Māori".

- Māori cultural and spiritual knowledge and understandings.

- Trust, in themselves, in each other [within this group of students and teachers] and in others.

In closing, the group agreed that students could take greater ownership of their own academic needs when staff had attended to the social and personal needs of students by developing better relationships with them first.

> **Ex-Director:** Most of last year we concentrated too much on the academic knowledge without the social side and we got nowhere.

> **Teacher Aide 1:** There have been changes in the students due to our attention in the areas of social and personal learning and now academic.

> **Teacher Aide 2:** There is ownership by the children, of the programme. They're open to take it in. They have been able to come up with reasons why.

> **Teacher Aide 1:** It's not about home and family [parents], these children come to school on their own. We treat them like normal people.

> **Teacher Aide 2:** The children can learn these things and do it how they want.

> **Teacher Aide 1:** It is only once the social side, the relating to each other, has come through that the students are ready for the academic knowledge, this follows.

Each of these educators had very clear ideas about what they wanted for these students although there were quite diverse expectations and aspirations within the group and often these ideas were in direct contrast to each other. Interestingly the voices in this narrative that consistently pathologised Māori students and their families came from the educators who were the most highly qualified (from a Western

perspective), while the voices that theorised pedagogy from a culturally responsive perspective (Bishop et al., 2007; Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1995) were the least qualified (from a Western perspective) nonetheless they were the ones who knew and cared for these students best. Just as being bilingual is shown to have many advantages over being monolingual (May, Hill, &Tiakiwai, 2004), in this alternative education site, having cultural understandings from two worldviews appeared to be a distinct advantage for both the educators and their students.

The Scoping Exercise Findings

The contributions from these students and staff members were consistent with other sites from the Scoping Exercise and contributed to four major findings.

The first major finding was that participants were able to articulate their own experiences and then reflect their experiences against a theoretical framework. Part of this was due to the research process of collaborative storying whereby participants were able to legitimate how their ideas were represented in the study. Given the centrality and power of teachers to determine outcomes for students, we understood that narratives could also be useful to identify the range of discourses within which teachers positioned themselves. Narratives could therefore provide a means to identify the theoretical tools and positioned arguments that teachers used to explain (theorise) what was happening in their classrooms. That is, theories that teachers used as the basis for their educational beliefs and principles and the pedagogy they would apply in their practice.

Narratives could also create a vicarious opportunity for educators to *talk* and *listen*, to each other, toteachers, and to students, parents and principals, in non-confrontational ways. The use of narratives potentially could help teachers to promote change in their practices through their critical reflection on what other students reported of their classroom experiences.

The second major finding was that overall most teachers in the Scoping Exercise did not appear to be aware of the implications or impacts of their own theorising and pedagogical practices on the lives of Māori students. Collaborative stories were seen as a means of providing the basis for stimulating critically reflection and thus useful for use as professional development for teachers involved with Māori students. The literature (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Glynn et al., 1997; Kinchloe & Steinberg, 1997; Metge, Laing, & Kinloch, 1978, Shields, 2002) tells us of students and teachers, and,

to a lesser degree, parents and students talking past each other. Narratives of experience could potentially bridge the gulf between teachers and Māori students thus enabling teachers to vicariously experience the power differentials of which, they otherwise, might be unaware.

The scoping exercise found marked differences between the descriptions and explanations of the lived realities of the students involved and most of their educators. Many educators spoke of Māori students' deficiencies or the deficiencies of their parents as being the major impediments to Māori students' progress and achievement. Teachers pathologised the lived experiences of Māori students and this in turn limited their opportunities for positive relationships and interactions with Māori students that were culturally respectful or engaging. As with the staff narrative in this case, the Scoping Exercise in effect showed that many teachers believed Māori students held racist beliefs about their teachers and simply were less capable of educational achievement because most came from limited language and economically poor homes. Teachers as a group were unsure where solutions lay. However, students were able to point to a number of very possible effective solutions. A combination of structural and cultural barriers to building effective relationships that limited satisfactory progress and achievement by Māori students were also identified. These patterns reflected the literature from over twenty years of research on the topic of parent and school relationships in New Zealand (Berryman, & Glynn, 2004; Glynn, 1995; Glynn & McNaughton, 1985; Hohepa, 1999; Hohepa & McNaughton, 1999; McNaughton, et al., 1981; McNaughton, Glynn & Robertson, 1987). This literature demonstrates the benefit of close relationships and understandings between the aspirations and expectations of the home and school for students' successful progress specifically in literacy. Bourdieu, (1977) a cultural and social reproduction theorist, also identifies this factor as being the main reason for the success of some students over others. He suggested that schools are designed for and by those who have the appropriate "cultural capital" to achieve within that particular school. The scoping exercise narratives highlighted a mismatch between the aspirations and understandings of the teachers with many Māori students. This mismatch in perspectives might well result in variable achievement levels for this same group of students.

The third major finding of this study was that structural issues such as school management systems, streaming, timetabling and specialist teaching needed to be addressed prior to, or in conjunction with classroom change if Māori students' achievement was to improve.

The fourth major finding of this study was the identification of a number of classroom factors that limited the achievement of Māori students. These included aspects to do with teachers' relationships and interactions with students as well as the impact of peer groups and barriers to parental participation.

As demonstrated by the narrative in this case, narratives from Māori students and some of their educators were able to begin offering suggestions in response to these factors. This study indicated that improvements could result from teachers who provided culturally responsive contexts where power was shared, that is, where Māori students could have a say in what they did and how they did it, and where they were treated fairly and consistently and learned within classrooms where a range of pedagogies were seen as legitimate.

The effect of limited power sharing in these classrooms meant that in spite of the teacher's best intentions (Simon, 1983), Māori students felt that only the teacher had the *power* to make changes for them in the classroom. Teachers, who were unable to empathise effectively with Māori students, established relationships, interactions and structures that appeared for them to be educationally sound, but their Māori students perceived these practices as lacking responsiveness and as being negative and providing differential treatment. One explanation given for this historically, has been that many Pākehā teachers lacked cultural congruence with Māori students and that these conflicting attitudes, morals and values had an alienating effect on Māori learners (Hirsch, 1990). However, Walker (1973) identified as early as the 1970s that it was the power imbalances that impacted upon Māori children's learning, rather than just the mono-cultural status of teachers. Such realisations challenge the notion of teachers, addressing their own cultural learning in place of their addressing power relationships and interactions and the part they play in these relationships. This situation challenges the idea of providing teachers with more techniques to teach students as a means of addressing educational disparities without first addressing power imbalances.

The dominant Pākehā culture maintains control over the various aspects of education for the majority of Māori students. Findings from the Scoping Exercise suggested that until teachers fully consider how power is manifested in their classrooms, and the part they themselves might play in perpetuating overpowering patterns of domination, teachers will not understand how they and the way they relate to and interact with Māori students may well be affecting learning outcomes for Māori students. Accordingly, change must consist of ways of *relating to* and *connecting with* students from minority cultures while at the same time address the need to help educators understand, internalise and work towards changing the power imbalances of which they are a part. In particular, those power imbalances, manifested as cultural deficit theorising that perpetuate the retention of traditional classroom patterns (Shields, Bishop, & Masawi, 2005).

The partnership between CMER from the University of Waikato and the Poutama Pounamu research-whānau continues. The underlying principles, methodologies and practices of the Scoping Exercise informed the longer-term project that became known as Te Kotahitanga[30]. This project is further introduced in chapter nine.

International Relationships

In 1997, the research-whānau presented a keynote address at a conference in Melbourne (Glynn et al., 1997) on indigenous rights to self-determination and some of the challenges arising from our New Zealand bicultural research journey. Ray Reynolds listening to this address believed that the ability to work in similar ways with the Aboriginal people was critical for him in his work. Amongst other things Ray was responsible for coordinating the Primary Guidance and Counselling Service, the Student/Child Protection Service, the counselling response to Critical Incidents and the School Pastoral Workers Service at the Catholic Education Archdiocese of Brisbane. Ray asked Ted how he had managed to begin working with an indigenous group. Ray learned about koha (see chapter five). He was told to approach someone with a genuine offer to build a relationship with them, but if his offer was rejected to respect that and move on.

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[30] Literally means togetherness, but it is used here in its figurative sense, meaning a collaborative response towards a commonly held vision.

We had the pleasure of hosting Ray and the beginnings of their whānau-of-interest at Hairini marae and then to be hosted by them in Brisbane. The group included two Australian Aborigines, Rosemary Bell, the senior education officer for the Brisbane Catholic Education Indigenous Education team and Pat Phair a participation officer.

Relationship with the Open University

The research-whānau has also established a working relationship with Dr Janice Wearmouth, formerly from the Open University Faculty of Education and Language Studies in the United Kingdom that now extends over several years. This relationship began when Janice visited New Zealand in 2002 to collect video and audio resource materials from several New Zealand sites for an Open University course on difficulties in literacy. Janice worked with research-whānau members to gather and annotate video and audio material on community and school literacy. This collaborative work in literacy provided the basis for the collaborative development and delivery of another course on managing behaviour in schools offered from each university (the Open University from 2004 and Waikato University from 2005) towards qualifications at a Masters level. It has also resulted in publishing opportunities that share many examples of our work with educators and researchers internationally (Glynn, Wearmouth & Berryman, 2006; Wearmouth, Glynn & Berryman, 2005). Janice too has been hosted at Hairini marae and she has also hosted members of the research-whānau in the United Kingdom. In 2007, Janice was Professor of the School of Primary and Secondary Education at the Victoria University of Wellington.

Summary

Te Whānau Whānui, the metaphor for this chapter, comprises whānau (family, extended family and metapohoric family) and whānui (to connect widely). Te Whānau Whānui continues on the kaupapa of raising the achievement of Māori students by making new strategic alliances and connections. The research-whānau continued their work by developing strong relationships and networks with other indigenous (Māori and others) and non-indigenous researchers and educators.

The external events that impacted upon the work and theorising of the research-whānau and the main themes that emerged from this part of the journey and the case

studies outlined in this chapter are summarised in table 7.1 below. These themes are discussed in full in Chapter nine.

Table 7.1: Summary of Emerging Themes

Chapter Seven: Important Contextual Events	
Kura Kaupapa Māori students move into Intermediate and Secondary	• Continued expectation by Māori for their language and culture to be represented and respected and able to be applied in these settings • Most common response of schools is to redefine Māori • Common response of Māori students is to resist (either passively or actively)
Name of the Case Study	**The significance of the study and the new learning for the whānau**
Toitū te whānau, toitū te iwi	• The power of a school community proactively working with success rather than reacting to failure • Challenge of transition from one language of instruction to another • Challenge of transition from one worldview to another • The added benefits of working within both quantitative and qualitative research paradigms
Hui Whakatika	• The power of solutions from within te ao Māori as an effective response to contemporary challenges • The benefits when non-Māori work as collaborators rather than as definers
Te Toi Huarewa	• The effectiveness of culturally responsive learning contexts • The importance of teacher and student relationships and interactions • The importance of classrooms as sites of innovation and change
Whānuitanga	• Again, the power of students' voices of experience • Effective solutions for Māori are located within a Māori worldview • The importance of relationships and culturally responsive learning contexts for including Māori students in mainstream settings • Education structures need to support classroom innovations

Mana and Rangatiratanga

Increasing respect has formed the basis of the reciprocal and interdependent relationships discussed in this chapter. These relationships enabled the research-whānau to learn from other researchers, educators, families and importantly, again to learn from the students themselves. We were also able to share our own research practices and outcomes with others and they with us. Traditional cultural contexts provided by people, places and ways of knowing and understanding, were an essential part of these relationships and were helping to increase the mana of all involved.

These relationships of trust provided the basis for moving forward collaboratively and interdependently. We could bring our own experiences and agenda to the research and because these experiences were counted as legitimate, we were all able to aspire to rangatiratanga (self-determination). Chapter nine discusses these concepts further.

Chapter Eight: Te Hikoitanga

Introduction

This chapter opens by describing the continuing growth of the research-whānau with two final research studies completed collaboratively by all members of the research-whānau who were employed at Poutama Pounamu at the time. These two studies highlight the importance of kaupapa Māori approaches to both the research methodology and to the theorising and understanding of outcomes. The two case studies are (case study ten and eleven):

- SES Sites of Effective Special Education Practice for Māori, which presents a review of international literature on special education, then describes five special education interventions presented as collaborative stories (Berryman, et al., 2002).

- Akoranga Whakarei, a scoping exercise in four kura rumaki (Berryman, et al., 2004) that attempted to identify the practices that effectively enhanced education for students with special needs.

From SES to the MOE

In 2001, it became clear with the ongoing implementation of the Special Education 2000 (SE2000) Policy (Ministry of Education, 1997, 1998a) and Wylie's Picking up the Pieces Review of Special Education report (Wylie, 2000), that the Specialist Education Services (SES) would move into the Ministry of Education (MOE), and become a group focussed on Special Education. The next study grew from a belief that despite some wide ranging concerns about the operation of SES that had emerged with these reports, there were some SES initiatives that were having positive consequences for Māori and that some of these practices needed to be documented before the move to the MOE was completed and this institutional knowledge was lost.

With the ongoing support from Wai at a national level, many SES staff had begun to work consistently in accordance with Potatau's whakatauākī towards improving services for Māori students and their whānau through the promotion and implementation of the SES Tangatawhenua Policy (see chapter five). This policy identified three options or pathways available (represented by the white thread, the black thread, the red thread) when SES service providers worked with Māori clients. The white thread signified Pākehā working by them selves to provide services to

Māori clients. The black thread signified Māori working by them selves to provide services to Māori clients. The red thread signified both Māori and Pākehā working together to provide services to Māori clients. The Tangatawhenua policy also promoted the need to work more ecologically when working with Māori clients.

Case Study Ten: Sites of Effective Special Education Practice

This study presented a literature review and five special education interventions as collaborative stories. Each collaborative story is located in a site of SES practice judged by both the Māori community and the local SES professionals as having effective outcomes for Māori.

Various conceptual models, traditionally developed from the viewpoint of different professional groups have been used to explain learning and behaviour concerns associated with special needs students. The causal factors identified by each of the different professional groups are critical to the identification, assessment and intervention procedures associated with each of the models. Some traditional models identify the cause of behaviour *disorders* to be the result of psychological or biological damage or dysfunction. These models as seen in some of the narratives in the previous case study (Te Whānuitanga), often locate deficiencies as being within the child or within their family or their culture. Traditional Western worldview models such as these, often stem from a *functional limitations* paradigm (Moore et al., 1999), and are often charaterised by the identification and reification of disabilities and special needs. Ecological models in contrast locate the problematic behaviour as within the interface between the learning environment and the student. This model is often assolciated with an *inclusive*[31] paradigm. The SE 2000 policy (MOE, 1998a) clearly advocated working within an inclusive paradigm and the use of interventions focused on the learning environment. The content and focus of the Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour (RTLB) training programme and qualifications, contracted by the MOE and provided by the consortium of three universities, is clear evidence of

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[31] Terms to do with inclusion, such as inclusive, are used by the MOE in reference to including students with special education needs into mainstream education, largely through processes of curriculum and environmental adaptation.

the intention to provide professional development that is more inclusive of all students, especially those whom education has marginalised.

This study therefore aimed to identify, from any of the three options provided by the Tangatawhenua policy and from within an inclusive perspective, sites of effective practice for improving learning and/or behaviour outcomes for Māori students who have special educational needs. Effective practice could include the design and implementation of learning resources and/or associated professional development. In particular the research-whānau wanted to identify a range of examples of effective practice so that other practitioners could use these ideas to monitor and improve their own practice with respect to Māori students and their families.

Research Procedure

A process of triangulation was used to identify intervention sites that demonstrated effective practice for Māori students with special needs and thus qualified the intervention to be included in this study. Three key informant groups were used to identify the sites.

- Group 1 consisted of people who were knowledgeable and experienced special education practitioners such as SES Area managers, Strand Leaders, SES practitioners and education providers working outside of SES.

- Group 2 consisted of people who were knowledgeable and experienced practitioners in working with Māori students and families. People in this group included kaumātua, family members, the students themselves and Māori education providers working either inside or outside of SES. Only sites identified by both groups as demonstrating effective practice were shared with Group 3 who made the final decisions for their inclusion in this study.

- Group 3 consisted of kaumātua from the Poutama Pounamu research whānau who visited each of the sites with researchers. At each site Rangiwhakaehu, Mate or Kaa facilitated collaborative discussions with participants around cultural issues and concepts in order to ensure the credibility and authenticity of the researchers' understandings and judgements about the effectiveness of the intervention for Māori.

Researchers worked with kaumātua at all stages of the project, also meeting twice with an advisory group of education professionals. All members of this group were

highly respected in terms of their ability to effectively theorise and practice in the area of special education or Māori in education or in both special education and Māori in education. Members of the advisory group were asked to reflect on and contribute to the design and methodology of the proposed study, prior to the commencement of any fieldwork. Advice and input from the advisory group was again sought after fieldwork had been completed and while the collaborative stories from each site were being finalised and report writing was in progress.

Each site put forward for inclusion in the project was assessed against the following research criteria before fieldwork began. Sites were expected to:

- Have an educational focus, (a major emphasis on issues of teaching and learning);

- Demonstrate effective outcomes for Māori students and families;

- Have cultural validity (promote interventions that make sense within a Māori world view);

- Demonstrate collaboration and power sharing between SES and the Māori community.

Collaborative Stories

Researchers engaged in a participatory exercise spending at least two consecutive days at each site with people identified as the key participants in the intervention. After the host participants had initiated mihimihi (greetings) and whanaungatanga (made personal connections), the researchers explained the research project in detail and responded to any research focussed, participant questions. A series of in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews was then conducted with the specific SES service providers, other service providers where needs be, and the Māori clients and their families, to obtain a more complete story. This ensured that participants were in a position of being listened to and able to give their informed consent to their participation in the project.

Researchers listened to and taped participants' stories, made careful notes, explored sites and observed activities. By talking with key participants, researchers facilitated participants' reflection on the processes they had employed during the interventions, the people who participated as well as the outcomes of the intervention. This process helped to identify specific elements that participants themselves believed contributed to the success of the intervention and built up a detailed participant picture at each of

the five sites. On occasion, follow-up interviews were conducted at later dates. Following the gathering of field data, audiotapes were transcribed and returned to participants for their further input and verification. Taped transcriptions, together with researcher annotations, were then used to develop collaborative stories. Participants then verified their stories once more.

Cultural Analysis

Because the narratives proved to be such a rich source of Māori lived experiences, Rangiwhakaehu, Mate and Kaa conducted a focussed cultural analysis of them. The cultural analysis called for an interpretation of the narratives from a Māori cultural worldview, not just from a Māori *perspective* on someone else's worldview. We had learned the importance of this from the Hei Āwhina Mātua students in case study two (see chapter six). These women studied each of the narratives in detail. As they read them they constantly questioned what the discourse meant from a traditional Māori cultural worldview. Once their own ideas were recorded over the text, they met as a group to share and theorise their recordings and further debate any discrepancies.

An international literature report, field notes, researcher stories, cultural analysis and collaborative story drafts were then workshopped at a final advisory meeting. The workshop process provided an opportunity for the advisory group, research whānau and kaumātua to collaboratively analyse all sources of information. The advisory group identified the important themes they thought were coming through the evidence and how this should be presented. Their advice contributed to collaborative story annotations, research findings, the reporting format and the research recommendations.

Findings

The review of literature on students who come from minority cultures, and who have learning and/or behavioural needs, provided some clear indicators of effective practice. Cultural groups discussed in this review were North American Aboriginals, African Americans, Mexican Americans, American born Chinese, Portuguese speaking Americans and Australian Aboriginals. Although there were distinct cultural differences, there were a surprising number of problems and solutions held in common, often due to the common colonisation experiences. In order to provide insights into both the challenges and responses, considered in this context to lead to the most effective interventions, this international information was compared with

literature from New Zealand on educating Māori children with learning and behavioural needs.

Common indicators of effectiveness, identified across the various cultures, included the importance of a team approach in which students, parents, cultural experts, and professionals all worked as part of a team. Furthermore, teams were more effective when they were built on a basis of collaboration and reciprocity, where the expertise of parents/caregivers and family members informed the professionals as well as family members' learning being extended by those professionals. Some specific and common problems encountered by these groups were geographic remoteness from resources, the conflict between national and local perspectives, lack of appropriate assessment and training for indigenous groups or for their local professionals. Finally, a common means of overcoming problems was understood to be the development of a clear understanding of what models of excellence in these contexts might look like from either group's perspective.

The Five Collaborative Stories

The five collaborative stories were all located within SES sites of practice and judged, by both the Māori community and the local SES professionals, as illustrating interventions with effective outcomes for Māori. These five collaborative stories provided details of the interventions as shared by SES staff, by Māori students, their families and by other educational professionals who were involved.

- Collaborative Story 1 involved a family with three pre-school children, all with undiagnosed and untreated, severe hearing and language needs. For example, neither the eldest child at almost four, nor her twin brothers at two had developed any form of speech. It was only when a Māori kaitakawaenga (Special Education Advisor with Māori language and cultural expertise) met the mother in the community and informally made herself, and her organisation known to the mother through mihimihi and whanaungatanga, that the mother felt she could finally begin to safely seek and access specialist advice. With ongoing support from the kaitakawaenga, these parents were able to begin to access specialist support for their children who were subsequently diagnosed, fitted with hearing aids and then provided with speech and language interventions. At the time of the interviews, all three children were working through education development plans (EDPs) with SES support. This team of Māori and Pākehā SES workers, together

with other service providers and educators worked collaboratively with the family in order to support the children within an inclusive educational context. In terms of the Tangatawhenua policy, this intervention was seen to be operating under the red thread, Māori and Pākehā SES staff working together to support this family.

- Collaborative Story 2 involved two boys who lived with their grandmother. Both boys had experienced traumatic incidents in their life that resulted in severe behaviour and learning needs. The younger boy was about to be expelled from his current school for ongoing severe behaviour, and the older boy had been refusing to attend school for much of the year. Using an ecological approach, the Māori Special Education Advisor (SEA) supported this grandmother to find new school settings for both boys, then to work collaboratively with staff in these schools to ensure more successful education outcomes for the boys. The SEA provided hands-on support to each of the boys, to the grandmother and to staff from each of the new school settings. In terms of the Tangatawhenua policy this intervention was operating under the black thread, Māori SES staff working to support this family within the educational settings attended by the boys.

- Collaborative Story 3 involved a partnership between an iwi Trust and an SES area team. As a result of this partnership, wānanga taiaha[32] were offered to young Māori and Pākehā male students living in their area who had presented with behavioural needs. Wānanga taiaha are camps where the beliefs, rituals and disciplines associated with taiaha are taught by cultural experts. Students were carefully selected to ensure both high achiever role models and behaviourally challenged participants attended the wānanga together. Wānanga were held approximately every six months and students were able to attend more than once in order to further develop their knowledge and expertise. Many, who had first attended as behaviourally challenged, attended subsequently as role medels.

The SES area team provided expertise for accessing and managing funding, they also networked with schools and communities to identify students who would attend, they provided staff to help run the wānanga and they collaborated with the

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[32] A taiaha is a wooden staff or traditional hand held weapon used today on ceremonial occasions.

local iwi who took responsibility for providing the cultural training and expertise at the wānanga. In terms of the Tangatawhenua policy, this intervention was seen to be operating under the red thread, Māori and Pākehā SES staff working together to support this initiative that impacted across the community.

- Collaborative Story 4 involved the Eliminating Violence programme (Special Education Services, undated) used by the Board of Trustees, principal, staff, parents, family members and students of a small inner city school as a school-wide behaviour intervention. Eliminating Violence provides schools and communities with a clear and coherent framework for collaboration with the implementation of procedures aimed at bringing about positive school-wide change. Overall the programme aims to develop peaceful, safe schools by ensuring that the environmental systems and structures are consistent and supportive of pro-social behaviours, and with systematic consequences for anti-social behaviours. Eliminating Violence begins with extensive observations to identify the extent to which violence is of concern and to identify parts of the school's system where changes need to be made. Trainers feed this information back at staff and community meetings, and assist the school to make the required changes. The next phase includes a theme week at which the school collaborates to rename the programme and thus metaphorically continue to eliminate violence from their school.

  This school, with 97% Māori students, became known as Sweet As! These participants shared the changes that took place in their school after the appointment of a new principal and as a result of their successful implementation of the Eliminating Violence (EV) programme through an SES EV co-ordinator. Although in the initial stages this co-ordinator did receive some support from a Māori SES colleague, within the Tangatawhenua policy, this effective intervention was seen to be operating predominantly in the white thread, a Pākehā SES staff member working with other Pākehā to support a mainly Māori school community in making changes to school policy and practice.

- Collaborative Story 5 involved a community-wide implementation of a Māori language programme called Kawea Te Rongo. Kawea Te Rongo was developed for children in Māori medium or bilingual junior classroom settings, who need to develop their oral Māori language in order to participate more successfully in

Māori immersion literacy programmes. This programme provided screening tools and training resources to assist teachers and families to identify the individual child's learning needs in Māori language, and to assist them with collaborative interactive language learning programmes that could be used at home and at school. Throughout 2000 and 2001, Kawea Te Rongo (Berryman et al., 2001) was a professional focus for members of the communication strands in each SES area. Once trained by a national training team from the Poutama Pounamu research-whānau, local SES teams offered their own training in Kawea Te Rongo to local Māori medium teachers from Year one and Year two classrooms. Participants from this site told the story of how they had collaboratively taken the training to Māori immersion schools in the Wellington and Hutt areas. In terms of the Tangatawhenua policy this intervention was seen to be operating under the red thread, Māori and Pākehā SES staff working together to support rumaki teachers from their communities.

The five collaborative stories revealed that Māori family members were able to make valid and worthwhile contributions, and they were readily able to theorise their experiences. Furthermore the stories provided evidence of professionals working successfully within an inclusive ecological-educational behavioural model. Within this inclusive paradigm, professionals were working collaboratively with Māori in order to take careful account of a range of factors within the child's environment. A consequence of this strategy was that data collection at the beginning of interventions was better informed so that more effective interventions and remediation strategies could be designed and introduced. While there was still a little evidence in the collaborative stories to suggest that some of the professionals may have wanted to work within the *functional limitations* paradigm, Māori voices were able to maintain authority and prevent this from happening.

Looking across the five sites a number of common features or general characteristics emerged. These were:

- The achievement of effective and balanced working partnerships between parents/whānau and educational professionals, in which each party acknowledged and supported the expertise of the other.

- The negotiation of collaborative and culturally competent and responsive approaches to understanding and resolving problems. Each group was able to contribute.

- The demonstration of willingness, by both professionals and parents/whānau, to listen to new ideas, and to work beyond their experience and or cultural comfort zone. Parents and whānau members were able to bring their own experiences to the intervention and have these ideas listened to, valued and incorporated into the intervention. This in turn helped to ensure that the intervention was more relevant for them and thus had more buy-in.

Māori cultural values and practices

Research by Bevan-Brown and Bevan-Brown (1999) suggested that for special educational provisions and services to be more effective for Māori, there was a need "to incorporate the values and philosophy of Te Aho Matua and a Māori concept of special needs" (Bevan-Brown, & Bevan-Brown, 1999, p.33). In line with this understanding and within the common theme of partnership as discussed above, a range of particular Māori cultural values and practices or cultural constructs were strongly evident in the way the interventions were carried out in each of the five sites. Furthermore, because these values and practices came from a Māori worldview they were seen to be driving not only how the special needs were defined, but also how the needs would be understood and attended to. In their cultural analysis, Rangiwhakaehu, Mate and Kaa, as Māori cultural experts, were able to discern the operation of 12 cultural constructs or principles, as listed below, which appeared to be central to the effective interventions.

1. **Ngā whakapiringatanga**: Based on their prior experiences, individuals were designated specific tasks or responsibilities towards the completion of any particular intervention. Individuals were subsequently expected to perform their designated tasks to a certain level of proficiency. Ngā whakapiringatanga involved the ability to bring together the specific skills and individual roles and responsibilities that were required to achieve the desired intervention outcomes. This involved leadership roles to be distributed amongst those who were involved, with the person who had the most expertise being called upon to lead specific tasks. In this way tasks were more likely to be responded to interdependently and collaboratively.

2. **Kanohi ki te kanohi:** Kanohi ki te kanohi or face to face, is a Māori cultural preference for dealing with people in person rather than from a distance. Kanohi ki te kanohi also implies that a greater significance is given to the physical presence of a person, particularly when an important meeting is about to be convened or a matter of high importance is about to be deliberated.

3. **Wairuatanga:** Wairuatanga may be described as the spiritual and physical warmth and energy radiating from people, places and objects. Wairuatanga denotes the spiritual life principles of both human and non-human entities and may be experienced as both a natural and an esoteric phenomenon. Some people are considered to emanate wairuatanga. They may be seen to have a unique personal identity involving both spiritual and physical warmth and energy.

4. **Whanaungatanga:** In more traditional times, whanaungatanga denoted the kinship ties that bound whānau and hapū together in a unified network of relationships. Whanaungatanga is also the process of establishing links or making connections with people one meets by identifying in culturally appropriate ways, whakapapa linkages, points of engagement, or other relationships. Establishing whānau connections is kinship in its widest sense and reinforces the commitment and responsibilities that whānau members have to each other.

5. **Kotahitanga:** Kotahitanga describes unity of purpose and togetherness. It denotes the state of being united and can be seen in a collaborative response towards a commonly held vision, goal or other such purpose. Kotahitanga also involves accepting responsibility for each other's actions. Tribal unity, which was fundamental to Māori in traditional times and remains so to this day, is an example of kotahitanga in action.

6. **Manaakitanga:** Manaakitanga describes the responsibility that one assumes when taking care of visiting groups or individuals. It imposes responsibility and authority on the host to care for their visitor's emotional, spiritual, physical and mental well-being without an expectation of reciprocal benefits.

7. **Mahi tahi:** Mahi tahi is the act of collaborating, working together as one towards the same objective or common purpose. The solidarity that mahi tahi engenders in a group of people can be powerful. This kind of relationship is

known to sustain itself well after the goal has been fulfilled or the project has been completed.

8. **Mana tangata:** Mana tangata is a specific reference to a type of authority that is bestowed upon an individual or group, by others according to the other's perception of the individual or group's ability to develop and maintain skills. Sometimes these skills are acquired through self-motivation, commitment and determination and sometimes skills may be handed down. Mana tangata is the recognition that may be given for the demonstration of exceptional leadership qualities and/or special skills.

9. **Ako:** Ako means, to learn as well as to teach. It is both the acquisition of knowledge and the processing and imparting of knowledge. More importantly ako is pedagogy that is culturally specific and appropriate and safe for Māori. Ako as a process assumes a shared power relationship between teacher and student. Ako validates dual learning or reciprocal learning experiences that in turn promulgate the co-construction of learning.

10. **Wānanga:** Wānanga are known as Māori centres of learning within which Māori epistemology and pedagogy is presented in contexts that enhance Māori learning and understanding. Within the forum of wānanga, ideas are given life and spirit through dialogue, debate and lengthy deliberation. Decisions are carefully considered and courses of action negotiated, resolutions are sought and more significantly, perceptions are shaped and reshaped to accommodate new ways of knowing.

11. **Aroha ki te tangata:** Aroha ki te tangata is one of many terms used to explain the love and respect one shows for others. This is shown in a variety of ways and in a variety of Māori cultural contexts. Aroha in a person is a quality of goodness expressed by love and caring for people and living things. A person with aroha expresses genuine concerns and demonstrates this love by sharing it with people without discrimination.

12. **Mana motuhake:** In modern times the term mana has taken on various meanings such as legitimation and authority and can relate to an individual's or group's ability to participate at the local and global level. Mana motuhake involves high expectation of the development and assertion of personal or group identity, integrity, self-determination and autonomy.

Implications of the Cultural Constructs

The weaving together of these Māori cultural values and practices provided the strong cultural foundation upon which effective partnerships were developed at all five sites of effective practice. Further, it was the understanding of these cultural values and practices, and/or the sincerity and commitment by non-Māori to listen, learn and understand, rather than impose their own belief system that made for effective collaborative work with Māori. The key to non-Māori working effectively with Māori at these sites was found to lie in their ability to listen and maintain responsiveness. It was essential to understand and respect the inter-relationship between these traditional cultural values and practices, then work from this foundation of interdependent, respectful and collaborative partnerships. These outcomes also suggest a model that could be useful for Māori in mainstream education settings.

This study was undertaken in order to develop a clearer picture of what effective practice in special education could look like for Māori clients. The findings, from both the New Zealand literature and the five case studies correlate strongly with the findings from international literature. They suggest a self-determining model of collaborative and interdependent relationships that generate culturally responsive contexts for special education practice in Aotearoa, New Zealand that could be used for developing or reviewing the effectiveness of special education practice with Māori clients.

This study was the first time we worked with Morehu Ngatoko (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Awa), a respected elder from Tauranga, who was a member of this advisory group and who came to work with the whānau in 2005 as a koroua whakaruruhau (male elder who takes the role of protector) on another special education project.

Relocation and Self Determination

The end of this study saw SES become part of the MOE. This move coincided with the need to physically relocate Poutama Pounamu centre's office. A relationship we had enjoyed since the setting up of the centre on the Bay of Plenty Polytechnic's campus ended due to their ongoing expansion and the need to reclaim the space we had been using. The local GSE office had additional space available that their landlord had been unable to rent out. For some, this space seemed like the perfect

solution. Rangiwhakaehu and I went, with open minds, to view the space on the second floor of an inner city office block. From a non-Māori cultural perspective this was prime real estate with down town location and scenic harbour views. From a Māori cultural perspective it was viewed quite differently. Its location meant that we would not be on the ground floor and thus connected to Papatūānuku (the Earth Mother), as was required by karanga (the first call of welcome during rituals of encounter). This would be particularly problematic during pōwhiri (formal rituals of encounter). Also, parking could be problematic especially for our kaumātua and other visitors. We were shown to a large single space that could have easily accommodated the research-whānau. The space was closed in on three sides with a small set of windows down one end, facing the street. Internal lighting would be necessary at all times, thus we would also be removed from Ranginui (the Sky Father). We also felt that the personal authority that the whānau had enjoyed up until now may be overpowered by moving in with this much bigger group. While our new Group Leader, Barbara Disley may have found this difficult to comprehend, it is to her credit that she allowed us to look for other options. Beau Reweti (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi, Rangiteaorere, Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tahu) the person to whom we were now answerable at national office, undoubtedly also supported us in her decision. He has whanaungatanga links to the research-whānau and just as importantly, he understood the cultural reasons behind our decision. For a time the research-whānau was located in my home and in due course renovations were made to adjoining empty classrooms on a school site where we are currently located.

Job Profiles

The next challenge for the research-whānau was to have each of the positions at the Poutama Pounamu Centre profiled within the MOE's job profiles. While some of the positions at Poutama Pounamu had some features in common with existing MOE job profiles all were different, and one, the kuia whakaruruhau role, was extremely different. Inviting members of the MOE Human Resources team (HR) to come and meet the research-whānau (kanohi ki te kanohi), and be hosted by us (manaakitanga) was an important first step. Getting to know the people (whanaungatanga, wairuatanga) involved in this task (both HR and whānau members) and the contributions they brought to the work of the research-whānau as a whole (ako, wānanga, aroha ki te tangata), enabled the process to move ahead and over time be

completed (mahi tahi, kotahitanga), so that the authority of our roles was determined and respected (mana tangata, mana motuhake) by both groups. For me, the 12 cultural constructs and findings to do with partnerships that we had identified in the previous study were important in bringing together the people and the processes (ngā whakapiringatanga) in order to complete this task. Working as equals, we acknowledged the support and expertise of the other, we were able to identify solutions that would work for both groups and were each able to complete the tasks that would make this happen. For the first time we now had a Kuia Whakaruruhau job profile within the MOE and the space we had created as a research-whānau all those years before was again extending its boundaries.

Case Study Eleven: Akoranga Whakarei

This research aimed to develop a clearer picture around effective learning, social and cultural processes and outcomes for students with special needs in specific rumaki sites. Again, the research-whānau did this by listening to the perspectives of the students themselves, their parents, caregivers and other whānau members, their kaiako (teachers) and their tumuaki (principal).

Te Whakapapa (The Background)

We worked with four kura rumaki. Each kura had volunteered to be in this study through a selection process that required applying to GSE to participate. Site One was a decile 2, kura kaupapa Māori in the central North Island with 38 students who came from a community of 20 families. Site Two was a decile 1 wharekura in South Auckland with 34 students who came from a community of 26 families. Site Three was a decile 2a kura reorua (bilingual school) in the Bay of Plenty with 216 students. These students came from a community of over 150 families. Site Four was a decile 1 kura kaupapa Māori in the Eastern Bay of Plenty with 84 students. These students came from a community of 40 families. We invited this site into the study when one of the kura withdrew.

The Research Procedure

GSE selected 25 schools that included special schools, primary schools, secondary schools and kura rumaki. From written proposal submissions they then selected the research teams to work with schools. Once selected, researchers were required to report on findings to seven specific pre-set questions. Despite these parameters

positioning the research within a Western worldviw the research-whānau wrote a proposal to work with the kura rumaki only, utilising kaupapa Māori procedures (see chapter three and four) as the basis for their research. The research in the 24 schools was subsequently contracted to a consortium of colleges of education and universities (21 schools) and Poutama Pounamu (the four kura rumaki).

We began the research by speaking on the phone with the tumuaki from each kura community to organise a visit. Next, researchers met in each kura community within the rituals of encounter, as determined by each kura. It was at this time, and within these contexts, that each group was able to define who they were and what the parameters of their engagement might involve. Each group was able to appraise the other and judge the worthiness of both the people and their agenda. It was from these rituals that relationships of trust between the researchers, their research agenda and the kura community could really begin. Researchers attempted to outline the parameters of the study, clarify concerns and invite members of the community to participate. Then, at the invitation of each individual kura, research-whānau members including kaumātua visited each of the sites again.

At this stage kura identified their students with special needs and identified who researchers would need to talk to. One kura withdrew at this stage. Their understandings of what they had applied to be part of were misaligned with what they had subsequently found to be its true purpose. The original title of the project was Building Capability in Special Education. This kura thought their participation was going to lead to building something more immediate and tangible than shared knowledge and understandings around special education. Accordingly a poroporoaki (rituals of departure) was held with the kura and we looked for a similar kura to participate. The new kura was approached because of our existing relationship with this kura whānau (it is the kura represented in case study six). Fortunately, there were also similarities of size, location and staffing between this kura and the kura that had withdrawn. We also knew there were students with identified special needs and importantly, effective practices in this kura.

Researchers conducted group focus *interviews as chat* (Bishop, 1996a) with students, their whānau, kaiako and tumuaki, in each kura. These people had all been identified by their kura community. Researchers then sought other kura based evidence to support the themes emerging from these interviews. In one kura, kaumātua were

identified as an important group to talk with. Therefore, in this kura, kaumātua formed a fifth group. Interview tapes were transcribed then returned to each kura for their further input and verification. Narratives were then constructed and emerging findings were returned to each kura, again for their verification and input. Then, at an overnight wānanga at Hangarau Marae, with people from three of the four kura and the two project managers from the MOE, people were invited to contribute their own theorising to the emerging research findings. The evidence was carefully read and discussed to identify the characteristics we all believed contributed to enhancing the effectiveness of the teaching and learning in each kura. This collaborative theorising, through whakawhiti kōrero, contributed largely to the final report findings. After the wānanga the research-whānau again theorised on these findings and set about writing the report.

From these kura and their 17 collaborative stories, each containing the lived experiences of the group, we were able to identify answers to the set research questions around what the people themselves believed enhanced effective educational practices in their kura. We then compared these understandings to what the national and international literature was saying, then looked to theorise these findings from a Māori worldview perspective.

Findings

The research-whānau found that the outcomes to the questions set by the MOE for this scoping exercise were similar across all four sites. Common themes across the four kura, identified by school staff and family/whānau members revealed that:

- All students had needs of some kind and all students were considered *special*.

- There was a clear vision of everyone working towards all students reaching their full potential. For them, reaching one's potential meant standing tall as Māori and from this position being able to participate as bi-cultural, bilingual citizens of Aotearoa and the global community (Durie, 2001b).

- Kura and home communities, exemplified power-sharing and collaborative partnerships where home experiences supported school experiences and vice versa.

- Effective assessment for formative purposes, while identified in each kura as being under-developed and under-resourced, was seen as a key to improving programmes and learning.

- Another key to improving programmes and learning was the collective ability of these kura communities to identify problems and collaborate on solutions.

- There was a clear understanding that if students' cultural and social needs were being met, then learning was more likely to follow. This was in direct contrast to the order given in the set research questions which prioritised learning, social then cultural outcomes.

We believed that an opportunity to contextualise solutions from within the close relationships and interactions amongst kura community, whānau and staff was potentially very useful. Given that kura had received little opportunity to formulate their own questions, and that the research-whānau felt a responsibility to tell their story rather than an imposed or partial story, we decided to look deeper into their responses and attempt to understand their theorising from a Māori worldview. These findings are unpacked further below.

Contextual solutions

At each kura all members took collective, whānau responsibility for initiating collaborative actions that aimed to support all students more effectively. This was their kaupapa or agenda and the reason for their existence. Education and special education practices were viewed holistically and were grounded upon Māori language, beliefs, principles and practices. When necessary, these practices also incorporated perspectives from a Pākehā worldview. Practices were inclusive of all students in the kura no matter what their circumstances were. Exclusion from these kura was not considered to be an option. Inclusive practices began before students had arrived at kura. They made it their business to develop relationships with whānau of students who entered from kōhanga reo or mainstream primary schools. After students had left kura to attend whare kura or other secondary schools, they maintained these relationships.

The students themselves, their families and their educators, brought their own experiences and expertise to both defining the problem and also to developing solutions. Problems therefore generated solutions that were self-determined and

collaborative as well as culturally responsive and appropriate. Across the four kura rumaki sites a number of essential understandings, from within a Māori world view and embedded in te reo Māori (Māori language) and tikanga Māori (cultural beliefs and practices) were evident and these are discussed below. A deeper understanding of the outcomes from this research therefore required resorting to metaphors and images from a Māori worldview.

The Learning Context

Bronfenbrenner (1979) produced a model that sees the child as being at the centre of a series of interrelated and concentric socio-cultural systems (micro-system, meso-system, exo-system, macro-system) all of which impact, either directly or indirectly, upon the child's development and behaviour. Pere (1994) has produced a similar model that places the tamaiti (child) in the centre of three interrelated and concentric socio-cultural systems (whānau, hapū, iwi) each of which, either directly or indirectly, works to support the child's development and well-being. The four kura in this study were seen to be working within Pere's model but the systems from Pere's model were seen to be operating within two further interrelated systems. While the learning context in these kura certainly comprised the tamaiti in the inner-most system, as located within the whānau, hapū, and iwi, there was much evidence to suggest that these kura understood that these systems were further located within a system generated by mauri (life force) and then Ngā Atua (the Supreme Beings). Each system working to support the inner systems towards supporting the child (see Figure 8.1). Each of these six systems is described further below.
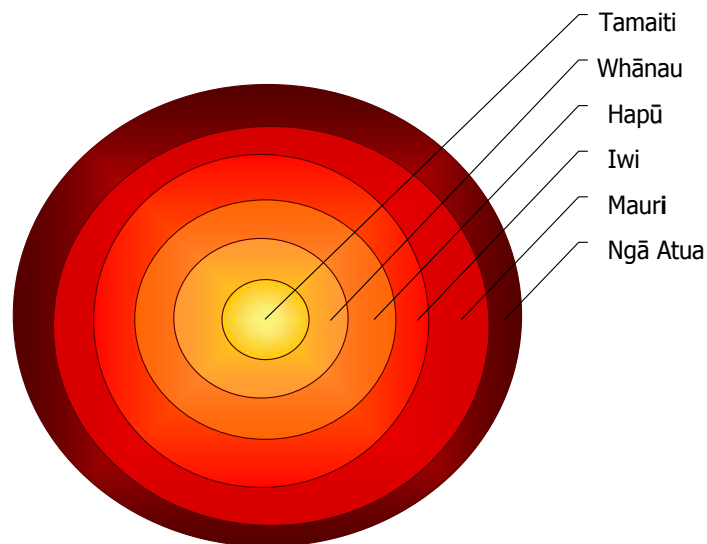
Figure 8.1: The Context

1. *Tamaiti:* The central system comprises the tamaiti. Tamaiti can be deconstructed into two words (tama and iti). Tama stands for Tama-Nui-Te-Ra, the Sun while the word iti means small. From this perspective, the child is seen as a small sun. Given that the sun is positioned in the centre of the universe, the child can also be seen as the centre of the universe (Pere, 1982), thus demonstrating the central importance of the child as seen from within a Māori worldview.

2. *Whānau:* The second system comprises the whānau. All aspects of the development of the tamaiti, their cultural, spiritual, intellectual, emotional and social well-being are strongly influenced by their whānau (caregivers, extended families, teachers and other kura members). The whānau is similarly influenced by interaction with their hapū (sub tribe) and the hapū in turn, is influenced by interaction with their iwi (tribe).

3. *Hapū:* The third system comprises the hapū or sub tribe

4. *Iwi:* The fourth system comprises the iwi or tribe

5. *Mauri:* The fifth system comprises the Mauri or the life force, sourced from and placed by Ngā Atua within all living and non-living things. Thus, mauri is the energy that binds a person's spirit, to their mind and body allowing all things to flourish within the confines of their own being.

6. *Ngā Atua:* The sixth system comprises Ngā Atua, the supreme Beings. The traditional Māori world links celestial worlds (the universe and gods) with terrestrial worlds (humans, plants, animals, the land and sea) (See chapter two). According to this worldview, all human endeavours including education are understood to be sourced from within this eternal presence and power and also protected by them. From Ngā Atua comes one's life force or mana (involving ascribed power, prestige, and authority). All people, even those who have done wrong, have mana, and through this we are all connected by whakapapa to the life force of each other. As seen in case study seven (Chapter seven) it is important therefore not to punish by exclusion or takahi i te mana (trample on the mana of others). Hui whakatika or restorative justice strategies seek solutions that respect the mana of all involved, both the victim of the wrongdoing and the wrongdoer.

Ngā Pumanawa: The Interactions and Relationships

Within this context, the emphasis and priorities in education were activated by four pumanawa (spiritual source) that were seen to provide the essential life-elements from the past to the present, from the spiritual world to the world of people (see Figure 8.2). These pumanawa provided the ongoing inextricable links for each tamaiti, from their spirituality, through their many different whānau/educators, to the development of their learning pathway and thus to their potential for achievement. These pumanawa were:

• Te pumanawa o te ao Māori (the Māori world);

• Te pumanawa o te whakapapa (genealogy and other connections);

• Te pumanawa o te wānanga (teaching and learning);

• Te pumanawa o te ao Pākehā (the Pākehā world).

Each of these four pumanawa is described further below.
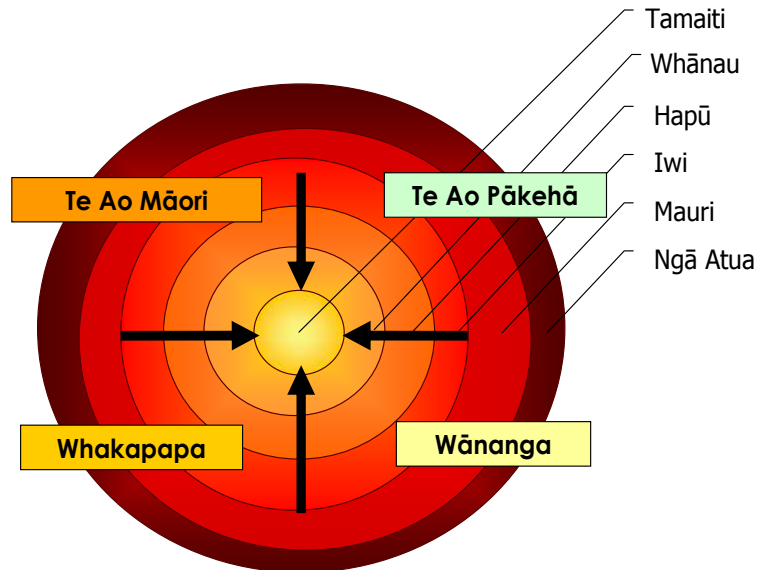
Figure 8. 2: Ngā Pumanawa

Te Pumanawa O Te Ao Māori

All things within a Māori world-view are understood to have spiritual origins and direct connections to Ngā Atua from whence all things were created and have since been developed. This pumanawa therefore comprises the epistemological belief systems of Māori.

Te Pumanawa O Te Whakapapa

Whakapapa represents the genealogical descent of Māori from the Divine sources of creation to the living world. Whakapapa establishes whānau, personal and collective identities, status and connectedness. It also provides permission to access certain ancestral knowledge, and to participate fully in cultural activities. Whakapapa encompasses the people, their places and their important genealogical events. Whakapapa is concerned with both the order and the interconnectedness of these events.

Te Pumanawa O Te Wānanga

Wānanga, by its most traditional definition, represents all knowledge as well as the means of preserving, building upon and sharing knowledge. An important part of wānanga are the appropriate beliefs and rituals concerned with the development, ownership, respect for and sharing of knowledge.

Te Pumanawa O Te Ao Pākehā

Te ao Pākehā is the worldview or epistemological beliefs and understandings outside of te ao Māori and often refers to western society in the widest sense.

It was the understanding of interconnection of the spiritual world with the context provided by the world of people, by these four pumanawa, and their integration in theory and in practice by the whānau in each kura, that resulted in schools being able to provide more effective educational practices and outcomes for all concerned, but especially for each tamaiti.

Today's reality for most Māori students is that their Māori world, in all its richness and depth, is largely surrounded and overpowered by, or colonised by te ao Pākehā. At the very least educators have to understand this, and learn how to develop contexts for learning where Māori students are still able to determine and develop their own cultural identity and their own mana motuhake.

Te Mataora

Te Mataora is the model that emerged from the interconnectedness of these systems (see Figure 8.3). Te Mataora was the name of the first Māori human being to obtain the moko (facial tattoo). Mataora literally means the living face. Full facial moko adornment traditionally marked the time when an individual had attained the highest in personal identity and integrity and was seen by others to have reached or be reaching their potential.
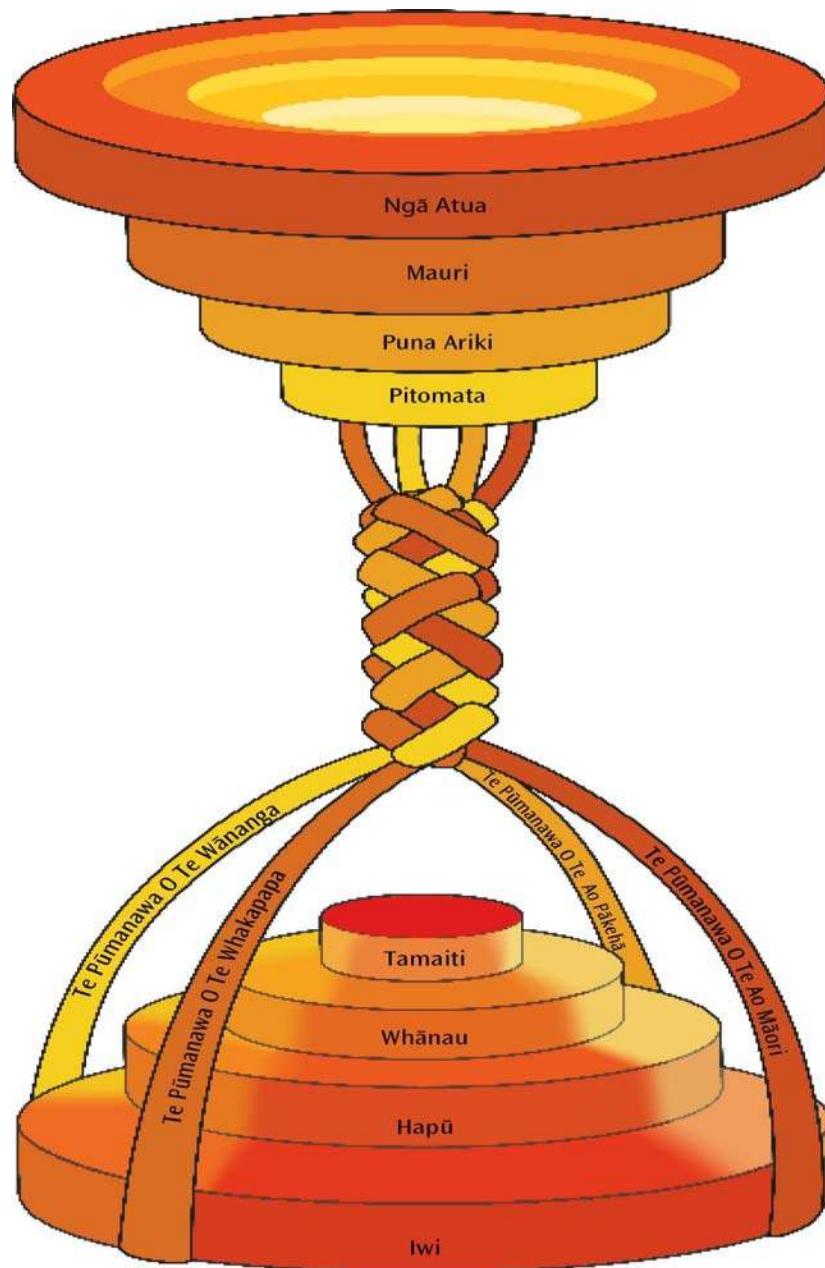
Figure 8.3: Te Mataora

The new elements that appear in Figure 8.3, that have not yet appeared in the previous two figures are Puna Ariki and Pitomata. Puna Ariki means literally the springs of the Gods. Here Tānenuiarangi cleansed himself after the many challenges he faced to acquire the baskets of knowledge. Pitomata is a term understood to have been coined by Wharehuia Milroy (Ngāi Tūhoe) meaning untapped potential. Te Mataora therefore attempts to illustrate both the challenges that must be overcome on one's journey to reach one's potential, as well as the important balance and interconnectedness between knowledge from the spiritual realm and knowledge from the terrestrial realm. Te Mataora shows the inseparability and flow on effect from one

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realm to the other and the interdependent nature of these realms and the elements within them. The dynamic interaction of all the elements is presented by the plaited section. It is here that all of the dynamism, the interconnections and interrelationships occur.

This interactive model encompasses all of the elements for providing the tamaiti with their cultural identity. These elements, unique to a Māori worldview, will enable the tamaiti to participate more effectively in education and from this foundation they will be able to participate more effectively within te ao Pākehā, and thus within the global community.

The Model in Practice

Part of a narrative from three different groups (tumuaki, parent, and child) in one of the kura is presented below to exemplify what the practices that flow from this model look like when people are faced with challenge. The tumuaki believes we all deserve to be given a new start that is focussed on our strengths, rather than on our weaknesses:

> **Tumuaki:** … making mistakes is not an issue, it's waiho oku whenu, mauria mai oku painga – heed not my weaknesses, but heed to my strengths, and together we will learn, yeah we've made plenty of mistakes, hell who doesn't?
>
> We talk to parents about that when we have raruraru (problem), it's not focussed on the negativity of the issue, the kōrero is focussed on what we can do together to help as a whānau to move forward and we're going through that one right now with a couple of issues and so we're meeting with parents. It's a big people thing, so we're going to be meeting with parents next week and we're going out to the various people in our community, and saying, "hey we all got to be on this waka (canoe), or else we're not going to do it together", so we do a lot of talk with our whānau.

A mother who enrolled her son in this school talked about the difference that a fresh start with people who believed in them had made for her and her son.

> **Mother:** When both my son and I came in touch with this kura, I decided to try and work it out for him. He was working with SES prior to that, special education, that sort of thing. He had behavioural problems quite bad,

dysfunctional and he just had a whole list of problems that he was going through at the time.

From the time that he started here, it's been a hard journey it hasn't been all good, but just to now, his wairua, his spirit, his self-esteem, his confidence and his learning has just lifted. He got stood down for fighting at the last school, and the other boy that was in the fight never got stood down, but my boy got stood down. I didn't think that was fair or that he was dealt with fairly. The kids knew that he was different and he felt he was different so whenever he got upset or angry, his SES teacher [Behaviour Support Worker] would just jump in and make arrangements for him or movements for him that tended to his needs. He [the son] knew that and he would use that to his advantage, I felt he could never just settle in, whereas here, he was given the opportunity to settle in.

It is important to note the Behaviour Support Teacher seemed to be responding to only one aspect of the problem with separation or time out his most frequent response.

Mother: He believes in himself, he is more confident, he's more responsible and the actions that he takes now he realises the outcomes can be detrimental to him and to those around him. I believe that this school has encouraged him to, maybe not as far as the system goes with his academic side yet, but more with his spiritual side and this one on one, which does really nurture him. And I'll say that for all of them. He had one teacher working with him when he started at this school he just fell in love with her, so there was a connection with him straight away.

He then moved up into another class and there was a bit of readjustment for him and the teachers and that sort of took him down a bit. It was hard for him to find his feet again, that sort of thing. At the beginning of this year, it was touch and go whether he would be stood down permanently or carry on and it was at that point that he realised that he had to make some real life choices. A lot of communicating was done, a lot of talking, a lot of options and it just made him realise you know, what he's got here. The choices that he is going to make are going to affect him for the rest of his life. He took the challenge on, of facing up to his responsibility and buckling down, having to lead, rather than be negative and affect the rest around him.

Researcher: How much influence do you think the kura has had in making those changes?

Mother: Ooh he never had this at any other kura that he's been enrolled in, this is how I feel personally in this town, he's been to three other mainstream schools and then here. I just believe they gave him love they gave him a side that the other schools were too set in their mainstream systems ways to see that there were reasons why this boy was doing what he was doing and they were willing to dig that bit harder to find the good in him. I believe that they [in this kura] dealt to a side that my boy hasn't felt since we lived up North, and we came from a small place up North and the teaching up there is done on a one to one. He pretty well much found it here, you know, they took him and realised that he was quarrelsome and they pretty much took him on as being part of their own, not just as a child that they were going to isolate from the rest of the school.

Researcher: How were you received at these other schools?

Mother: It just felt like a job interview going into a mainstream kura, it didn't feel real, it felt like he was just a number. There was no personal touch, yeah just put in the paper work and filed away. They didn't do that here, they went the extra mile to make sure that his needs were dealt to in every way that they possibly could address and that was a big difference. Very informal, very much tikanga Māori, yeah the comparison between us and mainstream. The interest and the love that they give out is just part of their kaupapa.

You don't get that in the mainstream, you just don't. They can be just as loving and kind and I'm not radical, I'm just saying it for what it is but at the end of the day I felt that you were just part of the system, you were just a number and you were filed away like anything else. This is why a lot of our Māori people get upset because my partner is a mobster [gang member]. This is why he wanted to go down and kill the principal in those other schools, yeah do a spinout.

The mother's clear articulation of the difference between the mainstream school response and the Māori medium response provides a powerful statement about the cultural connectedness and holistic well-being capable of being generated through Te Mataora.

What they have done for him here at school, hasn't just affected him at school, but he's brought that behaviour home. They just love and care for him and listen to him. Gee if you'd seen him two years ago, you wouldn't have thought he was the same kid. Honestly, he never lasted at school until lunch time without getting into a fight or without giving a couple of kids a hiding or without getting into some sort of trouble or putting a hole in the wall. He's just not the same child at all, if somebody had said this to me a year and half ago, I would have thought I had faith, but I don't know whether you could work miracles that fast with him. But he was just adamant that this is the way that I am, handle it or get out of my face, this is how I'm going to be.

They've dealt to him in a way that you can't put it down on a piece of paper in a mainstream school and file it away, because it's not something that can be done just like that, they've just turned him right around. I mean, but my son has just floated through it all. Because it's completely different here they feel you before they see you, you are part of them and that makes a big difference for your child. You know that your child's wairua is going to be dealt to on a daily basis and that's what he needs to grow, yeah and that's him. The love and spiritual healing that they've given to him. You can't put that down on a piece of paper. It's been an awesome, enriching loving and fulfilling journey that will give him tools for the rest of his life I suppose.

The son adds his insights to these experiences.

Student: They understand me and they just understand me better then all the other schools…all the teachers listen to what you have to say. Yeah. Māori helped me.

Researcher: So you're not naughty anymore?

Student: Nah, I just changed when I came here in the last year.

Researcher: Oh yeah, why?

Student: Big change! Because of the teachers they listen, the other school they just used ring up my mum and just send me home, because I hit people but they didn't listen to my reasons why I hit them, but not here.

The following year when we were talking to staff from the local GSE office about this study, one of the case workers shared an unsolicited, similar experience. He talked

about a boy who had been one of his most severe behaviour cases. On enrolment into a new school the behaviours displayed in previous school settings had, with very little intervention from him, begun to be turned around. In his opinion, the intervention was in the relationship that this school had been able to build with this family and the son, and the education context that they had subsequently provided for him. The participants in both stories are one and the same.

Implications from this study

Relationships

This research sought answers from within the culture and traditional discourses of te ao Māori. As with the previous study, effective and balanced working relationships existed in each of the kura between parents/whānau and educational professionals, in which each party acknowledged and supported the expertise of the other and all were seen as part of the education whānau. Collaborative and culturally competent approaches to understanding and resolving problems were evident in each site. The students themselves, their families and their educators all brought their own expertise to defining not only the problem but also the solutions. Problems were then responded to collaboratively.

Accountability

Educators in these kura faced dual lines of accountability. Their cultural obligations and accountabilities to their students and families were as strong as their professional accountabilities. Their cultural obligations were seen to drive their professional responsibilities. Researchers themselves also faced similar dual lines of accountability. The research showed that although these kura faced many different challenges it was the knowledge from te ao Māori (and sometimes, also te ao Pākehā) and the collective response to problem solving that did, or would see them through.

Collaboration and Interdependence

Traditional Māori stories, as well as national and international literature and the results from this study (Berryman et al., 2004) all provide researched examples of inclusion that result from a more collective and collaborative approach to participation in education and in problem solving that is based on what people can do together rather than what they cannot do alone. From a Māori worldview collective benefits are more important than individual benefits and interdependence is just as valid as

independence. Cultural knowledge and understandings provided the platform for generating effective practices that enhanced, and in turn further sustained the cultural, social and learning needs of all who participated.

Culturally Responsive Solutions

Māori traditionally have a culture that is based on developing relationships for the purpose of making connections and inclusion. This involves a collective approach to learning and teaching that values all students and takes responsibility for finding ways to meet their needs be they intellectual, physical, spiritual and their need for being connected and included with whānau. This research clearly identified that Māori communities already have effective solutions for assessing and meeting the needs of their own students, and that they also have the capacity for finding new solutions as required from within their own worldview.

This research suggests that these practices are more likely to achieve the goals Durie (2001b, 2004) defined towards success in education for Māori. Such practices will ensure that all Māori students are able to live as Māori, and are able to participate actively as citizens of the world. These foundations are more likely to result in better levels of health and a higher standard of living for Māori.

The research-whānau noted four important qualities exemplified within this study that have possible application for other settings.

Manaakitanga

The first quality involves the physical roles and responsibilities of the kura whānau themselves. People in each kura involved themselves with manaakitanga (care and commitment) which was extended to the students and families from their community but also to outside researchers and other visitors.

Whakapapa

The second quality involves whakapapa (genealogical) connections. In these kura the essential element of whakapapa connected tipuna (ancestors) to tamariki mokopuna (children) and to all points from the past to the present. Teachers knew at a deep level who their students were. Students were seen to come with the strengths and support of their ancestors. This was reciprocated by the communities who also knew and understood who their teachers were in the same way.

Wairua

The third quality involved wairua or spirituality, the interconnectedness between te ao tawhito (the ancient world of the Māori, a Māori worldview) and te ao hurihuri (the contemporary world, today's world). Present day pedagogies, relationships and interactions, came from within the culture and had been handed down from the past.

Rangatiratanga

Finally, the fourth quality involved the incorporation of te ao Pākehā with te ao Māori but determined by Māori and on Māori terms.

A whakataukī referring to appropriate roles and interactions on the marae provided an appropriate metaphor for understanding this outcome 'ka tika a muri, ka tika a mua'. This whakataukī urges us to get the back (past) right and the front (future) will also be right. It is a way of looking forwards and determining the future by taking clear cognisance of our past.

The Politics of Indigeneity

At the same time as collaboration, interdependence and culturally responsive contexts were emerging from these kaupapa Māori settings as evidence of effective responses to the education needs of Māori, the National Party Opposition leader Don Brash (2004), delivered his Nationhood, Orewa speech and Parliament enacted the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004. Māori self-determination was threatened as narrow and limiting concepts of democracy and social justice, along with principles of individualism, began to see the Treaty of Waitangi and the word Māori itself begin to disappear from MOE documents. By 2004, rather than Māori relationships with our Treaty partner strengthening, policy debate saw the re-emergence of assimilation as a subtle although not explicit policy objective and the public clash between self-determination gave rise to the theoretical articulation of the politics of indigeneity (O'Sullivan, 2007).

Group Research Award

As these events were unfolding around us, we were honoured to receive the group research award at the New Zealand Association for Research in Education (NZARE) conference.

The research-whānau in 2006

By 2005 the Poutama Pounamu research-whānau had again evolved and taken on new shape and energy. Researchers who had been an important part of Akoranga Whakarei moved on to other careers and we welcomed new members to the research-whānau. Another of our kaumatua, Mikaere O'Brien died after a long battle with cancer and Tangiwai Tapiata (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi) a young woman who had worked with us for only a year passed on suddenly. More recently we also lost, Kura Loader, the principal from one of the four kura in the last case study and the liaison teacher in case study six[33].

> Tauwhare ana mai te pūkohu ki te take o Mauao.
>
> Hoki atu ra korua ki te kapunipunitanga o ngā wairua,
>
> ki te mūrau o te tini,
>
> ki te wererau o te manu
>
> e kore e wareware.
>
> Anei ngā rarangi ingoa e whai ake nei
>
> Mikaere O'Brien
>
> Tangiwai Tapiata
>
> Kura Loader

Summary

Te Hikoitanga, the metaphor for this chapter speaks of the act of walking, a movement of active resilience and at the same time a proactive movement of self determination. For the research-whānau, and for others with whom we have engaged, this movement has always been towards the kaupapa of raising the achievement of Māori tamariki mokopuna. Within these case studies the research-whānau had begun to take a more culturally determined stance and was beginning to work and theorise more from within a Māori worldview for Māori. Mainstream educators were

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[33] A translation of this poroporoaki is in the Appendices, Appendix 7.

beginning to recognise the increased determination and mana of this research-whānau. In this way we could generate new solutions and benefit both groups.

The external events that impacted upon the work and theorising of the research-whānau and the main themes that emerged from this part of the journey and the case studies outlined in this chapter are summarised in the table below. These themes are discussed in full in Chapter nine.

Table 8.1: Summary of Emerging Themes

Chapter Eight: Important Contextual Events	
Movement of GSE into the MOE	• SE2000 policy of Inclusion
Brash's Orewa Speech	• End of race based funding • Treaty of Waitangi and Māori specific terms begin to disappear from MOE documents
Name of the Case Study	**The significance of the study and the new learning for the whānau**
Sites of effective special education	• The effectiveness of culturally responsive learning contexts for Māori parents • Importance of effective partnerships
Akoranga Whakarei	• Solutions for Māori are located within te ao Māori • What we can do together is more than what we can do alone • Non Māori can learn from our solutions but they must be open to learn

Benefits to and from both Worldviews

Generating change from inside a mainstream organisation, while working at the interface of te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā is complex and challenging. Being strong in one's own cultural identity, as iwi and as Māori, in order to believe in the legitimacy and validity of one's own worldview, after years of learning to view it as *other*, as *less than*, are important first steps. Despite traditional solutions generated from te ao Pākehā often being ineffective solutions for Māori, it would seem that solutions for Māori generated from te ao Māori, from within Māori culture itself, might well mean solutions for non Māori.

Chapter Nine: Discussion

Introduction

This thesis sought to explore the experiences of a research-whānau on the *kaupapa* of generating better understandings of, and more effective responses to enhancing Māori students' potential in education. In the course of this work, we have been able to explore what it has meant to put the principles of kaupapa Māori research into practice while working in a mainstream organisation. This work has involved a movement from dependence on Western research methodologies to a better understanding and application of kaupapa Māori conceptualisations as well.

Accordingly, this chapter describes, from the perspectives of this research-whānau, some of the processes and some of the implications of working at the interface of te ao Pākehā and te ao Māori while attempting to put the principles of kaupapa Māori into practice. It begins by identifying some of the mainstream and kaupapa Māori events, focussed on transforming Māori students' educational experiences, to provide a wider context for this work. It presents the changes in thinking that emerged as we undertook research alongside these events and then links to Te Kotahitanga, a current research and professional development project that has begun to contribute significantly to fostering understandings of the ways in which Māori students can be more effectively supported by educators, and to which the research-whānau have made an important contribution. The chapter concludes by examining the shifts in theorising and practice made by the research-whānau during the course of our work and which we now see as required by those who choose to engage with this same kaupapa.

The Wider Education Context

In order to contextualise the work of the research-whānau (chapters five through eight), three tables (table 9.1 through to table 9.3) present events from the wider context of mainstream and kaupapa Māori educational reform over the last three decades. From these events emerge the discourses that contextualised and characterised the work of the research-whānau. Table 9.1 below examines the period immediately prior to the meeting of the people as discussed in the formation of this research-whānau in Te Tūtakitahitanga (chapter five).

Table 9.1: Contextual Discourses prior to the Research-Whānau Forming

	Te Ao Pākehā: Events concerning mainstream educational reform	Te Ao Māori: Events concerning Kaupapa Māori educational reform
1980 to 1990	**1984** Māori Educational Development Conference revealed that efforts to *close the gap* between Māori and non-Māori in education had not improved. **1984 – 1987** major reforms, deregulation and commercialisation of state activities in the health, education and welfare system. **1987** Māori Language Act made Māori language an official language of New Zealand. **1988** The Picot Report, Administering for Excellence. Policy response, Tomorrow's Schools **1989/1990** Education Act/ Education Amendment Act, allowed for the establishment of Polytechnics, Universities and Wānanga.	**1981** the Raukawa marae trustees formalised the establishment of Te Wānanga o Raukura **1982** Kōhanga Reo started as a response to loss of the Māori language. **1984** Te Wānanga o Raukura became an incorporated body and began teaching its first degree **1985** First Kura Kaupapa Māori set up at Hoani Waititi **1987** Waipa Kokiri Centre (WKC) formed and taught people with no school qualifications basic building skills in order to enhance employment opportunities. WKC led to the establishment of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, registered in **1993** Māori academia began to take shape
	Emerging Discourses	
	• Taha Māori • Schools as self managing businesses • Poor Māori health, housing, employment and education • Fix up the problem, Māori are the problem • Poor ability to learn linked to socio economic status • Closing *the gap*	• Māori aspirations for economic and educational agency and self-determination as defined by the Treaty of Waitangi, **rangatiratanga** • Resist the dominant, hegemonic discourses, **rangatiratanga** • Revitalisation of language and cultural aspirations and practices, **taonga tuku iho**
	Prior to the Research-whānau Forming	
	Members, of what was to become the research-whānau, had experience of working in compulsory, special and tertiary education.	One member, of what was to become the research-whānau, was establishing the first Kōhanga Reo in Tauranga.

This period (1980 to 1990) saw major economic reform from the neo-liberal programme of deregulation and commercialisation of state activities in the health, education and welfare system. One result of these reforms was that schools began to

operate as businesses (Butterworth, & Butterworth, 1998; Peters, Marshall, & Massey, 1994). It also became clear in this period that the educational disparities first identified explicitly in the 1960 Hunn report, between Māori and non-Māori had not been improved (Walker, 2004). Despite Walker (1990) and others linking Māori educational disparity to the unjust social order that had arisen from the colonial experience, deficit discourses of Māori student's inability to learn (as discussed in chapter one), continued to be linked to low socio economic status. This decade led to renewed calls by mainstream educators and politicians, to *close the gap*.

During this same period, Māori aspirations for economic and educational agency and self-determination, as defined by the Treaty of Waitangi, resulted in the foundations of a kaupapa Māori system of education that sat outside the state system. Smith (1997) suggests that, "Māori communities armed with the new critical understandings of the shortcomings of the state and structural analyses began to assert transformative actions to deal with the twin crisis of language demise and educational under achievement themselves" (p.171). Te Wānanga o Raukura (an iwi tertiary setting) and Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori language, Early Childhood settings), for example were kaupapa Māori educational settings, developed as a response to loss of Māori language and cultural identity. The Waipa Kokiri Centre (a Māori tertiary setting), also recognised the need to enhance employment opportunities for Māori who had left school with no qualifications (Walker, 2004). Māori at all levels of education had begun to exercise their agency and determination in a purposeful and strategic way. These discourses had begun to impact upon all New Zealanders. Rangiwhakaehu was establishing the first Kōhanga Reo in Tauranga while others of the research-whānau were working in compulsory, special and tertiary education.

Table 9.2 examines 1990 to 2000, the period during which the group of people met and this research-whānau emerged. As discussed in Te Arataki (chapter six), it was also the period during which our research centre and research pathway were both established.

Table 9.2: Contextual Discourses - the Emerging Research-whānau

	Te Ao Pākehā: Mainstream educational reform	**Te Ao Māori: Kaupapa Māori educational reform**
1991 to 2000	**1990** Continued link of low socio economic status to low achievement. **1991** Ka Awatea report revealed the gaps had not closed. **1993** National Curriculum Framework; Schools bulk funded. **1996** election first-past-the-post replaced by Mixed Member Proportional (MMP). Helen Clark led Labour government, more Māori in Parliament. Initiatives to close the gap stopped. Māori MP Tamihere, argued Treaty settlements and devolution of funds to Māori organisations as capacity building thus enabling Māori to close the gaps. **1998** the third report on Progress Towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and non-Māori showed educational disparities were still present on most indicators. Iwi education partnerships were sought and negotiated.	**1992** Te Runanga o Ngāti Āwa established Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi. State funding made available for Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga. The kaupapa Māori education response continued to grow. **1993** Te Wānanga o Raukawa recognised as a tertiary provider. Cultural revival including music, moko, art, weaving, carving etc saw the development of the toi iho, authentic Māori made trade mark. Māori began to participate in tertiary education. More Treaty claims were settled. Iwi considered education partnerships with the Crown. Māori academia was developing.
	Emerging Discourses	
	- Closing *the gap* was about social equity and a priority - Equity for Māori while neglecting non-Māori under-achievers is divisive - Bicultural, multicultural - Need appropriate Māori language teachers and resources - Need for strategic alliances with iwi - Māori must develop their own capacity	- Māori aspirations for economic and educational agency and self-determination as defined by the Treaty of Waitangi, **tino rangatiratanga** - Continue to revitalise and maintain language and cultural aspirations **taonga tuku iho** - Negotiate with the state but on Māori terms - Māori can and are developing their own capacity
	The Emerging Bicultural Research-whānau	
	Our understandings of ways to close the gap were grounded primarily in mainstream discourses. From this position, we strove to use our professional knowledge, skills and resources to develop and research solutions by developing culturally appropriate Māori language educational resources.	Kaumātua respected our initiatives and supported us to operate in Māori language and cultural settings.

During this period, research by Harker and Nash (1990), Nash (1993), and Chapple, Jefferies and Walker (1997), continued to assert the close link between socio economic status and student's ability to learn and achieve. For example, Harker and Nash (1990) stated, "Maori children under-achieve when compared with Pakeha children because of quantitative differences in the cultural, that is literary, resources possessed by their families" (p. 39). The third report on Progress towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps between Māori and non-Māori (Te Pūni Kokiri, 1998), showed educational disparities were still present on most of the social, health and educational indicators. The Prime Minister, Helen Clark, chaired the Cabinet gaps committee herself, seeing the need to close the gaps as a priority and about social equity. The opposition party leader argued that equity for Māori while neglecting non-Māori under-achievers was divisive. The media joined in the argument with discourses of "endless handouts to Māori," and closing the gaps was dropped. The focus turned to Treaty settlements and the negotiation of Iwi education partnerships. John Tamihere, with the Labour led government, argued for Treaty settlements and devolution of funds to Māori groups as capacity building, thus enabling Māori to close the gaps themselves (Walker, 2004).

As Māori, the research-whānau understood about closing the gap. We had been a part of the gap ourselves, as students and as parents and educators. We understood the need to work proactively and knew what had been important in our own classrooms to support Māori students to achieve in educational terms. However trying to improve Māori students' experiences of education and influence a school system from inside a classroom was both daunting and unsafe. It was far safer to align with the majority of teachers, and go along with the minimal change they would be comfortable with, thus perpetuating the status quo. Research and development offered an appropriate solution. However, while we were confident in our skills as teachers, we knew we would need to develop research capacity and skills to operate effectively in this field. The knowledge and resource bases for these developments were largely positioned within mainstream discourses. We began as a bicultural research-whānau with kaumātua supporting us in Māori contexts.

Table 9.3 next, examines the period 2000 to 2007. During this time we widened our research networks and increased our research understandings (Te Whānau Whanui,

chapter seven). We also established greater respect for kaupapa Māori approaches in both our research methodology and research findings (Te Hikoitanga, chapter eight).

Table 9.3 Contextual Discourses - the Evolving Research-whānau

	Te Ao Pākehā: Mainstream educational reform	Te Ao Māori: Kaupapa Māori educational reform
2000 to 2007	**2001** New evidence showed that low economic settings were not immutable in terms of Māori achievement. Iwi education partnerships continued to be sought and negotiated. MOE supported Tūwharetoa to host a series of national Hui Taumata Mātauranga **2003** Government proposed new foreshore and seabed.legislation **2004** Brash's Nationhood speech; The Foreshore and Seabed Bill **2005** Government goals for Education **2006** Curriculum Framework review **2007** Ka Hikitia (Step Up), Māori Education Strategy (MES).	**2001** Te Kotahitanga, challenging teacher beliefs and practices. Incorporating a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations in classrooms. Tūwharetoa host Hui Taumata Mātauranga; Durie's principles for Māori educational success. Māori participating more strongly at all levels of tertiary. Māori academy continues to strengthen. **2002** Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga emerged. **2004** The formation of the Māori Party in Parliament **2005** Durie's dual aims for Māori development **2007** Strong rejection to remove Treaty from the Curriculum Framework review.
	Emerging Discourses	
	- More difference within schools than from school to school - Effective teachers make the difference - We are all one people - No more race-based funding handouts - Must be needs based and evidence driven - Step up Managing for Māori success - Position of the Treaty reinstated	- Māori aspirations for economic and educational agency and self-determination continue. - Ongoing maintenance of language/cultural aspirations. - Negotiate with the state but on Māori terms - Moving beyond Biculturalism to self-determination - Embracing Māori lives, knowledge and society - Facilitation of Māori access to New Zealand society and economy
	The Evolving Research-whānau	
	We understood that we needed to look elsewhere to find new solutions. We had also begun to take greater responsibility for publishing and presenting our research.	We understood Māori were part of the problem and must also be part of the solution. We respected the initiatives of our kaumātua and had learned the importance of indigeneity and listening to te ao Māori. Being a part of the research-whānau had taught us to trust that the kaupapa and effective responses were embedded in taonga tuku iho from the inception. We had also benefited from relationships where power and knowledge were shared.

In strong contrast to researchers, who traditionally argued that low socio-economic status, resource and cultural deprivation will almost certainly result in poor educational achievement (see table 9.2, Harker, & Nash, 1990; Nash, 1993; Chapple, Jefferies, & Walker, 1997), Ministry of Education research undertaken by Hattie (1999; 2003a; 2003b) and Alton-Lee (2003, 2006) at the beginning of 2000 identified that the most important systemic influence on student's educational achievement was the effectiveness of their teachers. While both Hattie and Alton-Lee had also considered the traditionally perceived influences on learning and achievement, such as whānau, home community, pedagogy, teachers, school systems, and the students themselves, their analysis showed that with effective teachers, low socio-economic settings were not immutable in terms of Māori students' achievement. Findings from Te Kotahitanga (Bishop, et al., 2003, 2007), a current, major research and professional development project in which the research-whānau has worked in partnership with the Centre for Māori Education Research (CMER) at the School of Education, University of Waikato, since 2001, supported Hattie and Alton-Lee's findings. However, the Te Kotahitanga research identified that teacher effectiveness for Māori students depended upon teachers' ability to form and maintain effective relationships with them. Further, it was the types of relationships developed between the teacher and Māori students that were the most crucial factor in mediating their achievement in schools (as discussed later on in this chapter).

Government Goals for Education in 2005

As discussed in chapter three, the New Zealand government goals for education in 2005 identified a commitment to two key priority areas, these being to "reduce systemic underachievement in education" and "build an education system that equips New Zealanders with 21st century skills" (Ministry of Education, 2005a, p.6). Sitting alongside these two priority areas, within the Māori education strategy, is Durie's framework, made up of "Enabling Māori to live as Māori; Facilitating participation as citizens of the world; Contributing towards good health and a high standard of living" (Ministry of Education, 2005a, p.19). This framework now influences how education will be delivered to Māori in mainstream and kura kaupapa Māori settings. Flowing from this framework are the education strategy goals for Māori. These involve raising the quality of mainstream education, supporting growth of quality kaupapa Māori education and supporting greater involvement and authority of Māori in education.

These goals have influence across all sectors (early childhood, compulsory and tertiary). In 2007, *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success, the draft Māori Education Strategy*, 2008 to 2012 was launched. This strategy is about achieving the Ministry's overarching outcome, as identified in the key priority areas above, by *ka hikitia*, or *stepping up* in system performance for Māori to ensure more equitable outcomes.

Durie (2005a) has since identified dual aims for Māori development, as embracing Māori lives, Māori society, Māori knowledge and facilitating Māori access to New Zealand society and economy. Durie (2005b) suggests however that,

> …it is illusory to develop policies, programmes and practices that purport to be 'blind' to race and ethnicity when for an increasingly large number of people an ethnic orientation underlies both personal and collective identity, provides pathways to participation in society, and largely influences the ways in which societal institutions respond to their needs.

(p. 1)

The historical denial of Māori culture and ethnicity has had a significant impact on New Zealand educational theorising and, as suggested by Durie above and also by Bishop and Glynn (1999), culture counts. This has certainly been true for the research-whānau as they have developed a greater understanding of what this has meant for their practice.

The workings of the Research-Whānau

In order to understand the lessons we have learned it is necessary to set out the ways in which we worked and the lessons we have learned. As government employees, the work has been greatly influenced by the aspirations and power differentials within the wider political, economic, social and cultural contexts, and their associated worldviews, both Western mainstream, and indigenous Māori (as presented in tables 9.1 to 9.3). The research is presented as 11 case studies in chapters five to eight. Each chapter is represented by a different metaphor: Te Tūtakitahitanga, Te Arataki, Te Whānau Whanui and Te Hikoitanga that illustrates the iterative development and re-positioning of this research-whānau. This work has continued over more than one decade, from the aspirations, resilience and determination (Durie, 2005a) of the research-whānau and the people with whom we have engaged.

A collaborative and critical reflection on the experiences of the research-whānau summarised the major themes and metaphors that have emerged. This summary is presented as a poutama in Figure 9.1. Poutama were referred to in chapter two as the layered ascending steps by which Tānenuiarangi climbed to the heavens in his quest for the baskets of knowledge. Poutama were again introduced in chapter six, forming part of the name of this research centre (Poutama Pounamu). Royal-Tangaere (1997) related poutama to Vygotsky's (1978) zones of proximal development, conceptualising them as stages during which the more skilled learner provides supportive scaffolding which is then gradually removed, leaving the learner working independently of earlier support. Bruner (1996) suggests prior knowledge and experiences, within social and cultural contexts, provide the foundation and means for the learner to develop new knowledge. For these reasons, the poutama metaphor is important for us in that it is cumulative. However, it is limited in that it is unidirectional. We understand our research also to have involved collaborative consultation and critical reflection in an ongoing, spiralling fashion that is both iterative and accumulative, as in spiral discourse (Bishop, 1996a), building from one set of experiences and understandings to the next, that is, from one set of discourses, as discussed in chapter 1, to the next and re-examining each along the way. As we re-visit and re-examine our prior learnings, we are able to elaborate our understandings and move forward together in a critical and co-constructive process of shared and reciprocal learning as with ako (Metge, 1983; Pere, 1982). This story has involved us all in engaging with the discourses of both the government organisation for whom we work and the Māori and iwi communities to whom we belong.

The story of our research-whānau begins at the bottom left hand side of figure 9.1 with chapter five, Te Tūtakitahitanga. It then spirals diagonally up through the case studies. On each step of the poutama, the themes that emerged are aligned with each study, then, the important metaphors that have emerged from these themes are listed.

- Te Tūtakitahitanga: Whānau; Kaupapa, Taonga Tuku Iho.

- Te Arataki: Whanaungatanga, Wānanga, Ako.

- Te Whānau Whānui: Rangatiratanga, Mana.

- Te Hikoitanga: Te Ao Māori, Mana Tangata, Mana Kaupapa, Te Ao Pākehā.

Following figure 9.1, the poutama and each of these themes are discussed in detail.

Chapter	Case Studies	Emerging Themes	Important Metaphors
Chapter 8: Te Hikoitanga	**Case Studies** 11. Akoranga Whakarei 10. Sites of effective special education	**Emerging Themes** • Effective partnerships are responsive and interdependent • What we can do together is more than what we can do alone • Non Māori can learn from Māori solutions but they must be open to learn • New solutions for Māori sit within te ao Māori • The effectiveness of culturally responsive learning contexts for Māori whānau	**Important Metaphors** • **Te Ao Pākehā** • **Mana Kaupapa** • **Mana Tangata** • **Te Ao Māori**
Chapter 7: Te Whānau Whānui	**Case Studies** 9. Whanuitanga 8. Te Toi Huarewa 7. Hui Whakatika 6. Toitū te whānau, toitū te iwi	**Emerging Themes** • The importance of culturally responsive learning contexts for mainstream Māori students • Effective solutions for Māori are located within a Māori worldview • The importance of teacher and student relationships • The effectiveness of culturally responsive learning contexts • The benefits when non-Māori work as collaborators rather than as the initiators who define • The added benefits of working within both quantitative and qualitative research paradigms • Challenges of transition (from one language of instruction and/ or worldview to another) • School communities proactively working with success (rather than reacting to failure)	**Important Metaphors** • **Mana** • **Rangatiratanga**
Chapter 6: Te Arataki	**Case Studies** 5. An evaluation of two Māori RTG&L 4. A home and school literacy intervention 3. Tuhi Atu Tuhi Mai 2. Hei Āwhina Mātua	**Emerging Themes** • What works in kura kaupapa should be available for Māori students in mainstream • Constant redefining of Māori by non-Māori has resulted in ongoing Māori disadvantage • Risks when Māori are defined only as a people from the distant past • The importance of power sharing relationships • Importance of responsive, socio cultural learning contexts • What worked for Māori in this mainstream setting worked for kura kaupapa and rumaki students • Challenge of transition at Year 9 • Importance of place (working on the marae), setting and context • Importance of kawa and tikanga (the right way to do things) • Collaboration between home, school and community settings when roles are interdependent • Power of student voice and their powerful role as collaborators • Developing understandings about kaupapa Māori • The need for and added benefits from operating in two world views	**Important Metaphors** • **Ako** • **Wānanga** • **Whanaungatanga**
Chapter 5: Te Tūtakitahitanga	**Case Study** **1. Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi**	**Emerging Themes** • Quantitative research methods used to answer questions of importance to Māori • Proactive work focussed on success (rather than actively working with failure) • Complementary roles and responsibilities, ako • Taonga tuku iho can be applied in practice and new learning can emerge • Clear focus on the kaupapa with whānau and kaumātaua participation • Two world views acknowledged as important	**Important Metaphors** • **Taonga Tuku Iho** • **Kaupapa** • **Whānau**

Figure 9.1: Case Studies, Emerging Themes and Important Metaphors

Phase One: Te Tūtakitahitanga

Te Tūtakitahitanga speaks of the coming together of different people for a common purpose and of their moving forward together. It speaks of collaboration and partnerships between different people (Māori, non-Māori; of different iwi; social and professional backgrounds; and of different age and gender). At a global level the metaphor speaks of the initiation of a relationship between two worldviews, te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā, and the kaupapa that generated, over time, a response of active resilience and endurance (Durie, 2005a), focussed on learning from taonga tuku iho (Smith, 1997). A double spiral has been used as the foundation for these new relationships and important metaphors.

Whānau

Te Tūtakitahitanga describes the initial merging of a group of Māori people together with a Pākehā academic and researcher. The purpose of their coming together was to reconstruct an English reading tutoring programme for use in Māori-language educational settings. While the underlying philosophy of this project was rooted in te ao Pākehā, the participation of Māori elders ensured that the kaupapa and the relationships themselves were firmly rooted in te ao Māori. The emerging relationships and interactions of this group marked the beginnings of a group constituted as a whānau-of-interest (see chapter three), with the dual and interlinked *interest* of participating in research that would help to reclaim Māori language and culture, together with raising the achievement of Māori students.

Bishop et al., (2007) assert, "whānau is a primary concept (a cultural preference) that contains both values (cultural aspirations) and social processes (cultural practices) that have multiple meanings for mainstream education" (p.12). O'Sullivan (2007) suggests that, "whanau is the unit most likely to deliver self-determination" (p.183). He suggests that, for most, whānau is, "their first point of identity, and the unit in which the sense of collective purpose and well-being is strongest" (p.183). Within this metaphoric whānau, a self-determining research-group had begun to emerge and has continued to develop. As this research-whānau has emerged, power was, and continues to be exercised in traditional ways, delegating roles and responsibilities when any activity is undertaken, and with reciprocity, connectedness and commitment remaining paramount. Members of this research-whānau, as in any traditional family, continue to include male and female and represent all generations from elders to adults, young adults and children. Within this context, traditional cultural whānau

roles and responsibilities, such as are maintained by each of these generations, are respected and maintained.

Relationships of Respect

The merging of groups for the first time, in the meeting spaces discussed in Te Tūtakitahitanga, showed what could happen when cultural discourses, beliefs, values and practices were expected and understood to be central to new relationships, and when relationships were understood to provide the basis for interactions. In this cultural context our kaumātua were prepared to begin the relationship by acknowledging the need to develop a relationship by listening respectfully. Metaphoric meeting spaces such as these can be seen in many traditional Māori carvings as the centre of a double spiral (see Figure 9.2 below, Kōringoringo[34]). The centre of the double spiral represents the interlocking passive and active elements from whence symmetrical patterns of change emerge and flow. When one element is active and the other is quiescent, listening and learning is more likely to occur rather than the continuation of talking past each other that has occurred historically (Metge, Laing & Kinloch, 1978).

Figure 9.2 Kōringoringo

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[34] Spiralling

When two groups meet for the first time or to renew acquaintances, pōwhiri and mihi whakatau, as discussed in chapter two, provide a discursive position governed by Māori culture and protocols. Although these engagements may not always be smooth, within this cultural space, one is able to see one self in relation to the other, to bring one's self and all that represents to the kaupapa, and be listened to. Power is shared between self determining individuals and/or groups. Participants are able to determine their own actions within relations of interdependence (Bishop et al., 2007; Young, 2005) that are culturally prescribed and understood. Too often, as discussed in chapter one, Māori have not been accorded the same respectful space as Pākehā in New Zealand society, emerging only as the junior partner (O'Sullivan, 2007). Rather than continue this historical overpowering stance that has perpetuated Māori disparity, relationships of respect and trust, as were extended to us by our kaumātua at the inception of this research-whānau, are required. We have learned that listening to the other is more likely to occur when spaces to develop respectful relationships are given priority before engaging in any joint project.

Relationships such as these ensured that as a research-whānau we could work across tribal groupings and that Pākehā could be invited to participate. The rewards for the research-whānau are that we have been able to access new experiences and expertise from whence to co-construct new knowledge, while maintaining control over initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability (Bishop, 1996a, 1998b, 2005), and the ability to define, access and protect Māori knowledge. Power within this research-whānau does not reside with any one individual; rather, power is within the very culture of the group and thus is played out in ways that are not dominated by other, but interdependent with them (Bishop et al., 2007; Young, 2005).

Working as a research-whānau at the interface of te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā has provided many interesting challenges. Given that research in New Zealand using traditional Western methods has perpetuated power imbalances that have best served the coloniser while belittling and denigrating indigenous knowledge and practices (Bishop, & Glynn, 1999; Mead, 1997; Smith, 1999), it is not surprising that research-whānau members were subjected to criticism in their formative years for the inclusion of Pākehā members (see chapter five). We have found, however, as consistently maintained by Bishop (1996a, 1998b, 2005), that working as a research-whānau has ensured that what was acceptable and not acceptable was defined within the discourses of the culture of the research-whānau and thus within te ao Māori itself. The cultural context generated by the research-whānau and led by kaumātua seeks

to ensure that no one voice is able to dominate. Instead, each member brings a different set of experiences and expertise, and their participation has evolved on the basis of mutually respected and interdependent roles and responsibilities within which trust and obligations to each other and to the kaupapa are fundamental to the collective vision.

Kaupapa

The kaupapa or collective vision, introduced in Te Tūtakitahitanga and maintained throughout this research journey, involves two major themes: the importance and centrality of Māori language and cultural revitalisation, and rangatiratanga, being able to work in ways that are self-determining for Māori. Both themes are integral to "kaupapa Māori aspirations politically, socially, economically and spiritually," (Smith, 1992, p.23) and thus provide guidelines for achieving Māori potential in education (Bishop, et al., 2007). While Te Tūtakitahitanga speaks of the meeting of a group of people it also speaks of the kaupapa. Although many of these emerging new relationships came with family connections, the coming together from multiple pathways means that there are other connections that go beyond familial and cultural ties. However, the convergence onto this kaupapa permits formally unrelated groups to be included within the research-whānau and thus within the collective vision.

Since we first came together, we have grown and developed and some have moved on. Nevertheless, the kaupapa that was there at the start has remained constant, and indeed has gained momentum as we have grown. Some say we are born into this kaupapa. Just as we are the kaupapa, the kaupapa is us. Certainly we have learned that, from a Māori epistemological perspective, spiritual and physical realms are inter-connected. Therefore, even though some of our members have passed on to the spiritual realm, their wisdom continues to guide us. At the beginning of the journey we worked with the children with whom we had direct connections. Now the work of the research-whānau impacts on Māori students in a wide range of New Zealand schools and early childhood facilities. Further, although people have left the research-whānau and new members have joined, the kaupapa and the people who have contributed their mana to the kaupapa through their participation already, continue to inspire those who stay. The research-whānau and the kaupapa continue to be guided and supported by kaumātua within a context where the principle of taonga tuku iho is regarded as *normal*, the accepted position from which to understand the world and to operate within it.

Taonga Tuku Iho

From a Māori worldview, taonga tuku iho literally mean the collective treasures of our ancestors. In a metaphoric sense they refer to the accumulated knowledge and cultural aspirations Māori have for themselves and for their future generations (Smith, 1997). Within these treasures or aspirations are the very kawa or epistemologically-based principles and pre-determined patterns of relationships and interactions that have both guided the way we do things and monitored the actions of research-whānau members. Within taonga tuku iho, Māori knowledge, language, culture, indeed Māori ways of knowing and doing are valid, legitimate and normal (Bishop et al., 2007). For example the principle of whanaungatanga, the coming together of a group of people in a purposeful and pre-determined way, following the tikanga or culturally appropriate customs, processes and practices for establishing relationships is part of any research-whānau meeting or reconnecting with people. In this regard, we understand kaumātua to have a critical role in representing and protecting taonga tuku iho for us all.

Kaumātua Participation

For the research-whānau, the active participation of kaumātua was important from the outset in order for the appropriate kawa and tikanga to be both maintained and legitimated. Kaumātua participation began when the koha was picked up at Poho o Rawiri marae and brought back to kaumātua from Tauranga Moana for verification and legitimation. It is likely that the research-whānau could have stalled at this point if kaumātua had not seen this koha to be tika (the right thing to do). Kaumātua legitimation of the koha ensured their support and wisdom was brought not only to the reconstruction of the first resource and related research but to the setting up of a research-whānau and their ongoing work. Although the focus began with the children from their own hapū, the vision of the group was that it would also be used for others. In effect we were striving towards access to taonga tuku iho for future generations.

Mana Whenua

The formal acceptance of the koha and its return to kaumātua from Tauranga, to participate in its further development, resulted in the first resource being developed in close association with the hapū from Hairini marae. Since the formal welcome onto Hairini marae of this research agenda and the inception of this research-whānau, the mana whenua (guardians of the land) status of the people of Tauranga, their worldly power and prestige as guardians and holders of the land, continues to be acknowledged and respected. At the same time, the active participation and

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commitment of the local people, to the research-whānau and to the kaupapa, has continued to strengthen. Having a safe place from which to operate has been important but not without struggle. The place has enabled the particular supportive relationships and interactions of its members. The determined effort, by many of these same people, ensured that the research centre would later also be set up and remain in Tauranga.

These people, Ngāi Te Ahi hapū (sub-tribe) of the Ngāti Ranginui iwi (tribe), began this process. Today the important cultural relationships of this research-whānau are managed by three kaumātua who act as kaiwhakaruruhau (cultural guardians). Two are related through kinship ties and are recognised leaders of local iwi and hapū, the third, related through marriage also brings important connections to other iwi. They are all able to make direct connections, both to marae in the local area and also to other iwi groups nationally. Interestingly they are also recognised leaders in the wider mainstream community with one having received the Queen's Service Medal and one having received the New Zealand Order of Merit.

Marae

Today, marae literally are seen as the land and buildings that make up a traditional cultural meeting-place for hosting important hapū or iwi occasions. These community complexes usually consist of the meetinghouse with a sacred space for greeting visitors (the marae ātea) during pōwhiri in front, and spaces for dining, cooking and ablutions for hosting visitors, close-by. Marae are still also seen as one sector of the community where taonga tuku iho (i.e. Māori knowledge, traditions and cultural practices) have been continuous. Metaphorically the marae symbolises tribal genealogy and identity. When marae are in use, they can also demonstrate tribal solidarity in the ways that roles and responsibilities are undertaken (or not undertaken) by its members. While some roles are gender specific, and all roles undertaken from young adults (cooking, feeding providing hospitality to the visitors) to elders (karanga, speechmaking, welcoming visitors) require high levels of expertise, learning for the role and undertaking the role is usually voluntary. The diplomacy, energy and commitment that these *voluntary* roles require are visible during meetings and celebrations on the marae, but they begin long before the first visitor is welcomed and continue long after the last visitor has left. As demonstrated

by the whakataukī "ka tika a muri, ka tika hoki a mua"[35] each person who contributes understands their role as relational and interdependent to the contribution of others. It is the contribution of the collective that will uphold the mana of the marae and thus the mana of the hapū.

The strong interdependent relationships, which enable marae to operate effectively, have modelled the way that the research-whānau has sought to form relationships and develop interactions in the research contexts in which we work. Just as roles and responsibilities are delegated on the marae, they are also delegated within the research-whānau. Leadership is distributed amongst its members according to the skills of its members and the tasks that need to be allocated. In this way expertise is shared. A response that is relational to the contribution of others and interdependent with them (Bishop et al., 2007; Young, 2005), means that we are able to draw upon the strengths of other members and thus become stronger ourselves. Although there are times when we are expected to complete tasks independently the response is always focussed on the kaupapa and a collaborative response rather than an independent response. This is not to say that individual research-whānau members cannot and do not receive individual benefits. A case in point has been the ongoing commitment of the research-whānau to individual professional development that has seen the funding of professional development for any member who could show how this work would contribute to the greater well-being of the work of the research-whānau.

In the time that this research-whānau has operated, many marae, local and widespread, have been visited as a space to generate and/or share research knowledge and for a place to host important national and international visitors. The research-whānau continues to be located in Tauranga and, as such, the connections between researchers and the mana atua (spiritual power and prestige), and mana whenua of local iwi groups continues to be acknowledged and respected.

Phase Two: Te Arataki

Metaphorically, Te Arataki speaks of the pathway we follow on the kaupapa of attempting to address Māori students' potential, thus the double spiral continues up through the poutama on this pathway. Throughout this phase the research-whānau

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[35] When things are going well at the back (the hospitality) they go well at the front also (welcoming and establishing the agenda).

focussed on the development of literacy and behaviour initiatives. The setting up of the Poutama Pounamu research centre and the initial workings of the research-whānau within a government organisation meant that we were working bi-culturally. However, because of this relationship to the Crown, we questioned whether we could be self-determining and capitalise fully on the benefits of the knowledge from te ao Māori.

We understood that research needed to be conducted in ways that represented the cultural preferences, practices and aspirations of the largely Māori communities in which the research was conducted. We actively collaborated with families and teachers within these schools, in improving the literacy achievement and/or behaviour of their own children as we understood that their contribution was an integral part of this. However we also understood that by developing our networks we were contributing to the success of each project and to the increasing knowledge and skill base of our research-whānau.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga has been mentioned previously in this chapter as part of taonga tuku iho. Pere (1994) suggests that whanaungatanga:

> … deals with the practices that bond and strengthen the kinship ties of a whānau. The commitment of 'aroha' is vital to whanaungatanga and the survival of what the group sees as important. Loyalty, obligation, commitment, an inbuilt support system made the whānau a strong stable unit, within the hapū, and consequently within the tribe.

(p.26)

Relationships of trust such as these formed the basis of the respectful and reciprocal relationships we have tried to develop within the research-whānau and within our research and professional development projects. Relationships such as these have enabled members of the research-whānau to learn from each other as well as learn from other researchers and educators. They have also helped us to share our own research practices and outcomes with others. Traditional ways of knowing and understanding are an important part of these relationships, which is why the research-whānau have hosted many groups at Hairini marae. We believe that these understandings and these places can help build relationships of trust, trust in the kaupapa and in indigenous ways of working, so that "Māori conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis [can be used] to advance Māori cultural

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capital and learning outcomes within education and schooling" (Smith, 1997, p.423).

Wānanga

Wānanga are fora where knowledge is shared. As discussed in chapter two, knowledge and how it would be shared were determined after Tānenuiarangi succeeded through the twelve heavens to obtain the three baskets of knowledge and developed a plan associated with its maintenance and distribution. These processes have defined for Māori a collective and collaborative approach to distributing knowledge whereby, by treating knowledge with proper respect and following appropriate tikanga (practices), all have a right to access it. Sharing knowledge that emerges from the research back with the people, with whom we have engaged, in an ongoing iterative fashion, has been an important part of our ongoing work.

Ako

New knowledge, generated from the work of the research-whānau, is seen as coming from this collective and collaborative process, with all having rights of access and roles in its creation and dissemination. This collective and collaborative relationship has guided the way in which we respond as a research-whānau. Expert (tuakana) and learner (teina) roles are freely interchangeable.

Phase Three: Te Whānau Whānui

As the spiral continues up through the poutama, Te Whānau Whānui continues on the kaupapa of searching for ways to respond more effectively for Māori students by forming new strategic alliances and connections. In this phase, the research-whānau began working with other research groups in ways that were respectful and offered reciprocal learning opportunities. Working in partnership with other Māori and indigenous research groups taught us that we do have something unique to contribute and that our uniqueness has emerged from the discourses, skills and knowledge positioned within te ao Māori (e.g. whānau, whanaungatanga, wānanga, ako). We had increasingly begun to understand and benefit from Māori metaphors, "that are inclusive and that focus on the importance of relationships and interactions for success in education" (Bishop, et al., 2007, p.9).

Rangatiratanga

Being public servants, whilst working to support the learning and cultural needs of Māori students and following principles from te ao Māori, we have encountered many challenging dilemmas. We strive to ensure Māori students are able to access all

the resources and benefits available within the New Zealand education system while, at the same time, we work to protect and revitalise our own cultural identity and integrity, as well as that of the students with whom we work. While this positions our work and members of the research-whānau in the spaces between the indigenous Māori and the dominant Pākehā cultures (Durie, 2003), it is a space in which we have been able to draw strength from like-minded groups around us.

These spaces have been created and made possible through the debates and philosophies emerging from kaupapa Māori praxis (Bishop, 2005; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999). Māori academia has worked hard to create safer spaces for Māori researchers to operate in by continually challenging the historical research agenda and the status quo. This has enabled the research-whānau to accommodate research skills as determined and defined by Western methodologies but more importantly to utilise Māori epistemologies, legitimately in our research practice. The growth of this research-whānau may have been stifled if Māori academia had not emerged and been accepted at a local, national and international level. It is because of these metaphoric spaces that we have been able to operate as a research-whānau within a mainstream organisation. Māori academia has provided us with the strength to respond to challenges and continues to do so. The research-whānau have an internal management structure that involves both Māori epistemological modes of legitimacy (kaumātua) and non-Māori epistemological modes of legitimacy (MOE National Office). Working with kamātua in our work, as previously discussed, is seen by the research-whānau as *normal*. The role of kaumātua is essential in determining the correct cultural procedures through which the research will be conducted, what kinds of evidence will be gathered and how this evidence will be processed and presented.

Having Kuia Whakaruruhau (cultural protector) profiled as a job within the Ministry of Education (MOE) and the employment of kaumātua as members of this research-whānau suggest that the MOE also recognises the importance and value of the role of kaumātua in education. Within the management structure of the MOE we have line management from the Special Education Manager Māori Service Provision, at National office, through a Māori research centre manager within the research-whānau.

While we are located within a specific geographic region, we are seen to be part of National office. We are not *captured* at a local level and we are able to participate in both national and local projects that can contribute to policy. As discussed, rather than co-locating with the local MOE office the research centre is physically sited within a

mainstream, decile 4 primary school with 47% Māori students.

Managing a finite budget that best serves such a collective vision for rangatiratanga, is always going to generate tensions. The question of how groups can achieve a measure of self-determination if they depend on external resources remains one of our challenges and will always be a Treaty of Waitangi issue. An essential and ongoing part of this is how we have been, and continue to be perceived by others.

Mana

According to Mead (2003), mana is the embodiment of tapu (sacredness, protection by the spiritual dimension), and as such, it is part of our personal power and birthright as Māori. We are born with an increment of mana, which is added to throughout our lifetime by others, from how they perceive our contributions to be. Mana therefore is always a socially perceived quality, acquired through other people's recognition of our achievement and their according respect to our achievements (Mead, 2003), thus enhancing our personal identity. In modern days mana has taken on various meanings such as legitimation and authority which potentially obfuscates understandings of who is able to have mana and who is able to define one's mana. None the less, as the mana of the research-whānau has increased we have undoubtedly been able to be more self-determining.

Phase Four: Te Hikoitanga

The spiral continues up the poutama to Te Hikoitanga. Here the research-whānau continued with the kaupapa by taking a more self-determined position and working with increasing confidence and autonomy from a Māori worldview. The work remains focussed on Māori but with increasing evidence that the mainstream are slowly beginning to recognise that there are important lessons to be learned from the work in which we engage.

Te ao Māori

Throughout each phase of this research-whānau, connections to te ao Māori, to taonga tuku iho and thus to the very language, culture and identity that is Māori, have become more clearly understood and essential. Te ao Māori provides the direct link to the kaupapa and thus to the research agenda. The place of kaumātua as leaders ensures that respectful relationships are formed within the research-whānau and with the researched community. Kaumātua leadership gives research-whānau members the agency and strength to position ourselves within te ao Māori, and specifically within

Māori language and cultural contexts, whether we are working in Māori or mainstream settings.

Mana Tangata (Whakapapa)

In a literal sense, our identity comes from our link to our whakapapa. Here we make the genealogical connects from our past through our tipuna (ancestors), to our present through our whānau (family) and hunaonga (family by marriage), to our future through our tamariki mokopuna (children and grand children). Whakapapa provides us with the means to make connections that affirm our identity and in so doing establish our own mana tangata, thus our place in the whānau. Being a part of this research-whānau means that the intergenerational composition of the group results in clear expectations of generational roles and responsibilities to both respect and nurture other members. Everyday research-whānau processes involve an ongoing commitment to building relationships amongst our members and effective responses and consensus are sought from within the group's sense making processes.

Mana Kaupapa

Mana and kaupapa have both been discussed previously in this chapter. Mana kaupapa is about upholding the power or prestige of the work that we engage with. We have learned that the kaupapa involves a systematic and collaborative process that involves many people at many different levels. It requires the commitment of all participants to ensure that at each level, a person is charged with the role and responsibility for ensuring that his/her part of the kaupapa is discussed and understood by all and in turn responded to or acted upon. The term is still used in the contemporary Māori world as groups strive to seek consensus or general agreement around a central topic, or shared goal or vision.

To be successful a kaupapa needs, clear, worthwhile goals and clear agreement about the goals. There also needs to be a plan of action to achieve the goals and strategies in place that allow people to recognise when the goals have been achieved. Setting targets around a common goal is essential to how roles and responsibilities are designated, which, in turn, influences how individuals, be they a research-whānau member or participant in a school focus group, can contribute to the common purpose. Accordingly, collaboration around setting and achieving goals requires an element of ownership and acceptance of designated responsibilities by all participants. This disregards the imposition of neo-colonial ideologies on goal-setting and also emphasises the responsibility of the group to ensure the presence of all the people

who need to be there, so that the setting of goals can be achieved in the most collaborative manner. This includes a key element of understanding how the research-whānau can work together interdependently, and about the roles and responsibilities they will need to take on, in order to uphold the prestige or power of the work that we do.

Te Ao Pākehā

At the beginning of our research journey while much of our theorising was positioned in te ao Māori many of our practices were largely positioned within te ao Pākehā. An important part of the journey has been developing the confidence, the understanding and the ability to operate effectively within both worldviews for the benefit of the kaupapa. Generating change from a government agency while working at the interface of te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā is complex and challenging. No matter who the employer or funding agency, Māori have obligations and responsibilities to their own people that can be just as demanding or more so, than the obligations and responsibilities to the employer/funding agency. Managing the process of accountability with respect, rather than talking past each other, is essential.

Adhering to Kaupapa Māori Principles

A deepening understanding of discourses from te ao Māori and adherence to kaupapa Māori principles ensured that the ownership and control of the research questions, methodology, procedures, and the data they generated and how these data were understood and interpreted, remained clearly with the research-whānau. Bishop's (1996a, 2005) critical research issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability could thus be defined and resolved from a Māori worldview. Operating as a research-whānau with kauamātua leadership ensures that appropriate kawa and tikanga are followed. All members have moral obligations to manaaki (support) the well-being of the research-whānau, and to respect and uphold the mauri of the research work. No researcher position is any more powerful or influential than that of any other member in this respect. Trust between research-whānau members has continued to become more firmly established, enabling non-Māori and members of the wider research communities to be invited to work with us. It has also enabled the research-whānau to engage with Western research paradigms on their own terms. Despite initial unease, increasing understanding and trust in a range of research procedures has now seen the inclusion of positivist research approaches and procedures moved *safely* into the research agenda in order to

generate positive outcomes for Māori students and their families. Coming to terms with the learning that emerged from a range of approaches has given us the confidence to try other research approaches. For the non-Māori working with the research-whānau this may have been paralleled in their becoming more understanding of and more at ease and feeling safe with Māori cultural processes and continuing their learning in this domain.

This spiralling of relationships, experience, knowledge and confidence has led us to continue applying and integrating new approaches and learning into our ongoing research. In case study one, kaumātua taught us about the importance of whānau and how the kaupapa needed to be addresses from taonga tuku iho. In case study two, we listened to students and learned that when their expertise was combined with our own, we all stood to learn a lot more. Our combined understandings took us all much further. By case study six, after attending a Masters level course on kaupapa Māori research methodology, we had learned about the importance of participatory consciousness (Heshusius, 1994, 1996) and spiral discourse to gather and present participants' narratives of experience and were applying kaupapa Māori methodologies in our research. Collaborative storying ensured that the research methodology and the ways in which we worked were understandable within a Māori world-view, while maintaining the integrity of the people, their knowledge and their culture. These approaches contrast with positivist approaches adopted within the majority of educational research to assess the needs and performance of Māori students. We had learned that when we provided a culturally appropriate way to address the research questions and were more responsive to understanding the findings of the project from the perspectives of the participants, then Māori students and their families were happy to participate in methodologies applied from a worldview outside their experience. Not only was the voice of participants important but we had also learned how to safely assess statistical significance and were now able to show the power of findings within our quantitative data in terms of the changes that had taken place (see Appendix 3 and 6). Within these studies, the research-whānau had begun to implement a mixed methods approach (Creswell, 2005) in order to provide richer evidence of the research findings.

As a research-whānau, we have continued to seek out educational research approaches that are consistent with the values and beliefs of the research participants with whom we work. Recent moves by qualitative researchers across the world towards research approaches from a socio-cultural paradigm (Gregory, 1996; Rogoff, 1990;

Vygotsky, 1978; Wenger, 1998; Wertsch, 1991) have put the focus very much on the social situated-ness of learning. Within a socio-cultural paradigm it is seen as important for researchers to try to *enter* the worldview of others who are the focus of the study and collaborate with them as research *participants*, rather than merely objectify and study them as research *subjects*.

In line with these understandings, we carried out a scoping exercise in case study nine, that involved speaking with Māori students and staff at a number of secondary school sites in order to seek out locations in which solutions to Māori under-achievement might be found. The outcomes of the scoping exercise clearly indicated that listening to Māori students' education experiences was one obvious location. This scoping exercise became the basis for Te Kotahitanga.

Te Kotahitanga

Te Kotahitanga research therefore aimed to arrive at a deeper understanding of Māori students' classroom experiences in order to appreciate how an analysis of these experiences might lead to Māori students' increased participation and achievement. This research also sought to identify the underlying education, structural responses and teacher attitudes and pedagogies that make a difference to the participation and achievement of Māori students at years 9 and 10, a period that had previously been shown as a time of crisis for Māori, with disproportionately higher levels of absences, early leaving certificates, stand downs, suspensions and expulsions and lower levels of having achieved school qualifications (Ministry of Education, 2002, 2005b, 2006).

Thus, Te Kotahitanga investigated how the educational achievement of Māori students in Years 9 and 10 could be improved, by talking with engaged and non-engaged Māori students themselves, their parents and/or caregivers, their teachers and their principals. From these conversations we developed rich, collaborative narratives of educational experiences (Bishop, & Berryman, 2006), that became the foundation upon which Te Kotahitanga was built. From these narratives, we were able to identify factors that these groups of people themselves believed would raise the achievement of Māori students in their schools and, as subsequent evidence has continued to show (Bishop, et al., 2003, 2007), actually does raise the achievement of Māori students.

Analysis of the Narratives of Experience

Critical analysis of the narratives of experience identified that there were three main discourses within which interview participants positioned themselves when identifying both positive and negative influences on Māori students' educational

achievement. This framework included the discourses surrounding Māori students and their home communities, discourses related to the structures and systems within schools, and finally the discourses of classroom relationships and interaction patterns.

The range of ideas within each of the group narratives were identified as *idea units*, then organised and tallied within this discourse framework, i.e. discourses pertaining to:

1. Māori students and their home communities;

2. Structures and systems within schools;

3. Classroom relationships and interaction patterns.

In each case, the small group of researchers trained to undertake the task, took care to ensure that the idea units identified from the narratives were being interpreted from the participants' perspective (and not from the researcher's own perspective), as having an influence on Māori students' educational achievement. The number of idea units was then calculated to compare the relative discourse weightings for each group of participants across four schools. Frequency counts were ranked according to the number of times such idea units were mentioned in the narratives by each group. Researchers carefully coded the meaning that the various participants themselves ascribed to their experiences, in terms of how participants positioned themselves in relation to the various discourses (Bishop, et al., 2003; Bishop, & Berryman, 2006).

From the Phase 1 analysis a clear picture of conflict in theorising, used to explain the lived experiences of Māori students, emerged. The Māori students, their parents and caregivers and their principals (and some of their teachers) saw that the most important influence on Māori students' educational achievement was the quality of the in-class face-to-face relationships and interactions between the teachers and Māori students. In contrast, the majority of teachers aligned with discourses perpetuated by the current researchers of the day (Harker, & Nash, 1990; Nash, 1993; Chapple, Jefferies, & Walker, 1997) that suggested the main influence on Māori students' educational achievement were the students themselves and/or their home circumstances, or systemic and structural issues to do with schools.

The Effective Teaching Profile

On the basis of this analysis and specific suggestions from the narratives, we developed an Effective Teaching Profile (Bishop, et al., 2003). This profile identified that effective teachers of Māori students create culturally appropriate and

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culturally responsive contexts for learning in their classrooms (Gay, 2000). In so doing, effective teachers demonstrate the following understandings:

- They positively reject deficit theorising as a means of explaining Māori students' educational achievement, and

- They know and understand how to bring about change in Māori students' educational achievement and are professionally committed to doing so in the following observable ways:

  - *Manaakitanga:* they care for Māori students as culturally-located.

  - *Mana motuhake:* They care for and have high expectations for the participation and performance of their Māori students.

  - *Whakapiringatanga:* They have pedagogical knowledge and imagination and are able to utilise this knowledge to create secure, meaningful, well-managed learning contexts.

  - *Wānanga:* They engage in effective teaching interactions with Māori students so that Māori students can bring their own prior experiences and sense making to the learning context.

  - *Ako:* They can use strategies that promote effective reciprocal teaching and learning relationships and interactions with their Māori students.

  - *Kotahitanga:* They promote, monitor and reflect on outcomes that in turn lead to improvements in educational achievement for Māori students.

Results from Te Kotahitanga Phase 1 showed that teacher-student relationships and interaction patterns could be changed with an intensive process of discursive professional development. These results began to emerge in 2001, independent of but alongside that of Hattie (1999; 2003a; 2003b) and Alton-Lee (2003, 2006), who also showed the important influence teachers were able to have on students' learning.

The success of this form of intervention has now been repeated over two more phases of the research. The results showed that where full professional development support was able to be provided to teachers, changes occurred in teachers' relationships and interactions with Māori students, and these in turn impacted positively upon Māori students' participation and achievement. Changes for Māori students included: increased on-task engagement; reduction in absenteeism; increases in work completion; and improvements in academic achievement whilst teachers were also

able to increase the cognitive demands of the curriculum content of their classroom lessons (Bishop, et al., 2003, 2007). In 2006, Te Kotahitanga entered the fourth phase and began working in 21 more secondary schools.

Positioning within te ao Māori

Being a part of this research-whānau has involved learning about and from the discourses that surrounded us. While our kaumātua may already have understood the centrality of the indigenous discourses of personal identity, as handed down from whakapapa (birthright), that is, *who we are*, others within the research-whānau have had to grow and learn to appreciate the implications of this more fully. These discourses were and remain positioned in te ao Māori. Professional identity, on the other hand comprised the skills and knowledge of our profession as educators and researchers, this is, *what we do*. These discourses initially were largely positioned in te ao Pākehā. Together these elements contribute to how others, Māori and non-Māori perceive us to be (mana tangata) which in turn impacts upon our roles and responsibilities within the research-whānau and the contribution we make to the kaupapa. Coming to terms with and understanding the kaupapa in terms of Māori aspirations has helped those of us who remain, to position within these discourses. The kōringoringo pattern, as shown in Figure 9.2 is the basis of the relationships, interactions and experiences shown in Figure 9.3.

Discourses from Te Ao Māori Whakapapa		Te Ao Māori		
Personal identity *Who we are*	**Mana Tangata**	**Kaupapa (Common Purpose)**	**Research-whānau identity**	**Mana Whānau**
Professional identity *What we do*	*How others see us as individuals*	*Collective and Reciprocal Responsibilities*	*How we see each other and our place in the whānau*	*How others see the research-whānau*
Personal identity *Who we are*	**Professional Standing**			
Genealogy **Discourses from Te Ao Pākehā**				

Figure 9.3: Positioning within discourses of identity

As a research-whānau member, identity is defined both by what we as members bring to the kaupapa and by the kaupapa itself. Thus, the mana or status and power of the research-whānau is dependent upon the discourses within which members are

positioned, for this in turn has determined the actions and sense making of its members, in relation to the kaupapa. Kaupapa Māori provided the framework and theory within which the research-whānau began their work. However, it has only been the ongoing discursive repositioning and collaboration of research-whānau members that has enabled our practice to begin to embody this theorising more closely (Mead, 1997). Repositioning within te ao Māori in our professional role, in how we undertook our research, has enabled us to source new solutions, to co-construct proactively with others and to collectivise our individual skills (Mead, 1997), rather than continue to react individually to perceived deficiencies in an ad hoc, often alienated way. We have also learned the harsh reality of those who expect to benefit from the research-whānau without committing to the kaupapa. In these cases the theorising does not quite match the practice, and while the rhetoric might uphold their professional standing in te ao Pākehā, their practice in terms of the collective and reciprocal responsibilities to the kaupapa will be found wanting.

For some, as our participation with this kaupapa has evolved, there has been a noticeable merging of our personal and professional identities, as the ways of relating, interacting and understanding the kaupapa from within the research-whānau have become more firmly understood and clearly positioned within te ao Māori. For these members there is a clear understanding that this is not about their own personal or professional attainment, rather it is about their shared responsibility to work interdependently with other members of the research-whānau, to uphold the kaupapa that is central to our collective, research-whānau aspirations and knowledge. Accountability to the kaupapa through the research-whānau will in turn ensure accountability to the profession. However, accountability to the profession will not automatically ensure accountability to the kaupapa.

For some this concept has been a constraint that has motivated the need to step back outside of the research-whānau, to recapture their own more individual identity and their own ways of understanding. While people from te ao Pākehā can and do engage with this research-whānau, the kaupapa remains within the domain of te ao Māori, so for all, engagement and theorising must be on Māori terms and thus as defined by the research-whānau. Te ao Māori has provided fruitful learning spaces in which to engage. Importantly, if we are to be self-determining, then we must continue to engage pro-actively in te ao Māori, or else we may be in danger of yet another mainstream response that further replicates the status quo (Bishop et al., 2007).

Culturally Responsive Relations

The centrality of culture in the contemporary world, to living and learning, continues to be very perplexing for many New Zealanders, Māori and non-Māori alike. Certainly it continues to be so for teachers in Te Kotahitanga, as well as many of the educators and families with whom we have worked as a research-whānau, over the past decade. One of the main challenges comes with seeing Māori culture as more than merely ceremonial in nature, able to be manipulated at will in order to fit within the dominant culture (te ao Pākehā) instead of being integral to the *normal* way of Māori experiencing the world and practising their profession.

Managing the Tensions

Being able to manage the tensions between both of these worlds without forcing a choice or compromising either, is the serious challenge. Prioritising time for understanding the importance of culture (our own and others) when te ao Māori intersects with te ao Pākehā, and engaging in culturally responsive contexts have much to teach us. Like the contexts that are played out in cultural rituals of encounter, we stand to learn more when spaces are created for both peoples to first share and respect their own identities and experiences as the basis for new relationships.

In the case studies and also in Te Kotahitanga, the centrality of the concept of culture to living and learning, to theorising and practice, has required the greatest shift in thinking on the part of the educators with whom we have engaged. In Te Kotahitanga for example both the classroom observations and interviews with the teachers show that teachers, facilitators and co-ordinators were often unsure as to what the concept of culture means in Te Kotahitanga. They often considered culture to be tikanga (customs and regulations) rather than as the way of experiencing and understanding those customs, and here a way of relating to others, a way of forming relationships and learning from those relationships before moving on to the task at hand. Although Durie (2001a) highlights the importance of respecting that all things can happen within the "domain of time" and Rangiwhakaehu often cautions us with "mā te wā" (all in good time), all too often, in our haste to get on with the work, the importance of making connections and building relationships is marginalised.

Summary

Current research and educational practices often operate within a pattern of power imbalances that favour cultural deficit explanations or victim blaming of

indigenous students' (and their families') educational performance and achievement (Shields, Bishop, & Masawi, 2005). The particular modes of thinking and acting that have defined much research such as this are concepts such as neutrality, objectivity and distance that emerge from examining participants rather than examining the relationships and interactions between and amongst people. Education, for example, is perceived as a process of shaping individuals within a system rather than as Sidorkin (2002) suggests shaping contexts of relations that include the individuals. Indeed, building relationships is the work, as it constitutes how we learn best and allows students from a range of cultural backgrounds to interact and learn in more productive ways. In line with Sidorkin (2002), the work of the research-whānau continues to show us that the sort of relationships we build with people provides the basis for how we are able to engage with them. Just as in cultural rituals of encounter, teachers cannot truly know what their relationships with students are like without first ensuring contexts where students themselves can bring their own prior experiences to their learning. Positioning ourselves, thus living and learning within the culture itself, has provided holistic and flexible metaphors to guide us in this respect (Bishop et al., 2007).

Chapter Ten: Te Putahitanga

> Endurance is founded on the two dimensions of time and resilience. … Time
> can be synchronised, measured and used as a coordinate to give meaning to
> events, people, and places. … Resilience is an expression of the effort needed
> to steer a steady course. It recognises both adversity and triumph, and
> celebrates strength of purpose, determination, and a capacity to survive…
>
> (Durie, 2005a, p.1)

Introduction

This thesis sought to investigate how both Māori and non-Māori researchers and
educators could provide more effective learning contexts for Māori students and their
families. It sought to explore the workings and experiences of one New Zealand,
Māori research-whānau, through the conscious exploration and reflection of their
research journey, in order to answer three research questions:

1. What does the research literature tell us about how both the problems and
   the solutions for Māori students in education have been defined and
   responded to in the past?

2. In what ways does the work of one research-whānau constitute more
   effective responses to enhancing Māori students' potential in education?

3. How can kaupapa Māori theory and practice contribute to research that will
   create more effective educational responses for Māori students?

This chapter, Te Putahitanga (the fruition), presents the conclusions from the literature
and from a synthesis of both the research and workings of the research-whānau. It
concludes with possible implications for other Māori and non-Māori researchers and
educators by considering broader implications for Māori self-determination and social
equity for Māori in general.

Learning from the Literature

The research literature confirmed that, historically, the research and educational
agenda in New Zealand has perpetuated the imposition of colonial values and at the
same time, belittled, marginalised and jeopardised much Māori knowledge and
theorising. Research and education praxis that comes from the perspective of this
colonial worldview continues to generate and perpetuate discourses and metaphors

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of deficiency and pathology about Māori. Many clear examples are still present today within both mainstream and special education. The practice of identifying students and resourcing schools according to *students' needs*, often as identified by *outside experts,* rather than focusing on the development of a more effective interface between the learning environments and students, is an example of a procedure that flies in the face of traditional Māori values of collective support for addressing problems experienced by individuals in a community. A focus that took both the student and those who are in their learning environment into consideration would adopt a more collective, collaborative and accountable approach to participating in education. Such a focus, which places the emphasis on what people can do together rather than on what they cannot do alone, would better represent a traditional Māori approach. Paradoxically, individual benefits could emerge from a collective response and independence can emerge from interdependence.

The research literature tells us that redefining success and failure of Māori as individual attributes may only further perpetuate educational relationships and pedagogies that fail to fully engage Māori students with learning and result in ongoing disproportionate numbers of Māori students unable to participate fully in wider society. This is the very situation that has perpetuated state dependency and acceptance of hegemonic practices, such as fostering the belief among Māori that their own culture is inadequate for success in the modern world. These beliefs in turn further increase disconnectedness from all that it means to be Māori.

Moving from Educational Disparities to Māori Potential

The traditional New Zealand focus on education for all students has not served Māori well. This system, derived from Western epistemology and linked to a hierarchal societal structure, asserts that education is for the benefit of all. Nonetheless, our pedagogical and assessment practices continue rigorously to sort disproportionate numbers of Māori students as failures within the school system or candidates for expulsion from the school system. Māori epistemology, on the other hand, asserts that access to the benefits of mātauranga (knowledge) is for all and while it was not necessarily owned or accessed by all, we all have roles and responsibilities in its sharing. Despite the initiatives and resources aimed at making a difference for all students, the disparities evident in the 1960s Hunn report for Māori continue. If we are going to make a difference for those most at risk in our education system then we need to focus specifically on those whom the system places most at risk. Ladson-

Billings (2006) suggests that if achievement gaps, such as these, were viewed as education debt owned by the education system to individuals, rather than as individual deficit, "rather than leave more of its children behind…" education disparities "should compel us [education researchers] to deploy our knowledge, skills and expertise to alleviate the suffering…." (Ladson-Billings, 2006, p.32).

Learning from the Research

Reflecting on the work of the research-whānau we realised that we have shifted from a dependence on Western conceptualisations, making five important shifts (see Table 10.1) that have enabled us to re-conceptualise how to respond more effectively to educational disparities among Māori students. In these shifts (column one and two) we have developed a better understanding of working within specific Māori metaphors and discourses (column three).

Table 10.1: Shifts

Shift from	Shift to	Important Metaphors and discourses
Focussing on all students	Focussing on Māori students	**Whānau, Manaakitanga, Mana Motuhake:** Nurture, care and high expectations for and of our future generations, as Māori.
Working towards Māori language and cultural revitalisation	Shared vision, <u>learning from</u> Māori language and cultural revitalisation	**Kaupapa, Taonga Tuku Iho:** Setting the kaupapa and 'normalising' kawa through kaumātua leadership, expertise and ongoing support.
Learning about a Māori worldview	Trusting and working within a Māori worldview	**Whanaungatanga, Ako, Wānanga:** Recapturing old ways of knowing and experiencing the world, re-determining Māori culture as central to our living and learning.
Working and looking for solutions within a mainstream worldview	Working and looking for solutions within two worldviews	**Tino Rangatiratanga, Mana:** Respecting our right to be self-determining. **Pōwhiri/ Mihi Whakatau:** Understanding these as metaphors for inclusion (i.e. across iwi and across worldviews).
Working bi-culturally but as the teina or junior partner	Working and learning interdependently as the tuakana and in ways that are self-determining	**Mana Tangata, Mana Whānau:** Knowing who we are and how others perceive us. **Mahi Tahi, Kotahitanga:** Collaboration and unity of purpose.

Focus on Māori Students: Whānau, manaakitanga, mana motuhake

Although our focus in the research-whānau has always asserted to be on Māori, the dominant and overpowering discourse in mainstream education of the nineties was, and continues to be, the focus on all students. Even though the evidence continued to show that what worked for all students, had not worked for Māori students (Ministry of Education, 1998b, 2002, 2005b, 2006), so overpowering was the focus on all students, that three of the first four case studies included Pākehā students. Interestingly, some research-whānau members suggested that this demonstrated our desire to work inclusively, while others had forgotten that Pākehā students had participated. Whatever the case, it meant that some Māori students in these settings, potentially, may have failed to benefit from the opportunities we were presenting. The more recent work in Te Kotahitanga (Bishop et al., 2007) continues to show the essential need to *ring-fence* and prioritise space for Māori students if they are to benefit. If educators are serious about changing the status quo and responding more effectively to the historical disparities that Māori face, then the focus must unashamedly be on Māori students. Importantly and unlike the traditional trend above, Te Kotahitanga is showing that what has worked for teachers with Māori students has also benefited non-Māori students.

The first shift therefore is a shift away from a focus on all students to a focus specifically on Māori students. This shift places the emphasis on whānau. Smith (1995) argued whānau as an innovative intervention into Māori cultural and educational crises given that the focus is on the child and the roles and responsibilities that all members of the whānau have in both caring for the child (manaakitanga) while at the same time supporting them to reach their potential (mana motuhake).

Within our research-whānau, both the model of working as a whānau and working with whānau helped place greater emphasis on the Māori child. We have found that the overwhelming response of the families and school communities with whom we have worked is one of caring for and striving to uphold the well-being of their children. Māori parents' perceptions of education are often influenced by their own educational experiences, by their perceptions of how they were welcomed, or not welcomed, into the school as students and then as parents. We have much to learn from schools such as were presented in case study 11, where parents are recognised as part of the school-whānau and where they can contribute on their own terms. In many schools, as in the Te Kotahitanga narratives (Bishop, & Berryman, 2006), whānau

were seen by teachers as needing to contribute on the schools' terms and were often perceived to be lacking in their ability or commitment to contribute.

Where schools see parents, and parents see schools, as sharing the same aspirations of achievement and well-being for their children then effective collaboration is more likely to ensue, with the result that the combined strengths of both groups can provide a nurturing and caring platform (manaaki) for setting high expectations (mana motuhake) for the potential of Māori students, as our future generation.

Collective Vision: Kaupapa, taonga tuku iho

The second shift has been a shift from working towards Māori language and cultural revitalisation to working and learning within the socio-cultural contexts of Māori language and cultural revitalisation themselves. Setting the kaupapa or collective vision and *normalising* access to taonga tuku iho has seen the increasing use and understanding of appropriate kawa (underlying cultural protocols) and tikanga (cultural practices) through kaumātua presence and leadership. Their expertise and ongoing participation is essential to the way we have operated. This has meant setting up systems within the organisation to employ kaumātua on an ongoing basis. While this was not without challenge, both from the kaumātua themselves, who wanted to continue working for aroha (love), and from the organisation who saw kaumātua status in terms of an exiting role rather than an important contributing role, the benefit is that we now have their ongoing leadership in ways of knowing and experiencing the world with Māori culture at the centre of our living and our learning. In turn Māori metaphors and discourses have helped us to make sense of this reality for ourselves and for others. This has involved everyday things like the sharing of food but it has also involved how we perceive and respond to the kaupapa. For example, we have learned that just by translating Māori to English, we risk losing the important cultural understandings, the kawa and tikanga, within which these words may be imbued. These cultural understandings will determine the roles and responsibilities that we bring to the kaupapa, and thus the practices we will use in response. Working alongside kaumātua and within taonga tuku iho, by adhering to kawa and tikanga has enabled greater opportunity for us all to learn about and through these practices. In so doing we have begun to reclaim the power to define ourselves, to define what is our *normal* and thus to define and implement solutions that will be more effective for others who are most like us.

A Māori worldview: Whanaungatanga, ako, wānanga

In line with the second shift, the third shift has been away from learning about te ao Māori to trusting and working within te ao Māori. Being Māori was not sufficient for this to have happened automatically as we were raised, given that we were all raised and educated in a Euro-centric society in which our own language and culture was continually rendered inferior or invisible. For some of us, the journey of becoming a part of this research-whānau has involved huge personal change. Rethinking who we were and what our careers were, then coming to terms with new roles and responsibilities within the research-whānau, has been part of the journey in our growing awareness of the importance and full implications of te ao Māori. Forming relationships with other members of the research-whānau and becoming a part of the research-whānau identity has been an important part of this. This has been achieved despite us coming from different iwi and some of us being Pākehā, and despite us working in a mainstream organisation. Importantly at the start of this journey, there were leaders in our organisation (non-Māori and Māori) who knew, respected and trusted us sufficiently to support us to operate in this manner. Their support meant that as a group of people we were able to make connections and build relationships (whanaungatanga) to focus on a collective vision (kaupapa) and thus we were able to organise ourselves to operate and work professionally as a research-whānau. By operating as a research-whānau we have been able to learn from and to teach (ako) each other. Learning to become researchers has been an essential part of this journey (wānanga). This learning has taken place on marae with our kaumātua as tutors and it has also taken place in universities and other settings. We have learned new skills and knowledge, required by the research-whānau, from people who were trusted with that responsibility. In this way we have been able to actively seek new knowledge that could be applied in support of the kaupapa.

Our research has led us to learn about Western quantitative and qualitative research approaches and methods, to return with those theories to the research-whānau to synthesise the information and apply those aspects, identified and understood to be most useful. We have been able to develop new learnings alongside the school communities with whom we have undertaken our research. Thus our learning has been an iterative, ongoing process for us all. Kaumātua input has ensured that links between the physical and spiritual realms have been maintained as new knowledge has been actively planned for and sought after. This has been a collective, ongoing journey and, like that of Tānenuiarangi in his search for knowledge discussed in

chapter two, we have encountered many distractions and challenges along the way. However, just as we have all benefited from the process, so too, do we all support the process, knowing that with new knowledge we may be able to respond more effectively to the kaupapa.

Two world views: Pōwhiri/ mihi whakatau, Tino rangatiratanga

The fourth shift has been a shift from working and looking for solutions within a Western worldview to working and looking for solutions within two worldviews. In particular this has required us to come to terms with the power of te ao Māori as an effective response to contemporary problems. Reconnection with one's own heritage has seen a shift in fundamental thinking from Western constructs and epistemology to Māori constructs and epistemology. For example, we have found traditional Māori rituals of encounter such as pōwhiri and mihi whakatau are essential for building relationships and inclusive practices across iwi and across different groups of people, but as shown in Figure 9.3 they can, when there is also a common purpose, serve as metaphors for building relationships and repositioning across worldviews.

Important functions of pōwhiri are to greet the icons and images that represent the tribal places and ancestors, and the people present on the day, and also to represent oneself in the language and discourses that make sense within a Māori worldview. The kaikōrero (orators) for each group, in turn exchange formal speeches, drawing on their extensive knowledge of whakapapa (genealogy) to establish extended family relationships and other important connections between the tangata whenua as the hosts and the manuhiri, the visitors. The kaikōrero recognises and responds to the mana (autonomy, dignity, integrity) of the other by acknowledging their ancestors and any of their members who have died recently. The kaikōrero also greet the living elders and all those who are present within each group. Complementary to the whaikōrero (formal speeches) are the waiata (songs), many drawing on traditional Māori knowledge, carrying information to ensure cultural values and information are passed on to the next generations, while others maintain contemporary knowledge and events from both cultures. Only after this process has been completed do the two groups move together to exchange a hongi (a close personal greeting), where people approach close enough to acknowledge each other, and to share the same breath of life. After this, refreshments are shared and only then are the two groups free to interact socially and work together.

Pōwhiri therefore can provide a powerful analogy of the process of inclusion based on

respect for differences and on our agency to determine how we can participate. In so doing pōwhiri can provide us with guidelines for establishing relationships (Glynn, et al., 2001) that are based on mutual respect and trust but also on rangatiratanga (self-determination). There are five elements of rangatiratanga that emerge from pōwhiri that can also be applied to Bishop's (1996a; 2005) framework for evaluating power sharing relationships when conducting research with Māori.

1. Māori initiate the relationship and determine the procedures for this. People from the dominant culture take the less powerful, responsive, visitor, role. *Initiation*

2. Māori are largely able to determine how they will participate, how the events and kaupapa will unfold, what they stand to gain from the relationship, and how the other visitors in this space will participate. *Benefits*

3. Interaction occurs within the cultural space over which Māori have control. This ensures that the use of their own language and cultural processes is validated, affirmed and takes precedence. *Representation*

4. Non-Māori must adopt the less-powerful position. Their concentration on listening and understanding, and not on controlling or directing the proceedings will demonstrate (or not) their respect for the cultural space and cultural context in which they find themselves and upon which they will be judged. *Legitimation*

5. Proposals for new initiatives, or for collaboration on a new project, however important they may seem, are not presented until these prior processes have taken place. In this context the host and not the visitor, determines whether such initiatives are appropriate and effective. *Accountability*

For non-Māori, pōwhiri often require a shift in mind set away from the familiar ways in which we introduce ourselves in non-Māori spaces, to a respectful sense of these new cultural spaces. There have been very public instances of resistance, animosity, anger, frustration and panic by Māori and non-Māori alike when it has been expected that people can move out of their cultural comfort zone and act according to different cultural protocols. However, on participation many have found the experience to be both worthwhile and rewarding, finding the experience useful in focusing on the little they know or understand about how different a Māori worldview is from a Western worldview. For many, the experience has provided the first steps to identifying their own cultural identity, for others, these are the first steps on a journey of learning

to work respectfully within another worldview (Māori) in ways that are relational to and interdependent with Māori but also self-determining for Māori.

Working Interdependently: Mana Tangata, Mana Whānau, Mahi tahi, Kotahitanga

The fifth and final shift has been away from working bi-culturally in a teina (less skilled) role, as the research assistant or junior partner. The power to determine what constituted appropriate research and education relationships and interactions for Māori within this context remained largely in the hands of mainstream researchers and educators who may have had little or no knowledge of or respect for the culture of Māori students or Māori research participants. This has now shifted to members of the research-whānau assuming more of a tuakana (more skilled) role that has seen us begin to work and learn interdependently within the research-whānau in ways that are becoming more self-determined. The power to determine what constitutes appropriate research and education relationships and interactions for Māori within this context remains largely in the hands of Māori.

Focussed on Potential

From the shifts presented in Table 10.1, the research-whānau had established a clearer research focus. This research focus is presented in column one of Table 10.2 below. The research agenda that emerges from this focus is shown in column two, and in turn, the means by which the research-whānau is now positioned to conduct their research work is shown in column three. In this table, Durie's (2005a) *research potential* framework was used to focus on Māori potential rather than discourses of disparity to determine a wider range of conceptualisations from both worldviews in order to research more effectively with Māori. The spiralling kōringoringo patterns of relationships, interactions and experiences, as shown in Figure 9.3, form the essential cultural foundation for this framework.

Table 10.2: A 'Māori Potential' Research Framework

The Focus	The Research Agenda	Kaupapa Māori Means of Determining Access
Focussing on Māori students	Research that strengthens and affirms indigeneity. Research that focuses on supporting Māori students to have greater self-determination and success in education. Research that supports Māori students to increase their access to higher levels of tertiary education and/or employment.	Kaupapa Māori methodologies as the framework for epistemological grounding. Access to taonga tuku iho to inform our theorising and practice. Whānau as both the model and process for building relationships and establishing interactions. Kaupapa Māori metaphors and models used to understand self in order to understand ones relation to others.
Shared vision, <u>learning from</u> Māori language and cultural revitalisation	Research that focuses on the opportunities and potential within te ao Māori to support Māori students in both Māori medium and English medium classrooms.	
Trusting and working within in a Māori worldview	Research that strengthens relationships with other Māori. Research that promotes the ability of Māori communities to learn from and with each other.	
Working and looking for solutions within two worldviews	Research that strengthens relationships with people nationally and internationally. Research that focuses on enhancing Māori potential utilising opportunities and knowledge from te ao Pākehā and the global community.	Māori cultural metaphors used as the models for accessing, incorporating and extending understandings that are grounded in other epistemologies.
Working and learning interdependently as the tuakana and in ways that are self-determining	Research that contributes to future generations of Māori being able to retain their indigeneity and at the same time are able to participate successfully in te ao Māori and the global community.	Working in ways that are self determined and thus self determining.

The focus in column one sets the research agenda, that is, the type of research that is most useful. The research agenda in turn determines the most effective means by which the agenda can be determined. Within this space Māori conceptualisations are applied as the means by which to implement and understand the research agenda, thus bringing greater clarity to the focus. This means that Māori conceptualisations are also used to determine what and how conceptualisations, grounded in other

epistemologies, may also be used. This is unlike much of the current research that uses Western epistemologies to make sense of indigenous peoples and their knowledge.

The Contribution of Kaupapa Māori

One challenge to conducting kaupapa Māori research comes from the many years of researcher imposition and the stifling of Māori voices. As discussed in chapter one, past Western methodologies, for example Western individualism in contrast to Māori emphasis on collectivism, have caused a lot of harm to indigenous communities. These methodologies have left their mark on the way research is understood and conducted among indigenous peoples today (Bishop, 2005; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999).

Kaupapa Māori research approaches that adhere to appropriate cultural beliefs and practices, and that work to ensure collaborative power sharing practices are, as discussed in chapter two, based on different epistemological and metaphysical foundations from Western-oriented research. Direct, researcher-determined routes to engaging Māori participants in research will not always be appropriate, and may often be counterproductive. Chapter three describes the importance of kaupapa Māori contexts that often require links to be made through whakapapa (genealogical connections) at the whānau, hapū or iwi level. Māori can maintain control over research by utilising theories and practices from their own worldview and taking from a Western worldview only what will best contribute to their own agenda. This after all is what Western research has done to Māori in New Zealand for many years. Using the pōwhiri metaphor allows for control to rest with the host people, with those whom the researchers wish to engage, giving them the opportunity to invite whom they wish to participate and define the relationship so that they can both control and in turn benefit from the process.

In Table 10.3 below, Durie's (2005a) dual aims for Māori development (column one) have been used to consider the implications of kaupapa Māori as the means to determining access (in column two) and the implications for effective practice for educators of Māori students (column three). Again the focus is on Māori potential and what educators can do to operate more effectively in this space by being responsive to those with whom they wish to engage, or at least are charged to engage with. Again, the spiralling kōringoringo patterns of relationships, interactions and experiences form the essential cultural foundation for this framework.

Table 10.3: A 'Māori Potential' Education Framework

Durie's dual aims for Māori Development	Kaupapa Māori Means of Determining Access	Implications for Practice in Education
Embracing Māori lives, Māori society and Māori knowledge	Kaupapa Māori methodologies as the framework for epistemological grounding. Access to taonga tuku iho to inform our theorising and practice. Whānau as both the model and process for building relationships and establishing interactions. Kaupapa Māori metaphors and models used to understand self in order to understand ones relation to others.	Developing relationships in culturally appropriate and responsive ways that maintain respect for and understandings of self and each other. Demonstrating culturally appropriate and responsive approaches to collaboration. Focusing on Māori potential, in contexts where each party acknowledges and supports the expertise of the other.
Facilitation of Māori access to New Zealand society and economy.	Māori cultural metaphors used as the lens for accessing, incorporating and extending understandings that are grounded in other epistemologies. Māori working in ways that are self determined, thus self determining.	Helping educators (both Māori and non-Māori) to: • recognise the influence they have in either mediating or preventing Māori students' learning and thus their potential. • reject deficit discourses and focus on their own sphere of agency. • listen to and learn about and from new ideas. • work beyond their own experiences and at times, outside their own cultural comfort zone.

Just as kaupapa Māori led the way in generating a Māori movement of proactive action for Māori language and culture revitalisation, kaupapa Māori approaches to research and education practice can lead the way to a better educational response for the majority of Māori students who are still in mainstream schools. This requires Māori to be proactive in the change process by inviting others to engage and participate on Māori terms rather than to be consistently reactive and on the back foot.

Kaupapa Māori in education is about:

1. Kaupapa Māori methodologies as the framework for epistemological grounding and access to taonga tuku iho to inform our theorising and practice.

2. Whānau as both the model and process for building education relationships and establishing interactions, interventions and evaluations.

3. Kaupapa Māori metaphors and models used to understand self in order to understand ones relation to others.

4. Māori cultural metaphors used as the lens for accessing, incorporating and extending understandings that are grounded in other epistemologies.

5. Māori working in ways that are self determined, thus self determining.

From this kaupapa Māori base the following elements have emerged as essential:

- Developing relationships in culturally appropriate and responsive ways that maintain respect for and understandings of self and other.

- Demonstrating culturally appropriate and responsive approaches to collaboration.

- Focussing on Māori potential, in contexts where each party acknowledges and supports the expertise of the other.

- Helping educators (both Māori and non-Māori) to:

  - Recognise the influence they have in either mediating or preventing Māori students learning and thus their potential;

  - Reject deficit discourses and focus on their own sphere of agency;

  - Listen to and learn about and from new ideas;

  - Work beyond one's own experiences and at times outside one's cultural comfort zone.

Within each of these elements, specific Māori cultural values and characteristics are strongly evident and common throughout the case studies presented in this thesis. Strong relationships built on mutual respect and trust between participants and researchers, and between students and educators are essential. Being responsive to traditional Māori epistemologies and pedagogies, through Māori students

themselves in the first instance, and then others from their community, have emerged as the basis for identifying and understanding more appropriate contemporary pedagogies for Māori students. Currently as educators we are trying to connect with Māori communities in an attempt to engage more successfully with the students from these communities. As exemplified in the analogy from the marae in chapter nine, when we get the back right (our relationships with the students) then the front will go well also (our relationships with their communities).

Rejecting Deficit Explanations

As discussed in chapter one, cultural deficit explanations and unchallenged mono-cultural classroom or research practices are outcomes of dominance and subordination that have continued to prevent many Māori students from participating in the benefits of our education system. For many Māori students and their whānau, educational benefits have come, but only at the loss of their own culture and language. The pressing need for culture to be central to learning and the development of culturally (Māori) responsive relationships for learning is foremost. Respect and trusting that the other does have something worthwhile to bring to the relationship are critical. While this is the case in many kura kaupapa sites (see especially case studies 6, 8 and 11), this is clearly not the case for disproportionate numbers of Māori students in mainstream New Zealand schools. Te Kotahitanga professional developers, for example, have had to work hard to engage teachers themselves in discursive repositioning. In order to reposition, teachers must reject discourses that come from a deficit position about Māori students and focus on discourses of their own teacher agency. This works most effectively when teachers focus on culturally responsive relationships, as discussed in chapter nine, and socio-cultural, contextually-located solutions. While this may well indicate the teacher's own need to change it also focuses clearly on their own agency to do so.

Discursive repositioning is not helped when adults' voices (Māori and non-Māori) maintain power over students' voices by speaking for, or on behalf of this less powerful group. If we are to make a positive difference for Māori students, then we must focus specifically on understanding their experiences and needs. We have to actively listen to their voices (see also case study two), rather than simply miss the point yet again and introduce strategies that disproportionably benefit all others. If we do this Māori students will remain in the same space as they are now, over-represented in cases of disparity. We need to think very carefully about comments

such as: "but that will work for all students" or "we must have a Māori person." We know that what works for *all students* has not worked in the past for our Māori students. We also know that simply training more Māori professionals to fix a problem created by two groups in the first place (Māori and non-Māori) is neither equitable nor likely to be effective given the time it will take to train sufficient Māori professionals to make a difference. This is also problematic given that many Māori are still trying to free themselves from their own colonial past (Smith, 1997). As educators and researchers there is a pressing need to change the status quo. By collectivising our experiences, understandings and skills and working together, we could begin to make a real difference. From the experiences of the research-whānau, if we are to achieve this, Māori voices must determine the agenda for Māori, but within this, non-Māori do have a responsibility and an important contribution to make.

The Māori language and cultural practices, as maintained and modelled by our kaumātua, provide the basis upon which Māori children will be able to stand tall in their own indigeneity. From the strength of their own indigenous culture (rather than from the deficiencies that are highlighted in our education system from not belonging to the majority culture), Māori will be able to move ahead, to learn new skills with greater confidence and to build in strength. This has the potential to see Māori students succeeding in an education system that will be able to provide the skills and knowledge needed to facilitate their access to the New Zealand and global, societies and economies.

Conclusion

In Article One of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Crown undertook to enter into a *partnership* with Māori, under Article Two, Māori would receive *protection* and the right to define all their possessions and under Article Three, Māori were guaranteed *participation* in all the benefits that the Crown had to offer. Over many years, Māori people have continually tried to assert their rights under the Treaty of Waitangi to define and promote Māori knowledge and pedagogy. Despite this ongoing resistance, successive cohorts of Māori students, educated in mainstream New Zealand classrooms, believe that their success in these classrooms has been at the loss of their own language and culture (Bishop et al., 2003; Bishop, & Berryman, 2006) and thus their very own personal identity. The language and culture of the mainstream is still so dominant in our schools that the mainstream have defined what is *normal* with

the result that Māori students continue to be pathologised and marginalised. New Zealanders still have a long way to go to address, restore and honour the partnership between the two peoples, formalised in 1840 by the Treaty of Waitangi. As noted in the analogy with life partnerships in chapter three, if the restoration of the Treaty partnership with Māori is to be effective, the dominant and controlling partner must be the one to change.

Managing the Tensions

Managing the tensions of accountability to the mainstream while working within te ao Māori and drawing respectfully from both cultures has been a challenge for Māori and non-Māori alike. This research-whānau identified the complexity of trying to change domineering partners who do not see themselves as part of the problem or wish to relinquish power and control. Overpowering partners such as these find it threatening to acknowledge that their minority Treaty partner has a language, culture, curriculum and pedagogy, rendered largely invisible within our mainstream education system and thus our society in general (Glynn, 1998). However, in August of 2006, New Zealanders were given a vision of what could happen when the dominant partner was prepared to relinquish power.

On the 15th of August 2006, Te Arikinui, Dame Te Atairangikaahu, the Māori queen died. Despite her being ill for much of the year it still came as a shock for many New Zealanders when TV One interrupted the six o'clock sports with breaking news of her death. The shock came both from hearing of her death and from the interruption to the sports news. Overnight and for the week of national mourning, new metaphors and discourses about Māori were being reported by New Zealand media. Māori hospitality, caring, patience and respect were reported, albeit with open surprise from many. Suddenly media and politicians alike were following the protocols set by Tainui. TVNZ's Simon Dallow began introducing the news with formal mihi and reported, "[i]t's been amazing … a privilege … very humbling." The National Party's Wayne Mapp talked about the great sense of unity, not just for Māori but for the whole nation that the funeral had engendered. While the nation watched, Tainui led, and non-Māori participated as *other*. However, non-Māori were not marginalised and made to feel inadequate. Non-Māori were given the cultural space to make connections. In so doing they were welcomed, valued and included with respect and dignity into the proceedings. Here was real evidence that the traditional societal tensions between Māori and non-Māori could be overcome, that the kaupapa was big

enough for everyone to participate in. However this new found relationship, reported through the media, proved to be extremely vulnerable and short-lived.

The *normality* of interdependent roles and responsibilities, seen at times such as tangihanga, and seen by Māori as how we do things, as kawa, were portrayed by a surprised media as strength, hospitality and welcome. However, one day after the burial, this new discourse of normality had stopped and the media were back to reporting the negative, stereotypical image that has dominated the nation's perception of what it is to be Māori (Hokowhitu, 2001). One month later (September, 2006) the then leader of the National Party, Don Brash, was again declaring how being Māori should be defined and who will *count* as Māori. The media, too, were again leading the general public to define what it is to be Māori, and again we continue to be divided as a nation on the very basis of these opinions.

Beyond Biculturalism to Self Determination

During the week that Te Arikinui, Dame Te Atairangikaahu lay in state we were all afforded a rare glimpse of Tainui as self-determining people within two nations, Māori and non-Māori. Even in her death, this remarkable leader unified us as a nation, as no other single historical event in my lifetime. Tainui accorded the Prime Minister, Helen Clark, the privilege of sitting next to the Lady. This particularly moving image, of these two female leaders of Aotearoa/New Zealand, featured widely in media coverage. This image portrayed Te Arikinui, Dame Te Atairangikaahu as no longer content for our Treaty partner to hold the power to define biculturalism, but again taking the lead herself in determining a principal role to a Pākehā Prime Minister at her own tangihanga ceremony.

Te Mataora, Kōringoringo

The model, Te Mataora, presented in chapter eight, shows one way in which this self-determining relationship between two nations might be achieved and ongoing. Te Arikinui provided a striking example of the importance of understanding the balance and interconnectedness between knowledge from the spiritual realm and knowledge from the terrestrial realm. If we are to tap our full potential as a nation then the challenges from both worldviews must be overcome. Te Mataora shows the inseparability and flow on effect from one realm to the other and the interdependent nature of the elements within them. The dynamic interconnections and interrelationships between the four strands show that te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā can work side by side, can be relational to the other but interdependent as in the

kōringoringo image of the double spiral. This requires Māori whakapapa (genealogy) and our identity as Māori to be respected and secure rather than continually being defined by others. Cultural constructs such as wānanga can then be used to determine what is knowledge and how knowledge may be shared and by whom.

These interactive models encompass all of the elements for providing Māori children with their own positive cultural identity and mana, while respecting the cultural identity of others. Elements, unique to a Māori worldview, can enable Māori students in mainstream schools to participate more effectively in education and from this foundation they will be able to participate in more self-determining ways as indigenous members of a global world.

Looking Forward

The research-whānau would concur with Durie (2005) who notes that endurance requires both time and resilience. Over time we have found that, as a traditionally marginalised group, the way ahead lay in our being resilient and in not giving up. We have had to come to terms with both Māori and Western research paradigms in order to change the discourses and metaphors around research and pedagogy that have marginalised Māori in the past. Solutions lay in learning to define our own identity and working in spaces where this was able to be respectfully expressed. A better understanding of effective pedagogies and research methodologies from both Western and Māori epistemologies, then understanding Western epistemologies from a kaupapa Māori position, meant that we were better able to make informed decisions about what pedagogies and methodologies could be most effectively applied, and thus how research could be more effectively undertaken with Māori.

The case studies examined in this thesis provide evidence that improvements in achievement can result with a reduction in the *talking past each other* that has traditionally occurred in mainstream facilities amongst researchers, educators, parents and students. These studies suggest an urgent need to develop culturally responsive contexts in which Māori students, their educators and Māori communities can build meaningful relationships and purposeful engagement. This concept, in line with kaupapa Māori educational theory, principles and practices, has produced strong evidence to show that culturally responsive approaches to interpersonal and group relations and interactions have the power to move non-Māori understandings about Māori from negative to positive.

Collectively, the studies suggest that where all participants are prepared to understand and respect kaupapa Māori practices, images and metaphors, then the resulting research findings and educational relationships and interactions are more holistic and focused on power sharing, agency and collaboration. Participants in the learning process all have meaningful experiences, valid questions and legitimate concerns and they have a right to participate from their own worldview and thus from the position of their own experiences and sense making (Bruner, 1990, 1996). Pedagogy that recognises this can effectively challenge colonial pedagogies that for Māori have been fundamentally mono-cultural and epistemologically racist. These studies clearly indicate that all concerned with education need to understand such practices if we are to succeed in including the aspirations and potential of Māori students in mainstream education.

This research-whānau would suggest that the way ahead for Māori students must continue to be built by recapturing the messages from our own traditional Māori ways of knowing (Walker, 2004), thereby increasing our own knowledge and at the same time developing new knowledge and practices. This can be achieved by maintaining strong cultural identities and understandings, by developing a more determined relationship with our Treaty partners, and with our own children and our future generations at the forefront to keep us firmly focussed on the kaupapa.

Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Term in Full
ADHD	Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder
AJHR	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
BOT	Board of Trustees
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CMER	Centre for Māori Education Research
EDPs	Education Development Plans
EV	Eliminating Violence
GSE	Group Special Education
HR	Human Resources
IEPs	Individual Education Plans
MOE	Ministry of Education
MP	Member of Parliament
NZARE	New Zealand Association for Research in Education
NZCER	New Zealand Council for Educational Research
PTEs	Private Training Establishments
RTG&L	Resource Teachers Guidance and Learning
RTLB	Resource Teacher Learning and Behaviour
RTM	Resource Teacher of Māori
SEA	Special Education Advisor
SE2000	Special Education Policy Initiative
SES	Special Education Services later renamed to Specialist Education Services
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SRI	Stimulated Recall Interviews
TOSCA	Test of Scholastic Abilities
TKI	Te Kete Ipurangi (MOE Website)

Glossary of Māori terms

This glossary provides translations of the Māori words used in this thesis. Although many of the words listed have multiple meanings, the meanings provided in the glossary are intended to clarify understanding of the words within the context in which they appear in this thesis.

A

Ako	Literally to learn and to teach, the reciprocity of being both a teacher and a learner according to the context
Aotearoa	Land of the long white cloud, today also used synonymously with New Zealand
Ara	Pathway
Aroha	Love
Aroha ki te tangata	Love for people
Atawhai	Kindness, caring
Atua	God
Awhi	Embracing

H

Haka	Chant and actions used to incite
Haka pōwhiri	Actions and chants of welcome
Hapū	Sub tribe or clan
He kanohi kitea	The seen face
Hinengaro	Related to mental processing
Hōhā	Nuisance
Hongi	Seen as two people pressing noses, represents the sharing of one's life force
Hui	Meeting(s) held within Māori protocols
Hunaonga	Where the relationship is through marriage

I

Io	Supreme being
Iwi	Tribe, tribal

K

Kaiako	Teacher
Kaiārahi i te reo	Māori language guide and expert
Kaiāwhina	Teacher aide
Kaimahi	Workers
Kaimoana	Seafood
Kairaranga	Weaver the metaphoric name given to the SES National Māori Adviser
Kaitakawaenga	Special Education Advisor with Māori language and cultural expertise
Kaiwhakaako	Teacher
Kaiwhakaruruhau	Cultural guardians
Kamokamo	Marrow (vegetable)
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face
Kapa haka	Cultural group, songs, movement and/or dance
Karakia	Prayer, religious service
Karanga	First call of welcome
Kauhua	The prow of the waka therefore the leader
Kaumatua	Elder, either male or female
Kaumātua	Elders, both male and female (the macron denotes the plural form)
Kaumātua Kaunihera	Council of Elders
Kaupapa	Common purpose, agenda, guidelines
Kauta	Outer building or shed
Kawa	Cultural protocols, the way things are done
Kawanatanga	Governance
Kete Pīngao	Used here in the sense of the early fluency reading stage
Koha	Donation, gift or contribution
Kōhanga Reo	Māori medium pre-schools, language nest
Kōrero	Language, to talk
Koro	Male elder or grandfather

Koroua	Respected male elder/ grandfather
Koroua whakaruruhau	Male elder who takes the role of cultural protector
Kotahitanga	Unity of purpose, collaboration
Kuia	Respected female elder
Kuia whakaruruhau	Female elder who takes the role of cultural protector
Kumara	Sweet potato
Kura	School
Kura kaupapa Māori	Schools designed by Māori for Māori to uphold and present authentic values and beliefs
Kura reorua	Bilingual school
Kura whānau	School community

M

Mahi tahi	The act of collaborating
Maioha	Gift
Mana	Involving ascribed power, prestige, and authority
Manaaki	Support
Manaakitanga	Commitment and care
Mana Atua	Spiritual power and prestige
Mana whenua	The status of the local people as holders or guardians of the land, worldly power and prestige
Marae	Traditional meeting place
Mātauranga	Māori knowledge, education
Mauri	Life force, spiritual essence
Mihimihi	Greetings
Miro	Used here in the sense of the fluent reading stage
Moko	Facial tattoo
Mokopuna	Grandchild

N

Ngā	The (plural form)

Ngā Kete Kōrero	The language baskets
Noa	Removal from tapu and return to everyday status

P

Paerangi	Boarding schools
Pākehā	Traditional European colonisers became known by the collective term Pākehā
Pakeke	Adults
Papatūānuku	The earth mother
Pānui tonu	Read-on
Parāoa rewena	Leavened bread
Pepeha	Traditional saying making geographical connections
Ponaho	Of no use
Poroporoaki	Farewell speeches, discussions or instructions on departure
Potiki	Youngest member
Pounamu	Precious nephrite jade or greenstone
Poutama	Stairway to knowledge
Pōwhiri	Formal rituals of encounter
Pūmanawa	Spiritual source, creative tribute
Puna mahara	Memory

R

Rangatahi	Young adults
Rangatira	Leaders
Rangiawatea	The god of space and light
Ranginui	The sky father
Raruraru	Problem
Rohe	Tribal area
Rumaki	Accessing education through the medium of the Māori language

T

Taha	Side in terms of direction
Taha hinengaro	The side concerned with the mind
Taha tinana	The physical side
Taha wairua	The spiritual side
Taha whānau	The family side
Taitamariki	Adolescents
Taki	To lead, to follow
Tamariki	Children
Tamariki mokopuna	Younger children
Tānemahuta	The forests of Tāne
Tānemataahi	The birds of Tāne
Tānenuiarangi	The great heavens of Tāne
Tāngata whenua	People of the land
Tangi	Period of mourning following appropriate Māori protocols
Taonga	All that is held precious
Taonga tuku iho	The treasures from the ancestors, cultural gifts and aspirations
Tapu	Sacred, revered, protection by the spiritual dimension
Tauawhi	Praise
Tauparapara	A Traditional chant
Tautoko	Prompts, supports
Te	The (singular form)
Te ao hurihuri	The contemporary world, today's world
Te ao Māori	The Māori worldview
Te ao mārama	The world of light
Te ao Pākehā	The non Māori world
Te ao tawhito	The ancient world of the Māori, the Māori worldview
Te ao whānui	Wider society, referred to by some as the global community
Teina	Younger or less experienced or skilled, younger peer or tutee

Tēina	Use of the macron denotes the plural form of teina
Te kore	The void
Te miro mā	The white thread
Te miro pango	The black thread
Te miro whero	The red thread
Te pō	The night, the unknown
Te pō nui	The great night
Te pō tahuri atu	The night that borders day
Te reo Māori	The Māori language
Te wheiao	The dawn light
Tika	Correct, appropriate
Tikanga	Cultural beliefs and practices
Tinana	Body or physical being
Tino rangatiratanga	Self determination
Tipuna	Ancestors
Tohunga	Chosen one, healer and/or spiritual leader
Toitū	Embed
Tū	To stand
Tuakana	Older or more experienced and/or skilled
Tuākana	Use of the macron denotes the plural form of tuakana
Tuakana-teina	Tutor-tutee
Tumuaki	School Principal
Tupuna	Ancestors
Tūrangawaewae	Birth place
Tūtakitahitanga	Coming together as one
U	
Urupa	Sacred burial place, cemetery
W	

Waiata	Singing, song, verse (traditional songs)
Wairua	Spiritual being
Waka	Canoe
Wānanga	Forum where knowledge is shared, place of learning, to learn
Wero	Challenge
Whaikōrero	Formal speechmaking, oratory
Whakaaro	Thought, idea, thinking
Whakahokia	Return, read-again
Whakamaa	Withdrawal or unresponsiveness, used to convey feelings or behaviours that exemplify inadequacy or hurt
Whakapapa	Genealogical connections, familial ties
Whakaruruhau	Cultural guardian
Whakataukī	Metaphorical saying
Whakatauākī	Metaphorical saying that can be attributed back to an original source
Whakawhanaungatanga	Establishing relationships
Whakawhiti kōrero	To interact in dialogue
Wharekura	Māori-medium secondary schools
Whānui	To connect widely
Whanaungatanga	Whānau processes and connections, to make personal connections
Whānau	Literally means family and/or extended family. In this thesis it has also been used in a metaphoric sense for a group of people, largely who are unrelated, but who work collaboratively and as a family, for a particular purpose.
Whare tapa wha	Four sides of the house
Whare wānanga	Place of learning, Kaupapa Māori tertiary institute
Whāriki	Mat
Whenua	Land

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Poroporoaki to kaumātua Tamihana Reweti, Manu Te Pere, Rangiteaorere Heke and Pomare Sullivan.

Koutou kua takahia atu ki te pūmatomato ki Tikitiki-o-Rangi.

Tēnei te papakowhaititia i ngā rārangi korowai, aroha, kupu whakatau, i ngā whakaaro maioha mo koutou kua riro atu ki te pō kenakena.

Haere ki Hawaiki taputapuātea o Tāwhaki, te marae tapu o Io Matua Kore, e moe, takoto, okioki i raro i te toiongarangi o Io Matua Pūtahi.

He rarangi tāngata ki te whenua ngaro noa, ngaro noa.

Ānei ngā rarangi īngoa e whai ake nei:

Tamihana Reweti,

Manu Te Pere,

Rangiteaorere Heke,

Pomare Sullivan.

English Translation

You have tramped the heartland of Tikitiki-o-Rangi.

Therein lies your wisdom, your love, your words of guidance and your calling home.

Return to Hawaiki, to the footsteps of Tawhaki.

Ascend to the sacred grounds of Io Matua Kore.

Sleep, rest, return to the heavens of your creator.

Return to the land never to be seen again.

Here listed below are the names of the people for whom this poroporoaki is written:

Tamihana Reweti,

Manu Te Pere,

Rangiteaorere Heke,

Pomare Sullivan.

Appendix 2: Poroporoaki to kaumātua Potahi Gear and Tureiti Stockman

Tiwhatiwha te pō, tiwhatiwha te ao.

Ahakoa kua ngaro o kōrua tinana i te tirohanga kanohi

Ko te tohu o o kōrua tapuwae e kakahutia tonu ki te mata o te whenua

Tauwhare ana mai te pūkohu ki te take o Mauao

Kua tukuna atu kōrua ki te ao o te papa

Ki ngā hau e whā

Kōrua kua ngaro atu moe mai, moe mai ra.

Ānei ngā rārangi īngoa e whai ake nei:

Potahi Gear

Tureiti Stockman.

English Translation

Gloom and sorrow prevails, night and day.

Although you have gone from us your footsteps are ingrained on this land.

Mist hangs over Mauao.

You are in the spirit realm.

Spread on the four winds.

So sleep well, sleep well.

Here listed below are the names of the people for whom this poroporoaki is written:

Potahi Gear

Tureiti Stockman.

Appendix 3: Statistical Analysis of Reading shifts, in English then in Māori, from Waioweka in 1998

In 1998, reading assessments in English and Māori were undertaken with Year 8 students at baseline and again after ten weeks of the English transition programme. Effect sizes were calculated using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) on reading levels and reading comprehension in both English and Māori.

n is the number of participants in the sample; M is the Mean or the average of all items in the sample; SD is the Standard Deviation, the measure of how spread out the data are; *t* is the *t* statistic, the measure of how extreme a statistical estimate is; the *p*-value is a measure of how much evidence we have against the null hypotheses; *d* is commonly called the effect size and is the difference between the means. M1 − M2 which is then divided by the pooled standard deviation. The pooled standard deviation is found as the root mean square of the two standard deviations (Cohen, 1988).

Overall Effect Sizes for Year 8 Students Reading in English

Year 8 Reading in English

Reading Level	n	M	SD	*t*	*p*	*d*
Assessment at baseline	7	24.14	4.91	3.43	<.01	1.17
Assessment after ten weeks in programme	7	28.53	1.99			
Reading Comprehension	n	M	SD	*t*	*p*	*d*
Assessment at baseline	7	33.43	4.5	4.77	<.001	2.53
Assessment after ten weeks in programme	7	69.14	19.47			

Applying the criteria below, set by Morgan, Griego and Gloeckner (2001) it would appear that for reading in English, Year 8 students' shifts in book level and comprehension, from baseline to immediately following ten weeks in the English transition programme were of statistical significance and much larger than typical.

General interpretation of the strength of a Relationship	*d*
Much larger than typical	>1.00
Large or larger than typical	0.80
Medium or typical	0.50
Small or smaller than typical	0.20

Overall Effect Sizes for Year 8 Students Reading in Māori,

Year 8 Reading in Māori

Reading Level	n	M	SD	*t*	*p*	*d*
Assessment at baseline	7	17.14	1.77	2.20	0.07	0.84
Assessment after ten weeks in programme	7	18.57	1.62			
Reading Comprehension	n	M	SD	*t*	*p*	*d*
Assessment at baseline	7	58.43	17.78	0.61	0.57	-0.25
Assessment after ten weeks in programme	7	53.14	24.00			

Applying the same criteria set by Morgan et al., (2001) for reading in Māori (the non-intervention language), Year 8 students' shifts in book level from baseline to immediately following ten weeks in the English transition programme were of larger than typical, statistical significance. However the reading comprehension data presented immediately below, shows that increases in reading level may well have challenged students' beyond what they could comfortably discuss.

Appendix 4: Example of the fifth Writing Exchange between Hinemaia and Silomiga

(Stories are copied as they are, with five minutes of Hinemaia's own editing in red)

The worst pain I have ever felt was when my Grandmother left the world to go to heaven. I was so heartbroken I stayed at the hospital all day just to be with her.

When I heard, I thought they were just telling a joke. When I saw her with my own two eye's, I felt a feeling that I can not explain. When I saw her just laying their it felt like someone was just squeezing my heart. I felt all alone, o felt like I done something to disappoint her why she left me.

As I grew older I knew that it was her time to leave us, and that she was very ill. I miss her very much and I will never stop thinking about her. I

Kia ora Hinemaia,

Thank you for sharing with me your story on what was the worst pain that you have felt. That is so sad. I believe it was your grandmother's turn to leave this world. She may have been ill in this world but up in heaven she is well and feels no pain. She is with you in your heart wherever you go and will be waiting for you to join her one day. Please do not feel that is was your fault because it wasn't. Just think of all the good times you both had and spent together. She is watching you grow up and seeing that you are becoming a fine young woman (wahine toa). So don't forget that if you feel alone or a bit down and frustrated with the world, your grandmother is right by your side for you.

My uncle died about two years ago. He was an awesome uncle and would always have us stay at his house for Christmas. He was always nice but if we played up he was sure to give us a growling. I cried and cried at his funeral, I too could not believe that he had passed away. When I saw my niece Natalie cry (who was only six at the time) it made me want to cry even more. My cousin Andrea was in Australia at the time and was unable to come to the funeral I was sad for her as well because she could not say her final goodbye.

Awesome story Hinemaia. Looking forward to your next story.

Appendix 5: Hinemaia's previous story written in week five compared with the one written in week ten.

(Stories are copied as they were written, with five minutes of Hinemaia's own editing shown in red)

Writing Exchange 5

The worst pain I have ever felt was when my Grandmother left the world to go to heaven. I was so heartbroken I stayed at the hospital all day just to be with her.

When I heard, I thought they were just telling a joke. When I saw her with my own two eye's, I felt a feeling that I can not explain. When I saw her just laying their it felt like someone was just squeezing my heart. I felt all alone, o felt like I done something to disappoint her why she left me.

As I grew older I knew that it was her time to leave us, and that she was very ill. I miss her very much and I will never stop thinking about her. I

131 words

Writing Exchange 10

The nicest thing I ever did for anyone was when I looked after my Nan. When I used to go and visit her I always stayed with her no matter what, because I loved her so much.

Sometimes I would help her to make her bed, and when she was sick I sometimes I would cook her favourite vegetable for her, which was Kamokamo, and maybe a cup of tea, and some biscuits.

I was only about 8yr when I started to do this, because often Aunty and Uncle were very busey with work so, I tried to always be their for her. my Nan.

My Nan always used teach me how to cook and clean for when I got older and I caught on quickly. Everytime I cooked for her she would be in her bed reading the BIBLE, and if I didn't know how to cook what she wanted me to cook I would run backwards and forwards to ask for directions

instructions and her and I will have a little giggle if I didn't do it right just to make me feel better.

185 words

Appendix 6: Statistical Analysis of English Reading and Writing shifts, from Waioweka in 2003

In 2003, reading and writing assessments in English were undertaken with Year 8 students at baseline and again after ten weeks of the English transition programme. Effect sizes were calculated using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) on reading levels, comprehension and vocabulary knowledge.

As in Appendix 3, n is the number of participants in the sample; M is the Mean or the average of all items in the sample; SD is the Standard Deviation, the measure of how spread out the data are; t is the t statistic, the measure of how extreme a statistical estimate is; the p-value is a measure of how much evidence we have against the null hypotheses; d is commonly called the effect size and is the difference between the means. M1 – M2 which is then divided by the pooled standard deviation. The pooled standard deviation is found as the root mean square of the two standard deviations (Cohen, 1988).

Overall Effect Sizes for Students Reading in English

Year 8 Reading Measures

Book Level	n	M	SD	*t*	*p*	*d*
Assessment at baseline	6	23.17	3.55	5.38	<.00	2.17
Assessment after ten weeks in programme	6	28.83	0.98			
Comprehension	n	M	SD	*t*	*p*	*d*
Assessment at baseline	6	42.83	7.44	4.03	<.01	2.51
Assessment after ten weeks in programme	6	64.67	9.83			
Vocabulary Knowledge	n	M	SD	*t*	*p*	*d*
Assessment at baseline	6	62.50	22.04	9.67	<.00	1.41
Assessment after ten weeks in programme	6	89.67	16.01			

Applying the criteria set by Morgan et al., (2001) shown in Appendix 3, it would appear that students' shifts in book level, comprehension and vocabulary knowledge, from baseline to immediately following ten weeks in the English transition programme were not only of statistical significance but they were also much larger than typical.

Effect sizes were also calculated, using SPSS, in English of two qualitative writing measures of audience appeal and overall language quality and one quantitative measure of writing accuracy.

Overall Effect Sizes for Students Writing in English

Year 8 Writing Measures

Audience Appeal	n	M	SD	*t*	*p*	*d*
Assessment at baseline	6	3.50	0.55	3.87	<.01	1.82
Assessment after ten weeks in programme	6	4.50	0.55			
Overall Language Quality	n	M	SD	*t*	*p*	*d*
Assessment at baseline	6	3.33	0.52	3.16	<.03	0.92
Assessment after ten weeks in programme	6	4.00	0.89			
Writing accuracy	n	M	SD	*t*	*p*	*d*
Assessment at baseline	6	81.00	8.46	5.11	<.00	0.55
Assessment after ten weeks in programme	6	85.83	9.11			

Again, by applying the criteria set by Morgan et al., (2001) it appears that students' writing improvement, in terms of audience appeal, was of statistical significance and also much larger than typical. Students' writing improvement in terms of overall language quality and writing accuracy were also of typical to larger than typical statistical significance.

Appendix 7: Poroporoaki to kaumatua Mikaere O'Brien, to Tangiwai Tapiata (Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi) and Kura Loader

Tauwhare ana mai te pūkohu ki te take o Mauao.

Hoki atu ra korua ki te kapunipunitanga o ngā wairua,

ki te mūrau o te tini,

ki te wenerau o te manu

e kore e wareware.

Anei ngā rarangi ingoa e whai ake nei:

Mikaere O'Brien

Tangiwai Tapiata

English Translation

The mist hangs over the roots of Mauao.

Return to the resting place of the spirits,

To the resting place of those who have gone before.

This is a better place.

You will not be forgotten.

Here listed below are the names of the people for whom this poroporoaki is written:

Mikaere O'Brien

Tangiwai Tapiata

Kura Loader.