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**CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE,
EFFECTIVE PROVISION
FOR MĀORI LEARNERS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS:
HE WAKA TINO WHAKARAWEA**

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy
in
Education**

**at Massey University,
Palmerston North, Aotearoa/New Zealand**

Jill Maree Bevan-Brown

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MASSEY UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

How can Māori learners with special needs have their needs met in a culturally appropriate, effective way? What challenges exist and how can they be met? A multi-method approach was used to answer these questions. This involved a review of Aotearoa/New Zealand and international literature; a written survey of 78 people from 56 special education, Māori and disability organisations; interviews with 25 organisation personnel, 38 parents and whānau and four Māori learners with special needs; a six year case study of one learner; and four consultation meetings with 50 people from six kōhanga reo. To assist in evaluating the cultural effectiveness of programmes and services, a cultural audit checklist and process were developed and trialed in 11 educational establishments. Feedback on the cultural audit was also obtained from the kōhanga reo focus groups.

Research data revealed that despite recent improvements, Māori learners with special needs are not being adequately provided for. Major challenges are a widespread shortage of culturally appropriate resources, services, programmes and people with the necessary cultural, language and professional expertise and the existence of beliefs and attitudes detrimental to Māori learners with special needs. Recommendations to meet these challenges include a substantial increase in funding to overcome identified shortages; the establishment of compulsory bicultural training for all relevant occupation groups; and the introduction of proactive measures to enable Māori to enter special education-related occupations.

The research data also revealed that programmes and services should be based on Māori perspectives of special needs and incorporate Māori concepts, knowledge, skills, attitudes, language, practices, customs, values and beliefs; focus on areas of importance, concern and benefit to Māori; involve and empower parents, whānau, the Māori community and the learners themselves; be of a high quality; accessible; result in equitable outcomes for Māori learners; and be delivered by people with the required personal, professional and cultural expertise. The cultural audit was seen as an effective means of helping educational establishments evaluate and improve their programmes and services for Maori learners with special needs. However, findings also indicated that for long-term, widespread improvement to be achieved, genuine power sharing and societal-level changes in the ideologies, systems and circumstances that disadvantage Māori are needed.

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E ngā reo
E ngā mana
E ngā kārangatanga maha
Tēnā koutou katoa
Tēnā koutou i runga i ngā āhuatanga
o ngā mate, e hinga mai nei
e hinga mai nā
no reira ngā mate,
haere, haere, haere
oki oki atu e.
Tātou ngā mahuetanga
Tēnā ano rā tātou.
Ko tēnei te mihi aroha
ki a koutou e āwhina mai,
e tautoko mai i a au
i roto i ngā tau kua pahure
kia manakohia ai ngā hiahia,
kia whakaoti ai tēnei wāhanga o āku mahi.
No reira, te iti, te rahi,
tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou
tēnā koutou katoa.

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- ◆ the many people from special education, Māori, disability and support organisations who took time out from busy schedules to answer questionnaires or be interviewed;
- ◆ staff members from Te Pumanawa Hauora who provided helpful, expert feedback on the cultural audit framework, checklist and process;
- ◆ the special education students who conscientiously conducted independent cultural audit trials and contributed vital information about the process and products involved;
- ◆ the staff of the schools and early childhood centres whose concern for Māori learners with special needs motivated them to participate in the cultural audit trials;

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

I taka ko ia i te pari me tere moe ko ia.

One might fall off a cliff if they go walking about in their sleep.

The introductory whakatauaiki encapsulates the sentiment that initiated this research. As a Māori lecturer in special education, I was frequently asked by parents, whānau, teachers and service providers for advice about helping Māori learners with special needs. I felt quite inadequate in responding to these requests. The advice I gave was based largely on anecdotal evidence, commonsense and gut feelings, for despite the large number of Māori learners with special needs, there was very little research-based information about how to help them. Over time I became increasingly unsettled about this situation. I was dispensing advice in a state of semi-awareness, potentially in danger of misinforming people who trusted me. I could not risk falling off the cliff and dragging others along. These concerns gave rise to the following research aims.

RESEARCH AIMS

- To identify how Māori learners with special needs can have these needs met in a culturally appropriate, effective way;
- To identify challenges to providing and obtaining culturally appropriate, effective programmes and services;
- To discover ways of meeting these challenges;
- To use both the research process and products to benefit Māori learners with special needs and their whānau.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Māori learners with special needs are entitled to culturally appropriate and effective programmes and services. This entitlement is contained in a wide range of legislation and official documentation.

First, there are general obligations enshrined in documents such as the Treaty of Waitangi, the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990, section 21 and 57 of the Human Rights Act 1993, Article 23 of the United Nations Document on the Rights of the Child and the Health and Disability Commissioner Act 1994.

Second, there are more education-specific obligations. Section 8 of the Education Act 1989, compulsory school charter goals (Department of Education [DoE], 1989), the New Zealand Curriculum Framework, (Ministry of Education [MoE], 1993)¹, the National Education Guidelines (O'Rourke, 1993)², Te Whāriki, the Early Childhood Curriculum (MoE, 1996c), the Special Education Guidelines (MoE, 1995, 1999)³, the National Administration Guidelines (MoE, 1999b)⁴, and the New Zealand Disability Strategy (Ministry of Health [MoH], 2001a)⁵ all bear witness to an official commitment to provide for Māori learners and learners with special needs in general and Māori learners with special needs in particular.

However, despite this plethora of legislation, official documentation and guidelines, there is considerable evidence to show that Māori learners with special needs are not being adequately provided for. A perusal of relevant literature from 1999 to 2002 reveals a wide variety of concerns relating to service provision for these learners.⁶

Briefly, these concerns focus on a shortage of culturally appropriate special education services including a lack of Māori content in programmes, a dearth of Māori-relevant resources and assessment measures and a scarcity of culturally appropriate implementation and delivery processes (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen

¹ Particularly principles 6 and 7.

² Particularly goals 2, 7, 9 and 10.

³ Particularly principle 6.

⁴ Particularly NAG 1 iii, iv, v and NAG 2 iii.

⁵ Particularly objective 11.

⁶ A more detailed discussion of these concerns is contained in Chapter 3.

Bevan-Brown, 1999; Duckworth & ACNeilsen, 1999; Massey University, 1999, 2001, in press;⁷ MoH, 2001b; Peretini et al., 2000; Wilkie, 2001).

Also identified is a lack of communication between special education professionals, teachers and parents (Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999); a failure to recognise and provide for Māori perceptions of special needs (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Massey University, in press); difficulty finding and accessing appropriate help (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Peretini et al., 2000; Massey University, in press; Wilkie, 2001); a lack of support for Māori staff working for SES (Peretini et al., 2000); a shortage of special education professionals with the cultural knowledge needed to work with Māori learners and a low number of Māori amongst special education personnel (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Duckworth & ACNeilsen, 1999; Massey University, 1999, 2001, in press; Wilkie, 1999; Wylie, 2000).

Moreover, research has revealed a considerable number of principals, teachers, teacher aides and special education professionals who consider it unnecessary to take a learner's Māori culture into account or who give culturally appropriate service provision a low priority (Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Massey University, 1999, 2001, in press; Peretini et al., 2000).

Māori learners with special needs in Māori immersion situations are being particularly disadvantaged. There is a dearth of resources, assessment measures and services in te reo Māori and an acute lack of Māori-speaking special education professionals (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Massey University, 1999, 2001, in press; Schwarz & Gillon, 1999; Wilkie, 1999; Wylie, 2000).

⁷ In press refers to the final report from the Massey University Research Team. This report is the culmination of a three year project which evaluated Special Education 2000 Policy Initiatives. It is the largest evaluation of any education policy ever conducted in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the largest evaluation to date of services for Māori learners with special needs.

Research has also revealed relatively few special education referrals from kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori; a shortage of special education expertise and knowledge of SE2000 initiatives amongst teachers in Māori immersion facilities; and a lack of culturally appropriate professional development to enable them to be upskilled in this area (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Massey University, 1999, in press; Wilkie, 1999).

These research findings identify an urgent need to improve programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs. The present research with its positive, practical approach will contribute to meeting this need. It is particularly timely given the Government's 2001 Budget objective to strengthen and develop Māori communities (Horomia, 2001).

RESEARCH OUTLINE

Underlying Assumptions

This research is based on two important, theoretical assumptions: First, that culture plays a significant and influential role in the perception and management of special needs and second, that this must be taken into account for special needs provisions to be fully effective. These assumptions will be examined in detail in chapter four.

Guiding Principles

In conducting this research I have been guided by three principles considered essential to its validity, value and purpose.

The Study Should Be "Māori Research"

As this study is being conducted by a researcher who identifies as Māori⁸ and is about Māori learners with special needs, it is important that it is situated within a Māori research paradigm. Exactly what constitutes Māori research, its guiding principles and how this study adheres to these principles will be addressed in-depth in chapter five.

⁸ My iwi and hapū affiliations are Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Wehiwehi, Ngāti Awa and Ngāi te Rangi.

The Study Should Be Practically Focused

The ultimate purpose of this research is to benefit Māori learners with special needs. This can be best achieved if the research has a practical orientation. This stance is supported by Māori research principles discussed in chapter five.

The Study Should Highlight the Positive

There is widespread discontent with past research that has generated negative statistics showing Māori in an inferior light (Bishop, 1996a, 1996b; Bishop & Glynn, 1992, 1995, 1999b; Durie, A., 1992; Simpson, 1997; Smith, G. H., 1992; Smith, L. T., 1997, 1999; Stokes, 1992; Tapine, 1999; Teariki, Spoonley & Tomoana, 1992; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Timutimu-Thorpe, 1992; Walker, H., 1992). In reaction to this negatively focused research, there is a growth in research studies that seek out and emphasize the positive. This trend is well illustrated in a major research project conducted by the Ministries of Education and Māori Development. In the Forward to the consultation booklet for this research, Fancy and Love (MoE & TPK, 1997) state:

For any education strategy to succeed, there must be a strong practical focus on what works best on the ground. You will know about the successful programmes in your area; they speak for themselves. We would like to understand what they are and why they are working The purpose of the Education Strategy for Māori is to identify the best ways to raise Māori student participation and achievement and thereby help establish better and more secure futures for Māori now and for generations to come. (p. 5)

Similarly, this present research aims to identify and share strategies and practices that have proved effective for Māori learners with special needs.

Definitions of Key Concepts

From the outset it is necessary to define key concepts connected with the research aims.

Māori

For the purposes of this research Māori is taken to mean any person of Māori ancestry who identifies him or herself as being Māori (Dept. of Statistics, 1991).

However, an important point must be made. Like any other people, Māori are a diverse group. They differ in lifestyle, beliefs, values, socio-economic circumstances, religious and tribal affiliation, geographic location, degree of acculturation and knowledge and practice of their Māori culture. Moreover, their values, attitudes and beliefs change over time and according to life's circumstances and opportunities (Durie, M. H., 1995; Hamilton, 1989; Pere, 1991; Rangihau, 1992).

In considering the “diverse realities” that exist for Māori, Durie, M. H. (1995) notes:

Far from being homogeneous, Māori individuals have a variety of cultural characteristics and live in a number of cultural and socio-economic realities. The relevance of so-called traditional values is not the same for all Māori, nor can it be assumed that all Māori will wish to define their ethnic identity according to classical constructs. They may or may not enjoy active links with hapū or iwi, yet will still describe themselves as Māori and even if they do not enjoy close links with conventional Māori institutions, they will reject any notion that they are “less Māori” than their peers. (p. 15)

With respect to tribal affiliation, Rangihau (1992) and Pere (1982) maintain that because each Māori tribe has its own particular history, perceptions and practices one should talk of Raukawatanga, Tūhoetanga, Arawatanga and iwi concepts rather than Māoritanga and Māori concepts. While acknowledging the validity of this viewpoint, because the nature of this research is pan-tribal and because there is general acceptance of a collective Māori identity amongst iwi members, it is felt that the wider approach taken in this research is justified. However, two points should be emphasised. First, a Māori focus does not preclude the inclusion of iwi and hapū perspectives. Second, what is sought in this research are Māori perspectives arising from consideration of a wide range of Māori sources and consultation with a large number of Māori participants. Never is “the” Māori perspective claimed. Given the diversity of Māori society it is believed that such a phenomenon does not exist.

Children and Youth/Learners With Special Needs

This refers to those children and youth/learners who have educational and care needs that differ markedly from the norm. They may have a disability or learning or behavioural needs that necessitate additional specialised services, programmes and equipment in order for them to achieve their potential. In the context of this research, children and youth/learners with special needs include those who are gifted and/or talented.

Special needs is a term that is culturally defined. What is believed to be a special need in one culture may not necessarily be considered so in another. This presents a challenge in the context of the present research. It is quite possible that a Pākehā IHC worker responding to the organisation survey will have a different understanding of special needs to a Māori mother interviewed about special education services for her son or daughter. Unless specifically asked, I have refrained from defining special needs and, wherever possible, have probed to elicit the participant's own understanding of the term. When asked, I have provided the previously mentioned definition but have added that there is variation in understanding of the term "special needs" and that there is no "one right answer."

Culture

Banks (2001) defines culture as, "the ideations, symbols, behaviours, values and beliefs that are shared by a human group" (p. 428). He also describes the concepts of macroculture and microculture. Macroculture is the overarching culture of a pluralistic nation-state shared by all individuals and groups existing within that nation-state, while microcultures are the various smaller cultures which contain their own defining characteristics. There are microcultures of gender, religion, age, exceptionality, class, geographic region, urban-suburban-rural location and ethnicity (Banks, 2001; Gollnick & Chinn, 1990). Because this study is concerned with special education provisions for Māori learners, the term "culture" used throughout this research refers to the "microculture" of ethnicity, i.e. the collective ideations, symbols, behaviours, values and beliefs that identify Māori as an ethnic group.

Culturally Appropriate

For a programme or service to be considered culturally appropriate, the environment, process including teaching methods and delivery style, content, resources, assessment and administrative procedures employed must be relevant to the culture of the person receiving the programme or service.

It must be emphasised from the outset that this research is concerned with cultural appropriateness as applicable to Māori who identify with their culture and live within Māori cultural norms. For those who do not, the approaches investigated may have little or no relevance.

Effective

A programme, service or strategy can be deemed to be effective when intended purposes are achieved, needs are addressed and expected outcomes are realised. A multitude of factors contribute towards a programme or service's effectiveness, for example, well qualified, competent, supportive staff; efficient administrative procedures; good quality resources; generous funding; high standards of teaching and care; research-based, relevant content; and community support to mention but a few. In addition, for programmes and services to be truly effective for Māori who identify with their culture, they must also incorporate cultural components so that Māori learners can "live as Māori" (Durie, M. H., 2001; Hirsh, 1990). However, it should be noted that while cultural appropriateness is essential to effectiveness, the converse is not necessarily true. For example, a remedial reading programme that uses Māori-relevant texts and culturally appropriate teaching methods may prove ineffective if it is not pitched at the correct learning level for the students involved.

A glossary of Māori words follows chapter eleven.

Research Focus

The main focus of this research is on providing for Māori learners with special needs in educational settings. However, it is envisaged that many of the lessons learned will also be applicable to other disciplines and institutional contexts.

Research Design

This research consists of seven separate but interrelated components. These are:

1. Organisation Survey

A written questionnaire (Appendix A) was posted to 149 special education providers, support services, Māori and disability organisations. The questionnaire contained seven questions relating to the provision, nature and extent of services offered to Māori with special needs. Arising from the survey, 25 phone and face-to-face, follow-up interviews were held. In total this provided feedback from 78 people representing 56 different organisations. This phase of the research also included attendance at relevant Māori, research and disability hui and seminar and documentary analysis of relevant brochures, pamphlets, booklets and policy statements.

2. Parent, Children, Youth and Whānau Interviews

Semi-structured and unstructured interviews were conducted with the parents and whānau of 30 Māori children and youth with a range of special needs and with four of these children. The children were also observed in a variety of settings. Interviews consisted of a mixture of telephone and face-to-face encounters. The majority were face-to-face interviews conducted in the participants' own homes. They probed parents', whānau and learners' experiences of special education services in general and the Māori content of these programmes in particular. Participants were encouraged to "tell their stories" of both positive and negative experiences. In the main, interview participants were recruited from personal, family and work-related contacts. A smaller number of self-selected participants responded to advertisements in a variety of Māori media. Information was also collected from a six-year longitudinal study of one Māori child with special needs.

3. Literature Review

This has focused on a number of areas including:

- ◆ the history and development of Māori education and special education in Aotearoa/New Zealand;
- ◆ special needs provisions for Māori learners;
- ◆ research relating to Māori learners with special needs;

- ◆ Māori research methodology;
- ◆ the nature and evaluation of cultural appropriateness;
- ◆ culturally appropriate services for Māori;
- ◆ the Treaty of Waitangi;
- ◆ special education provision for learners from indigenous and ethnic minority groups overseas; and
- ◆ the nature and influence of culture.

4. The Development of a Cultural Audit Process and Products

The initial cultural audit framework, checklist, exemplar and process were developed from a consideration and analysis of information from a number of sources. These were: Treaty of Waitangi literature; literature relating to the nature and evaluation of cultural appropriateness, in particular relevant Reports from Te Pumanawa Hauora (a Māori Health Research Unit based within the Māori Studies Department at Massey University); discussion and feedback from Te Pumanawa Hauora staff, family, friends, colleagues and acquaintances; feedback from parent and whānau interviews; and from the organisation survey and interviews. The initial cultural audit products and process were further developed, amended and refined in response to feedback received in components 5, 6 and 7 below.

5. Consultation With Kōhanga Reo Focus Groups

After gaining permission and support from appropriate Māori organisations, kōhanga reo whānau were invited to be focus groups for the evaluation of the cultural audit and for consultation regarding special education provision for Māori learners with special needs. Four hui containing whānau from six different kōhanga reo were held. After explaining how a cultural audit was conducted, discussion centred around a set of prepared questions, some relating specifically to the cultural audit and others probing services to Māori learners with special needs in general. Discussions were taped and transcriptions returned to kōhanga reo whānau for verification and possible amendment.

6. Cultural Audit Trials

Trialing of the cultural audit was conducted by two different means:

- ◆ Researcher-initiated Trials.

Invitations to participate in trialing were sent to 21 early childhood centres, primary, intermediate and secondary schools. Five schools with a high proportion of Māori pupils responded. These schools were visited two or three times. The first visit was to explain and launch the cultural audit process. Following a two-to-four week data-collecting period, the second and third visits were to help each school analyse their information and develop a Māori cultural input action plan and to gather feedback about the cultural audit process and products.

◆ Independent Trials.

An ultimate aim is to have schools and early childhood centres conduct their own cultural audits. Consequently, independent trials were included by offering the cultural audit as an assignment option in two of Massey University's extramural, special education papers. Six students chose this option. Following the guidelines provided in the assignment outline (Appendix B), students conducted cultural audits in primary and secondary schools and early childhood centres in various locations throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. The requirement to provide feedback on the products and process was incorporated into the assignment.

7. Dissemination Activities

Dissemination of research findings is considered a vital, integral, on-going component of the research process, not one that should be left until the end of the project. Dissemination has been achieved through extramural and internal teaching in under graduate and post graduate education courses including educational psychology training, through conference presentations, through publications and through working with children, youth, parents and whānau.

As outlined in the previous description of the seven research components, a variety of data gathering strategies was used. Information was sought in three separate domains: first, organisations, second, schools and early childhood centres and third, children, youth, parents and whānau. Including these three sources of information and using a range of data gathering strategies allows for the triangulation of findings.

The overall design of this research is essentially emergent in nature. As previously mentioned, the main purpose of this research is to benefit Māori learners with special needs and their whānau. Strategies to achieve this were developed as opportunities presented themselves and as the research progressed. Although the research components have been numbered from 1 to 7, this numbering is for convenience of explanation and does not denote a linear progression of research activities. The organisation survey, parent, whānau and learner interviews and literature review were started together, the latter two continuing over the entire research project and informing all other phases. The development of the cultural audit evolved from the organisation survey and in turn it was used to evaluate organisation-related data. The cultural audit development, evaluation and consultation hui, trialing of the cultural audit and dissemination phases were cyclical in nature, informing and influencing each other. The inter-related nature of the various phases is shown in the following diagram. This diagram also illustrates the relationship between the research aims and the various research components.

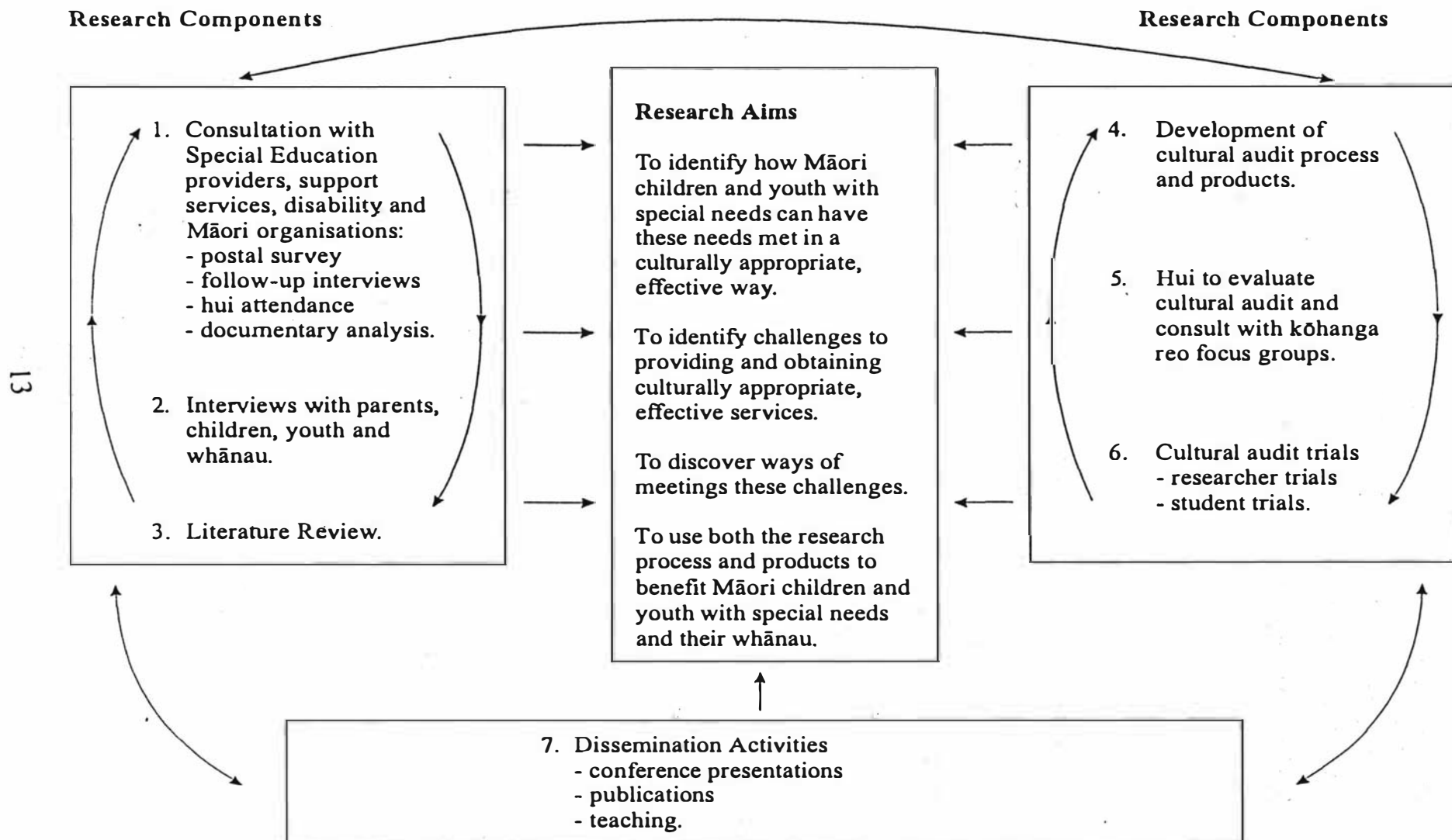


Figure 1.1 Research Overview

THESIS PRESENTATION

This thesis is presented in eleven chapters. All chapters begin with a whakatauhāki or Māori proverb. Each has been chosen because the sentiment expressed or wisdom contained is relevant to the chapter with which it is associated.

Section One - Setting the Scene

Chapter One: Introduction

This provides an overview of the study and gives a brief description of each of the seven research components. It outlines the aims and significance of the study and introduces key concepts, guiding principles and underlying assumptions. It also describes how the thesis is presented.

Chapter Two: Historical Context

This chapter provides a historical background starting from the care and education of gifted learners and those with disabilities in traditional times⁹, followed by an overview of the development of special education and Māori education in Aotearoa/New Zealand from 1816 up until the introduction of Special Education 2000 (SE2000) in 1996. Influential social, political and economic factors are described and changes in theoretical concepts underlying special and Māori education are considered.

Chapter Three: Current Policy, Provisions, Challenges and Solutions

This chapter outlines current special education policy and provisions from the introduction of SE2000 to the present day. It describes the extent to which Māori learners with special needs are currently being provided for, the challenges to culturally appropriate service provision that have been identified and initiatives and strategies that are being used to provide culturally appropriate, effective programmes and services. The chapter also mentions current initiatives in Māori education that impact on Māori learners with special needs and describes a variety of special education programmes and services that have been specifically developed for these learners.

⁹ For the purposes of this research “traditional” refers to the 19th century and before. This is a liberal interpretation that does not take into account any pre-European contact or post-European contact divisions of time.

Chapter Four: Cultural and International Perspectives

First, this chapter discusses the important and influential role culture plays in learning and cognitive development, in education and society and in the perception and management of special needs. Second, it examines the international literature on provisions for indigenous and ethnic minority group learners with special needs. Global trends in providing culturally appropriate, effective services to these groups, challenges faced and solutions employed are all presented and discussed.

Section Two – Methodological Matters

Chapter Five: Māori Research Context

This chapter provides the Māori research context of the study. After briefly discussing the nature and development of Māori research, it proposes and explains a set of guiding principles for Māori research. Finally it describes how the components, methods and procedures of this present study adhere to these principles. Ethical issues are also considered.

Chapter Six: The Research Journey

This chapter describes the six-year research journey from the initial organisation survey conducted in 1996 through the various phases including the development and trialing of a cultural audit framework, process and products and the consultation conducted with kōhanga reo focus groups and the parents and whānau of 30 Māori learners with special needs. The rationale behind each phase is explained, the data gathering and analysis methods described and a number of issues arising discussed.

Section Three – The Results

Chapter Seven: Organisation Survey

In this chapter the results of the survey of 78 people representing 56 different special education, Māori, disability service and support organisations are presented and discussed. These results include information about the prevalence and variety of programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs and about the wide range of culturally appropriate strategies and approaches organisations use. Also discussed are the many challenges organisations face in providing effectively for Māori learners with special needs.

Chapter Eight: Cultural Audit: He Anga Whakamāori

This chapter presents the results of the cultural audit evaluation. The strengths, weaknesses and concerns identified by four kōhanga reo focus groups and their suggestions for improving the cultural audit process and products are outlined. Results from the 11 schools and early childhood centres that trialed the cultural audit are presented and the trial process itself is evaluated. The strengths, weaknesses and concerns about the cultural audit process and products identified by the trial schools and student interviewers are outlined and discussed as are a number of issues arising from the evaluation. Finally, the ingredients of an effective cultural audit and the improvements recommended are presented.

Chapter Nine: Parents, Whānau, Children and Youth

This chapter presents and discusses the information collected from approximately 50 people who attended kōhanga reo focus groups and from interviews with the parents and whānau of 30 Māori children and youth with special needs and with four of these learners themselves. It describes the broad concept of special needs that emerged from this consultation and outlines how parents, whānau and learners with special needs believe their needs can be met in a culturally appropriate and effective way. It also describes the many challenges faced by parents, whānau and learners and presents their suggestions about how these challenges might be overcome.

Section Four – The Discussion

Chapter Ten: Bringing it All Together

In this chapter principal findings from the organisation survey, cultural audit, kōhanga reo consultation, parent, whānau, children and youth interviews and literature review are drawn together. The present situation for Māori learners with special needs is summarised and the main challenges faced are outlined. A set of principles to guide culturally appropriate, effective service provision is proposed, explained and justified in terms of the research findings. Predominant themes and issues are presented and discussed as are the implications of past practices and trends for present and future service provision for Māori learners with special needs.

Chapter Eleven: Conclusion

This final chapter provides a critique of the strengths and weaknesses of the research, evaluates its performance in relation to the stated research aims, summarises main findings and presents recommendations for improving future services to Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau.

Glossary of Māori Words

References

Appendices

CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Mate atu he tētē kura, whakaete mai he tētē kura.

A fern frond dies, but another frond rises to take its place.

INTRODUCTION

A view held by many Māori is that the present can only be truly understood through a consideration of the past (Ihimaera, 1993; Kaai-Oldman, 1988; Mahuta & Ritchie, 1988; Reid, P. 1986). Therefore, in order to provide culturally appropriate and effective programmes and services to Māori learners with special needs in the 21st century, we need to know what services were provided for them in the past, to understand the social, political, economic and theoretical influences that affected the provision and development of these services and to reflect on the implications of these factors for the future. This chapter provides a historical overview of special education provisions from traditional times up until 1996 when Aotearoa/New Zealand's Special Education 2000 policy was introduced. It also outlines influential social, economic, political and theoretical movements and circumstances of the time. The lessons to be learnt from the history presented will be discussed in chapter ten, "Bringing It All Together."

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Traditional Times

How were the educational and care requirements of people with special needs met in traditional times? Before addressing this question, it should be acknowledged that the vastly different lifestyles, beliefs, practices, social, political and economic circumstances and knowledge base of traditional times and the twenty-first century will, by necessity, result in differing concepts of special needs. In fact, it is possible that a concept of special needs might not even have existed in Aotearoa/New Zealand prior to the arrival of Europeans. While acknowledging the theoretical diversity of contemporary concepts of special needs, generally they are based on the acceptance of biological and psychological constructs of wellness, normality and deviance. If these constructs did not exist in traditional times or if the practice of making individual comparisons or comparisons to a group norm did not exist (as Green, cited in Smith, D.

D., 1998, p. 7 reports for certain Native American cultures), then concepts such as handicap, disability or special needs would have had little if any meaning for Māori in traditional times. Nevertheless, it is possible to examine how people who were gifted or disabled were treated by tūpuna. The question of whether these gifts and disabilities were regarded as “special needs” will remain unanswered, while the question of the relevance of traditional practices to contemporary Māori life will be considered in chapters five and ten.

There are varied opinions about the treatment of and attitudes towards people who were gifted and/or disabled in traditional times.¹⁰ This is probably a reflection of “human nature” and the tribal diversity which characterised the times (Macpherson, 1997; Rangihau, 1992; Salmond, 1991). On one hand, disability was commonly regarded as punishment for a tapu infringement by the disabled person or by a close relative. As such it was accepted with an air of fatalism (Best, 1974; Makereti, 1986; Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988). On the other hand, there are reports that show disability was not accepted with acquiescence and that many means were used to ameliorate it. These included karakia and the use of environmental healing resources especially water. Harawira (in Kana & Harawira, 1995, p. 46) reports that treatment involved not just the child’s particular physical disability (tinana), but the whole child, including their mind (hinengaro) and spirit (wairua).

The weight of historical evidence suggests that people with disabilities were accepted and valued as an integral part of the community (Bevan-Brown, 1989). This being the case, children with disabilities would have received the same care and education as their peers. This education involved parents, whānau and kaumātua teaching children practical, survival skills and tribal knowledge using traditional methods that focused on learning through observation, listening, imitation and repetition (Metge, 1984).

Kaumātua, in particular, played a significant role in the education of youngsters (Hemara, 2000). There are many accounts of children being taken under the wing of

¹⁰ See Bevan-Brown (1989, 1993, 1994) for discussions of traditional attitudes towards people with gifts and disabilities.

some kuia or koro to be taught specific skills and knowledge. Gifted children feature prominently amongst those receiving kaumātua teaching and guidance. Apirana Ngata, Maggie Papakura and Eruera Stirling are prime examples (King, M., 1988; Makereti, 1986; Stirling & Salmond, 1980).

There are also reports of children with physical and intellectual disabilities who were in the special charge of kaumātua.

All the people I can think of seemed to have a specific role. Perhaps it was to work and help their kui get kiekie but certainly it was always in ways that were useful. Most of them worked whether they were male or female. Most of the ones I can think of were male and they always seemed to be with their kui. You often found the male children doing harakeke work. While I am talking I see visions of people that I sort of took for granted and it's not until now I think those were people that we later on, in my generation, stuck in institutions, and yet in those earlier days they were leading normal lives and having roles that seemed to fulfil a need. It didn't occur to me! (Harawira in Kana & Harawira 1995, p. 45)¹¹

While, in traditional times most children learnt informally alongside their peers, some who demonstrated particular aptitude and interest, were selected to receive specialist knowledge from tohunga. These gifted children received tuition in a whare wānanga instituted for that specific purpose or were given knowledge via a mentor-like relationship with a tohunga. The former was usually done in a group and the latter usually involved only one student (Best, 1974; Buck, 1950; Hemara, 2000; Makereti, 1986; Metge, 1976; Naumann, Harrison & Winiata, 1990; Pewhairangi, 1992; Puketapu-Hetet, 1993).

¹¹ In chapter one, "traditional times" were defined liberally as the nineteenth century and before. It is acknowledged that this quote refers to the first half of the twentieth century. However, it is assumed that the practices and values described are influenced by and reflect an earlier time period.

From 1816 to 1917

Unfortunately there is no source to consult that deals specifically with past provisions for Māori learners with special needs. However, a historical overview of the services they received can be gained from a parallel consideration of the development of Māori education and special education.

Pākehā schools were first introduced to Aotearoa/New Zealand by the missionaries. Through education the missionaries set out to convert the Māori to Christianity, to transform them “from barbarism to civilised life” (Walker, R., 1984, p. 1). The first school was opened by Kendall at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands in 1816. Māori embraced education with enthusiasm and the following 25 years saw the rapid growth of mission schools throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. These were day schools where English, reading, writing, arithmetic and catechism were taught. They were located in Māori settlements, used the Māori language as the medium of instruction and were open to all. Given this and the emphasis on conversion to Christianity, it is quite possible that Māori children with special needs were accepted into the mission schools alongside their peers.

Barrington (1970) reports that owing to a growing sense of Māori nationalism, by the late 1840s the missionary schools were floundering. In an attempt to check this, in 1847 Governor Grey introduced a funding scheme that gave subsidies to missionary schools providing they were boarding schools and that instruction was in both English and Māori. “Grey believed that the consequent isolation of Māori children from the ‘demoralising influence of Māori villages’ would accelerate the Government’s policy of ‘speedily assimilating the Māori to the habits and usages of the European’” (Barrington, 1970, p. 28).

These boarding schools intended for Māori children of rangatira lineage and those with special academic ability initially flourished. However, they were in decline when they were forced to close by the Land Wars in 1860. Barrington reports that by 1865 only an estimated 22 Māori students were attending any form of school at all.

Similar to the education of Māori children, in the early contact period the education of children with special needs was largely left in the hands of the church (and charitable organisations). Initially these organisations were principally concerned with “orphan, neglected, uncontrollable and criminal children” (Mitchell, D., 1987, p. 27).¹² There was, however, limited State involvement, an example being the establishment in 1863 of the first “special school.” Ironically this school was first set up to educate Māori children but with the previously mentioned decline in enrolments prior to the Land Wars, the school became vacant and so was converted to an institution for destitute Pākehā children. Mitchell, D. (1987) maintains that provision for these children reflected both benevolent humanitarianism and “the imposition of hegemony over those who had the potential to disrupt the prevailing social order” (p. 27). Thus a further similarity exists between Māori and special education history in the early contact period, namely, the existence of politically motivated Government involvement!

In 1867 the Native Schools Act was passed and a national system of native schools was established. These schools were administered by the Department of Native Affairs until they were taken over in 1879 by the Department of Education. The native school system ran parallel to the system of state schools established by the 1877 Education Act. This Act laid the foundations of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s “free, secular and compulsory” education system. Schooling was to be free for students from age five to 15 and a statutory obligation was introduced requiring all parents resident within two miles of a school to send children aged between 7 and 13. However, this attendance obligation did not apply to Māori children or to many children with special needs. The former were not required to attend school until the School Attendance Act of 1894 was passed (Simon, J., 1998), while many children with special needs were “formally exempted from enrolment as incapable of benefiting from schooling” (DoE, 1987, Appendix IV, p. 1). At that time the belief that children with severe disabilities were “ineducable” was prevalent throughout the world and absolved many Governments from the responsibility of providing an education for these children.

¹² See Mitchell, D. (1987), p.34-38 for a chronology of the introduction of various special education services in New Zealand from 1858 to 1984.

In the 1870s the Government did provide limited finance for a few Pākehā children to attend special schools for the deaf and blind in Australia. Similar facilities were not available in Aotearoa/New Zealand until the Sumner School for the Deaf (now Van Asch College) was established in 1880 and the Jubilee Institute for the Blind opened in Auckland in 1891. By 1916 two more special schools were established. One each for boys and girls who were identified as “feeble-minded.” These were state-funded residential schools, which by 1917 together provided for approximately 170 pupils (DoE, 1987).

However, it is doubtful that any of these pupils were Māori. This supposition is based on three premises: First, the reluctance of Māori parents to be separated from their children which was cited by Barrington as one of the factors contributing to the demise of denominational boarding schools prior to the Land Wars. Certainly, the attitudes and practices outlined in the previous section on traditional care and education would have worked against children being sent away to boarding schools. Second, the expense of sending children to these schools put them beyond the means of most Māori parents. Third, with only 170 places available, it is unlikely Māori children would have been given a high priority. At this time the majority of children with special needs, both Māori and Pākehā, either attended their local school or received no education at all through official “exemption” or unofficial truancy.

In my research into native schools I have not found a single reference to providing for learners with special needs. However, the history of native schools is marked by issues that have implications for these learners. The first is the use of te reo Māori. Initially teachers in native schools used the Māori language as the teaching medium in junior classes (Simon, J., 1998). This was not a popular practice as evidenced by the following advice given to Parliament by H. Carlton, an Inspector of Native Schools:

Things had now come to pass that it was necessary either to exterminate the Natives or to civilize them. They could not go on fighting them any longer. Honourable members were now no doubt well up in the financial question, and all would, he was sure, agree that another serious war would not only cripple the Colony, but would actually break its back. The idea of exterminating the Natives

could not for a moment be dreamed of in that House, and there was, therefore, no alternative but to vote for the measure then before the House [i.e. the policy of English being the sole medium of instruction in Aotearoa/New Zealand schools] They could never civilize them through the medium of a language that was imperfect as a medium of thought. If they attempted it, failure was inevitable; and civilization could only be eventually carried out by means of a perfect language (NZ Parliamentary Debates, 1867, pp. 862 - 3 cited in MoE, 1990, p. 73).

By 1900 the use of te reo by teachers and pupils alike was banned. Children who spoke Māori even in the playground were strapped (Walker, R., 1984; Selby, 1999) and parents who used te reo within the school precincts could be fined 3d! This hardening of attitudes towards the Māori language was fuelled by the belief that its continued use was the principal cause of Māori students' lack of academic progress. It can be assumed that the banning of their first language would have been particularly difficult for Māori children with intellectual, sensory and learning disabilities whose problems would be magnified by having to learn in a "foreign" language.

A further issue of interest is the nature of the curriculum in native schools. There was an emphasis on "practical" subjects based on colonial opinion at the time that, "the whole future of the Māori, his material existence, his economic, social and physical welfare was indubitably bound up in the soil" (Barrington, 1970, p. 35) and that, "Māori were better calculated by nature to get their living by manual than mental labour" (Simon, J., 1998, p. 113). The emphasis on agricultural, manual, health and domestic activities received mixed support. Those in favour argued such a curriculum furthered the educational aim of "lead[ing] the Māori lad to become a good farmer, and the Māori girl to become a good farmer's wife" (Barrington, 1970, p. 35). Coincidentally, the curriculum emphasis in special education facilities of the time was also of a practical nature, the aim being to provide learners with special needs with basic living skills. So it can be seen that the educational goals for Māori students and those with special needs were very similar.

People who objected to the practically focused curriculum in native schools maintained that this emphasis made it difficult for Māori children to attain high academic results. It should be noted however, that the denominational secondary boarding schools, re-established after the Land Wars, did provide a more academic curriculum for their pupils. Many of these students were “gifted” Māori youngsters who were awarded government-funded scholarships to attend denominational colleges for a period of two years. Advanced academic ability, therefore, was the only category of special need for which any special provision was made for Māori learners.

From 1918 to 1943

In the period between 1918 to 1943 special education services increased considerably. This resulted in a parallel special education system developing alongside the regular system. The provision of separate facilities was influenced by two major factors. The first was a worldwide belief that the best way of educating learners with special needs was to segregate them (DoE, 1987). This belief arose from two prominent discourses of the time. These were the charity and medical discourses. The former was motivated by themes of humanitarianism and benevolence (Neilsen, 2000, p. 21) and was fueled by a growing concern for child welfare in the first half of the twentieth century (Mitchell, D., 1987, p. 30). The medical discourse supported the “treatment” and possible “curing” of deficits in a segregated, clinical environment (Cole & Chan, 1990). In combination the charity and medical discourses left little room to doubt that segregated provisions were not in the best interests of people with special needs. The opportunities they provided for smaller classes and specialised teaching and equipment added further support for this approach (Foreman, 1996).

A second factor influencing the provision of segregated special education provisions was that industrialised society of the time required a skilled and socialised workforce. The demands on the education system to meet this requirement placed learners with special needs in a vulnerable position. Not only did they fail to reach the academic standards set but they also jeopardised the learning of other students. This led to pressure to provide segregated settings. As Mitchell, D. (1987) concludes, "Provisions for exceptional children, then, reflect as much society's perceptions of its own directions and values as its perception of deviance" (p. 31).

However, the parallel development of special and regular services was not a uniform one. Many learners with special needs who lived in rural locations attended their local schools, not through choice but rather because there was no alternative (DoE, 1987).

Similarly, the native school system did not provide for all Māori students. From 1909 onwards more Māori children attended Education Board schools than native schools. (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). Consequently Māori learners with special needs were being educated in three different systems. First, some were being educated in the separate special education system¹³ but the number involved was likely to have been small given the expense of attending segregated residential facilities and the urban location of segregated day facilities. Second, Māori learners with special needs were being educated in the native school system. The degree of special educational assistance available in these schools is unknown but because of their predominantly rural location, it is unlikely that itinerant service providers would have regularly visited these schools. Their relatively low roll numbers would not have supported the existence of special classes.

Third, similar to Pākehā children with special needs, the majority of Māori children with special needs were being educated in regular state schools. However, it is hypothesised that neither their cultural nor special needs would have been well provided for in this environment. This supposition is based on two main premises. In respect to their cultural needs, the government policy of using education to assimilate Māori into Pākehā society remained in force during the 1918 - 1943 period. As a result of this policy Māori culture and te reo were largely ignored, in fact, Simon, J. (1998) maintains that teachers in Education Board schools:

were not required to give any consideration to the specific needs of Māori children. Thus their Māori pupils had to cope as best they could with programmes designed specifically for Pākehā (p. 72).

¹³ See DoE (1987), Appendix IV, p.2 for a list of these facilities.

From 1931 selected aspects of Māoritanga were introduced mainly into the primary curriculum but, “the introduction of Māori arts and crafts, while perhaps important in theory, remained in practice a limited and fairly superficial part of the work of schools for many years” (Barrington, 1970, p. 36). It was Pākehā who chose what aspects of Māoritanga were included in the curriculum, exemplifying what Kaai-Oldman (1988, p. 23) describes as the “pick and choose philosophy.”

The second reason why it is considered unlikely that Māori learners’ needs were well provided for in regular classrooms applies to all learners with special needs not just Māori. Because the belief prevalent at the time was that learners with special needs were best provided for in specialised settings, funding, effort and attention were concentrated on developing and maintaining the segregated special education system. Regular classroom teachers did not receive special education training because they were not expected to teach students with special needs. This was despite the fact that for geographic reasons, if nothing else, large numbers of children with special needs have always attended regular schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand (DoE, 1987).

Māori learners with special needs were in a no-win situation. Regardless of which system they were being educated in, the assimilative education policy of the time, the lack of special education expertise amongst mainstream teachers and the shortage of special education services to small rural schools all combined to result in Māori learners with special needs not having their needs acknowledged or met.

From 1944 to 1964

In 1944 special education services were reviewed and the *Education Today and Tomorrow Report* (Mason, 1944) revealed that major discrepancies existed in the services offered to various disability groups. Students with serious hearing, visual and physical disabilities were best provided for while the majority of intellectually disabled children were not being provided for at all. Also, special education services were available only to school-age children and youth and were generally located only in the cities and some larger towns (DoE, 1987). While a cornerstone of the 1877 Education Act was “equality” of education, sixty-seven years later special education provisions

were in fact characterised by their “inequality” both between disability groups and in comparison to services for students without special needs.

During the next two decades services for learners with special needs continued to develop, especially for children who were intellectually disabled. While support services for learners with special needs in regular schools increased, separate facilities were still viewed as the best way of providing for these children and youth.

The 1964 Education Act gave the Department of Education the power to provide free and appropriate education to learners with special needs but contained no legal obligation for them to do so. It also continued to allow learners with severe disabilities to be labeled as ineducable thus removing their right to education (Sleek & Howie, 1987).

On the Māori education front, these two decades were marked by a post-war boom in urban migration. By 1958, 71% of Māori students were being educated in Education Board schools. In 1959 the last native school was closed. Walker, R. (1984) noted that teachers in public schools:

were ill-equipped to deal with Māori children. In the past the education gap between Māori and Pākehā which had been concealed by the capacity of the rural tribal hinterland to absorb the failures could no longer be ignored in the urban milieu. (p. 2)

The Hunn Report (Hunn, 1961) made public the wide gap in educational achievement between Māori and Pākehā students. This Report was also significant in rejecting the previous assimilation policy in favour of integration. In fact it went as far as stating that the full integration of Māori into the mainstream life of Aotearoa/New Zealand was “just about the most important objective ahead of the country today” (Hunn Report, 1961 cited in Kaai-Oldman, 1988, p. 24).

Hunn saw integration as a means, “to combine (not fuse) the Māori and Pākehā elements to form one nation wherein Māori culture remains distinct” (Hunn, 1961, p.

15). However, while the Hunn Report may have advocated integration and enabled pluralistic educational solutions, in reality this was not reflected in changes to the education system and Māori students continued to fail. This appears to validate Harker (1982), Simon, J. (1986) and Fleras and Spoonley's (1999) opinion that the Hunn Report really viewed integration as a transition phase in an inevitable evolution towards complete assimilation.

The failure of Māori students was also noted in the 1962 Currie Report. This Report identified four specific groups that were not being provided for adequately in Aotearoa/New Zealand schools. One of these groups was Māori students and another was "the physically and intellectually handicapped" (DoE, 1962, p. 465). So not only were teachers and the system "ill-equipped" to provide for Māori students but the same could be said for their ability to cater for a substantial group of learners with special needs. Māori students with a physical or intellectual disability stood little chance of having their needs met!

From 1965 to 1996

Increasing concern about Māori failure in education and pressure from the Māori community resulted in a range of research projects to identify possible causes of this failure. "Large families, poor health, low socio-economic status, lack of enriching experiences, lack of parental interest and linguistic deprivation were all 'tested' as possible explanations for Māori failure" (Smith, L.T., 1985, p. 2).

Arising from these research projects and from the influence of overseas programmes aimed at equalising educational opportunities and outcomes for disadvantaged groups, many compensatory programmes¹⁴ and measures were introduced in the 1960s and early 1970s. Inservice courses, teacher training and resource development focused on giving teachers the skills and programmes to provide Māori students with, "enriching linguistic and cultural experiences" (ibid., p. 3). The play-centre movement was introduced and thrived in Māori communities, the Māori Education Foundation was

¹⁴ It is interesting to note that in the USA these compensatory programmes for at-risk children (for example, "Head Start") came under the auspices of special education rather than regular education.

established, a Māori quota was introduced into Teachers' Colleges and Māori cultural content in the curriculum was increased.

The 1970s saw the emergence of biculturalism, multiculturalism and an increased demand for "taha Māori" and te reo courses in both primary and secondary schools. New teacher training courses in Māori and itinerant Māori teaching and advisory positions were created to meet this demand. However, despite these and previous measures, the statistics for Māori failure in education remained high. Increasingly these "failures" were being referred to special education services. In 1977 for instance, there were four times as many Māori students in special classes in comparison to their proportion in the general population (Glass, 1977). It is hypothesized that this over-representation was more a reflection of the education system and teachers' inability to adequately provide for Māori children than it was of Māori learners' special needs.

In the 1980s there was increased protest about Māori failure and mounting dissatisfaction with educational initiatives to address it. Taha Māori programmes were criticised for meeting Pākehā bicultural needs rather than Māori needs (Bishop & Glynn, 1999b; Irwin, 1988; Penetito, 1984; Smith, G. H., 1990) and multicultural education criticised for focusing on life styles rather than life chances (Irwin, 1988; Tait, 1988). Both approaches were believed to maintain Pākehā control of what cultural content was included (Bishop & Glynn, 1999b; Irwin, 1988; Penetito, 1986; Smith, G. H., 1990; Tait, 1988) and to ignore, "an analysis of the impact of racism on education and its role in the perpetuation of educational inequality based on ethnic group membership" (Irwin, 1988, p. 50).

The 1970s and 1980s also witnessed:

A new wave of political discourse linked to the partnership rights guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi A general sense of Māori nationalism emerged and there was a push by Māori to have more control over the institutions and systems that have a major impact on the way they lived. (Jefferies, 1993, p. 2)

The establishment of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori was one outcome of this emerging sense of Māori nationalism. Within these organisations the structure, curriculum content, evaluation and pedagogical style are controlled by Māori and reflect Māori values and priorities. However, despite the growth in strength and popularity of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori from 1981 till 1996, the majority of Māori learners remained in the mainstream system, failure statistics remained high and Māori students continued to be over-represented in special education.

The period from 1965 to 1996 also witnessed much unrest and change in special education. In the 1970s and early 1980s overseas legislation had a major influence on the development of special education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. U.S.A.'s Education for All Handicapped Children Act 1975, the United Kingdom's Education Act 1976 and Amended Education Act, 1981 led the world in acknowledging governmental responsibility for the provision of special education and the right of learners with special needs to be included in the regular classroom. Aotearoa/New Zealand followed this trend with the passing of the 1989 Education Act although this Act did not include preschoolers, as was the case in the U.S. and U.K. legislation.

The special needs provisions of the 1989 Act were influenced by the 1987 Draft Review of Special Education. This Draft Review set new directions in special education, namely that it should be, "universally available; integral with other education programmes; lifelong; unified across sectors, home and school; needs based; effective and accountable" (DoE, 1987, p. 2). In the Draft Review the message was given emphatically that special education should become:

a part of the whole education system, and not an adjunct to it. It has been said that it is not students who must be mainstreamed but special education itself. (ibid., p. 6)

Thus the aim of integration that was advocated for Māori in the Hunn Report was now being advocated for special education in the 1987 Draft Review.

The Draft Review was also significant in that it officially acknowledged that services to Māori learners with special needs must be culturally appropriate. More specifically it called for:

- ◆ The involvement of whānau, kaumātua and the Māori community in all stages of programme development and delivery;
- ◆ the inclusion of services in te reo where this was desired and the training of teachers, advisors and resource development to enable this;
- ◆ proactive measures to recruit and train people with appropriate cultural knowledge and skills to work in special education;
- ◆ kōhanga reo staff and others involved in Māori education to have increased access to itinerant teachers and special education advisors;
- ◆ the use of traditional teaching and learning processes such as co-operative, shared learning and group evaluation; and
- ◆ interdepartmental cooperation, for example Māori education advisors and Māori Affairs officers working together to advertise special needs services and meet special needs in the wider community.

A further issue raised in the Draft Review was that of assessment:

In the past, assessment procedures have discriminated against students from cultures other than traditional European. To some extent, this can be seen in the disproportionate numbers of Māori children in residential special schools. It is necessary to ensure that all concerned in the assessment process are aware of the issue of unfair discrimination and of methods of assessment that may contribute to it. Consideration should be given to: a longer period for the assessment process; alternative venues outside of school or clinic to match natural environments; use of a mediator personally selected by the student; sensitivity to natural emotional feelings. (ibid., p. 82)

Given that the Review also stated that “culturally unfair” tests were the reason why Māori children were “over-represented in special classes,” it was surprising that it did not specifically recommend the development and use of culturally appropriate assessment instruments, for assessment to be conducted by people from the learner’s

own culture and for it to take Māori perceptions of special needs into account. However, it must be acknowledged that the Draft Review's two and a half pages of "Ethnic and Cultural Considerations" was, at that time, the most significant official recognition ever made of the need to provide for the special needs of Māori in a culturally appropriate way.

Returning to the 1989 Education Act, apart from acknowledging the right of special needs children to receive an education alongside their peers, this Act had significance for special education in that it required school charters to include statements promising equity for Māori learners and those with special needs. It also established the Special Education Service¹⁵(SES) and enabled greater parental involvement including the provision to co-opt parent representatives of Māori students and students with special needs on to Boards of Trustees.

In 1991 the Ministry of Education's *Educational Provision for Learners with Special Needs. A Review of Policy Report* (MoE, 1991a) noted that a disproportionate number of low achieving Māori children were being referred for special education because of a lack of appropriate knowledge or skill on the part of their teachers. Similarly, the *Statement of Intent for Special Education* (MoE, 1991b) commented on the special education system's failure to take account of the particular needs of Māori children.

A Special Education Policy Implementation Team (SEPIT) was formed to work through the implementation issues of the Statement of Intent and what followed was the most extensive consultation that had ever been conducted for special education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The team conducted three cycles of consultations in a series of meetings throughout the country. People consulted included iwi and Māori groups such as the Māori Women's Welfare League. The SEPIT group delivered its final report to the Ministry of Education in August, 1993. Years of consultation dating from the 1987 Draft Review of Special Education to the SEPIT Report culminated in the development

¹⁵ Later renamed the Specialist Education Service

of the Special Education Policy Guidelines (MoE, 1995) and the introduction of a new era in special education, namely, Special Education 2000 (SE2000) ¹⁶

FROM ASSIMILATION TO PLURALISM, FROM SEGREGATION TO INCLUSION

As the previous section illustrates, the history of Māori and special education has been significantly affected by the social, political and economic circumstances of the time and by overseas legislation and practice. It has also been influenced by theoretical and ideological concepts concerning the nature and treatment of disability and difference, by social justice movements and by advances in the knowledge base that informs educational practice. This section will elaborate on these influences.

Special Education

Since its introduction special education has undergone a number of major paradigm shifts. As mentioned previously, in colonial times the charity and medical discourses were prominent. Under the former, a “grace and favour” attitude to service provision existed. The limited services children with special needs received were provided by church and charitable organisations. However, even when the state accepted responsibility for providing for learners with special needs, the charity mentality continued to exist. ¹⁷

Under the medical discourse, disability was viewed as a personal tragedy and a problem that resided within the individual. Learners with special needs (usually excluding the gifted) were considered sick, incomplete or deviant and service provision focused on containment, care and treatment preferably in segregated settings (Cole & Chan, 1990; Neilson, 2000; Oliver, 1990). While the medical discourse has remained influential over the years, in the late 1960s seeds of doubt about the value of segregated service provision began to sprout and grow. This was mainly due to two influential catalysts. First, a growing body of research placed doubt on the effectiveness of segregated

¹⁶ SE2000 will be discussed in chapter three.

¹⁷ It is maintained by people with disabilities that the charity model remains a driving force behind much disability fundraising today. See, for example, Consensus Development Conference Group. (1993), *Self help and empowerment: People with disabilities challenging power, promoting change*, p. 7.

education. In particular, efficacy studies comparing the experience of students with special needs in various educational settings showed that, in general, special class placement did not benefit and sometimes even hampered academic achievement. Longitudinal studies also showed negative self-concept development resulting from segregated placement (Emanuelsson, 1994; Lipsky & Gartner, 1989).

Second, the birth and development of the Normalisation Movement brought to worldwide attention human rights, equity and social justice issues associated with segregation. This movement was based on the belief that not only did people with disabilities develop best if the conditions for their education and living were as close to normal as possible but they also had the legal and human right to such conditions (Bank-Mikkelsen cited in Biklen, 1985; Nirje, 1985; Panckhurst, Panckhurst & Elkins, 1987; Wolfensberger, 1972, 1995). With Normalisation, the emphasis in special education shifted from learners' "needs" to learners' "rights." This shift in values was influenced and reinforced by other social justice movements such as the Civil Rights Movement in the United States; increasing empowerment of women and the working class; and the abolition of apartheid in South Africa (Moore et al., 1999, p. 8).

From a belief in segregation as the best means of providing for learners with special needs, special education moved to embrace the Inclusion Movement and its philosophy that all people should be valued and included regardless of their religion, colour, ability, gender, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, culture or looks (Ballard, 1990b, 1991, 1992, 1999a, 1999b; Barton, 1997; Forest & Pearpoint, 1992, 1998; Stainback, Stainback, & Forest, 1989). However, it should be noted that although educational inclusion has international support as evidenced in documents such as the Salamanca Declaration (UNESCO, 1994) and the Manchester Declaration (ISEC, 2000), this support is not unanimous amongst those with special needs. For example, many people in the Deaf community have argued for segregated facilities on the grounds that their deaf culture is best supported and maintained in these facilities.

A further major theoretical shift in special education is the movement from the medical/psychological/biological models of service provision towards socio-political, socio-cultural and ecological approaches. Medical/psychological/biological models are

influenced by, “biological concepts from pathological medicine and statistical concepts of deviance from psychology” (Ballard, 1991, p. 4). They emphasise diagnostic testing and prescriptive teaching approaches to identify, ameliorate or cure internally located special needs. The socio-political model, however, views disability as being created by specific social and historical contexts. Interventions focus on identifying and removing “external” barriers to learning and achievement (Ainscow, 1999; Allan, 1999; Ballard, 1990b, 1991, 1992, 1999a, 1999b; Biklen, 1985; Mittler, 2000; Oliver, 1990).

Socio-cultural and ecological approaches also focus on external influences. These models are broadly based on the belief that a person’s learning and behaviour are determined by their interaction with the environment. As this interaction is a two-way process, interventions take into account both an individual’s understanding of and adaptation to the environment and the influence of environmental forces on the individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Cole & Chan, 1990; Kirk & Gallagher, 1989).

While there has been a movement away from medical/psychological/biological approaches in special education towards socio-political, socio-cultural and ecological models, this paradigm shift is not complete. These competing approaches continue to operate concurrently in the 21st Century:

As Meyen (1995) puts it, special education is currently “between stories” : that is, between the time honoured beliefs and assumptions about individual deficit (the functional limitations paradigm), and the emerging inclusive ecological paradigm (Moore et al, 1999, p. 10).¹⁸

Māori Education

Māori education has also been characterised by theoretical and value shifts. For years it was dominated by the goals of religious and cultural assimilation. These goals were based on a Eurocentric belief of cultural superiority and were fuelled by theories of deficit and cultural deprivation as graphically illustrated in Carlton’s previously quoted

¹⁸ See Moore et al. (1999) and Mitchell, D. (2001) for a discussion of paradigm shifts affecting special education in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

speech to Parliament.¹⁹ It was believed that Māori children were being disadvantaged by their culture, language and lifestyle. Education's answer was to ignore these and introduce programmes that would compensate for the disadvantages suffered.

However, as time passed the "blame the victim" mentality and cultural deficit and deprivation theories were gradually replaced by concepts of "cultural difference" and "cultural diversity." According to these latter day theories, culture should be accommodated and celebrated not ignored, denied or compensated for. There are many factors which have contributed to this change in thinking. Worldwide research and the Hunn (1961) and Currie (1962) Reports left little doubt that compensatory programmes were not achieving their aims. In both Aotearoa/New Zealand and overseas the gap between "disadvantaged" groups and the majority was not being closed. Also there was a growing "conscientisation" amongst the Māori community.

Māori Leadership Conferences, Māori University Students Hui, Māori Education Advisory Committees, Māori Teachers' Hui and the rebirth of Māori activist groups initiated a process of consciousness raising which moved the community from a stage of self-blame and self-denial into an era of political, structural or system analysis. (Smith, L.T., 1985, p. 4)

The microscope was moved from Māori students and the Māori community to focus on the "'system' and its structures such as, knowledge, curriculum, pedagogy, teachers, administration, the 'hidden curriculum' and so on" (Smith G., 1991b, p. 19) as possible causes of Māori failure. The Waitangi Tribunal in their examination of a Tāngata Whenua claim that education was discriminating against the Māori language, concluded, "We think the system is at fault and has been at fault for many years" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 43).

Efforts were made to "fix the system" by introducing cultural and reo content into the curriculum and establishing bilingual and total immersion programmes in some mainstream schools. Despite these efforts, Māori failure in education continued. The

¹⁹ See page 24 and 25.

disillusionment with the education system's ability to provide adequately for Māori learners was encapsulated in a resolution passed at the 1984 Māori Education Development conference:

This conference declares that the existing system of education is failing the Māori people and modification has not helped the situation, nor will it. Therefore we urge Māori withdrawal and the establishment of alternative schooling modeled on the principles underlying Kōhanga Reo. (Walker, R., 1984, p. 5)

Many Māori took up this challenge and the 1980s and 1990s were marked by a move away from biculturalism and an embracing of the concepts of kaupapa Māori and tino rangatiratanga as a means of improving the educational, social, economic and political situation of Māori (Smith, G. H., 1991b). This has been supported by a worldwide indigenous rights movement and by developments in first and second language learning theories and bilingual and multilingual research.²⁰ Ironically, the consequent growth in kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, wharekura and whare wānanga has introduced a parallel system similar in ethnic composition to the bygone native schools but vastly different in philosophy and practice.²¹

It can be argued that education in Aotearoa/New Zealand is currently moving towards cultural pluralism. Pluralism as defined by Macionis (2000) is:

A state in which people of all races and ethnicities, while distinct, have social parity. In other words, people who differ in appearance or social heritage all share resources more or less equally. (p. 253)

It is an approach that supports tino rangatiratanga and the establishment of alternative educational provisions such as kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori. However, as the

²⁰ See for example, Baker (1985, 1988); Benton, (1977, 1989); Cummins, (1986, 1989, 1993); Fantini, (1991); Fishman, (1991); Hirsh, (1987); Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, (1988); and Spolsky, (1989).

²¹ It is also interesting to note the same rationale for the establishment of separate total immersion facilities and for the maintenance of separate facilities for children and youth who are deaf.

economic, social, health, educational and employment statistics for Māori indicate²², we are still some considerable distance from achieving pluralism as Macionis describes it.

SUMMARY

Evidence suggests that in traditional times Māori children and youth with special needs were fully accepted, integrated and useful members of the community. They were cared for and taught alongside their peers by parents, whānau and kaumātua. With the coming of the Pākehā, while some of these children may have been deemed "ineducable" and remained at home, many entered formal education. They were taught in three different systems: Segregated special schools or classes, native schools or mainstreamed in regular classrooms. Various national education reports over the years indicate that no matter which system they were educated in, Māori learners with special needs have been inadequately provided for.

Theoretical, social, political and economic influences have shaped the nature and extent of special education provision for Māori learners with special needs. The following Charts provide a summary of these influences, the catalysts that have brought about changes in the 1816 – 1996 period and the many changes that have occurred.

²² See Te Puni Kokiri, 2000, 2001a, 2001b for these statistics.

MĀORI EDUCATION

Cultural Assimilation



Cultural Pluralism

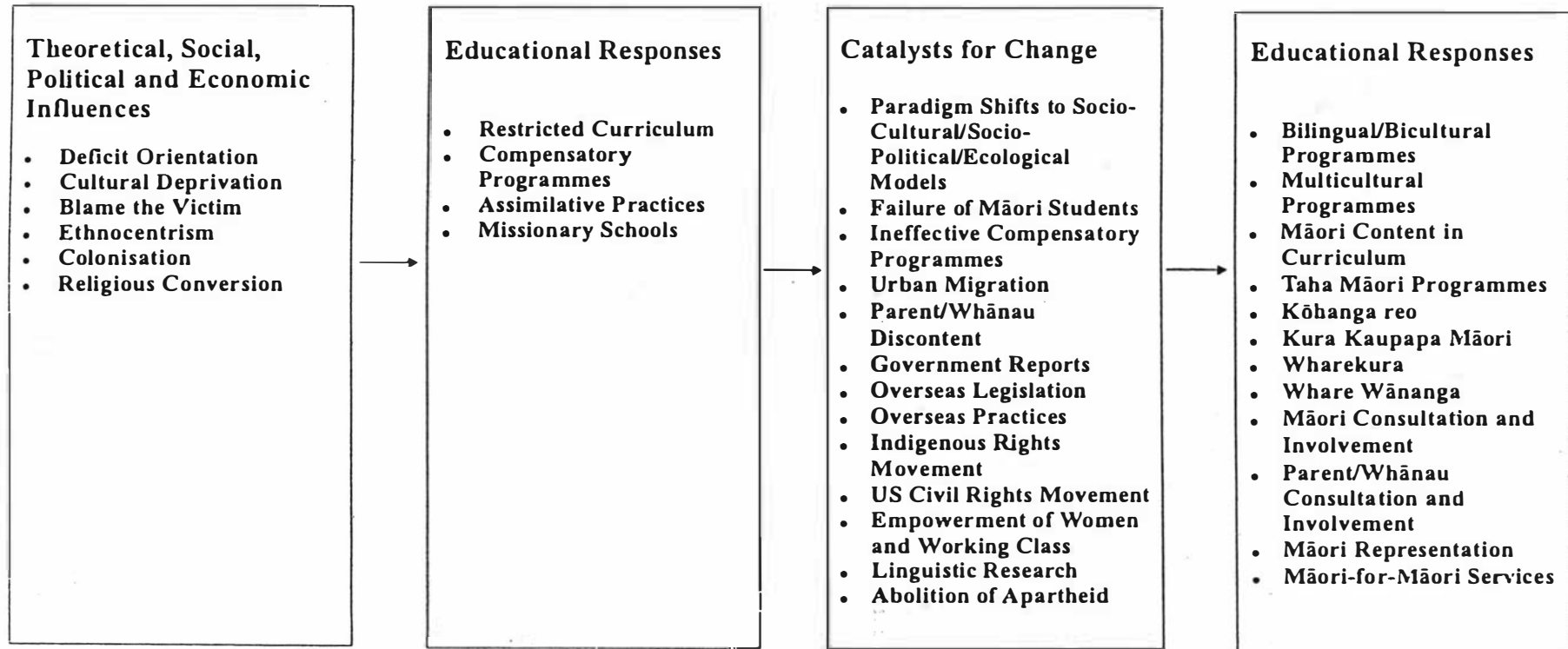


Figure 2.1 Māori Education: A History of Changes

SPECIAL EDUCATION

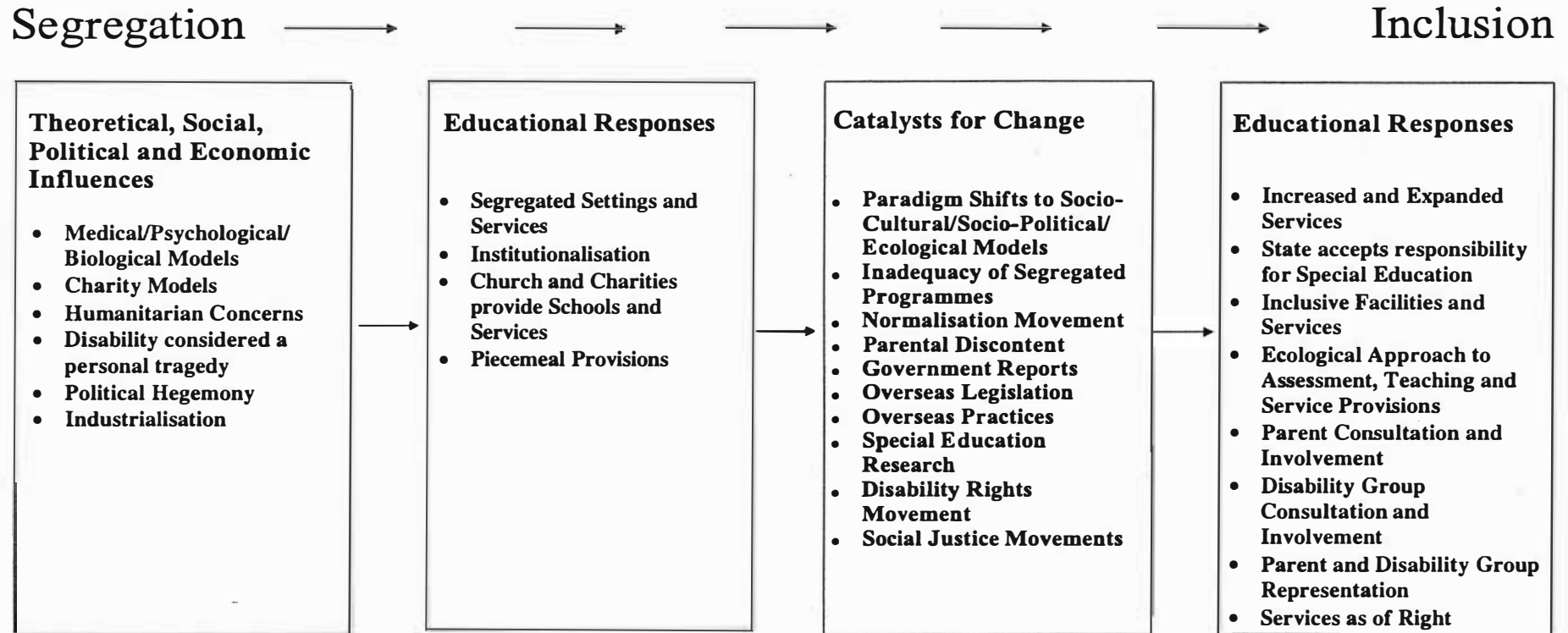


Figure 2.2 Special Education: A History of Changes

CHAPTER THREE: CURRENT POLICY, PROVISIONS, CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

Ka whakarerea te puha, ka whai ki te matariki.

The inferior reeds are thrown away, the superior ones are sought after.

INTRODUCTION

Nineteen ninety-six was a landmark year for special education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It saw the introduction of Special Education 2000 (SE2000), the country's first ever national policy on special education. The second half of the 1990s also saw the introduction of a "Closing the Gap"²³ campaign to reduce disparities between Māori and Pākehā. This chapter briefly outlines the "Closing the Gap" initiatives relating to education, describes provisions arising from SE2000 and discusses their effectiveness in meeting the needs of Māori learners with special needs. It draws on relevant literature and research to present a picture of existing challenges to the provision of culturally appropriate, effective programmes and services. The chapter also briefly describes a number of provisions developed specifically for Māori learners with special needs. These provisions together with SE2000 initiatives and relevant literature are analysed to identify predominant strategies and approaches currently being used to provide culturally appropriate, effective programmes and services.

CURRENT INITIATIVES IN MĀORI EDUCATION

In 1998 Te Puni Kokiri's Report entitled, *Progress Towards Closing the Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and Non-Māori: A Report to the Minister of Māori Affairs* revealed gaps for Maori across all areas of social, educational and economic development. Statistics showed that, proportionately, Māori had poorer health status, lower income levels, higher unemployment, higher rates of prosecution and fewer educational qualifications than non-Māori.²⁴

²³ This slogan has since lost political favour and has been renamed, "Reducing Disparities."

²⁴ The follow-up report (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000) shows that gaps in these key health, welfare and education indicators continue to exist.

In an effort to reduce the disparities between Māori and Pākehā, a multi-faceted closing the gap/reducing disparities campaign was introduced. It is spearheaded by an “economic development package” in the belief that “as the economic wellbeing of Māori improves, so then does the ability to adequately house and educate Māori” (Samuels, 2000, p. 2).

Education’s contribution to the closing the gap/reducing disparities campaign includes the Māori Education Strategy, introduced in 1999. The importance of this strategy is emphasised by the MoE (2002a):

Why is reducing disparities important? By 2040 the majority of New Zealand’s population will be non-European. Māori and Pasifika students make up an increasing percentage of the student population and will be the most significant group in the parent and working-age population of 2040. As a group, Māori and Pasifika students are not achieving nationally to the level of other students. All students enrolled in education need to achieve at a level that means they can be successful throughout life. It is essential for New Zealand’s future that underachieving students succeed at every level of education. Educators in New Zealand need to be concerned when any group is over-represented among low achievers. (para 18)

The Māori Education Strategy has two main goals.

The first is to make mainstream schools more accountable and responsive to the needs of Māori students and parents. The second is to build the capability and quality of Māori-medium education by supporting and strengthening the kura kaupapa movement and providing for greater Māori involvement and authority in education. (Velde, 1999b, p. 1)

A variety of approaches are being utilised within this strategy. They include changes to the NEGs (National Education Guidelines)²⁵; professional development relating to NEG changes and strategies to lift Māori achievement; liaison support for schools to link them with Māori parents;²⁶ new guidelines to help schools develop positive relationships with the Māori community;²⁷ parent communication campaigns;²⁸ the introduction of new kura kaupapa Māori establishment processes; and the provision of more support and authority to these schools.

The Māori Education Strategy also has links to other Ministry campaigns aimed at reducing disparities. These include the “Māori Language Education Plan, Literacy and Numeracy Strategy, Regulation Review, Strengthening Families, [and] Māori boarding schools project” (Velde, 1999b, p. 4). Further measures to improve Māori achievement in education are various Ministry-supported Iwi Education Initiatives and generous TeachNZ scholarships which provide financial assistance to Māori teacher trainees in mainstream and total immersion education. While aimed at Māori learners in general, these measures will also benefit Māori learners with special needs.

²⁵ The most notable being changes to the National Administration Guidelines (NAGs) that increase schools' accountability for Māori and students with special needs.

²⁶ This includes the establishment of 23 pouwhakataki positions throughout the country. The job of these new community liaison officers is to provide a bridge between the education sector and the local community.

²⁷ See MoE. (2000b) *Better relationships for better learning. Guidelines for Boards of Trustees and schools on engaging with Māori parents, whānau and communities.*

²⁸ This includes Te Mana ki te Taumata media campaign to increase expectations of educational success and achievement for Māori; sponsored Māori career expos; an 0800 information line; and regular Whakaaro Mātauranga newsletters.

SPECIAL EDUCATION 2000 - PROVISIONS²⁹

In May 1996 a substantial increase in special education funding was announced in the annual Budget and in July, the Special Education 2000 Strategy was launched. Its declared aim is, “to achieve, over the next decade, a world class inclusive education system that provides learning opportunities of equal quality to all students” (MoE, 1996b). SE2000 is based on the Special Education Policy Guidelines developed in 1995.³⁰ Principle six of these guidelines states that:

A learner’s language and culture comprise a vital context for learning and development and must be taken into consideration in planning programmes.

This principle will be visible when:

- 6.1 special education is responsive to the needs and preferences of the tāngata whenua;
- 6.2 the special education needs of learners from different ethnic groups are met in culturally appropriate ways;
- 6.3 the special education needs of learners are met in ways which reflect any culture or identity associated with their disability group;
- 6.4 appropriately skilled staff are appointed. (MoE, 1995, p. 4)

Other Guideline principles call for culturally appropriate assessment practices, specialist support and advisory services to be made available to whānau, the IEP³¹

²⁹ Unless otherwise stated the information about SE2000 provisions has been derived from six years of work-related experience. I have attended meetings, conferences, read many official MoE releases, newspaper and other articles concerning SE2000 and discussed provisions with many teachers, professionals and colleagues involved in special education. In reporting this information it is often difficult to isolate exactly where it came from, for example, where did I first learn that there were 50 dedicated Māori RTLBs? Was it at the SE2000 Research Conference in February 1999, in a *Special Education Update* or was I told by a colleague? In preparing this section I have revisited all *MoE Special Education Updates* and the Davies & Prangnell (1999) article, *Special Education 2000 - A National Framework* to check that my understanding of SE2000 provisions is accurate.

³⁰ These Guidelines were revised in 1999. No noteworthy changes were made to content specific to Maori learners with special needs.

³¹ IEP = Individual Education Plan, also known as IP = Individual Plan and in the early childhood area – IDP = Individual Development Plan.

process to occur within the context of the whānau and the curriculum to include the educational needs, experiences, interests and values of all students.

Special Education Grant

SE2000 is, therefore, based on sound principles that augur well for Māori learners with special needs. The first phase of SE2000 introduced the Special Education Grant (SEG) into all state and integrated schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This grant is provided directly to schools to support learners with moderate special education needs. The amount a school receives is calculated according to a formula based on the school's roll number and its decile ranking. The latter reflects the socio-economic status of the school's community. Schools in lower socio-economic areas receive more money per capita than schools in higher socio-economic areas. This funding formula is of potential benefit to Māori learners given that they are over-represented in schools with low decile rankings.³² The SEG fund is also potentially beneficial to Māori students in that the school and its community have direct responsibility for deciding how this money is spent to benefit learners with moderate special education needs. Such flexibility allows for the specific needs of Māori learners with special needs to be met.

Ongoing and Reviewable Resourcing Schemes

The second phase of the implementation of SE2000 policy focused on learners with high and very high needs. This saw the introduction of the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme (ORS)³³, the Severe Behaviour Initiative (SBI) and the Speech-Language Initiative (SLI). ORRS provides funding targeted to individual learners whose degree of special need is such that it is expected to continue throughout their school years. Eligibility for this funding is determined by a panel of verifiers. In addition to the ongoing individual funding allocation, the learner's school receives the equivalent of .1 and .2 full time teacher time depending on the student's degree of need. In the ORRS application form teachers are asked to identify the student's ethnic origin and to comment on their ability

³² In 2000 44% of Māori enrolments were in schools categorised in the lowest two deciles (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001b)

³³ Since renamed as OTRS – Ongoing and Transitional Resourcing Schemes and, most recently, ORRS – Ongoing and Reviewable Resourcing Schemes.

in te reo. This is the only specific acknowledgement of Māori related to the ORRS initiative.

The Severe Behaviour Initiative

The Severe Behaviour Initiative is for students who have high or very high behaviour needs. It consists of Centres for Extra Support and Behaviour Education Support Teams (BEST)³⁴ run by the Specialist Education Service (SES).³⁵ SES staff assist schools to manage crisis situations, help teachers to develop intervention strategies and systems, help students to reduce their inappropriate behaviour and involve parents and caregivers in behavioural management strategies. SES personnel involved in SBI have been provided with training in behaviour management techniques. Issues relating to Māori learners with special needs were presented and debated in the establishment and development of SBI procedures and related training (Te Reina Leonard, personal communication, November, 1999).

The Speech-Language Initiative

The Speech-Language Initiative is also managed by the SES. It has two components: First, speech-language therapy targeted primarily to students with significant speech-language difficulties in their first three years of schooling; second, a national training programme for teachers of students in Years 1 –3 who have moderate to high speech-language difficulties. This training is targeted to teachers in low decile schools. Also provided in this initiative is a training and resource package entitled *Kawea te Rongo*, (Berryman et al., 2000). This was specifically designed to help teachers in Māori-medium and bilingual junior classrooms to screen pupils and develop their language and communication skills.

³⁴ Recently renamed BST – Behaviour Support Team.

³⁵ As of February 28, 2002, SES will integrate with the Ministry of Education. While this change will alter accountability and certain service delivery structures and provide “efficiencies and a closer link between policy and practice,” it will essentially be “business as usual”. (Sally Jackson, personal communication at the ASD Advisory Reference Group meeting, 20 June, 2001).

Resource Teachers: Learning and Behaviour

A third phase in the implementation of SE2000 involved the introduction of Resource Teachers: Learning and Behaviour (RTLb). The role of this new class of special education teacher is to work with learners with moderate learning and behaviour needs and their teachers. RTLbs work across a cluster of schools in a given geographic area. There is also one cluster consisting solely of kura kaupapa Māori. The number of RTLb positions allocated is determined by roll number and decile ranking. Of the 730 RTLb positions nation-wide, 50 are dedicated to working with Māori learners with special needs. The two-year training for RTLbs contains a substantial, compulsory Māori component (Glynn & Macfarlane, 1999).

The Early Childhood Initiative

The Early Childhood Initiative is the responsibility of SES and other credited early intervention providers. It includes a range of services often delivered by multidisciplinary teams including early intervention teachers, kaitakawaenga, education support workers, speech-language therapists, psychologists, occupational therapists, physiotherapists or other professionals dependent on the specific need of the young child being serviced. SE2000 has increased the funding to allow a greater number of pre-school children to be serviced. It has also provided resources and professional development to early childhood teachers. These resources and training include some Māori-relevant information.³⁶

Sensory Impairment, Physical Disability and High Health Needs Initiatives

Provisions for children and youth with sensory impairment, physical disability and high health needs whose needs are not covered by other SE2000 initiatives have been introduced in a transitional and piecemeal fashion over the implementation period. They have included national contracts to provide for learners with hearing, vision and physical impairment; the establishment of national Deaf Education and Visual Impairment Agencies to provide advice and co-ordination for deaf and vision impairment education and services; the establishment of three regional hospital schools

³⁶ See, for example, Chapter 5 “Māori Perspective/ Tirohanga Māori” in MoE. (2000c) *Including everyone: Meeting special education needs in early childhood. Te Reo Tataki*. Wellington: Author.

with satellite class teachers located in various hospitals throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand; the introduction of a School High Health Needs Fund (SHHNF) to provide teacher aide care and supervision to enable students with high health needs to attend school safely and the provision of assistive equipment via the SES (Davies & Prangnell, 1999; Massey University, 2001; MoE, 2002b).

Professional Development

Professional development and information packages have been provided to support the implementation of the various SE2000 initiatives. In 1998 a special education module with supporting video was developed as part of the training package for new Boards of Trustees (Davies & Prangnell, 1999). Also all schools were given the opportunity to participate in professional development delivered by 11 contract providers throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. These professional development programmes included an optional module on working with Māori learners with special needs. In June 2000 professional development contracts were extended until the end of 2001 with the proviso that rural, low decile and kura kaupapa Māori were to be targeted (Massey University, 2001).

SPECIAL EDUCATION 2000 - EFFECTIVENESS AND CHALLENGES

Are Māori learners with special needs having their needs met in a culturally appropriate, effective way under SE2000? This question has been addressed by a number of research and evaluation studies over the past five years. Findings have been both positive and negative.

The Good News

On the positive side, in a 1998 evaluation of early intervention services for Māori learners with special needs, Cullen and Bevan-Brown (1999) found that the large majority of Māori children with special needs who were attending early childhood centres were being fully integrated into these centres and that there was widespread awareness of the necessity for culturally appropriate, relevant services amongst teachers and special educators. Wilkie (1999) found support for the principle of equity of access underlying SE2000 policy and for funding changes that allowed longer term planning for Māori learners with high and very high needs. The establishment of RTLB positions

and the flexibility and school control of SEG funding were also viewed as changes beneficial to Māori (Wilkie, 1999).

In research investigating the Speech-Language Initiative (SES & ACNielsen, 1999a) and Early Intervention Services (SES & ACNielsen, 1999b), Māori and Pacific Island children were found to be more likely to receive hearing impaired services and the services of Education Support Workers (ESWs) than children from other ethnicities, and, “the generally held view that Māori access to SES services is limited” was not supported (SES & ACNielsen, 1999a, p. 14).³⁷

In the evaluation of the Waikato behavioural prototype, the kura kaupapa Māori cluster reported being regularly consulted by MoE and SES staff. They supported the policy aim of maintaining students in their school and home environment wherever possible and the practice of grouping total immersion schools in the same cluster was praised by research informants in general. “This is seen by stakeholders as culturally appropriate in having the cluster managed by Māori for Māori, thus taking into account the specific needs KKM [kura kaupapa Māori] schools have” (Duckworth & ACNielsen, 1999, p. 4).

The RTLB training programme was also viewed positively. Glynn and Macfarlane (1999) reported wide Māori consultation and involvement in the development and delivery of the programme, which contains considerable and important Māori content. They reported benefits to Māori teachers, kaiāwhina and other Māori support personnel, Māori students, whānau and the RTLBs involved.

The content and delivery of Māori components of the course have increased the understanding and respect of RTLBs for Māori language, culture and its place in Aotearoa One of the strong positive features has been the high esteem in which the 56 RTLBs have held Mana Māori. Another has been the great importance they have attached to understanding cultural issues impacting on the

³⁷ This research also notes that, “gaps in ethnicity details on questionnaires mean that ethnicity related findings must be interpreted with caution” (SES & ACNielsen, 1999a, p.14).

learning and behavioural difficulties experienced by Māori students. They are committed to the principle of “making culture count” (Glynn & Macfarlane, 1999, p. 6 - 7).

Massey University (2001) reported that the SEG and RTLBI Initiatives were “working reasonably well for Māori students” (p. 170) and that strategies considered to be effective with Māori students were increasing in usage. Research studies conducted by Wilkie (2001) and Berryman et al. (2002) identified sixteen successful case studies of specific SES services and of individual Māori children with a variety of special needs. These case studies provided examples of the effective use of SE2000 resources and programmes. They also showed supportive, culturally sensitive service providers (both Pākehā and Māori) working in collaborative partnerships with parents and whānau and using culturally appropriate intervention and problem solving strategies.

The Bad News

However, research over the past five years has also reported many negative findings. In their Early Intervention study, Cullen and Bevan-Brown (1999) reported a general shortage of culturally appropriate special education services and resources; a lack of services in te reo Māori; a dearth of special education professionals with Māori cultural and reo knowledge; and relatively few Māori personnel in special education positions. These problems were particularly prominent in the area of speech-language therapy. Other findings included a lack of special education expertise amongst kōhanga reo teachers; a low number of special education referrals from kōhanga reo; no acknowledgement of and provision for Māori perceptions of special needs; a lack of communication between special education professionals, teachers and parents of Māori learners with special needs; a shortage of information about SE2000 in te reo Māori and limited understanding of SE2000 initiatives amongst kōhanga reo staff and whānau (Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999).

Wilkie (1999) also found a lack of services and resources in te reo and a shortage of special education professionals with cultural and reo knowledge. She reported little evidence of consultation with Māori and consideration of the Treaty of Waitangi in the development of the SE2000 policy; a lack of Māori control of special education

funding; culturally inappropriate information and dissemination of SE2000 information; no accommodation of whānau in service provision; and culturally inappropriate assessment procedures for ORS funding (Wilkie, 1999).

Other research and evaluation studies revealed concerns about: The lack of suitable RTLB and BEST applicants to work with Māori learners with special needs in total immersion situations and the culturally inappropriate practice of removing students with severe behavioural difficulties from their peers and whānau to Centres of Extra Support (Duckworth & ACNielsen, 1999); the disproportionate referral of Māori students to BEST (Fisher, 1999); the lack of culturally appropriate speech-language assessment measures in te reo and the poor performance of Māori children in speech and language screening tests in comparison to their Pākehā peers (Schwarz & Gillon, 1999). This latter study found that Māori children had particular weaknesses, “on all spoken language tasks considered critical for early literacy development” (ibid., p. 23).

While Māori children were over-represented amongst those with high communication needs, severe language delays and articulation difficulties, they were under-represented amongst children referred to SES early childhood services. Delayed identification of speech-language difficulties was evident and early childhood services delivered to Māori children were perceived to be less effective than services delivered to other children (SES & ACNielsen, 1999a, 1999b).

A perusal of the large amount of official documentation pertaining to SE2000 in the first two years of its implementation reveals minimal reference to Māori learners. In fact, acknowledgement of Māori was limited to one explanatory SE2000 brochure translated into Māori³⁸ and three cursory references to Māori needs. In 1998, “a three-year project to identify special education issues of concern to Māori and ways of investigating these through collaborative research led by Māori” (MoE, 1998, SE2000 Update) was announced. This project did not eventuate. However the Ministry did

³⁸ MoE. (1998b, April). He whakatutuki i ngā hiahia tangā o to tamaiti ki te mātauranga whakahirahira.

Wellington: Author.

contract NZCER to study Māori perspectives of Special Education 2000. The time frame for this research was six weeks (Wilkie, 1999).

Given the limited mention of Māori issues in SE2000 documentation and the contrasting abundance of negative findings emerging from research conducted in 1998, it is not surprising that one of the key challenges facing special education in Aotearoa/New Zealand identified at the Special Education 2000 Conference (Feb, 1999) was “the need to ensure Māori children with special needs receive the benefits of Special Education 2000 Policy ” (Velde, 1999a, p. 14). Advocacy for Māori families and “improved consultation and communication with Māori to make the policy framework less monocultural and easier to access” (MoE, 1999a, p.2) were cited as areas of particular concern.

Since 1999 special education services for Māori learners with special needs have been extensively monitored and evaluated in three research studies. The first study was a cultural audit conducted by SES to assess the appropriateness of their services to Māori learners with special needs (Peretini et al., 2000). This audit revealed a predominance of monocultural attitudes and practices, a lack of support of Māori service providers and a lack of accessibility to services for some Māori children with special needs.

The second research study was a four-month evaluation of Special Education 2000 provisions by NZCER researcher, Dr. Wylie. The NZCER Review of Special Education 2000 policy was commissioned by the Minister of Education. Dr Wylie found a “systemic lack of trained teachers and specialists with fluency in te reo Māori, and lack of resource materials in te reo Māori” (Wylie, 2000, p. 99). In respect to OTRS, the verification process was seen to be inequitable for many Māori learners. It was also more difficult to access and the success rate for OTRS applications was lower for kura kaupapa Māori and Māori students. Kura kaupapa Māori were cited as being amongst those schools experiencing the most difficulty providing for learners with moderate special needs. Even the RTLB initiative was found wanting:

Though Māori students are over-represented on RTLB and BEST rolls few RTLBs are Māori. Only 6% of those training in 1999 were Māori Some of

these [RTLb] positions are intended to focus on kura kaupapa Māori and other Māori-medium schools. Since these schools are often not located near one another, the territory of some positions is probably unmanageable and creates tensions with time lost in travelling. Most [Māori] RTLbs working with English-medium clusters find themselves called in by colleagues to work with Māori students, over and above their own case-load. (ibid., p. 105)

As a result of these findings Dr. Wylie made a number of recommendations to improve provisions for Māori learners with special needs. However, despite the Terms of Reference for the Review specifically stating that, “There is a particular interest in improving support for Māori and Pacific Islands students with special education needs” (ibid., p. 21), the Cabinet Decisions for 2001 arising from the Wylie Report made no provision specifically for Māori learners with special needs (MoE, 2000c).³⁹

The third research is a three-year, national evaluation of SE2000 policy conducted by a research team from Massey University. The Massey University research, “SE2000: Monitoring and Evaluation of the Policy” is the most extensive study of services to Māori learners with special needs to date. The Phase One Final Report (Massey University, 1999) revealed that from a total of 446 to 476 schools that replied to survey questions about strategies used with Māori learners with special needs, 304 schools had never consulted or involved the Māori community, 289 had never employed a Māori teacher aid to work with Māori learners with special needs, 282 had never consulted or involved Māori special educational professionals, 222 had never used a Māori person to liaise with parents, 208 had not consulted or involved Māori staff, 185 had never included Māori content in the learner’s programme, 148 had never consulted with whānau and 89 had never used positive reinforcement and self esteem strategies with Māori learners with special needs.⁴⁰

³⁹ See MoE (2000d) *Special education update for schools and families* for outline of Cabinet decisions for 2001.

⁴⁰ However, as previously stated, the Phase Two Report shows there has been an increase in the use of these strategies in the one year period between surveys.

The Phase One Report also revealed that Māori students were disproportionately over-referred to residential special schools and all Special Education 2000 initiatives:

The highest representation was in the Severe Behaviour Initiative where they represented 37% of students receiving this service When respondents were asked to rate the importance of seven specified issues concerning education support for students with severe behaviour difficulties, “providing culturally appropriate services to Māori children” was considered the least important. (Massey University, 1999, p. 118)

Likewise, in the Speech-Language initiative, “similarity of ethnicity” was ranked the least important factor in service provision; “Providing culturally appropriate services to Māori children with special needs” was rated lowest in respect to RTLB effectiveness⁴¹ and kaitakawaenga were considered the least effective SES personnel. In the qualitative data, approximately 11% of the staff interviewed at 398 schools said they did not differentiate between Māori and Pākehā learners with special needs because they believed their needs to be the same.

The Professional Development strand of the research showed the smallest amount and the least effective training was being provided in the area of, “culturally appropriate provisions/services.” However, when teachers and teacher aides in 398 schools were asked what further training they would like to receive, not one request for professional development in the area of culturally appropriate service provision was made. This finding is supported by reports from professional development contractors. In a MoE meeting I attended in January 2000, professional development providers reported that relatively few schools chose the optional Māori module. Most schools either did not believe the module was relevant to them or it was given a low priority.

At the early childhood level, the Phase One Report raised many issues of concern relating to young Māori children with special needs in mainstream early childhood

⁴¹ It should be noted that data for the Phase One Report was collected from March to June, 1999. Training for the first group of RTLBs (350) began in February 1999. Therefore the opinions expressed relate to RTLBs who were either untrained or in the early stages of their training.

facilities. In respect to Māori-medium education it stated, “There is also little doubt that Special Education 2000 provisions are not catering adequately for Māori children with special needs in kōhanga reo” (Massey University, 1999, p. 3).

Similarly, a survey of kura kaupapa Māori conducted as part of the Massey University research (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999) revealed that Māori learners with special needs in kura kaupapa Māori were not being adequately provided for under SE2000. The survey showed that Māori learners with special needs were being disproportionately under-serviced in all SE2000 initiatives. They were missing out because there was an acute shortage of special education personnel with te reo and cultural knowledge; there was a lack of culturally and linguistically relevant resources and services; special education provisions did not take Māori perceptions of special needs into account; kura kaupapa staff had only limited knowledge of SE2000 initiatives and SEG funding did not take into account the extra resourcing demands of total immersion education. A number of kura believed that their decile ranking did not accurately reflect their low socio-economic status and consequently they were being disadvantaged with their SEG funding. Other kura considered they were receiving limited RTLB servicing because of being clustered with English-medium schools.

In 2000, mainstream schools were surveyed a second time. Findings reported for Māori learners with special needs in English-medium schools were very similar to those outlined for Phase One.

Research data confirm that meeting the specific needs of Māori learners with special needs remains an area of major concern The SBI in particular was experiencing little success with Māori students which is of major concern given the over-representation of Māori in this initiative. The services of speech-language therapists were regarded as much less effective for Māori learners than for non-Māori learners. As in 1999, the provision of culturally appropriate services for Māori learners remained a very low priority in schools and SE2000 initiatives. Very few schools had implemented any new programmes or provisions for Māori learners with special needs and only limited use of new

policies and initiatives involving Māori students was reported. (Massey University, 2001, p.2)

The Massey University Research Team's 2001 surveys of parents, service providers, early childhood centres and schools including 70% of kura kaupapa Māori, confirmed the findings reported for Phases One and Two of the SE2000 evaluation research. Unfortunately, although general findings have been mentioned in this thesis, for confidentiality reasons specific data and quotes from the third and final phase of this research project cannot be included. The Phase Three Report is expected to be released by the Ministry of Education in April, 2002.

SPECIFIC CHALLENGES

In the Massey University Research, 1168 schools and early childhood facilities in 1999 (including kura kaupapa Māori and kōhanga reo) and 956 in 2000 responded to questions about the challenges they faced in providing for Māori learners with special needs. The challenges identified for both years are summarised in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Challenges in Meeting the Needs of Māori Learners With Special Needs

CHALLENGES RELATED TO ENGLISH-MEDIUM EDUCATION
♦ Shortage of school staff with cultural and reo knowledge
♦ Shortage of Māori teachers and teacher aides
♦ Shortage of staff in general
♦ Shortage of culturally relevant, appropriate resources including resources in te reo
♦ Lack of Māori-relevant school policies and procedures
♦ Teachers lacking sp.ed. skills & knowledge of service & resource entitlements
♦ Absence of total immersion/bilingual unit
♦ Large numbers of Māori new entrants who lack preschool experience
♦ Shortage of preservice and inservice education relevant to working with MLWSN
♦ Shortage of Board of Trustee members with Māori-relevant knowledge
♦ Culturally inappropriate identification measures, processes and school programmes
♦ School programmes and services that ignore the learner's home background
♦ Difficulties providing for bilingual learners e.g. lack of reading recovery in Māori
♦ Lack of money for sp.ed. provisions e.g. teacher release, teacher aides, resources
♦ Transience, irregular attendance and truancy amongst Māori students
♦ Differing home-school standards & expectations in behaviour, discipline & dress
♦ Difficulties accommodating whānau involvement
♦ Difficulties providing for total immersion students entering mainstream schools
♦ Lack of community resources to support/run school programmes
♦ Poor school-home communication
♦ Low retention of Māori students in secondary schools
♦ Extra demands on Māori staff e.g. given Māori learners with behaviour problems
♦ Over-representation & high numbers overtax funding, resources & teacher time
♦ Inappropriate teacher expectations for MLWSN - both too high and too low
♦ Shortage of teaching time to incorporate cultural content
CHALLENGES RELATED TO MĀORI-MEDIUM EDUCATION
♦ Shortage and unavailability of services using te reo
♦ Shortage of special education professionals with Māori cultural and reo knowledge
♦ Lack of Māori-relevant, reo resources hinder sp. ed programmes & evaluation
♦ Shortage of culturally appropriate special needs services i.e. holistic services that involve whānau, incorporate their needs and Te Aho Matua philosophy
♦ Lack of professional development relevant to total immersion education
♦ Insufficient school funding for special education
♦ Lack of programmes & services that provide for Māori perspectives of special needs
♦ Lack of Māori-relevant assessment measures to identify children with special needs
♦ Inadequate servicing as a result of sharing RTLBs with English-medium schools
♦ Lack of Māori-friendly sp.ed. information relevant to total immersion education
♦ Ineffectual & inappropriate dissemination of special education information
♦ Teachers' lack of special education skills and knowledge of services available
♦ Financial hardship of parents/whānau
♦ Difficulty in accessing special needs services
♦ Lack of co-ordination of special needs services

♦ Lack of parental and whānau support and involvement
♦ Low parental expectations
♦ Poor home-school communication
♦ Irregular student attendance
CHALLENGES RELATED TO SPECIAL EDUCATION SERVICE PROVIDERS
♦ Ineffective information dissemination relating to all special education provisions
♦ Lack of services and resources in rural areas
♦ Shortage of special education professionals who are Māori
♦ Shortage of effective, readily available, well co-ordinated services and programmes
♦ Lack of special education programmes and services in te reo Māori
♦ Shortage of special education professionals with cultural and reo knowledge and knowledge specific to servicing Māori learners with special needs
♦ Unavailability of RTLBs, speech-language therapists, psychologists and other special education and health professionals
♦ Special education programmes that do not take home background into account
♦ Culturally inappropriate special education programmes and services.
CHALLENGES RELATED TO PARENT, WHĀNAU & SOCIO ECONOMIC FACTORS
♦ Limited language experiences provided for children
♦ Single parent families
♦ Poverty affecting children's access to special education assistance
♦ Financial hardship that adversely affects health & learning or limits parents' / whānau's ability to support their children's education e.g. lack of medicine or books
♦ Low or unrealistic educational expectations
♦ Lack of involvement, valuing and support of education
♦ Lack of knowledge in areas that affect children's development, e.g. parenting and budgeting skills and accessing services

An analysis of the information from which the preceding chart was compiled reveals two interesting points. First, while the challenges above were specifically listed and rated as factors limiting teachers' ability to provide for Māori learners with special needs, a discourse analysis of interview data revealed a second level of "unstated" challenges. These were: negative and stereotypical attitudes towards Māori children, their parents and families; a reluctance to provide culturally appropriate programmes if the number of Māori children was small; low teacher expectations of Māori children; a preference not to distinguish between Māori and Pākehā students either because it was believed there were no differences and their needs were exactly the same or because distinguishing on the basis of ethnicity was considered discriminatory; a belief that inclusion of cultural content was unimportant, irrelevant or not the responsibility of

English-medium schools; and blaming parents for their children's special needs (Massey University, 1999, 2001).

The second point of interest emerged in a comparison of the relative severity weighting given to various challenges by teachers in English-medium and Māori-medium education. When asked to rank a specified selection of challenges, teachers from English-medium schools gave top billing to parent and whānau factors such as financial hardship of parents and whānau, low parental expectations and lack of parental support and involvement. School-related factors such as the shortage of Māori-relevant resources and culturally appropriate programmes and services received bottom billing. For teachers in Māori-medium schools, the order of ranking was reversed.

Widening the Focus

As previous discussion in this chapter demonstrates, challenges identified by the Massey University Research Team and summarised in Table 3.1 have been found in other research studies evaluating SE2000 provisions (for example, Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Duckworth & ACNielsen, 1999; Fisher, 1999; Peretini et al., 2000; Schwarz & Gillon, 1999; SES & ACNielsen, 1999a, 1999b; Wilkie, 1999, 2001; Wylie, 2000). Research studies prior to the introduction of SE2000 cited similar problems. They also identified some additional barriers to providing effectively for Māori learners with special needs. These were the inaccessibility and inappropriateness of many associated medical services and the exponential nature of their influence. *The Whakarongo Mai. Māori Hearing Impairment* report (Durie et al., 1989) illustrates these problems. This research found disproportionately high levels of hearing impairment amongst Māori. A significant percentage of this hearing impairment was caused by otitis media. If this condition is detected and treated early, the resultant hearing impairment can be prevented. However, if it is not:

Hearing disability increases in proportion to the length of time before medical measures are introduced Children with temporary or permanent hearing loss are more likely to have learning difficulties, lower levels of scholastic attainment and behavioural problems (Durie et al., 1989, p. 44-45).

The Whakarongo mai research showed that a combination of socio-economic and cultural factors impeded early detection and treatment. These factors included the cost, inaccessibility and culturally inappropriate nature of medical services. It was also revealed that the regions having the highest number of hearing impaired Māori children in Aotearoa/New Zealand had the fewest Advisors on Deaf Children⁴² and a scarcity of special education resources.

Similar economic and cultural barriers to accessing services were cited in *He Mate Huango. Māori Asthma Review*. Pomare et al. (1991) found that Māori and non-Māori were not receiving equivalent access to health services. This was due to the cost of medical services, medication and travel to inconveniently located venues coupled with the culturally inappropriate nature of health care and the culturally insensitive attitudes of many people involved. A tendency of doctors not to prescribe preventative medicines for Māori children and the Māori experience of whakamā in relation to seeking help were additional barriers reported. Although the prevalence of asthma amongst Māori is similar to that of Pākehā children, the greater severity of this condition was believed to be “due to inadequate access to appropriate health care and asthma medication” (ibid., p. 32).⁴³ Māori children were found to be losing more school time because of the severity of their asthma.⁴⁴ What began as a special physical need resulted in the development of an additional special educational need for many children.

The negative affect of whakamā in relation to accessing services was also mentioned by a participant in Bevan-Brown’s (1993) research:

⁴² This finding differs from the SES & ACNielsen (1999a) finding mentioned previously that Māori children were more likely to receive hearing impaired services than non-Māori. Possible explanations are an improvement in services to Māori in the 10 years between studies or the methodological/sampling glitch in the SES & ACNielsen study noted previously on page 50.

⁴³ This finding was found to be still valid in a recent study of asthma amongst Maori (Ellison-Loschmann, 2002).

⁴⁴ Hospitalisation rates for asthma have declined for Māori since this report. However, in 1998 the Māori rate of asthma hospitalisation was still two and a half times higher than the non-Māori rate (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000, p. 43).

Māori people are quite shy. They tend to stand back unless someone who knows them can awhi (help) them, can come with them and take them and talk and explain to them that there are these things available to help their children to learn, but other than that they tend to stand back ... they get whakamā, they pull back and you suggest to them, “Hey, let’s go and see about getting something” and they say, “I don’t want to, those Pākehās might think I’m dumb.” It’s true you know, that’s exactly what happens. (p. 56)

SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS

Mackey (n.d.) and Wilkie (2001) also report Māori having difficulty accessing services. Their suggestions for improvement include: Relevant agencies to develop a Directory of available services and provide an “outreach” facility to advertise what is available and assist people to access help (Mackey, n.d.); information on support and resources to be made readily available from doctors and marae; services to link Māori whānau with others who have children with the same or similar special needs; and the provision of a special needs services section in all local telephone Directories (Wilkie, 2001). Other suggestions for overcoming inaccessibility arise from the Matau ki Ngā Ahuatanga o te Hunga Haua programme: Access to disability awareness training was facilitated by accepting koha of food for weekend hui in lieu of a registration fee and by delivering the programme in a variety of settings, ways and at times to suit participants (Butterworth, 1996).

In respect to the challenges mentioned in the Massey University SE2000 study, participants suggested and practiced a range of solutions. Kura kaupapa participants suggested that the number of people with expertise in both te reo and special education be increased by the establishment of a “year long course where teachers, released from kura kaupapa Māori, could develop their skills, knowledge and research in this area” (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999, p. 10). Other suggestions included the provision of school-based, fully funded, special education training for whānau and community members proficient in te reo to enable them to become teacher aides:

SES to recruit and train experienced, Māori-speaking teachers to specialise in service provision to kura kaupapa Māori; compulsory training in Māori

language, customs and Te Aho Matua for all SES workers; pay scales for SES workers that acknowledge Māori expertise and reduced workloads for people providing special educational services to kura kaupapa Māori.” (ibid., p. 10)

Peretini et al., (2000) also provided suggestions that focused on SES personnel. In order to improve services from Māori SES workers Peretini et al. believed these workers needed greater organisational support, training and career planning. They also needed to be able to operate within a Māori paradigm of service provision. Berryman et al. (2002) add that training should: Incorporate research-based findings concerning effective practice for Māori learners with special needs; allow Māori participants input into the training agenda, methods, outcomes and use; allow them to participate from within their own worldview; and include practical experience in the local community. The rationale behind this last suggestion is to provide SES staff with opportunities to build relationships with local iwi, hapū and whānau.

Informants from the Massey University research made suggestions for overcoming problems associated with the financial hardship of parents. Where socio-economic circumstances hindered children’s development, the provision of school-based funding to assist parents meet these needs was recommended as was the allocation of Māori language resources to homes where children’s special needs were related to the acquisition of te reo Māori. Some schools overcame their own lack of finance to employ extra teachers and teacher aides and to buy needed resources by obtaining funding from outside organisations such as the Ngāi Tahu Trust Board. One school used its SEG money to pay for a student’s eye test while others provided a range of programmes and services to develop positive home-school communication and support parents in helping their children with special needs.

Teachers reported making home visits, acting as advocates and supporting parents by attending out-of-school special needs meetings with them. School-based programmes were run that taught parents computer and budgeting skills and how to hear reading at home. (Massey University, 1999, p. 114)

Further suggestions for increasing parental involvement can be gleaned from McKinley's (2000) research into Māori parents and education. She found a greater degree of involvement in Māori-medium schools than in English-medium schools and noted that:

As the expectation of involvement increases so does communication flow between kura and home, the sense of support both ways and frequently the actual involvement of parents. Schools which accept the responsibility to encourage parents to become involved using good, clear, genuine communications are more likely to get those parents involved with school activities and communicating more with the school Informal contact was identified by teachers and principals ... as a key to making educators more approachable for Māori parents, and encouraging them to discuss their child's progress, academic as well as social. (p. xii)

A final method of increasing parental involvement was demonstrated in the Poutama Pounamu/Arataki School Research (1999). The research team found that Resource Teachers of Guidance and Learning were effective in facilitating increased contact between teachers, whānau and the Māori community. They were also successful in raising teachers' awareness of the importance of cultural factors and increasing whānau participation in the school.

PROGRAMMES AND SERVICES FOR MĀORI LEARNERS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

At a national level, the Specialist Education Service, New Zealand's main provider of advice, guidance, staff development and specialist support for learners with special needs, has introduced a number of laudable programmes aimed at meeting the specific needs of Māori learners with special needs. One of this organisation's guiding principles is for its services to be, "Culturally sensitive, consistent with Māori aspirations and committed to participation and success for Māori" (Kana & Harawira, 1995, p. 33). To achieve this, SES has developed a Services for Tāngata Whenua Policy which guides services to Māori clients. A three strand approach to service delivery offers "choices in services to tāngata whenua within the available resources"

(Wilson, R., 1996, p. 4). The first thread, *te miro pango* (the black thread), contains Whenu Māori Units which provide a range of services “for Māori by Māori.” Some of these services are delivered in *te reo* and all are based on Māori values. The second thread, *te miro whero* (the red thread), involves Māori and Pākehā working together for the benefit of Māori learners with special needs, for example, Māori and non-Māori staff collaborating to administer and interpret assessments. The third thread, *te miro ma* (the white thread), involves Pākehā working on their own with Māori children and whānau but only after initial guidance from Māori staff (Kana & Harawira, 1995).

SES also has a Māori research unit, Poutama Pounamu, which over the years has developed a range of programmes for Māori learners with special needs. These include:

- ◆ Hei Awhina Matua, a home and school behavioural programme (Glynn, Berryman, Atvars, Harawira, 1997; Glynn, Berryman, Atvars, et al., 1997; Glynn, Berryman, Bidois, et al., 1997);
- ◆ MIHI, a programme for Māori children who are hearing impaired (Kana & Harawira, 1995; Mohi & McCudden, 1994);
- ◆ Pause, Praise, Prompt and Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi, reading tutoring schemes for Māori children in English-medium and Māori-medium education (Atvars, Berryman, Glynn & Walker, 1995; Berryman, Bidois, Furlong, Atvars & Glynn, 1995; Glynn, 1994a, 1994b; Glynn, Atvars, Furlong & Teddy, 1993; Glynn et al., 1993; Glynn et al., 1996; Glynn, Berryman, Atvars & Harawira, 2000);
- ◆ Mauri Tau, a behavioural management programme designed “to assist kaiako and whānau to become more assertive, more positive, more confident and consistent” (Kana & Harawira, 1995, p. 403);
- ◆ Kia Puawai ai te Reo, a project to encourage and improve children’s writing in Māori (Glynn, Berryman, Atvars, et al., 1997);
- ◆ Kawea Te Rongo, a programme to assist teachers in junior bilingual and Māori-medium classes to screen and develop their pupils’ language and communication skills (Berryman, et al., 2000); and
- ◆ TATA, a programme to increase the Maori vocabulary of emergent readers in total immersion education (Poutama Pounamu presentation at an M.Ed (Psyc) hui, Awataha Marae, Auckland, March, 21st, 2002).

In addition to these programmes developed by the Poutama Pounamu research whānau, the SES has developed other initiatives focused specifically on meeting Māori needs. Four of these are:

- ♦ Matau ki Ngā Ahuatanga o te Hunga Haua, a Disabilities Awareness Training Programme (Butterworth, 1996);
- ♦ an SES training package to help kōhanga reo kaiako identify and teach children with special needs (Austin, 1992);
- ♦ He Whānau Piripono He Iwi Pakari/Building Blocks, a violence awareness and management programme for schools (Mackey, 1995): and
- ♦ its early childhood counterpart for kōhanga reo whānau entitled, “Building Blocks to Peaceful Communities” (Denise Williamson, SES, Personal Communication, July, 2001).

Also in existence are a range of Māori-relevant programmes and approaches developed by various disability organisations, schools and individuals. Examples are:

- ♦ The Whare Manaaki community residence for Māori adults with an intellectual disability (IHC, 1989; Te Roopu Manaaki i te Hunga Haua, 1988);
- ♦ the Hikairo Rationale, a behavioural management programme based on Māori values and utilising Māori metaphors (Macfarlane, 2000a, 2000b);
- ♦ the Ngaki Tamariki activity-based programme for “at risk” primary school children in Otago (MoE & TPK, 1997);
- ♦ the Tū Tangata programme (Puketapu, 1998) and Te Puawaitangi alternative learning centre (MoE & TPK, 1997), both programmes for “at risk” secondary school students; and
- ♦ the AIMHI project, a programme to raise the achievement of Māori and Pacific Island students in eight low decile secondary schools (Hill & Hawk, 2000).

CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE STRATEGIES

An analysis of the programmes and approaches outlined previously and of relevant literature reveals a number of strategies considered important and being utilised in the provision of services to Māori learners with special needs. These strategies are:

Consultation With and Involvement of Māori in General and Kaumātua, Parents and Whānau in Particular

Involvement of Māori in Service Provision

Extensive consultation and involvement is advocated in the literature and evidenced in programmes and services. This entails the involvement of Māori teachers, professionals and whānau at all levels and stages of service provision from initial identification and assessment through programme development and implementation to final evaluation. Māori involvement in service provision is considered important to provide role models for Māori students (Massey University, 1999, 2001, in press). Their inclusion is doubly beneficial. Not only do they help “to improve the cultural appropriateness of special education services in both Kura Kaupapa and mainstream settings” (Moore et al, 1999, p. 38) but many “Māori children work best with Māori adults because they can relate to them” (Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999, p. 63). An example of the latter is provided in the Pause, Praise and Prompt Reading Programme:

The cultural match between tutor and reader was a significant factor in the marked reading gains made by these readers. Being able to relate to their readers from within a cultural perspective enabled the tutors to establish family connections as well as assist with reading tutoring. This ensured that the readers were working from within a supportive and empowering context. (Glynn, Berryman & Atvars et al., 1997, p. 105)

The commitment to Māori involvement is evidenced in programmes and strategies specifically developed to increase Māori employment in special education, for example:

- ◆ The training of Māori asthma educators (Te Puni Kokiri, 1993) and community resource people to support and work with young people with disabilities within the whānau, hapū and iwi (Butterworth, 1996);
- ◆ the provision of SES scholarships to encourage Māori to train in special education-related professions (Berryman et al., 2002);
- ◆ the employment of Māori whānau or community members to act as Education Support Workers (ESWs) and teacher aides for Māori learners with special needs (Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Massey University, 1999, 2001, in press);
- ◆ the hiring of Māori community/social workers to liaise with parents especially where students have behaviour problems (Massey University, 1999, 2001); and

- ♦ the employment of Māori community members as Education Support Personnel (ESPs) in Tū Tangata Programmes throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand (Puketapu, 1998).

Involvement of Parents and Whānau

The involvement of Māori parents and whānau in special education is also considered vital (Berryman et al., 2002; Bevan-Brown, 1994; Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Fraser, 1995, 2000; Massey University 1999, 2001, in press; Potama Pounamu/Arataki School Research Team, 1999; Wilkie, 2001). A common feature of the successful sites of practice identified by Berryman et al., (2002) was the involvement of parents and whānau in a collaborative partnership with educational professionals both Pākehā and Māori. Wylie, Thompson and Lythe (1999) and McKinley (2000) noted that the relationship between parents and teachers influenced students' participation and success in school activities. Similarly, Fraser (1995) saw the participation of whānau as important in providing, "a variety of perspectives so that any actions that are agreed upon can be consistently carried out" (p. 98).

The wide-ranging nature of parental and whānau involvement in special education is exemplified in their inclusion in IEP meetings; in identifying problematic behaviour and settings for Hei Awhina Matua behaviour checklists (Glynn, Berryman, Atvars, Harawira, 1997); in setting the goals for the MIHI project and developing skills to help their children with hearing difficulties (Mohi & McCudden, 1994); in sharing experiences of parenting children with disabilities in the Matau ki Ngā Ahuatanga o te Hunga Haua programme (Butterworth, 1996); and in evaluating and developing their children's language and communicative ability in the Kawea Te Rongo Programme (Berryman et al., 2000).

Involvement of Kaumātua

The involvement of kaumātua is also wide-ranging and extensively advocated (Hemara, 2000; McKinley, 2000; Mitchell, M., 1997; Poutama Pounamu/Arataki School Research Team, 1999; Te Puni Kokiri, 1993). Kaumātua involvement is considered important, "not only for their mana and wisdom but also to create a multigenerational

workforce the children would feel ‘at home’ amongst” (Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999, p. 63). Examples of kaumātua involvement include the provision of feedback to children in the Kia Puawai ai te Reo writing project, giving advice to SES management as members of the Kaumātua Kaunihera and guidance in Poutama Pounamu research projects:

Our elders have been active participants throughout this research journey. They have given us authority, blessing and spiritual guidance. They have assisted us through their extensive community networks and through their continued attendance and support at all important occasions, including national and international presentations of our work. They have provided us with excellent role models of caring and guidance (tiaki) support and hospitality (manaaki) and service (aroha ki te tāngata). They have also been a continual source of energy which has helped us to all continue, especially in face of difficulties. (Glynn, Berryman, Atvars et al. 1997, p. 107)

A further successful example of kaumātua involvement is described by Fox (in Hirsh, 1990, p. 102-104). In a “Kaumātua Assistance Programme” students with disruptive behaviour were referred to kaumātua who provided counseling to both the students and parents. Home visits were made and, if it was thought necessary, students could be referred to the local marae. As a result of kaumātua input there were fewer school suspensions and less assistance was needed from outside social agencies.

Empowerment of Māori

Consultation with and involvement of Māori does not necessarily equate to empowerment. Consultation can be a token gesture where opinions are sought but ignored or only those that are uncontroversial, undemanding or coincide with the consulter’s views are taken cognisance of. Similarly, involvement is sometimes more akin to “using” people than “empowering” them. Empowerment means that a person’s opinions are valued and taken into account. They have a genuine input into decision-making.

The appeal for Māori empowerment in both general and special education has been consistent over the last 15 years (Adams et al., 2000; Berryman et al., 2002; Bishop &

Glynn, 1999b; Durie, M. H., 2001; Ellison, 1997; Flavell, 1996; Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; Gerzon, 1992; Hirsh, 1988; Irwin, 1988; Jefferies, 1993; Jenkins, 1994; Jenkins & Jones, 2000; Johnston, 1997; Smith, G.H., 1997; Spoonley, 1988; Waho, 1996; Walker, R. 1990). Its importance is well demonstrated in Hirsh's (1990) six-month study of the broad issues relating to Māori achievement in the education system. He reports:

The central theme which came up time and time again was the issue of empowerment. People wanted to see Māori having much more real say in decision making at the school level and at the planning level, in designing curriculum and resources, in managing research, in virtually every aspect of education so that it is no longer a matter of what is being done for Māori people by Pākehā alone, but by Māori for themselves.⁴⁵(p. 9)

Hirsh's call for empowerment of Māori in general education was foreshadowed in special education: In 1988 Timutimu-Thorpe advocated, "full participation of Māori at all levels of decision making" (p. 9); Te Roopu Manaaki i te Hunga Haua (1988) and Te Roopu Taurima o Manukau (1988) both appealed for empowerment in the relocation of Māori with intellectual disabilities from institutions into community homes; and participants in Bevan-Brown's (1989) research requested power sharing in equal partnerships and Māori control of special education related to Māori.

Many of the special education programmes outlined at the beginning of this section have empowerment as an aim. This is exemplified both in the processes used and the outcomes sought. An example is the Whānau Piripono He Iwi Pakari (Mackey, 1995) programme which aims to raise awareness of violence amongst adults and children and provide whānau members with strategies for dealing with it. These aims are achieved through programme processes such as, "asserting self development as a positive initiative, increasing Māori autonomy over key decision making and endorsing Māori preferred pedagogy" (ibid., p. 7). Similarly, the MIHI programme to teach whānau members strategies for assisting children who are hearing impaired utilises processes

⁴⁵ Underlining as in original.

that are in themselves empowering. This is exemplified in a discussion of the process used at evaluation meetings:

Although non-Māori attended these meeting, their participation was governed by the Māori control over the agenda and the processes. They needed to follow the protocols of Tainui and the instructions of the locals, to stand and contribute information or comment in response to questions or comments raised by Māori participants. They needed to present their information in a culturally appropriate manner, acknowledging the mana (prestige) of Tainui and offering a mihi (greeting) to those present. From their point of view this might have been restrictive or constraining. However, from the point of view of Māori present, their right to self-governance and indeed the mana of Tainui was being respected by this process. Non-Māori technical and professional advice and information was heard and acknowledged within its framework, and Māori were enskilled but on their own terms (Mohi, McCudden & Glynn cited in Kana & Harawira, 1995, p. 397).

Empowerment is also evidenced in funding and provision of services to Māori by Māori. This may be within-organisation provision such as the previously described Whenu Māori Unit in SES or it may be service provision by a separate Māori organisation. For example, the IHC in its Philosophy and Policy brochure (1996) refers to “assisting Māori, when it is their wish to take responsibility for developing services for their own people. This may lead to parallel development of services to iwi” (p. 8).

The Inclusion of Māori Values, Concepts, Beliefs, Language, Tikanga, Experiences, Skills and Knowledge

To be effective, programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs who identify with their culture must be culturally relevant, that is they must reflect, support and value learners’ beliefs and experiences. The call for the inclusion of Māori content, values and processes in programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs is a central theme in the literature and research. It applies to Māori learners with a variety of special needs and to people of all ages. For example, Māori content was considered important in programmes for people with intellectual disability (Bevan-

Brown, 1989, 1994), special abilities (Bevan-Brown, 1993) and behavioural problems (Macfarlane, 2000b). In respect to various age groups, Māori adults with disabilities made a submission to the Disability Strategy Reference Group requesting, “access to cultural programmes, for example kapahaka and te reo” (MoH, 2001b, p. 19); at school level, the inclusion of Māori content in special education programmes was ranked amongst the top five culturally appropriate and effective strategies in the evaluation of SE2000 policy and provisions (Massey University, 1999, 2001); and at early childhood level, the incorporation of Māori values, content and practices was identified as an essential requirement in research studies by SES and ACNielsen, (1999b) and Cullen and Bevan-Brown (1999).

Examples of the inclusion of cultural content and adherence to tikanga Māori in special education are broad and wide-ranging. They vary from Lifestyle Planning that incorporates appropriate Māori protocols (Price, 1991) to the use of Māori metaphors such as a manaia to facilitate on-task behaviour in the Hikairo Rationale (Macfarlane, 2000a, 2000b). They are present at the organisational level in Māori language lessons for SES staff (Kana & Harawira, 1995) and at the chalk face in the Kia Puawai ai te Reo programme where the accompanying resource video:

Makes connections between contemporary writing and the rich variety of Māori oral literature for example songs, (waiata), genealogy (whakapapa), chants (tauparapara), story telling (pakiwaitara). The video also makes connections between writing and other material forms of recording and transmitting important information, carving (whakairo) and weaving (tukutuku, raranga). It demonstrates how teachers can motivate children to write by increasing their knowledge and experience with the physical environment, drawing on both traditional and contemporary Māori stories and events. (Glynn, Berryman & Atvars et al., 1997, p. 106)

A key point was made by participants in Bevan-Brown’s (1989) study of intellectual disability. They believed that it was not enough just to include Māori content. It must also be taught with the right wairua by people who practiced the values they preached. The importance of Māori values is confirmed in research by Berryman et al., (2002).

The five sites of effective special education practice identified in their study all demonstrated a strong foundation of Māori cultural values and practices:

The cultural elements of: Ngā tūrangā takitahi me ngā mana whakahaere; Kanohi ki te kanohi; Wairuatanga; Whanaungatanga; Kōtahitanga; Manaakitanga; Mahi tahi; Mana tāngata; Ako; Wānanga; Aroha ki te tāngata and; Mana motuhake; were important aspects of the interventions at all five sites. Further it was the understanding of these cultural values and practices, and/or the sincerity and commitment by Pākehā to learn from and about them that made for effective collaborative work for Māori. (p. 155)

The Use of Teaching, Learning and Assessment Strategies, Environments and Contexts Deemed to Have Particular Relevance to Māori

The special and general education literature both emphasise the importance of using culturally appropriate teaching, learning and assessment strategies. The approaches advocated include instruction through demonstration, modeling and imitation; peer tutoring and peer assessment; whānau grouping and co-operative learning; tuakana-teina partnerships; teaching through stories, legends and practical hands-on experiences; the provision of informal learning environments, natural settings and materials; visual, active and holistic teaching approaches; memorisation and rote learning; consensus decision making and whakawhanaungatanga; reciprocal and intergenerational teaching and learning; the use of metaphor, allusion and surprise; incremental life-long learning; multi-level relationships between curricula and teaching practices; and mixed curricula (Glynn & Bishop, 1995; Hemara, 2000; Metge, 1984; Walters, Phillips, Oliver & Gilliland, 1993). It should be emphasised however, that the use of these strategies is not advocated in isolation but rather in association with content and contexts that are culturally appropriate, relevant and supportive.

Examples of the appropriate and effective use of these strategies can be found in many special education programmes. For example, in the Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi Reading Tutoring Scheme older children use an established tutoring procedure to help their younger partners develop reading skills and ability. The success of this tuakana-teina tutoring is demonstrated in an evaluation of the programme which revealed that both

tutors and tutees improved their reading level, rate and comprehension and lowered their incorrect rate. Cultural knowledge was gained and their reading level and comprehension of English texts also improved (Glynn, 1994b; Glynn, Berryman, Atvars et al., 1997).

Another example is the Mauri Tau programme which uses traditional Māori stories as a method of teaching and empowering people. “The stories continue to be relevant and provide some strategies on resolution of [contemporary] problems” (Kana & Harawira, 1995, p. 403).

A number of programmes demonstrate the importance of culturally appropriate and safe environments. For example the Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi tutoring scheme was first introduced at an SES hui held at Poho-o-Rawiri marae. Similarly, a marae was used as the venue for special education training provided to kōhanga reo kaiako (Austin, 1992). As one kaiako noted, “The marae is the proper place for these hui. Our tīpuna are here, they are here spiritually to support us and to give mana to the work we are doing” (p. 19). Te Whare Manaaki, the first kaupapa Māori community home for intellectually disabled Māori was located next to a marae to facilitate the residents’ involvement in Māori community life (IHC, 1989) and Te Kuhuna, a unit for adolescents with defined special needs, although officially attached to a mainstream school, is located in the grounds of a local marae (Kana & Harawira, 1995).

However, the point should be made that while the provision of a culturally appropriate environment is important, by itself it is not enough. This was clearly expressed to the Asthma Review Team (Pomare et al, 1991). After mentioning the marae-based services “imposed” by Pākehā Health Professionals, participants noted:

The resiting of health clinics on marae has been seen by many Pākehā health workers as a way to take service to the people. However, many Māori believe this is unsuccessful because frequently nothing has changed except the location.
(p. 13)

Home, centre or school-based services provided by itinerant teachers and specialists are another means of providing services in an appropriate environment and in context.

Hearing and vision testers, for example, conduct their assessments at kōhanga reo. This is made possible by a Māori-speaking person accompanying the testers when they visit kōhanga reo.

The Use of Whakawhanaungatanga, Networking and Co-operation Between Māori and Pākehā Organisations, Service Providers and the Māori Community

The importance and effectiveness of whakawhanaungatanga, networking and co-operation is repeatedly mentioned in the special education literature (for example, Berryman et al., 2002; Mackey, n.d.; Mitchell, M., 1997; Te Puni Kokiri, 1993; Wilkie, 2001). These strategies are utilised in many different programmes and services provided by disability, health and education organisations and also by wider-focused Māori organisations such as Rūnanga and the Māori Congress. Some examples of whakawhanaungatanga, networking and co-operation include:

- ♦ SES staff providing special education training to kaiako in the Taupo-Turangi area in return for kaiako and kaiāwhina assisting SES staff to develop tikanga Māori skills (Austin, 1992);
- ♦ the use of members of Māori organisations to act as “go-betweens” to establish positive reciprocal relationships between home and school (Massey University, 1999); and
- ♦ the use of volunteers from the Māori Women’s Welfare League as adult tutors in the Pause, Prompt and Praise reading programme (Glynn, 1994a).

The Disabilities Awareness Training Programme, Matau ki Ngā Ahuatanga o te Hunga Haua, provides a good example of successful consultation and networking. These strategies were used to identify needs, determine programme content, identify course participants and organise and run training sessions. Participants included kaumātua, parents and whānau of children with special needs and people from ten different health and disability organisations - five Māori and five Pākehā (Butterworth, 1996).

In conclusion it can be seen from the wide range of strategies and approaches described in this section that culturally appropriate services or programmes do not develop in a vacuum. They are not independent entities. One must look beyond the end product and also consider the processes by which programmes and services were developed, their

underlying philosophies, the attitudes they engender and the organisational structures and climate in which they evolved and are delivered. These are all vital components that contribute towards the cultural appropriateness of the final product.

EFFECTIVE STRATEGIES

While the previous section has concentrated on strategies and approaches believed to meet the cultural needs of Māori learners with special needs, an analysis of various research, programmes and services reveals that there are a number of other strategies and approaches that have no particular cultural significance but are considered equally important to successful service provision. The SE2000 evaluation illustrates this point: Two of the top five strategies for working with Māori learners with special needs were the use of: (1) small group and one-to-one teaching and (2) positive reinforcement and self esteem-building activities (Massey University, 1999, 2001).

Strategies and approaches that have proven effective with Māori learners with special needs include: Accurate, on-going assessment; well-planned, needs-based, interesting, relevant lessons and services pitched at the correct difficulty level and delivered by skilled, caring, committed teachers and special educators; remedial programmes that use strengths to remedy weaknesses and take the child's home background into account especially their socio-economic circumstances; individualised programmes that include achievable goals; lessons matched to children's learning styles; time taken to build rapport with the child; consultation with experts; whole school planning; the use of humour and positive, constructive, non-confrontational behaviour management strategies; the nurturing of positive, respectful teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil relationships; strategic classroom placement; well established, clearly explained procedures and rules; the provision of pastoral care and dual enrolment with the Correspondence School (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen and Bevan-Brown, 1999; Hill & Hawk, 2000; Massey University, 1999, 2001, in press; Macfarlane, 2000a). The general message given is that the same ingredients needed to provide quality special education for Pākehā are also needed for Māori learners with special needs. However, in addition to these ingredients, Māori learners should also have their cultural needs provided for by inclusion of the culturally appropriate strategies and approaches outlined in the previous section.

SUMMARY

Despite improvements brought about by the Māori Education Strategy, particular SE2000 initiatives and many individual programmes and services developed specifically for Māori learners with special needs, recent research (Wylie, 2000; Massey University 1999, 2001, in press) shows that these learners are still not being adequately provided for. A multitude of challenges to culturally appropriate, effective service provision exist. Predominant amongst them are: The shortage of teachers and special education professionals with Māori cultural and reo knowledge; the lack of culturally appropriate programmes, services and resources especially those in te reo Māori; the considerable number of teachers who do not recognise the importance of culture, have low expectations of Māori learners or hold negative and/or stereotypical attitudes towards Māori students, their parents and whānau; and the inaccessibility of some special education and medical provisions.

A wide variety of programmes and services have been developed in an effort to overcome the many challenges to culturally appropriate, effective provision for Māori learners with special needs. Common strategies and approaches used in these programmes and services are: Consultation with and involvement of Māori in general and kaumātua, parents and whānau in particular; empowerment of Māori; the inclusion of Māori values, concepts, beliefs, language, tikanga, experiences, skills and knowledge; the use of teaching and learning strategies, environments and contexts deemed to have particular relevance to Māori; and whakawhanaungatanga, networking and co-operation amongst Māori and Pākehā organisations, service providers and the Māori community. In addition to these strategies and approaches aimed at ensuring cultural appropriateness, programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs must also be readily accessible and utilise general teaching and organisational strategies proven to provide a high quality, effective education.

CHAPTER FOUR: CULTURAL AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

Haere e wai i te waewae o Uenuku,

Kia ora ai te tangata.

Good fortune comes to a person from going to the feet of Uenuku.

INTRODUCTION

As stated in chapter one, this research is based on two important assumptions. First, that culture plays a significant and influential role in the perception and management of special needs and second, that this must be taken into account for special needs provisions to be fully effective. This chapter presents evidence from the literature to support these assumptions. It also examines how learners with special needs from indigenous and ethnic minority groups overseas are being provided for in a culturally appropriate, effective way. International challenges to providing for ethnic minority and indigenous groups and solutions to these challenges are considered for lessons that may prove of benefit to Māori learners with special needs.

THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE IN GENERAL

Why it is necessary to take a learner's culture into account in providing for him/her? In order to answer this question, the literature review net was cast widely.

Learning and Cognitive Development Theories

The importance of culture is supported by a number of prominent learning and cognitive development theories. Moore et al (1999, p. 9) explain how the work of applied behaviour analysts such as Nelson and Polsgrove (1984), ecological psychologists such as Barker (1968) and Willems (1973) and social learning theorists such as Bandura (1977), Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Vygotsky (1978) have all contributed to learning being viewed as “an interactive and contextualised process” in which a person’s environment is a “powerful determinant of learning and behaviour.” This view of learning is supported by Tharp and Gallimore (1989) and Rueda (1997). Rueda maintains that the increasing acknowledgement of the importance of culture,

context and social interaction in cognitive development can be largely attributed to the development and spread of information processing and socio-cultural theories.

Cultural influence on learning operates at a number of levels. For example, from a cognitive, constructivist perspective learning is facilitated when new information is related to prior ideas and taught by familiar means (Gay, 1994; Vygotsky, 1978). Tharp (1989) and Franklin (1992) add that a child's learning environment needs to be culturally compatible with their home environment for learning to be maximised. This belief is related to the Aotearoa/New Zealand context by Royal-Tangaere (1997) who states:

Educational success for Māori children depends on early childhood centres and schools providing an environment that is culturally compatible with the family context of the child for optimum learning to occur. We should not expect the child and its family to adjust to an educational setting of another culture and then achieve at an optimum level without a culturally appropriate support system. (p. 67)

Consequently, learning is maximised for children from ethnic minority cultures when their educational experiences incorporate cultural content, reflect cultural values, attitudes and practices, utilize culturally preferred learning styles and include culturally appropriate support.

From an affective perspective, there is a number of well-established theories of psychosocial development that emphasise the important relationship between learning, behaviour and a person's sense of trust, belonging and self-esteem (for example, Maslow, 1954; Erikson, 1963; Dreikurs & Pearl, 1972; and Glasser, 1986). These theorists maintain that in order to learn effectively students need to feel psychologically secure and have a positive sense of self-worth. Gay (1994) explains the implications of this for students from minority cultures:

If students feel that the school environment is alien and hostile towards them or does not affirm and value who they are (as many students of color believe), they

will not be able to concentrate as thoroughly as they might on academic tasks. The stress and anxiety that accompany this lack of support and affirmation cause their mental attention, energy and efforts to be diffused between protecting their psyches from attack and attending to academic tasks. Thus stress “adversely affects student’s daily academic performance by reducing their willingness to persist at academic tasks and interfering with the cognitive processes involved in learning” (Gougis, 1986, p. 147). (p. 4)

Therefore, it can be argued that the inclusion of cultural input achieves the multiple goals of facilitating learning, raising self-esteem and fostering emotional and psychological well-being.

Cultural Reproduction and Oppression Theories

The inclusion of cultural input is further supported by cultural reproduction and oppression theories. One of the important purposes of education is to ensure, “the cultural continuation of the group, race or nation, transmitting knowledge, skills and values from the mature to the immature” (Gutek, 1972, p. 11). However, Helu Thaman (1995) maintains that the opposite is occurring for Pacific nations people: “Instead of providing our societies with a means of cultural renewal, formal education is providing them with the means of assuring their demise” (p. 724).

The seminal work of writers such as Bourdieu (1973, 1976), Giroux (1981, 1983), Friere (1983) and Foucault (1969/1972) have also highlighted the influential role of culture in education. They have expressed concern about the reproduction of social, economic and political inequalities via the use, abuse and ignoring of cultural capital; the support of oppression via the control and distribution of knowledge and learning; and the justification and maintenance of power inequalities via educational and theoretical discourses that embody dominant culture ideologies.

These theories have been examined and found applicable both internationally and in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. For example, Bowman (1994, p. 1) maintains that the consistently low academic performance of “children of color” as evidenced by NEAP (The National Assessment of Educational Progress) statistics, is due to schools ignoring

the different experiences, beliefs and traditional practices of these children and basing assessment measures on white, middle class competencies. Similarly, in a historical analysis of the development of education in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Harker (in Harker & McConnochie, 1985 & Harker, 1990) shows how Pākehā culture has dominated the content, context and process of schooling in this country. He maintains that this has advantaged those with Pākehā cultural capital, disadvantaged those without and has resulted in the reproduction of social, economic, educational and political inequalities from one generation to the next. Harker's contention that the underachievement of cultural minority groups is a direct result of educational provisions that embody the values, beliefs, knowledge and skills of the dominant culture is well supported in the literature (Codd, Harker & Nash, 1985, 1990; Coxon, Jenkins, Marshall & Massey, 1994; Jones, Marshall, Matthews, Smith & Smith, 1995; Mahuta & Ritchie, 1988; Marshall, Coxon, Jenkins & Jones, 2000; Nash, Harker & Charters, 1990; Smith, G. H., 1990, 1991a, 1991b; Smith, L.T., 1999). It provides a clear justification for the emphasis in this research on culturally appropriate services and programmes.

However, it should be noted that while there is wide support for these culture-related theories, there is considerable international debate about the relative influence of ethnicity, gender and socio-economic status. At one end of the continuum is Majoribank's Australian research (1991, 1995) which found that, "differences in ... children's cognitive performance are more strongly related to ethnicity than to gender or social status" (p. 90). At the other end of the continuum is Blair, Blair and Madamba's (1999) study of 14,063 students from Asian American, African American, Hispanic American and Caucasian American groups which found that, "cultural characteristics were only meagerly associated with student's educational performance" (p. 7) and that social class-based characteristics were, in fact, the strongest overall predictors of educational performance. Parental education, parental income and the availability of educational resources and learning opportunities have been cited in a number of research studies as the major determinants of academic performance (Blair, Blair & Madamba, 1999; Entwisle & Alexander, 1992; Haverman & Wolfe, 1994; MacMillan & Reschly, 1998; Williams, 1992).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Rata (2000) supports the powerful influence of socio-economic factors. She maintains that ethnicity has been credited with a greater influence than it actually exerts and that poverty is principally responsible for the educational and social inequalities that exist in this country. However, it can be argued that it is virtually impossible to separate the potential effects of ethnicity and social class (as, interestingly, Blair, Blair and Madamba (1999) state) and that debate over the relative influence of ethnicity and social-class is irrelevant for many Māori learners with special needs given the over-representation of Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand's lower socio-economic group. Glynn (personal communication, August, 2001) also makes the point that if socio-economic status is accepted as the most powerful determinant of academic performance and poverty becomes the sole focus of special needs interventions, a learner's culture could be rendered invisible. A basic premise of this research is that "culture counts" and that effective provisions for Māori learners with special needs must provide for them "as Māori." Therefore, for this present research, the culture vs socio-economic influence debate is extraneous. It is argued that in order to improve services for Māori learners with special needs both cultural and socio-economic factors must be taken into consideration.

THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE IN SPECIAL EDUCATION

The discussion so far has concentrated on the important role culture plays in the education of all learners from minority ethnic and indigenous groups. There is also a considerable body of literature relating specifically to the significance of culture in the education and care of learners with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups.

Culture provides a blueprint for how people operate, it determines the way we think, feel and behave (Banks, 1999, 2001; Banks & McGee Banks, 2001; Erickson, 2001; Gollnick & Chinn 1990; Goodenough, 1981; Metge, 1990). It also determines what we perceive as special needs, our attitudes towards these needs and the strategies we use to manage them. A review of the literature relating to ethnicity and special needs reveals the breadth and importance of these cultural factors.

Cultural Beliefs, Values, Attitudes, Practices and Worldviews

First, an ethnic group's epistemological base or worldview and the beliefs, values, attitudes and practices that emanate from it play a central role. A person from a culture with a fatalistic worldview, for instance, would be less likely to seek or accept intervention services for their child with special needs than a person whose culture espouses personal control over the environment. Similarly, the type of disability service preferred by a person whose culture values collectivism and interdependence will differ markedly from that preferred by a person whose culture is based on an individualistic, independent worldview (Fitzgerald, 1993; Lynch & Hanson, 1998; McKay, 1995).

In their consideration of many different ethnic groups, Lynch and Hanson (1998) and Mallory, Nichols, Charlton & Marfo (1993) identified a wide range of cultural beliefs, values and attitudes which influence the perception and management of special needs. These are the contrasting variables of: Egalitarianism vs meritocracy; conformity vs diversity; exclusion vs inclusion; formality, tradition and indirectness vs informality, change and directness; hierarchy/rank/status and birthright inheritance vs human equality and self help; co-operation vs competition; spiritualism vs materialism; human interaction and "being" orientation vs time domination, action and work orientation.

Gregory (cited in Mallory et al., 1993) and Bevan-Brown (1994) provide Aotearoa/New Zealand examples of the influence of different worldviews. In considering Pākehā and Māori management of disability, Gregory noted that the group orientation of Māori results in the individual not being the focal point to the same extent and degree as in Pākehā society. This being the case, "the supportive social structure offers a different climate which prevents or ameliorates 'disability' in a way different from that of Western cultures" (p. 88).

In an investigation of a Māori concept of intellectual disability it was noted that Māori were not as dominated by time as Pākehā and did not place a time-frame over intellectual development. In answer to the question: "Today, do you think that Māori have an understanding of intellectual disability that is different from the Pākehā meaning?" one person replied:

I think a lot of Māori kids are classified as intellectually disabled when in fact they are not, so yes, I think there is a difference. They are classified through a misunderstanding or through a different cultural perspective. You know we have some kids who are pretty slow at picking things up but they are not intellectually disabled Māori people think more in the sense that people need to come to different stages of development through their own time you know, and time is - well you don't measure time Each kid is different, they have a different time of learning scale and one will learn today and another one mightn't learn until next year the same sort of skill. But I mean that is their time, that is their individuality so you have to accept that and fit around that instead of saying, "Well OK, I'm going to make the time scale. I'm going to say what you are going to learn, what you must learn in this time and what you must learn in that time and it's on your head if you don't!" I mean that is really stupid. So what I am saying is a lot of what we do in schools is wrong. It shouldn't be done If we just stop categorising kids like that, we might find that these people who are labeled as slow or handicapped, are not really. (Bevan-Brown, 1989, p. 95 & p. 103)

Cultural Norms and Expectations

A second influencing factor in the perception and management of special needs relates to cultural norms and expectations (Grossman, S. R., 1998; Harry, 1992a, 1992b; Lim, 2001; McKay, 1995). In a study conducted by Mendez Perez (cited in Garcia, Mendez Perez & Ortiz, 2000) Mexican American children identified as having communication disorders were considered to be within the normal parameters of language development by their mothers. Similarly, in her study of Puerto Rican American children, Harry (1992a, 1992b) found that some children considered to be "mildly mentally disabled" by school authorities came within the "normal" range of intelligence as defined by Puerto Rican society and as such were not considered to need special education services. Harry (1992a) also noted that while American authorities perceived people who were "mentally ill" and "severely mentally disabled" as two different groups and treated them accordingly, Puerto Rican people did not make this distinction. This was reflected by the fact that the same word, "loco," was used for both groups.

Cultural Lifestyle

A third influencing factor relates to cultural lifestyle and people's ability to function within it. Joe and Miller (1993) provide a memorable example:

In the 1950s when physicians noted a high percentage of Navajos with congenital hip disease (a condition that these physicians perceived to be a disability), they recommended surgery. The recommended surgical treatment, however, was refused by many Navajos, who noted that those who had the corrective surgery could not ride a horse comfortably. Some said the 'cure' was more debilitating than the condition, and on further examination, the medical team learned that congenital hip disorder was not perceived to be a handicap by most Navajos because in their culture those affected are still able to function. (p. 3)

Joe and Miller maintain that disability, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. It involves the loss of a "valued" function and what is "valued" is largely determined by cultural beliefs and lifestyle. "For example, in a culture of pre-literate people, the presence of dyslexia in an individual would not be viewed as 'disabling' but the loss of a sensory organ might seriously threaten the individual's ability to survive" (ibid., p. 5). Joe and Miller give further examples of Native Americans in wheelchairs and others with Down Syndrome who were not considered disabled because they were able to perform certain tasks unassisted and thus to contribute to the family. Similar scenarios were noted in Samoa by Fitzgerald (1993), in Aotearoa/New Zealand by Bevan-Brown (1989) and Kana and Harawira (1995) and in Central America and the Caribbean by Grossman, S. R. (1998). Grossman notes that:

Mild disabilities (e.g., mental retardation, emotional disturbances, speech and language impairments) are not considered disabilities in Central America and the Caribbean Academic prowess is not considered as crucial as social competence. Thus labelling an individual disabled in a U.S. school may be seen from a Central American or Caribbean perspective as inappropriate if the problem is solely related to academics and does not affect the child's functioning in the home environment. (p. 39)

Gartner and Lipsky (1999), Oliver (1990), and Smith, A. (2001) make the additional point that a person's ability to function within a given cultural group or society at large is often determined more by people's attitudes and accommodations than by any impairment. Oliver (1990) supports this contention by citing Farb's study of an Amazonian tribe and Groce's research on the island of Martha's Vineyard. In both cases deaf individuals were fully included because people in the society in which they lived were able to use sign language.

Cause, Nature and Extent of the Special Need

A fourth influencing factor in an ethnic group's perception and management of special needs relates to the cause, nature and extent of the special need. Research involving various ethnic groups shows a wide variety of causal explanations of disability, for example, a sacred blessing or gift from benevolent gods/spirits; a punishment for some moral digression on the part of the individual or family member either in the present or in a past life; the work of malevolent gods/spirits; the result of a curse; an expression of a lower, less evolved form of life or the result of biogenetic or environment factors (Danseco, 1997; Fitzgerald, 1993; Mallory et al., 1993; McKay, 1995).

The perceived cause in turn influences attitudes and ways in which people with special needs are treated. Oliver, (1990) cites Gwaltney's (1970) study of a Mexican village where filarially induced blindness was believed to be the result of omnipotent, divine intervention. Consequently, cures were not sought, rather blind people were accommodated, assisted and fully integrated into the community through the use of child guides and "an elaborate system of informal social mechanisms ... blindness was a problem of the community and not of afflicted individuals" (p. 16). Similarly, Danseco (1997) notes:

Parents who believed that the disability was caused by evil spirits sought ways to drive such demons away or sought the help of folk healers to achieve this end (Mardiros, 1989, Ryan & Smith, 1989, Stahl, 1991). Parents who believed that the disability was caused by their past transgressions or negative habits, changed their behaviour to alleviate their child's condition (Mardiros, 1989). Parents

who believed that divine intervention caused their child's disability sought to remove divine displeasure by going on pilgrimages, performing religious rituals or fulfilling vows. (p.47)

A New Zealand example of differential treatment according to cause is given by Gregory (cited in Mallory et al., 1993). He maintains that in New Zealand disability caused by accidents is regarded quite differently to disability resulting from illness. This fact is demonstrated by the substantial differences in benefits available to the two groups. For example, a person with brain injury caused by a car accident is entitled to relatively extensive rehabilitation services funded by the Accident Compensation Corporation. In comparison, a person with brain injury as a result of a stroke has only limited access to rehabilitation services.

Other culture-related factors that influence an ethnic group's perception and management of special needs include: Child-rearing practices; family structure and interpersonal relationships; communication and interaction styles; differential gender roles; treatment of the elderly; religious beliefs; historic and geographic origins; economic and political circumstances; minority status; reasons for migration and migration experience; language; degree of acculturation; nature of power relationships with other cultural groups; and the differential valuing of physical, emotional and intellectual attributes (Banks, 2001; Denney et al., 2001; Harry, 1992a, 1992b; Lim, 2001; Lynch & Hanson, 1998; Mallory et al., 1993; McKay, 1995).

A final point raised in the literature is that not only do minority ethnic and indigenous groups differ from the majority group in their perception and management of "recognised" special needs but they can also have special needs that do not exist for the majority culture. An example of this is provided by Joe and Miller (1993). An overarching value in Navajo society is respect for life and relationships with others. A person who has few or weak relationships is considered disabled. Similarly, in Aotearoa/New Zealand Waikerepuru (cited in King, J., 1995) maintains that any Māori who cannot speak Māori is disabled because they are unable to participate fully in their own culture.

In summary, the importance and complexity of cultural influence in the perception and management of special needs is well-illustrated in the literature from a variety of perspectives. In order to provide effectively for Māori learners with special needs these cultural influences must be taken into account.

LESSONS FROM ABROAD

Throughout its history special education in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been influenced by overseas legislation, movements and practices (Mitchell D., 1987). While being mindful of the danger of adopting programmes and solutions developed in and for social, political, educational, economic and cultural contexts very different to those in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Awatere, 1996), the many similarities between learners with special needs from indigenous and ethnic minority groups throughout the world suggest that a consideration of international issues and trends would be potentially beneficial. In consulting the literature to discover what is being done for learners with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups in other countries, both general and special education sources have been investigated.

GENERAL EDUCATION INITIATIVES

Under the auspices of general education there is a number of initiatives that are making a substantial contribution to culturally appropriate, effective service provision.

Bilingual/Bicultural and Multicultural Education

Bilingual/bicultural education aims to:

“even the playing field” so that the language and culture of these groups are perceived as equally valued and powerful. Projects such as the Kamehameha Elementary Education Program (KEEP) have demonstrated that when children are not required to renounce their cultural heritage, school achievement improves markedly. (Bowman, 1994, p. 3)

This improvement in achievement is not surprising given the link between learning and cultural input discussed in the previous section. Similar teaching and learning benefits

are applicable to multicultural education (Banks, 1999, 2001; Banks & McGee Banks, 2001; Gay, 1994; Kea & Utley, 1998; Valles, 1998). Banks (1992, cited in Kea & Utley, 1998) describes multicultural education as, “a reform movement designed to bring about educational equity for all students, including those from different races, ethnic groups, social classes, exceptionality and sexual orientation” (p. 45). In addition to educational equity Ford and Harris (1999), Ramsey (1998) and Cooke (1992) add the multicultural education goals of: Student empowerment; increased self-understanding and self awareness; improved social relations; increased knowledge and valuing of diversity and cultural pluralism; improved academic performance and cognitive flexibility; the eradication of racial, cultural, and religious stereotypes; and the development of an active social conscience. If these goals are achieved all students will benefit not only students with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups.

Leeman and Volman (2001) point out that intercultural⁴⁶ education has been compulsory in all schools in the Netherlands since the second half of the 1980s, the aim being to foster the social integration of the ethnic majority and ethnic minorities and to prevent stereotyping, discrimination and racism. The degree to which this is being achieved varies throughout the country but Leeman and Volman state that it is making “most headway in ethnically heterogeneous schools” (p. 372).

However, it should be noted that multicultural education encompasses a wide variety of approaches and provisions (Gay, 1994; Banks, 1999, 2001; Banks & McGee Banks, 2001). For example, Banks (2001) proposes four levels of multicultural input, namely: (1) The Contributions Approach; (2) The Additive Approach; (3) The Transformation Approach; and (4) The Social Action Approach. The type, level and quality of multicultural input provided will, obviously, influence the degree of potential benefit to all students including those with special needs from ethnically diverse and indigenous groups.

⁴⁶ Intercultural and multicultural are terms that are often used synonymously.

Indigenous Education Initiatives

Teasdale (1995) reports a “worldwide reaffirmation of indigenous knowledge, wisdom and learning” (p. 587) which is being evidenced by the inclusion of indigenous content, processes and contexts at various levels of education including universities in Thailand (Ma Rhea, 1995), teacher education in Fiji (Nabobo & Teasdale, 1995) and schools in Indonesia (Kopong, 1995). This global movement towards acknowledging and incorporating indigenous perspectives is not only reaffirming their importance but Helu Thaman (MoE, 2000a) believes it is also reducing the “cultural gap” between the home and school environments of indigenous learners.

Anti-Bias and Empowerment Approaches

Although their focus is wider than ethnicity and disability, these approaches benefit learners with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups in a variety of ways. Lewis and Doorlag (1995) point out that minority group students with special needs are particularly vulnerable to isolation from their peers. An anti-bias curriculum with its emphasis on teaching about the detrimental effects of discrimination can contribute towards the inclusion of these vulnerable students (Schniedewind and Davidson, 1983 cited in Salend, 1990). Grossman, H. (1995) reports research evidence of a range of beneficial effects of a particular anti-bias programme entitled Project REACH. He adds that the emancipatory nature of certain proactive anti-bias curricula can extend to self-advocacy training for learners with disabilities and to a focus on empowerment. Although Grossman H. notes that there is no research into the level of ability and maturity needed to profit from these approaches, the work of Derman-Sparks and the ABC Task Force (1989) and Cronin (1998) shows that very young children have been “empowered through anti-bias curriculum to challenge injustices and inequity in society” (Meyer, Bevan-Brown, Harry, Sapon-Shevin, 2001, p. 338).

The Inclusion Movement

The Inclusion Movement with its philosophy of all people being regarded and treated as equally valued members of society is contributing to the acceptance and psychological security of learners with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups. The inclusive classroom not only provides a powerful model of the value of diversity but the inclusive pedagogies employed equip students with the attitudes and skills needed to

function in a multicultural, multiabled society (Kagan, 1998; Meyer & Fisher, 1999; Meyer et al., 2001; Putman, 1998; Sapon-Shevin, 1999; Sapon-Shevin, Ayres & Duncan, 1994). However, it must be acknowledged that exclusive attitudes do not change overnight and that often the benefits of inclusive education are hard won. This is well-illustrated in a number of case studies of children with special needs from ethnic minority cultures presented by Harry, Kalyanpur and Day (1999). They describe how parents have had to battle for their children's inclusion. Fortunately, they have been supported in this process by inclusion advocates and by a firm belief in their children's right to receive an education alongside their non-disabled peers.

A final issue is raised by Artiles (2000). He notes that while the inclusion movement is proving empowering for children with special needs in general it has been silent about the plight of minority students. Smith, A. (2001) also refers to, "a lack of synergy and collaboration among the overrepresentation and inclusion discourse and practice communities" (p. 184). The collaboration that these two writers call for will, no doubt, benefit minority students with special needs.

SPECIAL EDUCATION INITIATIVES

Disproportionate representation of ethnic minority learners in special education is a major concern in the special education literature (Agbenyega & Jiggetts, 1999; Artiles, 1998, 2000; Artiles & Trent, 1994; Artiles & Zamora-Duran, 1997; Coutinho & Oswald, 2000; Gartner & Kerzner, 1999; Harry, 1994; Kea & Utley, 1998; Ishii-Jordan, 1997; Oswald, Coutinho, Best & Singh, 1999; Patton, 1997, 1998; Rueda, 1997; Serna, Forness & Nielsen, 1998; Talbert-Johnson, 1998; Valles, 1998; Zamora-Duran & Artiles, 1997; Zamora-Duran & Reyes, 1997). Disproportionate representation is a complex and controversial issue based on two assumptions: First, that special needs are proportionately distributed amongst all ethnic groups and second, that this proportional distribution should be reflected in the numbers receiving special education. Underrepresentation is reported for Asian Americans in the areas of learning disabilities and emotional and behaviour disorders (Sileo & Prater, 1998) and for African American, Hispanic American, Native American and certain Asian American groups in respect to gifted programmes (Patton, 1997). However, it is the over-representation of ethnic

minority groups that is the major cause of disproportionate representation in special education.

Explanations for over-representation are many and varied. Gallagher (1994) maintains that it is a consequence of children growing up in environments unfavourable to education and asks, "Why should we be surprised that more youngsters from such families would be in educational difficulty than their proportion in the society?" (p. 525). While Gallagher takes a "blame the family" approach, there is widespread support in the literature for teaching and assessment-related causes of over-representation. For example, Artiles and Zamora-Duran (1997), Ford, D. Y. (1998), Gartner & Kerzner (1999), Gottlieb, Alter, Gottlieb and Wishner (1994), Herring (1996), Ishii-Jordan (1997), McIntyre (1996), Meyer, et al. (2001), Oswald et al. (1999), Patton (1997), Rueda (1997), Sileo and Prater (1998), Webb-Johnson (1999) and Zamora-Duran and Reyes (1997) cite inappropriate, inaccurate and/or discriminatory referral and assessment procedures, assessment instruments, and teaching practices as causes of over-representation. A variety of special education initiatives have been developed to combat these causal factors. They include: The use of culturally appropriate assessment measures; the provision of culturally appropriate programmes, services and strategies; the employment and involvement of people from ethnic minority and indigenous groups; and the involvement of parents and family members.

Culturally Appropriate Assessment Measures

Given the prevalence of criticism directed at inappropriate and inaccurate assessment, the strong emphasis on alternative assessment strategies in the special education literature is not surprising. In addition, in the United States this emphasis is fuelled by IDEA's⁴⁷ stipulation that, "Educational agencies should use evaluation procedures that are not racially or culturally discriminatory" (Overton, 1996, p. 50).

Reynolds (1982, cited in Overton, 1996) maintains that discriminatory, inaccurate assessment arises from a number of causes, principally: Inappropriate content and standardisation samples; examiners and language that intimidate students from

⁴⁷ Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). 1990.

culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds; tests that lack predictive validity for culturally diverse students; and measure constructs foreign to them. The literature contains two main approaches to overcoming these criticisms.⁴⁸ First, there is a call for the development and use of standardised tests using measures and procedures referenced to local norms (Faircloth & Tippeconnic, 2000⁴⁹) and containing items that are culturally relevant (Lewis & Doorlag, 1995). Also advocated is the use of “culture free” and “culture fair” standardized tests such as the Naglieri Nonverbal Ability Test (Naglieri, 1996); the Comprehensive Test of Nonverbal Intelligence (Hammill, Pearson & Wiederholt, 1996) and the System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment (SOMPA) (Mercer & Lewis, 1978).

The second approach is to replace those standardized assessment tests which disregard the cultural background and prior knowledge of students from ethnic minority and indigenous groups with performance-based, authentic assessment approaches (Artiles & Zamora-Duran, 1997; Bowman, 1994; Cheng, Ima & Labovitz, 1994; Faircloth & Tippeconnic, 2000; Garcia, 1994; Hiebert, Afflerback & Valencia, 1994; Ishii-Jordan, 1997; Patton, 1997; Salend, Dorney & Mazo, 1997; Rueda, 1997; Zamora-Duran & Reyes, 1997). These approaches involve assessment of real-world tasks and include such strategies as focused observation, essay writing, projects, video and audio taping, portfolios, journals and learning logs; holistic evaluation of classroom work products and tasks; and the use of scoring rubrics outlining exemplary, acceptable or unacceptable standards. Assessment in natural contexts is thought to be particularly appropriate for students with limited English who are especially susceptible to inaccurate assessment (Garcia & Pearson, 1994; Zamora-Duran & Reyes, 1997). For these children Holtzman and Wilkinson (1991 cited in Smith, Polloway & Patton, 1998)

⁴⁸ It should be noted, however, that while two main approaches to culturally appropriate assessment are advocated in the literature, these are not mutually exclusive approaches. There is a need for a multimethod approach which uses normative, criterion referenced and performance-based authentic assessment measures that are meaningful and culturally appropriate.

⁴⁹ Faircloth & Tippeconnic (2000) note that Gallup-McKinley County Schools (New Mexico) have begun to develop Navajo norms for the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children. “This process not only allows educators to compare the performance of Navajo students to their peers, it assists educators in differentiating cultural and linguistic differences from learning difficulties” (p. 3).

advise observation in multiple natural contexts to determine if their behaviour differs from that of their peers in the same settings.

However, two warnings should be heeded. First, while authentic assessment strategies appear to be particularly appropriate for learners with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups, their usefulness will be lost if they involve assessment of an inadequate and inappropriate curriculum (Rueda, 1997). Second, the absence of skills and knowledge identified either by authentic assessment strategies or by more traditional tests may not necessarily mean a child is developmentally delayed or intellectually impaired in some way. The child may not have had the opportunity to learn what is being assessed because of economic disadvantage, lack of English language proficiency or because their particular ethnic group emphasises different physical, social, affective and cognitive skills and knowledge (Burnette, 1998; Valdivia, 1999).

Other assessment approaches advocated for learners with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups are:

- ◆ assessment in the learner's dominant language (mandated by IDEA, 1990);
- ◆ use of a variety of instruments, in a range of settings, over a period of time (Bowman, 1994; Burnette, 1998; Cheng, 1991; Faircloth & Tippeconnic, 2000);
- ◆ assessment based on cultural models and incorporating cultural practices (Banks, 2001; Kauffman, 1997);
- ◆ development and use of cultural guidelines for collecting and evaluating assessment data (Ishii-Jordan, 1997);
- ◆ provision of an interpreter when children with limited English are being assessed both at school and in the home (Faircloth & Tippeconnic, 2000; Lynch & Hanson, 1992; Salend, Dorney & Mazo, 1997);
- ◆ parental and family involvement in assessment (Faircloth & Tippeconnic, 2000; Garcia, 1994; Lynch & Hanson, 1992);
- ◆ self evaluation questionnaires, interviews and think aloud activities that actively involve students in reflecting of their own learning (Faircloth & Tippeconnic, 2000; Salend, Dorney & Mazo, 1997);

- ◆ teaching students, especially second language learners, test-taking skills so that when tested their performance is not adversely affected by misunderstanding or ignorance of the procedures involved (Salend, Dorney & Mazo, 1997);
- ◆ multidisciplinary, ethnographic, dynamic assessment approaches and assessment of incidental learning (Cheng, Ima & Labovitz, 1994);
- ◆ the use of functional behaviour analysis techniques in assessment (Ishii-Jordan, 1997). The rationale behind this technique is that students from ethnic minority and indigenous groups are susceptible to having their behavioural differences interpreted as behavioural disorders. Functional behaviour analysis requires educators knowledgeable about the culture in which the student is operating to examine the underlying communicative intent of behaviour and to assess whether or not this intent is “culturally appropriate” for the student involved. If it is, then the likelihood is that the student is exhibiting behavioural difference rather than behavioural disorder (Ishii-Jordan, 1997; Sugai, 1988).

Culturally Appropriate Programmes, Services and Strategies

In the United States federal laws such as Public Law 94-142 and the 1990 amendments to the Act have mandated culturally appropriate special education services (Grossman, H., 1995).⁵⁰ Similarly, world-wide there is a call for the provision of special education programmes and services that incorporate cultural content and resources, employ culturally appropriate teaching strategies, cater for diverse learning style preferences, reflect cultural values and beliefs, include cultural practices, traditions and experiences and are delivered in culturally relevant learning contexts (Blanchard, Lui, McKnight & Pittman, 1999; Gay, 1994; Franklin, 1992; Grossman, H., 1995; Kea & Utley, 1998; Lynch & Hanson, 1998; McIntyre, 1996; Meyer, 2001; Morgan, 1996; NAEYC, 1996; Ramey & Ramey, 1998; Sileo & Prater, 1998; Sparks, 2000; Vance, 1997).

The programmes and services provided vary in the nature and amount of cultural input depending on their particular emphasis. Some focus on the inclusion of ethnic materials, experiences, examples and perspectives in assessment and teaching content (Blanchard

⁵⁰ Grossman (1995) notes that while culturally appropriate services were mandated in PL 94-142, this term was never defined.

et al., 1999; Gay, 1994; Sileo & Prater, 1998; Sing, Ellis, Oswald, Wechsler & Curtis, 1997; Sparks, 2000; Trueba, Cheng & Ima, 1993). For example, teachers can use commercially prepared resource kits to teach about various Native American groups or follow Spark's (2000) advice of including basic Native American language, using Native experts and elders as resource people and including field trips to tribal functions. Other approaches proving successful in teaching about diverse cultures are the use of: Cultural capsules and cultural clusters prepared by teachers and the students themselves (Trueba et al., 1993; Sing et al., 1997); games with culture content; "multicultural days"; and cultural links made in all curriculum areas (Sileo & Prater, 1998).

However, Gorman (1999) and Wilson, S. (1997) note that merely adding cultural content to programmes is not enough. Referring specifically to Native Canadian students they recommend that programmes should also incorporate cultural values, behaviours and dispositions. Gorman (1999) urges educators to develop, "strategies that build on, rather than change, the cultural dispositions of students and that emphasize being rather than doing; address the past and present rather than only the future; and promote harmony with nature, rather than subjugation of nature" (p. 116).

Another approach focuses on matching teaching and learning styles to eliminate "disjunctures in how different students learn in their cultural communities and how they are expected to learn at school" (Gay, 1994, p. 6). This often involves making culturally appropriate accommodations and adaptations to existing programmes and routines, for example, the introduction of kinesthetic vs visual teaching approaches, co-operative vs competitive activities, cross-age vs same age grouping and small group vs whole class activities (Hale-Benson, 1986; Ishii-Jordan, 1997). Research has shown that accommodations particularly suitable for African American students with special needs include multimedia presentations; real-world and people-focused tasks; affective interactions; divergent thinking, group and cooperative activities; peer tutoring; variable grouping arrangements; fast pace verbal interactions and high energy approaches (Franklin, 1992; Hale-Benson, 1986). Many similar accommodations have been used for "disaffected" African Caribbean boys in the Raising Achievement Project in Lambeth, England. For example, Vance (1997) reports on interventions that incorporate

lively debate, friendly teacher-pupil interactions, practically focused tasks, active pupil participation and stimulating teacher presentations.

In discussing teaching styles Franklin (1992) notes that special educators have traditionally relied on sequential learning based on task analysis and direct instruction of individual task components. While these reductionist approaches match the cognitive functioning patterns and interaction styles of learners from the dominant culture Franklin (1992) maintains that they do not suit many African American, Hispanic, Native American and Asian American learners who have different patterns of cognitive functioning and interaction. This opinion is supported by Sparks (2000) who cites research showing that Native American students use simultaneous rather than sequential processing. He notes that these students are disadvantaged by the use of textbooks and other teaching materials which are typically written in a sequential fashion. Therefore, accommodations for Native American students must take their preference for simultaneous cognitive processing into account (Sparks, 2000).

A further teaching approach involves the development of totally new programmes specifically designed for particular ethnic groups and based on the group's unique values and practices. The Circle of Courage is a good example. This programme was developed by Brendtro, Brokenleg and Van Bockern (1990).

[It] arises from Native American cultural traditions of examining how a child's misbehaviour may be linked to a "broken" part of the child's circle of courage. In their model, a child's circle may be broken in any one of four areas: belonging, mastery, independence or generosity. Assisting a student to heal or complete the circle through interventions involving communication, modeling, or providing successful opportunities for the child would be the adult's role in helping the child to change his or her behaviors and mend the circle. (Ishii-Jordan, 1997, p. 43)

Ladson-Billings (1995) supports this movement towards the development of programmes specifically focused on the needs, culture, values and aspirations of the learner with special needs. These programmes are based on the concept of cultural

responsiveness which seeks to fit the programmes to the learner's needs rather than cultural adaptation which seeks to meet the learner's needs within a predetermined programme and resource framework. Blanchard et al., (1999), however, voice a word of warning about the delivery of specifically designed interventions. In reference to Aboriginal children they mention that these programmes often involve withdrawal from mainstream situations:

Whatever Aboriginal students miss in any class may put them further behind and need to be made up. Thus out-of-class interventions can be self-perpetuating. The aim of all teaching and programs should be to empower Aboriginal students to participate and contribute in classes. (p. 5)

Agbenyega and Jiggetts (1999), Blanchard et al., (1999), Marfo, (1996), Ramey and Ramey (1998), and Serna, et al., (1998) all emphasize the early provision of culturally appropriate programmes especially for children at-risk. Serna et al. (1998) recommend a proactive, preventative approach which involves screening for early detection of these children. Once identified, empirically validated social competence, resiliency and self-determination strategies are used to equip these children to handle barriers they may face in life, to promote their independence and success and thus to forestall potential social, emotional and learning problems. A similar approach is advocated by Sparks (2000) for Native American students. He believes that programmes should include the skills needed for Native American students to function in their own culture, in the dominant culture and to cope with any cultural conflicts that might arise.

A final point that is prevalent in the literature dealing with culturally appropriate programmes and services is the warning against cultural stereotyping. While common cultural characteristics and preferences can be identified, the degree to which individual learners adhere to these cultural patterns is influenced by a range of factors including socio-economic status, age, gender, geographic location, religious affiliation and degree and type of acculturation. These must all be taken into consideration when working with individual learners from ethnic minority and indigenous groups (Grossman, H., 1995; Harry, 1992b; Lynch & Hanson, 1992, 1998; McKay, 1995; Sileo & Prater, 1998; Sparks, 2000). Sparks (2000) adds that cultural stereotyping also includes the

failure to acknowledge divisions within ethnic groups. For example, although Native Americans have quite varied tribal practices they are typically grouped together. Gross (1995 cited in Sparks, 2000) concurs, saying there is no such thing as a single “Indian reality.”

Employment/Involvement of Ethnic Minority and Indigenous People

The special education literature contains a repeated call for minority group learners with special needs to be assessed, educated and cared for by people from their own culture. It is believed that the chances of learners receiving culturally appropriate programmes and services are greater if people from the same ethnic group are involved in the development, delivery and evaluation of these services. This is especially the case when non-English speaking children and families are involved (Burnette, 1998; Denney et al, 2001; Harris, 1995; Harry, 1992b; Kea & Utley, 1998; Meyer, Park, Grenot-Scheyer, Schwartz & Harry, 1998a; Grossman, S., 1998; Miramontes, 1990; NAEYC, 1996; Sollis, 1996; Valdivia, 1999; Washington, 1996).

Smith-Davies (1995, p.3) note, “Education personnel who share cultural background and experiences with students are able to act as ‘cultural translators,’ helping children learn to function in the dominant culture, as well as in an increasingly diverse society” (cited in Kea and Utley, 1998, p. 46). Kea and Utley add that these personnel also provide role models for ethnic minority students to emulate; they demonstrate to students that their culture is an asset not a liability; and they play a part in dispelling the biases and uninformed racial attitudes that exist in many schools. Ornelles and Goetz (2001) note that it is likely teachers from the same ethnic community as the children they teach face fewer obstacles to establishing relationships in the community and as a consequence have greater success in working with families and the community to facilitate the children’s learning. This was demonstrated in interventions described by Reid, K. (1999). The use of mentors recruited from the African-Caribbean community to provide information and support to parents of truanting students resulted in a marked reduction of expulsion and suspension.

An additional benefit is that minority group teachers and paraprofessionals recruited from amongst established community members are more likely to provide a stable

workforce. This was seen as one solution to the high turnover rate of non-indigenous teachers on North American Indian reservations (Prater, 1996 cited in Berryman et al 2002).

The literature reveals a variety of ways people from ethnic minority and indigenous groups are being utilised. These include paraprofessional involvement in school-based, bilingual, special education teacher assistance teams, in IEP planning and meetings and as liaison people between the home, school and community. In these roles the paraprofessional can be involved in advocacy, mediation, translation, explanation, interpretation and support of parents and families (Evans, Okifuji & Thomas, 1995; Grossman, S., 1998; Harris, 1995; Harry, 1992b; Lian & Fontanez-Phelan, 2001; Meyer et al., 1998; Reid, K. 1999; Valdivia, 1999).

In respect to professional involvement, there is a preference for involving people of the same ethnicity as the child in assessment and as cultural experts on multidisciplinary teams (Burnette, 1998; Ishii-Jordan, 1997); to deliver individual services and to be members of the child's IEP team (Burnette, 1998; Miramontes, 1990; NAEYC, 1996; Washington, 1996).

The literature shows that ethnic minority members are also being involved as volunteers, resource personnel and in administrative positions. They are participating on policy-making committees, school boards and work parties; in fundraising and school support and reform schemes; as motivational speakers and role models; and in the provision and development of teaching content and resources (Blanchard et al., 1999; Burnette, 1998; Ford & Harris, 1999; Lian & Fontanez-Phelan, 2001; Navarro & Natalicio, 1999; Richardson, 1997; Sparks, 2000).

Artiles (1998), Ford and Harris (1999), Meyer et al. (1998a) and Serna et al. (1998) also advocate for the use of people from culturally diverse backgrounds in all special education research involving these groups. Collaborative, participatory and action research approaches are believed to be particularly appropriate for research involving

diverse cultural groups (Meyer, 2001; Meyer et al., 1998; Park, Meyer & Goetz, 1998; Smith, A., 2001).⁵¹

Involvement of Parents and Family Members

Parents and family members play an important and influential role in children's education. However, their involvement in programmes and services for learners with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups is considered particularly crucial (Burnette, 1999; Ford & Harris, 1999;⁵² Harry, 1992a, 1992b; Lian & Fontanez-Phelan, 2001; Marfo, 1996; Meyer et al. 2001). A major reason is that parents and family members can help to overcome the discontinuity between home and school that is perceived as the source of many academic, behavioural and social problems faced by learners from ethnic minority and indigenous groups (Bowman, 1994; MoE, 2000a; Franklin, 1992; Tharp, 1989). Bowman (1994) explains:

Caregivers mediate social situations for young children, helping them transfer what they know and can do from one context to the next. By providing emotional support, by reminding them of what they already know, by defining the similarities between social situations and by modeling appropriate behaviour, families help children use their skills and acquire new ones [Without this help children] must use their school time trying to figure out for themselves the new rules of social engagement ... instead of learning the content of the lesson.

(p. 3)

⁵¹ A related issue raised by Lim (2001) and Meyer (2001) is the need for researchers and research publications to include the cultural, ethnic and demographic details of research participants to enable people to judge the external validity and social acceptability of the research to particular ethnic communities. Lim and Meyer maintain that at present many reports do not supply this information. Meyer also advocates for educational research training to incorporate cultural considerations in research design.

⁵² Ford & Harris (1999) cite research done by Clark (1983) showing that for children from low socio-economic, black families, family involvement resulted in improved grades, attendance and classroom behaviour. While it is acknowledged these children did not have special needs, the research findings demonstrate the beneficial influence parental involvement can have.

Not only can parents and family members help children to interpret and benefit from their schooling but they can also assist professionals by providing the background information necessary to meet the child's individual special needs in a culturally appropriate way (Denney et al., 2001, McGee-Banks, 2001). A further benefit is that parents can, "function as a protection against the misinterpretation of cultural behavioral differences by dominant culture professionals" (Meyer et al, 2001, p. 332-333).

Many ways parents, family and community members are being involved in the education of learners with special needs from ethnic minority groups are included in the literature. Most of the strategies described are applicable to all parents and families regardless of their ethnicity or whether or not they have children with special needs, for example, school open days, classroom volunteers, parent meetings, grandparent days and field trips. However, there are also areas of involvement that are specific to parents and families of learners with special needs. The major area of involvement centres around the development and implementation of IEPs, in fact in the United States parental consultation and involvement in an annual IEP meeting is legally mandated in IDEA (Meyer et al., 2001). However, a number of researchers note that parental involvement in these mandated meetings is limited and that it is the professionals who determine the issues to be discussed and the type and level of involvement parents can have (Bennett, 1988; Ford & Harris, 1999; Harry, 1992a, 1992b; Meyer et al, 2001). These researchers are unanimous in their call for the empowerment of parents in the IEP process.

Also evident in the special education literature is a movement towards family intervention practices and programmes. Based on Family Systems Theory and the work of writers such as Dunst, (1985); Dunst and Leet, (1987); Dunst and Trivette (1987, 1995); Gottlieb, (1983); Hobbs, (1975); Slater and Wikler, (1986) Solomon, (1985) Trivette, Deal and Dunst, (1995) and Von Bertalanffy (1968) (all cited in Reid, Campbell-Whatley & Neville, 1999), these programmes focus on the family unit rather than the individual child. The prime targets of intervention are the needs and aspirations identified by families not the professionals. Empowerment is a major goal and emphasis is placed on identifying and building on family strengths and social networks to meet identified needs (Reid et al., 1999). This movement is considered particularly

appropriate for families from ethnic minority groups where extended family involvement in the care and education of children with special needs is common place (Denney et al, 2001; Harry, 1992b; Meyer et al., 2001).

Parents are also being involved in their children's education via a variety of parent organisations and projects. Examples are The Education of Parents of Indian Children with Special Needs Project (EPICS) and The Native American Families Together Parent Training and Information Center (NAFTPTIC) described by Faircloth and Tippeconnic (2000). The former trains parents to interact effectively in IEP meetings while the latter recruits and trains community members to provide support and assistance to Native American and Alaskan Native families with special needs. Similar help is provided to Alaskan parents in a handbook containing negotiation, advocacy and other skills needed to support their children with special needs (O'Harra, 1991 cited in Berryman et al., 2002).

CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

While the previous initiatives are all proving of benefit to learners with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups, the literature reveals there are considerable obstacles to their implementation.

Shortage of Culturally Appropriate Personnel, Programmes and Services

General and special needs initiatives are being hampered by a world-wide shortage of people able to provide culturally appropriate assessment, programmes and services. For example, despite the strong advocacy and support for service provision by people from the same culture as the child and family, this is often not possible because of the dearth of minority group people with the required skills and qualifications (Artiles, 2000; CEC, n.d.; Cook & Boe, 1995; Denney et al., 2001; Grossman, H., 1995, 1998; Kea & Utley, 1998; Lynch & Hanson, 1992, 1998; Obiakor, 2000; Ornelles & Goetz, 2001; Talbert-Johnson, 1998). This problem is illustrated in research conducted by Denney et al. (2001). Mexican immigrant parents with at-risk infants in Neonatal Intensive Care Units were disadvantaged and put under additional stress because of the limited number of Spanish-speaking health care professionals and interpreters. The communication and information parents needed was often not available.

To overcome the shortage of qualified minority group personnel, Lynch and Hanson (1992) suggest that organisational policies be developed to support the recruitment and hiring of individuals from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds and that young adults from minority groups “be mentored throughout their school years, supported to stay in school, and encouraged to enter university training programs in the human services” (p. 355). To encourage involvement of paraprofessionals from ethnically diverse groups Grossman, S. (1998) recommends that they should be supported in getting their teaching or counseling credentials. This is a win-win situation: The paraprofessionals gain recognised qualifications and the school and children they work with benefit from their increased skills.

Brandt (1986), C.E.C (n. d.), Meyer (2001), Obiakor (2000), Obiakor and Utley (1997) and Ornelles and Goetz (2001) add that preservice teacher recruitment should be specifically designed to attract more minority group applicants. The PACE (Preparing All Cultures Educationally) Project offered by Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach is an example of this. Tuition fees, room and book allowances are paid for “African American female teachers and Hispanic male and female teachers [who] are desperately needed to work with culturally and linguistically diverse children with disabilities and to serve as role models” (Bethune-Cookman College, n.d.). They are mentored throughout their studies and assisted to find teaching positions after matriculation.

The Pennsylvania State University offers similar assistance to American Indian and Alaskan Native students as part of their American Indian Leadership Programme. Their Fellowship includes a monthly stipend of \$1000, tuition, textbooks and relocation allowances. “The purpose of the program is to prepare American Indian/Alaska Natives to provide direct services to American Indian students with disabilities and work with classroom teachers serving these students in the mainstream” (Dept. Public Info., Penn. State University, 2000).

Likewise, the University of Hawaii has developed a Post-Baccalaureate Programme in Special Education (PBSE) to increase the number of special educators with the cultural competence needed to work with ethnically diverse students with special needs in

Hawaii. This programme involves proactive recruitment, a fees waiver, flexibility in scheduling and programme structure, field-based learning, intensive supervisory support, innovative assessment and collaborative peer support (Ornelles & Goetz, 2001).

The previously described programmes have been especially designed to recruit and train African American, Asian American, Hawaiian American, Native American and Alaskan Native students to work with learners with special needs from their own ethnic group. The 1997 amendments to IDEA include provisions to fund these and similar programmes. Faircloth & Tippeconnic (2000) note that these personnel preparation grants are also being awarded to tribal colleges and universities. The programmes arising from these grants often involve trainees in working with children in their local communities and schools and also in research aimed at improving the education of ethnic minority children with special needs and the personnel that work with them.

In addition to the initiatives being developed to recruit and hire more people from ethnic minority groups, the special education literature also contains a strong call for pre-service and inservice education to enskill all professionals to work with minority group learners including those with special needs and their families (Artiles & McClafferty, 1998; Artiles & Trent, 1994, 1997; Denney et al., 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Lian & Fontanez-Phelan, 2001; Lim, 2001; Lynch & Hanson, 1998; Meyer, 2001; Meyer et al., 2001; Obiakor, 2000; Park, Turnbull & Park, 2001; Trent & Artiles, 1998; Trent, Artiles & Englert, 1998; Valles, 1998).

A number of methods and approaches aimed at teaching cross-cultural competence are reported. Obiakor (2000) suggests eight different teaching models that can be utilised to prepare teacher trainees to teach in a multicultural society. Other strategies include the use of experienced, highly skilled teachers to mentor less competent teachers (Navarro & Natalicio, 1999) and teacher trainees to mentor minority group, at-risk elementary school children (Gallien & Smith, 1991). Ishii-Jordan (1997) and Valles (1998) add that trainee teachers should have teaching practice experience in multicultural settings and be taught by people from diverse cultural backgrounds. Such experiences, "would give them the foundation for recognizing the many interpretations of behaviour that exist and

for acquiring a large repertoire of interventions to consider when working with CLD [Culturally and Linguistically Diverse] students” (Ishii-Jordan, 1997, p. 41). Similarly, Lim (2001) maintains that learning would be enhanced by, “an alignment between instructional methods and authentic and meaningful learning activities” (p. 198). He suggests activities such as, “interviews with parents from culturally diverse backgrounds, participation with parents in a community based activity with their child and observation of parents at their annual review meetings” (p. 198).

The literature reveals that many preservice and inservice programmes aimed at developing cross-cultural competence have four distinct components. First, is the development of cultural self-awareness. Lim (2001), Lynch and Hanson (1998), McAllister and Irvine (2000), Sileo and Prater (1998) and Sparks (2000) maintain that until a person understands their own culture it is not possible to fully appreciate the culture of others. Gollnick and Chinn (1990) agree noting that cultural self awareness enables people to take off their “ethnocentric blinkers” so that they no longer judge other cultures through their own cultural lens.

Second, teachers and teacher trainees need to be made aware of the importance, influence and impact their cultural perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours have on students’ educational placement, progress and outcomes. They must also develop a “critical consciousness” and gain an understanding of the nature and effect of differential power relationships between diverse cultural groups (Freire, 1972; Giroux, 1981, 1983; Gollnick & Chinn, 1990).

A third component involves gaining knowledge specific to a variety of ethnic minority and indigenous groups and the fourth focuses on how this information can be effectively incorporated into services for learners with special needs (Artiles & Zamora, 1997; Chan, 1990; Ford, B. A., 1992; Gollnick & Chinn, 1990; Hanson, Lynch & Wayman, 1990; Lynch & Hanson, 1998; McAllister & Irvine, 2000; McKay, 1995; MoE, 2000; Obiakor, 2000).

Valles (1998) believes that the preservice education of all teachers should include “multicultural education principles, bilingual education methodology, English as a

second language methods and strategies ... and techniques for working with parents and families from culturally and linguistically diverse groups” (p. 53). Valles adds that similar content should be included in professional development for practicing teachers and for school and programme administrators so that school-wide policies and systemic support strategies for encouraging multicultural practices can be developed. Meyer (2001) also supports the inclusion of both teachers and administrators in multicultural professional development and adds that they have a collective responsibility to demonstrate how the cross-cultural knowledge gained from this professional development is used to accommodate cultural diversity in their schools.

A further suggestion is provided by Helu Thaman (MoE, 2000a). Although she does not provide specifics, Helu Thaman recommends that planners, administrators and teacher educators, “gear the incentive and reward systems in such a way as to maximise the responsiveness of serving teachers to the needs of the children they teach, and the families and local communities that send them”(p. 27).

Finally, it should be noted that while the shortage of culturally competent personnel and culturally appropriate services is prominent in the literature, the shortage of culturally appropriate resources is not as widely mentioned. However, Grossman, H. (1995) raises a concern about the lack of multicultural resources for learners with special needs:

Unfortunately, almost all the available commercially prepared material is designed for students in regular education. Multicultural materials designed for students with developmental disabilities, learning and sensory disabilities, and so on are almost nonexistent. As a result, some students with disabilities, especially those with sensory impairments, are denied potential multicultural school experiences. (p. 108)

Grossman notes that the adaptation of multicultural material and approaches used in regular programmes is often problematic. For example, students with cognitive disabilities may not be able to understand the more abstract aspects of culture. In respect to the anti-bias curriculum Grossman adds, “Students with emotional problems or cognitive disabilities may be too sensitive and too easily upset by conflicts and hostility

to cope with the ugliness of ethnic conflict, prejudice and racism” (p. 115). He recommends that teachers take these factors into consideration when making adaptations for learners with special needs. Meyer (2001) adds that curriculum design specialists must increase their knowledge of diverse cultures in order to develop materials relevant to various communities of learners.

Negative, Detrimental Beliefs and Attitudes

The literature reveals that not only do many people involved in the special education of ethnic minority and indigenous learners lack the cultural competence to work with them effectively but they also hold beliefs and attitudes detrimental to these learners’ education. These include:

- ◆ The interpretation of cultural differences as deficits and disorders (Blanchard et al., 1999; Gay, 1994; Ishii-Jordan, 1997; Morrow, 1994; Nuttall, Landurand & Goldman, 1984; Webb-Johnson, 1999);
- ◆ believing culture is irrelevant (Franklin, 1992; Harry, 1992b; Lynch & Hanson, 1998; Meyer, 2001; Morgan, 1996);
- ◆ racism and disabilism (Gillborn, 1997; Gorman, 1999; Grossman, H., 1995; Ladner & Hammond, 2001; Morgan, 1996; Oliver, 1990, 2000; Simon, M., 2001; Smith, A., 2001; Sollis, 1996; Sparks, 2000; Vance, 1997; Webb-Johnson, 1999);
- ◆ detrimental stereotyping (AECC, n.d.; Blanchard et al., 1999; Ford, D. Y., 1998; Grossman, H., 1995; Reid, K., 1999; Sileo & Prater, 1998; Sparks, 2000); and
- ◆ low teacher expectation (AECC, n.d.; Ford, D. Y., 1998; Gorman, 1999; Morgan, 1996; Navarro & Natalicio, 1999; Persell, 1997; Reid, K., 1999; Smith, A., 2001).

Grossman, H., (1995, 1998) maintains that low teacher expectation and negative reactions are particularly applicable to speakers of non-standard English. The same claim is made for Aboriginal children (Blanchard et al., 1999).

The preservice and inservice education and cross-cultural mentoring mentioned previously will, hopefully, result in positive attitudinal change. This was certainly the case for the teacher-trainee mentor scheme reported by Gallien and Smith (1991). However, Artiles and Zamora (1997), Brandt (1986) and McAllister and Irvine (2000) believe that such an outcome should not be left to chance. Brandt (1986) maintains that

the, “unlearn[ing of] racist expectations, prejudices and behaviours at a personal level” (p. 129) should be an integral part of teacher education programmes. He notes that achieving this may involve the training of teacher educators themselves to ensure they have the prerequisite knowledge, skills and attitudes to pass on. Lim (2001) and McAllister and Irvine (2000) concur and recommend that a process approach to pre-service and inservice teacher education be adopted. McAllister and Irvine note that past content-based approaches have not always been successful in changing detrimental beliefs, attitudes and behaviours and believe that multicultural courses based on process approaches would be more effective in this respect. These courses would include learning opportunities matched to students’ assessed level of cross-cultural competence; opportunities for intercultural interaction in authentic cultural settings; and the use of support groups to provide a forum for reflection, support and challenge.

Further strategies to develop positive attitudes are the use of family stories and cross-cultural case studies to help trainee and practising teachers and special educators to better understand the history, reality and ways of thinking of culturally diverse families and communities (Sanchez, 1999; Wischonwski, 2001).

In respect to detrimental beliefs and attitudes associated with disability and special needs, Smith, A. (2001) maintains that, “categorical labels often serve to overshadow individual characteristics and can serve to reinforce negative attitudes and stereotypes” (p. 182). The abolition of categorical labelling and the exclusionary practices associated with it would do much to improve disabilist attitudes as would the inclusion of disability information and issues in the school curriculum and a significant increase in the number of teachers and special educators with disabilities (Gartner & Kerzner, 1999; Meyer et al., 2001; Smith, A., 2001).

“In order for teachers to interact effectively with their students they must confront their own racism and biases” (McAllister & Irvine, 2000, p. 3). However, because certain biases are so firmly imbedded in the structure of society, Grossman H. (1995) contends that for some teachers self-insight is insufficient to change their negative and prejudicial attitudes. Meaningful changes require determined effort over a period of time. He

suggests teachers work together to identify their personal and instructional biases and concentrate on changing a few negative behaviours and attitudes each month.

The importance of achieving these positive attitudes is highlighted by Persell (1997), Gartner and Kerzner (1999), Ladson-Billings (1995) and Burnette (1999). Burnette contends that of the many school factors that affect the success of culturally diverse students, good personal and academic relationships between teachers and students are probably the most influential. This was demonstrated in Ladson-Billings's (1995) research into best practice for African American students and in a wide range of research cited by Persell (1997) which showed the powerful influence of positive and negative expectations on minority group children. Gartner and Kerzner (1999) maintain that significant outcomes can be achieved simply by raising teacher expectations for students with disabilities. They suggest that, "the expected outcomes for students with disabilities must be drawn from the outcomes a State expects for students in general and that measures of these outcomes must be incorporated in school and district public reports" (p. 26).

Cultural Incompatibilities

Another challenge to the successful education of learners with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups and the involvement of their parents and families is the existence of incompatible cultural expectations, beliefs, procedures, values, norms and practices. For example, parents who believe that education is the sole responsibility of the school are unlikely to respond to teachers' attempts to involve them in their child's school activities (Ford & Harris, 1999). Similarly, children from ethnic cultures where permissive child-rearing practices are the norm may have difficulty responding to the demands of an authoritarian teacher (Lynch & Hanson, 1998).

Grossman H. (1995) describes four ways these incompatibilities can be dealt with. The first is assimilation, an approach that has dominated in the past. However, the disproportionate representation of ethnic minority and indigenous learners in special education bears testament to the ineffectiveness of this approach. Accommodating to the learner's cultural characteristics, assisting students to become bicultural and

empowering them, “to resolve their cultural conflicts in their own ways” (ibid., p. 119) are other means Grossman suggests for dealing with cultural incompatibilities.

Kalyanpur and Harry (1999) and Harry, Kalyanpur and Day (1999) suggest adopting a posture of “cultural reciprocity.” For professionals working with children and families from diverse cultures, this is a four step process. First, they must identify the values that are embedded in their interpretation of a learner’s difficulties or in recommendations for particular interventions or services. Second, they must find out whether the family involved recognises and values these assumptions and, if not, how their views differ. Third, professionals must acknowledge and give respect to any cultural differences identified and fully explain the cultural basis of their assumptions. Finally, through discussion and collaboration they should determine the most effective way of adapting their professional interpretations and recommendations to the value system of the family involved (Harry, Kalyanpur & Day, 1999, pp. 7, 10-11).

Similar approaches are recommended by Danseco (1997). The first (based on the work of Tyler, Brome & Williams, 1991 and Tyler, Sussewell, & Williams-McCoy, 1985) is to identify specific areas where parents’ and professionals’ beliefs are convergent, divergent and in conflict and then to explore ways convergent areas can be expanded, divergent areas respected and areas of conflict dealt with. The second approach (based on the work of Serpell, 1993, 1994) involves identifying and validating the differences, frames of reference and shared goals of all concerned, negotiating practices and beliefs and exploring ways to “fuse horizons” to achieve mutually agreeable solutions.

Macias (1987, cited in Grossman, H., 1995) describes a classroom-based approach to resolving cultural incompatibilities. Teachers faced with the culturally-based problem of Papago children’s reluctance to participate verbally and to conform to imposed rules handled the situation in the following way:

They combined physical activities with verbal activities, such as dancing and singing simultaneously. They also exposed them to the behaviour that would eventually be required by presenting them with activities designed to entice them into improving their verbal skills and self-assertive classroom participatory

behaviour. Teachers taught students to conform to school rules and procedures. However, because students were unaccustomed to so many limitations of their freedom, teachers did not use consequences to enforce rules. Instead they repeatedly reminded students what was expected of them and patiently waited for them to conform. In these ways teachers helped students to gradually adjust to the school's culture without unduly confronting the culturally determined learning and behaviour styles that they brought with them to school. (p. 129)

Other suggestions for dealing with cultural incompatibilities include situation-specific instruction where students are taught to match their behaviours to the particular setting (Burnette, 1999; Sparks, 2000) and, at the macro level, increased involvement of ethnic minorities in the development of nationwide education-related criteria. This will not only result in broadening the parameters of what knowledge is valued and what behaviours are accepted in the educational sphere, but it will also give ethnic minority groups a greater sense of ownership and commitment to education (Bowman, 1994).

Obstacles To Parent and Family Involvement

Despite the large amount of literature highlighting the importance of including parents and families, Harry (1992b) found that ethnic minority parents and parents with low incomes were the least likely to become involved in their children's education. Lian and Fontanez-Phelan (2001) also found infrequent parent-school contact in their study of 158 Latino parents of limited English proficient children with disabilities. Ford and Harris (1999) attribute low rates of parental involvement to a number of causes including poverty, role strain, previous negative school experiences and a lack of the skills, knowledge, cultural capital and educational experiences that facilitate involvement. Meyer et al. (2001) add that parents are also deterred by the deficit-based focus of special education, by ethnic imbalance in IEP meetings, by IEP processes grounded in Anglo legal traditions, by culturally inappropriate procedures, interventions, communication and interaction styles and by professionals' negative attitudes and low expectations. They note that the logistical barriers to involvement such as lack of childcare and transport are relatively easily surmounted in comparison to the barriers created by the structure and processes of the special education system. They provide an example:

The special education structure of written communication and formal face-to-face conferences assigns a passive role to parents unless they possess the professional language and monocultural, legalistic skills integral to the process. The distinct middle-class quality of these events is a source of discomfort for many low income and working-class parents. (ibid, p. 334)

The literature contains a wide range of suggestions for overcoming the obstacles to parent and family involvement. These include:

- ◆ Providing home-based services (Ford & Harris, 1999) and family-orientated activities (Faircloth & Tippecconic, 2000);
- ◆ providing family education programmes/workshops that enskill, empower and motivate parents. These may cover topics such as English as a second language, how to help in their children's education, disability-related information including rights, responsibilities and resources, cross-cultural, interactive communication skills and employment opportunities (Ford & Harris, 1999; Lian & Fontanez-Phelan, 2001; Lynch & Hanson, 1998; Sileo & Prater, 1998);
- ◆ using parent/family-friendly communication structures and strategies including home visits with follow-up telephone calls, using liaison and advocacy personnel from the child's ethnic community and encouraging parents to invite whomever they feel is appropriate to special education meetings (Faircloth & Tippecconic, 2000; Harry, 1992b; Meyer et al., 2001);
- ◆ providing teacher preservice and inservice education that includes strategies and skills for communicating effectively with ethnically diverse groups. Schools should also conduct a self-analysis of parental participation (Harry & Kalyanpur, 1994; Lian & Fontanez-Phelan, 2001; Lynch & Hanson, 1998);
- ◆ providing childcare and transport to enable parents to attend special education meetings; holding IEP meetings in venues outside the school; being flexible about meeting times; and running informal school functions where parents can get to know teachers in a non-threatening environment (Brady, Bennett & Phillips, 1993; Faircloth & Tippecconic, 2000);
- ◆ opening schools up to community use including the provision of a variety of flexible adult education options. Helu Thaman (MoE, 2000a) recommends that schools be

used as, “libraries, meeting places, clubs and discussion areas, as well as health education centres” (p. 26). This broadening of clientele and range of activities is aimed at making schools a more welcoming environment to parents and families;

- ◆ providing readily accessible written, audio, audio-visual and web-based information and communication in the family’s dominant language. This could include information about: The services and resources available; the child’s special needs, educational requirements and progress; parents’ rights; disability laws; resource and funding applications and processes; and a list of parent-to-parent and disability organisations, interpreters and translators (Denney et al., 2001; McKay, 1995; Park, Turnbull & Park, 2001; Turnbull, Blue-Banning, Turbiville & Park, 1999; Valdivia, 1999);
- ◆ connecting parents to other parents from the same ethnic group who have children with similar special needs and establishing parent support groups and networks (Faircloth & Tippeconic, 2000; Park, Turnbull & Park, 2001; Valdivia, 1999);
- ◆ providing bilingual and other resources for parents to help their children at home (Lian & Fontanez-Phelan, 2001; McGee-Banks, 2001);
- ◆ special educators and teachers being actively involved in local community activities and concerns (Ladson-Billings, 1995);
- ◆ providing non-English speaking parents with information in their native language⁵³ or arranging interpreters from the same ethnic group (Denney et al., 2001; Faircloth & Tippeconic, 2000; McKay, 1995; Park, Turnbull & Park, 2001). On the subject of interpreters, McKay notes that the mistaken assumption is often made that an interpreter is not needed because the family appears to be reasonably fluent in English. However, she warns that while this may be the case for every day conversation, the more specialised language used in discussions of disability and children’s future options may be beyond the understanding of some parents. Park, Turnbull and Park (2001) recommend that interpreters receive training and payment, that time be allowed for a trusting relationship to develop between parents and interpreters and that extra time be provided in all meetings where an interpreter is involved.

⁵³ The provision of information in their native language or primary mode of communication is a right parents are guaranteed under the IDEA Amendments , 1997 (Faircloth & Tippeconic, 2000).

The Need for Widespread, Far-Reaching Changes

A final challenge that features prominently in the special education literature is the need for widespread change at the micro, meso and macro systems levels in order to achieve any long term improvements for learners with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups. Previously described initiatives have dealt with education-related interventions mainly at the micro and meso systems levels. However, Grossman, H. (1998) notes that students must feel confident that educational success has tangible benefits and that once they leave school their efforts and attainments will be recognised and rewarded. He cites research that indicates students from ethnic minority groups do not presently hold this belief. No matter how relevant, culturally appropriate and culturally inclusive special education programmes and services are the literature shows that learners with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups are still being disadvantaged by ideologies, systems and circumstances beyond their families and the school gates.

Measures to change this situation are called for. They focus on three areas in particular. The first is a resource-focused approach that concentrates on the provision of a wide range of support services and additional resources to meet the multiple needs of at-risk and poor ethnic minority families (Bowman, 1994; Burnette, 1998; Vohs, 1989).

The second is a process-focused approach targeted at empowering parents and families that have children with special needs. For example, Marfo (1996) maintains that special educators have a moral obligation to provide interventions that empower parents to make significant changes in their life circumstances. He fears that special education services may provide a bandaid which diverts society's attention from finding real solutions to the problems of poverty, social disadvantage, powerlessness and family stress. Consequently he urges policies and interventions that do not contribute to the institutionalisation of special education but rather to the empowerment of families and to radical societal change. Patton (1998) expresses a similar concern about special education. He maintains that it plays a role, "in maintaining the existing social and economic stratification order" (p. 27) and supports moves to change this.

The third approach is focused on prevention rather than accommodation or cure. A variety of recommendations are made in this area. Lynch and Hanson (1992) advocate for a change in Agency thinking and practices that compromise or discriminate against people from diverse backgrounds. They call for the introduction of, “comprehensive educational, health and social programs that prevent failure, illness and the hopelessness of poverty” (p. 355). Giroux’s (1981) recommendation is to empower people to recognize and work for change in the social, political and economic structures that support class-based power and domination. Similarly, Simon, M. (2001) suggests the development of critical consciousness in order to challenge institutions and ideologies that oppress and dehumanise. She advocates Freire’s (1972) approach of dialogue, reflection and action as the keys to societal transformation.

Artiles (2000, 1998), Artiles and Zamora-Duran (1997), Daniels (1998), Gillborn (1997), Helu Thaman (1995) and Smith, A. (2001) recommend that this critical reflection be focused on the examination of the societal values and broad theoretical, philosophical, historical, legal and ethical issues and perspectives that underpin and influence special education and education. For example, Smith advocates for recognition of the pervasive influence of White power and privilege in education in particular and society in general. She calls for individual and collective reflection and dialogue, “about differences, about who benefits and who suffers from power and privilege, about how we perceive *us*, *them* and *the other*” (p. 185). Smith believes that democratic participation where stakeholders have a genuine input into all decision-making is essential at all levels of practice and reform. In her opinion the best solutions to racism and disabilism involve multiracial, multiabled alliances where White and non-disabled people participate but do not dominate. The ultimate goal of such alliances is to eliminate all privilege associated with class, gender, sexuality, religion, language, ability/disability, ethnicity and culture in order to change *us*, *them* and the *other* to *we* (Smith, A., 2000).

In conclusion, it is interesting to note that a recent review of the international literature by Berryman et al., (2002) reached many of the same conclusions drawn in this chapter. They noted that the international literature emphasised the importance of the team approach in service provision for students from ethnic minority and indigenous groups.

The provision of culturally appropriate assessment and interventions was seen as paramount and achievable when professionals drew on the expertise and active involvement of parents, families, cultural experts and the students themselves. Major issues identified were the need for initiatives: To enskill and empower parents; to develop cultural expertise in professionals; to overcome accessibility problems associated with the remote location of many indigenous groups; to recruit and train more teachers and special educators from within indigenous and ethnic minority communities; to overcome the conflict between local and national perspectives; and to use assessment measures and approaches that are culturally appropriate.

SUMMARY

A multiplicity of factors influence how special needs are perceived and managed. These include a group's worldview and the beliefs, values, attitudes and practices that emanate from it; cultural beliefs and attitudes relating to the cause, nature and extent of particular special needs; and cultural norms, expectations and lifestyles. The important influence of culture is further supported by learning, cognitive, cultural reproduction and oppression theories. Given this, it is not surprising that international trends in providing for learners with special needs from ethnic minority and indigenous groups emphasise the inclusion of culturally appropriate assessment, teaching and research. Employment of people from ethnic minority and indigenous groups and the involvement of parents and family members are also high priorities.

However, these recommended practices are not without their challenges. A variety of strategies are being utilised to overcome the shortage of culturally competent personnel and culturally appropriate programmes and services and to break down the barriers to parental and family involvement. Negative, detrimental beliefs and attitudes of teachers and special education personnel, cultural incompatibilities and the need to make changes at the systems level are further challenges that are being addressed internationally.

CHAPTER FIVE: MĀORI RESEARCH CONTEXT

E kore e piri te uku te rino.

Clay will not cling to iron.

INTRODUCTION

As stated in chapter one, a guiding principle of this research is that it should be conducted within a Māori research paradigm. But what exactly is a Māori research paradigm and how does this research fit within it? This chapter attempts to answer these questions by first briefly examining the nature and development of Māori research. It then proposes and explains a set of principles believed to underlie Māori research and uses these as a template to examine the methodological, theoretical, epistemological and ethical foundations of this study.

THE NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF MĀORI RESEARCH

Māori have been involved in research for centuries. Our very survival in adapting to the subtropical climate of Aotearoa/New Zealand bears testament to our research ability. Rangahau (research) was an integral part of our daily existence and vocabulary.⁵⁴ However, over time research has come to be viewed in a negative light by many Māori. This is principally due to 150 years of Pākehā research which has been detrimental to Māori. In her book, *Decolonising Methodologies*, Smith, L. T. (1999) describes at length how Māori have suffered and continue to suffer from a legacy of demeaning, inaccurate and harmful research. She tells of researchers who have broken cultural protocols, negated Māori values, ignored key informants and produced research findings, “that told us things already known, suggested things that would not work and made careers for people who already had jobs” (p. 3).

A similar dissatisfaction with unhelpful, negative and inaccurate research findings, with Pākehā control of Māori research and with the inability of Western methodologies to address Māori needs has been voiced by Bishop (1996a, 1996b); Bishop and Glynn (1992, 1999b); Cunningham (1998); Durie, A. (1992); Durie, M. H. (1998); Glynn &

⁵⁴ See, for example, moteatea on pages 108, 339 and 431 in Grey, G. (1858).

Bishop, 1995; Jahnke and Taiapa (1999); Johnston (1998); Reid and Robson (1998); Simpson (1997); Smith, G. H. (1992); Smith, L. T. (1997); Stokes, 1992; Tapine. 1999; Teariki, Spoonley and Tomoana (1992); Te Awekotuku (1991); Timutimu-Thorpe (1992); Waitere-Ang (1998); Waitere-Ang and Johnston (1999); and Walker, H. (1992). This discontent amongst (mainly Māori) researchers, coupled with a growing, “desire to recover and reinstitute mātauranga Māori” (Glover cited in Cunningham, 1998, p. 402), has resulted in the blossoming of Māori research over the last decade.

It can be argued that the last decade has also seen the “coming of age” of Māori research. There has been a growing movement away from defining Māori research by comparison with Western research theories and methodologies towards asserting its validity in its own right. Being grounded in Māori epistemology and ontology, Māori research gives rise to a different set of foundational questions, issues and influences than those arising from other worldviews. Tau (1999) illustrates this point in his discussion of historians’ attempts to “massage” one culture’s perceptions of the past into another culture’s conceptual framework. This is based on the belief, “that any primitive system can be understood by taking aspects of a culture and fitting it to an assumed series of universal principles held by western scholars” (ibid., p. 12 - 13). Tau proposes that instead of the inadequate attempts to provide a Māori perspective or dimension to disciplines that are based on knowledge frameworks foreign to mātauranga Māori, one should start from a basis of Māori episteme on which other disciplines can be targeted.

Royal (1998, p. 86) supports this call for the acknowledgement of a Māori knowledge discipline and argues that the development of mātauranga Māori has been “severely hindered” by Universities’ attempts to encapsulate it within a western paradigm of knowledge. Jackson adds another dimension to the argument:

The Treaty did not submit us to the research methodologies and ethics of somebody else. The Treaty affirmed our right to develop the processes of research which are appropriate for our people. (cited in Keefe et al., 1998, p. 182).

Categories of Māori Research

A perusal of Māori research literature reveals a number of different categories of research.

The research approaches developed by Māori have been named by Māori. Mason Durie talked of Māori-centred research. Others particularly in the natural sciences talk about Māori research. In education the field of Kaupapa Māori research has been highly theorized and carefully nurtured through specific research projects to define its parameters and characteristics. Iwi research names the research carried out by iwi to support their claims to the Waitangi Tribunal. Whānau research projects name those projects which develop oral histories and biographies, which ensure the transmission to another generation of whānau knowledge. Avenues for non-Māori researchers to work alongside Māori are often framed under partnership, bi-cultural and participatory research. (Smith, L. T., 1997, p. 5)

The development of Māori research is reflected in the on-going debate regarding these various research categories. This debate has led to the evolution and redefinition of categories over time. Cunningham (1998) noted that while there is no consensus on a definition of kaupapa Māori research there are a number of emerging themes that contribute towards a definition. These themes centre around the amount of Māori participation, control and analysis involved in the research and the emphasis placed on the methods used. Cunningham advocates a taxonomy of four research types. This taxonomy consists of:

- ◆ Research not involving Māori - “Māori participation or data is neither sought nor considered relevant” (ibid., p. 7).
- ◆ research involving Māori - “Māori are involved as participants or subjects or possibly as junior members of a research team; Research where Māori data is sought and analysed” (ibid., p. 7).
- ◆ Māori-centred research - “where Māori are significant participants and are typically senior members of research teams; Research where a Māori analysis is undertaken and which produces Māori knowledge, albeit measured against mainstream standards for research” (ibid., p. 7).

- ◆ Kaupapa Māori research - “where Māori are significant participants and where the research team is typically all Māori; Research where a Māori analysis is undertaken and which produces Māori knowledge; Research which primarily meets expectations and quality standards set by Māori” (ibid., p. 7).

These research types represent a continuum of increasing Māori involvement, analysis, emphasis and control. While Cunningham’s taxonomy provides a measure for defining what constitutes Māori research debate continues to exist over where particular research projects fit on the continuum and over the point at which non-Māori research ends and Māori research begins. Although Cunningham’s “Research Involving Māori” and the closely related “Māori-friendly” category (Waitere-Ang & Johnston, 1999) may have been accepted as Māori research in the early 1990s, very few Māori researchers would classify it as “Māori research” today. One of the principal reasons is because this type of research, “Does not address the unequal power-relations between Māori and Pākehā, and Māori involvement occurs within parameters controlled by Pākehā” (Waitere-Ang & Johnston, 1999, p. 15).

At the other end of the continuum there is a small number of Māori researchers who maintain that “proper” Māori research must be totally Māori controlled and conducted by Māori researchers completely in te reo Māori (Te Aho, 1998). Royal (1998) adds to the debate by stating that the word rangahau should only, “be applied to research conducted within the ‘Te Ao Mārama’ paradigm of knowledge and by using the whakapapa methodology” (p. 87).

PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING MĀORI RESEARCH

While the variously termed categories of Māori research have different orientations and emphases, an analysis of over 100 different books, articles and oral sources relating to Māori research reveals a set of common principles believed to be either absolutely essential or highly desirable. It is these principles that form the basis of this study’s methodology. They provide an interpretive framework and incorporate a Māori theory of knowledge which guides the research. The following table lists these principles, outlines their implications for research in general and provides some specific examples of research inputs, methods and procedures used in the present study.

Table 5.1

The Application of Māori Research Principles to the Present Research

Principle →	Research Implications → → →	Research Inputs Methods and Procedures
Kaupapa Māori	Research must be conducted within a Māori cultural framework. It must stem from a Māori worldview, be based on Māori epistemology and incorporate Māori concepts, knowledge, skills, experiences, attitudes, processes, reo, practices, customs, values and beliefs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Karakia included ◆ Holistic data sought ◆ Koha given ◆ Face-to-face interviews held ◆ Kaumātua involved
Importance, Relevance and Beneficence	Research should be focused on areas of importance, concern and benefit to Māori. It should originate from their self-identified needs and aspirations and result in some positive outcome for them. This may be manifest in many different ways e.g. improved services, increased knowledge, health gains or more effective use of resources. Whatever the form, Māori research should benefit Māori in some way.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Research topic originates from parental and whānau concerns ◆ Teaching assists children ◆ Information shared with parents/whānau ◆ Teachers learn how to conduct a cultural audit
Participation	As much as possible, research should use participatory methodologies that involve the people being researched as active, collaborative participants at all stages of the research process.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Parents/whānau interviewed ◆ Kōhanga reo focus groups consulted
Empowerment	Research should empower those being researched. This empowerment should stem from both the research process and product.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Parents made aware of entitlements ◆ Analysis focuses on power inequity
Māori Control	Research should be controlled by Māori. This is to ensure that it is carried out within a Māori cultural framework and that Māori interests and integrity are protected. Control should extend to matters relating to ethical requirements, assessment, funding, intellectual property rights, ownership and dissemination of knowledge.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Permission sought from Rūnanga and Māori organisations ◆ Whānau networks used in sample selection ◆ Participant feedback used to amend cultural audit
Accountability	People involved in conducting research should be accountable to the people they research in particular and to the Māori community in general.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Interview transcripts returned for verification/change ◆ Findings widely disseminated ◆ Jargon avoided
High quality	Research should be of a high quality. It	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Use of culturally

	should be assessed by culturally appropriate methods and measured against Māori-relevant standards.	appropriate methods ♦ Supervisory input from Māori and Pākehā experts
Appropriate researcher	Research must be conducted by people who have the necessary cultural, reo, subject and research expertise required. They must also possess a commitment to things Māori, the trust of the Māori community being researched, cross-cultural competence, personal qualities suited to doing Māori research and an understanding of and commitment to the obligations, responsibilities and liabilities that are an integral part of Māori research.	♦ Advantageous tribal affiliations ♦ Helpful research and teaching experience in Māori education and special education ♦ Long-standing commitment to Māori education and special education.

As previously mentioned, the guiding principles introduced in Table 5.1 were derived from an analysis of over 100 different books, articles and oral sources relating to Māori research. In the next section literature support for these principles is cited and their implications for research in general and application in this present study are discussed in more depth. However, from the outset two points should be made.

First, the task of categorising explanations and examples from this present research and the research of others has been problematic. For example, the discussion of objective and subjective research approaches fits comfortably into the “kaupapa Māori” category because it relates to epistemological beliefs about ways of knowing and obtaining knowledge. However, the same discussion could be placed in the “accountable” category because it relates to the collection of data that accurately reflects people’s views or in the “Māori control” category because it relates to maintaining Māori interests and integrity. Therefore, in reading the following section, it should be understood that inclusion of information in one category does not preclude its applicability to others.

Second, discussion in the kaupapa Māori section presupposes that the traditional worldview outlined and the beliefs, values, practices, protocols and episteme emanating from it still have acceptance and relevance in the 21st century. The practice of importing traditional understandings and values into a contemporary context is a controversial

issue. Tauroa (1989) warns against the mindset that would have us freeze all traditional values and practices, thaw them out in the twenty-first century and expect them to be as relevant and appropriate as the day they were frozen. Similarly, Penetito (1986, p. 7) states that the desire to maintain the original “purity” of Māoritanga into the present and forward to the future is “inexcusable,” “absurd” and “impossible.”

On the other hand Royal (1999) argues:

Culture and its symbols are created by the members of that culture to help them understand their experience of the world. It is the creativity of the culture, fashioned and refined over generations, retaining its in-depth wisdom and experience, that gives a sense of unity and purpose to the members of that culture. The ideas are tried and proven and they retain a durability. This is why the great mythological traditions of the world endure. They contain concepts, ideas, wisdom as relevant as the day they were first dreamt. (p. 3)

However, culture and knowledge are not static. They evolve and develop to accommodate changing circumstances and experiences. This is acknowledged by Cunningham (1998) who posits a conservative Māori worldview incorporating historical knowledge and a contemporary Māori worldview incorporating future knowledge. This future knowledge, “stems from past knowledge, yet it necessarily must take account of the recent and, as far as we can tell, future environment in which it is developed” (pp. 395-396). While other researchers might not explain their position in terms of historical and contemporary worldviews, inherent in their discussion of a Māori worldview is a similar acknowledgement of contemporary influences and circumstances. Royal (1998) for example, talks about Te Ao Mārama theory that, “seeks its inspiration in the past (but) its orientation is toward the creation of a philosophy of knowledge appropriate for contemporary and future needs and aspirations” (p. 79). This is the position I take in the present research. While many of the beliefs, values and practices emanating from a traditional worldview provide the enduring cultural norms of Māori society, they must be interpreted in a contemporary context.

KAUPAPA MĀORI

Māori Worldview

This first principle necessitates a research paradigm which places Māori at the centre and where a Māori worldview is taken as “the norm.” But what is a Māori worldview? How does it influence research in general and this study in particular?

Marsden and Henare (1992) state:

The worldview is the central systematisation 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)

Central to a Māori worldview is the interdependent relationship and interconnectiveness between human beings, nature and the supernatural (spiritual). These three elements are inextricably interwoven to create reality for Māori. This belief is articulated in the creation story where the union of Rangi, the sky father, and Papatuanuku, the earth mother, gave rise to all the inhabitants of the earth. It is also demonstrated in Tane’s journey to the highest heaven to obtain the three baskets of knowledge. Each basket brought back to earth represents a particular realm. Te kete aro-nui is the basket of secular knowledge representing the natural world around us as apprehended by the senses. The second realm is te tua-uri, the ‘real world’ behind the world of sense perception, the world, “Where the cosmic processes originated and continue to operate as a complex series of rhythmical patterns of energy to uphold, sustain and replenish the energies and life of the natural world” (ibid., p. 8). The third or spiritual world is te ao tua-atea, “A world beyond any space-time framework, it is infinite and eternal” (ibid., p. 11). In a Māori worldview, these three realms are perceived as an integrated whole. It is this perception that, “is the basis for the holistic approach of the Māori to his environment” (ibid., p. 16).

This holistic worldview and the foundational belief in the interconnectiveness and interdependence of human beings, nature and the supernatural have a variety of implications for research:

1. Inclusion of a Spiritual Dimension

The inclusion of a spiritual dimension in research is justified on two main grounds. First, knowledge is perceived to have spiritual origins and spiritual guardianship (Marsden, 1992; Mead, 1993; Puketapu-Hetet, 1993; Te Awekotuku, 1991). Second, in an “open” system where there is no disjunction between the secular and spiritual worlds, “Then it is possible that man who is a spiritual being may discern spiritually the processes that occur in Tua-Uri and Tua-Atea” (Marsden & Henare, 1992, p. 16).

Acknowledgement of a spiritual dimension is demonstrated by Timutimu-Thorpe (1990) who reports seeking spiritual support from tohunga ahurewa; by Te Awekotuku (1991) who advocates for researchers’ rights, “to appropriate and effective debriefing or counseling of a spiritual nature,” (p. 3); by Walsh-Tapiata (1998) who refers to karakia as a protection mechanism for both researchers and participants; and by Irwin (1994) who could not start her PhD research until it had been blessed:

I cannot articulate why I needed this study blessed before I started, I just knew, deep in my intuition, that I had to do this Māori have traditionally sought spiritual blessings before they embarked on journeys into unknown lands. This was what I was doing Only with spiritual planning, blessing and support was I prepared to enter into this major journey. (p. 34)

While I have not sought any formal spiritual blessing or support for this present research, karakia are part of my research process and I am open to the possibility of spiritual guidance. When I was working on my Masters thesis a number of years ago, I lost one particular section of work three times. The first time it disappeared from my computer I blamed my computer illiteracy. The second time I blamed my own stupidity but the third time the section disappeared I decided that this was a “tohu.” Perhaps the information was spiritually sensitive, or perhaps it was incorrect and the informants and I were being protected by some beneficent kaitiaki or tūpuna. Whatever the reason, the section was not meant to be included and so it was not. No similar incident has happened in this present research but as previously stated I remain open to the possibility of spiritual intervention.

2. Adoption of a Holistic Approach

A second major implication of a holistic worldview is the adoption of a holistic approach to research (Durie, M. H., 1998). This approach involves both content and process. An example of the former is the inclusion of the whare tapa wha model of well-being in health-related research (Cram, Smith & Johnstone, 1998; Crengle, 1998; Durie, M. H., 1994b), while the latter involves research approaches that go beyond disciplinary constraints (Durie, M. H., 1998). In deciding which methods, measures and procedures are appropriate for Māori research, Durie, M. H. (1996b) warns against approaches that seek to compartmentalise Māori knowledge. He views the strong disciplinary bias to study and research as:

counterproductive - even detrimental - to the organisation and extension of Māori knowledge. A feature of Māori development generally, including Māori health and research, and Māori Studies is its intersectoral and interdisciplinary basis and its emphasis on a holistic approach to human development [Therefore research methods must be chosen that] ... take account of the complex interactions between the past and present, the individual and the collective, the body, mind and soul, people and their environment, political power and social and economic spheres. (pp. 4, 6)

The present research is holistic in both content and process. First, the variety of data collection and dissemination strategies used in the seven interrelated research phases bears testament to a holistic approach. Second, in seeking to identify culturally appropriate and effective ways of providing for Māori learners with special needs, an ecological perspective has been employed. While the main focus of the research has been the Māori learner in the microsystem of the school or early childhood centre, organisational and home settings have also been considered. At the mesosystem level, direct and indirect relationships and links between the three principal settings have been investigated, as have exosystem factors. At the macrosystem level, influences such as societal attitudes towards inclusion and biculturalism have been taken into account and at the chronosystem level, the evolution and influence of special education and Māori education have been important considerations. An understanding of the ways in which

the various “systems” influence each other is essential in any effort to meet the special needs of Māori learners (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Third, a holistic approach has been taken in the development of the cultural audit. This audit is designed to investigate a Māori learner’s cultural, social, emotional, cognitive, physical and spiritual development in the context of their school/early childhood centre, whānau, hapū, iwi and Aotearoa/New Zealand society.

The conceptual framework that has informed the literature review and research is illustrated in the following diagram.

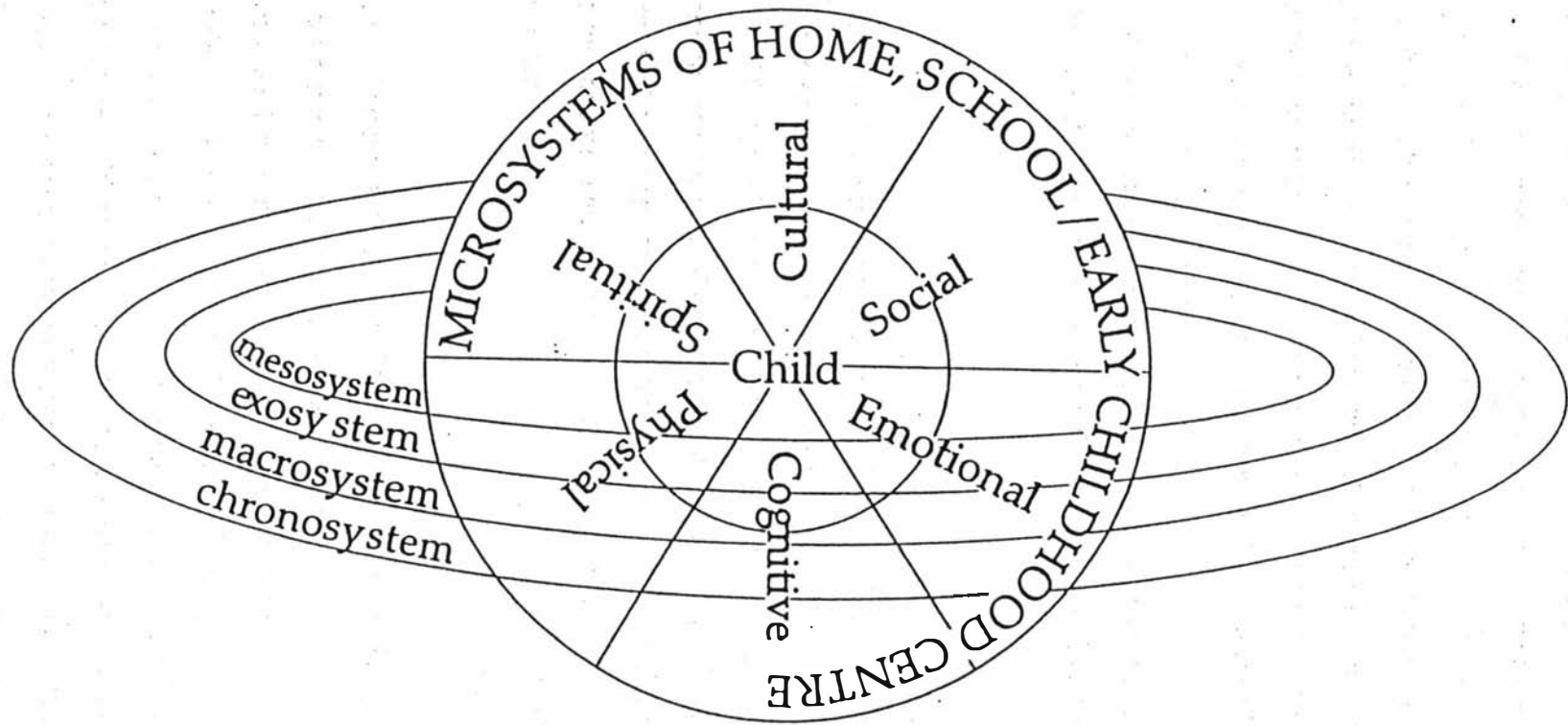


Figure 5.1 A Conceptual Framework: The Paeareau Model

3. Incorporation of Māori Values, Concepts, Protocols, Processes and Practices.

Māori values, concepts, protocols and practices stem from and reflect a Māori worldview. For example, the practice of leaving the inner shoots of a flax bush intact is a conservation measure that reflects a respect for the plant's life force and an appreciation of its common heritage with human beings. Such practices maintain the balance and harmony that exist between the human, natural and spiritual elements. To be accepted as, "Māori research," research projects must also take cognisance of the values, concepts, protocols and practices that constitute a Māori worldview. The huge number of these values, concepts, protocols and practices and the wide variety of ways they can be manifest defy coverage in this thesis. However, a few examples will illustrate the point:

Values and Concepts

Utu (reciprocity) for instance, is a Māori value that is incorporated into many research projects. Linked to accountability, utu requires that researchers reciprocate in some way for the time, effort, information and aroha given by their participants. Tibble (cited in McCarthy, 1995) explains that the notion of reciprocity has no boundaries or time constraints. The researcher's obligation may extend beyond the immediate project and may also revisit the researcher at anytime. "The invisible obligatory contract one signs with the community involved extends through the dimensions of time and beyond that of the individual" (p. 63).

My present research involves utu in a number of forms: Assessing and working with children with special needs who are part of the research project; obtaining services and resources for them; providing parents, whānau, teachers and organisations with relevant information; and facilitating beneficial networking. Durie, A. (1992) maintains that researchers have an obligation to address and redress Māori grievances and that they must not hit and run after their research is published. I support this viewpoint and have accepted that my commitment to Māori learners with special needs extends beyond the present research and must be a commitment for life.

Smith, L.T. (1999, p. 120) and Walsh-Tapiata (1998, p. 255) warn that Māori values require researchers: To be cautious (kia tūpato); not to trample on people's mana (kaua

e takahia te mana o te tāngata); not to flaunt their knowledge (kaua e mahaki); to show respect for people (aroha ki te tāngata); to be a seen face (kanohi kitea); to look, listen then speak (titiro, whakarongo ... kōrero) and to show hospitality (manaaki ki te tāngata). Timutimu-Thorpe (1990, pp. 92 & 93) provides examples of how she incorporated some of these values into her research, namely those of awhinatanga, manaakitanga, tiakitanga and whakamā. In this present study I have also attempted to incorporate the values these researchers discuss. For example, in arranging face-to-face interviews (kanohi kitea) the participants have had the choice of time and venue (awhinatanga). At interviews, a koha of food was provided and a koha of money was given to kōhanga reo involved in the evaluation hui (manaakitanga and utu).

Protocols. Processes and Practices

Irwin, Davies and Harre Hindmarsh (1995) describe a number of research projects where hui have been utilised successfully for data gathering purposes. Amongst its benefits they list:

The hui is: totally transparent in its process, output and outcome; highly cost effective and cheap; technologically simple; a culturally preferred methodology; which is innovatory in its exploration of collective as well as individual voices.
(p. 33)

Similarly, Bishop, Glynn and the Poutama Pounamu Research team recommend the use of hui in Māori research. They have written extensively on the use of hui, story telling and whakawhanaungatanga as research processes and the practice of conducting research in a whānau context (Bishop, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 1998; Bishop & Glynn, 1992, 1999a, 1999b; Glynn & Bishop, 1995; Glynn, Berryman, Atvars et al, 1997). They describe how whakawhanaungatanga has been used to establish whakapapa links with people involved in the research process and also to bring more people on board the research waka. The Poutama Pounamu staff and associates operate as a whānau of interest conducting research within established whānau practices:

We have tried to follow appropriate protocol (tikanga) in our formal meetings and in our interactions with Māori and non-Māori visitors Our major

decisions have been reached through negotiation and consensus. We acknowledge each other's individual experience, expertise and professional networks in finding the best way to reach our goals and objectives. Our whānau is strengthened through a relationship built on trust and respect. Each of us is aware that our membership within the whānau carries with it both rights and responsibilities towards each other and towards the whānau as a whole, as well as towards achieving research and training goals. (Glynn, Berryman, Atvars et al., 1997, p. 107)

I have also utilised Māori processes in this present research. For example, whakawhanaungatanga was used to set up the kōhanga reo consultation meetings and to involve participants in discussion. These meetings were conducted as hui with strict adherence to the appropriate protocols and practices including mihi, koha, karakia, waiata and kai. In interviews where the participants were unknown to me, I used whakawhanaungatanga to build trust and rapport. In all interviews participants were encouraged to tell their stories and to share and discuss their experiences. They were able to, "Select, recollect and reflect on stories within their own cultural context" (Glynn & Bishop, 1995, p. 40).

Epistemological Influences

What is Māori knowledge (mātauranga Māori)?

How is it created, recorded and passed on?

What are the research implications?

Three basic but difficult questions made more challenging by the limited space available to discuss them!

1. Whakapapa

Royal (1998) provides a "working definition" of mātauranga Māori: "Māori knowledge is created by Māori to explain their experience of the world" (p. 80). He notes that in traditional times Māori used whakapapa to create knowledge and to organise and understand their world. This observation is supported by Tau (1999) who describes whakapapa as, "the skeletal structure of Māori epistemology" (p. 15).

Whakapapa as a tool for transmitting knowledge pervaded Māori culture (Marsden & Henare, 1992). Cosmic, ira atua and ira tāngata whakapapa explained the creation of the universe, gods, man and the divisions of nature and the environment (Barlow, 1991).

For Māori, the world was ordered and understood by whakapapa. All things from emotions to flora and fauna were part of an organic system of relationships that could be traced back to the primal parents, Rangi (Heavens) and Papatuanuku (Earth) Whakapapa determined how Māori thought. (Tau, 1999, pp. 13-14)

Given its importance in a Māori worldview and its pivotal role in mātauranga Māori, what are the research implications of whakapapa?

Whakapapa has been used in a number of ways by various researchers. For example, it was used as a metaphor for the development and presentation of the research process by the Poutama Pounamu staff in their Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi Project (Atvars, Berryman, Glynn & Walker, 1995) and it has been used by researchers (including myself in this present research) to establish whānau connections between the researcher and the researched.

A more fundamental use of whakapapa has been proposed by Royal (1998). He advocates whakapapa as a research methodology. Royal notes that the whakapapa process has stood the test of use and time and that as a concept, whakapapa is robust enough to be considered an authentic Māori methodology and substantial enough to be as relevant in today's world as it was in yesteryear. The basic idea of whakapapa is that two phenomena come together to generate a third. This idea has universal application as a research tool. In presenting his nascent theory at the Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference, July, 1998, Royal gave the example of an earthquake. To understand this geological occurrence a researcher would then investigate what two things came together to generate it. Having established these "parent" phenomena, the researcher can then proceed to investigate the respective "grandparents." This analytical tool when applied to an identified phenomenon draws the researcher outwards to a wider picture rather than inwards to a smaller focus. Whakapapa is

concerned with growth rather than deconstruction. As a research methodology it provides an analytical tool capable of: Investigating the nature and origin of phenomena and the connections and relationships between them; describing trends; locating phenomena within a framework; and finally extrapolating and predicting future phenomena (Royal, 1998).

A weakness of the whakapapa methodology described by Royal is the limitation of having only two contributing parental factors. In the present research, for example, cultural appropriateness is achieved not by just two parental phenomena but by a multiplicity of contributing factors such as the inclusion of culturally relevant information, the use of culturally appropriate teaching, learning and assessment strategies and the incorporation of culturally relevant protocols, practices and values. However, the whakapapa methodology's emphases on the relationships between phenomena and on a wide framework of analysis (*ibid.*, p. 82) are both integral parts of this present research.

2. Categories, Hierarchies, Ownership and Access to Knowledge

Various categories and hierarchies of knowledge existed in traditional times. Knowledge that was required by people to carry out their daily activities was "common" knowledge and available to all. However, there was also specialist, whakapapa, sacred and esoteric knowledge that was available to only a chosen few with proven ability, interest and appropriate lineage (Best, 1974; Buck, 1950; Marsden, 1992). Similarly, today Māori knowledge is not owned equally by all Māori. There is, for instance, iwi and hapū knowledge that is available to iwi and hapū members only and does not belong in the public arena (Durie, E. T., 1998; Selby, Waitere-Ang & Walsh-Tapiata, 1997). Unlike the Pākehā attitude to knowledge where people are assumed to have a "divine right" to know (Smith, L. T., 1992b; Stokes, 1992), the Māori belief is that Māori knowledge was never and is still not universally available (Bishop & Glynn, 1999b; Manihera, 1992; Pewhairangi, 1992; Rangihau, 1992). Brown (1998, p. 389) gives a perfect example of this: When Sir Apirana Ngata requested Te Moananui-a-Kiwa Ngarimu's whakapapa for publication in a memorial booklet, his request was denied. This example illustrates that the principle of private knowledge is not influenced by power or status!

Harry Walker, (personal communication, January, 2000) believes that Pākehā see knowledge as power which can be used to subjugate and oppress others or as a means of self-aggrandisement. Māori knowledge, however, brings with it obligations and responsibilities, not power. This belief is also articulated by Durie, A. (1998):

Responsibility for deep cultural knowledge is seen as being a shared responsibility between the bearer and the receiver of knowledge, preventing one party from taking knowledge at the expense of the giver. Knowledge forms part of an individual's life force in which respect and spirituality would be diminished if the balance between the bearer and the receiver of knowledge was disrupted. (pp. 264-265)

There are a number of research implications arising from these beliefs about knowledge. First, researchers must accept that they will not have access to some knowledge and that other information entrusted to them must remain private (Durie, E. T., 1998). Harry Walker (personal communication, January, 2000) adds that researchers must also accept that on occasions they may not possess the cognitive, emotional or spiritual ability to understand and that not everything is meant to be understood and explained, "Some things just 'are' and should be accepted as such."

Researchers must also accept the responsibilities and obligations that come with the acquisition of knowledge. Personally, I take this responsibility very seriously. The information entrusted to me by all research participants is respected and valued. After talking with participants I check to see if there is any information they do not want included in the research. Depending on the circumstances, this is done orally or by means of returning transcriptions of taped material for checking, amending and deleting. On a small number of occasions participants have said they were uncomfortable with me sharing particular information and their wishes have been respected. I have also had to use discretion about certain information shared with me. While I may have been granted permission to use it, if its use would result in the lessening of any person's mana, it has not been included.

3. Attaining and Passing on Knowledge

For many Māori, the process of gaining knowledge is a subjective, somatic, holistic experience. Knowledge is both attained and transmitted by a variety of means. This is illustrated in Tau's (1999) explanation of how the concept of tapu is learnt:

Tapu, a word that is everywhere in Māori society cannot be understood from an examination of a text. The word is represented and understood by the community through location, body movement, interaction with objects, carving, facial expression, artwork and food gathering. Tapu is everywhere and consequently the language of tapu is represented in everything. (pp. 15-16)

Tau comments further on the role of language in transmitting knowledge. He states that words are symbols for thoughts and that while language is critical in understanding Māori episteme, for it to be understood properly it must be interpreted from within the cultural context to which it relates. Interconnections between language and the community's perception of the world must be taken into consideration.

As previously mentioned, knowledge can also be gained by spiritual means. While vastly different from the positivistic belief about knowledge attainment, this Māori view is in accord with the beliefs of many other indigenous peoples. Kawagley (1995), for example, notes how mystical knowledge for Yupiaq people is not gained through observation which is the:

main basis for rational knowledge. To obtain mystical knowledge, observation must be coupled with the participation of the whole being - mind, body and soul - with the universe. (p. 33)

A further concept relevant to the acquisition and transmission of knowledge is hinengaro. Hinengaro refers to the source of thoughts and emotions. A full explanation is given by Pere (1982):

Hinengaro refers to the mental and emotional experiences that a person has in his or her learning. Thinking, knowing, perceiving, remembering, recognising,

abstracting, generalising are processes that refer to the intellectual activities of the hinengaro. Emotional activities such as feeling, sensing, responding and reacting are also processes of the hinengaro. Mātauranga is the Māori word for 'knowledge and understanding.' The process the word refers to takes place wherever we find ourselves, and through whatever we experience, covering the processes of learning throughout the whole of life. The mātauranga of a person is dependent on the state of his or her hinengaro. (p. 4)

How do Māori concepts of knowledge and methods of knowledge acquisition and transmission influence research? First, many Māori researchers believe that because of the subjective basis of Māori knowledge, positivist research methodologies with their concomitant distance and detachment are inappropriate in Māori research. Marsden (1992) believes that:

Abstract rational thought and empirical methods cannot grasp the concrete act of existing which is fragmentary, paradoxical and incomplete. The only way lies through a passionate, inward subjective approach. (p. 136)

Bishop (1996a) elaborates:

Objectivity, 'the pathology of cognition that entails silence about the speaker, about (their) interests and (their) desires, and how these are socially situated and structurally maintained' (Gouldner, in Tripp, 1983), is a denial of identity For Māori researchers to stand aside from involvement in such socio-political organisation is to stand aside from one's identity. This would signal the ultimate victory of colonisation. (p. 157)

Given these arguments, it is not surprising that the methods most often used and recommended for Māori research are subjective, qualitative approaches such as action and feminist research using critical analysis and participatory, emancipatory, collaborative and empowering processes. However, it must be added that debate exists about these methods. While their inclusive nature is not questioned, concern is raised about their effectiveness, philosophical underpinnings, limited space provided for

culture, grounding in foreign epistemologies and the nature of the empowerment involved.⁵⁵

While subjective, qualitative research methods are the preference of many Māori researchers, Durie M. H., (1996b) notes that Māori research should not be limited to these approaches. His advice is:

Given the range of inquiries and the diversity of Māori subjects, it is more sensible to aim for methodologies which are appropriate to Māori and to a particular situation. At different times, both qualitative and quantitative approaches are indicated; and analysis of results might similarly employ a variety of techniques. What is important, as already noted, is the terms under which Māori will participate in the project, but also the incorporation of Māori worldviews into the research design and utilisation of measures which are capable of reflecting Māori positions. (p. 9)

Glynn (personal communication, August, 2001) supports this approach noting that the essential ingredients of Māori research relate to power issues and Māori control and ownership of research questions and processes. The specific paradigms and methodologies employed are less critical.

The data-gathering methods used for the various components of the present research were chosen for their effectiveness and appropriateness to the task at hand. For example, while a written survey was an appropriate method of gathering organisational data relating to services for Māori with special needs it would not have been appropriate for gathering parental, children, youth and whānau opinions. Therefore, interviews were chosen instead.

A further implication of Māori methods of knowledge transmission is that researchers must not rely solely on the written and oral word as sources of data. In the present

⁵⁵ See Bishop (1996b), Macpherson (1997), Smith, L. T.(1999), and Vercoe (1997) for a discussion of these concerns.

research, for example, I have looked beyond what was said to consider the manner in which it was delivered. A person's emotions as expressed in their volume and tone of voice, their facial expressions, their sense of humour and their silences. These convey messages as poignant as any words used. Similarly, in interviewing people I have not been a detached bystander. I have listened with empathy, with aroha and on occasions, with outrage at injustices suffered.

Māori always recognise research as being culturally and therefore value based. Māori do not see research as being "neutral". In whose interest has the research and by implication the researcher been working? Māori research ethics (given the above) are based on acknowledging bias and not imposing that bias on others. (Walker, H., 1992, p. 3)

I acknowledge my cultural and personal biases. I have had experience of family members and friends missing out on special education assistance and receiving ineffective, culturally inappropriate services. I have also encountered personal and institutional racial prejudice. These experiences are part of me and cannot be denied. However, in conducting my research, in analysing data and in reporting findings, I have had to guard against these experiences influencing outcomes. I can relate to Kawagley's (1995) dilemma:

I have cultural and educational biases which I took with me into the village, so I had to find a way to deal with the subjective and lessen its effect on me as a researcher. If I had let my feelings and emotions run rampant, I would have come out with a product slanted only to my prior way of thinking. It would have been an individual product. (p. 152)

Kawagley overcame his dilemma and any inclination towards selective listening and interpretive bias by thorough discussion with informants to check perceptions and clarify understanding, by rigorous note taking, verbatim quoting and regular sharing of observations with informants to check for bias, misunderstanding and misinterpretation. I have also used these techniques in my research.

IMPORTANCE, RELEVANCE AND BENEFICENCE

A concern has been expressed amongst Māori researchers about studies that are of little interest, relevance or benefit to Māori people. Often these studies are born out of the curiosity, resources and expertise of the researcher and bear no relation to the interests and concerns of the Māori community. Smith, G. H. (1992) refers to them as the, “So what” studies which often result in findings that are already known or of limited or no use. Love (1998) reinforces this message:

It is not enough to simply research for the sake of knowing. Research should be directed at ‘helping people in their daily lives.’ (p. 10)

A further important point in respect to research benefiting Māori is made by Durie M. H. (1996b). He maintains that Māori must be able to benefit *as Māori*. The improvements arising from research should not be dependent on the denial or ignoring of a person’s Māori culture but rather should incorporate its development as an integral component. This is, in fact, the “raison d’être” of the cultural audit.

What can researchers do to ensure their projects are important, relevant and beneficial to Māori? Māori researchers suggest a number of ways this can be achieved. Te Awekotuku (1991) recommends that researchers be responsive to the Māori community and identify topics of concern that have originated from within the community rather than from outside of it. This has been the case for the present research. As previously stated in chapter one, I am regularly contacted by Māori parents and whānau who seek advice about how their children and youth with special needs can be helped. This research arose from my desire to respond to these concerns in an informed and helpful manner.

To guard against “so what” research, Smith, G. H. (1992) maintains that researchers address the following four fundamental questions:

- (a) What difference is this research going to make to Māori?
- (b) What meaningful interventions are going to result?
- (c) How does this research support our cultural and language aspirations?

(d) Are you merely telling us what we already know? (pp. 5-6)

To answer these questions for this present research:

- (a) It is my intention that as a result of the process and products of this study, Māori learners with special needs and their parents and whānau will have their needs met in a culturally appropriate and effective way.
- (b) The cultural audit process and products and my teaching, conference presentations and publications will lead to teachers and other service providers gaining increased knowledge and ability to meet the special needs of Māori. From the research process itself, I trust that the children I have worked with will have improved their skills and confidence and that their parents and whānau will have been empowered and assisted.
- (c) This study confirms the importance of cultural and reo input in programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs. In the future, as a result of culturally appropriate services, Māori learners with special needs will have their culture and reo affirmed and developed.
- (d) While we already know that Māori learners with special needs are not being adequately provided for (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Duckworth & ACNeilsen, 1999; Massey University, 1999, 2001; Wilkie, 1999; Wylie, 2000), the present study investigates ways and means of improving this situation.

Durie M. H. (1996b) states that what is of benefit to Māori should be determined by Māori. He gives this advice in relation to choosing accurate and relevant “measuring rods” in research and provides an example to illustrate this point:

The prevention of hospital admissions measured by a reduction in Māori admission rates may be used to determine the effectiveness of Māori primary health care programmes. However, such a measure would entirely overlook the possibility that a good outcome of the programme is the more effective use of secondary services i.e. an increase in hospital admissions. (p. 9)

In this present research the purpose of the cultural audit is to provide a mechanism to facilitate improved services to Māori learners with special needs. If the process used, the checklist questions asked or the exemplar strategies provided are inappropriate, irrelevant or unhelpful, then conducting a cultural audit will be of no benefit at all to Māori learners with special needs. Feedback from Māori participants in the various research phases has been vital in ensuring that the process and products developed are capable of both assessing and facilitating the effectiveness and cultural appropriateness of services to Māori learners with special needs.

In respect to the beneficence requirement, Walker, R. (1992) raises an important point:

Informants collaborate assuming that there will be some tangible return for them or the community by way of social advancement or resolution of the problem under study. Few researchers are in a position to bring about such changes and fewer still admit to this. (p. 5)

With this in mind, for the present research I have heeded the advice of Chapple, Jefferies and Walker (1997): “Social scientists also have the responsibility to clearly explain their methodology and not to over-sell the likely benefits to the community concerned” (p. 114).

Smith, G. H. (1992) points out that to benefit Māori, research need not specifically focus on Māori: “There is ample work and research to be developed by looking at the impediments within Pākehā structures” (p. 7). The present research has taken a dual-focused approach: First, by searching for culturally appropriate means of providing for Māori learners with special needs and second, by seeking to identify barriers to the provision of culturally appropriate programmes and services.

Finally, Mutu (1998) stated, “The results of research are of little use to the people if they are not then made available to form part of the knowledge base of the people and to help them make decisions” (p. 51). As outlined in chapter one, dissemination activities (component 7) are integral parts of this research. When the research is completed I intend to continue disseminating findings through teaching, publications

and conference presentations. In particular, I am planning to develop the cultural audit in a form that schools and early childhood centres can obtain to conduct their own audits.

PARTICIPATION

This principle has two dimensions. The first relates to the involvement of Māori participants in the research process: Not passive involvement where a participant's sole input is to provide information to the researcher but active, collaborative involvement where the participant and researcher work together as a team. Ideally this "participant-as-researcher" involvement should be from the initial stages of identifying issues and continue throughout the entire research process including the analysis of data and the dissemination of findings. It is acknowledged, however, that the degree of participant involvement possible will vary according to people's availability and preference and the nature and circumstances of the research being undertaken.

The second dimension is the flip-side of the first and involves the "researcher-as-participant." This concept is clearly demonstrated in the *modus operandi* of the Poutama Pounamu Research Team and articulated in Bishop and Glynn (1999a). Bishop and Glynn explain that in order for researchers to understand, "What is happening within a particular cultural event or context, the researcher ... needs to participate in ways that other participants use to construct meaning" (p. 178). This practice of "participatory consciousness"⁵⁶ was identified by Bishop and Glynn in five different Māori research studies.

The principle of participation has at its foundation the important Māori values of co-operation and collaboration (*mahitahi*), unity (*kōtahitanga*) and inclusion (*whakaurutanga*). In the research context participation can facilitate power sharing and provide an effective means of ensuring that the research remains focused on Māori needs and concerns.

⁵⁶ From Heshusius, 1994.

Apart from the involvement of Māori as researchers and informants, a perusal of Māori research literature reveals a variety of other participatory strategies being advocated and/or used:

- ◆ Consulting with the Māori community prior to research to identify areas of concern (Broughton, Rimene & Sporle, 1998; Crengle, 1998; Te Awekotuku, 1991) and to gain a mandate to conduct research (Irwin, 1994; Selby et al., 1997);
- ◆ using whānau networks to nominate, select, contact and/or provide access to participants (Bevan-Brown, 1989, 1993; Timutimu-Thorpe, 1990; Selby, 1996, 1999);
- ◆ operating as a research whānau and involving kaumātua to bless, guide, provide expertise, inspiration and authority to the research and emotional, cultural and spiritual support to the researchers (Bishop, 1996b; Glynn, Berryman, Atvars et al., 1997; Glynn & Bishop, 1995, Irwin, 1994);
- ◆ involving participants in meaning construction and data analysis (Bishop, 1996b, 1997; Bishop & Glynn, 1999a, 1999b; Wilkie, 2001).

This present study does not claim to be participatory research in the sense that it has fully involved participants-as-researchers in all phases of the research process and project. However, it has involved Māori participants in a variety of ways: As instigators of the research; as interview participants in the organisation survey and the child, youth, parent and whānau interviews; as informants in the kōhanga reo focus group hui; as advisors in suggesting interview participants and in the development of the cultural audit framework (Te Pumanawa Hauora staff); as informants in school/early childhood centre cultural audit trials; and as members of my informal supervisory group. I have used a number of strategies to encourage and enable participation, for example, conducting interviews in people's own homes and including mihimihi and kai in these situations. Examples of researcher-as-participant involvement include working with teachers to categorise strategies, analyse data and formulate action plans and discussion with kōhanga reo whānau in a hui context.

EMPOWERMENT

Variously named by Māori researchers as empowerment, enhancement or enablement, this principle involves Māori gaining the skills, knowledge, means, opportunity and

authority to act for themselves and to make their own decisions. It should be mentioned, however, that the term empowerment is problematic as it is often interpreted as people in positions of power condescending to share their knowledge and authority with others in subordinate positions. This is definitely not the meaning intended in this research!

People do not empower other people. Rather a person is empowered by acquiring authority, ability, means and/or opportunities they did not previously possess. It is the newly gained acquirements that are empowering rather than any person who may have facilitated their acquisition. Bishop (1996a) uses the metaphor of a koha being laid down on the marae to explain the empowerment process. The manuhiri do not empower the tāngata whenua, rather the tāngata whenua are empowered by the acceptance and use of the koha. The manuhiri provide the opportunity for empowerment but the choice of whether the koha is accepted or rejected remains in the hands of the tāngata whenua.

There are three main categories of empowerment arising from research. The first is individual and community empowerment resulting from the sharing of knowledge (Bishop, 1996a, 1996b; Bishop & Glynn, 1992, 1999a, 1999b; Mutu, 1998). This knowledge acquisition relates both to the products and the process of research.

The community's own knowledge ought to be increased by sharing the information it has helped to collect. The community should thus be empowered by the research process. The community may learn new ways of framing research questions it believes are important and new ways of answering those questions as well as gaining specific information. (Bishop & Glynn, 1992, p. 131)

In the present research children gained knowledge and skills directly from my teaching and indirectly from activities instigated by the cultural audit. Parents and whānau learnt about a variety of services and entitlements available to them and developed skills for working with their children. Likewise, organisation personnel gained relevant cultural and service information while teachers, trainee teachers and trainee psychologists acquired knowledge and strategies to improve their services to Māori learners with special needs both in the short and long term. It should be noted that while these

participants were all empowered in one way or another, I was not the empowering agent. Rather the source of power came from participants' understanding and use of their newly acquired knowledge and skills.

A second category of empowerment is explained by Walsh-Tapiata (1998, p. 257). She notes that it is not only participants who are empowered by research but also the researcher him/herself. This project has widened my network of contacts in the special education field and has strengthened my connections with Māori children, their parents, whānau and teachers. The support I have received and the knowledge I have gained has made me more confident and able to help Māori learners with special needs. It has also increased my research skills and confidence.

A third category of empowerment benefits both participants and researcher. It is the type of empowerment that arises from critical theory. Strong parallels can be drawn between feminist and Māori approaches to critical theory. Just as "feminism argues the centrality of gender in the shaping of our [women's] consciousness, skills and institutions as well as in the distribution of power and privilege" (Lather, 1991, p. 91), kaupapa Māori research places "Māoriness" in the position of centrality. Similarly, the perception of research as a "change-enhancing, reciprocally educative encounter" capable of challenging the status quo and contributing "to a more egalitarian social order" (ibid., p. 92) is inherent in the principles underlying Māori research.

Intrinsic to Kaupapa Māori theory is an analysis of existing power structures and societal inequalities ... exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct conceptions of 'common sense' and 'facts' to provide ad hoc justification for the maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of Māori. (Pihama, 1993 cited in Cram, Smith & Johnstone, 1998, p. 164)

Munford and Walsh-Tapiata (1999) suggest that the nature of power relations can be understood by first identifying who benefits from these relations and who is disadvantaged. Waitere-Ang and Johnston (1999) concur adding that researchers have

an obligation to “make transparent positional power” (p. 15). Munford and Walsh-Tapiata’s second step is to identify the methods by which power relations are maintained and then to investigate ways to transform this situation. Johnston (1998), Smith, G. H. (1997), Smith, L. T. (1999), Waitere-Ang (1998), Waitere-Ang and Johnston (1999), and Walker, M. (1998) all maintain that for research to facilitate this transformation both cultural and structural issues must be considered.

This third type of empowerment is addressed in the present research through the critical examination of exo, macro and chronosystem influences. It is hoped that the information and ideas arising from this critical examination will enable, empower and motivate those with whom it is shared to analyse ideas about the causes of powerlessness and to act individually and collectively to improve services to Māori learners with special needs and their whānau (Lather, 1991; Johnston, 1998).

MĀORI CONTROL

This principle, expressed as *tino rangatiratanga* (tribal self-determination) in Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi, ensures that Māori interests, concerns and integrity are protected. Māori control and Ownership of research are central issues. They operate on a number of levels, some more problematic than others.

At the research-face level the fact that research is conducted by Māori researchers by no means guarantees “Māori” control. Researchers must employ strategies to ensure the kaupapa of their research, its purpose and its direction are Māori-focused not personally-focused. A common mechanism for ensuring this is Māori involvement throughout the various research phases.⁵⁷ However, this participation must include genuine power sharing in decision-making if the control of the research is to be “Māori” rather than “personal.”

In this present research the primary means of ensuring Māori control has been through consultation, evaluation and feedback from Māori participants in all phases. In

⁵⁷ See, for example, Bishop (1996b), Crengle (1998), Glynn, Berryman, Atvars et al., (1997), Moewaka-Barnes, Tunks, Wa and Dacey (1998).

particular, this feedback has been instrumental in providing direction and focus to the cultural audit process and products.

At a structural, macrosystem level Māori control of research is more problematic. The maxim, “S/he who pays the piper calls the tune,” is applicable to research. The reality is that the majority of Māori research is funded either directly or indirectly by Government. In discussing the implications of this for Māori, McCarthy (1995) describes how whare wānanga have difficulty in capturing research grants because:

Research that primarily contributes to the advancement of Māori knowledge stands in opposition to what are seen as priority research needs by the dominant culture In this respect, the state as the major distributors of funding have relative control over Māori research - whether it be the shape, form or content area the research project should adhere to or just simply whether or not it will be funded. (pp. 117-119)

While funding-related control of research was not an issue for this study, conducting research in an academic context for an academic qualification brings with it other constraints, some of which are common to Māori research in general. A control mechanism employed by Pākehā institutions is that of ethical approval. The chief purpose of ethical codes of conduct is to protect the researched, the researcher and the latter’s institution by application of principles such as informed consent, confidentiality, minimising of harm, truthfulness and social sensitivity (Massey University, 1994). These principles are in accord with those espoused by Te Awēkotuku in *Principles of Ethical Conduct for Researchers in the Māori Community* (1991).

With such worthy guiding principles it would seem that Māori researchers and researched could only benefit. However, it is not the principles themselves that are problematic, rather it is their interpretation into regulations and procedures that often hinders Māori research. For example, I have found the requirement to obtain signed consent forms and provide detailed written information sheets has been off-putting and inappropriate for some participants especially kaumātua. An example of this occurred in a previous research study (Bevan-Brown, 1989) when I asked a kaumātua to sign a

consent form. He remarked, “Moko, don’t you trust me? Isn’t my word good enough?” In this present research, I have asked for verbal consent in situations where I have judged written consent to be either inappropriate or insulting. I have also allowed the students conducting cultural audit trials to choose the verbal consent option for their informants when they judged this to be more appropriate.

A further control issue relates to the ownership of research findings. Smith, L. T. (1992b) states:

My findings that are relevant to Māori do not belong to me for my individual use, nor do they belong to any institution or employing authority. My research belongs to the whānau and the Māori community, it should empower the community to develop strategies that enable it to survive and to flourish. (p. 10)

Smith’s opinion, however, is at variance with many an institution and employing agency that lay claim to any knowledge generated by people within their employment. This is relevant to the larger issue of intellectual property rights. The *Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous People* (1993) states that indigenous people have the right of self-determination and must be recognised as the exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual knowledge.⁵⁸ Similarly, in Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi Māori were promised, “Full, exclusive and undisturbed possession” of their taonga. Research and the knowledge it generates can justifiably be considered taonga. While the issues of ownership, intellectual property rights and dissemination of knowledge are important concerns for Māori researchers especially those working in the fields of customary and reo knowledge, they have not presented problems in this present research. I have been fully supported and encouraged in all research phases including the dissemination of findings.

⁵⁸ See Smith, L.T. (1999), p.119 for a discussion of the Mataatua Declaration and other indigenous peoples’ Declarations

ACCOUNTABILITY

A researcher's responsibility, when working with people, is to the people themselves. This responsibility transcends sponsors; these individuals must come first. (Te Awekotuku, 1991, p. 1)

Māori researchers employ a variety of strategies to ensure accountability. For example, collective ownership of research (Walsh-Tapiata, 1998); researcher availability (Crengle, 1998); consultation with the community and responsiveness to their research interests and concerns (Irwin, Davies & Carkeek, 1996); dissemination of research findings (Mutu, 1998; Selby et al., 1997; Timitimu-Thorpe, 1990); and returning transcripts and/or completed chapters to research participants for them to add to, delete from, comment on, amend, verify or veto (Crengle, 1998; Irwin, 1994; Irwin, Davies & Harre Hindmarsh, 1995; Kingi, 1998; McCarthy, 1994; Selby, 1996, 1999). Speaking specifically of the last strategy, McCarthy (1994) comments:

This procedure serves to shift some power from the researcher to the people. In this way, those who have been researched have the final right to decide what should and should not be included. Such an approach to research provides a means through which an accountability channel is established from the researcher to the researched. This is fundamental to Māori research. No longer is it acceptable to enter the field, study Māori, leave the field and write up the material with no accountability measures to the people put in place and practised. Research that lacks accountability to those researched is exploitative. (p. 1)

This quote illustrates the important link between accountability, empowerment and control.

Accountability is a complex, multi-faceted issue (Teariki, Spoonley & Tomoana, 1992). Māori, in particular, "have incredibly complex and sophisticated accountability structures" (Parata, 1998, p. 412). Irwin (1994) adds that university debates have questioned the standards of Māori research implying that, "there are fewer or lower standards of accountability, whereas the reality is greater or double accountability" (p.

35). Johnston (1998) provides a glimpse of these accountability structures. In discussing her PhD research she states:

Although the University will hold me accountable for this work on an academic level, Māori will also very certainly hold me accountable on very different levels. These levels are multiple and require different forms of accountability My accountability to them [my whānau] is to make sure that the research and the thesis are completed. Accountability to my hapū will come in terms of using the knowledge I have acquired to help them in whatever capacity they require. I am accountable to my students, my colleagues and Māori academics throughout Aotearoa for what I produce, ensuring that I don't reproduce research methods and ethics that are similar to those practised by Pākehā academics and institutions. In terms of the doctoral research specifically I am accountable to those who made submissions to the policy processes I viewed, accountable in terms of the information represented, the ideas, the knowledge and the ways in which this knowledge is disseminated. I am accountable to Māori, especially those who seek answers about how to change the appalling predicaments that Māori find themselves in, regarding educational under-achievement and policy processes. They seek answers that will empower people. So do I. (p. 355)

This lengthy quote has been included because the accountabilities it outlines are also applicable to me in this present research.

A final issue related to accountability is voiced by Mutu (1998). She notes that information disseminated to Māori, "is of little or no use to people if they cannot understand what it is saying" (p. 51). Researchers have a duty to ensure that Māori are not excluded from participating in research or from sharing research findings because the process involved or the information supplied is, "clothed in mystical academic jargon" (Walker, H., 1992, p. 3).

In this research I have tried to make all communication jargon-free. This has been a real challenge owing to the profusion of jargon and acronyms that exist in special education.

The effort to avoid jargon extends to the writing of this thesis. I do not want it to be a document for academics alone. I would like it to be as user-friendly and readable as possible so that it is accessible to all who wish to read it including my research participants. As Stokes (1985) remarks, the researcher must be able:

to gather information, organise and present it in a coherent way which is intelligible to the Māori community. The primary audience for the research is the people being researched, not one's academic colleagues. (p. 11)

HIGH QUALITY

Similar to Pākehā research, Māori research must have a clear focus, use appropriate methods and procedures, have authentic sources of data, evidence must be valid and reliable, theory addressed, conclusions warranted and findings reported clearly and unambiguously. However, for Māori research the means of achieving and assessing these goals must be Māori-relevant. To be of high quality Māori research must also adhere to the principles discussed in this chapter. In doing so the “Matthews effect” is brought into play. As Walker V. (1998) states, “Māori clients are more likely to provide a high quality response if they understand the nature and purpose of the research and feel they can trust the researchers” (p. 306). This trust is built up when the research involves important and relevant concerns of benefit to Māori, when the research process is empowering to participants and when accountable researchers utilise culturally appropriate methods, measures and procedures.

An important factor in achieving high quality research is the help, feedback, guidance and support researchers receive. In academic research, the researcher's supervisors are of vital importance. The ideal is to have supervisors with both academic and cultural expertise (Irwin, 1994). Because of the shortage of such people to supervise academic research, a trend has developed towards a “whānau of supervisors.” This whānau often contains Pākehā academics that satisfy university requirements for supervision and Māori supervisors who have the cultural expertise necessary to help in the Māori domain. My research does not have a formal whānau of supervisors. However, I have established an informal supportive network that serves the same purpose. Apart from the valuable help and guidance provided by my “official” supervisors, I also regularly

call upon a small group of whānau and friends for cultural assistance and support. This group includes a kaumātua, whānau members and Māori colleagues. Stokes (1985) gives an important message when she states:

The man or woman who travels alone will be cold and lonely. The one who travels with a group will have their warmth and support on the journey. The researcher in tune with the people will be supported by their aroha. (p. 11)

A further issue relevant to attaining high quality Māori research is the preferential use of Māori sources. These sources add to a research project's credibility and validity because, "The problems associated with reinterpretation of material through a culturally different framework are lessened" (McCarthy, 1995, p. 71). Close to 100% of the sources quoted in this chapter are Māori researchers. This percentage is not as high in other chapters because of the paucity of material on special education authored by Māori. However, I have purposely sought out and utilised those Māori sources I have been able to locate.

How should the quality of Māori research be assessed? Bishop (1996a) maintains that when Māori processes such as hui, and whakawhanaungatanga are used as research metaphors, the research should be:

subject to the same culturally determined processes of validation, the same rules concerning knowledge, its production and its representation as are the literal phenomena. Therefore the verification of a text, the authority of a text, how well it represents the experiences and perspective of the participants, is judged by criteria constructed and constituted within the culture. (p. 154)

This requires the involvement of participants in the assessment process which can be problematic for research where the attainment of qualifications is involved. The examiners for this PhD for example, will not be research participants. However, it will be judged at the flax roots level by the people it is intended for. Ultimately its worth will be determined by the contribution it makes to improving services for Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau.

The dual requirement of assessment involving different and sometimes conflicting criteria can place academic Māori researchers in a very difficult position. Compromise is not always possible and on occasions where “high quality Māori research” and “high quality academic research” are mutually exclusive, the researcher is forced to choose between practices that will lead to either one or the other. If this situation arises, Māori researchers must weigh up the ethical and cultural issues involved. Consultation with kaumātua and respected academics and colleagues is recommended and for some researchers, spiritual guidance may be sought. In the final analysis, each researcher must make a judgment call based on individual circumstances and their own beliefs and values. There are no easy answers.

APPROPRIATE RESEARCHER

As stated previously, Māori research must be conducted by people who have the necessary cultural, reo, subject and research expertise required. They must also possess a commitment to things Māori; the trust of the Māori community being researched; cross-cultural competence; personal qualities suited to doing Māori research; and an understanding of and commitment to the obligations, liabilities and responsibilities that are an integral part of Māori research. Much of the previously mentioned distrust of research amongst Māori is the result of research conducted by people who did not possess these qualities and expertise. Neither is this situation confined to the past. As Mutu’s (1998) stories reveal, the involvement of “unsuitably trained outsiders” (p. 61) continues to impact negatively on Māori today.

In certain circumstances, such as hapū research where hapū membership is a prerequisite of gaining information, the researcher must be Māori. However, being Māori does not automatically endow a person with expertise in Māori culture, language and tikanga, nor for that matter, an inherent commitment to things Māori (Durie, M. H., 1996b; Selby et al., 1997; Stokes, 1985). More important than a person’s ethnic origin is their cultural, reo, subject and research expertise. While the first preference for involvement in Māori research is Māori researchers with these prerequisite skills and qualities, where Pākehā possess them it is acceptable that they also engage in Māori research as long as the control, ownership and accountability requirements previously outlined are adhered to.

I am Māori. My iwi and hapū affiliations are Ngāti Awa on my paternal grandmother's side and Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Wehiwehi and Ngāi te Rangi on my paternal grandfather's side. These affiliations have assisted me in my research. For example, only Māori are permitted to conduct research in kōhanga reo. Presenting my whakapapa to Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, the CEO of Kōhanga Reo National Trust, opened the door when I sought permission to involve kōhanga reo whānau in evaluation hui. Similarly, when I approached Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Raukawa for permission to conduct research in their rohe (kōhanga reo focus groups and cultural audit trials), being a Ngāti Raukawa member gave me an advantage.

In discussing research ethics for Māori, Te Awekotuku (1991) remarks that:

Researchers should undertake a project only after a thorough consideration of their own ability to fulfil the project's requirements; factors to consider could include tribal background, gender, language fluency, age, and qualifications. (p. 2)

From more than 30 years of living, studying and working in the area of Māori education and special education I have acquired the necessary cultural, subject and research expertise and commitment to "take Māori" to conduct the present research. However, despite many years of learning te reo Māori, I am not a fluent speaker. Before starting this research I determined that this area of weakness could be compensated for by the involvement of my husband who is a proficient speaker of te reo. We reached an agreement that if circumstances arose where my own ability in the Māori language was not strong enough to do justice to the research, he would step in as my mentor and translator. Such circumstances have not arisen.

SUMMARY

A dissatisfaction with Pākehā research detrimental to Māori coupled with a growing movement towards Māori self-determination has resulted in the blossoming of Māori-centred and kaupapa Māori research. Māori research has a number of underlying principles. It stems from a Māori worldview, is based on Māori epistemology and incorporates Māori concepts, knowledge, skills, experiences, attitudes, processes,

practices, customs, reo, values and beliefs. It is focused on areas of importance, concern and relevance to Māori, is beneficial, empowering and of a high quality. The research is controlled by Māori and conducted by people who have prerequisite cultural, reo, subject and research expertise, who are accountable and who involve Māori participants in a spirit of collaboration. This chapter has elaborated on these underlying principles, their research implications and their application in this present study.

CHAPTER SIX: THE RESEARCH JOURNEY

Na te waewae i kimi.

Look, the seeking feet.

INTRODUCTION

As explained in chapter one, this research consists of a number of phases that interlink and inform each other. This chapter describes how the research evolved and what methods were used to collect and analyse data in each phase of the research journey. It should be remembered however, that this journey has not been a linear one. If it was mapped it would show that many a side road has been taken as opportunities have been presented or additional requirements became evident. It would also show roads that have doubled back on themselves when data needed to be validated or the original destination was changed!

ORGANISATION SURVEY

The organisation survey was an initial phase in my research journey. It was an exploratory survey to gather information about the scope, prevalence and effectiveness of programmes and services for Māori children and youth with special needs. The motivation behind this survey was to enable me to give informed advice to those parents, whānau, teachers and colleagues who sought my help.

Data Gathering

A variety of data gathering strategies was utilised:

1. Postal Survey

A survey (Appendix A) containing seven questions relating to the provision, nature and extent of services offered to Māori learners with special needs was developed and posted, initially, to 105 different special education providers, support services, Māori and disability organisations. These organisations were selected from a list of agencies supplied by the Palmerston North Disabilities Resource Centre and from *TAKOA 1996. Te aka kumara o Aotearoa: Directory of Māori organisations and resource people in Aotearoa*. The sample

included all major special education and disability services in Aotearoa/New Zealand and also relevant support and Māori organisations. As a result of feedback from this mail-out and from personal contacts, 44 more questionnaires were sent. This second mail-out was mainly to people at the local branch level of national organisations. From the total of 149 surveys, a number were returned, “address unknown.” Ten of these organisations could not be located which reduced the overall sample to 139. Feedback was received from 78 people representing 56 different organisations. Appendix C contains a list of these organisations and the number of respondents for each organisation. The overall response rate for the survey was 53%.⁵⁹

2. Hui and Seminar

Over the three month data-collecting period in this research phase, I attended five relevant Māori, research and disability hui and seminars. These were: Seminars relating to qualitative data analysis in Māori research and a report of Māori health-related research both conducted by Te Pumanawa Hauora, (the Māori Health Research Unit at Massey University); a Disability Awareness Hui run by providers of Disability Services in the Horowhenua area; a hapū health services session held at Ngāti Wehiwehi Marae by Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Whānau Ora personnel; and a presentation outlining special educational services for Māori learners provided by the Special Education Service (SES). These gatherings provided information and contacts relevant to my research topic.

3. Semi-Structured Interviews

Twenty-five follow-up interviews were conducted with contacts arising from the postal survey. Seventeen of these interviews were by telephone and eight were face-to-face. They were based on the written questionnaire but extended beyond that to include in-depth discussion of points raised by the participants. Notes were taken from the telephone

⁵⁹ This response rate is based on 73 respondent groups. While 78 survey replies were received, in three instances more than one person responded to the questionnaire/interview for their organisation. In each case, this group effort was counted as a single reply. This differs, however, from the situation where replies were received from local branches of a parent organisation. In these instances, because branches delivered a unique variation of a service or programme, separate replies were recorded.

conversations and some face-to-face interviews while other face-to-face interviews were taped and transcribed.

4. Documentary Analysis

Included in the written questionnaire was a request for relevant, “brochures, pamphlets, booklets, policy statements etc.” Twenty-seven organisations responded to this request. Further information was collected at hui and seminars.

5. Informal Discussion

Using both whānau and collegial networks, I regularly consulted with family, friends, colleagues and acquaintances about the work in progress. While such consultation was of an informal nature, it provided an invaluable source of information, inspiration and a sounding board on which ideas were tested, accepted, adapted or discarded.

Data analysis

Data gathered from all sources were combined and both qualitative and quantitative strategies were used in analysis. A quantitative approach was chosen to ascertain the prevalence of services and programmes for Māori learners with special needs as indicated by questions 1 and 5 in the survey. In calculating prevalence figures respondents were divided into four categories.

Table 6.1

Number and Type of Organisation Surveyed

Category	No	%	Description	Example
Educational	8	11	Groups providing educational services in the special needs area.	The Specialist Education Service
Māori	6	8	Hapū, iwi or pan-Māori groups providing a range of health, welfare, social, disability and educational services to Māori.	Whānau Ora Services - Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Raukawa Awhina Wāhine Inc
Support	23	32	Groups providing a particular service to people with a range of special needs.	Riding for the Disabled Parent-to-Parent Inc.
Disability	36	49	Groups specialising in services to a particular category of disability.	I.H.C. Cerebral Palsy Assoc.

The category for most respondents was self-evident. However there was a small number where the category was debatable. For example, is SPELD more accurately classified as an educational or a disability organisation? To resolve this problem, I consulted with colleagues and opted for categories that received the majority vote. The category allocated to each informant is recorded in Appendix C.

Qualitative analysis strategies were used on data relating to the scope and nature of programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs and to the challenges organisations face in meeting these needs. Information from all sources was examined. Initial lists were made of the programmes and services offered and of the positive, negative and neutral issues relating to them. Secondary analysis involved breaking programmes and services into their component parts and identifying the strategies used in their development, adaptation and implementation. These components and strategies were then grouped into appropriate categories. Similar categories were used to organise the variety of challenges identified by research informants. All research data were also subject to a thematic analysis.

A coding system was devised from an initial consideration of the information gathered. This system was amended and streamlined as analysis progressed. Information was organised under thematic headings. Predominant themes and issues were further examined, analysed and summarised for final presentation.

In analysing data, positive comments from research informants were used to determine whether a particular programme, service or strategy was successful or not. However it should be noted that “success” was judged from a service provider perspective. People receiving the service were not consulted as to whether they considered the programme, service or strategy successful or not. Similarly, the main barriers to effective service provision were ascertained from a frequency count of challenges identified by service providers not service receivers.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULTURAL AUDIT PROCESS AND PRODUCTS

In analysing the organisation survey data, the task of determining “cultural appropriateness” was problematic. It was a concept that could be interpreted in a variety of ways. My own understanding was that a programme or service could be considered culturally appropriate if the environment, process including teaching methods and delivery style, content, resources, assessment and administrative procedures were relevant to the culture of the person receiving the programme or service. But what exactly does this mean for Māori? Are there degrees of cultural appropriateness? For example, would a programme that employed culturally appropriate techniques to teach culturally irrelevant content be considered culturally appropriate? It was questions such as these that prompted the need for some type of measure to assess cultural appropriateness. The literature was searched for a suitable instrument but nothing was found. There were various models available but they were developed for the Health sector.⁶⁰ My research required an

⁶⁰ See Ratima et al., (1995). *He Anga Whakamana. A framework for the delivery of disability support services for Māori*; Durie et al., (1995). *Guidelines for purchasing personal mental health services for Māori*; Durie, M. H.(1994a). *The CHI model: A culturally appropriate auditing model. Guidelines for public health services*; MoH (1995). *He taura tieke. Measuring effective health services for Māori*; Potaka, Durie, Ratima

instrument that could be used in both Health and Education. As such an instrument did not appear to exist, I decided to develop one. Thus the next research phase was born.

Data Gathering

Again a variety of data gathering strategies was used. In order to adhere to the Māori research principles outlined in chapter five, it was considered important that the sources consulted reflect Māori perspectives. After all, who better to be guided by in determining cultural appropriateness for Māori than Māori themselves?

1. Literature Review

The primary source of information and inspiration was the Treaty of Waitangi and books relating to it. This is not surprising given the Treaty's significance as Aotearoa/New Zealand's founding document and its importance to Māori.

A second important source of information was literature relating to the nature and evaluation of cultural appropriateness, in particular, relevant reports from Te Pumanawa Hauora.⁶¹ This Massey-based Māori Health Research Unit has conducted extensive research into the provision of culturally appropriate health services. They have consulted with hundreds of Māori informants, both as individuals and community representatives and their findings have been validated in consultation and presentation hui. Also a wide variety of relevant sources, mainly educational, were consulted in the development of the cultural input checklist and exemplar.

2. Consultation With Māori

This consisted of:

- ◆ Informal discussions with Māori family, friends, colleagues and acquaintances regarding what they considered “cultural appropriateness” was for Māori;

& Waldon (1994). *The MDI Framework. Māori information management guidelines for disability support services*; Durie, M. H. (1996a). *A framework for purchasing traditional healing services*.

⁶¹ See footnote 60

- ◆ formal discussions with Te Pumanawa Hauora staff. This consisted of discussions relating to their work and published Reports as well as a feedback session on my initial cultural input framework which was submitted for their consideration. Written feedback on the framework was also provided;
- ◆ questioning parents and whānau in respect to the cultural appropriateness of the services their children received and to the nature and extent of cultural input they would like.

3. Organisation Survey Data

Information from this phase of the research was used to develop the cultural input exemplar only. It was not used in the development of the cultural input framework and checklist. Although a potentially rich source of information, these data were omitted from the framework and checklist development for three reasons. First, as previously mentioned it was considered important to collect opinions from Māori. This could not be guaranteed if the survey data were used as the ethnicity of many of the respondents was unknown.

Second, it was my intention to use the instrument developed to evaluate the cultural appropriateness of survey strategies, programmes and services. The validity of such an evaluation would be undermined by the inclusion of survey data in the development of an instrument intended to evaluate it. Third, by not including survey data at this stage, findings from the organisation phase of the research maintained their validity as a future source of triangulation.

Data Analysis and Usage

Data from the literature review and consultation were examined and lists made of the various principles, values and practices considered important and relevant to Māori. Individual practices were further considered for the principles or values they demonstrated. For example, the inclusion of a child in a wheelchair in a kapahaka group not only demonstrates a commitment to cultural practices but also to the values of participation and inclusion. Collection of data from a variety of sources enabled the triangulation of

information. A number of common principles and values emerged. These were further sorted, amalgamated and categorised into a final list of eight guiding principles.

In this data analysis process two important issues arose. First, the data revealed that cultural appropriateness was just one ingredient amongst a number considered essential in any programme or service for Māori. For example, accessibility emerged as an important ingredient⁶² for no matter how culturally appropriate a programme was, if a learner could not participate because it was offered at an inaccessible location or it was too costly, then that programme was of no benefit at all. It became clear that my original intention of developing an instrument to determine cultural appropriateness needed to be broadened to be of maximum benefit to Māori learners with special needs.

The concept of cultural appropriateness is closely linked to cultural safety and centres around the provision of services that are relevant, respect Māori values, affirm Māori culture and “do no harm.” While these are laudable goals, the widespread social, economic and educational disadvantages Māori experience call for a more proactive approach. This is encapsulated in the concept of cultural effectiveness. Ratima (personal communication, July 4th, 1997) described cultural effectiveness as a combination of cultural appropriateness, cultural safety and cultural development. With this combination a person’s Māori identity is not only safeguarded and affirmed but it is also developed and enhanced.

The concept of cultural effectiveness is expanded on by the Ministry of Health (1994) and Durie et al. (1995). Briefly, cultural effectiveness is defined as a cluster of components including:

- ◆ Cultural inputs that affirm and endorse a person’s Māori background. For example, culturally appropriate activities that provide the opportunity for Māori to develop “as Māori”;

⁶² This same finding emerged in the review of literature relating to current policy, programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs. It is discussed in chapter three.

- ♦ quality programme inputs. For example, assessment and treatment activities that are accessible, effective, responsive to Māori aspirations and involve consultation and participation of Māori;
- ♦ inputs that contribute to positive outcomes for Māori. For example, services that result in health, economic, educational or social gains as defined by Māori and resource allocation that takes Māori needs and perspectives into account.

Taking note of these ideas, the guiding principles and programme components chosen for the cultural input framework were selected because they supported cultural effectiveness. As cultural appropriateness is a subset of the broader concept of cultural effectiveness, cultural appropriate components are naturally included.

The second issue to arise was that of Treaty of Waitangi provisions versus principles. The Treaty of Waitangi has always been considered a document of great significance to Māori. The importance of incorporating Treaty obligations in any cultural audit was confirmed in the literature (Durie, M. H. 1994a, 1994b, 1996b; Durie, et al., 1995; MoH, 1995; Potaka, Durie, Ratima & Waldon, 1994; Ratima, et al., 1995). Including Treaty obligations in a cultural audit framework not only provides a structure for explicit provisions for Māori but it also provides a vehicle for acknowledging tāngata whenua status. However, problems arise in exactly how Treaty obligations should be incorporated. There is considerable debate amongst Māori over the principles versus provisions approaches to the Treaty. Durie, M. H. (1994a) maintains that:

Māori tend to favour an emphasis on Treaty provisions and that is also an approach taken by the Minister of Health in *Whaia te ora mo te iwi*. In legislation, however, it is the principles which are acknowledged, and it is the principles which the Waitangi Tribunal must consider. (p. 8)

One solution is a dual-focused approach which includes both principles and provisions. This approach was adopted by Durie and Doherty (1993) and Durie, M. H. (1994a) and is

certainly the most inclusive option in the provisions versus principles debate. Durie and Doherty's dual-focused approach includes the three Treaty provisions of *kāwanatanga*, *tino rangatiratanga* and *ōritetanga*, derived from Articles One, Two and Three respectively and the principles of partnership, participation and active protection.⁶³ These three principles were judged by the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988) as being of particular relevance to social and economic policies and fundamental to the future well-being of Māori.

In developing the cultural input framework I have opted for a modified dual-focus approach. It was considered wise to include Treaty principles as it is the principles which are most often incorporated into school, centre and organisation charters and policy documents. Therefore their inclusion provides a measure of accountability. The Treaty provisions of *tino rangatiratanga* and *ōritetanga* are also included, the latter playing an important role in addressing the previously mentioned concern about accessibility. However the Treaty provision of *kāwanatanga* was not specifically included because it is already inherent in the partnership principle. Durie, M. H. (1994b) explains that *kāwanatanga*:

is a provision for the Government to govern and is relevant not only to central government but also to agencies of State, regional government, State-owned enterprises and Crown health enterprises. (p. 178)

It is in the acceptance of the role of *kāwanatanga* that the Government becomes one of the partners of the Treaty and takes on the responsibilities associated with that partnership.

The final eight principles that emerged after data analysis were used in the development of a cultural input framework. These principles became the X-axis entries. The principles of Empowerment and Tino Rangatiratanga were grouped together on the framework because

⁶³ For discussion of the components of this dual-focused approach see Durie, M. H., 1994b, pp. 178-179 & Durie, M. H., 1994a, pp. 8-9.

of their close association; many strategies were found to demonstrate both principles. Equality and Accessibility were paired for the same reason. Programmes and services offered to learners with special needs were analysed for their individual components and these became the Y-axis entries. An outline and explanation of the eight guiding principles and the cultural input framework were discussed with Te Pumanawa Hauora staff. As a result of their feedback a number of changes were made. The final framework, principles and programme components are presented below.

The Cultural Input Framework - He Anga Whakamāori

The framework illustrates the relationship between the guiding principles of cultural effectiveness and the main programme and service components of an organisation. It provides a structure by which educational establishments can examine their performance in respect to Māori learners with special needs.

Table 6.2

The Cultural Input Framework

Programme Components	Principles					
	Partnership	Participation	Active Protection	Empowerment & Tribal Authority	Equality & Accessibility	Integration
Environment						
Personnel						
Policy						
Process						
Content						
Resources						
Assessment						
Administration						

The Māori name for the cultural input framework is he anga whakamāori. “Anga” is the Māori word for “framework.” “Whaka” is a causative prefix which when added to the word “Māori” means to “make Māori.” He anga whakamāori, therefore, embodies the notion that any special needs programme or service for Māori learners should not only be fair and relevant but should also affirm and develop them as Māori. This notion incorporates the principles of cultural effectiveness and empowerment.

Table 6.3

He Anga Whakamāori

He wāhanga o te katoa	Mātāpono					
	Whakahaere	Whai Wāhi	Whakangungu	Whakapiki tāngata & tino rangatiratanga	Ōritetanga & putanga	Whakaurunga
Takiwā						
Kaimahi						
Take whakahaere						
Mahi						
Kiko						
Rauemi						
Arotake						
Mana whakahaere						

Table 6.4

Principles of Cultural Effectiveness

Principle	Description	In Practice
Partnership Whakahoa	An ongoing relationship between the two Treaty partners namely the Government, represented by its various agencies and government-funded bodies and Māori, represented by constituted authorities such as rūnanga, marae committees and Māori/iwi organisations. Partnership is exemplified by two partners to the Treaty working together to achieve mutually acceptable goals (Durie, M. H., 1994a).	Joint services and Government-funded, iwi-based services e.g. Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Health Services
Participation Whai Wāhi	“Positive Māori involvement in all aspects of New Zealand society” (Durie, M. H., 1994a, p. 9). This involvement can be at an individual, hapū or iwi level.	Whānau involvement in disability support services
Active Protection Whakangungu	The Treaty of Waitangi guarantees to protect Māori “taonga.” In order to achieve this, proactive measures are necessary. This can be clearly illustrated in regards to the “taonga” of Māori language. Protection involves more than leaving Māori unhindered to enjoy their reo. To ensure the preservation and continuance of te reo the Government must actively support, value and promote its use in all spheres of Aotearoa/New Zealand life. Programmes and services offered to Māori learners with special needs must address their cultural needs. This goes beyond cultural affirmation and cultural safety. It involves the active development of a Māori learner’s cultural knowledge, skills, values, beliefs and identity as an integral part of the service being delivered.	Te reo lessons provided at school. Occupational therapy activities involving Māori arts and crafts. Health promotions and preventative strategies such as auahi kore events:
Empowerment Whakapiki Tāngata & Tribal Self-Determination	Providing Māori with the skills, knowledge, means, opportunity and authority to act for themselves and make their own decisions. Inherent in this is the provision of choices about which decisions can be made. Article Two of the Treaty guarantees iwi the power to exercise authority in respect to their own affairs.	Children in bilingual unit have choice of Reading Recovery in English or Māori. Rūnanga Services

Tino Ranga-Tiratanga	Empowerment and tino rangatiratanga differ in that the focus of the latter is tribal authority over resources and taonga and tribal self-determination, while the focus of the former is individual self-determination in all areas of life.	establish own work goals and modes of operating.
Equality Ōritetanga & Accessibility Putanga	<p>Article Three of the Treaty promises Māori the “rights and privileges of British subjects.” This constitutes a guarantee of legal equality between Māori and other New Zealanders. Implicit in legal equality is the assurance of actual enjoyment of social benefits. “Where serious and persistent imbalances exist between groups, in their actual enjoyment of social benefits such as health, education and housing, the Government will consider particular measures to assist in redressing the balance” (Dept. of Justice, 1989, p. 13). Proactive measures may be needed to ensure Māori can take full advantage of available programmes and services.</p> <p>An important component of Equality is that of equal access. Accessibility is judged by how easily something is reached, obtained or understood. Factors contributing to accessibility are affordable cost, friendly personnel, convenient time and location, barrier-free, safe environment, widespread advertising and jargon-free information.</p>	<p>Proactive measures to ensure Māori participation e.g. health services provided at local marae, itinerant services and advocacy support available.</p> <p>Whānau ora staff provide transport and accompany client on visit to doctor or specialist.</p>
Integration Whakaurunga	<p>A dictionary definition of integration is, “to make into a whole by bringing all parts together.” (Ilson, 1984, p. 873). This holistic principle can be applied at two levels.</p> <p>First, at the organisation level, integration involves making links with other organisations to ensure Māori are able to benefit from a range of expertise, resources and services. These links help to overcome fragmentation or overlapping of services sometimes experienced when organisations work in isolation. In education it contributes to a “seamless” service.</p> <p>Second, at the individual level, integration involves taking an ecological, holistic approach to programme content and service delivery. The Māori child should be considered in the context of the whānau, hapū, iwi and Aotearoa/New Zealand society at large and the programme provided should cater for all needs - cognitive, cultural, physical, social, emotional, moral and spiritual.</p>	<p>Kōhanga reo and school work together to ensure child’s smooth transition from one setting to the next.</p> <p>Whānau involved in setting child’s IEP goals which incorporate all areas of development including Māori culture.</p>

Table 6.5

Programme and Service Components

Component	Description	In Practice
Environment Takiwā	This includes both the physical setting of services and the emotional climate in which they are delivered. The latter consists of factors such as: The acceptance and valuing of diversity; levels of expectation and status afforded to learners, parents and whānau; the types of relationships encouraged and discouraged; and the friendliness and supportiveness of the workforce involved.	Kaumātua invited to open new resource room. School operates open-door policy, teachers welcome parent visits.
Personnel Kaimahi	This refers to the composition, qualifications and hierarchy of staff; recruitment and selection practices; professional development; staff activities; and areas of responsibility.	Number of Māori staff in proportion to Māori clientele
Policy Take Whakahaere	This relates to the content and development of all official documentation including rules and regulations, charters, plans, policies, aims, guidelines, mission statements and philosophies.	Local hapū representatives invited to join policy review committee.
Process Mahi	The methods, strategies and procedures used to plan, develop and implement programmes and services. This includes teaching styles, strategies and delivery modes and methods of reinforcement, discipline, consultation and support.	Year-eight students teach haka to special class.

Content Kiko	The content of any service or programme consists of the subject matter taught, curriculum followed and tasks and activities engaged in. In respect to primary and secondary education, content consists of the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values outlined in the N.Z. Curriculum Framework and detailed in National Curriculum Statements.	Staff receive Treaty of Waitangi training. Pātere used in breathing exercises
Resources Rauemi	This refers to books, videos, posters, charts, tapes, sports, maths, art and other equipment used in the delivery of a programme or service. It also includes people who are invited to share their skills, knowledge, experiences and expertise.	Grandparents involved in school's remedial reading programme.
Assessment Arotake	All measures and procedures used to determine eligibility, content, quality and effectiveness of programmes and services, to evaluate learners' progress and to monitor accountability of teachers, organisations and service providers.	Achievement of IEP goals assessed by parents and teachers.
Administration Mana Whakahaere	All procedures relating to the management, funding and running of a school/centre or organisation. This includes activities such as data collection and storage, information dissemination, advertising, workload allocation, upkeep and maintenance.	Primary and Intermediate teachers meet to discuss appropriate class for child with special needs.

The Cultural Input Checklist and Exemplar

The next step in this phase of the research involved formulating a set of questions that would focus people's attention on their organisation's performance in respect to principles and programme components in general and to the individual intersections of principle and programme components. For example, the question developed for the Participation-Policy intersection was: "What input do Māori parents and whānau have into charter and policy writing especially in areas concerning Māori children, te reo and tikanga?" While the cultural input framework provided the structure for organisations to examine their provisions and services to Māori learners with special needs, the cultural input checklist was developed to provide some specific measures organisations could use to evaluate their performance. A range of literature was consulted to provide assistance and inspiration in the development of these questions.

When this checklist was completed, an exemplar was developed. The intention of this exemplar was to provide guidance and clarification for people conducting a cultural audit and to suggest some possible strategies for improvement. The strategies used as examples were drawn from my own experience, from the organisation survey data and from the literature review. However, a problem emerged. The intention of developing a cultural audit was to provide an instrument that would be useful to both health and educational organisations. The framework and checklist could be comfortably used in either domain, but to be of greatest use, the examples in the exemplar needed to be domain-specific. Originally a mixture of health and education examples was included. However, on reflection, I felt the compromise meant that neither domain was well served. While the framework had a dual purpose, separate checklists and exemplars were preferable for each domain. As my own work was focused mainly in Education, I decided to concentrate on that area. Minor changes were made to the original checklist and only education-specific examples were used in the exemplar. This resulted in the following education-specific checklist and exemplar.

Table 6.6

Cultural Input Checklist

	Partnership	Participation	Active Protection	Empowerment & tino rangatiratanga	Equality & Accessibility	Integration
PROGRAMME COMPONENTS	<input type="checkbox"/> How is your school/centre working in partnership with Māori/iwi/hapu and whanau representatives to achieve mutually acceptable goals?	<input type="checkbox"/> How is your school/centre involving Māori children, parents or whanau?	<input type="checkbox"/> How is your school/centre supporting, valuing and promoting Māori culture and what is it doing to develop the Māori language, knowledge, skills, experiences, beliefs and values of its Māori pupils?	<input type="checkbox"/> How is your school/centre providing Māori children and parents with the skills, knowledge, means, opportunities and authority to act for themselves and to make their own decisions? <input type="checkbox"/> How are you being guided by iwi in matters relating to Māori resources and taonga?	<input type="checkbox"/> How does your school/centre ensure equity of access, use and outcomes is achieved for Māori children?	<input type="checkbox"/> How does your school/centre consult and work with other schools/centres, Māori and community organisations for the benefit of Māori children? <input type="checkbox"/> Are you providing a holistic programme that caters for Māori children's needs in all areas and considers them within the context of their whanau, hapu, iwi and NZ society?
Environment <input type="checkbox"/> How does the physical and emotional environment of your school/centre convey acceptance and valuing of Māori people and their culture?	<input type="checkbox"/> Is there any mutual sharing of facilities or combined environmental projects?	<input type="checkbox"/> Does your physical environment eg building design, furniture layout, etc. encourage whanau involvement and enable cultural practices?	<input type="checkbox"/> Does Māori culture have a visible presence in your school/centre environment?	<input type="checkbox"/> Do you consult with & empower Māori parents, children, whanau & hapu/iwi in matters relating to the school/centre environment & Māori resources and taonga? <input type="checkbox"/> What culturally appropriate choices are being offered to Māori children & parents?	<input type="checkbox"/> How do you ensure that Māori children and parents' participation is not restricted by barriers such as lack of knowledge, inaccessible venue, unreasonable cost, inconvenient timing, inappropriate content or biased personnel?	<input type="checkbox"/> How does your school/centre make use of outside facilities and the environment beyond the school/centre grounds? <input type="checkbox"/> Are you doing anything to support or promote Māori culture & language in the local community?
Personnel <input type="checkbox"/> Do all employees have an understanding & appreciation of Māori culture & a respect for Māori people?	<input type="checkbox"/> Are iwi/hapu/BOT representatives or the whanau committee involved in the recruitment & appointment of staff or their bicultural training?	<input type="checkbox"/> Do you have any on-going, regular or annual activities, events or meetings that involve the mutual participation of Māori children, parents, whanau & staff?	<input type="checkbox"/> Do you have Māori staff members for Māori children to identify with & use as role models? <input type="checkbox"/> Is training in te reo Māori, tikanga & bicultural issues an on-going part of staff development? <input type="checkbox"/> Are BOT members given TOW training?	<input type="checkbox"/> Are Māori staff given responsibility in Māori-related areas & are they provided with sufficient resources time & support to do this job properly?	<input type="checkbox"/> Does the proportion of Māori staff & BOT members match the proportion of Māori children & if not, what proactive measures are being used to attract Māori staff & BOT members? <input type="checkbox"/> Are staff & BOT members easily accessible to Māori children & parents?	<input type="checkbox"/> How are staff members working with people from other organisations for the benefit of Māori children?
Policy <input type="checkbox"/> What commitment to meeting the cultural needs of Māori children is contained in your policies, charter & other official documentation?	<input type="checkbox"/> How does school/centre documentation reflect partnership goals?	<input type="checkbox"/> What input do Māori parents and whanau have into charter & policy writing especially in areas concerning Māori children, te reo & tikanga?	<input type="checkbox"/> Does your school/centre's documentation reflect a commitment to supporting & promoting Māori culture & language & contain established procedures for doing this?	<input type="checkbox"/> What involvement do Māori have in monitoring Māori-related policies?	<input type="checkbox"/> Does your school/centre's documentation contain a commitment to equitable outcomes for Māori children & outline strategies for achieving this?	<input type="checkbox"/> What commitment to holistic education & working with other schools/centres & organisations is contained in your official documentation?

Processes <input type="checkbox"/> What culturally appropriate methods are used in the planning, development and delivery of your programmes & services?	<input type="checkbox"/> How are hapu/iwi consulted & involved in the planning, development & delivery of programmes and services?	<input type="checkbox"/> Are culturally appropriate methods involved both in enlisting the participation of Māori parents, children & whanau & in the participation itself?	<input type="checkbox"/> Does your school/centre programme include culturally appropriate teaching & learning strategies & procedures?	<input type="checkbox"/> What involvement do Māori have in determining the way things are done at your school/centre? <input type="checkbox"/> How are they empowered?	<input type="checkbox"/> Do teachers have high expectations of Māori children & is this reflected in the way they teach, how they interact & the relationships they develop with these children?	<input type="checkbox"/> How does your school/centre involve & interact with other educational, community & Māori organisations?
Content <input type="checkbox"/> What Māori skills, knowledge, experiences, language, tikanga, values & beliefs are incorporated into the curriculum & activities at your school/centre?	<input type="checkbox"/> What curriculum content reflects partnership principles or includes partnership information?	<input type="checkbox"/> What input do Māori parents, children & whanau have into determining curriculum content, especially Māori-related content?	<input type="checkbox"/> What Māori-relevant content is in your curriculum? <input type="checkbox"/> To what extent is the Māori language seen & heard within the school/centre environment?	<input type="checkbox"/> Are iwi consulted about the "tribal" appropriateness of cultural content in the curriculum?	<input type="checkbox"/> Is the Māori content in programmes accorded equal value & status as other curriculum content?	<input type="checkbox"/> What evidence is there in your curriculum content that your school/centre supports & values holistic education?
Resources <input type="checkbox"/> How are Māori people, skills, knowledge, experiences, language, tikanga, values & beliefs reflected in the resources displayed & used at your school/centre?	<input type="checkbox"/> What resources are partnership-relevant? <input type="checkbox"/> Is there any mutual sharing of resources?	<input type="checkbox"/> Are Māori children, parents, whanau and community members invited to share their knowledge expertise and experiences?	<input type="checkbox"/> What high quality Māori resources are used at your school/centre?	<input type="checkbox"/> Are Māori parents, children and whanau involved in choosing, purchasing or making resources?	<input type="checkbox"/> Are there sufficient Māori-related resources in all curriculum areas? <input type="checkbox"/> Do Māori children have ready access to these resources?	<input type="checkbox"/> How are Māori resource people identified, used and remunerated?
Assessment <input type="checkbox"/> How are Māori skills, knowledge, practices, language, experiences, beliefs & values taken into consideration in the assessment and evaluation measures and procedures used at your school/centre?	<input type="checkbox"/> Are Māori/iwi/hapu/whanau representatives involved in assessment in any way?	<input type="checkbox"/> How are Māori parents, children and whanau involved in the assessment process?	<input type="checkbox"/> How are Māori values, content, perspectives, experiences and parental priorities incorporated into assessment measures and procedures?	<input type="checkbox"/> How are children's differing levels of cultural knowledge, experience and identification ascertained?	<input type="checkbox"/> How do you monitor equity of access, use and outcomes and identify barriers to achievement or access?	<input type="checkbox"/> Does assessment involve all essential learning areas, skills, attitudes and values (including cultural knowledge and skills)?
Administration <input type="checkbox"/> How are the administrative procedures used at your school/centre sensitive to and supportive of Māori people, culture, values & practices?	<input type="checkbox"/> How are partnership principles reflected in your administrative procedures?	<input type="checkbox"/> How are Māori parents & Whanau involved in your school/centre's administrative structure or procedures? <input type="checkbox"/> Do you have any Māori Committees?	<input type="checkbox"/> What cultural information about children is collected? How is it collected, stored & utilised? How are confidentiality issues addressed?	<input type="checkbox"/> What opportunities do Māori parents, children & whanau have to raise issues of concern & how are these addressed? <input type="checkbox"/> How are Māori representatives on the BOT selected?	<input type="checkbox"/> Are your assessment measures & procedures culturally fair? <input type="checkbox"/> Are culturally appropriate & effective means used for all home-school/centre communication?	<input type="checkbox"/> Do administrative procedures enable holistic programming and interaction with other educational, community & Māori organisations?

Table 6.7

Cultural Input Exemplar

	Partnership	Participation	Active Protection	Empowerment & tino rangatiratanga	Equality & Accessibility	Integration
PROGRAMME COMPONENTS	School/centre works with Māori/iwi/hapu representatives to achieve mutually acceptable goals.	Māori children, parents & whānau are positively involved in all areas of school/centre life.	Māori culture is supported, valued & promoted. The Māori language, knowledge, skills, experiences, beliefs & values of Māori children are developed.	Māori children and parents have the skills, knowledge, means, opportunities and authority to make their own decisions and act for themselves. Iwi have authority in matters relating to Māori resources & taonga.	Equity of access, use & outcomes is achieved for Māori children.	School/centre consults and works with other schools/ centres, Māori and community organisations for the benefit of Māori children. Māori children are given a holistic education which caters for their needs in all areas & considers them within the context of their whānau, hapu, iwi & NZ society.
Environment Includes both physical setting & emotional climate.	The local runanga provides iwi endorsement for a funding application to build wheelchair ramps at the kohanga reo.	IEP/IOP meetings held in staffroom where there is ample adult seating & food preparation facilities available.	Bilingual signs on building, tukutuku & kowhaiwhaipanels & other Māori artworks decorate environment.	Local hapu consulted about appropriate carvings for new administration block. Parents given choice of time & venue for IEP/IOP meeting & are included in selecting a teacher aide for their child.	Baby sitting and transport arranged to enable parents to attend IEP/IOP meeting. Flexible payment, koha, fund raising or sponsorship options to enable children to attend school camp. Māori parents helped to access disability & advocacy services relevant to their child's special needs.	The college hall is the venue for the local primary schools' annual kapa haka concert to which all members of the community are invited.
Personnel Includes factors such as composition, qualifications, recruitment, staff selection, and development and levels and areas of responsibility.	Māori BOT/hapu/whānau committee representative on staff appointment committee. Staff/BOT have overnight stay at marae to learn about the history and kawa of the marae from hapu members.	Parents, whānau & teachers jointly organise the annual kapa haka concert.	Māori teacher aide employed to work with Māori child with Oown Syndrome. First 15 minutes of staff meetings spent on learning te reo Māori & waiata. Māori-related courses paid for from staff development funds. TOW training compulsory for all new BOT members.	Māori staff member given release time to organise Māori resources throughout the school.	Job vacancies written in Māori and English & advertised in Māori publications. Whānau networking used to canvas likely candidates. School/centre has open door policy. Parents are encouraged to visit & made to feel welcome.	Staff with expertise & responsibility in Special Education & Māori belong to relevant National Associations, attend conferences & meet regularly with local colleagues to share ideas, resources & plan combined events.
Policy All official documentation including rules & regulations, charters, plans, policies, aims, guidelines, mission statements & philosophies.	School/centre has a policy on implementing the Treaty of Waitangi.	Whānau committee responsible for the writing/reviewing of school/centre's Māori language policy.	School/centre has official policies for formally welcoming visitors & new pupils (powhiri), farewelling staff and pupils (poroporoaki) and providing instruction in Māori culture and language.	Māori BOT representatives & kaumatua asked to do annual cultural audit.	Policy commitment to target areas where particular Māori need has been identified & to use a variety of teaching methods to cater for children's diverse abilities & learning styles.	Guidelines for curriculum planning & IEP/IOP writing require all areas of development to be catered for ie cognitive, cultural, physical, social & intrapersonal.

Process The methods, strategies & procedures used to plan, develop & implement school/centre programmes & services.	Whanau Committee involved in formulating a new school/centre-wide behaviour management programme.	Māori parents invited to bring whanau members along to IEP/IDP meetings.	Interactive, experiential & co-operative teaching strategies, whanau grouping, tuakana-teina tutoring & consensus decision-making used. Karakia, mihi & kai part of IEP/IDP meeting procedure.	Parents of special needs child have input into their child's placement & programme adaptation. Māori parents are given clear, jargon-free information about their rights, entitlements & services available to them.	Group of tuakana in bilingual unit given responsibility of organising outing for the unit's teina. Teachers insist on and model correct pronunciation of Māori words especially Māori names.	Māori Women's Wellare League members enlisted as tutors for the Tataru, Tautoko, Tauawhi reading programme. Bilingual class visits kohanga reo to share their stories with kohanga tamariki.
Content The knowledge, skills, attitudes & values outlined in the NZ Curriculum Framework & detailed in National Curriculum Statements.	All children learn about the Treaty of Waitangi and local tribal history.	Māori parents and their child involved in setting goals and determining IEP/IDP content.	A bush study includes traditional Māori usage of native plants. Māori is included in school/centre signs notices, reports & used in classrooms, meetings, assembly & to greet visitors & phone callers.	Kaumatua advises staff on local versions of Māori stories & historic events, waiata that are "tribally offensive" & the use of tribal dialect.	Children rewarded for Māori-related knowledge & skills in all curriculum areas. School report & IEP/IDP form contain section on child's effort & progress in te reo & cultural activities.	Māori content is included in all learning areas & integrated units of work are a regular feature of the school/centre programme.
Resources Books, videos, charts, tapes, sports, maths, art equipment - all teaching material as well as people who share their skill knowledge & experiences.	A copy of the Treaty of Waitangi is on permanent display in a prominent place. School fax machine used for hapu business, marae pots used for school "soup" fundraiser.	Local carver takes carving elective at club time. Māori children from senior class teach action songs to junior class.	Library contains books in te reo, NZ history books from a Māori perspective, Māori biographies, stories with Māori characters & novels by Māori authors. Charts & posters displayed contain Māori people, themes & art work.	Whanau committee given money to purchase resources for the bilingual class. Māori child who is visually impaired involved in the selection of talking books to be purchased.	Funding available to purchase Māori material in areas identified as poorly resourced. Multiple copies of basic Māori readers enable children to take books home on a regular basis.	Whanau committee members use their networks to compile a list of people with varying expertise willing to tutor children. A koha is given for all services rendered.
Assessment Measures & procedures used to determine eligibility, content, quality & effectiveness of programmes & services, to evaluate progress & to monitor accountability.	Kaumatua involved in assessment of School Certificate Māori "orals".	Parents fill out home portion of an ecological assessment prior to initial IEP/IDP meeting. Peer, group & self-assessment encouraged.	Running records & verbal maths problems use Māori relevant content. Progress in te reo & cultural activities mentioned in Reports. Special needs assessment takes Māori concept of disability into account.	Parents consulted to compile child's cultural profile. Included are iwi, hapu, marae affiliations, family involvement in cultural activities, extent of reo used in the home, child's ability in the reo, any special cultural expertise, etc.	Results of all assessments entered on school-wide data base. Procedures established for periodic monitoring & comparison of results. Candidates for an enrichment programme selected by multiple identification methods including whanau nomination.	Ecological Inventory data used to set IEP/IDP goals in all curriculum areas. School/centre-wide reinforcement system acknowledges effort & excellence in all areas including manaakitanga, aroha & other important cultural values.
Administration All procedures relating to the management, funding & running of a school/centre including such activities as data collection, information dissemination, upkeep & maintenance.	Information on Māori/iwi/scholarships/education grants included in school newsletter.	School/centre's whanau committee, chaired by Māori BOT representative is consulted on all Māori-related matters & decides on spending priorities for Māori tagged funding.	Ongoing school/centre data base contains cultural information eg number of Māori children, kohanga graduates, tribal affiliations etc.	Parental concerns taken directly to school/centre staff, Māori BOT/whanau reps, school kaumatua or aired at monthly whanau meeting. Iwi, hapu & whanau committee canvas Māori community for BOT candidates. Kaumatua for school/centre nominated by hapu.	School newsletter contains Māori greetings, is jargon-free & uses a reader-friendly format. Important school notices & invitations followed up with a telephone call or face-to-face contact.	Primary school records passed on to intermediate. Teachers meet to discuss pupils strengths, weaknesses & needs. Flexible timetabling allows for an integrated programme.

The Cultural Audit Process

The next step was to develop a defined process in which the framework, checklist and exemplar could be used. What was needed was a procedure that was flexible enough to be adapted to the individual circumstances and preferences of the people involved but structured enough to ensure that Māori learners with special needs ultimately benefit from the process. The decision was made to use the Individualised Education Plan (IEP) process as a model. My experience with and knowledge of developing and implementing IEPs proved a valuable asset in this task.

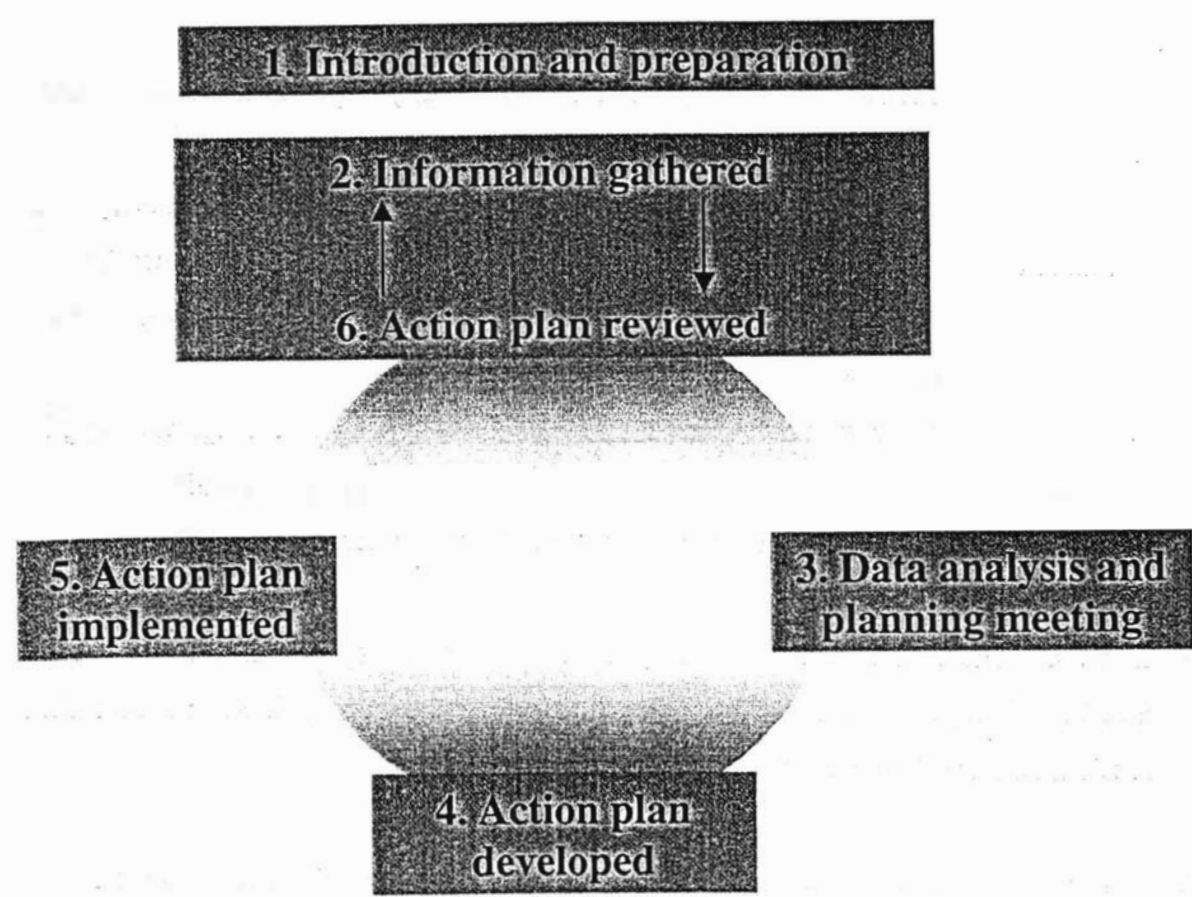


Figure 6.1 The Cultural Audit Process

The cultural audit process consists of six steps

1. Introduction and Preparation

Staff conducting a cultural audit are issued with a seven page handout containing a copy of the cultural input checklist, an exemplar, a sample action plan and a brief explanation of the eight principles for determining cultural effectiveness. After reading this material a discussion is held about the best means of gathering the information required and a collective decision made about the process to be used.

2. Information Gathering.

Information can be gathered in a variety of ways. Some suggestions are:

- ◆ Staff members note down in their diaries all the culturally appropriate strategies they come across during a one-week, data-collecting period.
- ◆ A senior staff member collects data on the Environment, Personnel, Policy and Administration categories across the school/centre. Other staff members collect data on the Process, Content, Resources and Assessment categories in relation to their own classroom/work situation.
- ◆ Large sheets of paper with principle and programme component headings are hung in the staffroom for a specified period. All staff add entries as they come to mind.
- ◆ A delegated staff member collects information via staff interviews conducted over a one/two week period.
- ◆ Information is collected at a professional development day or cultural audit staff meeting. Everyone has the checklist questions. During a combined brainstorming session, data are charted for all to see.

A weakness of the last method is that staff do not have the benefit of time to reflect on school/centre practices and so the likelihood of missing culturally appropriate strategies is greater than when information is collected over a one or two week period. It is important that all staff members be involved in gathering or providing data especially in schools/centres where special education ancillary staff are employed. Teacher aides and

Education Support Workers often spend more one-to-one time with learners with special needs than any other staff member.

3. Sorting and Analysing Information

Whatever method is used to collect information, the next step in the cultural audit process is to sort and analyse the data. Again a number of approaches can be used but one that works well is to sort the various strategies into their relevant categories and to record them on a large wall chart, overhead transparency or computer print out. If numerous strategies have been collected it may be simpler to number each strategy and record these numbers on a cultural input framework.

No matter how information is organised, the next task is to analyse data to determine the school/centre's weaknesses and strengths. Useful questions that can be posed include:

Data Spread

Is there a good coverage across the entire framework or are there large gaps in particular areas?

Data Comparison

Have any predominant patterns emerged and, if so, what are their implications?

Are Policy entries evident in practice?

Origin of Data

Are strategies being employed in all areas of the school/centre and at all levels?

Are strategies being initiated by all staff members?

Does the data contain both general and special education strategies? (Māori learners with special needs are first and foremost Māori learners. To be effective a school/centre must provide culturally appropriate strategies across the board, not just in the area of special needs.)

Involvement

Is involvement widespread?

Are learners, parents, whānau and community all involved or do certain groups or people dominate to the exclusion of others?

Does involvement include a range of processes including initial consultation, planning, development, implementation and evaluation?

4. Developing a Plan for Future Action

The next step is to formulate a plan of action arising from the data analysis. Staff need to ask themselves: “What strategies can be utilised to build on the strengths and rectify the weaknesses that have been identified?” At this stage if answers are not immediately evident, the exemplar may provide some inspiration. The action plan that is formulated can be recorded in a variety of ways but an IEP format similar to Table 6.8 is recommended.

Table 6.8

Cultural Input Action Plan

CULTURAL INPUT ACTION PLAN					
Review date: _____					
Principle	Objective	Checklist category	Strategy	Responsibility	Target date
Participation	To increase Maori involvement in all areas of school life	Participation/ personnel	1. Enlist whanau help to organise kapa haka concert in November	Mr Jones (DP)	15/11
		Participation/ assessment	2. Design a user-friendly IEP assessment form for parental use	Ms Black (special needs co-ordinator)	30/9
		Participation/ administration	3. Consult with Maori parents about spending priorities for reo-tagged funding	Mrs White (Principal) and Mr Kaiwai (Maori language co-ordinator)	15/10
Active protection	To increase Maori resources throughout the school	Resources/active protection	1. Examine classroom and library resources for Maori content, list what is available and what is needed	All teachers and librarian	15/10
		Resources/active protection integration	2. Use school newsletter and whanau contacts to compile a list of community people with Maori expertise available to contribute to lessons and activities	All teachers. Ms Grey to compile final list	15/11
Accessibility/ participation	To encourage Maori parents to attend IEP meetings	Accessibility/ environment	1. Offer and organise baby-sitting service/allow parents choice of time and venue for IEP meetings	Ms Black (special needs co-ordinator)	As needed

5. Implementing the Action Plan

Although the person listed as having responsibility for a specific strategy has the task of initiating and overseeing that strategy, a collaborative, collective approach should be taken. Providing a culturally effective education to Māori learners with special needs is a responsibility that all staff members share.

6. Reviewing the Action Plan

Similar to an individual IEP, a school/centre's cultural input action plan should be reviewed at least twice a year, the review date being set in advance. At the review meeting, progress is examined, a new plan is formulated and so the cycle continues.

Categorisation of Organisation Survey Strategies

The next step involved using the cultural input framework to evaluate the cultural effectiveness of the 56 different strategies identified in successful programmes and services in the organisation survey. This was done to determine the cultural effectiveness of the strategies and to assess the workability of the cultural input framework. Each strategy was examined to see if it fitted on the framework. Any strategies that did not fit would signal either that the strategy was not culturally effective or that the framework was missing certain elements. In chapter seven each strategy is numbered. These numbers have been used in Table 6.9 to place each strategy in its appropriate category. As the Table indicates, all strategies found a "home" on the framework and so can be considered as culturally effective. This exercise of categorising the strategies used by organisations was also helpful in clarifying my own understanding of the cultural audit framework and refining the categorisation process involved.

Table 6.9

Organisation Survey Strategies

	Partnership	Participation	Active Protection	Empowerment & Tino Rangatiratanga	Equality & Accessibility	Integration
Environment			12		46, 47, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56	
Personnel			24, 29, 31, 32	4, 26, 28	25, 27, 30, 38	43
Policy			37, 39		38, 40	
Process	7, 9		11, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24	6	29, 46, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56	41, 43
Content		2, 4	11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21		13	45
Resources		1, 2, 3, 4, 5	14, 15, 16, 17	25	1	9, 42, 44
Assessment			36			42
Administration	6, 8, 10		18, 36	10	33, 35, 49, 51	34, 51

CONSULTATION AND EVALUATION HUI

Having developed a cultural audit process and products the next phase in the research involved validating, trialing and fine-tuning the process and products. After gaining approval from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, feedback on the cultural audit process and products was gained by two means. The first involved consultation and evaluation hui.

Data Gathering

In 1998 I was involved in a Ministry of Education contract to provide an independent validation of a survey of early intervention services delivered to children by the Specialist Education Services (SES). My particular area of responsibility was to investigate the services provided to Māori children with special needs. This proved a serendipitous situation. After obtaining permission from the Ministry of Education, I was able to combine an evaluation of the cultural audit process and products and a more general consultation regarding culturally appropriate services with the research being conducted for the Ministry.

Whānau from kōhanga reo were considered an appropriate group to consult with as they are actively involved in the up-bringing and education of young Māori children. After gaining permission from the Kōhanga Reo National Trust, the Māori Education Trust and Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, four kōhanga reo were approached to participate in this research. This involved contacting either the chairperson of the Kōhanga Reo Whānau Committee or a kaiako from the kōhanga reo, describing the intention of the research and asking for time at their next meeting to present the research invitation to the whānau. Whānau meetings were attended, the research described and invitations extended. All four kōhanga reo opted to participate and special meeting dates were set.

Four consultation hui were held. At one hui the host kōhanga reo invited whānau from two neighboring kōhanga reo to attend, so in total, whānau from six different kōhanga reo were involved. Approximately 50 people participated in these hui, 31 of whom identified

themselves as having whānau members with special needs. Urban, suburban and rural groups were represented amongst the six kōhanga reo. The hui averaged three hours in duration. The first part was dedicated to Ministry of Education research questions and the second part dealt with the evaluation of the cultural audit process and products and consultation regarding special education services for Māori children and youth. Data specifically relating to the cultural audit evaluation are presented in chapter eight, while chapter nine contains information about the cultural appropriateness of special education services, barriers faced by parents, whānau and Māori learners with special needs and suggestions for overcoming these barriers.

In the process of organising these consultation hui I was approached by a parent who had a child with special needs attending a local kura kaupapa Māori. She and two other parents requested a further meeting to discuss problems related to school-age children with special needs. This meeting was arranged and feedback from these parents is also presented in chapter nine.

In respect to the evaluation, the reason for the development of the cultural audit was explained and then the process and products were briefly described. This explanation and description was supported by graphic representations and examples. Whānau were encouraged to ask questions if anything was unclear. They were then asked about what they perceived as strengths and weaknesses of the process and products and whether they could suggest any improvements.

Each hui was taped, subsequently transcribed and the transcriptions returned to the respective kōhanga reo for participants to verify or amend. The hui transcriptions were presented at monthly whānau meetings and made available for all whānau members to read and comment on. Whānau members were advised to either contact me personally if they wished to make additions or amendments or they could provide feedback via the kōhanga reo whānau chairperson. Subsequent contact with the participating kōhanga reo revealed

that people were satisfied that the transcripts accurately reflected their views and understandings. They also requested future feedback from my research.⁶⁴

Data Analysis

Analysis for the cultural audit evaluation involved reading through the meeting transcripts and grouping information under the headings of Strengths, Weaknesses and Suggested Improvements. Each entry was tagged to the hui it emanated from. This initial grouping was a fairly straightforward exercise as most often the information was directly related to questions that had been posed. However, on occasions data were less obvious or imbedded in inferences and interpretations had to be made. Examples of this are comments from whānau members about the need to include a reo category amongst the principles. In fact, te reo was included under Active Protection but these comments alerted me to a number of possibilities. Perhaps my explanation of what constituted Active Protection was not clear enough. Perhaps the link between te reo and Active Protection was not strong enough or maybe, te reo was considered to be of such importance that it warranted a category of its own. These possibilities had to be considered in the light of other feedback provided at the hui.

Second level analysis involved grouping the same and similar entries together; counting entries and checking contributions across kōhanga reo to ascertain common themes; looking for inconsistencies amongst the data; and finally compacting information for presentation in this thesis.

⁶⁴ Since then the Report relating to the Ministry of Education component of research conducted with kōhanga reo has been sent to all six kōhanga reo involved, the National Kōhanga Reo Trust, Te Rūnanga o Raukawa and the Māori Education Trust. Approval from kōhanga reo was sought and gained before this Report was finalised and released.

CULTURAL AUDIT TRIALS

Data Gathering and Analysis

The second step in the process of validating and improving the cultural audit process and products was the cultural audit trials. These trials were conducted by two different means.

Researcher-Initiated Trials

Twenty-one early childhood centres, primary, intermediate and secondary schools in the Manawatu, Horowhenua and Wellington areas were invited to participate in the cultural audit trials. I chose schools and early childhood centres that had substantial Māori rolls, that were representative of urban and rural establishments at three levels of the education system and that were located within a reasonable travelling distance. An invitation to participate and a brief explanation of the cultural audit and what involvement was required were sent to these educational establishments (Appendix D). Only five schools chose to participate. These were one secondary school, three full primary schools and one contributing primary school. After arranging meeting times with school principals, two or three visits were made to each school. On the first visit the rationale behind the research was explained, the cultural audit process and possible ways of collecting data were discussed, the cultural audit checklist, exemplar and information about the principles were distributed and any queries that arose were answered. These initial meetings were approximately half an hour long. (A copy of this meeting script is included as Appendix E.)

Schools varied in the way they chose to conduct the audit but, with one exception, data were collected over a two-week period. The structure of the second and third meetings differed according to the audit process chosen but generally it involved the analysis of each school's performance as indicated on a completed framework and a discussion of a possible cultural input action plan. Second and third meetings varied from between 20 to 75 minutes. All meetings were full staff meetings.

In addition to the verbal feedback about the cultural audit process and products received during staff meetings, a large stamped, addressed envelope was pinned to the staff notice-

board at each school and people were asked to put in any further comments they would like to make. This provided the opportunity for anonymous feedback. For their records, each school was provided with a summary of the cultural input strategies they utilised and a chart of where these strategies fitted on the cultural input framework.

Independent Trials

In 1998, 1999, 2000 and 2001 students studying 186.287 Early Intervention and 186.284 An Introduction to Special Education were given the option of conducting a cultural audit as one of their assignments. Students who expressed an interest in this option were sent an assignment booklet giving details of what was required (Appendix B). Of the 16 students who expressed an initial interest, only six finally chose this assignment option. Cultural audits were conducted in three early childhood centres, one primary school and two secondary schools. Students conducted their cultural audits by interviewing one or more people involved in the educational establishment they were auditing. They analysed their data according to the guidelines given in the Assignment Booklet (Appendix B). Completed cultural input framework Tables were prepared by me from the information contained in the students' assignments. This exercise was done to provide consistency of data presentation between researcher and student trials and to gain an overall picture of strategy use.

Students could conduct an audit in their own school or early childhood centre if these had Māori learners with special needs enrolled. Alternatively, they could choose to audit an educational establishment where they were not employed. For confidentiality reasons students were not asked to identify the establishments they audited. The data collected suggest that only one or two students chose to audit their own school/early childhood centre.

Casting the Net Wider

As part of the dissemination process I have explained the cultural audit process and products to a variety of classes including preservice and post graduate education students and educational psychologist trainees. At these lectures I have extended the invitation to conduct a cultural audit. Many students have expressed an interest and at least 20 have been given the information needed to conduct an audit. Unfortunately, no audits have eventuated. A number of students have returned the audit information explaining that while they were still very supportive of the idea of a cultural audit, either their job circumstances had changed, they did not have the time needed or the teachers or principals approached were not able or interested in having an audit conducted in their school.

At this stage it should be pointed out that the cultural audit trials focused on evaluating the cultural input framework, checklist and exemplar and only the first three steps of the cultural audit process, namely, the Introduction and Preparation; Information Gathering and Sorting; and Analysing Information. The fourth step, Developing a Plan for Future Action, was considered briefly and the fifth and sixth steps, Implementing the Action Plan and Reviewing the Action Plan, were not covered at all. The last two steps were not included for two main reasons.

First, for the independent trials it was neither fair nor reasonable to expect students to include these aspects in a 200 level assignment worth only 30% of their course assessment! Second, I wanted to avoid any perception on the school's/centre's part that they were being "checked up on." As stated previously, the purpose of the research was to trial the cultural audit products and process, not to inspect and judge each school's/centre's performance. By returning to each school/centre to see how they were progressing with their action plan, a potentially threatening element would be introduced and I was reluctant to do this. My aim was to create an environment of trust where staff members felt completely comfortable to say whatever they liked without worrying about being judged, compared with other schools or their follow-up performance scrutinised. However, at each school I offered my future services in an advisory capacity, noting also that I was happy to return for the review meeting if this was wanted. I have not been called on to do so.

Specific information relating to the cultural audit process in individual schools/centres plus a summary of their performance are reported in chapter eight. Teacher feedback and field notes from the researcher-initiated trials together with the feedback provided by students as part of their assignments were analysed for strengths, weaknesses and any issues arising in the trial process itself. Strengths, procedural and content weaknesses and issues associated with the cultural audit process and products were also extracted from the data. A thematic analysis of information revealed a number of requirements for an effective cultural audit. These findings are all reported in chapter eight.

PARENT, CHILDREN, YOUTH AND WHĀNAU CONSULTATION

In seeking to discover how Māori learners with special needs can have these needs met in a culturally appropriate and effective way it was absolutely essential that parents, whānau, children and youth themselves be consulted. This was achieved by the following means:

Data Gathering

1. Consultation Hui

As earlier reported, parents and whānau from six different kōhanga reo were consulted about special education services for Māori learners with special needs. They were asked a number of specific questions:

- ◆ From a Māori perspective, who do you consider are children with special needs?
- ◆ What cultural considerations need to be taken into account in meeting these special needs and what are some things teachers can do to make their schools, centres and services more culturally appropriate for Māori children in general and Māori children with special needs, in particular? (These can be your own ideas or things you have seen or heard happening around the place.)
- ◆ Do you know of any specific examples of Māori children with special needs being provided for in a culturally appropriate, effective way? (Names are not wanted, just a description of what was/is being done and your opinion on why it is successful.)

- ♦ Do you know of any specific instances where Māori children's special needs have not been provided for in a culturally appropriate, effective way? (Again names are not wanted, just a description of the problems that have occurred.)
- ♦ What are some barriers to effective, culturally appropriate, service provision and have you any suggestions about how these barriers can be overcome?

Whānau were also asked a number of "devil's advocate" questions relating to the cultural audit checklist. This is explained in the meeting script used for this section:

This whole checklist is based on the belief that Māori children will learn better in an environment that values and includes Māori culture and te reo - but do you think this belief is accurate?

Do you think it really matters to children whether there are Māori staff at their school/centre or that waiata are sung?

Will the involvement of whānau or kaumātua help their learning or is this just a cunning way of getting help for teachers?

Is whānau and kaumātua involvement important?

Does it make any difference if kids have a koru pattern on their uniform or if Māori art is displayed?

How important are "cultural inputs" any way? Why?

2. Longitudinal Case Study

In 1996 I was contacted by the grandmother of a nine-year old child with special needs. Rawiri has a 50% hearing loss and wears hearing aids in both ears. He is also a gifted artist. Rawiri's grandmother is a former teacher. She is a friend of mine and was aware of my work in the area of special education. Nan was concerned about her mokopuna's progress at school. She believed him to be a bright, conscientious student and yet his homework showed he had large gaps in understanding. His mother was also worried and had approached Rawiri's teacher about her concerns. Rawiri was in a bilingual unit and was taught by a Māori woman. This teacher assured his mother that there was nothing to worry

about. She confirmed that Rawiri was a well-behaved, conscientious pupil who was making steady progress. However, his mother and grandmother were not satisfied. They believed that Rawiri's teacher had lowered expectations of him because of his hearing impairment. They asked me to assess Rawiri to determine his level of academic achievement. I conducted a series of tests with him (Burt Word Recognition, Westwood Basic Maths, Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, Key Maths Inventory, Holdaway's Independent Prose Inventory Assessments, Story and Art Assessments). I also talked at length with Rawiri about his school experiences, strengths and weaknesses, likes and dislikes, deafness, problems, teachers, friends, family and future aspirations. My conclusions were that he was indeed gifted in art but as his mother and grandmother had suspected, he was achieving below his chronological age in basic school subjects. However, he was not significantly "below par." He appeared to be of at least average intelligence. I talked with Rawiri's mother and teacher making a number of suggestions for ways he could be helped. Since that time I have kept in regular contact with Rawiri, his mother and grandmother. I have been involved in his movement from primary, intermediate and on to secondary school, talked to his teachers and provided educational guidance.

In 2000 a similar concern about Rawiri's progress was raised, I conducted a further battery of tests and came up with similar conclusions and suggestions as in 1996. In this present research, details of Rawiri's academic achievement and progress over the past six years are not being presented or examined. Rather my focus is on information directly related to the research aims. This information accumulated over the years provides a glimpse into the "lived experience" of a child with special needs and his whānau. It makes a valuable contribution to the data presented in chapter nine.

3. Parent and Whānau Interviews

Semi-structured and unstructured interviews were conducted with the parents, whānau and friends of 30 Māori children and youth with a variety of special needs. This involved

talking to 38 people, exclusive of the learners themselves. These 38 people consisted of 22 mothers, four fathers, four aunties, four grandmothers, two grandfathers, one sister and one family friend. They can be divided into two groups.

The first group consisted of people I approached personally to participate, namely, family, friends and work-related acquaintances. They lived in the Wellington, Hutt Valley, Horowhenua, Manawatu and East Coast regions and were chosen because of their convenient location. This group consisted of 29 people who were whānau of 21 children with special needs. All interviews were face-to-face and were mainly conducted in the participants' own homes. Other interview venues were the homes of friends or relatives, my home and in one case, on a marae.

The second group of nine people responded to "advertisements" in a variety of media, for example, an article about my research in a Māori publication, information on a hapū website and an interview on Radio Ngāti Porou. As these self-selected participants were scattered throughout Aotearoa/ New Zealand their interviews were conducted by telephone.

In both telephone and face-to-face interviews people were encouraged to "tell their stories" of both positive and negative experiences. These were, in fact, more akin to conversations than formal research interviews. I listened intently, seeking clarification where necessary, probing for elaboration of situations or issues and providing feedback, support and information in response to participants' queries. As I was particularly interested in their perceptions of and desire for culturally appropriate services, if this topic was not covered naturally in conversation I introduced relevant questions. In the majority of cases I took handwritten notes during the interview and checked the accuracy of my understanding with participants both during and at the end of each interview. Where interviews were taped, transcriptions were returned to participants for them to check that their views and experiences were accurately recorded. They could make additions and amendments at this

stage if necessary. Similar to the situation for kōhanga reo participants, no changes were made.

4. Input From Children and Youth With Special Needs

I have also conducted informal discussions with and observed four learners whose parents were interviewed. These children and youth ranged from 4 to 14 years old. Their special needs were hearing impairment, speech/language and communication problems, learning disability, social/emotional/behavioural problems and giftedness. The observations were carried out in the children's own homes, in my home, in relative's homes, at schools and an early childhood centre and on a marae. Notes were taken from interviews and observations. These were discussed with parents and oral permission was gained for the inclusion of children and youth's views and information. While acknowledging their contribution to this research is relatively small, it is none-the-less valuable. *Ahakoā he iti, he pounamu. Although only small, it is a treasure.*

Data Analysis

A first step was to make a list of the strategies described as being culturally appropriate and successful with Māori learners with special needs by kōhanga reo hui participants (Appendix F). These 29 strategies were then categorised according to cultural input criteria and placed on the cultural audit framework. The point of this exercise was to further "test" the accuracy and robustness of the framework. As all these strategies had been identified as successful and culturally appropriate, the occurrence of strategies for which there was no "home" would alert me to principles or categories that may need to be added to the framework. All strategies identified by kōhanga reo participants could be placed on the cultural input framework.

The next step in data analysis involved reading through the notes and transcripts of interviews, kōhanga reo hui and child and youth observations and sorting the information contained into five initial categories, namely, Perspectives of Special Needs, Challenges Experienced, Components Considered Essential, Suggestions for Improvements and

Miscellaneous. Information in these five categories was then further sorted into subcategories and groupings according to the themes that emerged. For example, in the Components Considered Essential category, two subcategories that became immediately obvious were those requirements that were of a general nature applicable to all learners with special needs regardless of ethnicity and a second subcategory where the requirements were Māori-specific. This information was then further sorted into personnel and service requirements and then more finely sifted into appropriate groupings such as Professional Expertise, People Skills, Commitment and Attitude and so forth. These categories were fluid and changed forms a number of times as more sensible, inclusive, appropriate, or accurate groupings emerged.

In reporting data a priority was to ensure that every participant's voice was heard. Initially I selected stories and quotes that clearly illustrated the point being made or theme being illustrated. When the first draft of the chapter was completed, I read through the text and checked that each participant and kōhanga reo hui had been adequately represented. Where I felt that particular people or hui were under-represented I selected additional stories and quotes that presented their opinions and experiences. Finally, I reread all data collected to check the accuracy of what had been presented and to ensure no important information had inadvertently been overlooked.

SUMMARY

This chapter described my six-year research journey. The intention of the initial organisation survey conducted in 1996 was to gather information about the scope, prevalence and effectiveness of programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs. A written survey was sent to 149 different special education providers, support services, Māori and disability organisations. Feedback was received from 78 people and 25 follow-up interviews were held. In analysing the data collected, determining the cultural appropriateness of the various programmes and strategies described by survey respondents was problematic. This prompted the development of a cultural audit framework, process and products. The principal sources of information in this process were relevant literature

and discussion with Te Pumanawa Hauora staff, family, friends, colleagues, acquaintances, and parents and whānau of Māori learners with special needs. The cultural audit framework, process and products were then trialed to investigate their appropriateness, validity, effectiveness and usefulness. The trials were conducted in 11 early childhood centres and primary and secondary schools by myself and students enrolled in Massey University special education courses. Four focus groups from six kōhanga reo were also consulted about the cultural audit process and products and services to Māori learners with special needs.

This chapter also described the consultation that has taken place with parents, whānau and friends of 30 Māori learners with special needs. These participants were either directly approached or were self-selected in response to various “advertisements” about this research. The former group received face-to-face interviews while telephone interviews were conducted with the latter. Information on child and youth interviews and observations and a longitudinal study of one learner was also included. Finally, this chapter included a discussion of data collection methods, analysis and data usage for each research phase described.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Discussion of the appropriateness of methods selected has been included in chapter five.

CHAPTER SEVEN: ORGANISATION SURVEY

He kino tokomaha ki te kāinga a kai

Tēnā kia tū ki te mahi, ka aha hoki.

It is difficult when there are many to feed in the village

But at work numbers make all the difference.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results of an initial research phase, namely the organisation survey.⁶⁶ This survey was exploratory in nature. While contributing to the overall research aims outlined in chapter one, the specific aims of the organisation survey were to:

1. Ascertain the scope and prevalence of services and programmes specifically developed or adapted for Māori learners with special needs;
2. identify successful services and programmes being offered to Māori children and youth with special needs;
3. identify challenges organisations face in providing for Māori learners with special needs.

RESULTS

Prevalence

Question 1 of the survey⁶⁷ sought information about the existence of services or programmes specifically developed or adapted for Māori learners with special needs while question 5 inquired about the presence of people with responsibility for or expertise in providing these services and programmes. The answers given are presented in Table 7.1 and Table 7.2.

⁶⁶ See chapter six for methodological details relating to this survey.

⁶⁷ See Appendix A for a copy of the questionnaire sent to organisations.

Table 7.1

Does Your Organisation Provide Specific or Adapted Services or Programmes for Māori Children and Youth With Special Needs?

GROUP	YES		NO		ADAPTED		NO ANS/NA	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Educational	5	62.5	1	12.5	1	12.5	1	12.5
Māori	5	83	0	0	0	0	1	17
Support	4	17	9	39	8	35	2	9
Disability	7	20	14	39	12	33	3	8
Total	21	29	24	33	21	29	7	9

Table 7.2

Do You Have Any Person/s in Your Organisation With Particular Responsibility for or Expertise in Providing Services or Programmes for Māori With Special Needs?

GROUP	YES		NO		NO ANS/NA	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Educational	7	88	1	12	0	0
Māori	5	83	0	0	1	17
Support	8	35	11	48	4	17
Disability	10	28	18	50	8	22
Total	30	41	30	41	13	18

For question 5, a variety of arrangements were mentioned. These included:

- ◆ “Official” responsibility delegated to individuals, Māori Units or committees within an organisation. Their brief involved providing advice about service content and delivery and acting as advocates and Māori representatives in a variety of situations;
- ◆ individual Māori workers or whānau groups regularly consulted but having no “official” responsibility or designation;
- ◆ Māori experts employed by an organisation’s national body and available to advise and assist local branches when required;
- ◆ itinerant Māori experts who worked within specified geographical areas.

Six respondents who said they did not have people with Māori expertise in their own organisation mentioned consulting and using local Māori organisations, groups, experts, whānau and iwi as well as national Māori organisations and national experts when the need arose.

Programmes and Services

Information about programmes and services for Māori children and youth with special needs was obtained from the postal survey, hui and seminar, semi-structured interviews, documentary analysis and informal discussion. In particular, answers to survey questions 2, 3, 4 and 7 contained a wealth of information about the nature, scope, effectiveness and development of programmes and services.

A variety of services and programmes in a wide range of areas were described. These included educational, social, recreational, promotional, medical, preventative, support and nurturing, assessment and screening, rehabilitation, liaison, therapeutic, referral, caretaking and accommodation, advisory, translation, advocacy, lobbying, fundraising and financial support, policy development, research and counseling programmes and services.

In discussing the effectiveness of these programmes and services, people tended to report positive feedback in general terms while negative feedback was more specific. For example, typical positive comments included:

Our respite care programme is really great. Everyone involved benefits.

We do have a strong linkage to kōhanga reo. We did the “kids up the road”⁶⁸ with them and they loved it.

Typical negative comments included:

⁶⁸ This is a puppet show featuring puppets with various disabilities.

I found the lack of Māori-relevant assessment tools a real problem, like for reading in te reo. This is a real problem when you are arguing for discretionary hours against others who have official reading statistics...

In my area, appropriate, bicultural training is just not available.

In analysing data, negative feedback contributed to the section on challenges while positive feedback was taken into account in developing the following list of 56 strategies used in effective programmes and services.

Positive Strategies

Participation

This category relates to Māori involvement in any organisation activity or structure:

1. Whānau networks used to identify needs and advertise programmes;
2. kaumātua consulted and included in programme or service;
3. Māori adults, parents and whānau with similar experiences used to support Māori members new to an organisation;
4. Māori staff work with parents and whānau to adapt programmes and services for particular individuals;
5. whānau members involved in research projects.

Partnership

This involves Māori committees, organisations or groups working together with organisational personnel or government agencies to achieve mutually acceptable goals:

6. Advice, training and other assistance provided for Māori to establish their own iwi-based or pan-Māori services;
7. mainstream organisations provide joint services with hapū and iwi or contract hapū and iwi to run programmes;
8. government funding of Māori services;
9. consultation and collaboration with Māori groups and national organisations such as the Māori Women's Welfare League, Te Puni Kokiri, the National Kōhanga Reo Trust and the National Māori Council;
10. Māori representatives on Executive Boards.

Cultural Content

This entails the inclusion of Māori knowledge, language, skills, art and music, resources, experiences, concepts, issues, beliefs, values, practices or protocols into the programmes, services or structure of an organisation:

11. Specific parts or the entire programme translated and delivered in te reo;
12. organisations, services and programmes given Māori names and logos;
13. advertising literature and information produced entirely or partially in te reo;
14. advertising and information produced in English but containing Māori content, for example, the inclusion of mihi, Māori art work, pictures and articles about Māori children, reports on and advertisements for local Māori events;
15. Māori food and experiences such as marae visits incorporated into programme;
16. rongoā and mirimiri used;
17. Māori-appropriate resources developed and used, for example, Māori dolls used in therapy, talking books about Māori characters and pātere used in asthma breathing exercises;
18. translation service available for programmes, information and advertising;
19. Māori concepts, content and issues incorporated into programmes;
20. Māori philosophy and concepts of disability taken into account;
21. tribal beliefs and protocols included where appropriate;
22. culturally appropriate teaching/learning techniques used, for example, interactive, holistic, hands-on, co-operative and experiential strategies and approaches and tuakana-teina tutoring;
23. tikanga Māori observed in meetings and presentations, for example, mihi, karakia and kai included in IEP meetings.

Personnel

This category involves Māori-related issues and activities in respect to the recruitment, selection, employment, composition and training of staff. It also relates to the responsibilities and activities staff are allocated and their attitudes, commitment and expertise:

24. Māori staff scheduled to work with Māori children, youth and families;
25. active recruitment and training in Māori communities to provide a pool of community-based, support people;

26. certificates awarded to recognise and validate local training courses;
27. job vacancies advertised in Māori publications;
28. organisations employ Māori individuals or groups to act as national spokespersons on Māori issues;
29. Māori and Pākehā staff partnered when working with Māori children and families;
30. proactive recruitment, for example, employment information and freepost reply cards included with grant notifications and follow-up hui for people who expressed an interest;
31. Pākehā staff trained in “things Māori” in order to develop their cultural awareness, sensitivity, knowledge and ability to provide culturally appropriate services, for example, classes on the Treaty of Waitangi, te reo and Māori perspectives of child development;
32. cultural advice and information services available to Pākehā staff.

Administration

This includes Māori-relevant management, funding and administrative procedures, activities and issues:

33. Sponsorship of educational scholarships in professions where Māori expertise is scarce;
34. funds for Māori-relevant research sought/obtained from outside agencies;
35. sponsorship of health promotion events and projects specifically for Māori;
36. administrative processes established for internal or external cultural auditing.

Policy

This includes all official documentation, rules, regulations, policies, plans or charters that relate to Māori:

37. Commitment to Treaty of Waitangi principles and Māori and bicultural practices in policy documents;
38. “positive discrimination” in EEO policies and job advertisements;
39. “tāngata whenua” policy covering items such as cultural awareness training for staff, recognition of Māori protocols and requirement for cultural auditing of programmes and services;

40. policy commitment to target services to areas where Māori needs have been identified.

Integration

This involves any inter-agency interaction aimed at providing for and benefiting Māori children and youth with special needs:

41. Agencies contribute to social and educational support groups provided for children and parents;
42. Māori community/organisation networks used to identify people needing services and to provide support as necessary;
43. staff from Māori services work alongside Pākehā professionals in mainstream services;
44. members of Māori organisations used as resource people/helpers in programmes and services, for example, members of the Māori Women's Welfare league used as remedial reading tutors;
45. existing Māori community activities incorporated into programmes offered by Pākehā organisations, for example, Māori children and youth taken to local culture clubs or marae activities.

Accessibility and Equality

This involves any measures taken to enable Māori to obtain access to services and programmes and/or to reduce existing inequalities:

46. Whānau given choice of service/meeting time and venue;
47. meetings and services delivered in the home environment or at Māori facilities, for example, vision and hearing testers assess children at kōhanga reo;
48. programmes and services provided as part of a larger marae-based service;
49. services provided or advertised at popular venues such as sports meetings and facilities, Māori health days and culture competitions;
50. services, information and resources provided to individuals and groups either free of charge or on a koha basis. Koha may be money, kai, time or services;
51. Māori publications such as Wānanga newsletters and Te Puni Kokiri Magazine used to advertise services or disseminate information;
52. transport and child-minding provided to enable access to services;

53. services utilise a variety of delivery styles and modes, for example, weekend hui, day sessions, evening classes and correspondence courses;
54. staff help parents access services and accompany them to meetings and professional visits;
56. Māori staff act as advocates for Māori children and parents;
57. Māori staff provide whānau support to those who do not have access to whānau.

Challenges

Information relating to challenges was obtained from the postal survey, hui and seminar, semi-structured interviews, documentary analysis and informal discussion. In particular, answers to survey questions 1, 6 and 7 provided an abundance of data. In listing the 39 different challenges identified by respondents, it should be noted that these challenges represent a number of different perspectives. Although Pākehā service providers working in mainstream organisations and Māori staff working in iwi-based services face many similar challenges in providing for Māori learners with special needs, there are many other challenges that are specific to the particular institution and circumstances in which they work.

Participation⁶⁹

1. Māori parents reluctant to participate, too shy to make their needs known or to complain about poor quality provisions;
2. little or no demand for services from Māori;
3. lack of communication between service providers and whānau.

Cultural Content

4. Lack of culturally appropriate resources (audio, visual and written) to implement programme;
5. material in te reo Māori not in the appropriate tribal dialect;
6. conflict between cultural values and proposed treatment;
7. lack of bicultural training;

⁶⁹ The explanation of each category provided for the positive strategies in the previous section also applies to the challenges listed in this section.

8. services not meeting people's "cultural expectations";
9. reluctance of organisation to accept Māori values, concepts and ways of working;
10. interventions difficult to implement because of cultural practices or circumstances, for example, dietary restrictions hard to adhere to at hui on the marae;
11. Pākehā institutions and individuals unwilling to recognise cultural qualifications and expertise;
12. pervading belief that culture is not important in service provision and that "Māori needs are no different from anyone else's";
13. culturally inappropriate assessment procedures and measures;
14. Pākehā concepts of special needs used to identify Māori children.

Personnel

15. Unresponsive, disinterested or prejudiced staff;
16. lack of staff with cultural expertise necessary to run Māori programmes;
17. people in charge not committed to providing culturally appropriate services;
18. high burnout and attrition rate of Māori workers with expertise;
19. organisational restructuring and high staff turnover in funding organisations detrimental to the establishment of stable, consistent working relationships.

Administration

Workload issues:

20. Workers spread too thinly, too little time available and too few workers employed to meet demands;
21. part-time workers given a full-time workload;
22. no one employed to perform duties when worker is absent.

Funding issues:

23. Lack of funding required to provide an effective service, hire Māori or to disseminate helpful research findings;
24. the uncertainty and limited time period of contract funding having an adverse affect on service provision;

25. funding agencies unwilling to recognise that the poor state of Māori health and the nature of Māori services necessitate more funding than that required by equivalent Pākehā services;
26. funding bodies setting criteria and output requirements that are too narrow, unrealistic, irrelevant or inappropriate;
27. levels of funding that “do not enable the consultative networking required for services to work together”;
28. service delays arising from bureaucratic, time-consuming funding applications and procedures;
29. organisations too small to provide a variety of programmes;
30. considered “uneconomical” to develop a programme for a small clientele.

Policy

31. Difficulty in translating national policy into practice at a local level resulting in policy tokenism;
32. lack of national guidance and policy directives in respect to the provision of Māori services and the dissemination of relevant research findings.

Integration

33. Māori and Pākehā organisations reluctant to work together;
34. lack of co-ordination and liaison between organisations resulting in fragmented service provision and Māori “falling between the cracks”;
35. doctors not referring “potential clients” on to Māori services.

Accessibility and Equality

36. lack of information about service availability, accessibility and entitlement;
37. parents’ lack time and transport needed to access services;
38. no wheelchair access at some marae;
39. prohibitive cost of services, equipment and associated expenses.

Common Components of Successful Programmes and Services

An analysis of the research data revealed that successful programmes and services contained a number of common components. These were:

1. The Incorporation of Cultural Content Including Māori Knowledge, Skills, Experiences, Processes, Language, Tikanga, Values and Beliefs

Having a special need was not viewed as negating an individual's culture. On the contrary, culture was considered to be a vital part of a person's being and an asset to be nourished and drawn on in any intervention. The inclusion of cultural content in programmes and services demonstrated a commitment to and valuing of taha Māori. It was evidenced in the programmes and services delivered to children and youth with special needs and also in various professional development programmes. An example is the Tatari, Tautoko, Tauawhi tutor training programme. Each session began with a karakia and mihimihi; the "whakapapa" of the programme was given; tutors were instructed using interactive techniques, practical demonstrations and experiential learning; kaumātua were involved, food was provided and the session ended with a closing karakia.

2. The Inclusion of Parents and Whānau, the Māori Community, Māori Organisations and Māori Workers

Parents and Whānau

Durie, M. H. (1985, 1994b), Pere (1991) and the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988) all list whanaungatanga as a foundational component in their respective models of Māori Health, namely, Whare Tapa Wha, Te Wheke and Ngā Pou Mana.

The family is the prime support system for Māori, providing care and nurturance, not only in physical terms but culturally and emotionally (Durie, M. H., 1994b, p. 73).

This view was widely accepted and practiced by many service providers. Parents and whānau, especially kaumātua, were consulted and involved in service provision including the development, adaptation and implementation of programmes, in

identifying needs and in advertising services.⁷⁰ Some whānau members were also involved as participants in disability-related research.

Whānau involvement was interpreted in its widest sense. Two examples illustrate this. A Māori worker from one organisation reported that where a single parent was flatting and did not have whānau support available, willing flatmates and friends were enlisted to take on the role of whānau. Collective responsibility was created by all adults being trained, provided with material and involved in the programme to support the child. The second example of the wide interpretation of whānau is the “whānau of interest” research team at the Poutama Pounamu Education Research and Development Centre in Tauranga. Although team members were not all related or even Māori, their common research interest and commitment to kaupapa Māori resulted in a non-hierarchical, consensual, whānau mode of operation (Bishop, 1996a, 1996b; Glynn & Bishop, 1995; Glynn, Berryman & Atvars et al, 1997).

The Māori Community and Māori Organisations

The Māori community and organisations were involved in a variety of ways but the most frequently used strategy involved consultation and involvement as outside resource and support people in the delivery of programmes and services. However, one worker sounded a warning:

The wrong people are sometimes involved. Who should be consulted depends on the point of the consultation. The Rūnanga and National Boards serve the purpose of meeting Māori interests at an iwi and national level, but often closer flax roots consultation is needed to determine local needs.

⁷⁰ It should be noted, however, that while the involvement of parents and whānau emerged as an important component in successful programmes and services, the categorisation of organisation strategies reported in chapter six revealed that this participation occurred in only two categories. This indicates that while parents and whānau members are being used as valuable resources to improve and enhance programmes and services, their sphere of influence is somewhat limited. Similarly, the relatively few entries in the Empowerment and Tino Rangatiratanga column suggest a further limitation of this involvement.

Māori Workers

One urban, Māori worker with over twenty years of experience said she found that Māori chose to use a particular service because they knew someone who worked there rather than because it was handy or based at a marae.

Māori are a dislocated people and so will go to people they know and feel comfortable with Even if they don't know the worker personally, they will feel more comfortable with a Māori because they can relate to them.

This belief in Māori children, youth and adults feeling more comfortable with Māori workers was stated repeatedly. One Māori worker explained:

There is something about us, even our presence that influences our relationship with the child My whole being comes into it which makes it different, like we kiss each other which wouldn't be done and the reo comes into it. I always use bits and pieces cause that is natural to me and I think that is important to that child's identity and if I know they speak Māori I will try and use it more. You can see a little spark in them, that they know and like it even if they are too shy to respond in Māori Māori counselors can talk about wairua, kēhua with Māori women, things that don't get discussed with Pākehā counselors And then another Māori component is the sense of humour, there is a difference in a Māori and Pākehā sense of humour.

3. Ready Accessibility

Many organisations went to considerable lengths to ensure Māori had ready access to their services. A wide range of strategies was used to ensure that child and parental involvement was not restricted by barriers such as inaccessible venues, unreasonable costs, lack of knowledge, inconvenient timing or inappropriate content. Asthma educators were particularly creative in this respect advertising their services at marae functions, sporting and cultural events and popular locations such as shopping malls. As one woman explained:

I set my stall up outside McDonalds. I have a big bunch of coloured balloons that I give away. The kids see the balloons and drag their mothers over. It is amazing how many contacts I have made that way!

Major Barriers

The five major barriers to providing effectively for Māori children and youth with special needs were:

1. Insufficient Funding to Provide the Workforce and Resources Essential for Adequate Services and Programmes

Lack of funding was a major concern. It was seen as the main cause of understaffing.

In the mainstream services it is really about resourcing ... dotting one Māori person here and one group there, they can't realistically achieve anything. There is just not enough people for the workload.

Similarly, Māori programmes, services and resources were not being developed because of the expense involved. Even when they were developed, they were often not utilised effectively because insufficient funding was provided to train people in their optimum use. One woman noted:

If programmes and resources are distributed in bits and pieces, you are doing a disservice to the programme, resource and research on which it is based but more importantly, you are doing a disservice to the students for whom they were intended.

Limited funding was cited as being a problem at both ends of the programme/resource development continuum. One person noted that any contracts she had been involved in did not allow sufficient money to do adequate market research to identify needs. The nature of the contract always assumed a certain need and did not allow for the validity or implications of this need to be investigated in any depth. Contract funding was seen to have other drawbacks apart from its limited amounts. In respect to service provision, some participants believed it contributed to job insecurity and a lack of commitment from both staff and "clients."

2. Lack of Culturally Appropriate Resources and People With the Cultural and Professional Expertise Needed to Work With Māori Children and Youth With Special Needs

This challenge went beyond the lack of funding to employ workers and provide resources. Even when sufficient money was available, the “right” people were often not available or the appropriate resources did not exist. The lack of Māori expertise was a particular problem for voluntary organisations. As one worker stated, “We are at the mercy of the people we attract and if we don’t attract Māori we have no Māori expertise available.”

Particular concern was expressed about the lack of culturally appropriate assessment measures and procedures. After describing the inappropriate questions asked in an assessment situation, one worker noted:

A lot of the resources that have been developed by Pākehā for Pākehā are not appropriate for Māori people. Do they have a choice if they want to be assessed in Māori? They don’t and with the way children are coming through the system at the moment, bilingual and bicultural, these resources will be increasingly needed. There are not enough people developing culturally appropriate materials and measures. Even if it is not bilingual at least it should be Māori-appropriate.

Another worker explained how Māori children were being disadvantaged by the lack of appropriate assessment measures. In arguing for discretionary hours for special needs children in immersion units, she felt her case was not given the serious consideration it deserved because she did not have “recognised test data” to back it up.

3. Lack of Culturally Appropriate, Relevant Training for Staff in Both Mainstream and Māori Services.

There was widespread concern about the dearth of training to prepare people to work effectively with Māori children and youth with special needs. One Māori worker commented:

Māori need more input; we need more health professionals within the system itself. More education is needed. There was such a huha about cultural safety in nursing training but once they have an understanding of what Māori really are about then all those defences just seem to melt away once they have a decent understanding of what actually is the problem. There should be ongoing education for all professionals, health, education, anything. There is a whole need for it. It is hard to change people's attitudes until they learn the facts and then they are fine. Social workers look into Treaty issues, history, Māori issues etc. and I have found them much better to work with than say, health professionals, so it has got a lot to do with their training. They have a better knowledge of things Māori and so are a lot better at addressing Māori issues.

Another worker stated that finding appropriate training was a real problem. She felt that there was a lack of respect and credibility for Māori workers in her organisation because they had no "officially recognised" qualifications. She set out to rectify this by undergoing training but found a lot of what was taught went against her Māori beliefs and values. For example, her training emphasised objectivity and neutrality which she felt went against a Māori way of working. A co-worker enrolling for a different course was told, "We want you to feel you can bring your culture with you.' What did they think she could do, leave it behind?!"

One woman was an advocate for on-the-job training. She noted that she had often seen excellent programmes for Māori children collapse when a change of staff was involved. She suggested that the "old and new people" should work together for some time before the old person left the job. This not only gave the new person the opportunity of learning the routines and finer details of the programme but it also gave them time to establish their own mana and to "pick up the wairua" of the programme. Unfortunately however, she noted that the circumstances of employment rarely permitted such a training and adjustment period.

The research data showed that successful training programmes for Māori workers often included one or more of the following components:

- ◆ The involvement of kaumātua, “Because if you train a kuia you cater for the whole whānau You can cash in on their mana, influence, experience and spare time”;
- ◆ iwi taking ownership of the training programme;
- ◆ preliminary awareness sessions to get people interested and to alert them to the commitment required;
- ◆ flexibility in content, style, delivery and timing, for example, provision for tangihanga attendance when necessary;
- ◆ interactive, hands-on teaching processes involving group activities and allowing ample time for completion.

4. Pākehā-Centric Attitudes Towards Special Needs Provision

There were some respondents who did not value Māori services or recognise a need to consider Māori culture in service provision. Consequently, the development of culturally appropriate services was given a very low priority in their organisations.

The tendency to disregard or undervalue Māori services was noted by a worker for a Māori organisation. She reported “wasting” a considerable amount of time trying to get mainstream services “on side.” An example was given of a service that required doctors to refer patients to them. Despite spending a great deal of time visiting all the doctors in the region and explaining the service offered by the Māori organisation, only one referral had ever come from a doctor. Another Māori worker remarked:

You have got to go 80% of the way and that is trying. They meet you on their terms not yours. This is not always through arrogance but they are not sure of protocol so they withdraw from it. You become very sensitive about your credibility. Is it because we are Māori that they think like that? I could be doing some people a misjustice but you are never sure.

In many mainstream organisations, Māori workers were hired on a part time basis. One Māori worker felt that this signified a lack of commitment on the organisation’s behalf. She explained that while there was plenty of work to be done, “It’s as if meeting the cultural needs of Māori clients does not warrant full-time employment!”

Some respondents stated specifically that they did not think it was necessary to offer services or programmes for Māori with special needs because, “Māori needs are no different from anyone else’s.” While another typical comment was, “We just don’t have the Māori clients to justify the expense involved in developing a programme for Māori.”

5. High Stress Levels of Māori Staff Working in the Special Needs Area

An issue of great concern was the high stress levels of many Māori working in the special needs area. This stress was caused by a multiplicity of factors but principal amongst them were unreasonable workloads and the tension between Māori and Pākehā “ways of working.”

In many organisations not only did Māori workers have high Māori “caseloads,” but they were also expected to be on call to provide training, guidance and Māori expertise to Pākehā colleagues when the need arose. While they applauded growing cultural awareness amongst Pākehā, this often came with the price tag of an increased workload for them. This was evident even in the voluntary sector and is illustrated by this story told by one Pākehā participant.

No, we haven’t got anyone with Māori expertise in our organisation. We did have a Māori women join once. Her son had X. We were thrilled and asked her to join our Executive. She only lasted one year, just stopped coming to our meetings. When she was approached to find out why, she said she had joined because her son needed help and that is all she wanted. She did not want to be the Māori expert for our organisation.

Workloads were just as high in Māori organisations where all workers had Māori expertise. While they may not have had responsibility for upskilling their workmates in Māori culture, they did have the previously mentioned burden of having to prove their credibility to many Pākehā workers and organisations.

Problems arising from different Māori and Pākehā “ways of working” were evident in both Māori and mainstream organisations. Māori workers reported taking a holistic, whānau-focused approach. When asked to elaborate on exactly what this meant, one

worker compared the service offered by her Māori organisation with that offered by a Pākehā counterpart:

We are more flexible about where we work. If they are not happy about coming to see us we will go to them and offer alternatives like going for a walk on the beach We are also flexible about the amount of time we spend with them. We have to have some limits but we are not as rigid about it as some Pākehā agencies. We also give out our home phone numbers which is not always done We have had to struggle with that whole concept. In the Pākehā world there is a lot of talk about boundaries and boundary issues and we have had to say, but we do things like this, we do things differently because boundaries are not quite as rigid. We will even go to a tangi with people, that is how all-encompassing our service can be. We feel that there is so much that is part of somebody's healing process. It is certainly not confined to the time that they spend sitting in a room talking to us We see people when they need us not when the funding comes through ... this means that sometimes we don't get paid for the work that we do, but that is OK.

Māori workers in mainstream services told similar stories. They found that the extra time needed to work in a "Māori way" was not allowed for. Consequently, required "outputs" could not be met. As one worker explained:

You get caught up in a whole lot of other services that are needed, for example, lack of social services that you end up having to seek out and so your set outputs are not met.

Working under such stress, Māori workers often ended up burnt out or leaving the service:

The reason why I left ... in the end was because I couldn't work in a Māori way although I did try I found working within their framework very restrictive. They couldn't understand that going to a kōhanga and working with a bunch of kōhanga people had more impact on what you were dealing with behaviour-wise

than working one to one I had to fit in with their document, slotted into one of those boxes so they could say, "Yes, she is doing this," and when you are placed into a box you are restricted by words. There's no way I can be who I am The goal at the end is the same but how we get there is what is different. We do things differently. They have box, box, box and that is how you get there and then for us, these boxes, maybe they will go sideways and come back around here but the outcome is more effective doing it the way we do it.

SUMMARY

This phase of the research showed that Māori children and youth with special needs are being successfully provided for in a wide range of culturally appropriate programmes and services. Fifty eight per cent of the organisations surveyed were providing programmes and services either especially developed or adapted for Māori. These programmes and services ranged from having a high degree of cultural input to having only minimal cultural input. The latter, together with the 33% of organisations who were doing nothing at all to provide for Māori children and youth with special needs and the 41% who had no person with Māori expertise, are causes of major concern.

Fifty-six different strategies for providing for Māori children and youth with special needs and 39 challenges to meeting their needs were identified. A number of these strategies are relatively simple to implement and could be employed by all organisations and individuals working in the special needs area. Others, however, are more involved and would require considerable planning, time, support and funding to achieve. Three improvements, in particular, are seen as vital.

First, there needs to be a substantial funding increase in this area to enable more staff to be employed thus decreasing the stress level of those who are presently struggling to survive. It would also enable the development of Māori-relevant assessment measures, resources, programmes, services and appropriate research.

Second, bicultural training for all staff in both mainstream and Māori services needs to be developed and made readily available.

Third, organisations and individuals employed by them must come to acknowledge, value and provide for diversity. It must be recognised that many special needs programmes, services and administrative procedures are presently based on a Pākehā worldview and interpretation of disability. Philosophical and attitudinal changes are necessary to accommodate and value a Māori way of working. There should also be recognition of the high level of stress many Māori workers are under. Emotional and practical support needs to be provided to reduce this stress and avoid burnout.

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CHAPTER EIGHT: CULTURAL AUDIT: HE ANGA WHAKAMĀORI

Ehara i te mea, he kotahi tangata nānā i whakaara te pō.

It was not just one person who was alert to the danger,

It is the group that should take responsibility.

INTRODUCTION

As explained in chapter six, the need for an instrument to determine cultural appropriateness arose from problems encountered in analysing data from the organisation survey and interviews. In attempting to develop such an instrument the boundaries changed. What evolved was a cultural input framework, checklist, exemplar and a cultural audit process for helping early childhood centres and schools to evaluate and develop their provisions for Māori learners in general and Māori learners with special needs in particular. The inevitable next step was to evaluate the newly developed cultural audit process and products in order to determine their appropriateness, validity, effectiveness and usefulness and to make changes and improvements where necessary. This was achieved through consultation with focus groups in six kōhanga reo and through researcher and independent trials conducted in 11 primary schools, secondary schools and early childhood centres. The trial process has been explained previously in chapter six. This chapter is concerned with presenting the results of those trials and a consideration of the data gathered.

RESULTS FROM THE KŌHANGA REO CONSULTATION HUI

Whānau from kōhanga reo identified a number of strengths, weaknesses and concerns relating to the cultural audit process and products.

Strengths

Eight specific strengths were mentioned. First, the use of Treaty-based criteria to evaluate performance was supported. Second, the wide range of categories included on the framework was seen as a strength. One participant noted:

I'd like to stay positive with that too because our own school probably hasn't looked at a lot of those areas that you have put down there but only focused on a few of those areas, so giving it a full range like that would give schools a clearer picture of, "Oh, OK, we need to look at that."

Third, it was believed that the checklist and exemplar provided a starting point for those schools and centres that had a genuine desire to meet the needs of Māori learners but did not know how.

These schools have been going along in the past you know, kind of the blind leading the blind, wanting to do all of this but not knowing how to do it or what to do.

Fourth, the framework provided a facility to identify weaknesses.

The blanks tell you where you've crapped out and you want to know where you have crapped out so you know what you have to do.

Fifth, the analysis process made schools and centres look critically at their performance and had the potential to initiate "deeper level" provisions for Māori learners.

It can show people that, in fact, they tend to be locked into certain easy areas of consultation and participation such as kapahaka or hāngi.

Sixth, the completed exemplar provided something for schools to work towards and seventh, the practicality and usefulness of the process and products were appreciated. Teachers are busy people who have limited time to develop their own assessment tools. The cultural audit was seen as something they could either use immediately to produce results or spend a relatively small amount of time adapting to their own particular circumstances.

Finally, the cultural audit was perceived as being potentially useful where a Māori community was unhappy with the quality and cultural appropriateness of the education

being offered to their children. In such a circumstance a cultural audit could be conducted by an independent party or by the Māori community and school in partnership. It was seen as an accountability measure for the school.

Weaknesses and Concerns

A wide range of weaknesses and concerns was identified. However, three in particular, predominated at all four hui. These concerns were related to each other.

The potential of the cultural audit to support tokenism was the first major concern. It was pointed out that strategies included in the cultural input exemplar or qualifying for a place on the framework could be mere tokenism. As one participant explained:

What cracks me up is that this centre that I'm at now (I'm doing this practicum) and they've got words like "door" and then they have got it in Māori. They've got the Māori words everywhere but not once have I heard them say it and it is so stupid because the kids can't read it. They don't know what it means so why put it up if you're not going to implement it? A bit of tokenism again These tokenistic efforts end up being degrading rather than supportive.

A similar view was expressed at a second kōhanga reo:

There is a danger that the level of what is required is so low, it is lip service, just tokenism ... in tokenistic tohu above a doorway, you know. But how many of them are actually using the language to promote and awhi our tamariki Māori within mainstreamed schools?

A second major concern was that the quality of cultural input in teaching or services was not addressed in the cultural audit. There was a fear that strategies qualifying for inclusion on the framework could actually be detrimental to Māori learners because of their poor quality. This was because many, "Pākehā teachers don't know enough about Māori to be teaching the kids about it" (Māori culture and reo). In three out of the four hui, examples were given of Pākehā teachers teaching te reo and pronouncing Māori so poorly that the words were not recognisable. It was stated that while teachers' intentions

might be laudable, they were, in fact, doing more harm than good. A related concern was that teachers' lack of cultural knowledge also resulted in "shallow" teaching. As one participant explained:

Kapahaka and waiata are taught but there is no explanation They're not learning about the meaning of what they are singing, the history behind it There's no appreciation.

The third major concern was related to the potential misuse of the cultural audit. It was feared that schools that were doing a poor job of providing for Māori learners might intentionally skew the results to show they were performing well. The following comments articulate this concern:

You will get the odd school ... that will try and use it to their benefit and manipulate it.

We have children in the mainstream and I can see my principal taking hold of this and saying, yes, we are meeting these needs in these areas. I can see her jumping for joy and she can have this list to justify what she's done within the school ... that gives them more ammunition to say to the Ministry, we are meeting the needs of the Māori students. We do it in this area and in this area and I know they are not.

Apart from these three major areas of concern, a number of other weaknesses were identified. It was believed that the overall results of an audit could camouflage particular areas of weakness. For example, the inadequate performance of some teachers might be masked by the appropriate strategies recorded for others. Additional concerns were the lack of a monitoring system to ensure that teachers were actually doing what they said or that once weaknesses had been identified, something was done to rectify them (i.e. that the action plan was actually implemented). The role of the Education Review Office (ERO) was discussed in this respect but ERO's ability to accurately monitor cultural input was questioned by some participants.

It was believed that while some services or strategies on the framework were culturally appropriate, in practice they were of little use or benefit. It was possible for services and strategies to have good “face value” although their true value may be limited for a number of reasons. Examples were given of invitations to participate being extended but never taken up because parents and whānau felt uncomfortable in the school environment, because they were too whakamā to speak up or because they did not believe their child had behaviour or learning problems. Even when parents did participate, the benefit of that participation could be negligible if their contributions were not valued or acted upon. Two examples of this were given. First, a whānau member cited the participation-assessment strategy: “Parents fill out home portion of an ecological assessment prior to initial IEP/IDP.” The point was made that if parents’ input was not taken into consideration in planning the programme, then this strategy had no value at all. A second example is illustrated in the following story:

My mother used to turn up to those parent-teacher meetings but I’ll be damned if she knew what they were talking about when she left but she used to do it because she cared and she wanted to be a good mother. My mother is not dumb; she just didn’t understand the system you know Parents can turn up and appear to be taking part but what is that level of understanding? ... My brother left school at 14 illiterate and he’s cleverer than me. He’s a really clever man My parents went to parent-teacher meetings but that wasn’t enough because they did not know. They were just told that he was naughty in primary school and that was the feedback. So yeah, I think it does need to go deeper because my parents didn’t understand [how to help] I’m saying that getting them to turn up isn’t enough. They have to understand how they can help. They don’t need to understand just what’s wrong with their child, I mean everybody can tell you what’s wrong with your child but they need to be able to understand what they can do.

Other concerns were that the wording of some checklist questions was not clear and certain special education terminology was not user-friendly. It was also not fully understood that te reo and Māori culture were part of the Active Protection category (which represents the Treaty of Waitangi obligation to protect Māori taonga).

The fear was expressed that not all staff within a school/centre would have the expertise or level of cultural understanding needed to conduct an effective cultural audit or monitor progress in the cultural domain. While this might not be an issue where there was collective responsibility for conducting the audit, the danger existed that in some schools/centres the main responsibility for the audit might rest with a staff member who not only lacked the required skills but also did not recognise this lack of expertise.

Further concerns were that conducting a cultural audit was a time-consuming exercise for teachers who were already over-burdened with heavy workloads. This situation could lead to a rushed and superficial audit. There was also a danger of an audit revealing weaknesses that were beyond people's capacity to do anything about. They might not have the time, cultural expertise or financial means to address identified problems. In such circumstances a cultural audit could be a frustrating waste of precious time. Reaching agreement about appropriate content and strategies could be problematic and might lead to a dependence on "blanket" approaches.

The difficulty of providing for differing bicultural aspirations within one facility was raised. M. H. Durie's (1994b) continua of bicultural goals and structural arrangements⁷¹ were referred to and a concern was expressed that content and strategies qualifying for framework inclusion and pitched at the initial steps on the continua would not satisfy people who aspired to a more comprehensive level of biculturalism. One person commented:

How can it cater for different parental demands where parents' ideal of bilingualism ranges from being able to sing a Māori waiata through to total immersion!

In such a situation it was feared that, "the loud mouths who turn up to meetings will dictate the level of Māori input."

⁷¹ See Durie, M.H. (1994b). *Whaiora Māori health development*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, pp.103-108 for an explanation of these continua.

There were problems associated with conducting a cultural audit in a school/centre where not all staff members recognised a need to improve services to Māori learners or who had a desire to do so. Added to this was a concern that the schools/centres in greatest need of improving their services to Māori learners would most likely never opt to do a cultural audit. Even if they were compelled to do so by ERO, the benefit of such an exercise would be doubtful if there was no commitment to the process. As one person noted:

One of the key points is that unless there is a genuine desire to improve then you can't take that approach.

A final concern raised was that the cultural audit process could contribute to parents and whānau being “used” rather than empowered. With its emphasis on partnership and participation, parents might be emotionally coerced into participating in areas where they felt uncomfortable or lacked the necessary skills. It was believed that such participation could do more harm than good.

Suggested Improvements

A number of specific suggestions were made for overcoming some of the weaknesses and concerns outlined above. These included:

- ♦ The addition of a monitoring process to determine whether the strategies recorded were actually “working” in practice;
- ♦ The cultural audit should be conducted by a whānau group, by school staff and whānau in collaboration or by both groups conducting separate audits and comparing results. Two participants explained:

(1) You see we [the whānau group] become like monitors and you see if you allow the schools to monitor their own progress in something like that then that's a danger but if you give it to the whānau group they have the insight into what their kids need If you gave the school one and you gave the whānau one you'll come across two different perspectives.

(2) Yeah, that would be interesting just to compare them. You'll see the differences in how one perceives it and how another perceives it. You will see that quite clearly, I'm sure. If the whānau unit does it I think that could overcome the dangers of the school having the monopoly over the monitoring of something like that.

- ◆ A person with expertise from the staff or Māori community could be put in-charge of facilitating the cultural audit and monitoring standards;
- ◆ To provide for the different levels of biculturalism mentioned previously, the checklist and exemplar could be extended to include a range of different questions and examples pitched at different levels on a bicultural continuum;
- ◆ One participant stated that, "ERO should require schools that are not up to scratch in their provisions for Māori students to conduct a cultural audit";
- ◆ Checklist questions such as, "Are Māori children, parents, whānau and community members invited to share their knowledge, expertise and experiences?" (Participation–Resources) should be amended to require information about the number of people who respond to these invitations;
- ◆ The framework could be adapted for use in kura kaupapa Māori by substituting the principles of Te Aho Matua for the existing principles. Appropriate checklist questions and examples would need to be developed;
- ◆ Future research invitations to trial the cultural audit should be sent to Whānau Committees as well as schools.

RESULTS FROM THE CULTURAL AUDIT TRIALS

The following Table presents information about the eleven educational establishments involved in the cultural audit trials.

Table 8.1
Educational Establishments Involved in Trialing the Cultural Audit Process and Products

Research Code	Type of Establishment	Location	Roll Size (approx.)	% Māori (approx.)	Te Reo Māori unit/class
A	Secondary	Rural	361	33	Yes
B	Primary - full	Rural	159	50	No
C	Primary - full	Rural	254	60	Yes
D	Primary - full, integrated	Rural	106	40 - 50	Yes
E	Primary - contributing	Rural town	139	50	Yes
F	Childcare Centre	Urban	300	16	N/A
G	Playcentre	Rural town	20	70	N/A
H	Early Childhood Centre	Urban	33	55 - 60	N/A
I	Primary - contributing	Rural town	200	37	No
J	Secondary	Urban	1270	33	Yes
K	Secondary	Urban	1000	25	Yes

Researcher-Initiated Trials

Following is a summary of the cultural audit process followed in each school and a snapshot of their particular strengths and weaknesses.⁷² Included in the Appendices are the lists of culturally effective strategies used in each school. (This information was provided as feedback to each school.)

Educational Establishment A

Cultural Audit Process

Educational establishment A was a rural, secondary school with a roll of 361, 33% were Māori. The school offered Māori as a subject to Bursary level. Cultural audit data were collected at three levels. School level data gathering was allocated to senior staff. At department level, subject groups met to enter strategies appropriate to their subject on an enlarged cultural input framework. At an individual level, all staff members were given checklists to record strategies they used that had not been recorded in the subject meetings. This data gathering exercise was spread over a month. From this information I prepared a summary of the 98 different strategies used at the school (Appendix G) and a Table showing where these strategies fitted on the framework. These were presented at a staff meeting and time was spent discussing possible improvements.

Performance Summary

Strengths - Overall the school employed a large number and wide variety of strategies for including Māori-relevant content and procedures in their various programmes. There were also commendable efforts to ensure accessibility and equality for Māori students. Tū Tangata⁷³ teacher aide trainees (100% Māori) and the school kaumātua were being effectively used and added a valuable Māori dimension to the overall school programme.

⁷² The strengths and weaknesses of educational establishments are determined by comments made by participants involved in the cultural audit trials and by a consideration of the number and range of strategies recorded in the various categories.

⁷³ Tū Tangata is a programme that employs local people to work with at-risk students. For details concerning this programme see Puketapu, K. (1998). *Tū Tangata. Bringing community lifeskills into the classroom*. Wellington: Tu Tāngata Ltd.

Weaknesses - Although the school scored highly on cultural content in programmes and the use of culturally appropriate strategies, there was a weakness in a small number of subject areas. Also there was very limited student or parental consultation or input concerning the content that should be included. Teachers usually made these decisions. Generally parental participation was low. There were relatively few policy-related strategies recorded.

Educational Establishment B

Cultural Audit Process

Educational establishment B was a rural primary school with a roll of 159, 50% were Māori. The school's bilingual class had been closed due to staffing difficulties. Because of her experience and interest in taha Māori and her respected senior status, the Deputy Principal (DP) was allocated responsibility for the cultural audit. From her own knowledge and from consultation with staff, the DP recorded culturally appropriate strategies onto a large framework wall chart. This was displayed in the staff room for people to add any strategies that the DP may have missed. After a two week data-collecting period, the cultural audit results were presented at a staff meeting. Possible strategies for inclusion in an action plan were recorded. Appendix H contains a list of the 83 different strategies used at this school. This information was requested by the principal for presentation to the Board of Trustees (BoT).

Performance Summary

Strengths - Active protection was this school's strongest category. Many strategies for including Māori-relevant content and procedures were being used. There was also a strength in ensuring accessibility and equity for Māori students. The DP had established mana within the Māori community and this was beneficial in enlisting parental support. The kaiāwhina played a valuable roll in providing reo and kapahaka expertise.

Weaknesses - Weaknesses existed in the areas of Partnership, Policy and Administration. Although there was a genuine desire to involve local hapū in school life, generally this was not happening. For example, BoT nomination forms were sent to three local marae but no responses were received. Parents participated in a number of

areas but strategies that empowered them in their participation were limited and they had no input into determining curriculum content.

Educational Establishment C

Cultural Audit Process

Educational establishment C was a full primary, rural school with a roll of 254, 60% were Māori. It had both bilingual and total immersion classes. After the introductory session the principal requested that all staff read the cultural audit information and be prepared to discuss the strategies they used at a second meeting. He took responsibility for answering checklist questions relating to the categories of Administration, Personnel, Policy and Environment. At the second meeting, I taped the staff discussion and later prepared a list of the 71 strategies mentioned (Appendix I). These strategies were categorised and entered on a large wall chart for presentation at a third meeting. This meeting was held during the morning break. Discussion in this limited time centred on the “blank cells” and strategies the school could introduce to “fill” these areas of weakness.

Performance Summary

Strengths - Active Protection, Personnel and Process were this school’s strongest categories. The principal and bilingual/total immersion unit staff had an enthusiastic commitment to providing a culturally appropriate education for Māori students. The bilingual/total immersion unit teachers had established many culturally appropriate practices which the rest of the school staff, including the principal, actively supported.

Weaknesses - In descending order, the school’s greatest areas of weakness were Partnership, Assessment and Content. While the staff supported school-wide practices such as pōwhiri, kapahaka and noho marae, these were accepted as the domain of the Māori teachers and limited Māori content appeared to be included in other classrooms especially in the junior and special needs areas.

Educational Establishment D

Cultural Audit Process

Educational establishment D was a rural, integrated, full primary school with a roll 106, 40-50% were Māori. It had a total immersion unit consisting of two classes. At this school staff members were given responsibility for collecting information relating to different programme components. After a two week data-collecting period, a staff meeting was held where categorised answers were entered on a wall chart. This process involved the staff member responsible for each component calling out the strategies they had recorded and other staff members adding further examples they could think of. The 60 strategies mentioned are presented in Appendix J. Analysis of the results included a consideration of the spread of examples over total immersion and mainstreamed classes and a discussion of how areas of weakness could be addressed. Responsibility for drawing up an action plan was allocated to the teacher-in-charge of the total immersion unit.

Performance Summary

Strengths - This school's strengths were in the areas of Active Protection, Participation, Equality and Accessibility. Parents were encouraged to become involved in their children's education and many opportunities were provided to enable this both within the total immersion unit and across the whole school. Students and teachers from the total immersion classes were actively involved in sharing their Māori expertise with mainstream teachers and students.

Weaknesses - The main areas of weakness were Integration and Partnership. There was very little involvement with other schools or Māori and community organisations for the benefit of Māori children. While parental participation was strong, the need for involvement at a hapū or iwi level was rarely acknowledged.

Educational Establishment E

Cultural Audit Process

Educational establishment E was a contributing primary school in a medium-sized rural town. It had a roll of 139, 50% were Māori. The school had a bilingual unit. After the introductory meeting the principal requested that all staff members complete a cultural

input checklist. I returned to the school two weeks later and spent an afternoon recording entries provided by staff members onto a wall chart. This was presented at a staff meeting. Discussion centred on weaknesses and what could be done about them. The IEP action plan model was generally accepted as an approach the school should adopt. The point was made that the wall chart was somewhat misleading as 18 of the 57 strategies identified were utilised only in the bilingual unit. This criticism was taken heed of in preparing the feedback material for this school. Two Tables were provided: One representing the bilingual unit and the other representing the rest of the school. The culturally effective strategies used in educational establishment E are presented in Appendix K.

Performance Summary

Strengths - The strongest categories in both the mainstream and bilingual class were Active Protection and Process. The school had a wide range of Māori-relevant resources, for example, books, CD-ROMs, music tapes, poi, and rākau. Both children and teachers with expertise in te reo and kapahaka were called upon to share their knowledge and skills.

Weaknesses - Partnership was a weak principle category in both the mainstream and bilingual class, while the mainstream also recorded few examples of Integration. In both areas there were weaknesses in Environment, Policy and Content with the mainstream also having limited examples of culturally appropriate Assessment.

Independent Trials

Independent trials were conducted in three early childhood establishments, one primary and two secondary schools by student interviewers. The following establishment profiles and performance summaries contain information provided by the students. Cultural input charts for each educational establishment have been included as Appendices. However, for confidentiality reasons only one example of raw data collected by students is included in the Appendices. This is the description of strategies used in educational establishment I (Appendix O).

Educational Establishment F

Cultural Audit Process

Educational establishment F was a community-based childcare centre. Fifty children attended each daily session but overall 300 different children were on the roll, 16% were Māori. The student gathered information for this cultural audit by interviewing the co-ordinator, supervisor and teachers (number unspecified) at this childcare centre. The completed cultural input framework contains the 36 strategies used (Appendix L).

Performance Summary

The level of data gathered for this cultural audit was of a generalised nature. This fact affected the depth of analysis possible. The following weaknesses and strengths were noted.

Strengths - The principle of Participation was well demonstrated in procedures, policies and activities that incorporated parental consultation and encouraged their involvement.

Weaknesses - However, in practice, parents were involved only in minor decision-making and there was very limited involvement of the Māori community. There were no Māori staff members or relationships with other educational facilities or organisations. Assessment strategies were also lacking.

Educational Establishment G

Cultural Audit Process

Educational establishment G was a playcentre located in a rural town with a low socio-economic base. The centre had 20 children enrolled. Almost 70% of the families involved were Māori. Apart from the voluntary parent input, this playcentre employed a support supervisor for one morning a week. A Māori child with Down Syndrome attended two mornings a week. This child had help from an Education Support Worker (ESW). The student interviewed a parent employed as Session Supervisor and Association Special Needs Convenor; the mother of the child with Down Syndrome; the child's ESW; the centre's Education Officer; its President; and the Convenor of a Māori parents' group. Prior to being interviewed people were given copies of the checklist to familiarise them with its questions. The student noted that, "Following the interview sessions, information had to be completed or clarified several times over the

phone as extensive knowledge of all centre areas is required to analyse the framework grid thoroughly.” Appendix M is a cultural input chart of the 249⁷⁴ strategies used in the playcentre.

Performance Summary

Strengths - the playcentre had particular strengths in the areas of Participation, Empowerment, Tino Rangatiratanga, Equality and Accessibility. A strong Māori representative system existed and there was extensive whānau consultation within the centre and whānau networking in the community. These factors promoted a collaborative relationship between the centre and representatives of the Māori community and fostered the active participation of Māori families across all centre levels and in all areas. Māori parents were empowered through a bicultural parent educational programme and organisational arrangements that gave them responsibility for determining cultural input at the playcentre.

Weaknesses - In the area of integration there was limited involvement with other educational facilities or organisations. There was also a need to formalise planning, develop assessment strategies and to document the strategies and programmes used to provide for children’s cultural and special needs.

Educational Establishment H

Cultural Audit Process

Educational establishment H was an urban early childhood centre. It had a staff of four fulltime and seven part time workers. Three staff members were Māori. Fifty-five to 60% of the 33 children were Māori including one child with Down Syndrome, one with Aspergers Syndrome, two with Ataxic Cerebral Palsy and two with Hearing Impairments. The Māori Assistant Supervisor was interviewed. Appendix N contains the cultural input chart of the 52 strategies recorded for this early childhood centre.

⁷⁴ The detailed nature of the information recorded for this educational establishment accounts for the relatively high number of strategies listed.

Performance Summary

Strengths - The centre's environment and programme reflected and incorporated Māori culture, values and language. Staff actively worked towards equity in accessibility, use and outcomes for Māori children especially those with special needs. Culturally appropriate teaching and learning strategies were employed. The Māori community was invited to contribute to the centre's programme. The subsequent involvement was largely from educational contacts and whānau of staff members. Parents of children with special needs were given opportunities to participate and make important decisions relating to their children's programmes. There was considerable policy commitment to providing for Māori children.

Weaknesses - The principles of Partnership, Participation, Empowerment and Tino Rangatiratanga were not being taken into consideration in a number of areas. Parents in general were not consulted about resources, cultural content or teaching and assessment methods. Despite the opportunities offered to parents of children with special needs the level of parental participation was low. Although these parents attended IDP meetings, their input into meetings and their children's programmes was limited. Assessment and Administration were other areas of weakness.

Educational Establishment I

Cultural Audit Process

Educational establishment I was a decile 3, contributing primary school, located in a small country town. It had a roll of approximately 200 children, 37% were Māori. The school had four Māori students who were classified as having very high needs and were funded by the Ongoing Resourcing Scheme (ORS). They included multi-impaired and profoundly deaf children. Another child was being supported by a Behaviour and Education Support Team (BEST), while others received help from the Resource Teacher: Learning and Behaviour (RTLb) and teacher aides funded by the Special Education Grant (SEG). The RTLb was interviewed for this cultural audit. The 51 strategies identified and the completed cultural input framework are presented in Appendix O.

Performance Summary

Excerpts from the student's findings reveal:

Strengths - "The most fully supported principles are Active Protection and Participation. These have examples for every programme and service component. The principle of Integration is well supported in terms of holistic programming."

Weaknesses - "The data spread suggests that while the Māori community is invited to participate, its members are not truly viewed as partners and are not empowered to make changes or challenge existing cultural practices as equals."

The majority of entries in the Personnel, Processes and Content areas came from the same three staff members, two of whom were part time and the other an RTLB whose time was shared amongst a cluster of schools. Culturally appropriate teaching resources and assessment strategies were limited, as were interactions between the school and other institutions, organisations and the Māori community.

Educational Establishment J

Cultural Audit Process

Educational establishment J was a large multi-cultural secondary school. It had 1270 pupils, 33% were Māori. The school's special needs unit provided for 23 ORS-funded students: One in the very high category and 22 in the high category. Their special needs were of an intellectual and physical nature. Thirteen of the students in the special needs unit were Māori. Three senior teachers, two of whom were Māori, were interviewed for this cultural audit. General data relevant to the whole school plus information relating specifically to the special needs unit were collected. Appendix P contains the cultural input chart of the 79 culturally appropriate strategies identified at this school. As there were no "blank" cells in this school's completed framework, the student interviewer probed for possible weaknesses by further investigating the quality of resources and services provided.

Performance Summary

Strengths – The school had strengths in all cultural audit areas. Teachers, Māori parents, their children and other whānau members worked well together. Māori culture was

supported and encouraged at all levels of school life and Māori students with special needs were encouraged and welcomed to join in. The Māori parents/caregivers were closely involved in the management of the school, IEP decisions, hui and other activities. The school worked with many educational, disability, community and Māori organisations. BoT members, principal and staff were actively supportive of Māori culture and equity issues.

Weaknesses - Only two weaknesses were identified. First, although the school was well resourced in respect to Māori-relevant books, they were at a reading level that was too difficult for the Māori students with special needs. Second, there was a failure to advertise scholarships for Māori students with special needs.

Educational Establishment K

Cultural Audit Process

Educational establishment K was an urban secondary school with approximately 1000 students, 25% were Māori. The school had a bilingual class and a special unit. Four of the 14 students in the special unit were Māori. Their particular special needs consisted of moderate hearing impairment, moderate to severe learning and behavioural difficulties, Attention Deficit Disorder and a gifted student who had Asperger's Syndrome. The teacher and teacher aide in the special unit were interviewed. The student conducting the audit also drew on her knowledge as a former staff member of school K. Appendix Q contains the cultural input chart for the 71 strategies used at school K.

Performance Summary

Strengths - There was policy commitment to providing for Māori students and some commendable school-wide practices for monitoring students' progress and working with other schools and agencies for the benefit of Māori students. The Māori and special needs units were including Māori content, skills and experiences. They also involved and empowered parents.

Weaknesses - While the Māori and special needs units were effectively providing for Māori students, there were only a limited number of culturally effective strategies being

employed in regular classrooms. Generally in the mainstream, parents and whānau were not being involved or empowered, Māori protocol was not being acknowledged or Māori-relevant content included. Some systems were set up, “to assist Māori students and their whānau but they are haphazard in their organisation and application.” Overall, there was a concern about tokenism throughout the school.

Overall Performance

The cultural audit trials were conducted to evaluate the cultural audit process and products and to help educational establishments to identify ways they could improve their programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs. It was never my intention to be judgmental, to make comparisons between institutions or to conduct a detailed analysis of the overall performance of the schools and centres involved. However, I considered it appropriate to take a cursory glance at the combined tally of the strategies used in all educational establishments to see if there were any noteworthy trends that may have implications for Māori learners with special needs and their families.

Table 8.2
Overall Performance of Educational Establishments

Programme Components	Principles						
	Partnership	Participation	Active Protection	Empowerment & Tino Rangatira	Equality & Accessibility	Integration	Total
Environment	8	17	41	19	20	11	116
Personnel	8	17	39	17	18	18	117
Policy	8	15	16	9	12	7	67
Process	6	23	36	23	29	18	135
Content	9	8	53	7	8	6	91
Resources	8	25	34	11	15	15	108
Assessment	2	13	17	11	19	7	69
Administration	8	17	23	24	22	12	106
Total	57	135	259	121	143	94	809

In interpreting these figures it should be noted that they do not represent the number of different strategies used as the same strategy may have been recorded in all eleven educational establishments and therefore would be counted eleven times in Table 8.2.

Similarly, the figures do not represent the number of times a strategy is used as this information is not recorded for educational establishments. For example, “Expertise of Māori staff called on throughout the school,” a strategy recorded for educational establishment E, does not indicate the frequency of use of Māori staff.

Table 8.2 provides only a “rough indication” of strategy use. Nevertheless, it is still helpful in signalling apparent strengths and weaknesses across all educational establishments. It suggests that the main principle component weaknesses are in the categories of Partnership and Integration which show a relatively limited number of strategies. This indicates that more needs to be done in respect to organisations and educational establishments working with each other and with Māori, iwi and hapū organisations to benefit Māori learners both with and without special needs. A focus on holistic educational provision is also indicated. Principle strengths are evident in the areas of Equality and Accessibility, Participation and, most predominantly, in Active Protection. Educational establishments are making genuine efforts to support and include Māori culture and te reo. They also appear to be doing this in culturally appropriate ways as the strongest programme component is Process.

The weakest programme components appear to be in the areas of Policy and Assessment. While educational establishments may be meeting official requirements in respect to acknowledging the needs of Māori learners in their official documentation, Māori do not appear to be playing a significant part in formulating and monitoring these policies. The limited number of strategies in the Assessment category suggests that there needs to be greater cultural input in this area as well.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ It should be noted that this determination of strengths and weaknesses on the basis of strategy use in the various categories is open to criticism. It rests on the assumption that a wide variety of strategies is achievable in each category. It could be that some categories lend themselves to a greater variety of strategies while there may be relatively fewer opportunities for variety in other categories. If this is the case, the exercise of determining relative strengths and weaknesses on the basis of the number of strategies recorded is invalid.

EVALUATION OF THE CULTURAL AUDIT TRIAL PROCESS

Response Rates and Representativeness of Sample

From a potential sample of 1000+, only 11 educational establishments were involved in the trialing of the cultural audit. The response rate for establishments invited by the researcher was only 24%. From approximately 235 students studying 186.284 & 186.287, only six (2.5%) opted for the cultural audit assignment and not one person from over 1000 teachers, teacher trainees and educational psychologist trainees spoken to about the cultural audit took up the invitation to trial it. While acknowledging there are numerous reasons for people opting not to participate, the very low response rate was disappointing.

The final sample contained a reasonable “mix” of educational institutions. Three early childhood centres, one contributing primary, four full primary and two secondary schools meant that three levels of the education system were represented. However, there was an over-representation of small, rural establishments. With the exception of the childcare centre, all establishments had a proportionately high Māori roll.

Researcher-Initiated Trials

Strengths - A main strength was the depth and breadth of the information gained through school-wide consultation and discussion. The principals who opted for a cultural audit were people with a firm commitment to and concern for providing a culturally appropriate education for their Māori students. They gained their staffs' consent before committing to the audit and so the process was accepted as requiring whole staff involvement. This involvement resulted in the collection of a wealth of information about culturally effective strategies being used in schools. Consequently, a comprehensive picture of schools' performances could be gained. Using this information relevant plans for future action could be developed.

The discussion generated in meetings was a major benefit. Having staff members share the strategies they had identified often acted as a catalyst for further strategy identification. It generated valuable public discussion and reflection on the rationale behind certain practices, their effectiveness or lack of effectiveness and provided an environment where suggestions could be shared and problems collectively solved.

Hopefully, it also prompted people to privately examine their own performance in respect to working with Māori learners.

Weaknesses and Concerns - While the school-wide consultation resulted in the collection of a wealth of information about culturally effective strategies, I received a relatively small amount of feedback about the cultural audit process. The time available to conduct research in each school was very limited. I was rushed to complete audit-related activities and had little time left to discuss the pros and cons of the process itself. Only two schools used the envelopes supplied for anonymous feedback after the audit was completed. However, the feedback I did get from all sources was extremely valuable.

One principal suggested that the cultural audit would be more beneficial at the beginning of the year rather than in the September-October period in which it was conducted. He noted that coming as it did before “the Christmas rush,” not enough time was available to devise, implement and review an action plan. I am in total agreement with this opinion.

In the initial invitation that went out to schools, the intention to tape meetings was mentioned. However, at these meetings only one of the five schools was happy for me to do this. Consequently, having to conduct meetings and take notes at the same time meant that I might have missed some of the feedback given. To guard against this I reviewed my notes as soon as possible after each meeting.

Independent Trials

Strengths - This was not an easy assignment option. With one exception, the students who chose to do it were extremely able people whose input and insight were exceptional. They were all experienced, practising teachers. Five of the six students received an A for this assignment. Their subsequent or prior assignments marked by other tutors received similar grades which supports my estimation of their ability. Being such able students, they were very thorough and the audits they conducted were of a very high standard. Five out of the six students provided valuable, in-depth and insightful feedback about the cultural audit products and process. As they were not

involved in the creation of these products or process they were able to stand back and provide an objective perspective. Also, being Pākehā who did not have extensive background knowledge or experience in Māori education and culture, they were in the same situation as many teachers who will conduct an audit in the future. This was a valuable perspective from which to trial the process and products. These students could identify and demonstrate gaps in knowledge and understanding that were potential barriers to conducting an effective cultural audit.

Weaknesses and Concerns - A major weakness was the relatively small number of people students collected data from: Two students interviewed only one person each. Consequently, the data collected present the performance of an establishment from a very narrow and potentially biased perspective. It should be noted however, that this was not the fault of the students concerned. It was my mistake. In the Assignment Booklet I directed students to conduct “an interview.” Luckily, four out of six students ignored this and questioned further. As one student noted, “More than one person needed to be interviewed to gather information covering all areas.” She interviewed six people.

EVALUATION OF THE CULTURAL AUDIT PROCESS AND PRODUCTS

This section combines the feedback from both the researcher-initiated and independent trials.

Strengths

Positive feedback was received from every student trialing the cultural audit and from all educational establishments involved. The main strength identified was that the audit gave, “a clear picture of areas that are being adequately covered and areas that could be improved ... [thus] it is great for determining priorities for future development.”

Another frequently mentioned strength was that the framework’s wide coverage provided a comprehensive, holistic picture of the educational establishment and drew people’s attention to many issues and areas that they might not have otherwise considered. As one student noted:

The format of the checklist was well organised into principles and programme components and gave clear areas of investigation. I think those areas that were covered may have been overlooked without the prompting of the grid. The exemplars provided on the completed grid were in simple, easy language and certainly helped in prompting ideas and providing a clear direction or focus required.

A further advantage of the framework was mentioned:

The connecting grid design highlights the interconnectiveness between philosophical aims, implementation procedures and strategies, and monitoring and evaluation processes within centre programmes and services. It therefore allows for the clear identification of the weak elements within this continuum process.

Other strengths noted were the inclusion of information relating to the principles. One person stated that this was essential to fully understand the focus of the questions and was especially important for people with limited cultural knowledge. Another student pointed out that the cultural audit should not be viewed as something just for Māori learners as the inclusion of Māori culture addresses the needs of all children in a bicultural country.

Further strengths were:

The checklist and framework are excellent tools for consciousness-raising about the implications of the Treaty of Waitangi in schools The use of the checklist and framework by an ERO team would add another very valuable dimension to the report!

Finally, a student noted that conducting the cultural audit has “helped me immensely with working with Māori families in my own centre.”

Weaknesses and Concerns

Procedural Issues

♦ The principal complaint about the cultural audit was that it was too time-consuming. In fact the length of time involved was mentioned at all of the educational establishments I visited and by five out of six students. Typical comments were:

It is more involved and takes more time if done thoroughly than it would seem on the surface.

In gathering information, difficulties arose due to the framework's size and thoroughness Despite having sent out a copy of the cultural input checklist and framework in advance, the time and concentration required for the interview overwhelmed my interviewees.

♦ Problems associated with the categorisation of data were the next most frequently mentioned concern. A variety of difficulties arose. Where the strategies were a direct answer to questions asked in the checklist, categorisation was not a problem but when strategies were suggested at random, some people found categorising them difficult. This was stated specifically and was also intimated by the questionable accuracy of a number of assignment categorisations. (In the latter case because I did not have the student's contextual knowledge relating to suspect strategies I gave them "the benefit of the doubt" and entered these strategies in input charts as originally categorised.) To help make the process of categorisation an easier task I prepared some "Guidelines for Categorising Strategies in a Cultural Audit" (Appendix R). While I found these guidelines helpful myself, they have not been trialed by anyone else. In lectures about the cultural audit (given as part of the dissemination process) I have asked students to categorise various strategies. The same strategies have been allocated to a wide range of categories. On questioning students about the rationale behind their categorisation, I have been surprised at the variety of interpretations possible for seemingly straightforward strategies. This is problematic.

Second, the number of categories to which strategies were allocated arose as a problem in some instances. While people were told to enter strategies into all relevant categories,

there were situations where this was overdone. For example, before I intervened at one staff meeting, two teachers were making tenuous links to fit strategies into almost every category combination possible! This would have led to an over-estimation of the school's performance if I had not, at that stage, emphasised that categorisation should be according to a strategy's strongest association/s.

Third, the degree of specificity required in the recording of strategies was a concern for some people. This was particularly in relation to the areas of Content and Resources. For example, for the question: "What Māori-relevant content is in your curriculum?" people were unsure whether all examples should be grouped together and credited as one entry, or whether they should be credited with entries under grouped subject headings, grouped class headings or as single strategies. Most people opted to take a "middle of the road" approach.

- ◆ More time needed to be allocated to the discussion of questions in the introductory session. In the researcher-initiated trials the majority of time in this session was spent explaining the rationale for the cultural audit and discussing possible ways an audit could be conducted. Feedback from teachers was that they would have liked to discuss the questions during this session.

- ◆ A number of administrative improvements were suggested. These were: To provide an empty grid template on computer disk or CD to educational establishments conducting an audit; to provide the checklist questions and exemplar scenarios on the same form to assist understanding; and to increase the size of the grid boxes to allow more space to record answers.

Content Issues

A number of principle and component-related concerns and difficulties arose.

- ◆ Despite oral and written explanations of the difference between Partnership and Participation, the overlap between these two principles caused categorisation difficulties in a number of cases.

◆ The programme component “Environment” incorporated both the physical and emotional environment while “Integration” referred to both holistic education and various institutions working together. This incorporation of dual concepts under the one heading was problematic. Some people focused on one concept and neglected the other both in the collection and analysis of data. Similarly, in the Empowerment and Tino Rangatiratanga category, strategies demonstrating the latter principle were conspicuous by their absence but this fact tended to be overlooked in data analysis.

◆ Even with the assistance of the categorisation guidelines, some strategies appeared to fit more appropriately into principle-principle or component-component combinations than into principle-component categories. A case in point is strategy no. 26 from educational establishment D: “Enrolment form for total immersion pupils contains list of skills/activities parents are willing to share with the Unit.” This strategy fits more appropriately into an Administration-Resources category than into the Administration-Participation category it is allocated. However, due to the construction of the framework, the former combination is not an option.

◆ Various question-related concerns were raised. There were objections to the wording or placement of a small number of particular questions and comments were made about the use of some difficult language and terminology. A further concern was raised by one student:

It was difficult to focus on the Māori children with special needs as much as I intended to. The focus questions given seemed to tend to lead us more towards general provision.

A comparison of the number of general and special needs strategies recorded in all the educational establishments in the audit suggests that this was not an isolated problem. Additional special education-specific questions will need to be added to establish a more balanced focus.

In my own analysis of data, a number of concerns about the wording of various questions arose. The first related to questions that could be answered with a “yes” or

“no.” While a negative answer had value in alerting people to important omissions, questions would be of more benefit if their wording required people to provide specific examples in response. For instance, I felt it was too easy to answer, “yes” to the following question: “Are staff and BoT members easily accessible to Māori children and parents?” (Equality & Accessibility-Personnel) If this question was reworded to: “In what ways are staff and BoT members easily accessible to Māori children and parents?” not only would it yield more useful information, but also people would be less likely to give inaccurate answers.

This staff, BoT accessibility question illustrates a further weakness in some questions. Grouping two things together that may have different answers is unwise. For example, staff may be easily accessible but BoT members may not be. People conducting a cultural audit might not make a distinction between the two groups and so provide an answer applicable to one group but not the other. The same criticism applies to the reworded question. Therefore it is wisest to provide separate questions when more than one person, practice or idea is involved.

Some questions generated exactly the same answers as other questions in different categories, while other questions simply did not “work” in practice. An example of the latter is: “Does your physical environment e.g. building design, furniture layout etc encourage whānau involvement and enable cultural practices?” (Environment-Participation) The type of cultural practice I had envisaged was, for example, the provision of food and drink after an IEP meeting. The type of cultural practice I got, however, was: “Kapa haka held in the school hall”!

The feedback from students concerning particular questions and my own experience in analysing answers leaves no doubt that there needs to be some rewording, relocation and replacement of questions. However, this is not a huge job as the majority of questions appeared to work well.

On the subject of te reo, the previously mentioned failure to identify the Māori language as an integral part of the Active Protection principle did not emerge in the trials. I suspect that this difficulty experienced by a few kōhanga reo participants was the result

of my inadequate explanation of cultural audit principles at the beginning of their evaluation hui rather than an indication of the need for a separate category for te reo Māori.

Issues Arising

Lack of Commitment

Although no person specifically mentioned the fact, it was obvious in the researcher-initiated trials that not all people involved were committed to doing a cultural audit. While principals reported consulting with staff before opting into the research, it is acknowledged that it would be very difficult for someone to object to participating in a cultural audit when their colleagues and principal supported the idea. Although peer pressure or the fear of being considered racist or uncaring may result in an agreement to be involved, these are not attitudes conducive to a successful cultural audit. Amongst the schools I visited, a small number of people arrived late, left early, did not contribute to discussion or did not hand in their checklist answers. While there may have been valid reasons for such behaviour it does suggest a lack of commitment. This problem is one other schools choosing to conduct a cultural audit are likely to face.

A Cultural Audit for All

In the schools that had bilingual or total immersion classes, the teachers who ran these classes had considerable input into the audit discussion. This was understandable: They were utilising a greater number of culturally effective strategies than mainstream teachers and so had more to contribute. However, this situation had the potential to reinforce a perception identified in some of the checklist answer sheets, namely that the cultural audit was principally about monitoring what went on in bilingual and total immersion classes and was only vaguely relevant to the mainstream teacher. This was despite the introductory session where I took great care to explain that the cultural audit was for everyone in the school including the office person and caretaker. A similar situation was noted by a student who conducted a cultural audit. She commented that at her school she felt that teachers believed the cultural audit was mainly for the special needs teacher, coordinator and teacher aide rather than for regular classroom teachers. The message that all staff members, not just Māori and special needs teachers, are responsible for providing a culturally effective education for Māori learners with

special needs is one that has not yet been accepted by a number of teachers. It is very likely that this failure to recognise and/or accept responsibility was a contributing factor to the previously discussed lack of commitment.

Data Limitations

One student expressed the importance of knowing the regularity, extent and level of strategies. In analysing her data she noted:

I was also unsure to what extent the content component gave a true reflection of the actual curriculum content of daily sessions. While I could see that my data grid contained several examples in each content combination, it was very hard to define the degree and regularity of culturally appropriate and promotive activities. For example, how much is regular, weekly? annually? And how often during sessions do you see or hear evidence of te reo Māori or Māori tikanga? Also how much is adequate and to whom? ... I felt I could not really analyse the grid without allocating a qualitative measure to each combination-square as the numerical examples for each principle-component combination do not really reflect the significance or value of the entries. However, doing so left me feeling quite uncomfortable as this increased my personal judgment.

This student asks some probing questions that reflect major concerns also expressed at the kōhanga reo hui. For example, “Te reo in daily use in classroom” may mean that the Māori language is an important, integral part of all lessons throughout the school day. It may also mean that the teacher says, “Kia ora” in the morning and “Haere ra” when children leave school! While the first scenario shows a genuine commitment to teaching and valuing Māori language, the second smacks of tokenism.

The student’s question, “How much is adequate and to whom?” presents another challenge. When I explained the cultural audit process to one principal she remarked, “No, we don’t need that here, we have a kapahaka group.” I was familiar with the school in question and the kapahaka group run by a parent volunteer was virtually the only “Māori” the children were exposed to. However, this was considered “adequate” by the principal. Compare this scenario to the situation for a nearby school. This school

had a total immersion unit, Māori teachers and BoT members, school-wide kapahaka, regular noho marae, pōwhiri, poroporoaki and so forth but still teachers did not feel they were providing “well enough” for their Māori students and opted into the cultural audit trials.

Quality Control

A concern that was voiced by kōhanga reo hui participants but was not raised in the cultural audit trials was the issue of “quality” of service. The kōhanga reo groups’ concern was related to the quality of cultural input. The inclusion of te reo Māori and cultural content was not enough. This input had to be of a high standard. In fact, a few participants felt that teaching and using incorrectly pronounced reo could do more harm than good. They also had a concern about the superficial nature of some cultural input, for example, the teaching of waiata without the inclusion of relevant background information pertaining to the waiata’s meaning and tribal significance.

The issue of quality cultural input is also a major concern to me. A number of factors contribute towards a service or strategy’s effectiveness, for example, well qualified, competent staff, good quality resources and adequate funding to mention but a few. If the Māori staff employed are untrained, the Māori resources tatty and outdated and the funding allocated to Māori programmes is insufficient, then the likelihood of a particular “culturally appropriate” service or strategy being successful is lessened. Similarly, if policies are inadequate, parent involvement superficial, choices inappropriate, assessment measures irrelevant, teaching techniques ineffective, content boring or pitched at the wrong ability level and administrative practices inefficient, then do they “deserve” to be placed on the cultural input framework? The requirement to provide quality education and maintain high standards needs to be an integral part of the cultural audit process and products.

Lack of Adaptation

While I believed the cultural input framework would be appropriate for all levels of education from early childhood to secondary school, I did have a concern about the relevancy of all the checklist questions in this respect, particularly for early childhood centres and in some secondary school subject areas. Consequently, people were told to

adapt and customise questions where necessary to make them more appropriate to their work/interview situation. In fact this did not happen and people adhered to the original questions in the checklist. This may have been because these questions were relevant but I suspect a lack of confidence to make these changes was also a contributing factor. Previously it was suggested that more time be taken in the introductory session to run through the questions in the checklist. The issue of question adaptation could be dealt with at this stage.

Danger of Stereotyping

One Māori woman who was interviewed by a student mentioned that:

She felt slightly stereotyped into the traditional Māori cultural aspect of “waiata and flax.” She emphasised that Māori parents are not a homogeneous group and that the personal significance of te reo Māori and taha Māori varies to individual families.

This diversity amongst Māori was also emphasised in the kōhanga reo hui. It must be reiterated that while the cultural audit incorporates traditional cultural values and practices, it should not be interpreted as suggesting that this is what all Māori will or should aspire to. Rather it is a guide for educational establishments to help them provide a culturally effective education to those learners for whom it is relevant. However, in saying this, it should also be noted that many of the principles on which the audit is based are principles that are equally applicable and beneficial to all learners.

Comparison of Feedback

Feedback from the kōhanga reo hui and cultural audit trials is very similar in many respects. Both groups identified the same strengths, namely those of enabling educational establishments to look critically and comprehensively at their provisions for Māori learners with and without special needs, allowing them to identify areas of weakness and providing them with a focus for improvement.

The groups also identified both common and different weaknesses. An analysis of the differences shows that each group had a particular focus. The cultural audit trial groups

tended to focus on “technical” barriers to gaining useful, comprehensive and accurate data, for example, categorisation difficulties and question defects. The kōhanga reo group, on the other hand, were more concerned with the potential harmfulness or misuse of the cultural audit. The trial groups’ educational expertise and teaching perspective complemented the kōhanga groups’ cultural insight and parental perspective, the result being a valuable and comprehensive evaluation of the cultural audit process and products.

INGREDIENTS OF AN EFFECTIVE CULTURAL AUDIT

The analysis of feedback from the kōhanga reo consultation hui and the cultural audit trials revealed four requirements considered essential for an effective cultural audit and a number of improvements that can be made to the cultural audit process and products. However, before presenting these, an important point must be emphasised. My intention in developing the cultural audit was to provide a vehicle for educational establishments to examine and improve their provisions for Māori learners with special needs in particular and Māori learners in general. It was meant to be a non-threatening, user-friendly resource that would enable strengths to be celebrated and built on, weaknesses to be identified and rectified and communication between staff members, parents, whānau and the Māori community to be facilitated for the ultimate benefit of everyone concerned.

However, Dr. Ryba, the chief supervisor of this research, raised the point that the term “audit” may be threatening to some people. Although this was not specifically mentioned by any research participants, it is, in fact, a real possibility. As Dr. Ryba pointed out, many Pākehā are sensitive about their limited understanding of Māori culture and language and an “audit” with its judgmental undertones might put people off rather than encourage them to become involved. Suggestions were to drop the words “cultural audit” and refer to the process only by its Māori name, “he anga whakamāori” or to replace the term “cultural audit” with “cultural inventory.” These suggestions and the rationale behind them are valid and I wholeheartedly agree that a name change would be a wise move. However, before deciding exactly what the new name should be, I would like to consult with people who have been involved in this research to discover their preference in this matter.

Requirements and Improvements

1. Maximum Involvement

As many people as possible should be involved in the cultural audit process, ideally all staff members as well as Māori BoT representatives, parents, whānau and community members including kaumātua. The strength or weakness of a cultural audit is very much dependent on the quality and veracity of the information gathered. While checklist questions play an important part in focusing people on what sort of information needs to be collected, the people themselves are pivotal in this process. They need to be motivated by a genuine desire to provide the best possible education to Māori learners with special needs in particular and Māori learners in general. If they are compelled to participate by the principal, staff members, parents or by an outside agency such as ERO, the cultural audit is jeopardised.

Collecting information from just a few people can result in a skewed picture, not only because of potential personal bias but also because no one person actually possesses all the information required. This fact was articulated by students conducting cultural audits and demonstrated by the large number of comments such as, “Don’t know,” “I am not sure,” “I think so” and even contradictory answers on the checklist sheets received from schools.

Even if every member of an educational establishment is involved, the picture that emerges is still missing an important ingredient, namely parents’ perspectives. If the educational establishment does not have any Māori staff, then it will also be missing Māori perspectives. For these reasons, the kōhanga reo groups’ suggestion of including parents and whānau in the audit process makes a great deal of sense. Their inclusion will guard against the potential harm or misuse that was a major fear of the kōhanga reo group. It will also give Māori a say in what cultural input is included thus overcoming the criticism of Pākehā control of Māori content that has been levelled at taha Māori, bicultural and multicultural approaches (Bishop & Glynn, 1999b; Irwin, 1988; Penetito, 1986; Smith, G. H., 1990; Tait, 1988).

2. Sufficient Time

For a cultural audit to be conducted properly, sufficient time must be allocated to the process. Regardless of any improvements and modifications in the cultural audit process and products that may be made, conducting a cultural audit will always be a time-consuming exercise. Educational establishments must be made fully aware of this from the outset and be prepared to make the necessary time commitment. Organisational and timetabling arrangements can be made to help facilitate the process. For example, sharing out specific categories for data collection, providing teacher-release time to consult, collect and analyse data and timetabling group analysis and planning meetings for professional development days are all strategies that can lighten the workload involved. If people believe in the importance of the audit and are committed to conducting it effectively, then the necessary time will be found.

3. Detailed Data Gathering

Information gathered should be specific rather than generalised. Within reason, strategies should be recorded in such a way that their nature, extent, level and regularity are evident. Doing this will overcome a range of problems mentioned in the trials and at kōhanga reo hui. The first problem is that of the global picture masking the inadequate performance of individuals. If, for example, two teachers include Māori-relevant material in all subjects and this is recorded as: “Māori stories studied in Language,” “Treaty of Waitangi taught in social studies” and so forth, this insinuates that these practices are school-wide and thus presents a more positive situation than exists in reality. Similarly, in reporting school-wide practices, if parents are consulted about their goals for their children in respect to writing IEPs but in no other area, then recording this strategy as: “Parents consulted about their goals for their children” without mentioning IEPs, creates a false picture of an establishment’s performance. These situations can be avoided by greater specificity in recording strategies. The cultural audit trials demonstrated that this was particularly important in educational establishments that had bilingual and total immersion units and/or Māori staff members because often the greater cultural input from these people created a misleading global picture. This is illustrated in a student’s analysis of Educational Establishment I:

Examples in the Personnel component consist almost entirely of the two Māori staff members, with support from the RTLB. Examples of appropriate Processes and Content are attributable to the same three staff members. While there are examples of appropriate Policy statements for each principle, many of these relate directly to the te reo/tikanga programme which is implemented by the untrained, part-time kaiako Representation of the Māori community in the school is almost entirely limited to the two Māori staff members, with support from the RTLB. Twenty-three of the possible 51 examples involve the two Māori staff members. If these two people were removed from the school there would only be 28 entries on the checklist out of a possible 51!

Specific information will also help expose tokenism and exaggeration and make the level of the strategy evident. The latter can be illustrated by an example from the researcher-initiated trials. An Administration-Equality and Accessibility question asked: “Are culturally appropriate and effective means used for all home-school/centre communication?” Being alerted to the weakness of Yes/No questions, I asked people to provide specific examples when these types of questions arose. One person wrote, “Yes, we have a Māori border on our newsletter home.” Thus I was left in no doubt about the level of cultural input this person considered appropriate.

In regards to differing levels of cultural input, a further improvement would be to include in the introductory information a succinct one or two page discussion of levels of cultural input, with strategy examples illustrating the various levels on a bicultural continuum. This would serve to alert people to the levels of possible involvement and hopefully, encourage them to aim at increasing their bicultural commitment.

4. Thorough Data Analysis

Data should be carefully and thoroughly examined and analysed. While specifically focused checklist questions and the involvement of staff, BoT members, parents and whānau in data collection will improve the quality and usefulness of the information gathered, the cultural audit process could also be improved by the inclusion of more in-depth, probing questions and by the introduction of a “monitoring/quality control component” at the analysis stage. In respect to the former suggestion, this would

involve adding extra questions to those already provided to assist analysis.⁷⁶ These additional questions would be aimed at addressing previously raised issues of concern. For example:

Check strategies that are entered in more than one category. Do they have strong links to all categories they are entered in?

Are the Māori resources listed up-to-date and do they provide for a range of ability levels?

Are Māori words being pronounced correctly?

The monitoring/quality control component would focus on the quality and effectiveness of strategies and services. It would involve investigation to ascertain whether specific strategies mentioned were actually working in practice. For example, if the strategy: “Parents fill out home portion of an ecological assessment prior to initial IEP/IDP meeting” is listed, then investigation into whether Māori parents had actually done this and whether their input had been taken into consideration in the subsequent IEP/IDP would be necessary. If these actions had not occurred then measures to rectify them would become part of the future action plan.

In monitoring the various strategies, if the information needed was not obtainable before the planning meeting, then again the task of collecting the information needed would be written into the action plan. For example, an Administration-Empowerment and Tino Rangatiratanga question is: “What opportunities do Māori parents, children and whānau have to raise issues of concern?” People could be given the responsibility of tallying how often the opportunities listed were actually used in the next six months. Parents could also be surveyed about ways they prefer to raise their concerns. This information would be shared at the review meeting and necessary improvements written into the subsequent action plan.

The inclusion of additional probing questions and a monitoring/quality control component would help to address a further problem in the cultural audit. In conducting

⁷⁶ See Appendices B and R.

the cultural audit trials I was faced with the dilemma of whether the mere existence of a strategy, service or provision for Māori learners was enough to warrant its inclusion on the cultural input framework. For example, in answer to a question about having high expectations for Māori learners, one teacher volunteered that her school had an extension programme for gifted children that was open to Māori children with special abilities. Does this programme deserve a mention if no Māori child is actually involved? Even if there is a gifted Māori child in the programme, if what is being taught and how it is being taught ignores the child's culture, should that programme be included? Similarly, would a lesson on the Treaty of Waitangi taught in a culturally inappropriate manner deserve placement on the framework?

On reflection I decided that all such strategies, services and provisions should, initially, be placed on the framework in their appropriate category. At the analysis stage, all entries should be examined carefully for potential flaws. In the scenarios given, when the provision of extension programmes came up for discussion, the following questions could be asked:

What Māori children are in the programme?

If there are none, why not?

Are there really no gifted Māori children in the school or are the methods used to identify gifted children biased against Māori?

If there were Māori children in the gifted programme, the monitoring component would include a consideration of what was taught and how. In a similar vein, the Treaty of Waitangi lesson would also be examined. Needed improvements would be incorporated into the action plan that is developed.

It would be up to individual educational establishments to decide exactly how this monitoring component could be scheduled into their cultural audit timetable. One suggestion would be to have two meetings rather than the one analysis and planning meeting. At the first meeting information would be shared, categorised and analysed using the suggested analysis questions. Specific strategies would be selected for monitoring, the information needed identified and responsibility for gathering this

information before the next meeting allocated. Having done the bulk of the analysis, people would be aware of the establishment's strengths and weaknesses at this stage and so be asked to reflect on possible strategies for improvement over the one or two week period before the next meeting. At the second meeting, the extra monitoring data gathered plus people's strategies for improvement would be shared, discussed and used to develop an action plan.

SUMMARY

The evaluation of the cultural audit process and products was conducted by two means. The first involved four consultation hui with kōhanga reo focus groups. They identified a range of strengths, weaknesses and concerns and made a number of suggestions for improving the cultural audit process and products. Major concerns expressed at these hui were the potential for the audit to be misused or support tokenism and its inability to address the quality of cultural inputs. The need for including a monitoring component became evident. Feedback from the 11 schools, early childhood centres and student interviewers involved in the cultural audit trials identified as problematic certain principle and programme component groupings and the time-consuming nature of the audit. Difficulties in categorising strategies also arose. However, the kōhanga reo focus groups and the cultural audit trialists unanimously agreed that the cultural audit process and products were a valuable means of enabling educational establishments to examine and improve their provisions for Māori learners in general and Māori learners with special needs in particular. Finally, four ingredients considered essential for an effective cultural audit were presented and discussed. These were maximum involvement, sufficient time, detailed data gathering and thorough data analysis.

CHAPTER NINE: PARENTS, WHĀNAU, CHILDREN AND YOUTH

*Kia mau koe ki ngā kupu ō ōu mātua.
Lay hold of the words your parents give you.*

INTRODUCTION

There has been relatively little research into how the parents and whānau of Māori children and youth with special needs perceive and experience special education, while studies seeking the opinions of these learners themselves are even rarer. However, the limited research that does exist⁷⁷ reveals considerable variance in opinion, experience and level of satisfaction ranging from parents who are completely happy with the quality of services their children receive to those who are totally unhappy. Similarly, parents are at both ends of the continuum in respect to their wish for cultural and reo input.

An aim of this present research was to consult with parents, whānau and learners with special needs to discuss their experiences of special education both positive and negative. I wanted to discover their opinions about the inclusion of cultural input and te reo Māori in special education; to learn about successful programmes, services and strategies; to listen to concerns and challenges faced; to gather suggestions about how these challenges could be overcome; and about how effective, culturally appropriate services and programmes could be delivered.

However, it should be noted that the parents, whānau and learners consulted in this research represent a skewed sample on two accounts. First, kōhanga reo participants will obviously be more supportive of te reo and cultural input than a random sample of Māori parents. Second, while the researcher-selected group contained 29 participants who had a mixture of positive and negative special education experiences, the experiences of the nine self-selected participants were predominantly negative. This

⁷⁷ For example, Berryman et al.(2002); Cullen & Bevan-Brown (1999); Massey University (2001, in press); Wilkie (2001).

group responded to advertisements to share their experiences and thoughts regarding special education for Māori learners with special needs. Perhaps it is human nature for people to be more motivated to share negative experiences than positive. Perhaps involvement in this research provided an opportunity to air frustration in a non-threatening environment or perhaps involvement was seen as a means of improving services, if not for their own children, for others. Whatever the reason for involvement, the nature of the self-selected sample and the kōhanga reo participants' bias towards cultural and reo input must be kept in mind in interpreting the following results.

RESULTS

Details concerning data collection and data analysis were presented in chapter six. What follows are the results that emerged from the analysis of individual stories and collective opinions expressed in interviews and consultation hui. Unless otherwise stated, data from kōhanga reo hui; parent, whānau and learner interviews and observations; and the longitudinal case study have been aggregated in the presentation of these results. Also, to preserve anonymity, all names of people and places included in this chapter are fictitious.

Māori Perspectives of Special Needs

As mentioned in chapter one, special needs are culturally defined. Therefore, before considering how Māori learners can have their special needs met in a culturally effective way, it was important to ascertain what constituted special needs for the people involved in this phase of the research. It should be noted, however, that the term “special needs” was not popular amongst a number of research participants. They believed it could be interpreted as meaning some children are more “special” than others or that some children’s needs are more important than other children’s needs. As all children are special and all have important needs, it was felt a different term was preferable. Notwithstanding this objection to the terminology, participants described a wide variety of special needs. Their descriptors along with their explanations of the

special needs represented by the children and youth in this research have been combined, summarised and grouped into the following categories of special need:⁷⁸

1. Physical and Health Needs

This category includes people with significantly restricted mobility or physical function due to some type of physical impairment, condition or health-related problem. Examples in this research include children with cerebral palsy, children with limited movement due to accidental brain damage, viral injury and a rare medical condition and a child whose health and physical needs are a consequence of her small stature.

2. Sensory Needs

Children with visual and hearing impairments were specifically mentioned and included in this group.

3. Communication Needs

This category includes children who have difficulty communicating because of delayed language development or some type of disorder or speech impediment. It contains the largest number of children in this research. Most of these children had previously received or were receiving speech language therapy for a variety of reasons: Non-specific language delay; communication problems associated with hearing impairment or multiple disabilities; and articulation problems due to a cleft palate.

4. Learning Needs

This category consists of children whose learning is significantly impaired for a variety of reasons. Examples cited and included were children with intellectual disability associated with Downs Syndrome and brain damage. Also those with more school-specific learning problems such as slow learners and children with very poor concentration or motivation including those with identified disorders such as ADD

⁷⁸ The broad, inclusive concept of special needs represented in this section is in accord with the Whare Tapa Wha concept of Māori well-being presented by Durie, M. H. (1994b) in *Whaiora Māori health development*. Auckland: Oxford University Press, p. 70 –75. It should also be noted that the kōhanga reo hui responses have been previously reported in Cullen and Bevan-Brown (1999).

(Attention Deficit Disorder), ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder) and Dyslexia.

5. Social and Emotional Needs

This category includes children who have difficulty relating to others. For example, children with Autism and Aspergers Syndrome; with long-term depression or unhappiness; abused and neglected children; and those with emotional needs associated with particular circumstances such as family violence, discord or specific trauma. An example of a particular circumstance in the research was a shy child in one kōhanga reo who was the youngest in a large family and was considered to be in need of some individual attention.

6. Behavioural Needs

This category includes children with extreme disruptive, aggressive, non-compliant and anti-social behaviour.

7. Needs Associated With Giftedness

This was viewed as a special need in that the processes, services, expertise and resources needed to challenge and extend gifted children were considered to be lacking in our present education system - both in English-medium and Māori-medium facilities. Two research examples include children whose artistic talents and advanced ability in te reo were not being provided for.

8. Needs Associated With Socio-Economic Circumstances and Geographic Location

A number of participants felt that poverty and rural location created special needs for many Māori children. The common denominator was an absence of resources and services, which impacted negatively on children's progress and development. This could be a primary or secondary influence. Examples of the former are children who fail to progress at school because they cannot afford books, calculators, lunches, school trips and other necessities to facilitate and support learning. Examples of the latter are children with glue ear whose language development is further delayed because of the time and cost involved in getting grommets fitted.

9. Needs Associated With Society's Perception, Attitudes and Treatment of People With Disability

A number of participants believed that in some cases children's special needs did not arise solely from their disability, condition or circumstances but were, in fact, compounded by people's reactions. Specific examples from the research were teachers' lowered expectations and demands of a child with hearing impairment and a child with small stature whose development was hindered because of people's tendency to "do things for her."

10. Needs Associated With "Being Māori"⁷⁹

These were seen to stem from three principal causes, namely:

♦ *Societal and Individual Practices and Attitudes That Disadvantage Māori Learners.* Some participants expressed the opinion that as "a colonized, minority group living in a Pākehā-centric environment" Māori learners were disadvantaged by the limited acknowledgement their cultural capital receives within a Pākehā-dominated education system. They were believed to suffer from the legacy of a century of assimilative policies and practices.⁸⁰

At an individual level, a wide range of negative, stereotypical attitudes and behaviours were reported to be disadvantaging Māori learners. In some cases existing special needs were exacerbated while in others it was believed that the detrimental attitudes and behaviours were actually causing special needs. One example was a boy who performed "down" to his teacher's low expectations, was consequently placed in a special class, wagged school, and was eventually expelled. The boy was, in fact, very bright as evidenced by his considerable success in later life.

There were a number of stories of low teacher expectation, of parents being disbelieved, blamed for their children's special needs and having their concerns ignored. Jason's story is a case in point. He was frequently in trouble for his misbehaviour and his parents were regularly called to school. On one occasion his mother mentioned her

⁷⁹ Given the topic of this research, this category will be described in more detail than previous categories.

⁸⁰ A similar view of disability emerged in research conducted by Kingi (1998).

concern about his lack of progress in reading. The teacher told her she had nothing to worry about because Jason "was actually above average for a Māori child." His mother felt her concerns were ignored and that Jason had been:

stereotyped as a poor Māori problem child and we are actually quite comfortably off The other thing that cracks me up is that because these kids are playing up it is through bad parenting, blame the parents. He has got a sister and she is bright. I'm not saying he's not but if you did it right for one kid, how come you don't do it for the next?

Another story came from a Māori child's Pākehā grandmother who was also the principal of the school she attended.

I have found the biggest problem with Māori children and my grandchildren in particular, was the perception of the teachers. Often they haven't been to preschools so the teachers say, "oh, they have had no experience."

[and not acknowledging what other experiences they have had, do you mean?]

That's right, like going to a tangi or travelling around the countryside, or being with your parents or whatever, are not these an experience? ... She had Reading Recovery and then they got the Resource Teacher of Reading to come and have a look at her She claimed that Tessa didn't have the language. She didn't know what to say. She wasn't able She didn't have any life experiences. She'd never been anywhere. She didn't know the relationship between her and me. That's when I really went mad. She'd just been to Wellington, been to Auckland and she was involved in Athletics, Colgate National Games. I said I've got a photo of her from a statue at Paraparaumu. She's been out to the airport. If you have a look at some of your other children they haven't had the experiences that she has had but she wasn't going to share it with this woman. That is a Māori choice. They've got to be real comfortable before they will share that The Resource Teacher of Reading said she needs some experiences to draw on. What else can I do short of sending her around the world, what else can I do?!

Negative stereotyping and self-fulfilling prophecies were mentioned at several kōhanga reo hui. One participant noted:

A lot of schools portray Māori students to be problem students and therefore they are disadvantaged. They are sort of brushed aside There are teachers from higher socio-economic groups coming to places like Jamestown. They don't understand cultural difference, teach the kids as if they're white and then blame them for being problems.

A further situation that was mentioned by several participants as disadvantaging Māori learners related to children and youth who identified as Māori but were not recognised as such. This applied to four children in the research who were fair-skinned and who, according to their parents, were not treated as Māori by their teachers and special educators. As one Pākehā mother reported, "We were never given the option of a Māori person [Education Support Worker]. I don't know if people are aware of Anna being Māori." Another participant noted:

If you don't look Māori then you're not one so you're having to defend yourself and fight for yourself again and if you don't have a language and a cultural base to even help you get through that ... your ability to survive in this world as a Māori is a special need.

♦ *Certain Cultural Traits and Behaviours That Put Māori at a Disadvantage*

The unwillingness of many Māori to "speak up," a tendency to "go with the flow," be whakamā in unfamiliar or uncomfortable situations and a lack of confidence or ability to "hassle" with Pākehā institutions to receive services were all mentioned as "cultural" traits and behaviours that put Māori at a disadvantage. While it can be debated whether these traits and behaviours are, in fact, "cultural" in nature, they were certainly evident in the stories and behaviours of research participants. One parent told of how it had taken her many years to gain the confidence needed to "stick up" for her child who was hearing impaired and to ask for services she was entitled to. Others noted that while they were able to gain services for their children sometimes through "relentless pursuing," they knew of many Māori parents who lacked the confidence necessary to

seek out information or push for services and consequently their children were missing out.

The reluctance to seek help was also mentioned in relation to children and youth who were “too whakamā” to ask for clarification when lessons were not understood. It was evident amongst the four learners who were interviewed and observed and was reported by parents of two other children. As one mother stated:

He sits in a room with children with various needs and is left to do his correspondence. He is too embarrassed to ask for help as he does not want to be seen as not being able to cope. I have asked the teacher in this class if she could help him with his English and his reading. He has great difficulty in these areas. She did not know that he was having problems.

One of the children interviewed said he did not ask for help, “because people will think I’m dumb” when in actual fact, he did not hear the teacher’s instructions and explanations because of his hearing impairment. Other reasons for not seeking help were not wanting to stand out and being more interested in interacting with peers than in completing set tasks. While these reasons may be typical of many learners, for children with special needs they further exacerbate their learning problems.

♦ *Reo-Related Needs*

Waikarepuru’s belief that the inability to speak Māori is a special need⁸¹ was mentioned by a small number of participants. As one person noted:

All Māori children who are not involved in kaupapa Māori have special needs.
A disabled Māori child is one who can’t speak Māori.

A more widely expressed opinion, prominent at all kōhanga reo hui, was that special needs could be both created and exacerbated by involvement in total immersion education. This claim applied to two different groups of learners. First, there were those

⁸¹ Refer chapter four, page 90.

who had an acknowledged special need but who were unable to receive assistance because of the lack of special education professionals with the cultural and reo expertise needed to work with them. Seven parents who were interviewed stated they were denied adequate special education services because of their choice of or desire for Māori-medium education for their children. In fact, three parents were specifically told that if they wished their children to receive any special needs assistance they should either not enrol them or withdraw them from Māori-medium education.

The second group were those learners who did not have an acknowledged special need but who were struggling to learn te reo for a number of reasons. It was stated that learners in the mainstream who were unable to communicate effectively with their teachers or peers would be given extra assistance but this was not happening in total immersion education because the “cause” of children’s delayed learning did not meet special needs funding criteria. There was a strong belief amongst many kōhanga reo participants that “cause” was irrelevant. If a learner was struggling to communicate they had a special need!

Both groups of learners were seen to be further disadvantaged by a range of circumstances. These included a lack of exposure to and reinforcement of te reo. Many parents were unable to support their children's learning because of their own limited reo. One participant explained:

It's that exposure, not enough exposure to what they need. I mean with mainstream there's exposure everywhere you go. It's just nationwide but in Māori it's not out there.

The greater demands placed on teachers in Māori-medium education meant they often had less time to conduct thorough assessments, develop individualised programmes or provide one-to-one help. Learners with special needs were disadvantaged because of this. One teacher described the situation for gifted children:

You know you have to have extra for them but you're so busy that often they are the ones that miss out because they are bright and you think, never mind, they'll cope.

These greater demands contribute to a high burnout rate amongst teachers. This has consequent implications for learners both with and without special needs as the following stories illustrate:

One Year Rawiri had four different teachers. SES would tell one teacher how to manage his deafness. When they came back a few months later they found they had to go through the same procedure with the next teacher!

There was a lack of Māori teachers. Our teacher left and we had four different [Pākehā] relievers. We had no actual teacher and that's when everybody started wagging and they got put into the special needs and they looked like they were dumb so they dropped out of school because they were in a special needs class and they didn't want to be put there.

The high burnout rate was also mentioned in relation to special educators with cultural and reo expertise. Participants had a real concern about the untenable situation these workers were being placed in as evidenced in the following quotes from kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori teachers:

(1) It has made a huge difference having a Māori speaker but it is not enough. There is too much work for him to do. He's very good but I can see that he is under stress. He says I just can't get there He's expected to be the speech language therapist and the psychologist and he can't. He's a special needs teacher and that is good and it is good to have him as a resource teacher but he can't do all those other things.

(2) Not only that but I use him too for resources for my other children. Every time he comes in we are trying to pump more and more out of him.

(1) Yes, he's been doing resources for the 6-year-old net. There was no 6-year-old net so he has set it up on top of dealing with all these high priority kids.

I rang up an SES woman to come in and speak to our whānau and she rang me back and said, “No I can't because I haven't got any Māori language,” but to get the Māori SES person. But there is only one for the whole area and she's overloaded. We haven't got the amount [of workers] so we are overloading people, overloading and that's when the cracks appear. Even the Pākehā people are overloaded. They don't have time to cover everybody. Someone's got to miss out and that's our Māori children because they [Pākehā workers] feel threatened [in a Māori situation].

The quality of services for learners with special needs in Māori-medium education was an area of concern for a number of parents. Their concerns were related to the expertise of teachers, to low standards of pupil achievement and to the disorganised nature of various programmes. It can be argued that these concerns are not exclusive to Māori-medium education but could be levelled at many English-medium centres and classes. While this is true it is the cause of the problem rather than its manifestation that is specific to Māori-medium education. Kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, total immersion and bilingual units are relatively recent educational phenomena. Some participants noted that this placed them at a disadvantage. Many employed inexperienced or untrained staff; did not have established administrative structures and routines; and were lacking resources and funding. A small number of participants believed these factors had a negative influence on the quality of education learners with special needs received:

I pulled her out [of kōhanga reo] because I don't think they understood her frustrations [because of her special needs]. They just thought she was a naughty girl. She was pulling other kids' hair and tipping her food on the floor. It was attention seeking but she didn't do that at home. They just did not know how to handle her.

The general standard in Rawiri's class was so low that the teacher was unaware that he wasn't coping. She thought he was making good progress. Her reo wasn't strong and it was tough-going in that class. The teachers did not realise the

extent of his deafness because he was using his other abilities to compensate and they weren't picking that up. Mere received a report from SES saying he had limited language and writing ability and then he produced this amazing piece of writing. They realised later that every word in the story was copied from writing and posters hung up on the classroom walls!

Hira wants to go to the kura kaupapa with her friends from kōhanga reo but I won't enrol her there because the school is not organised enough yet. It is just getting established and they don't appear to do much work.

Hira's mother felt that because of her daughter's hearing impairment she needed the greater structure and expertise the mainstream school could provide. A closer look at Hira's story reveals the additional challenges her mother faced by initially choosing to have her daughter attend kōhanga reo.

Hira was receiving six hours a week ESW [Education Support Worker] time but the helper was Pākehā and the kaiako objected to her speaking English to Hira at kōhanga. They even asked me to keep Hira home when ERO [the Education Review Office] came in so they wouldn't hear English being spoken. When ERO found this out they told the kaiako off! I inquired about getting a Māori ESW but the nearest one lived in Pātere [miles away]. Her ESW was excellent. She tried her best to use a few Māori words. She told Hira she would teach her English if Hira would teach her Māori. She was a very friendly, open person. Her own daughter goes to a kōhanga reo now, but the kōhanga staff blamed her for the amount of English the children were speaking. They said her speaking English was a bad influence. I believe they were using her as a scapegoat. The children were speaking English because they hear English at home and she was getting the blame.

Hira's mother found herself under great stress having to defend the ESW at whānau meetings so she finally withdrew her daughter. The ESW continued to work with Hira at home but when she was three years old SES suggested that Hira return to kōhanga reo because she needed the company of other children. She returned with the same

ESW and arrangements were made for Hira and her to work in a room away from the other children for 45 minutes. This appeared a good compromise but wasn't one hundred percent successful because Hira preferred to be with the other children. The ESW offered to work with Hira in a group situation but again this wasn't allowed because she spoke English.

Similarly, Huriwai's mother had to withdraw her son from kōhanga reo. She found it difficult to manage with frequent early finishes and closures due to tangi. She worked and because of the severity of her son's disability, she found getting baby-sitters was a problem.

Another quality-related issue concerned bright, possibly gifted learners. As one mother explained:

I suppose this happens everywhere in kura and kōhanga, the accessibility to extension. What I mean by that is being able to use several words. Say if I talk about a "saw" in English there's several different words to describe that, whereas it's limited for Māori. I mean it's as limited as we are limited. If the kaiako at kōhanga reo and kura know the words there are the extensions for my child, so the limits are wherever and whoever is dealing with them. Obviously if there was my mother and him then his vocab is extended but with me their vocab is only as far as I can extend them.

Another participant remarked that she was hindered in her own work and study in the health domain by the lack of Māori words to describe certain concepts and phenomena. "I just kept hitting blank walls. The words weren't there." This has implications for gifted learners. As the knowledge content becomes more complicated and the field of study broader and deeper, gifted learners in kura kaupapa Māori and wharekura are likely to come across these same "blank walls" and experience the same frustration described by this participant.

One mother believed bilingual children had additional challenges to face. She explained:

If they've grown up with Māori or if they have that language at home and they have it at kōhanga, when these teachers speak English to them, there is a big problem that the kids face - do they deal with that question in the way that they're hearing it? They have to perceive, "well, in Māori if I heard that question it would actually mean something different." I think that a lot of the specialists that have come through the system don't realise that. I notice that with my own children, how they perceived the English language and how they, because Māori for them it's descriptive, whereas English keeps you guessing. It's like riddles you see. The Māori language is pretty much to the point. It's descriptive and it's all based on hard fact because it's there around you. It's all straight up stuff but when you start speaking English and they stand there and they look at you and they go, "Oh Mum, do you mean...?" you know, because it leaves unanswered questions for them and that's in the English language. You know it provides too many loopholes for the kids to start getting confused.

Children in total immersion situations were also disadvantaged by not having access to programmes and services provided by many disability and support organisations. One kura kaupapa teacher mentioned that she had tried to get the Epilepsy Association involved in the school but they declined her request. On the other hand, the CCS had come and presented their "Kids up the Road" puppet show in Māori and it was a resounding success. A further disadvantage mentioned was the lack of research into special needs in Māori-medium education because of the limited number of people qualified to work in this field.

A final concern mentioned by three parents and at a kōhanga reo hui relates to learners with special needs transferring from Māori-medium education into the mainstream. This is relatively common in two particular circumstances: First, children shifting from one district to another. Māori-medium education is not readily available in all areas. Even where a kura kaupapa Māori exists, waiting lists are a common occurrence. At one kōhanga reo hui a mother explained how her daughter, after being in Māori-medium education for nine years, was forced to go to an English-medium school when they shifted. After a year on the waiting list her daughter had finally been admitted to the new kura kaupapa Māori. The daughter did not have special needs but her mother

worried that after one year of floundering in the mainstream and now struggling to kōrero Māori again that she may not cope.

She was scared stiff about going back to kura because she thought that her reo wasn't up to scratch ...[I visited the kura] and I was shocked to see her just float again, because there was a whole year that she'd not been able to converse with her peers.

The second situation involves children moving from a total immersion primary school to a mainstream secondary school. This is common given the relatively small number of wharekura available. Participants pointed out that making the change from primary to secondary school is a challenge for all children but for those who have special needs and have received their entire education in Māori-medium situations, this transition presents a major problem. Participants told of children becoming "totally lost" when they moved from a Māori environment to a Pākehā one where a different language was used and the teaching approach was no longer Māori-focused. They noted that such situations could lead to a child developing special learning needs where none had previously existed. As one participant exclaimed: "What hope then, has a child who starts out with a special need!" One mother who faced this transition for her daughter with cerebral palsy investigated the possibility of getting extra help but reported that nothing was available.

In concluding this section on the participants' perspectives of special needs, it should be noted that while both kōhanga reo and interview participants mentioned the previous ten categories of special need, they did not receive unanimous support from both groups. There was a general consensus of opinion and support for all categories from kōhanga reo participants. However, the category of "needs associated with 'being Māori'" received only limited support from the parent and whānau group and opinions about the importance of te reo Māori and cultural input varied considerably. At one end of the continuum were the mother who considered any Māori input for her severely disabled son a complete waste of time and the grandfather who stated that Māori customs were only good for funerals. At the other end of the continuum were parents who refused to remove their children from total immersion environments and fought for

their right to receive culturally appropriate services in te reo Māori. It is interesting to note that the desire for cultural input into their child's programme did not relate to the ethnicity of the parent. Six Pākehā mothers were interviewed in this research. In every case they were supportive of cultural content in their child's special education programme. One of these mothers worked in a kura kaupapa Māori and was, arguably, the strongest supporter of cultural input of all parents interviewed.

Requirements of Culturally Appropriate, Effective Service Provision

The analysis of research data revealed a wide range of factors that were believed to contribute to culturally appropriate, effective special education services and programmes. These can be divided into two categories. The first category contains factors, which relate to effective servicing in general. They are factors that are equally applicable to Māori or Pākehā learners with special needs. The second category contains the cultural factors specific to Māori learners with special needs. For each set of prerequisite factors described below, I have also included participants' experiences that illustrate the challenges faced when these factors have been missing.⁸²

General Factors

Personnel Requirements

The first set of factors relates to personal and professional attributes. Participants believed that in order for Māori learners with special needs to be provided for effectively, the people involved in working with them must have the following attributes:

1. Professional Expertise

This involves being well-trained, confident, competent and skilled in their particular profession. One mother expressed concerns in this area after she learnt her son had spent three weeks working in the school corridor. (He was later diagnosed as having ADHD.)

⁸² It should be noted that the constraints of thesis size limit the number of experiences that can be shared. While only one or two examples are given, in most cases many similar scenarios exist. I apologise to participants for not being able to share all their stories. However, throughout this chapter I have conscientiously tried to give a fair representation of all those involved in this phase of the research.

He was always on the move and that sort of carry on but in the school system it just doesn't mesh and like the teacher would say to Jason, "Do you want to be in class here and do work with all the other kids or do you want to go in the corridor?" To me it is just basic teaching skills. I said to the teacher you just don't give him a choice, if you want him to do something say, "will you please sit down and read a book." If you say, "do you want to sit here and read a book or do you want to go into the corridor?" well even I as a child would rather go into the corridor! I think they should be teaching the teachers how to deal with these children. Jason surely can't be the only kid with ants in his pants, up and moving around. Jason can't be the only child who will spend 25 minutes drawing a picture then 5 minutes writing about it. They said Jason is not doing his work but he is very artistic, a great drawer but he wasn't very good with writing or spelling or things like that. They got the clues but they didn't pick it up ... massive clues but nobody did anything We were trying to get him to lose weight because kids were calling him fat and as an incentive for the good work he was doing they were giving him food, fish and chips and stuff like that. I feel sometimes that the school were playing around with his life and bugging it up and then they wondered why he was a problematic child at school and three quarters of it they brought it on themselves. They created the problem but they didn't do anything about trying to solve it.

2. People Skills

The point was made that learners with special needs can be found across the broad spectrum of society and live in a variety of different circumstances. Consequently, people who work with these learners require the skills needed to interact effectively and sensitively with a wide range of people. As one participant noted: "People have to learn to relate to the myriad and diversity of the Māori community and I can certainly endorse that. Our community is not rich, middle class and wealthy."

Unfortunately, participants' stories revealed that often these skills were missing. They told of being ignored, treated as if they were simple-minded, made to feel nuisances, incompetent or pushy parents, bludgers and second-class citizens. One parent suggested that "community and hospitality training be compulsory for all XX staff " after she

overheard the conversation of a professional who mistakenly thought the mute button on the telephone was engaged: "Who wants to take this one? It's that old battleaxe, Mrs Hemara!"

Another parent was full of praise for the service her son with multiple disabilities was receiving but was left feeling inadequate in her dealings with his helpers:

He's made good progress, beaten the medical world. I feel proud of him. I also think that the daycare and SES worker have been good for his development but it is just that in the holidays they think that his development is set back and I say to them, "Are you telling me that I am not teaching him anything? But I do different things at home than you do in the classroom."

3. Job Commitment and a Positive, Caring Attitude Towards the Children and Parents With Whom They Work

In order to be effective it was believed people should enjoy their job and demonstrate aroha in their dealings with children, parents and whānau. They should also be reliable and persistent in their delivery and pursuit of special education services. There were both successful and alarming stories in this category. Professionals who possessed the aforementioned qualities were credited with having a positive affect on the attitudes and progress of learners.

The teacher is really lovely. She has developed a good relationship with Rawiri so much so that he can't wait to get to school in the morning. He spends all his time at home doing his homework He doesn't mind wearing his [hearing] aides now. He loves routine and is flourishing in Mrs Kete's class.

On the other hand, stories were told of broken appointments, broken promises and refusals to seek services children were entitled to. One mother explained:

The teacher was very negative towards the class. He was under great pressure because this class was very challenging for him. He felt at times that he was just there to babysit, his exact words. My son's behaviour deteriorated something

shocking. His attitude towards everything just fell apart. Things came to a head. I approached the principal. He wasn't very supportive. I asked if he would be able to contact SES to see if we could receive any help for my son as I felt he was deteriorating and that particular classroom environment was not helping at all. The principal told me I would have to pursue SES myself so I did. It took a few weeks to even get to talk to anyone SES expressed in a letter that the college should have pursued this matter It took a great toll on my health. I was battling with my son's disruptive behaviour, I had to battle with the school and also I was trying to access help for my son through the health sector which was not happening. I came to about two millimetres of having a nervous breakdown.

Service Requirements

Service-related attributes were the second set of general factors believed to contribute to successful special education. Participants stated that for services to be effective they needed to have the following attributes:

4. Sufficient, Timely, Regular, Readily Available, Well-Funded and Well-Resourced

The most frequent request from parents and whānau was for increased services for their children. This increase referred to the length and frequency of individual sessions and to the duration of the service itself. While all children in this research had either received services in the past or were presently receiving them, many parents and whānau reported that these services had either begun too late, finished too early, were irregular, insufficient, under-funded or under-resourced.

A variety of reasons were given for delayed provision of services. These included the unavailability of assessment, "red tape," lengthy administrative procedures and long waiting lists. For some children services only became available once crisis point had been reached, namely, they were suspended, expelled or hospitalized. One mother was so frustrated with the hassles she had encountered getting services for her severely disabled son that she prepared the following statement, which she requested I insert in my research:

Lack of services has caused my child less quality of life and lessened his chances of reaching his full potential.

There were also numerous stories of inadequate service provision. A typical scenario was the child who travelled a considerable distance to receive fortnightly speech-language therapy. The mother reported that her daughter was allocated a half-hour time slot but because her daughter was very shy it took the therapist the first 15 minutes to get her talking. The situation was not helped by the frequent turnover in therapists and by the service terminating when the child started school. "I was told she didn't need help any more but I thought she did." Another person noted that all special needs services where she lived appeared to stop once teenagers left school. She added that unfortunately, her brother's needs did not similarly cease to exist! In the main, poor servicing could be traced to a lack of or inadequate funding and resources and a shortage of appropriate personnel.

5. Well-Advertised and Accessible

Another challenge that was frequently mentioned by parents and whānau was the lack of information about services and entitlements. Many people did not know what was available while others had heard of various services but did not know how to access them. In fact, some participants who responded to the publicity for this research did so because they were desperate for information:

I don't know what to do or what services there are. I'm really sort of at a loss so that is why I rang. There might be some help I can get.

A number of stories were told about how children came to be receiving their present services through sheer good luck: "My sister is on the Rūnanga and she heard about this through her job." "Mum had a friend whose grandchild went to the Able Centre so that's how we found out about it." "I just got the telephone book out and rang every number that looked promising." "We found out about this course he is on by accident."

There needs to be more advertising about these things. The daycare and the kōhanga didn't know about the services she has now. I learnt about them because

a friend's mother got a job at SES and she told me. Homai is great but I had to approach them myself I was told I could get a handicap allowance but Inland Revenue said I earned too much. I found out they were wrong. This allowance isn't means tested so I went back and applied.

I would like a list of services that are available, financial entitlements and whatever. At present you get what you get if you know how to work the system and everyone doesn't have that know how.

A lot of Māori mothers and fathers don't even know about SES let alone know how to apply for it. The children in this class that my son was in, all of them are Māori, they all need to be on an SES programme. Work should be set out to their level of learning. I feel immensely for these children, as they will fail if they aren't helped.

Another participant described the struggle her family faced in finding something for her brother to do once he left school:

There was no help out there. We didn't know where to go. Because there was nothing available we kept him at home but this has taken its toll on Mum. We found out finance and training was available through IHC but you need to go through a doctor to prove his disability. There's a lot of waiting and hoping. We have to prove the need from one person to the next. If you don't push you don't get a place Mum is running out of kaha to fight for him.

This participant's mother was actually in hospital at the time of the interview. She attributed this to the on-going stress of caring for her autistic son.

At one kōhanga reo hui the point was made that even when you know what services are available, access may be limited because of the administrative red tape involved:

With Māori families if they don't know how to fill out the paperwork it dies and the paper-work is so middle-class orientated and questionnairing and if you

don't have the right means of pushing that through to the people in power, the funding never comes through and that's what hurts. If it's not worded properly and I've seen it in operation already, you miss out where somebody that might have the needs very specific because of the criteria they say there, if you don't put it forward and present it properly you miss out because they say, hey you haven't answered the questions that they want to hear.

Services must also be accessible in respect to time, location and cost.

Have people got transport to get to the meeting? Someone to look after the babies while you have meetings? Can you have the meeting at home? Can you have it outside hours because speech therapists can't work outside hours which isn't good if mum and dad do happen to have jobs? So those kinds of issues are really important.

Stories were told of irregular servicing because of rural location:

The SES lady visited about twice a year. If we'd lived in town Lavinia could have seen her more often but for her to get here takes about two hours so I understand, all that way for just one kid. You can't rely on lifts into town either because people go at the wrong time. If I had a car it would help.

Rural location was not the only barrier. One mother located a programme that would have been ideal for her son but was told that it was not being offered in the Wellington region.

6. High Quality

Many factors were mentioned under this heading. They were either related to the processes and content of services or were of an organisational nature.

Processes and Content

The need for appropriate, purposeful, early, accurate and on-going individual assessment and programme evaluation was frequently mentioned. A number of parents

advocated for assessments to be conducted as early as possible. They maintained that their children's special needs were increased because of late identification. Assessments conducted in withdrawal situations with unknown assessors were criticised:

Kelly needs to be assessed in an environment where she is comfortable or she [the assessor] needs to get to know Kelly first otherwise she won't ever find out what she is capable of.

There was also criticism of assessments that led nowhere:

They would come every year and test him and disappear till the next year when they came back and administered the same test. They said he was making such good progress he didn't qualify for extra help - it wasn't needed, but it was. In the end I said if they weren't doing any follow-up I don't want him tested. He had become test-wise over the years and knew what answers they wanted.

And criticism of assessments that were misdirected:

My nephew going through primary school was labeled as a behaviour problem child. Speaking to all his teachers, his attention span was really short and it wasn't until he got to college that they diagnosed him as deaf in both ears. So you know our kids are slipping through and they're going from primary school being labeled and not properly diagnosed. He also went into special needs units, from one to another, reading recovery programme, extra one-to-one teaching and everything but you know, basically they were just moving him from one unit to another to another and that wasn't really doing much for his self esteem. Yeah, they hadn't picked up the real problems until he got to college. It was really hard on the family. They [the family] did so much to find out what was going on and there was no feedback. All the reports that were done on him, all the assessment and that they just kept in file boxes - no sharing of anything! They [the family] felt really bad and just imagine how they felt when they found out that after all these years he was diagnosed as being deaf.

Some services were considered superficial. This criticism was usually directed at behavioural interventions that were believed to focus on containment without "putting any effort into finding out why Nigel was going like that." An associated issue that was frequently mentioned was the need for children to have more one-to-one and "hands-on" time with teachers and special education professionals. This individual attention was perceived as important "quality time." A number of success stories involved children making pleasing progress once individual tuition or therapy had been introduced or increased:

Last year we put aside some hours to free up a kaiako to be able to do the one-to-one or actually employ someone else for that The child was the youngest of the family ... he just got lost. He was a quiet child, kind of blended into the background, probably needed to being the youngest but he just needed someone for him It was really successful.

Although the importance of one-to-one attention was highlighted, so too was the sharing of knowledge. The following discussion at a kōhanga reo hui illustrates this point:

(1) The specialist might come in and say, "This is what you have to do," but without being able to make that knowledge move from different people It might be certain techniques or equipment you could use to give other people the knowledge rather than just the expert holding it. It's an approach rather than a

(2) Yeah, it's like you've got a strategy for, I don't know, just imagine if you had a child that was deaf and you wanted to assess sign language in Māori. That's something that is a skill, that knowledge you can share rather than just the person that knows it does it.

(1) Yeah, comes in and does it and then off they go.

An emphasis on positively focused special education services was a priority for some participants. They felt that present services tended to be negatively focused, concentrating on what children could not do without acknowledging or utilizing what they could do. Two kōhanga reo participants who work as teacher aides explained:

(1) With this kōtiro I used to take, she's a really nice little girl. She's got a lovely nature. She's helpful ... and she awhis and she's the first to get up and help but none of those things count when you're assessing. I mean she's just going to be okay because she's a nice person and she's going to have enough skills, she just can't read and write, that's her problem. She's got a learning problem, yeah, she'll learn something and can't remember it but she's just such a nice person and that doesn't seem to count With Māori kids you've got to have a broader appreciation of the skills that they have got but the system virtually writes them off and they're made to feel such a failure.

(2) It's really important that the person dealing with each child in the special needs situation determines what that child is good at and builds on it extremely well. I've seen it happen. These kids are really good at something but they've been forced and made to try and learn something else You're forced to implement these programmes that just stress the kids and the parents out badly and you think, well why are you making them do this when you know that if you concentrated on something else they would learn faster, better, easier and it's conducive to a happier environment? You're starting from the area of strength not weakness and those areas of weakness you can tap into them and bring them into those areas of knowledge ability and the fact that they want to do it ... the motivation is there.

Parents wanted their children to take a full part in the curriculum and life of the early childhood centre or school they attended. Two parents described the inclusive nature of the education their children were presently receiving and described it as a model for other schools:

(1) We went up the mountain and we took two kids who are in wheelchairs, took them out of the wheelchairs, on the ski lift and to the top of the Bruce. In fact, I said afterwards, " Well we know we are inclusive, we know we have made it because we took a kid who is autistic, one who is intellectually handicapped and two children in wheelchairs to the top of the mountain." And it wasn't till we got back down did I think, we have done it! We never ever had a thought about doing it. We just did it.

(2) We know the child has disabilities but we never think that should stop them. They are being included all the time. One of the children in a wheelchair actually plays netball for her team every Saturday Their peers at kura think the same. They know they are disabled or whatever but they don't think like they shouldn't be in the team. They just carry on playing. They accommodate them.

Three participants whose sons and brother were in segregated special classes spoke out against these. They all felt their family members were not given sufficiently challenging work in these classes. They talked of "baby-sitting," of their sons and brother copying the inappropriate behaviour of other class members and of "coming out of that experience worse off than when he went in."

One of the children interviewed talked about not wanting to go into Mrs. Brown's class [a segregated special class] when he moved on to Intermediate, "Cause every one knows that's the cabbage class!" He wanted to remain with his friends with whom he had been educated throughout primary school. Daniel's mother was also reluctant to have him placed in the special class but feared this would happen because it was being suggested by the primary and intermediate teachers. She suspected Daniel's placement was more to do with "filling up the special class than to benefit Daniel."

Segregated specialist services were also criticised by some parents. For example, while parents were keen for their children to receive speech language therapy, there was a preference for this service to be delivered in the child's own environment whether that be the home, early childhood centre or school.

A final request was for proactive services, which provided for children at risk of developing special needs. As one participant explained: "Preventative measures can stop little needs from becoming big ones!"

Organisational Factors

It was considered important that services be continuous, consistent, co-ordinated, collaborative and policy-driven. Continuity of service between early childhood centres and schools was of particular concern. For example, there was considerable criticism of speech language therapy ending once the child started school. Follow-up visits to school to check on children's progress and confirm improvements were requested.

Another major criticism was of frequent staff changes in schools and some special education services. This was believed to have an adverse affect on children's behaviour and learning. A number of stories were told of how children had taken some time to become comfortable with their teacher or service provider. Once a bond was established they had made good progress only to have the staff member leave. As one mother put it: "Then we were back to square one again!" While a high staff turnover may be unavoidable in many circumstances, some agencies contributed to the problem by having personnel work on a roster basis. One mother explained that she never knew whom her son would be seeing. She could not build a relationship with any one person and did not know whom she should turn to for advice.

Participants thought it was important that the various service providers involved in helping their children should consult with, assist and support each other in the services they provided. This co-operation would lead to the streamlining of services. It would also guard against service overlap which was a concern for some parents of children with more severe special needs. Parents also wanted professionals' roles clearly defined and explained; service options outlined; clearly written policies available; entitlements made clear; and accurate information given. An example that illustrates this last request was provided by a father who explained how he and his wife were told by a certain organisation that their child would have transport provided to the school of their choice. After visiting a number of local schools, choosing one, having a ramp built at that school and a teacher aide employed, they were told that because this school was not actually the closest to their house, they were not eligible for transport assistance!

7. Involve Parents and Develop a Good Home-School Relationship

Parents and whānau wanted regular, friendly, informative communication in jargon-free language. They expressed an interest in learning more about their child's special needs and about "latest developments in the field." They wished to have assessments explained in every day language, to be kept up-to-date about their child's progress and to be informed about "the state of play" of any applications for services, funding or equipment.

However, some parents felt they were denied this information. One mother remarked: "I go to meetings and they have lots of papers on him but they never show them to me!" Other parents complained that they were not told early enough about their children's special needs. For example, one whānau member noted that the first time they heard that Nigel's behaviour was causing concern was when the whānau were called in for a meeting to consider his expulsion. Several parents complained that they were not told until the mid-year parent interviews that their children were struggling academically although the situation had existed for many months.

While parental involvement was considered important, the point was made that the type and level of involvement should be a matter of choice and would largely depend on individual circumstances. A predominant theme to emerge from the research was that having a child with special needs in the whānau places a great deal of extra stress on parents. Given this, it is vital that teachers and special educators do not add to this stress but placing unrealistic demands and expectations on parents. The data show that the stress parents experience often arises from people's expectations and reactions to their child and from having to fight for services rather than from any special needs per se. The following story poignantly illustrates this situation. It relates to a boy with ADHD in a mainstream situation.

Right throughout Jason's schooling I have had to fight for his rights. [Not all parents would have the confidence to do that?]

Yes, I am sure, especially Māori parents. Like my husband, he's in his 50s but he is still not all that great with teachers. It's a formative thing from your

childhood days at school, they remember. Teachers know best and you don't go and argue with them. They must know better and the kid must be at fault.

[Even if they think the kid is not at fault it takes a lot of courage to go along and question the school about something like that.]

Yes, and to be strong and to stand up for what you believe in. I remember one time [after talking with the teacher] I'd just had enough. I came home and made Jason bend over the bed, pulled his pants down and gave him a good whack with a jandal. Then I felt terrible after that. What happened is that I had reached a point that I was so angry with him having people come to us about him. I only did that once in his whole life. I felt so awful. I thought this isn't going to work but I know people who have gone beyond that Bedford is a very small place, everybody knows everybody else and we have to put up with Jason's reputation preceding him even in the street.

Another participant told of the continuing struggle she faced in getting her son's needs provided for. A working, solo mother she chose to remove Huriwai from kōhanga reo due to their irregular hours. Because of his severe disability the daycare centre she approached would only agree to take him if they received additional help. Unfortunately this was not forthcoming as the district's Education Support Worker (ESW) hours had already been allocated. Huriwai's mother went from organisation to organisation to get funding for an ESW for her son. SES finally allocated the centre a half-hour, three times a week but they could not manage on this and Huriwai's mother was asked to withdraw her son. Nowadays Huriwai has returned to daycare and is receiving three hours ESW help daily but the holidays have presented a problem. Although his mother was entitled to three weeks annual holiday from her job this has been "spent on sickness, hospital visits and operations" leaving nothing for preschool holidays. Feeling that she had already drawn too much on the good will of family and friends, Huriwai's mother decided to give up a job she enjoyed to care for her son. She noted that while she likes being home with Huriwai and not having the hassle of continually looking for babysitters, she now faces financial concerns.

Another mother noted that she had difficulty accessing early childhood special education services because she was considered a "neurotic" parent: "Now because

Tamati's got a label [Aspergers Syndrome] they have finally taken that over-anxious and neurotic label away from me – exciting, and he's 11!" Even when services were readily provided, parents reported being stressed by various procedures, for example, the IEP meeting: "When you've got a whole bunch of experts lined up I found it intimidating."

8. Empowering

In discussing parental involvement, the importance of empowerment was mentioned in all kōhanga reo hui. As one participant explained:

I think that's a really, really important point that whatever the system puts in place that it actually empowers people, that it doesn't make them feel like again you have failed. It's really important that they are validated, affirmed and yeah, they're made to believe that they can do it and get them the right tools and information.

Two good examples of empowerment were:

As a teacher I had a hui with a mother and an SES member who was a Māori women. We sat down and all talked about different options of how to help a child with severe learning difficulties. The suggestions that were given were for all of us. It wasn't directed at any one person. It wasn't directed at the teacher, and it wasn't directed at the mother and we all had things that we needed to do to try and help this child learn. And the things that were given to the mother were really practical things that were easy for her to do. They were things that she was actually already doing but she was made aware of how she could make the situation clearer for the child at home. For example, when she's cooking tea you know counting out the potatoes so that she could help you. The reason I've put that as being successful is that the parent really enjoyed that hui and felt that she was given a lot of, I suppose, direction but yeah, it was the power for her to actually do it. She felt before that it was out of her control and it was given back to her to try and do it and there were results She was empowered and she was able to empower her own child and that was good.

At our kura, we [parents] have been very involved right down to ... well my child is covered by ACC. I invoice them for his teacher aide hours. I took that over because it is easier and simpler for me to do that to make sure it happened because sometimes it is really, really time-consuming to have bureaucratic hiccups and parents found that the bureaucracy had fewer defences against parents doing things like that. I have found that if there is a hiccup like that with SES or ACC, if it is the parents that ring up and say, "You're disadvantaging my child," the actions are quicker than you would get if it was the school because it stopped being bureaucracy fighting bureaucracy, it's a parent saying, "Oi!"

Cultural Factors

Personnel Requirements

Participants recommended that people working with Māori learners with special needs should have the following prerequisites:

1. Knowledge of Māori Culture and Te Reo Māori

They should "fully understand the linguistic, cultural and spiritual background of Māori." This involves gaining knowledge of cultural values, concepts, beliefs and practices and the implications these have for the identification and servicing of learners with special needs. Participants stated that professionals need not necessarily be Māori but that they must have cultural expertise, be respectful of Māori values and able to relate well to Māori children and adults.

In order to work effectively with Māori learners with special needs in Māori-medium education, people must either be able to speak Māori themselves or be partnered with a person who can translate for them. Stories were told of special education professionals without cultural and reo expertise going into kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori and ending up with inaccurate assessments either because the children did not understand them or they did not understand what was happening. One mother explained:

My child's disability is a social disability The psychologist came in to observe him playing in the playground at lunchtime Her observation of the socialisation that was going on was that he was appearing to be having a really

good time but that he needed to develop some functional skills for cricket. It was bizarre. In actual fact he hadn't been having a really good time. He had finished the game in tears because he hadn't really understood what was going on. Nobody had explained how they were playing this particular game and he needed to know this before he could start. I came in towards the tail end and he was really, really upset and that was the [psychologist's] comment! [She needed to understand te reo to know what was happening?] Yes, and she couldn't read the social moves. This idea that body language is the same no matter what culture is simply not true and so she couldn't read the body language. She really didn't know what was going on. It wasn't just the reo. It was body language and other things too.

On the other hand, a success story was told of how a speech language therapist who did not speak te reo provided assistance to a child in a total immersion situation by teaching his kaiako techniques and strategies to use.

A kōhanga reo participant provided a final reason for the need for knowledge of Māori culture. He had a concern that people who spoke to wairua were mistakenly being diagnosed as psychotic or emotionally disturbed and inappropriately placed or treated with drugs. He acknowledged that while this was more likely to happen to older people than to children, a local kura kaupapa had one example of a child speaking to wairua:

This situation was handled from a cultural not a disability perspective. I think the dilemma is around labels and that western labels have overtaken things which were previously quite natural in our lives and to the extent that many of those things have become lost as part of being normal so that it's only a few who have that kind of knowledge now.

2. Knowledge of Total Immersion and Bilingual Education

It was considered important that special educators who work in Māori-medium situations have a knowledge of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, total immersion and bilingual education systems and philosophies. This knowledge was thought necessary to work effectively within these contexts and to provide services for Māori learners with

special needs that were relevant to their particular circumstances. Also necessary for people working in total immersion and bilingual situations was an understanding of the educational and developmental implications of bilingualism. A number of incidences were reported where special educators had assumed the child's communication difficulties were a direct result of their bilingualism. It was believed that if the professionals in question had an understanding of the cognitive benefits of bilingualism, they would be less likely to jump to wrong conclusions and more likely to consider other possible reasons for communication problems. One teacher aide tells of her frustration in this respect:

The specialist came out and all she could say was the problem is because they are learning two languages I just felt really angry. This particular child who I'd known through kōhanga and then went into the whānau [total immersion] unit I used to awhi her an hour a day We used to have a special needs teacher who was a Pākehā lady, a really lovely lady but didn't understand kōhanga reo, didn't understand bilingual let alone total immersion and then we had this psychologist ... who invariably said it's because she's learning two languages and I used to say she has been learning two languages since she was little and it's not the reason why you know, it's just not the reason. I mean there were other problems too. She couldn't remember when she learnt things but they weren't considered. I am sick of hearing two languages as the reason because it's not true!... She [the psychologist] just did not listen It's like they are taking our skill of bilingualism and turning it into something that's negative and they shouldn't do that. It's almost like they feel inadequate because they don't understand it so they put it back onto the child and that's what really makes you angry.

3. Cross-Cultural Competence

This requirement is closely associated with number one: knowledge of Māori culture and te reo Māori. However, understanding a culture does not necessarily guarantee a person can or does put this understanding into practice. Cross-cultural competence involves, "Ways of thinking and behaving that enable members of one cultural, ethnic or linguistic group to work effectively with members of another " (Lynch & Hanson,

1992, p. 356). For example, when interacting with Māori learners, workers should have the skills and understanding needed to work in a whānau situation. These are culturally honed people skills. One participant explained:

I think I could probably live if they [the special educators] weren't Māori. But if they don't have an understanding of the Māori world I think it makes it much more difficult to even identify a family situation to go into because I don't believe you can do anything without a family support basis. What do you want us to do to help you? Rather than, we're the experts we'll tell you It has to be a whānau effort.

Having established Māori community networks to "tap into" was considered a great advantage as it facilitated information gathering, sharing, resource identification and utilisation, consultation and problem solving.

4. Commitment to Treaty of Waitangi Obligations and an Understanding of the Negative Effects of Colonisation

Participants in kōhanga reo hui felt strongly that people working with Māori adults and children needed to have an understanding of history from a Māori perspective; a knowledge of the Treaty of Waitangi; an understanding of its "practical implications," and relevance to their job; and a commitment to the obligations it entailed.

When you are talking about policies and charters, do they mention the Treaty of Waitangi? Of course they do. Every school in New Zealand will have written something about the Treaty, but do they address it? Do they even understand it? I doubt it. If they did there wouldn't be any need for the work you're doing [developing a cultural audit].

One kōhanga reo participant stated:

The key decision-makers and those that end up with the responsibility for those children, Māori children, must also understand the cultural genocide that we went through with colonisation. They must have a full understanding of that.

One participant mentioned that a true appreciation of today's negative Māori statistics could not be gained unless people were conversant with the process of colonisation and the negative social, economic, political and cultural impact this has had on Māori. Another participant who supported this view added: "Māori have had to deal with all the issues around colonisation for so long that we start off on the wrong foot." This situation needed to be understood in any consideration of special needs.

Service Requirements

Many participants recommended that the programmes and services provided for Māori learners with special needs should be supportive and valuing of Māori people and their culture. More specifically these programmes and services needed to have the following attributes:

5. Whānau-Based

Repeatedly participants stated that programmes and services should not focus solely on the individual but should be targeted to the whānau as a whole. Different aspects of whānau-based services emerged. First, it was recommended that the learner's whānau background be taken into consideration. This included a wide range of factors such as the whānau's socio-economic circumstances, educational background, past experiences with teachers and special educators, identification with and commitment to Māoritanga and their ability to speak Māori. Such factors had a considerable influence on the nature, content and success of any programme or service. It was pointed out that for some children, work with the whānau needed to precede any programme being put in place. An example was given of an excellent remedial reading programme that had failed initially because no time had been spent gaining whānau understanding and support for this programme. Once this was done, the child concerned made steady progress.

Second, the programme or service must include the whānau. One excellent example was a physiotherapist who taught a group of whānau members correct handling techniques, toileting procedures and exercises for a child who was physically disabled. As the whānau shared the care and transporting of this child, educating all concerned

was a sensible, appropriate approach. Three other scenarios involving whānau were described and all were positive experiences. One mother noted that as a result of their involvement her relatives were more sensitive to her child's special needs and the special educators were more aware of his particular whānau situation. The additional help the whānau were empowered to provide made raising her child with special needs a lot easier and less stressful.

A second participant's sister was employed as her son's Education Support Worker. The mother was enthusiastic about this arrangement as she felt she was kept fully informed of her son's progress, he was happy having his aunty at kindergarten and the aunty was able to pass skills she learned on to other whānau members. A third participant said that after her mother and sister had attended a therapy session with her, she noticed that they increased their interaction with her son who was hearing impaired: "They started playing language games with him that they had never done before."

This is quite understandable according to the comments made by one kōhanga reo participant. As a teacher aide in the mainstream she took it upon herself to visit the families of children she worked with to explain their special education programmes.

When the child goes home you are expecting that child to communicate with the family if they want help. Sometimes it is not that the parents don't want to help, it's that they don't know they can help or how they can help.

This particular participant recommended that instead of a teacher aide being employed, a member of the child's whānau, preferably the mother, should be paid to come into school and work with the child:

If they have been helping at school they would appreciate the value of it and maybe then do it at home as well [They would learn what to do?] Yea. I didn't learn until I was a teacher aide. So you know about getting the whānau involved, I'm really into that because people are expecting parents to know too much. As a teacher aide, all your planning, all your programmes and everything like that will go right down the poo hole if you haven't got family support.

A kōhanga reo teacher explained that whānau involvement extended beyond the biological whānau to the educational whānau. She described a hypothetical situation of Rangi Smith, a hearing impaired child entering their kōhanga:

[I would say] little Rangi Smith was special and we have to really support and be proud of Rangi Smith. Rangi was going to do different things. We had to help him because Rangi couldn't hear. And so what were the things we could do because we could hear, and how are we all, all of us, you know both 3, 4 and 40 year olds, going to be positive towards Rangi because all of us have a role?

However, the issue of including whānau was an area of major concern for two people. One mother felt "whānau" were being used to save money and evade responsibility for service provision. She explained:

Too many places expect Māori to use their extended whānau whereas there is nothing to say that a Pākehā doesn't have an extended whānau. I know many of them do. The responses I have had are, "Haven't you got any family that can help?".... My family all work. They rally around when they can but I don't like to ask them to take days off work to mind him and why should they? Why should I look to my family to help when the same response is not applied to a non-Māori person? "Can't your Nan come in?" She would if she could but I am not going to expect that of her and plus why do they want her? Because she costs nothing!... They just think of whānau as a cheap option The funding needs to be looked at as well. If I choose someone that I feel comfortable to come in as his aide, why can that person not be paid? Yet someone who is of no relationship to me and is chosen by them is paid! There are dual standards. They say, "Can't you get any money from those Māori organisations?" You are the agency that funds it so you should fund it!

The second mother noted that in her efforts to enable an English-medium early childhood centre to include te reo for her son, she spent so much time trying to teach

staff some reo that her own family was neglected. She felt that the Ministry of Education should be providing this service, not her or other Māori parents.

A third facet of whānau-based services was the acknowledgement that a learner's special needs impact on the whole family and that services should be available to all members in need, not just the individual child:

I am conscious that the Ministry looks at the child, not the siblings but no family operates in isolation Tamati does silly things because that is part of the deal [his disability] and she [Tamati's sister] cops the flack. Nobody looked at that and said, "Maybe this kid needs time out. Maybe she needs attention" and this is the wider whānau thing and this is being dealt with here at kura We can't get services that look at us holistically, that look at whānau. They look at these kids in isolation.

6. Include Māori Workers

Many participants mentioned the need for more Māori in special education. Although it has been previously stated that people working with Māori learners with special needs need not be Māori if they have the necessary cultural expertise, there was general agreement among kōhanga reo participants and some parents that Māori workers were preferable for a number of reasons. Many participants mentioned feeling more "comfortable" dealing with other Māori. As one mother explained:

There needs to be more Māori people involved in these services. The person that got me registered was a Māori I feel comfortable talking to anybody of any ethnicity but I felt more comfortable with her, as a starter anyhow I really did feel comfortable about it having her on my side; her understanding my particular cultural needs also fighting [for services] for me.

There was concurrence amongst kōhanga reo participants that many Māori learners work best with Māori adults because they can relate to them. One mother told of how her son "bonds naturally with Māori. I've seen it with the Māori nurse at hospital and at other times. That's why I would prefer Karl to have a Māori helper." Another mother whose son was hearing impaired was even more specific. She asked SES if her son

could be provided with a helper who was both Māori and male. "Tyrone relates well to Māori men. He doesn't muck around with them. "

A kōhanga reo participant recalling her own school days remarked:

At college you noticed it like when we went into Māori class. We got on really well with the Māori teacher and he always took time out to talk about things that weren't going on in the class too. But all the other classes, you were just like a face in the other classrooms. That's what I felt anyway.

One suggestion was that the ancillary help employed to work with Māori learners with special needs should be Māori. The inclusion of kuia and koro was considered important not only for their mana and wisdom but also to create a multigenerational workforce that children would feel "at home" amongst.

Three other benefits of having Māori workers were mentioned. First, their value as role models:

I see that Māori should be there for that model role. We need to change the attitude of a lot of Māori people who are seeing the negative side Māori are not achieving and they see statistics after statistics saying Māori can't do this and Māori can't do that. We need to turn that around, put the Māori achievers in front of them If the kids see it they are going to grow up saying, "Hey, yeah, I want to be like that Māori person." It's just a change in attitude.

Second, it was considered more likely that Māori workers would be able to use te reo and, third, that the possibility of them having an affinity with taha wairua was greater. A kōhanga reo teacher explained:

It was in kōhanga several years ago and I was cooking and looking after the babies and one of the babies convulsed, spun around and gave us a hell of a fright. Well one of the kaitiaki who was younger than me, I just got a fright, just freaked out and I didn't know what to do. Anyway I raced out to the kaitiaki and this young woman started talking to the wairua of this baby, "Tiakina, hoki mai"

[take care, return here.] We'd rung the ambulance. Their eyes had rolled back and anyway the ambulance arrived and we'd come back and this kaitiaki was still talking so I spun around to her and I said to her ... I told her what she was doing and she didn't know anything. This kaitiaki had no knowledge of her actions and I said, "Kei te kōrero koe ki te wairua" [you were talking to the child's spirit]. I know she wasn't talking to the child, she was talking to the wairua of this child and she said, "Hoki mai" because this child had already separated [the body and the spirit]. That's not a requirement that you can actually write in a job description!

Two points should be noted however. While there was agreement amongst kōhanga reo participants about the importance of having Māori staff, not everyone had positive memories of their own Māori teachers. Second, the parent and whānau group were evenly divided about the importance of Māori workers. For those who did not place a high priority on the inclusion of Māori workers, the outstanding reason given was that a person's ability to provide a quality service was the main requirement. Many parents and whānau members were so grateful for any service that Māori providers were not a priority. As long as their child received an effective programme or service from a competent teacher or special educator, the ethnicity of that person came a distant second. They felt they could not afford the luxury of being choosy. As one parent noted:

Services are available to our kids but you have to compromise. If you didn't start compromising back in early intervention, then how the hell would you cope? In an ideal world you wouldn't have to compromise.

Another person who was a staunch advocate of Māori-for-Māori services noted that in times of emergency, "As long as he gets seen to, it could be by a green Martian, I don't care!"

7. Include Māori Content, Reo and Resources

All kōhanga reo participants and approximately two thirds of the parent and whānau group strongly supported the inclusion of cultural content in special education

programmes and services. Specifically mentioned were waiata, karakia, kapahaka, legends, Māori arts and craft, tikanga, whakapapa, kēmu Māori and history. They felt that Māori learners with special needs were just as entitled to an education that was culturally relevant as those without special needs. Participants explained that the inclusion of cultural content demonstrated to learners that their culture was valued and important. It enhanced their self-esteem, self-confidence, Māori identity and cultural development. As one mother bluntly put it, "Maurice needs Māori things in his education because he IS Māori."

In response to a question concerning the importance of cultural content, two kōhanga reo participants noted:

At school having te reo, Māori teachers, kaumātua and kapahaka gave me a really strong sense of belonging and I felt more positive in having that there as opposed to not having it. I have been in a school where that hasn't been available and because I look like a Māori, there are expectations there, from other people but there is no support. But when I went to Tamarapa College and there was a lot of reo going around, there was kapahaka and things like that, I felt protected and I felt a sense of belonging.

In their uniforms [with koru patterns on them] I don't see them with their heads down. They've always got their heads up so it [cultural input] does matter. It's about self-esteem. It's all about Māori culture. We don't send them to school just for te reo I hope. It's all Māori culture, isn't it? So yeah, kapahaka and stuff is important.

However, of the 30 children and youth involved in this research only four parents reported that their child's Māori culture had at some time been taken into consideration by special education professionals. This was identified as a major area of weakness.

The specific inclusion of te reo Māori in special education programmes was an obvious priority for kōhanga reo participants but only one third of the parent and whānau group

requested its inclusion. Of this one third, half of the children concerned were in Māori-medium education and the other half were in the mainstream.

Two thirds of the parent and whānau group either did not mention te reo or did not see it as being important for their children. A variety of reasons were given for this. Some participants did not believe te reo was relevant to achieving in today's world. Others believed that the nature or severity of their child's special needs or their young age made reo input irrelevant. As one father whose daughter was severely disabled commented: "She can't even speak English so what is the point of talking to her in Māori. It would only make things more difficult." One parent was concerned about the wrong tribal dialect being taught. Another whose daughter had articulation problems thought that Māori pronunciation would be more difficult for her than English. A third person was satisfied that her child was being taught te reo by her family so did not need it in her special education programme while a fourth person commented: "Jacob gets plenty of Māori in his ordinary classroom so that's enough." A final reason given was: "It would be good if he could have Māori later, at about ten when these other things [his special needs] have been sorted out."

In discussing resources used in special education programmes, one mother suggested that the practice words and sheets her child was given by the speech language therapist should include Māori words and illustrate Māori experiences. In the kōhanga reo hui a concern was expressed about special education forms, materials and resources that were adopted "as is" or translated into Māori:

Pākehā resources present a worldview that is not Māori. Simply translating that resource into Māori does not make it culturally appropriate.

Participants believed that these forms, materials and resources should be developed "by Māori for Māori."

8. Utilize Culturally Appropriate, Relevant Identification and Assessment Measures, Procedures and Teaching Strategies

For children in Māori-medium situations, assessment should be in te reo Māori and involve measures developed especially for Māori speakers. One mother whose son attended kōhanga reo and then a kura kaupapa Māori complained that it took years for her son to be diagnosed as having Aspergers Syndrome. She believed that one of the major contributing factors to this delay in identification was the lack of linguistically and culturally appropriate assessment measures and the shortage of people qualified to administer them.

Following is a discussion that took place in one kōhanga reo hui. It clearly illustrates some of the assessment problems associated with bilingualism.

(1) Well when I had my son and I tried to find someone to check his speech I had to go through the Pākehā system and they couldn't actually check it properly and I got the same excuses about him being in bilingual education causing his speech problems. I put in that my other two children are in bilingual education and they don't have the same problem but she just brushed it aside and I went oh ... you know, why bother!...

(2) One of the big barriers as far as children going through kōhanga and immersion units is those people who train up to be specialists they don't know anything about te reo and the speaking of the language and the living of the language in kōhanga and that it is, in a lot of ways, it's a big turn around as opposed to the English language. I found that with one of the kids that I was dealing with last year this specialist would do these games and always ask the same question: "What isn't there?" And I kept saying to her, "He doesn't understand what you're saying. He's come through kōhanga. We don't speak about what's not there, we speak about what is there." She just kept doing it and I kept saying to her, "Look lady, he doesn't understand what you mean by what is not there, what isn't there, but if you asked him what is there he will tell you." It's the culture of the language you see, the structure of the language and how you implement it, the way you say things Māori people do not ask what isn't there, what they say is, "What is in front of you? What do you see? What do you know?" They don't ask you what don't you know and this is what I kept telling this specialist and she was really young and she just kept brushing me off. I was

trying to actually explain to her why she wasn't getting through to this kid ... and I thought well this is a big problem because the specialist isn't listening to what I'm saying and it was culturally inappropriate for her to be asking questions like that She didn't have that understanding of the different structures. If you test them within the structure that they know then you can get an accurate assessment of where they are. If you test them in a structure that they don't know, well you know

(1) Yeah so they've got to feel safe and awhied too, you are saying, don't they? Because there's not really a way of introducing in English, like they most likely just sit there. They don't get to know the child first.

(3) They don't have that whanaungatanga, that sort of thing.

(2) Yeah, and I sort of think, our kids are probably getting marked down for being culturally different rather than just on their abilities.

While Māori children who do not speak te reo do not require assessment measures in the Māori language, many participants noted that the instruments used should be culturally and ecologically relevant.

Similar to the situation for assessment, there was strong support for the use of culturally appropriate consultation, organisation and teaching strategies. In respect to teaching, strategies and arrangements such as whānau grouping; tuakana-teina partnerships; practical, fun-based learning experiences; and flexible, decompartmentalised scheduling were all supported. In considering consultation, emphasis was placed on talking with kaumātua and whānau. One participant noted the clash between Pākehā and Māori approaches:

And it's not private, that's the thing I noticed about IEP meetings and all that kind of stuff. It's all very touchy, touchy, you know the Privacy Act and look out if you say something out of place and make sure you don't go down the road and talk about so and so because it's private! You know Māori people are not like that. Māori people share an issue because the more people that know about it the less of an issue it is and the more people that know about it the more people that

will come forward who are willing to do something. It is a totally different approach to how the system would have us do things.

Another participant noted a further difference in approach and environment. She was employed as a teacher aide in mainstream classes while her own children were in the total immersion unit. She observed that:

In the whānau unit it's really noisy and those kids might be working and they're singing a waiata or they might be having a big kōrero, walking around but they're learning, you know. There is kōrero going on, there's input. But you go into the mainstream and it's all quiet because if you talk and move around then you can't be learning The whole classroom culture is different ... and the other thing is that nobody hugs. I mean my kids they adore their teacher and most kids really like their teachers but my kids' teachers give it back and they hug the kids. The mainstream teachers care about the kids its just that there's a gap - the child stands here and the teacher stands there. I'm sure our kids [total immersion students] with special needs learn better because of it.

9. Based on and Incorporate Māori Values, Perspectives and Perceptions of Special Needs

The broad, inclusive concept of special needs that emerged from consultation in this research phase has been described earlier in this chapter. Participants' stories revealed that these special needs were being met to a greater or lesser extent depending on a multitude of contributing factors. There was no question, however, that these needs should be provided for.

It was also believed by many participants that Māori values should be both at the foundation and an integral part of all special education programmes and services. This would result in a multi-dimensional, holistic approach to meeting special needs.

At the end of the day with special needs, you know what we're talking about is healing and in the Māori world healing is done on the marae and hinengaro, tinana, wairua and whānau. There are four elements. In the Pākehā world, it's

not. Those elements aren't part of the healing process. In a holistic approach to special needs we have to look at those four areas.

Other values cited as being important were mana tāngata, manaakitanga, awhi, tautoko and aroha. One teacher aide noted that she had experienced considerable success with two boys with ADD [Attention Deficit Disorder] when they were placed in a whānau environment and given responsibility for looking after a baby:

I found it interesting that both these kids were actually really caring and giving them something vulnerable like a baby kind of helped them focus and find something really caring inside themselves. I wonder whether instead of looking at behavioural problems as problems, we should be finding the triggers that bring out these positive things. I don't know if that is part of the holistic thing.

A grandmother pointed out that sometimes problems could be traced directly to the replacing of Māori values and expectations with Pākehā values and expectations. The example she gave was of Māori girls speaking out in class:

And then there is the perception that particularly girls need to speak out I have been to meetings where teachers have said, "How do we get our Māori children to speak up?" and I have said, "Do they want to?" "They don't, they won't speak. We must make them speak out" and it is this Pākehā perception that women have got to learn to speak out for themselves nowadays It is putting a Pākehā cultural expectation that people should speak out on to Māori children These girls don't need to speak out. They will later when they are ready We still overload the Pākehā expectations on Māori kids It becomes a special need. We waste money I get more and more annoyed with Pākehā every day because they believe it has got to be like their way all the time.

In a similar vein one kōhanga reo participant stated that many problems faced by Māori children arose from teachers' failure to recognise and provide for cultural difference: "They say I treat my classroom as one, they're all equal to me. They mean well but they are not recognising that difference." Another kōhanga reo participant questioned the

whole concept of special education saying it was not based on Māori values. She pointed out that as the needs of all children were special there should not be any separate system or funding for special education.

If in Māori, he mana ko te tamaiti [each child has mana] then no matter what, we would look at each child and we would gear our learning and programme, we would design a learning environment for each child. I think we would be at fault to follow, to continue to follow, the Pākehā way of dealing with all kids, of slicing it all up and having an add-on approach to resourcing in a way that, the context from which this has come i.e. more resources for kids with disabilities because they are special. Okay so coming back to me, a Māori perspective, I would rather it be viewed as, “What is the Māori perspective on catering for children's learning needs?” and build our education around that and I don't believe it happens in the current system. I believe we have to be given the resources with Māori to devise our own systems The way to go about addressing conditions is to go back to the drawing board and not take the Pākehā model that you've asked us to consider.

This participant went on to explain her inclusive Māori model:

If I was to turn that around I would therefore look at how a whānau embraces children who are regarded by the system as disabled, but I would also look at each child ... in whatever area their needs are in For those of us in kōhanga and kura ought to be aware of and watching for and receiving, warming, nurturing and down the track being resourceful so that we wipe away any notion of negativity because the word “disability” and the word “behavioural difficulty” really starts us out with a negative focus. Whereas the Māori whānau, with the so-called disabled child, looks at that child lovingly and raises it. This is idyllic of course, but in terms of our values, it guides us in nurturing and awhi. If they're still going to get fed the same amount of kai at the whare kai then it will be up to them to choose how much they partake of. They will still be part of the wānanga and if they fall asleep or if they aren't able to sit in class, they're not going to be pushed out of the whare tūpuna.

In discussing the inclusion of Māori values, te reo and cultural content, one kōhanga reo participant commented:

No matter where the Māori child is I think it is critical that being Māori has to be normal In a mainstream school [by the inclusion of Māori input] you can still have an atmosphere where being Māori and speaking Māori is normal and natural even if they are not in the majority I think the most important thing is for that child to be secure and comfortable in being Māori and for that to be normal and acknowledged as normal.

Overcoming Challenges

How can the challenges described previously be overcome?

Kōhanga reo participants were specifically asked for suggestions for overcoming barriers to effective, culturally appropriate service provision while parents and whānau were asked how the situation for their particular family member could be improved. Many of the suggestions made have been incorporated into the previous discussion. Further suggestions made by research participants are listed below. It should be noted that where recommendations address more than one challenge, to avoid repetition they have been recorded under only one heading.

General Factors

Table 9.1

Suggestions for Overcoming Challenges to Providing Effective Programmes and Services for Māori Learners With Special Needs.

Shortage of competent, committed professionals with people skills
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Increase special education component of preservice & inservice teacher education; ◆ increase training programmes for special educators e.g. more SLT training; ◆ make people skills training compulsory for all involved in special education; ◆ employ more people in special education; ◆ employ world experts to upskill those working with learners with rare conditions; ◆ increase collaboration and sharing of knowledge amongst professionals.
Lack of or insufficient special education services and programmes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Increase special education funding; ◆ decrease "red tape" so more money is spent on services rather than administration; ◆ increase "top of the cliff" services so fewer "bottom of the cliff" services are needed
Inaccessibility and lack of knowledge about services and programmes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ increase advertising of services and entitlements especially at venues and in publications popular with Māori; ◆ provide services at convenient locations; ◆ increase itinerant services including home and rural visits; ◆ provide transport and baby-sitting facilities to enable parents to attend meetings; ◆ allow greater flexibility of meeting time and venue; ◆ provide financial assistance where needed.
Poor quality services and programmes and poor home-school relationships
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ emphasize the positive in parent-teacher/SES meetings rather than weaknesses; ◆ get best teacher-pupil match by strategic placement; ◆ affirm parents in their efforts to help their children & teach strategies they can use; ◆ use jargon-free language and user-friendly means to communicate with parents & whānau; ◆ increase equipment allocation including computers & signing aides; ◆ reduce class size to create low pupil-teacher ratio; ◆ establish home-school notebook system; ◆ increase teacher & special educator contact re child's programme & progress; ◆ employ parents to do special education-related administrative work; ◆ establish special needs group of parents & teachers to advise, write policy etc.
Parental stress
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ involve whānau in service provision; ◆ use Māori community networks to support parents; ◆ give option of having IEP/IDP meetings in the home; ◆ establish school "parent-to-parent" support group, which meets regularly, shares knowledge & welcomes new parents.

Cultural Factors

Table 9.2

Suggestions for Overcoming Challenges to Providing Culturally Appropriate Programmes and Services for Māori Learners With Special Needs.

Shortage of professionals with cultural & reo expertise, cross-cultural competence, knowledge of Māori-medium education & Treaty of Waitangi obligations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Include experience in a kohanga reo in preservice teacher training; ◆ provide teachers with short, compulsory, weekly lessons on basic reo, pronunciation, tikanga & waiata; ◆ make te reo & Māori culture compulsory for all teacher trainees; ◆ consult parents & whānau about correct pronunciation of Māori words; ◆ include ability & requirement to use te reo in job advertisements & descriptions; ◆ include Māori history and Treaty of Waitangi in school curriculum; ◆ consult bilingual unit teachers about Māori issues & content in the mainstream.
Shortage of Māori involved in special education
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Wānanga develop and offer special education training; ◆ provide marae-based special education & resource development training for whānau & Māori community members to build up a pool of potential helpers; ◆ employ family members to be in-class “minders” for students with severe behaviour problems & as teacher aides for those with learning problems; ◆ Māori to control & manage services provided to Māori; ◆ whānau have input into special education staff selection; ◆ increase consultation with kaumātua; ◆ provide Māori tertiary scholarships in areas where there is a shortage of Māori; ◆ increase teachers' pay.
Lack of whānau-based, culturally appropriate programmes & services, resources, & assessments based on Māori values & Māori perceptions of special needs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ include peers in school interventions & siblings in home exercises e.g. speech games; ◆ employ Māori teacher aide to liaise & work with whānau & make home visits; ◆ teacher aide or teacher to accompany SES professional on home visits to “de-jargon” conversation; ◆ use natural resources in teaching activities; ◆ specialists use whakawhanaungatanga for rapport-building before testing children; ◆ cluster Māori-medium education facilities together for RTLB servicing; ◆ provide extra funding for Māori-medium services to allow whānau approach; ◆ Māori trusts & iwi organisations fund services for Māori with special needs; ◆ invite parents & whānau members to all special education assessments.
Negative stereotyping & treatment of Māori & lowered expectations of Māori learners
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Co-opt Māori parents onto BoT; ◆ make Māori a compulsory subject in all schools; ◆ teach all students about the Treaty of Waitangi; ◆ teachers use basic reo and greetings with all students; ◆ highlight Māori role models in all schools; ◆ establish a scheme where Māori role models tour Aotearoa/New Zealand schools.

Problems specific to Māori-medium education
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Lower pupil-teacher ratio in Māori-medium education; ◆ target inservice special education courses for Māori-medium teachers; ◆ provide extra support for children moving from total immersion to mainstream; ◆ lobby IHC & other organisations to provide programmes & support in te reo; ◆ pair Māori speakers with researchers to increase special needs research in Māori-medium education.
Reluctance of Māori learners, parents and whānau to seek help
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Provide supportive environment where services & resources are presented as an entitlement; ◆ itinerant service providers visit homes, marae, & Māori-medium facilities; ◆ establish a roster for buddy support of children with special needs; ◆ send special needs information kit to all parents of children with special needs; ◆ parents with special needs children share their experiences at marae meetings.
Varying demand for cultural & reo input in special education
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Consult parents about degree of cultural and reo input desired; ◆ give parents choice of total immersion, bilingual or mainstream placement for their children.

SUMMARY

This chapter presents a picture of special education programmes and services as seen through the eyes of approximately 50 kōhanga reo participants, the parents and whānau of 30 Māori learners with special needs and four of these learners themselves.

Eight general and nine cultural categories outlining requirements considered necessary for culturally appropriate, effective services and programmes are listed. The personnel requirements include professional, cultural and linguistic knowledge and expertise, people skills, cross-cultural competence, job commitment, a positive, caring attitude, an understanding of Māori history and a commitment to Treaty of Waitangi obligations. The service requirements include sufficient, well advertised, easily accessible, quality services and programmes that: empower parents, whānau and Māori workers; incorporate cultural and reo content and culturally appropriate teaching strategies, measures, identification and assessment procedures; and are based on Māori values, perspectives and perceptions of special needs. The challenges parents, whānau and learners with special needs have faced when these factors were absent are described and their suggestions for improvements are presented.

This chapter also includes a description of the broad concept of special needs that emerged from participants' discussion and experiences. It is a concept that is wider and more far-reaching than that on which current special education services in Aotearoa/New Zealand are based. Overall, the situation for Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau revealed by participants in this chapter is a major cause for concern.

CHAPTER TEN: BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER

Ka mahi koe te whare ō te mātā
You are making a nest for the fernbird

INTRODUCTION

The introductory whakataūāki refers to the art of raranga (weaving). The process of weaving and purpose of woven garments are likened to the fernbird's nest building. This chapter performs a similar function in that it draws together the threads of previous chapters and weaves them into a completed form. This weaving process provides answers to a series of questions reflecting the aims of this research. These questions are:

1. What is the present situation for Māori learners with special needs?
2. What are the main challenges to culturally appropriate, effective service provision?
3. How can Māori learners with special needs have their needs met in a culturally appropriate and effective way?
4. How can the challenges to culturally appropriate, effective service provision be overcome?
5. What predominant themes and issues emerged from the various research phases?

THE PRESENT SITUATION FOR MĀORI LEARNERS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

The historical analysis of special education and Māori education in chapter two revealed that generally Māori learners with special needs have been inadequately provided for in the Aotearoa/New Zealand education system (Currie, 1962; DoE, 1987; Glass, 1977; Hunn, 1961; Kaai-Oldman, 1988; MoE, 1991a, 1991b; Smith, L. T., 1985). The belated recognition of this situation has resulted in the introduction of a range of programmes, strategies and research specifically focused on identifying and meeting the needs of these learners, their parents and whānau (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Glynn & Macfarlane, 1999; IHC, 1989;

Macfarlane, 2000a, 2000b; Massey University, 1999, 2001, in press; MoE & TPK, 1997; Puketapu, 1998; Te Roopu Manaaki i te Hunga Haua, 1988; Wilkie, 1999, 2001). In particular, S.E.S. has developed a number of services and programmes especially for Māori learners with special needs (Austin, 1992; Atvars, Berryman, Glynn & Walker, 1995; Berryman, et al., 2000; Berryman, et al., 2002; Butterworth, 1996; Glynn, Atvars, Furlong & Teddy, 1993; Glynn, Berryman, Atvars & Harawira, 1997; Glynn, Berryman, Atvars et al., 1997; Kana & Harawira, 1995; Mackey, 1995; Mohi & McCudden, 1994). Their efforts have been spearheaded by the Poutama Pounamu Education Research and Development Centre which has been instrumental in researching, developing and introducing a number of successful and effective programmes into Aotearoa/New Zealand schools.⁸³

Findings from recent research on special education provisions for Māori learners with special needs are mixed. Wilkie (2001) described various successful programmes and services and the Poutama Pounamu Research Team (Berryman et al., 2002) identified a number of effective SES interventions. It should be noted, however, that the specific aim of both these studies was to identify and describe examples of successful programmes and services. Evaluative research with a broader focus presents a far more negative picture. For example, a significant shortage of culturally appropriate provisions for Māori learners with special needs especially those in Māori-medium education was found by Bevan-Brown and Bevan-Brown (1999); Cullen and Bevan-Brown (1999); Duckworth and ACNeilsen, (1999); Massey University (1999, 2001; in press); MoH (2001); Schwarz and Gillon (1999); Wilkie (1999, 2001); and Wylie (2000). Wylie (2000) also found that Māori learners with special needs were being disadvantaged by inequitable practices that limited their access to special education funding and services, while the Massey University research (1999, 2001; in press) revealed low satisfaction and effectiveness rates for most of the SE2000 initiatives. On a positive note, the Massey University Team also found that the RTLB and SEG initiatives were proving beneficial for Māori learners with special needs.

⁸³ See chapter three: Programmes and Services for Māori Learners with Special Needs for details of these programmes. Despite the effectiveness these programmes research interviews have shown they need wider dissemination and application to benefit larger numbers of Māori learners with special needs.

Similar “mixed findings” have emerged from this present research. The organisational survey showed that 42 special education, Māori, disability and support organisations were providing a wide range of programmes and services specifically developed or adapted for Māori.⁸⁴ There was also a variety of strategies being used in the Active Protection, Process, Equality and Accessibility categories. However, of concern are the 24 organisations (33%) that were doing nothing at all to provide for Māori children and youth with special needs and the limited range of strategies being used in the Partnership, Participation, Empowerment and Tino Rangatiratanga, Environment, Policy and Assessment categories.⁸⁵

In the cultural audit phase of the research the analysis of the overall performance of the 11 educational establishments involved in the audit trials revealed that they were making genuine efforts to support and include Māori culture and te reo in culturally appropriate ways. They were also using a wide variety of strategies in the Equality, Accessibility and Participation categories. However, these establishments were not involving Māori to any great extent in the development and monitoring of policies. Partnership activities were scarce, Assessment rarely incorporated cultural components and there was limited evidence of the principle of Integration in relation to working with other organisations and providing holistic educational programmes and services.⁸⁶

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The parent, whānau, children and youth component of the research revealed mainly negative findings in respect to the present situation for Māori learners with special needs. Although the degree of negativity was influenced by the nature of the sample involved, the fact remains that many parents and whānau believed that their children

⁸⁴ See chapter seven: Positive Strategies.

⁸⁵ See chapter six: Table 6.9

⁸⁶ See chapter eight: Overall Performance and Table 8.2

⁸⁷ A comparison of the number and range of strategies used by organisations involved in the survey and educational establishments involved in the cultural audit trials revealed that there were some strengths and weaknesses in common. These were strengths in the Active Protection, Process, Equality and Accessibility categories and weaknesses in the areas of Partnership, Assessment and Policy. These similarities could be an indication of wider societal strengths and weaknesses. Equally, they could reflect a possible fault of the cultural audit measure as discussed in chapter eight, page 243.

were missing out on needed services or that the programmes and services they were receiving were inadequate, culturally inappropriate and ineffective. Parents and whānau reported that only four of a possible thirty children and youth had received any cultural input into their special education programmes or services. Children involved in Māori-medium education were considered to be particularly disadvantaged.⁸⁸

Overall, this present study revealed a wide variation in provisions for Māori learners with special needs. While there has been steady improvement in special education services for Māori learners over the last 15 years and while there are currently some excellent programmes and services being offered,⁸⁹ in general Māori learners with special needs are still not being adequately provided for.

CHALLENGES TO CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE, EFFECTIVE SERVICE PROVISION

A review of the literature reveals a myriad of barriers to providing and receiving culturally appropriate, effective services. For example, 60 different challenges were identified by Massey University (1999; 2001) and are presented in chapter three: Table 3.1. A wide range of challenges was also identified in this present research. The organisation survey, for example, revealed 39 different challenges.⁹⁰ However, a comparison of data from the organisation survey, cultural audit phase and consultation with parents, children, youth and whānau⁹¹ shows two challenges of particular concern. These are:

1. A Widespread Shortage of Culturally Appropriate Services, Programmes, Resources and People With the Cultural, Reo and Professional Expertise Needed to Work With Māori Learners With Special Needs.

In all research phases participants complained about the lack of culturally appropriate services, programmes and resources. The principal cause of this situation was the

⁸⁸ See interview analysis throughout chapter nine.

⁸⁹ See chapter three: Current Initiatives in Māori Education; Special Education 2000 - Provisions; Programmes and Services for Māori Learners With Special Needs.

⁹⁰ See chapter seven: Challenges.

⁹¹ Unless otherwise stated, parent and whānau consultation includes input from all kōhanga reo hui.

shortage of people who have both the professional and cultural expertise needed to provide these services, programmes and resources. Forty one organisations reported having no person with particular responsibility for or expertise in providing for Māori with special needs;⁹² staff at both English-medium and Māori-medium education facilities complained about the lack of special education professionals with cultural knowledge; English-medium facilities also commented on their own staff's lack of cultural knowledge while kōhanga reo whānau remarked on the lack of special education expertise amongst their kaiako.

Consultation with parents and whānau confirmed the lack of special education professionals and teachers with both special education and cultural expertise in English-medium and Māori-medium education.⁹³ Where people with the necessary cultural and professional expertise were available, it was reported by participants in all research phases that these people were spread too thinly. They were over-worked and under a great deal of stress. As a consequence, high burnout and attrition rates led to a vicious circle of inadequate service provision.⁹⁴

A second reason given for the shortage of culturally appropriate services, programmes and resources was a lack of funding for their development and implementation. Parents, whānau, organisations and educational establishments alike called for increased funding to reduce understaffing, to enable the development and establishment of new culturally appropriate provisions and to increase the availability of existing programmes and services.⁹⁵

The widespread shortage of culturally appropriate services, programmes and resources and the reasons for this shortage identified in the present research concur with findings in the Aotearoa/New Zealand literature (see, for example, Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Duckworth & ACNeilsen, 1999; Massey

⁹² See chapter seven: Table 7.2.

⁹³ See chapter nine: Cultural Factors: Personnel Requirements.

⁹⁴ See, for example, chapter seven: Major Barriers.

⁹⁵ See, for example, chapter seven: Major Barriers; chapter nine: Cultural Factors: Service Requirements.

University, 1999, 2001; in press; MoH, 2001b; Schwarz and Gillon, 1999; Wilkie, 1999, 2001; Wylie, 2000).

The international literature showed that this shortage of culturally competent personnel, programmes and services is not peculiar to Aotearoa/New Zealand. In fact, it emerged as one of the four major international challenges facing effective service provision for ethnic minority and indigenous learners with special needs (see, for example, Artiles, 2000; CEC, n.d.; Cook & Boe, 1995; Denney et al., 2001; Grossman, H., 1995, 1998; Kea & Utley, 1998; Lynch & Hanson, 1992, 1998; Obiakor, 2000; Ornelles & Goetz, 2001; Talbert-Johnson, 1998).

2. Societal and Individual Beliefs and Attitudes That Are Detrimental to Māori Learners With Special Needs, Their Parents and Their Whānau

A variety of detrimental beliefs and attitudes were identified in the organisation survey, cultural audit phase, parental and whānau consultation and literature review. These beliefs and attitudes were evident at an individual level amongst teachers, special educators and medical professionals and, at the societal level, were reflected in systems, practices and ideologies that disadvantaged Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau (see, for example, Adams et al, 2000; Ballard, 1992, 1999a; Bishop & Glynn, 1999b; Penetito, 1986).

The organisation survey revealed that providing culturally appropriate programmes and services was a low priority for many organisations. A number were reluctant to accept and incorporate Māori values, concepts and ways of working while others did not think the expense involved in developing and delivering culturally appropriate services was justified unless they had large numbers of Māori clients.⁹⁶

In the cultural audit trials, a number of teachers believed that the provision of culturally effective services was the responsibility of Māori teachers and those who taught in bilingual or total immersion units. They did not consider the issue of cultural

⁹⁶ See chapter 7: Challenges; & Pākehā-Centric Attitudes Towards Special Needs Provision

appropriateness a school-wide concern or responsibility.⁹⁷ It can also be hypothesised that the low response rate⁹⁸ in the cultural audit trials and the lack of commitment⁹⁹ of some teachers involved was, in part, attributable to the low priority given to providing culturally appropriate programmes.

Parents and whānau reported a wide range of negative attitudes amongst teachers, special educators and medical professionals. Participants told stories of racial prejudice and negative stereotyping, of their concerns being ignored or disbelieved and of being blamed for their children's special needs. Also reported were tokenism, disinterest, unfair treatment of Māori learners and low teacher expectation which sometimes led to self-fulfilling prophecies.¹⁰⁰ In the main these detrimental beliefs and attitudes were exhibited by individuals. However, the issue of societal attitudes was raised by a small number of people. They felt that Māori learners both with and without special needs were being disadvantaged by being, "a colonised, minority group living in a Pākehā-centric environment" where education and medical services were firmly based on Pākehā beliefs, values and expectations.¹⁰¹

Common to all phases of the research was the belief that a learner's Māori culture was not relevant to their special needs and therefore did not need to be taken into consideration in service provision. "Māori needs are no different from anyone else's," was a typical comment.

⁹⁷ See chapter eight: A Cultural Audit for All.

⁹⁸ As reported in chapter eight, out of a potential sample of 1000+, only 11 educational establishments opted to become involved in the cultural audit trials. It is acknowledged that there would be numerous reasons for their lack of involvement, the most likely cause being the lack of time in an already over-committed schedule. Despite this, an overall response rate of < 1.1% suggests that the provision of culturally effective services for Māori learners with special needs was not a high priority for many schools.

⁹⁹ See chapter eight: Lack of Commitment.

¹⁰⁰ See chapter nine: General Factors: Personnel Requirements; Table 9.2; & Needs Associated With Society's Perception, Attitudes and Treatment of People With Disability.

¹⁰¹ See chapter nine: Needs Associated With "Being Māori".

Reasons for the detrimental beliefs and attitudes reported above are open to speculation. No doubt they include racial prejudice, power plays and ethnocentric convictions about the superiority of majority values and practices. However, Metge (1990) makes the point that most Pākehā accept their culture as the norm. Many are unaware of the influence it has on them and on the education system in Aotearoa/New Zealand. They are also unaware of how often their way of doing things offends or disadvantages others. This “cultural ignorance” means that for many Pākehā, the beliefs and attitudes identified in the research may not be intentionally detrimental. Nevertheless, these beliefs and attitudes still disadvantage Māori learners with special needs, and it can be argued, are potentially more dangerous because their negative influence remains unrecognised. You cannot change what you do not know exists!

Parental and whānau beliefs and attitudes considered detrimental to Māori learners with special needs were also reported in all research phases although these were relatively few in comparison to those reported for teachers, special educators and medical professionals. These beliefs and attitudes included the reluctance of some parents and whānau to become involved in their child’s special needs programme, service or in wider school/centre activities; their unwillingness to communicate with educators and service providers; their tendency to “go with the flow,” be whakamā in unfamiliar situations and their reluctance to “push for” services and entitlements. This reluctance to seek help when it was needed was also reported for and by Māori learners with special needs themselves and was considered a problem that hindered their progress.¹⁰²

The negative, detrimental beliefs and attitudes reported by research participants in this present study were also identified in the special education literature from Aotearoa/New Zealand (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Massey University, 1999, 2001, in press; Wilkie, 1999; Wylie, 2000). Interestingly, the same range of negative beliefs and attitudes reported by parents and whānau were identified in the interview transcripts of education professionals in the Massey University

¹⁰² See chapter nine: Certain Cultural Traits and Behaviours That Put Māori at a Disadvantage

research. This triangulation of data adds support to the findings from this present research.¹⁰³

Negative, detrimental beliefs and attitudes were also evident in the international literature (AECC, n.d.; Blanchard et al., 1999; Ford, D. Y., 1998; Franklin, 1992; Gay, 1994; Gillborn, 1997; Gorman, 1999; Grossman, H., 1995; Harry, 1992b; Ishii-Jordan, 1997; Ladner & Hammond, 2001; Lynch & Hanson, 1998; Meyer, 2001; Morgan, 1996; Morrow, 1994; Navarro & Natalicio, 1999; Nuttall, Landurand & Goldman, 1984; Oliver, 1990, 2000; Persell, 1997; Sileo & Prater, 1998; Simon, M., 2001; Smith, A., 2001; Sollis, 1996; Sparks, 2000; Vance, 1997; Webb-Johnson, 1999). In fact, as this long list of citations suggests, negative, detrimental beliefs and attitudes were identified as one of the four major international challenges facing effective service provision for ethnic minority and indigenous learners with special needs.¹⁰⁴

MEETING NEEDS, OVERCOMING CHALLENGES

How can Māori learners with special needs have their needs met in a culturally appropriate and effective way and how can the challenges that arise be overcome?

These questions are at the heart of this study. They have been posed and answered in all research phases. A consideration of the data gathered leads me to the conclusion that the principles underlying culturally effective service provision in special education are very similar to those advocated for Māori research. These principles, along with a selection of research evidence that supports their adoption, are presented in Table 10.1. This is followed by a more detailed discussion of the principles and supporting data drawn from the organisation survey, cultural audit trials, consultation with parents, whānau, children and youth, historic and current analysis of special education provision for Māori learners and the international literature. Also discussed are challenges to the incorporation of these principles as well as suggestions for meeting these challenges.

¹⁰³ While the criticism may be made that this triangulation is not surprising given my involvement in the Massey University research, other researchers were also involved in the analysis of Māori-related data in the Massey University research.

¹⁰⁴ See chapter four: Negative, Detrimental Beliefs and Attitudes.

Table 10.1

Principles Underlying Culturally Effective Programmes and Services for Māori Learners With Special Needs

Principle →	Principle in Practice → → →	Research Evidence
Kaupapa Māori	Special education programmes and services should represent a Māori worldview by incorporating Māori concepts, knowledge, skills, attitudes, processes, reo, practices, customs, values and beliefs.	♦ Active protection has widest range of cultural audit entries for schools, centres and organisations.
Importance, Relevance and Beneficence	Special education should focus on areas of importance, concern and benefit to Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau. Programmes, services, methods and measures should be relevant and provide for needs and aspirations identified by parents, whānau and learners themselves.	♦ The literature review revealed Māori-relevant contexts, environments, and teaching and learning strategies are essential to programme success.
Participation	Parents, whānau, the Māori community and the learners themselves should be involved in special education provision to the extent that they choose. Similarly, teachers and special educators should be involved in the lives of their students and the Māori community to a degree that is considered appropriate by all concerned.	♦ Overseas research shows discontinuity between home and school hinders learning - parent, family & community involvement helps overcome this.
Empowerment, Tino Rangatiratanga and Māori Control	Special education provisions should result in the empowerment of Māori at multiple levels. Programmes and services should provide parents, whānau, learners with special needs and the Māori community with the skills, knowledge, means, opportunity and authority to act for themselves and to make their own decisions.	♦ Parents and whanau stories reveal the stress and despair that accompanies powerlessness. A strong plea is made by parents to have a say in their child's special education.
Accountability	Teachers, special education professionals and other providers of services to Māori learners with special needs should be accountable for the cultural and general effectiveness of their programmes and services to the learners, parents and whānau concerned and to the Māori community.	♦ A strength of the cultural audit identified by educators and kōhanga reo members is its use as a measure of accountability.
High Quality	Special education provisions should be of a high quality. As well as being culturally appropriate, they need to	♦ High quality is a service requirement stipulated in parent,

	incorporate all the components identified as “best practice” in special education.	whānau and kōhanga reo consultation.
Appropriate Personnel	People providing services to Māori learners with special needs and their whānau should have the personal, professional and cultural expertise needed. They should also be valuing and supportive of Māoritanga and the learners, parents and whānau with whom they work.	♦ A range of proactive strategies was used by educational establishments and organisations to recruit staff with professional and cultural expertise.
Equality and Accessibility	Special education provisions should be readily accessible to Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau. They should have the same rights and privileges as other learners and experience equitable access, use and outcomes in their education.	♦ Organisation survey identifies ready accessibility as essential to the success of services and programmes.

Kaupapa Māori

Principle in Practice

This principle requires that special education programmes and services represent a Māori worldview by incorporating Māori concepts, knowledge, skills, attitudes, processes, reo, practices, customs, values and beliefs.

Research Evidence

The incorporation of cultural input is a major focus of the cultural audit. It is embodied in the principle of Active Protection and to a lesser extent is reflected in the other cultural audit principles. The cultural audit process and products are used to identify the nature and extent of cultural input thus enabling educational establishments to build on their strengths and to address specific areas of weakness. This was identified as a strength of the cultural audit by all those who participated in the trials or evaluated the process and products.¹⁰⁵ The importance of cultural content is shown by the fact that educational establishments, overall, recorded nearly twice as many different strategies for Active Protection as for any other principle.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ See chapter eight: Evaluation of the Cultural Audit Process and Products: Strengths.

¹⁰⁶ See chapter eight: Table 8.2.

Similarly, in the organisation survey the widest range of strategies was recorded for the Active Protection principle¹⁰⁷ and the inclusion of cultural content was identified as one of the three common components of successful programmes and services.¹⁰⁸

Amongst the service requirements advocated by parents and whānau were the inclusion of Māori content, reo and resources; the utilization of culturally appropriate identification and assessment measures, procedures and teaching strategies; and the incorporation of Māori values, perspectives and perceptions of special needs¹⁰⁹

The literature review revealed that the incorporation of Māori values, concepts, beliefs, language, tikanga, experiences, skills and knowledge was one of the five main strategies used in current special education programmes and services in Aotearoa/New Zealand.¹¹⁰ Its importance is summed up by Ratima et al. (1995) in a report of research into culturally appropriate health and disability services:

There is an added onus on providers of services to Māori, that not only shall clients be equipped to participate in mainstream New Zealand society, but they should have the opportunity to participate in Māori society, to belong to Māori institutions, and importantly remain Māori. The costs of disability are high; they should not include cultural alienation. (p. 48)

The inclusion of cultural content was also identified as an important component in two of the four special education initiatives identified in the international literature.¹¹¹

Challenges and How They Can Be Met

The weight of research findings clearly supports the importance of the kaupapa Māori principle in special education programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs. However, the research also reveals that putting this principle into practice

¹⁰⁷ See chapter six: Table 6.9

¹⁰⁸ See chapter seven: Common Components of Successful Programmes and Services

¹⁰⁹ See chapter nine: Cultural Factors: Service Requirements

¹¹⁰ See chapter three: Culturally Appropriate Strategies

¹¹¹ See chapter four: Special Education Initiatives

presents an enormous challenge. Major stumbling blocks are many of the detrimental attitudes discussed in the previous section and the shortage of people with the professional and cultural expertise required to provide culturally effective services and develop culturally appropriate resources. Many recommendations for overcoming these barriers emerged from the research. Parents and whānau made 35 suggestions specific to these problems. They are summarised in the Cultural Factors Chart (Table 9.2) in chapter nine. Similarly, many measures being used to meet these challenges are included in the lists of culturally appropriate strategies employed by educational establishments and organisations.¹¹² Solutions to similar problems are also included in the international literature.

Predominant strategies in these data sources are:

- ◆ increase the cultural component in preservice education for teachers and other people involved in special education;
- ◆ encourage and enable more Māori to enter teaching and special education-related professions;
- ◆ provide additional special education and Māori-relevant inservice training to teachers and other relevant professional groups;
- ◆ encourage and enable joint hapū/iwi/Māori and mainstream/Pākehā service provision;
- ◆ change negative attitudes through increased cultural knowledge, positive inter-cultural experiences and the highlighting of Māori role models.

Importance, Relevance and Beneficence

Principles in Practice

Special education should focus on areas of importance, concern and benefit to Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau. Programmes, services, methods and measures should be relevant and provide for needs and aspirations identified by parents, whānau and the learners themselves.

¹¹² See Strategies Lists in Appendices F, G, H, I, J, K, O.

Research Evidence

Parents, whānau, teachers, special education professionals and organisation personnel alike placed great importance on relevant, beneficial special education provisions. Concern was expressed from all quarters when it was considered that learners were not benefiting or programmes and services were irrelevant or superficial.¹¹³

The Aotearoa/New Zealand literature review revealed that one of the five main strategies used in current special education provisions is the use of teaching, learning and assessment strategies, environments and contexts deemed to have particular relevance to Māori learners.¹¹⁴ Similarly, one of the service requirements specified by parents and whānau was that assessment measures, procedures and teaching strategies be relevant.¹¹⁵

Challenges and How They Can Be Met

While the principles of importance, relevance and beneficence cannot be disputed, there are two areas of potential conflict that arise in operationalising them. The first involves general disagreements over what is considered important, relevant and beneficial. An example from the research is the placement of three students in segregated classes, a situation considered by teachers as advantageous but by parents and whānau as a waste of time.¹¹⁶

The second area of potential conflict relates to the influence of cultural factors on the perception and management of special needs. The international literature showed how incompatible cultural expectations, beliefs, procedures, values, norms and practices can result in disagreements about what is considered important, relevant and beneficial. An example provided by Ford and Harris (1999) relates to a culturally based belief that education is the sole responsibility of schools. They noted that although teachers may

¹¹³ See, for example, chapter three: Table 3.1; chapter four: Challenges; chapter eight: Results From the Kōhanga Reo Consultation Hui: Weaknesses and Concerns; & chapter nine: General Factors: Service Requirements.

¹¹⁴ See chapter three: Culturally Appropriate Strategies.

¹¹⁵ See chapter nine: Cultural Factors: Service Requirements.

¹¹⁶ See chapter nine: High Quality.

consider parents' involvement in their child's special education important, relevant and beneficial, this did not match the view held by many parents.¹¹⁷

A range of methods for dealing with cultural incompatibilities can be found in the international literature. Some of these are described in chapter four and are equally appropriate to the Aotearoa/New Zealand situation. In addition, strategies for improving home-school relationships suggested by parents and whānau in chapter nine¹¹⁸ and utilised by educational establishments and organisations involved in the research¹¹⁹ can also contribute to the development of mutual goals and understandings.

Participation

Principle in Practice

This principle requires that parents, whānau, the Māori community and the learners themselves be involved as active, collaborative participants in all stages of special education provision. It is acknowledged, however, that the degree of participation possible will vary according to the availability, preference, age and ability of those involved and the nature and circumstances of the special education provision.

When applied to Māori research, the principle of participation has a dual focus. Not only does it include Māori participants becoming involved in all phases of the research process but it also includes researchers becoming involved with participants in order to gain an understanding of participants' perspectives (Bishop & Glynn, 1999a). This "participatory consciousness" is equally desirable in special education. By interacting with parents, children and youth outside of the school/centre context and by becoming involved in the activities of the Māori community, teachers, special educators and other service providers can gain a deeper understanding of factors that influence the lives of the learners with whom they work.

¹¹⁷ See chapter four: Cultural Incompatibilities

¹¹⁸ See for example, chapter nine: Table 9.1 & Table 9.2.

¹¹⁹ See Strategies Lists in Appendices G, H, I, J, K, O and chapter seven: Positive Strategies.

Research Evidence

The principle of participation was firmly supported in all research phases. The requirements for effective servicing advocated by parents and whānau included the involvement of parents, the development of good home-school relationships and the provision of whānau-based services.¹²⁰ Similarly, the inclusion of whānau, the Māori community, Māori organisations and Māori workers was identified as one of the three common components of successful programmes and services in the organisation survey.¹²¹

Participation and Partnership are two of the cultural audit principles. A third principle, Integration, is also relevant in that it involves educational establishments working with Māori organisations for the benefit of learners with special needs.¹²² In respect to the cultural audit, kōhanga reo whānau were particularly eager for parents, whānau or Māori community members to be involved in the cultural audit process. They saw this participation as a means of ensuring that the cultural audit was not misinterpreted or misused.¹²³

In the literature review the analysis of important strategies used in current special education programmes and services in Aotearoa/New Zealand included consultation with and involvement of Māori in general and kaumātua, parents and whānau in particular. The use of whakawhanaungatanga, networking and cooperation between Māori and Pākehā organisations, service providers and the Māori community were other successful strategies identified in this analysis.¹²⁴ In the international literature, increasing parent and family involvement was identified as one of four predominant culturally appropriate strategies used in special education.¹²⁵ The involvement of educators in community life was also shown to have beneficial affects for ethnic minority children with special needs (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Sparks, 2000).

¹²⁰ See chapter nine: General & Cultural Factors: Service Requirements.

¹²¹ See chapter seven: Common Components of Successful Programmes and Services.

¹²² See chapter six: Table 6.4.

¹²³ See chapter eight: Suggested Improvements.

¹²⁴ See chapter three: Culturally Appropriate Strategies.

¹²⁵ See chapter four: Special Education Initiatives.

Challenges and How They Can Be Met

While the importance of including parents, whānau, the Māori community and the learners themselves is highlighted in all research phases achieving this participation can present a major challenge. Research, including this present study, shows that a range of circumstances can work against successful participation. Principal amongst these are negative attitudes and experiences and the lack of time, opportunity, confidence and commitment of either service receivers or service providers.¹²⁶

However, this study also revealed a variety of strategies to encourage and facilitate participation. In particular, the educational establishments involved in the cultural audit employed a relatively large number of participation strategies and measures to facilitate participation.¹²⁷ The organisation survey, parent and whānau consultation and the international literature also contained a number of suggestions for encouraging and enabling participation.¹²⁸ Examples from each source include:

- ◆ an open door policy for school visitation;
- ◆ parents given the choice of time and venue for IEP meetings and invited to bring support people to the meeting;
- ◆ the provision of transport and child-minding to enable parents to access services and attend meetings;
- ◆ the use of jargon-free language and user-friendly means to communicate with parents and whānau;
- ◆ the establishment of a home-school notebook system;
- ◆ the provision of home-based services, family education programmes and informal functions.

¹²⁶ See, for example, chapter nine: General Factors: Personnel Requirements & Service Requirements; chapter seven: Challenges; chapter four: Obstacles to Parent and Family Involvement & chapter three: Table 3.1: Challenges Related to Parental, Whānau and Socio-Economic Factors.

¹²⁷ See Strategies Lists in Appendices G, H, I, J, K, and O.

¹²⁸ See chapter seven: Participation & Accessibility & Equality; chapter nine: Table 9.1 & 9.2; chapter four: Obstacles to Parent and Family Involvement.

Empowerment, Tino Rangatiratanga and Māori Control

Principles in Practice

Special education provisions should result in the empowerment of Māori at multiple levels. Programmes and services should provide parents, whānau and learners with the skills, knowledge, means, opportunity and authority to act for themselves and to make their own decisions. Inherent in this is the provision of choices about which decisions can be made. The Māori community should also be empowered in their involvement in special education provisions either as participants in programmes and services; as partners in service provision; or enabled to offer their own hapū/iwi-based or pan-Māori programmes and services.

Research Evidence

The call for Māori control and empowerment in education has increased considerably in the last decade and is reflected in all phases of this present research. Empowerment, Tino Rangatiratanga and Partnership are three principles on which the cultural audit is based. They were demonstrated in a number of strategies employed by educational establishments and organisations and were also considered to be essential by parents, whānau and kōhanga reo participants.¹²⁹

The importance of empowerment was evident in the literature review. The international literature revealed a number of successful and proposed initiatives for empowering parents, families and ethnic minority and indigenous group members.¹³⁰ In Aotearoa/New Zealand empowerment and Māori control were predominant issues in both general and special education¹³¹ and empowerment was identified as one of the

¹²⁹ See, for example, chapter nine: Empowering; chapter six: Table 6.3; Strategies Lists in Appendices F, G, H, I, J, K and O.

¹³⁰ See chapter four: Employment/Involvement of Ethnic Minority and Indigenous People; Involvement of Parent and Family Members, and a range of methods for empowering parents and ethnic minority members in the Challenges and Solutions section.

¹³¹ See, for example, Adams et al. (2000); Berryman et al. (2002); Bishop and Glynn (1999b); Durie, M. H. (2001); Ellison (1997); Flavell, (1996); Fleras & Spoonley (1999); Gerzon (1992); Hirsh (1988); Irwin (1988); Jefferies (1993); Jenkins (1994); Jenkins and Jones (2000); Johnston (1997); Smith, G.H.(1997); Spoonley (1988); Waho (1996); Walker, R. (1990).

five main strategies used in current programmes and services.¹³²

Challenges and How They Can Be Met

Despite acknowledgement of the importance of Empowerment, Tino Rangatiratanga and Māori Control in all phases of the research, examples of these principles in practice were relatively sparse. The organisation survey showed that only a limited number and range of Empowerment, Tino Rangatiratanga and Partnership strategies were being used¹³³ and the cultural audit trials revealed that educational establishments were using relatively few Partnership strategies.¹³⁴

Similarly, parents, whānau and kōhanga reo participants told many disturbing stories of their lack of power and control in the special education of their children and whānau members.¹³⁵ A concern was raised about the nature of certain partnership activities. While it might be assumed that involving Māori as partners results in power sharing, this is not “true” empowerment if one partner holds the ultimate power when it comes to decision-making. This issue is illustrated in the situation for learners with special needs in total immersion education that was revealed by the special education literature. While the curriculum, administration, teaching and learning processes in kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori reflect Māori choice and values, research shows that learners with special needs in these learning environments are still not being adequately provided for (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Cullen & Bevan-Brown, 1999; Massey University, 1999, 2001, in press; Schwartz & Gillon, 1999; Wilkie, 1999; Wylie, 2000). Because these facilities are dependent on inadequate government funding, resources and outside personnel, they remain relatively “powerless” to meet the special needs of their students.

There are many barriers to Empowerment, Tino Rangatiratanga and Māori Control. These include: Negative and prejudicial attitudes; personal insecurities and fear of “losing control”; organisational, Discipline and personal power plays; funding

¹³² See chapter three: Empowerment of Māori.

¹³³ See chapter six: Table 6.9

¹³⁴ See chapter eight: Table 8.2.

¹³⁵ See interview analysis throughout chapter nine.

restrictions; lack of awareness of practices that reflect unequal power relationships; lack of knowledge about power sharing techniques; shortage of people with the expertise necessary to provide hapū/iwi or pan-Māori services and reluctance to take on the responsibilities concomitant with personal empowerment or Māori control.

Empowerment requires those who presently hold power to provide space for Māori to participate, opportunities to make their own decisions and resources to implement these decisions. It involves shared understandings, mutual respect and the valuing of diversity. Previously mentioned strategies to overcome detrimental attitudes and increase the number of people with both cultural and professional expertise will go some way towards overcoming barriers to empowerment. However, the widespread, far-reaching changes identified in the international literature¹³⁶ will also be necessary in Aotearoa/New Zealand in order to achieve significant Empowerment, Tino Rangatiratanga and Māori Control in special education.¹³⁷

Accountability

Principle in Practice

Teachers, special education professionals and other providers of services to Māori learners with special needs should be accountable for the cultural and general effectiveness of their programmes and services to the learners, parents and whānau concerned and to the Māori community.

Research Evidence

According to kōhanga reo participants one of the strengths of the cultural audit was that it provided a measure of accountability. They believed school and early childhood centre staff should be accountable for the quality and effectiveness of the education they provided. By involving teachers in critically examining their performance, the cultural audit process was seen as a means of assessing effectiveness and demonstrating accountability.¹³⁸ A student who conducted a cultural audit and a principal involved in

¹³⁶ See chapter four: The Need for Widespread, Far-reaching Changes.

¹³⁷ The issue of empowerment and the need for societal changes will be discussed in more detail in a later section on The Need for Multifaceted and Multilevel Change.

¹³⁸ See chapter eight: Results From the Kōhanga Reo Consultation Hui: Strengths

the researcher-initiated trials both commented on the cultural audit's potential as an accountability measure to guide ERO in their evaluation.¹³⁹ The principal strongly believed that schools should be accountable to their communities and specifically requested a copy of the strategies identified in the cultural audit to present to her school's BoT.¹⁴⁰ Parents and whānau interviews revealed that accountability was also an important issue for them.¹⁴¹

Challenges and How They Can Be Met

However, despite the importance of Accountability, some parents and whānau expressed concern that teachers, principals and special educators did not appear to be answerable for their actions. Stories were told of concerns and complaints being ignored or "fobbed off."¹⁴² A classic example is where a mother's concerns about her son's lack of progress in reading were dismissed with the comment that he "was actually doing well for a Māori."¹⁴³

Although a strength of the cultural audit was its function as a measure of accountability, a weakness identified in all kōhanga reo hui was its potential to be misused in this respect. A concern was expressed that the cultural audit could be used to support tokenism and poor quality teaching and be skewed to present a picture of positive performance when this did not exist in reality. The lack of proof that teachers were actually doing what they reported was a further concern.¹⁴⁴ A recommendation to counteract these concerns was to involve parents, whānau and/or Māori community members in conducting the cultural audit.¹⁴⁵ Apart from the involvement of parents, whānau and the community, the only other accountability strategy suggested in any of

¹³⁹ See chapter eight: Evaluation of the Cultural Audit Process and Products: Strengths

¹⁴⁰ Chapter eight: Educational Establishment B.

¹⁴¹ See, for example, chapter nine: General Factors: Personnel Requirements.

¹⁴² For example, chapter nine: Professional Expertise: Mrs. Hemara's story ; Commitment to Their Job and a Positive, Caring Attitude: Nervous Breakdown Mother's story; High Quality: Deaf Nephew Story; Involve Parents and Develop a Good Home-School relationship: Huriwai and Tamati's Mothers' stories.

¹⁴³ See chapter nine: Societal and Individual Practices and Attitudes That Disadvantage Māori: Jason's story.

¹⁴⁴ See chapter eight: Results From the Kōhanga Reo Consultation Hui: Weaknesses and Concerns.

¹⁴⁵ See chapter eight: Results From the Kōhanga Reo Consultation Hui: Suggested Improvements.

the research phases was the use of the cultural audit for ERO monitoring.¹⁴⁶ (However, ERO's ability to adequately monitor cultural input was a concern raised in one kōhanga reo hui.)¹⁴⁷

High Quality

Principle in Practice

Special education provisions should be of a high quality. As well as being culturally appropriate, they need to be based on sound research; include accurate and on-going assessment; be well planned and co-ordinated; employ effective teaching strategies; be pitched at the correct ability level; utilise quality equipment and resources; be positively focused; build on students' strengths; provide for all areas of development; involve efficient administration and co-ordination of services; in fact incorporate all the components that have been identified as "best practice" in special education.¹⁴⁸

Research Evidence

An important message given by all research participants was that there was no point in programmes and services being culturally appropriate if they did not work! Parents and whānau in particular were concerned about the quality of the special education their children received.¹⁴⁹ They listed a multitude of process, content and organisational requirements for effective programmes and services including appropriate, purposeful, timely assessment; on-going programme evaluation; comprehensive, accurately focused, regular and sufficient interventions; and generous funding and resourcing.¹⁵⁰

In the cultural audit trials, kōhanga reo participants raised a concern about the quality of the cultural input provided in schools and early childhood centres. For example, they noted that it was not enough to have reo included if the pronunciation was inaccurate or waiata taught if relevant explanations and information were omitted.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ See chapter eight: Evaluation of the Cultural Audit Process and Products: Strengths.

¹⁴⁷ See chapter eight: Results From the Kōhanga Reo Consultation Hui: Weaknesses and Concerns

¹⁴⁸ See Peters and Heron (1993).

¹⁴⁹ See chapter nine: Reo-Related Needs (quality in Māori-medium education); High Quality.

¹⁵⁰ See chapter nine: General Factors: Service Requirements.

¹⁵¹ See chapter eight: Results From the Kōhanga Reo Consultation Hui: Weaknesses and Concerns.

The literature review analysis of important strategies used in current special education programmes and services revealed an “effective” category. This included a wide range of strategies considered important in providing quality education. The conclusion drawn from this analysis was that the ingredients needed to provide quality education for Pākehā learners with special needs are also required for Māori learners with special needs. However, in addition to this, provisions for Māori learners with special needs must also be culturally effective.¹⁵²

Challenges and How They Can Be Met

The challenges to providing high quality special education provisions are mainly related to the shortage of suitably qualified, competent professionals, the dearth of relevant resources and to a general lack of funding. In parent and whānau interviews and kōhanga reo hui a number of stories were told that illustrated teacher and special educator incompetence. Assessments conducted in total immersion situations by professionals who could not speak Māori and teachers who “babysat” special classes are two examples.¹⁵³ Funding shortages were reported in all research phases. Examples are the range of funding-related barriers reported in the organisation survey and research findings citing inadequate funding reported in the literature review.¹⁵⁴

The majority of recommendations for increasing teacher competence were directed at the development of cultural expertise. However, parents and whānau also provided a number of suggestions for increasing teacher competence in general and for improving the quality of services. These suggestions can be found throughout chapter nine and in the General Factors Chart, Table 9.1.

¹⁵² See chapter three: Effective Strategies.

¹⁵³ See chapter nine: Knowledge of Māori Culture and Te Reo Māori: Psychologist’s playground observation; & Commitment to Their Job and a Positive, Caring Attitude: babysitting teacher story; & High Quality: “babysitting” in segregated settings (x3).

¹⁵⁴ See chapter seven: Challenges: Administration: Funding Issues. Also, insufficient funding was one of the top five challenges in providing for Māori learners with special needs identified by Massey University (2001).

The strategies used and suggestions made for increasing funding to provide a better quality education were limited. Schools reported pooling their SEG money to generate sufficient funding to employ a full time teacher or teacher aide who would then be shared by the schools concerned. They also shared resources and equipment bought from combined funding. Additional funding sources, for example, local businesses and Māori Trust Boards were also sought and utilised.¹⁵⁵

Appropriate Personnel

Principle in Practice

People providing services to Māori learners with special needs and their whānau should have the personal, professional and cultural expertise needed. They should also be valuing and supportive of Māoritanga and the learners, parents and whānau with whom they work.

Research Evidence

This principle was supported in all phases of the research. Parents, whānau and kōhanga reo participants in particular emphasised its importance and were quite specific about the skills they considered teachers and special educators should possess. They thought these people should be well-trained, confident and competent in their particular profession. They should possess the skills needed to interact effectively and sensitively with a wide range of people; have a commitment to their job; be responsible; and have a positive, caring attitude towards the learners, parents and whānau with whom they work.¹⁵⁶ The cultural expertise specified by parents and whānau included, “An understanding of the linguistic, cultural and spiritual background of Māori;” a respect for and knowledge of cultural values, concepts, beliefs and practices and the implications these have for the identification and servicing of learners with special needs; cross-cultural competence; a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi; and an understanding of the negative effects of colonisation. Those working with learners in Māori-medium situations should have a knowledge of total immersion and bilingual

¹⁵⁵ See chapter three: Suggested Solutions

¹⁵⁶ See chapter nine: General Factors.

systems and philosophies and an understanding of the educational and developmental implications of bilingualism.¹⁵⁷

In other research phases the importance of appropriate personnel was demonstrated in a variety of ways. For example, participants in the organisation survey placed a high priority on the inclusion of Māori workers,¹⁵⁸ while the international literature called for the employment of culturally competent teachers and special educators especially people from ethnic minority and indigenous groups.¹⁵⁹ In the cultural audit trials the overall performance tally for all participating educational establishments revealed that the Personnel category had the second highest number of strategies of all eight programme components.¹⁶⁰

Challenges and How They Can Be Met

Employing appropriate personnel is not an easy task. Previously reported challenges such as the shortage of people having both cultural and professional expertise and the lack of funding to hire them present major barriers. Two additional challenges identified in the organisation survey were the lack of culturally appropriate, relevant training for staff in both mainstream and Māori services and high stress levels leading to “burnout” amongst Māori workers in the special needs area.¹⁶¹

The organisation survey and cultural audit trials revealed a wide range of strategies being used to overcome the challenges presented and to ensure appropriate personnel were being employed. These included recruitment measures and training incentives to attract Māori workers; professional development, support and mentoring to provide needed cultural or professional expertise; and the strategic placement of staff and

¹⁵⁷ See chapter nine: Cultural Factors.

¹⁵⁸ See chapter four: The Inclusion of Parents, Whānau, the Māori Community, Māori Organisations and Māori Workers.

¹⁵⁹ See chapter four: Special Education Initiatives.

¹⁶⁰ See chapter eight: Table 8.2.

¹⁶¹ See chapter seven: Major Barriers.

learners.¹⁶² Parents and whānau also made suggestions for overcoming the shortage of competent, committed professionals with people skills and cultural and reo expertise. These suggestions along with others to increase the number of Māori working in special education are listed in Tables 9.1 and 9.2 in chapter nine. International strategies for employing people from ethnic minority and indigenous groups in special education are presented in chapter four.¹⁶³

Equality and Accessibility

Principles in practice

The previous principles discussed are also principles that emerged for Māori research. However, a consideration of data collected in all phases of this research reveals two principles additional to those posited for Māori research. These are the principles of Equality and Accessibility.¹⁶⁴ Equality and Accessibility involve measures taken to reduce existing inequalities and to enable Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau to access services and programmes.

The explanation given to people involved in the cultural audit trials provides the rationale for the inclusion of Equality and Accessibility:

Article three of the Treaty promises Māori the “rights and privileges of British subjects.” This constitutes a guarantee of legal equality between Māori and other New Zealanders. The Government acknowledges that implicit in legal equality is the assurance of actual enjoyment of social benefits. “Where serious and persistent imbalances exist between groups, in their actual enjoyment of social benefits such as health, education and housing, the Government will consider particular measures to assist in redressing the balance.” (Dept. of Justice, 1989, p. 13)

¹⁶² See chapter seven: Positive Strategies: Personnel, Administration, Policy & Integration; & Strategies Lists in Appendices G, H, I, J, K, and O.

¹⁶³ See chapter four: Shortage of Culturally Competent Personnel, Programmes and Resources.

¹⁶⁴ This is not to say that these principles are not important for Māori research – obviously they are. However, they did not emerge as predominant principles in the analysis of Māori research literature.

The implication of this Treaty provision for schools and early childhood centres is that they may need to take proactive measures to ensure their Māori pupils are able to take full advantage of the programmes and services offered. The principle of Accessibility has been listed with Equality because of their obvious association. An important component of Equality is that of equal access. Affordable cost, convenient time and location, friendly personnel, barrier-free, safe environments and readily available and understandable advertising information are all important accessibility factors that schools and early childhood centres must take into consideration.

Research Evidence

Many strategies demonstrating Equality and Accessibility were being utilised by the educational establishments involved in the cultural audit trials¹⁶⁵ and by the organisations that participated in the survey.¹⁶⁶ Ready accessibility was, in fact, one of the three common components of successful programmes and services identified in the analysis of organisation data. Parents and whānau members were also vocal supporters of equitable, accessible services. Specifically listed amongst their general requirements for programmes and services were that they be readily available, well advertised and accessible.¹⁶⁷

The international debate about the relative importance of cultural and socio-economic influences was mentioned in chapter four (see discussion of findings from Majoribanks 1991, 1995; Blair, Blair & Madamba, 1999; Entwisle & Alexander, 1992; Haverman & Wolfe, 1994; MacMillan & Reschly, 1998; & Williams, 1992 following section on Cultural Reproduction and Oppression Theories). Although this debate was seen as extraneous to this present research, the inclusion of the Equality and Accessibility principles is particularly important for those Māori learners with special needs who come from poor families. A point that has been emphasised throughout this research is that culturally effective services are only of benefit if they can be accessed by Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau.

¹⁶⁵ See Strategies Lists in Appendices G, H, I, J, K, and O.

¹⁶⁶ See chapter seven: Positive Strategies: Accessibility and Equality.

¹⁶⁷ See chapter nine: General Factors: Service Requirements.

Challenges and How They Can Be Met

However, as with all other principles, barriers to achieving Equality and Accessibility were identified. An analysis of research data revealed that inequities were being caused by a wide range of factors. Principal amongst these were the shortage of culturally appropriate services, programmes and resources and of special educational professionals with te reo Māori; attitudes and practices detrimental to Māori; the rural location of many Māori families; the cost involved in accessing many services especially associated medical provisions; cultural behaviours such as whakamā and the shortage of information about special education and medical services and entitlements.¹⁶⁸

On the positive side, there were also numerous strategies being employed to overcome these challenges especially those related to inaccessibility. These can be found amongst the lists of culturally appropriate strategies being employed by individual educational establishments and organisations (see Appendices); amongst the “Suggested Solutions” section of chapter three; and in the General Factors Chart, Table 9.1. which contains recommendations specific to overcoming inaccessibility and lack of knowledge about services and programmes. Examples from each source include:

- ◆ Fundraising, time payment and family concessions used to defray education costs;
- ◆ RTLBs make home visits, vision and hearing assessors conduct tests at kōhanga reo;
- ◆ widely advertised, centrally located, free training sessions covering reading tutoring skills provided to interested parents and whānau;
- ◆ asthma information provided at mall stalls, sports meetings and facilities, Māori health days and culture competitions;
- ◆ resources to assist with reading and te reo made available for home use;
- ◆ increased advertising of services and entitlements especially at venues and in publications popular with Māori.

¹⁶⁸ See, for example, chapter seven: Challenges; chapter three: SE 2000: Effectiveness and Challenges, Table 3.1, & Widening the Focus; & chapter nine: Needs Associated With “Being Māori” & Well Advertised and Accessible.

PUTTING PRINCIPLES INTO PRACTICE

Guidelines for Evaluating, Improving or Developing Programmes and Services for Māori Learners With Special Needs

The cultural audit developed in this research provides an instrument for evaluating and improving provisions for Māori learners with special needs. It is intended for educational establishments. However, the principles described previously could provide the basis for an evaluation, improvement or development instrument that has wider applicability. For example, organisations such as IHC or CCS could use the Principles in Practice column in Table 10.1 to evaluate and improve their present programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs or to develop new ones. The only amendment necessary would be to replace the words, “special education” for a term appropriate to the organisation using the principles. An organisation could use this approach to evaluate and improve all its programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs; its offerings in a particular area; or it could focus on a single programme or type of service. For example, IHC could use the Principles in Practice to examine all their existing services for Māori learners with special needs; to focus on their provisions in the East Coast area or to guide the development of a new programme for Māori residents in Community Homes.

PREDOMINANT THEMES AND ISSUES

Servicing a Diverse Māori Population

An aim of this research was to identify how Māori learners with special needs can have their needs met in a culturally appropriate, effective way. However, it was emphasised in the introductory chapter that Māori are a diverse population and that the research would focus on learners with special needs who identified with their Māori culture. Two assumptions influenced the decision to focus on this group. The first assumption was that the strategies identified would not be relevant to Māori learners with special needs who did not live within cultural norms and the second was that those learners who did identify with their culture would be a reasonably homogenous group whose cultural requirements would be relatively similar in nature and degree. In fact, the research findings have provided grounds on which to challenge both these assumptions.

First, while the culturally specific principles considered to underlie culturally effective programmes and services may not have relevance to Māori learners with special needs who are fully assimilated into Pākehā society, many of the other principles advocated are completely relevant to them. For example, high quality, important, relevant and beneficial special education services are required by all learners with special needs regardless of their ethnicity.

Second, the research revealed great diversity of opinion amongst participants. One person who did not identify with Māori culture at all supported culturally appropriate services and the inclusion of te reo Māori for his daughter, “So that she can gain the knowledge to make up her own mind about these things.” At the other end of the spectrum, research participants who identified with their Māori culture varied widely in their desire for cultural input. Although the majority wanted cultural content included in their child’s special education programme, the demand for reo input was not as widespread and there was one parent and one whānau member who thought that any cultural input was irrelevant in special education. (These two participants valued Māori culture and supported the use of te reo in “Māori situations.” However they did not perceive special education as a “Māori situation.” For them, the sole function of special education was to provide for the special needs of their child.)

The desire for cultural input was influenced by a variety of factors. A number of parents were placed in a position of compromise: While cultural input was important to them, more important was receiving any type of service for their child.¹⁶⁹ The type and degree of the child’s special need and the degree of cultural input provided in the home, general education or elsewhere were other influencing factors that emerged in the research. For example, parents of a child who was severely disabled discounted the use of te reo Māori with their daughter believing it was pointless as she did not even understand English.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ See chapter nine: “the Green Martian Response” in section on including Māori workers.

¹⁷⁰ See chapter nine: Include Māori Content, Reo and Resources for a more detailed discussion of participants’ reasons for and against cultural input.

From a wider perspective, a person's microcultural affiliations, characteristics and circumstances can also influence their desire for ethnic cultural input. Gender; religion; age; socio-economic status; geographic location; family structure and interpersonal relationships; communication and interaction styles; degree of acculturation; and the differential valuing of physical, emotional and intellectual attributes all have the potential to create intra-group differences in the degree and nature of cultural input required (Banks, 2001; Denney et al., 2001; Harry, 1992a, 1992b; Lim, 2001; Lynch & Hanson, 1998; Mallory et al., 1993; McKay, 1995). For example, for many Māori it would be inappropriate to have girls involved in carving and parents who are of the Jehovah Witness faith would not support certain cultural practices. The existence and validity of Durie's M. H. (1995) "diverse Māori realities" was confirmed in this present research and must be accommodated in a special education context.

A further complicating factor is the changing nature of cultural identity. Some research participants reported that their degree of cultural identification increased with age. Particular circumstances can also prove a catalyst for awakening or strengthening cultural identification. For example, I know of a number of people who have embraced their Māori identity for the first time after attending their parent's or grandparent's tangi. In such circumstances it is possible that parents and whānau who have previously discounted cultural input in special education, may change their minds and become advocates for its inclusion.

With so many complicating factors, how can teachers and others involved in the special education of Māori learners decide on the degree and nature of cultural input that is required? Stories from this research revealed that when teachers and special education professionals made these decisions, they were often wrong. The erroneous assumption that no cultural input was needed or wanted was made in instances where the mother was Pākehā, where the Māori parent was not interested in Māori culture and where no parental request had been made for cultural input. Conversely, the erroneous assumption was also made that families who lived within Māori cultural norms would consider cultural input in the child's special education programme a high priority.

A further scenario which did not occur in the research but which is quite feasible relates to incorrect assumptions based on parents' lack of knowledge of their Māori heritage. Not all Māori are aware of their tribal affiliation. This is particularly applicable to those who live in urban areas. It is likely that some teachers and special education professionals could interpret this lack of knowledge as a lack of interest and consequently not offer or provide culturally appropriate programmes and services.

On the other hand there will be parents who reject their Māori heritage or feel ill-at-ease culturally. For many this denial or loss of cultural identity is the legacy of colonisation. By not offering culturally appropriate services to these parents, educators are perpetuating the colonising practices that have denied Māori their heritage in the first place. Therefore, it is imperative that culturally appropriate services are offered to all Māori - both those who identify with their culture and those who are assimilated into Pākehā society.

A clear message from the research is that people working with Māori learners with special needs should be vigilant in their efforts to avoid stereotyping and should not make assumptions or unilateral decisions about what is culturally appropriate for a learner and what degree of cultural input is required. These decisions should be made in collaboration with the learners, parents and whānau concerned. This approach is advocated by other Māori working in the area of culturally appropriate service provision (Durie, M. H., 1994a, 1994b, 1995, 1996a; Durie et al., 1995; MoH, 1995; Potaka et al., 1994; Ratima et al., 1995). As Durie, M. H. (1995) states:

People and groups are best able to articulate their own positions, values and beliefs. Imposed stereotypes create misleading impressions that certain individuals will automatically wish to move in particular ethnic or cultural directions when in fact they may have quite different inclinations. (p. 15)

A research participant adds:

Some people are quite happy with the mainstream service and that is good but the issue is being able to make a choice ... and a real choice where the Māori-relevant service is not second best.

Basing special education programmes and services on what Māori learners, their parents and whānau consider culturally appropriate and effective for them not only eliminates discrepancies between people's understanding of these concepts but it also overcomes problems associated with stereotyping and providing for diverse Māori realities.

In conclusion, it should be emphasised that this discussion has been concerned with cultural input in a learner's special education programme or service, for example, the inclusion of Māori words in speech language therapy, the use of taiaha exercises in physiotherapy or the adherence to tikanga Māori in IEP meetings. It does not apply to the inclusion of cultural input in general education. I hold the belief that as Aotearoa/New Zealand is a bicultural country bound by the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori cultural input should be a "given" in general education. All children and youth, regardless of ethnicity, should have Māori content in the education they receive and this should not be a matter of teacher or parental choice. However, cultural input into special education services and programmes is additional input which should be available to all learners with special needs who desire it. The word Māori was purposely omitted from the previous sentence as it is possible that learners from other ethnic groups may also want this input. Therefore the choice of its inclusion should be available to everyone.

Maintaining Cultural Integrity

Māori vs Iwi

A number of issues associated with cultural integrity were raised. First was the degree to which the collective Māori approach taken in this research undermines tribal identity. Although this was not a widespread concern (it was mentioned by only two research participants), underlying issues relating to the validity of collective Māori concepts and

the subsuming of tribal identity are mentioned in the literature ¹⁷¹ and are issues for which awareness should be raised. The reasons for adopting a Māori rather than tribal approach were explained in the introductory chapter. However, throughout the research I have encouraged the inclusion of iwi and hapū perspectives. An example is in the cultural audit where Tino Rangatiratanga is one of the framework principles and where iwi and hapū-specific questions and examples in the checklist and exemplar provide opportunities for iwi and hapū input. The position taken is that in today's world the Māori vs tribal issue is not an either-or debate. Rather it is a matter of harmoniously accommodating both perspectives.

Cultural Authenticity

The second issue relates to the cultural authenticity of the data collected. One participant pointed out the danger of accepting as “Māori viewpoints” what were, in reality, “personal viewpoints.” The warning was given in relation to Māori representatives on various committees, councils and boards who claimed to represent Māori perspectives but were really “pushing their own barrow.” On occasions their opinions could even be in conflict with Māori concepts and values and with the opinions of the people they were supposedly representing. This scenario highlights the problem of distinguishing between Māori perspectives¹⁷² and personal perspectives.

Hamilton (1989) states that, “Although there is wide divergence in Māori communities, geographically, socially and in lifestyle, there is nevertheless, a common bond felt by most” (p.129). This research has sought to discover “common bond[s]” that exist in relation to providing for Māori learners with special needs. The large variety and number of Māori sources consulted, both written and oral, have provided the basis on which to distinguish between Māori and personal perspectives. Where many people from a variety of sources have expressed similar opinions and beliefs, Māori perspectives have been assumed.

¹⁷¹ See for example, Pere (1982) and Rangihau (1992).

¹⁷² As pointed out in chapter one, I am concerned with identifying Māori perspectives, not “the” Māori perspective as I believe such a phenomenon does not exist.

The issue of cultural authenticity was raised by a number of respondents in a research conducted by Durie, et al. (1995). Concerns were expressed about the misappropriation and distortion of tikanga Māori, the “contrived” use of karakia out of context, “the appropriateness of introducing tikanga into situations remote from the marae, and the risks of cultural compromise which can threaten the integrity of tikanga” (ibid., p. 22). While participants in this present research did not mention these specific concerns, related misgivings about the superficial, insincere and piecemeal inclusion of Māori content in the cultural audit were voiced.¹⁷³ The concerns expressed in the Durie et al. (1995) research could be directed at a number of items in the cultural audit checklist and exemplar. This raises larger issues relating to the appropriateness of traditional Māori values and tikanga to contemporary situations and to the flexibility and adaptability of cultural practices. These issues have been discussed in detail in relation to Māori research. In chapter five it was stated that while many of the beliefs, values and practices emanating from a traditional worldview provide the enduring cultural norms of Māori society, they must be interpreted in a contemporary context. This holds true, not only for research, but also for all contemporary endeavours including special education provisions. Conducting IEP meetings according to hui tikanga does not threaten the integrity of hui tikanga nor does the teaching of poi to strengthen palsied limbs diminish the mana of the poi.

Quality Control

However, cultural integrity can be threatened if cultural input is slipshod or superficial. One intention of including cultural content in special education is to further the goals of cultural renewal and affirmation for Māori learners. These goals cannot be effectively achieved if the cultural content involved is insufficient, inaccurate or inane. This message was confirmed in the research by kōhanga reo participants. For example, teachers who incorrectly pronounced te reo were considered by some participants to be doing more harm than good.¹⁷⁴ The introduction of an additional monitoring step to the cultural audit¹⁷⁵ is one measure designed to safeguard the quality of cultural input in

¹⁷³ See chapter eight: Results From the Kōhanga Reo Consultation Hui: Weaknesses and Concerns.

¹⁷⁴ See chapter eight: Results from the Kōhanga Reo Consultation Hui: Weaknesses and Concerns.

¹⁷⁵ See chapter eight: Ingredients of an Effective Cultural Audit: Thorough Data Analysis

schools and early childhood centres. Although this may prove effective for those involved in a cultural audit, the inclusion of slipshod or superficial cultural input remains a possibility in the many educational establishments and organisations that are not involved in conducting an audit. It would be hoped that in these situations the people responsible for the inclusion of cultural input and the people for whom it is intended would provide a measure of quality control. This presupposes that both or either parties have sincere motives, cultural knowledge and the confidence and power needed to achieve this task. As feedback from research participants has shown, this is often not the case. Ensuring quality cultural input remains a continuing challenge.

The Need for Multifaceted and Multilevel Change

The findings of this research emphasise the importance of including cultural input into the special education programmes and services of Māori learners with special needs. In chapter four it was explained how this input contributes to students' cognitive, affective and cultural development and optimizes their learning opportunities (see, for example, Bourdieu, 1976; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Erikson, 1963; Freire, 1972; Foucault, 1969/1972; Gay, 1994; Glasser, 1986; Maslow, 1973; Moore et al., 1999; Rueda, 1997; Tharp, 1989; Vygotsky, 1978). The importance of inclusive education was also discussed in chapter four.¹⁷⁶ However, the general and special education literature in Aotearoa/New Zealand and overseas emphasises that by themselves cultural input and inclusive practices in educational establishments are not enough. Three main reasons are cited.

Widening the Focus of Cultural Input and Inclusive Practices

The first reason relates to the limitations of cultural input and inclusive practices.

If, in 20 years time, the children from ethnic minority groups are all bilingual and bicultural in their native tongue and culture, but still constitute the highest group of unemployed, have the gains been totally satisfactory? (Nash cited in Irwin, 1988, pp. 56-57)

¹⁷⁶ See chapter four: General Education Initiatives.

It is 14 years since Nash asked this question. Despite the rapid growth of total immersion and bilingual education and the increase in multicultural and bicultural input in English-medium schools over this time, large numbers of Māori youth are still leaving school without any qualifications (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001a) and Māori are still proportionately the highest group of unemployed (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000). Likewise, the last 14 years have also seen a significant increase in inclusive educational practices (Fisher & Ryndak, 2001) but still many students with disabilities are entering a working world of lowly paid jobs in inaccessible places of employment (Dept. of Labour, 2001; MoH, 2001a; Simon, M., 2001).

While it may be too early to make definitive judgments about the influence of the inclusion movement, total immersion and bilingual education, criticism has been leveled at the longer established multicultural, bicultural and taha Māori approaches in this respect for addressing life styles but ignoring the barriers to equitable life chances (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; Irwin, 1988, Tait, 1988).¹⁷⁷ It is maintained that learning about other cultures is not enough. Education must also focus on skills that will both increase students' life chances and enable them to challenge practices and thinking that limit their future opportunities. For example, in multicultural education students should be taught about the historical development and socio-political orientation of cultural values, norms and practices and about how culture influences knowledge construction. They should also be involved in critically examining issues relating to the cause, impact and maintenance of unequal power relationships, prejudice, racism, social injustice, inequality and poverty (Banks, 2001; Grossman, 1995; Irwin, 1988; Spoonley, 1988; Penetito, 1984). This critical reflection should be followed by student, school and community involvement in social justice issues (Freire, 1972; Giroux, 1983; Irwin, 1988; Simon, M., 2001; Stainback & Stainback, 1996).

In respect to disabilism, while inclusive practices have done much to develop students' understanding and acceptance of disability, students must also be taught how to recognise and challenge attitudes, practices and structures that support disabilism. An implication for this present research is that the scope of the cultural audit checklist and

¹⁷⁷ See chapter two: 1965-1996 for discussion of the taha Māori, bicultural and multicultural approaches.

exemplar needs to be widened to include questions and examples that will focus educational establishments' attention on the inclusion of antibias principles and practices.

Power Sharing and Collective Responsibility

A second reason why a focus beyond cultural input and inclusive practices is required relates to the larger issue of unequal power distribution both within the education system and in society at large. In respect to the former, Simon, J. (cited in Jefferies, 1993) noted:

No matter how brilliantly conceived a policy on Māori education may be, no matter how sensitively it may be planned to cater for the needs of Māori children and to develop biculturalism in Pākehā, it must contend with Pākehā power and control within the system throughout its implementation. Such policies can thus be subverted at the departmental, board or school level. (p. 24)

The democratic principle of majority rules means that Māori have no "real power" to make and implement their decisions (Johnston, 1997).¹⁷⁸ Johnston maintains that as long as the educational resources, decision-making processes and contexts in which these decisions are made are controlled and determined by Pākehā, Māori will remain powerless. The educational reforms introduced with the Picot Report and Tomorrow's Schools promised Māori a voice in the new regime, however research conducted by Johnston (1997) and Wylie (1997a, 1997b) show that in general, this voice is not being heard.

Similarly, people with special needs lack power despite reform promises to the contrary. They also suffer from the subversion of potentially beneficial special educational policies and practices by people in authority. Research examples include principals evading their legal obligation to provide for students with special needs by discouraging parents from enrolling their children with special needs and RTLBs being

¹⁷⁸ The limited ability of Māori to influence power structures and decision-making either at the school or community level is also noted by Bishop and Glynn (1999b); Hirsh (1990); Jefferies (1993); and Simon, J. (1986).

directed to teach in segregated classrooms rather than provide collaborative, itinerant services as specified in their job descriptions (Massey University, 2001; in press).

The issue of unequal power relationships extends well beyond the realm of education as acknowledged both in the international literature¹⁷⁹ and here in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Adams et al., 2000; Ballard, 1999a; Bishop & Glynn, 1999b; Fleras & Spoonley, 1999). Penetito (1986), for example, notes that while a kaupapa Māori education system might be successful in addressing cultural concerns:

In the long term the fundamental circumstances that ... led to the emergence of alternative schools would still exist. The fundamental circumstances facing the Māori remain as those associated with relative powerlessness: dependence and conformity. (p. 3)

There is general agreement in the international and Aotearoa/New Zealand literature that changes at the micro and meso systems levels are not enough. Political, legal, social and economic changes must occur at the exo and macro systems levels to effect any widespread and lasting improvement for ethnic minority and indigenous students and learners with special needs. Speaking specifically of Māori learners, Bishop and Glynn (1999b, p.53) maintain that this involves addressing the problems of power imbalance and the relationship of dominance and subordination that has resulted from colonisation.

To effect the changes needed, Māori and people with special needs must possess decision-making powers in all areas that affect their lives. In particular, they must have genuine input into determining what counts as knowledge; how it is transmitted, assessed and rewarded; how special needs are defined; and how they are provided for. Hopefully, as a result of this power sharing, the political, judicial, economic, educational, health and social institutions that are presently controlled by and reflect white, middle-class, non-disabled values and practices will change to accommodate the perspectives of Māori and people with special needs.

¹⁷⁹ See chapter four: The Need for Widespread, Far-Reaching Changes.

In addition to having input into decision-making, Māori and people with special needs must also have the funding and resources to enable their decisions to be put into practice, the means to enforce their decisions, the right to manage resources and the active support of people from the majority culture. This latter requirement is discussed by Moore et al. (1999) in relation to Māori learners with special needs. They point out that Māori teachers and parents cannot bring about the changes needed to improve services for these learners single-handedly. This responsibility should be shared “with all classroom teachers, principals and Board of Trustee members” (p. 38).

The cultural audit has a role to play in this respect. In requiring a school-wide approach and community involvement, it confirms that the provision of a culturally appropriate, effective education for Māori learners with special needs is every person’s responsibility. This message is doubly important given the high burnout rate and stress levels of Māori teachers, special educators and parents reported in all research phases.¹⁸⁰ Consequently, although this study advocates that major decisions relating to the special education of Māori learners should be made by Māori and that Māori should be involved in all stages of service development, implementation and assessment, the point is also emphasised that the education of Māori learners with special needs is the collective and collaborative responsibility of all people involved with these children and youth.

Changing Societal Ideologies

The third reason why a focus beyond cultural input and inclusive practices is required relates to the overarching influence of societal ideologies and their reflection in societal structures, systems and institutions. Regardless of Māori educational initiatives, progress for Māori is limited in a society governed by meritocratic, individualistic, competitive and commercial ideologies that conflict with Māori values and beliefs and

¹⁸⁰ See, for example, chapter seven: High Stress Levels of Māori Staff Working in the Special Needs Area & chapter nine: Reo-Related Needs: Burnt out teachers & mothers of Hira & Huriwai; A Commitment to Their Job and a Positive, Caring Attitude: Nervous breakdown mother; Be Well Advertised and Accessible: Hospitalised mother; & Involve Parents and Develop a Good Home-School Relationship: Jason’s mother.

with the establishment of a pluralistic society (Adams et al., 2000; Jones, Marshall, Matthews, Smith & Smith, 1995; Penetito, 1986; Smith, G. H., 1991a, 1991b, 1997).

In a similar vein, Bishop and Glynn (1999b) explain that teachers develop principles and practices that reflect the imagery and metaphors they hold. At present the education system in Aotearoa/New Zealand is driven by metaphors that perpetuate the ideology of Pākehā cultural superiority. For Māori to progress, these deficit-based metaphors must be replaced by metaphors that are based on kaupapa Māori (Bishop & Glynn, 1999b).

Deficit-based metaphors and meritocratic, individualistic, competitive and commercial ideologies also contribute towards the exclusion and undervaluing of people with disabilities (Ballard, 1992, 1999a; Barton, Ballard & Fulcher, 1992; Biklen, 1988; Mittler, 2000; Simon, M., 2001). Commenting on the power of harmful ideologies, Ballard (1999a) notes:

If we are to advance the idea and practice of inclusion in New Zealand society then I suggest that we must at the same time challenge ideas and practices that promote exclusion I cannot see that we can achieve inclusive schools in an exclusive society. (p. 14)

There is no doubt that in order to achieve widespread and permanent improvements for Māori learners with special needs, there needs to be ideological changes at the societal level. Making these changes, however, is problematic. How can society in general come to support and value cultural diversity and to embrace the philosophy of inclusion both in theory and in practice? The education system has only a limited capacity to change societal beliefs, attitudes and the circumstances that inhibit students' life chances.

Despite these limitations, what happens in schools, classrooms and early childhood centres can significantly affect what happens in society. One sphere of influence lies in the fact that, "Those who will occupy positions of power [in the future] can be altered by their school experience today" (Spoonley, 1988, p. 45). This view is supported by Ballard (1992) who believes that a factor contributing to the inadequate service provision for children with special needs is that those in power:

have no experience of disability because in their days at school disability was hidden from them. Inclusive education should change such experiences and such attitudes. (p. 273)

However, culturally appropriate and inclusive practices and attitudes can only be instigated and modeled by teachers and special educators who possess the prerequisite attitudes, skills and knowledge (Artiles & Zamora, 1997; Brandt, 1986; Lim, 2001; McAllister & Irvine, 2000). For these reasons preservice teacher education and professional development have a vital role to play. The overseas literature includes a range of measures to instill these attitudes, skills and knowledge via teacher and professional education.¹⁸¹ In addition, Aotearoa/New Zealand writers (Johanni-Piahana, 1988; Ballard, 1992) have emphasised the importance of teacher trainees experiencing Māori culture and disability “first hand” through home stays and other involvement with Māori and people who are disabled.¹⁸²

Haworth (personal communication, August, 1996) makes the point that:

Changing teachers’ existing beliefs is a more difficult task than just pouring in more content knowledge. It requires concentrated effort and support over a long period of time Changing of attitudes is facilitated by positive experiences and on-going links with other cultural communities. This ensures that good intentions do not just fade away in the realities of the “real world” but are kept in the foreground.

This comment is equally applicable to society in general. Changing societal beliefs and attitudes is a long-term endeavour. In order for Māori learners with special needs to be

¹⁸¹ See chapter four: Negative, Detrimental Beliefs and Attitudes.

¹⁸² While these experiences will no doubt be very beneficial it can be argued that non-disabled people from the majority culture can only gain a limited appreciation of the challenges faced by Māori and people who are disabled because they cannot truly experience the subordinate power relationships that are an integral part of these people’s lives.

adequately provided for a dual-pronged approach must be taken. This approach involves both enlightening the majority and empowering the minority (Banks, 1988).

Concept Issues

Special Education - To Be or Not to Be. That is the Question?

In chapter four it was explained how culture influences the perception and management of special needs. The part Māori culture has to play in this respect is a major focus of this research. The organisation survey, cultural audit, literature review, kōhanga reo hui and parent and whānau consultation revealed a wide variety of strategies for meeting the needs of Māori learners with special needs in a culturally appropriate, effective way.¹⁸³ The kōhanga reo hui and parent and whānau consultation also revealed a broad concept of special needs including a number of needs specifically associated with being Māori.¹⁸⁴

However, a point of contention arose in this research. A number of participants disliked the term, “special needs.” They explained that all children and youth have needs and no one’s needs are more “special” than any one else’s. This issue was expanded on by a kōhanga reo participant who questioned the whole concept of special education saying it was not based on Māori values. She maintained that under a Māori model of service provision there would be no separate resourcing for children with disabilities because their needs were “special.” No categorising would be necessary, in fact special education would cease to exist because there would be no “special” needs, just needs which would be provided for on an individual basis.¹⁸⁵

There are a number of staunch advocates of Inclusion who support this notion. For example, Oliver (2000) in his keynote address to the International Special Education Conference (ISEC) in Manchester called for the dissolution of special education and the

¹⁸³ See, for example, chapter seven: Positive Strategies; Strategies Lists in Appendices F, G, H, I, J, K, and O; chapter four: General Education Initiatives & Special Education Initiatives; chapter three: Suggested Solutions & Culturally Appropriate Strategies; chapter nine: Table 9.1 & 9.2.

¹⁸⁴ See chapter nine: Māori Perspectives of Special Needs.

¹⁸⁵ See chapter nine: Based on and Incorporate Māori Values, Perspectives and Perceptions of Special Needs

renaming of ISEC. His reasons for this were the same as those articulated by the kōhanga reo participant. Although ISEC was not renamed, Oliver's stance received considerable support. "Special education" is by definition an exclusive term contradictory to the underlying principles of Inclusion. Perhaps in the future the growth of the Inclusion Movement will lead not only to the abandonment of the term "special education" but also to the exclusive concepts on which it is based. In this inclusive model all learners will be provided for according to their particular needs whether these be educational, social, cultural, emotional or spiritual. The underlying philosophy of this inclusive approach to service provision is in accord with the Māori perspective presented by the kohanga reo participant. The strategies and requirements outlined by participants in this research would contribute to ensuring that the educational, social, cultural, emotional and spiritual needs of all Māori learners are met.

Servicing a Broader Concept

A second issue relates to the broad concept of special needs that emerged from the research.¹⁸⁶ Based on the previously discussed objection to the term special needs and to the notion of special education, it can be argued that parents, whanau and kohanga reo participants provided Māori perspectives of a Pākehā concept rather than a Māori concept per se. However, regardless of any conceptual debate over the validity of the broad concept of special needs that emerged, the needs described and experienced by participants in this research are very real. Although the question of whether these needs should be termed "special" or not may appear relatively inconsequential, at a pragmatic level this is not the case. As long as a learner's needs fit within the Pākehā conceptual framework of special needs, they are eligible for funding and special education provision. However, when a learner's needs move outside the Pākehā concept, problems arise. An example from the research is certain reo-related needs. If a learner is struggling to communicate in a total immersion environment s/he is entitled to special education resourcing only if the reason for this struggle fits into a predetermined category of need. A number of research participants argued that the cause is irrelevant. According to their interpretation of the concept of special needs, the learner who is

¹⁸⁶ See chapter nine: Māori Perspectives of Special Needs.

unable to communicate effectively with their teachers and peers definitely has a special need and should qualify for extra help.¹⁸⁷

As long as the existing special education policies remain, there will be some Māori learners with “special needs” who will not qualify for assistance. For this to change, the Pākehā concept of special needs on which resourcing and provisions are presently based must expand to accommodate the particular Māori circumstances and interpretations that have emerged in this research.

Whose Special Needs?

A final issue raised relates to the validity of particular special needs. A number of research participants in chapter nine noted that certain learning and behavioural problems experienced by some Māori children and youth were a result of societal and individual practices and beliefs that disadvantage Māori while other problems were a result of teachers’ and special educators’ inability to adequately provide for Māori learners. Although some participants classified these as special needs others argued against this categorisation. The question was asked whether learners whose needs arose from the circumstances described should be classified as having special needs or whether this label would be more appropriately directed at the “system” itself? A pragmatic answer was that regardless of the cause, a need existed and if it was recognised as a special need then the learners concerned would be eligible for assistance.

On the other hand, some participants felt that labeling the learner as having special needs in such circumstances insinuated that they were to “blame” when it was the system’s fault. This line of reasoning is influenced by the medical/psychological /biological model mentality which locates special needs within the individual.¹⁸⁸ However, from a socio-political/socio-cultural or ecological perspective where external factors are acknowledged as contributing towards a person’s special needs, the validity debate is resolved.

¹⁸⁷ See chapter nine: Reo-Related Needs.

¹⁸⁸ See chapter two: From Assimilation to Pluralism, From Segregation to Inclusion for a discussion of the different theoretical models underpinning special education.

Going Forward Looking Back

Lessons from Tūpuna

Chapter two provides a historical overview of special education provisions for Māori learners with special needs. What lessons for the present and future can be learnt from this examination of the past? In respect to traditional practices associated with children and youth who were gifted or disabled, the problems associated with importing traditional understandings and values into a contemporary context have been discussed previously.¹⁸⁹ If a concept of special needs did actually exist in traditional times, it would have been quite different to concepts of special needs prevalent in the twenty first century. However, regardless of these issues, there is merit in examining traditional practices and the beliefs and values on which they were based to determine their possible present and future relevance for Māori learners with special needs. Indeed, Hemara (2000) after an extensive investigation of traditional and contemporary Māori pedagogies came to the conclusion that:

The way Māori educated themselves and their young appears to be applicable today. Many of the hallmarks of Māori education prove that traditional values and operating standards can be translated into contemporary contexts. (p. 81)

Despite varying opinion, the weight of historical evidence suggests that children who were gifted and/or disabled were accepted and valued as an integral part of the community. Their education, received alongside their peers, focused on providing them with the skills needed to play a useful role in society. They were given tasks to perform as befitted their particular capabilities (Bevan-Brown, 1989, 1994; Kana & Harawira, 1995). In fact this approach is in accord with current global thinking about the care and education of learners with special needs (Ainscow, 1999; Ballard, 1999b; Dept. of Labour, 2001; Fisher & Ryndak, 2001; Forman, 2001; Mittler, 2000). Teaching children and youth in an inclusive environment, involving kaumātua and whānau in their education, providing lessons that are relevant to learners' lives, using mentoring

¹⁸⁹ See chapter two: Traditional Times & chapter five: Principles Underlying Māori Research for discussion of the relevance of traditional values and practices in a contemporary world.

and hands-on teaching strategies are approaches that are just as relevant today as they were in traditional times. They also adhere to the principles underlying culturally effective service provision proposed earlier in this chapter.

Lessons From the Last Two Centuries

It is evident from the history of special education and Māori education from 1816 up until the present day that special education provisions for Māori learners with special needs did not develop in a vacuum. A complex of factors shaped their nature and evolution. An analysis of these factors can provide some guidance as to the future direction of special education for Māori learners with special needs.

First, the historic overview shows how special education provisions for Māori learners with special needs have been greatly influenced by political, legal, economic and social circumstances and prevalent societal beliefs, values and attitudes in Aotearoa/New Zealand. For example, Governor Grey's financial support of denominational boarding schools and the government-funded scholarships for gifted learners to attend these schools were deliberate attempts to speed up religious and cultural assimilation (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). Humanitarian concerns, ethnocentric beliefs, political manoeuvring and economic gain all influenced the establishment of these schools and scholarships.¹⁹⁰

While it is a safe bet that political, legal, economic and social circumstances and societal beliefs, values and attitudes will continue to influence special education provisions in the future, exactly how these influences will manifest themselves can only be guessed at! The past decade has seen a steady growth in social, educational and economic measures designed especially to facilitate progress for Māori. Unfortunately,

¹⁹⁰ While scholarships can be criticised on these grounds, they were also beneficial in that they provided the means for many gifted Māori to gain an education that they would not otherwise have received. Influential Māori leaders such as Apirana Ngata in the past and Peter Sharples, in the present have benefited from scholarships and grants. This financial assistance and Māori-tagged positions are important accessibility/equality provisions that should continue for as long as they are needed. However, it is also important that Māori be involved in determining appropriate eligibility criteria and that the programmes they provide entry to are culturally effective.

these measures have not resulted in the anticipated improvements and Māori remain over-represented amongst those who are unemployed, have lower incomes, leave school early and have fewer qualifications (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000, 2001a). A growing Māori population¹⁹¹ and increasing political representation under MMP may result in greater power sharing in the future. As the previous discussion of unequal power relationships indicates, an equitable distribution of power would, hopefully, result in the elimination of many barriers to educational and economic achievement for Māori.

Second, special education in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been greatly influenced by legislation, policies, practices and social justice and ideological movements in other western countries. Examples provided in the historic overview include the Scandinavian-initiated normalisation movement and the USA's Education for All Handicapped Children Act, 1975 (PL 94-142) both of which were pivotal in this country's movement from segregated to inclusive service provision.¹⁹² It is predicted that with the ease of global communication provided by the internet and other technological advances, policies, practices, legislation and movements from abroad will not only continue to influence special education in Aotearoa/New Zealand but, in fact, this influence will increase. This augurs well for Māori learners with special needs when one considers some of the educational philosophies and practices that are increasing in worldwide popularity at the present time.¹⁹³ For example, Māori learners with special needs cannot help but benefit from the combined influence of the inclusion movement with its emphasis on including and valuing everyone and the indigenous rights movement with its focus on equity, empowerment, self-determination and redress for indigenous groups.

Third, throughout history special education provisions for Māori learners with special needs have been influenced by the knowledge base and theories underpinning education in general and special education in particular. Worldwide developments in these areas

¹⁹¹ In 2000 Māori made up 15% of Aotearoa/New Zealand's population. It is projected that this % will rise to 18% by 2025 and 22% by 2051 (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000, p. 13).

¹⁹² See chapter two: From Assimilation to Pluralism, From Segregation to Inclusion: Special Education.

¹⁹³ See, for example, the priorities listed in the Salamanca Declaration (UNESCO, 1994) and the Manchester Declaration (ISEC, 2000).

have initiated changes in education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. For example, Vygotsky (1978) and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) social learning theories have been influential in moving special education services away from a medical model with its focus on internal causation and treatment of special needs towards an ecological model with its focus on external causation and the removal of social and environmental barriers to learning.¹⁹⁴ Moore et al (1999, p. 10) maintain that at present, the medical and ecological models are "operating concurrently" in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is predicted that as global concerns for equity and social justice strengthen the inclusion movement, so too will the ecological model increase in predominance.

The ecological approach with its emphasis on adapting the environment, curriculum and teaching practices to meet the learner's individual needs complements and supports the values underpinning inclusive education. The future growth of the ecological model would be advantageous to Māori learners with special needs who, as history shows, have been disadvantaged by the deficit mentality both in regards to culture and special needs. The ecological model supports many of the principles previously advocated for culturally effective service provision. For example, the involvement of parents and whānau is essential in ecological assessment and interventions (McGee-Banks, 2001; Meyer et al, 2001). Holistic service provision is a further example of an approach that is considered important both from a cultural and an ecological perspective.

In considering the historic overview, lessons can be learnt not only from circumstances that have influenced service provision for Māori learners with special needs but also from the absence of certain influencing factors. Four factors stand out in this respect. The first is the absence of consultation and involvement of Māori in special education. I could not find one instance of Māori involvement in decisions relating to the development, implementation and evaluation of special education for Māori learners with special needs prior to the 1987 Draft Review of Special Education.

¹⁹⁴ See chapter four: The Influence of Culture in General for a discussion of other learning theories contributing to this change in focus.

Second and third factors are the absence of advocacy by organisations acting on behalf of Māori learners with special needs and administrative and professional leadership in this sphere. Mitchell, D. (1987) identifies organisational advocacy and administrative and professional leadership as two of five factors that have influenced the development of special education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. However, the historical analysis of special education revealed that they have not been evident for Māori until relatively recently.¹⁹⁵

A fourth factor is the absence of literature and research specifically relating to Māori learners with special needs. Again this has shown a great improvement in the last decade as evidenced by the busy research schedule of Poutama Pounamu and the increasing number of special education publications that contain Māori-relevant material.¹⁹⁶ However, prior to 1990, literature and research about Māori learners with special needs was relatively scarce.

No doubt the absence of leadership, advocacy, literature, research and involvement of Māori for so many years has contributed to the dearth of culturally appropriate services for Māori learners with special needs revealed in the historic overview. While acknowledging that over the last 15 years leadership, advocacy, writing, research and Māori involvement has blossomed, for progress to be accelerated Māori consultation and involvement should be increased; existing special education and disability organisations should become more proactive in their advocacy for Māori learners with special needs; new Māori advocacy groups should be established; more research should be undertaken and reported; and more people who are knowledgeable about culturally effective service provision should provide leadership and guidance at a national level.

¹⁹⁵ Nowadays many organisations, for example NZEI, PPTA, SES, IHC and CCS have Māori Committees, Units and representatives and are developing a national profile and national influence in respect to Māori learners with special needs.

¹⁹⁶ See, for example, Ballard (1994), *Disability, family and whānau*; McAlpine and Moltzen (1996), *Gifted and talented: New Zealand perspectives*; Fraser, Moltzen and Ryba (2000) *Learners with special needs in Aotearoa New Zealand*

SUMMARY

In this chapter the information, themes and issues presented in previous chapters are drawn together, reflected upon and discussed in relation to one another. A summary of the present situation for Māori learners with special needs shows that despite the considerable progress that has been made in the last 15 years and the emergence of some excellent programmes and services for these learners, there is still considerable room for improvement. The wide variation in research findings in general and in this study in particular indicates that Māori learners with special needs are yet to be adequately provided for.

The main challenges to culturally appropriate, effective service provision were outlined. These are the lack of culturally appropriate services, programmes and resources; the widespread shortage of people with the cultural, reo and professional expertise needed to work with Māori learners with special needs; and societal and individual beliefs and attitudes that are detrimental to Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau.

In order for Māori learners with special needs to have these needs met in a culturally appropriate, effective way, it is proposed that the programmes and services provided should have kaupapa Māori at their foundation; they should be important, relevant and beneficial; involve and empower parents, whānau and the Māori community; be of high quality; employ appropriate personnel who are accountable for the programmes and services they provide; be accessible; and result in equitable outcomes for Māori children and youth. Research evidence was provided to support these requirements, challenges involved in putting them into practice were outlined and suggestions for overcoming these challenges were presented.

A range of predominant themes and issues were discussed. These were the implications and complications of servicing a diverse Māori population and of maintaining cultural integrity; the need for multifaceted and multilevel change including widening the focus of cultural input and inclusive practices, achieving power sharing, collective responsibility and changing societal ideologies. Issues relating to concepts of special

needs were debated and, finally, the implications of past practices and trends for present and future service provision were presented and discussed.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: CONCLUSION

Kua takoto te mānuka.

The mānuka has been laid down.

INTRODUCTION

The whakatauāki used in chapter one described the dilemma I was in six years ago. I was frequently asked for advice about helping Māori learners with special needs but felt ill-equipped to answer. In a state of semi-awareness I feared that instead of providing help I might actually cause harm. This prompted me to turn away from the cliff and to begin my research journey. Whakatauāki have provided signposts along the way. The lessons of life and nature that have been learnt and handed down through the generations have stood me in good stead. I was warned that it might not be an easy journey and that persistence and diligence (“seeking feet”) would be needed to gain the knowledge I sought. They have been! I was also warned that in order for Māori learners with special needs and me to gain any long-term benefit from my journey it had to be taken from a Māori perspective. If not, any future improvements would crumble just as clay falls from iron as it dries.

While I started my journey alone, I was advised that this was not the best way to travel. I was more likely to reach my destination in the safety and companionship of others. Consequently, I have extended many invitations to join me both in seeking knowledge and in applying what has been learnt along the way. Research participants have been my fellow travellers. Hopefully, they and others with whom I have shared my findings have benefited from the journey. Whakatauāki also reminded me that not only was my journey best travelled in the company of others but also the improvements which I sought could only be achieved through group responsibility and endeavour.

Just as the dying fern frond nourishes and sustains the growing fern bush, I was advised that future improvements for Māori learners with special needs would be born from a thorough knowledge of how they have been provided for in the past. I would also need to consider present policy and provisions so that “inferior reeds” could be discarded and superior ones retained. Further advice was to seek wisdom at the feet of Uenuku

(consult with past and present experts) and to value the knowledge and experience of parents. My journey has been expedited, enlightened and enriched by following this advice.

The fernbird's nest was completed in chapter ten and at this stage it was very tempting to choose a whakatauāki that signified a journey's end. However, while my six-year trek has moved me away from the dreaded cliff of chapter one, the possibility of erosion means I cannot stand still! The journey I have embarked on is a journey for life. Chapter eleven is but a brief rest period where I stop to issue a challenge. The manuka branch has been laid down for all those who read this thesis to pick up.

EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH

Research Strengths

The Research Has a Sound Theoretical Base

The international and Aotearoa/New Zealand literature cited throughout this thesis provides substantial support for the underlying theoretical assumptions presented in chapter one. For example, in chapter four support for the importance of culture in general is provided from a variety of perspectives including learning, cognitive, cultural reproduction and cultural oppression theories.¹⁹⁷ Similarly, a considerable body of international and Aotearoa/New Zealand literature is drawn on to illustrate how cultural beliefs, values, attitudes, practices, worldviews, norms, expectations and lifestyles all significantly influence the perception and management of special needs.¹⁹⁸ The importance of culture is also highlighted by the growing number of general and special education initiatives in Aotearoa/New Zealand and overseas that focus on the provision of culturally appropriate assessment measures, programmes, services and strategies.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ For example, see Bourdieu (1973, 1976); Bronfenbrenner (1979); Friere (1972); Gay (1994); Harker (1990); Majoribanks (1991, 1995); Smith, L. T. (1999); and Vygotsky (1978).

¹⁹⁸ For example, see Bevan-Brown (1989, 1993); Harry (1992a, 1992b); Joe and Miller (1993); Lynch and Hanson (1998); Mallory et al. (1993); Macfarlane (2000a, 2000b).

¹⁹⁹ See chapter three: Programmes and Services for Māori Learners With Special Needs and chapter four: Lessons From Abroad.

Many of these are based on research evidence that shows culture needs to be taken into account in order for special needs provisions to be fully effective.

The Research Methodology and Design Are Appropriate and Enabled the Research Aims to Be Achieved

This research has been successful in achieving the aims outlined in chapter one. A wide range of challenges to providing culturally appropriate, effective programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs has been identified. Likewise, many strategies for overcoming these challenges and for meeting the needs of Māori learners with special needs in a culturally appropriate, effective way have also been identified. Principal amongst these are the use of the cultural audit and the guidelines proposed in chapter ten for evaluating, improving and developing programmes and services. The fourth research aim has also been achieved as the Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau who have been involved in this research have benefited from the information, resources and services that have been provided. Many others will also have benefited indirectly from the involvement of participants in the organisation survey, cultural audit trials and consultation and from the information that has been disseminated as part of the research process.

My claim that the research aims have been successfully achieved is dependent on the reliability and validity of the data gathered; the accuracy of the data analysis and interpretation; and the usefulness of the findings. The research methodology and design have contributed to achieving this reliability, validity, accuracy and usefulness. The qualitative, interpretative methodology employed facilitated the search for meaning and understanding. In gathering information I consistently queried participants to ensure I had an accurate understanding of their experiences, opinions and concerns. Transcripts of consultation hui, taped interviews and written feedback from researcher-initiated cultural audit trials were provided for participants to check the accuracy of the information recorded. The written survey of organisations had the greatest potential for the data collected to be superficial or misinterpreted. To lessen this risk people were given the choice of responding in person and, as a result, 25 follow-up interviews were conducted.

The multi-faceted nature of the research also contributed towards the validity, reliability and accuracy of the study. The wide range of people and information sources consulted and the variety of data-gathering methods used allowed for information from multiple perspectives and sites to be obtained. Thus the process of triangulation added to the robustness of the research information. In addition, in all research phases participants were encouraged to go beyond the set questions and to raise issues of particular concern to them.

Reliability, validity and accuracy checks have also been incorporated into the analysis and interpretation of data. These checks include consultation with participants, supervisors, my cultural advisory group, friends and colleagues all of whom have provided invaluable feedback. I have also double-checked my own analysis. The largest endeavour in this respect involved the complete re-analysis of the organisation survey data three and a half years after the first analysis! A further strategy has been to let people speak for themselves. This strategy has been employed in chapter nine in particular. In preference to providing my interpretation and summary of parent, whānau and kōhanga reo member's experiences and opinions, I have included a large number of original quotes. This was a deliberate measure to ensure the voices of these participants are clearly heard.

Finally, the issue of the usefulness of the research findings is still to be proved. One of the guiding principles mentioned in chapter one was that the research be practically focused. The cultural audit, guiding principles and numerous suggestions for providing for Māori learners with special needs and overcoming the challenges they and their parents and whānau face, provide the practical outcomes of this research. The feedback received from the cultural audit trials, conference presentations, publications and guest lectures to teacher trainees, practising teachers, post graduate education students and trainee educational psychologists has been very encouraging and has verified the contribution of this research to educational practice. In particular I have been urged to, "Hurry up and publish the cultural audit so all schools can use it!" However, only time will tell if the cultural audit and other practically focused findings live up to their initial promise.

The Research is Strengthened by its Māori Focus

A second guiding principle mentioned in chapter one was that this study should be situated within a Māori research paradigm. This was considered essential as it was being conducted by a Māori researcher and was about Māori learners, their parents and whānau. Chapter five presents a set of principles considered to be at the foundation of Māori research and provides examples of how this research has adhered to these principles. While acknowledging that adherence varies amongst principles and across research phases, overall I believe that this research qualifies as Māori research and that its Māori focus has been its strength. It has certainly given me strength. When I began this journey, although I had previous experience of researching Māori-relevant, special education topics, I lacked confidence. While my heart told me that Māori research strategies were sound and defensible, my head told me that they needed to be checked against western research approaches. My background research for chapter five was pivotal. The more Māori researchers' and theorists' work I read, the more I came to realise that Māori research has a firm epistemological base, sound theoretical underpinnings and proven methodological approaches that do not need to be justified by comparison with western methodologies as they have integrity and rigour in their own right.

The Research Makes a Contribution to Special Education, Māori Education and Māori Research

This research contributes to practice in six main ways. First, at a theoretical level, it provides Aotearoa/New Zealand-based evidence that culture influences the way people perceive special needs and that cultural input is an important component of programmes and services for learners with special needs. Second, it adds to the knowledge base concerning cultural effectiveness for Māori and third, it provides support for the validation of Māori research as a distinct and justifiable methodology.

Fourth, from a social justice perspective, by raising awareness of the numerous challenges faced by Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau, this research has the potential to initiate improvements. Fifth, at a pragmatic level, the guiding principles for evaluating, improving and developing culturally effective programmes and services and the cultural audit process and products provide a means

to make these improvements. Finally, the proposed Māori research principles have a potential contribution to make in the development and/or evaluation of Māori research.

Concerning the cultural audit, I intend to make the changes identified in the research trials and then to publish it in a form that schools and early childhood centres can use to conduct their own audits. This publication will be relevant to both mainstream and specialised facilities. As was suggested by a kōhanga reo participant, the cultural audit process could also be adapted for use in kura kaupapa Māori by incorporating Te Aho Matua principles.

The holistic approach taken in the cultural audit has a number of advantages. It is culturally appropriate, challenges the resource dependency mindset that often hinders special educational provisions and is focused on making wide-ranging improvements that will benefit all learners not just Māori learners with special needs. It is an approach that is supported by the international literature. For example, Banks (2001), Grossman, H., (1995), and Peters and Heron (1993) all note that piecemeal approaches to reform in education have been ineffective in achieving widespread, long-term improvements for students with special needs and those from ethnic minority groups. These writers all advocate an integrated, multifaceted approach to reform.

Research Limitations

The Research Did Not Investigate the Entire Cultural Audit Process

The research needed to go beyond step 4, the Development of a Future Action Plan, and evaluate steps 5 and 6, the Implementation and Review of the Action Plan. As previously explained, this was not done as I was reluctant to introduce any element that might jeopardise people feeling comfortable to express their opinions without fear of being judged, compared with other schools or their follow-up performance scrutinised. In retrospect I feel that if I had spent more time in schools explaining the research and establishing a rapport with the participants, evaluating steps 4, 5 and 6 of the cultural audit would not have been perceived as threatening. While the research resulted in a thorough examination of the cultural audit products, the evaluation of the cultural audit process is incomplete.

The Research Should Have Involved Participants to a Greater Extent

Increased involvement of research participants especially in the area of data interpretation and analysis was desirable. Because so many people participated in this research, involving everyone in data analysis and interpretation was not possible. However, the establishment of focus groups of parents, kōhanga reo whānau and teachers to assist in the interpretation of the data collected in their phase of the research would have strengthened this study. Not only would it have facilitated a deeper understanding of the data collected but it would also have helped to guard against researcher bias in the interpretation and analysis of information.

The Research Should Have Involved More Learners With Special Needs

The involvement of learners with special needs themselves needed to be greatly increased. The voice of these children and youth in the research is limited. This is not because it was considered unimportant, but rather because there were relatively few opportunities to interview and observe these learners. It cannot be assumed that parental opinions about cultural input and effective programmes and services are supported by their children. Likewise, these learners may face challenges to having their special needs met that their parents and teachers are unaware of. Seeking out further opportunities to consult with children and youth would have strengthened this study.

The Research is Not as Positively Focused as Was Intended

The organisation survey and the invitation for educational establishments to participate in the cultural audit trials contained the following quote from Sir Apirana Ngata:

There are two ways of tackling problems. One is to explore the bad and feature it. The other is to discover good and encourage it. (Percy, 1989, p. 6-7)

My main focus, announced to organisations, educational establishments and included as a guiding principle in chapter one, was on highlighting the positive. The research did identify and share many successful strategies and practices and incorporated a wide range of suggestions for overcoming identified challenges. However, the sheer number of challenges that emerged; the many shortcomings identified by research studies investigating special education for Māori learners with special needs; and the negative

feedback from the majority of parents and whānau interviewed resulted in this study being more problem focused than was initially intended. Although these negative findings have much to teach us, on reflection I should have sought to identify more parents and whānau who had successful experiences to share and highlighted these positive findings.

RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Meeting Needs

Service Requirements

As a result of what I have learnt on my research journey, I feel better equipped to answer questions posed by parents, whānau, teachers and service providers. Nowadays if I am asked how Māori learners with special needs can have these needs met in a culturally appropriate, effective way, I will recommend that educational establishments conduct a cultural audit and that all provisions for Māori learners with special needs from any service provider should:

- ◆ Incorporate Māori concepts, knowledge, skills, attitudes, processes, reo, practices, resources, customs, values and beliefs. All identification and assessment measures and teaching strategies used should be culturally appropriate. However, Māori are not a homogeneous group and the desire for cultural input varies amongst people and over time. Teachers, special educators and service providers should consult with parents, whānau and, where appropriate, the learners themselves on an on-going basis to determine the nature and extent of the cultural input required;
- ◆ focus on areas of importance, concern, relevance and benefit to Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau. Again regular consultation will be required to ensure that the needs and aspirations of parents, whānau and learners are taken cognisance of and that the methods and measures chosen are relevant and appropriate;
- ◆ involve parents, whānau, the Māori community and the learners themselves to the extent that they choose. Likewise, teachers, special educators and service providers should make an effort to be involved in the lives of their students/service receivers and the Māori community to a degree that all concerned feel comfortable with;
- ◆ result in the empowerment of the learners, their parents, whānau and the Māori community. Programmes and services should provide them with the skills,

knowledge, means, opportunity and authority to act for themselves and make their own decisions;

- ◆ be of a high quality. As well as being culturally effective, programmes and services need to incorporate all the components identified as best practice in special education and service provision;
- ◆ be delivered by people who have the required personal, professional and cultural expertise. These people should be valuing and supportive of Māoritanga and Māori people. They should also be accountable for the cultural and general effectiveness of their programmes and services to the learners, parents and whānau concerned and to the Māori community;
- ◆ be well co-ordinated. If learners are receiving a number of special needs services, the people providing them should co-ordinate their efforts to ensure procedures are not duplicated and that services are integrated and complementary. The transition between services and educational levels should be carefully planned and smoothly implemented;
- ◆ be readily accessible to Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau and result in equitable outcomes for these learners.

Changing Metaphors

Bishop and Glynn (1999b) maintain that teachers develop principles and practices that reflect the imagery and metaphors they hold. In the past special education in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been dominated by the medical model. Similarly, Māori education has been governed by a deficit mentality. Although these paradigms are changing,²⁰⁰ progress for Māori learners with special needs could be hastened by the adoption of a new metaphor. Provisions for Māori learners with special needs can be likened to a waka they travel on at one stage of life's journey. The kaunoti (hull) represents the requirements of importance, relevance and beneficence. The hoe (paddles) represent high quality, integrated provisions and appropriate, accountable personnel. These are the components that enable the waka to travel smoothly and surely. If any component is missing, the waka will travel in circles making only limited

²⁰⁰ See Moore et al., (1999) and Mitchell, D. (2001) for a discussion of the shift in special education paradigms.

progress. If all components are missing, the waka may not progress at all or, being at the mercy of the current, may founder on the rocks. Traditionally even small waka had rā (sails) (Best, 1976). These assisted the rowers and hastened progress. In this analogy the participation of parents, whānau and the Māori community provide the rā. The more empowered they are, the greater the rate of progress made. The kaupapa Māori requirement can be likened to the harakeke (flax) lashings that bind the various parts of the waka together. As these lashings provide strength and cohesiveness to the waka, Māori input achieves the same task for the programmes and services offered to Māori learners with special needs. The tatā (bailer) represents equality. If water enters, the bailer is used to enable the waka to remain balanced and afloat. Finally, the path to the waka represents accessibility. If this is blocked, the Māori learner with special needs will be forced to make the journey on foot. Progress by this means will be much slower and more laborious.

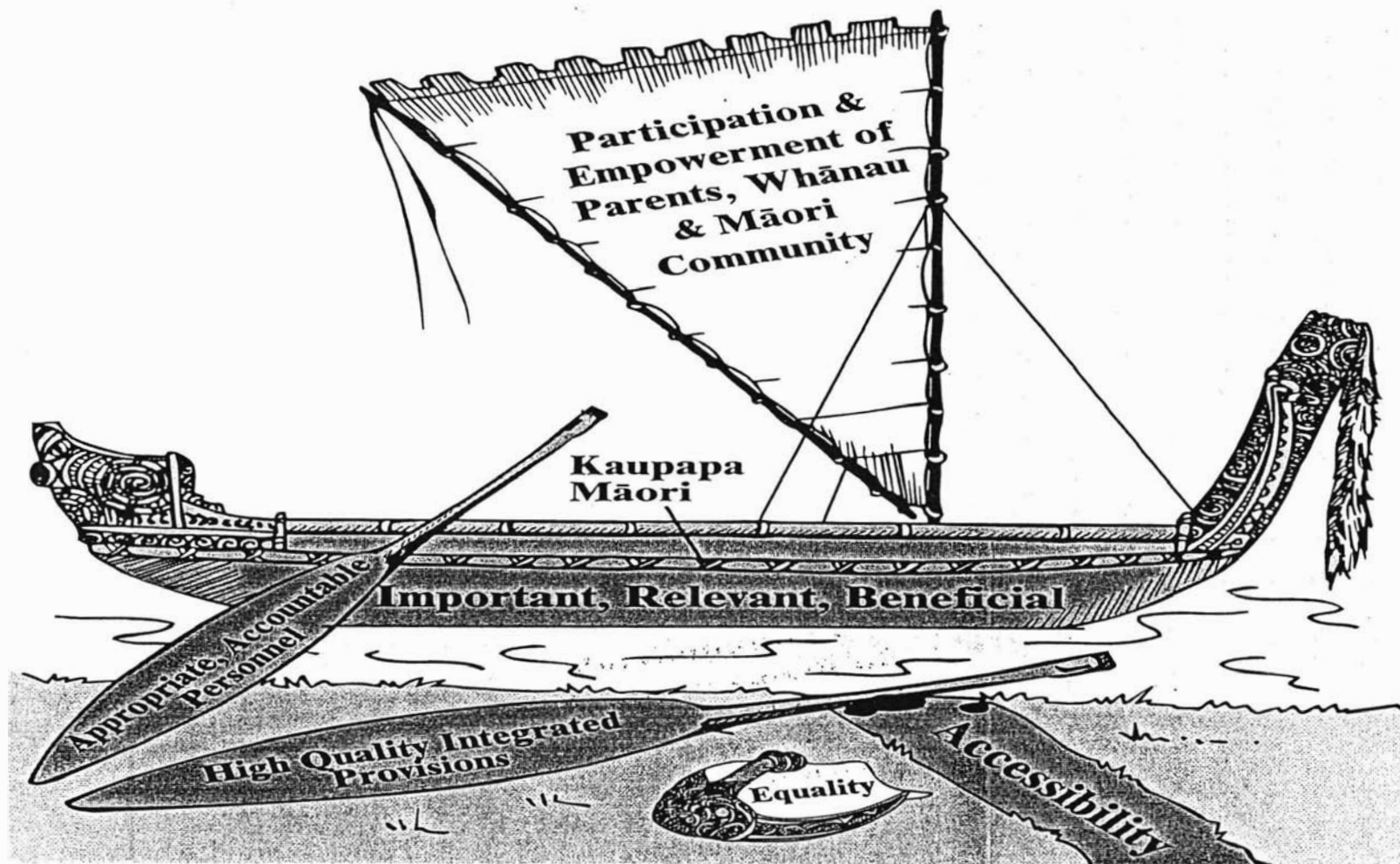


Figure 11.1 He Waka Tino Whakarauea: A Well-Equipped Canoe

Future Research

The cultural audit would benefit from being evaluated according to “best practice” indicators advocated by Peters and Heron (1993). According to Peters and Heron best practice can be claimed if five criteria are met. These are: The procedure in question has a sound theoretical base; empirical support; consensus with existing literature; can produce the desired outcomes; and has social validity. The theoretical base, consensus with existing literature and social validity of the cultural audit process and products have been established in this present research. However, to meet the criteria of sound empirical support and the production of desired outcomes, further research is needed to evaluate the entire cultural audit process and to investigate its effectiveness in improving educational provisions for Māori learners with special needs in particular and Māori learners in general. It is recommended that a number of in-depth case studies be carried out to investigate the performance of a range of different schools and early childhood centres, before, during and after a cultural audit has been conducted.

In addition, further empirical support is needed for individual strategies included in the cultural audit exemplar, used by various educational establishments and organisations or mentioned by kōhanga reo participants, parents and whānau. This research has revealed that many of the teaching programmes and strategies recommended for Māori learners are based on values and expert opinion. Similarly, the present research is heavily weighted in this direction. This is not intended as a criticism of the research or the teaching programmes and strategies concerned. As Peters and Heron (1993) note:

Snell (1991) stated that values and research work in concert to form the foundation of best practice procedures. Often, a best practice is identified when a value is accepted; the value precedes the empirical support. Likewise, Baumgart and Ferguson (1991) stated that the “logic of social justice, civil rights and social access does not depend on a test of scientific evidence for its power” (p. 316). (p. 378)

However, strategies and teaching programmes for Māori learners both with and without special needs must not be based solely on values and expert opinion. Their effectiveness must also be demonstrated through systematic and rigorous research.

In-depth research involving Māori children and youth with special needs is also recommended. What do they think about the inclusion of waiata and karakia in their special education programme? Does it make any difference if the person helping them with their remedial reading is Māori or Pākehā? Do they really want Mum and Dad coming to school to help out? What teaching strategies do they find most helpful? These and numerous other questions need to be asked of large numbers of Māori learners with special needs. This present research has only scratched the surface in this respect.²⁰¹

Overcoming the Challenges

While acknowledging that services for Māori learners with special needs have been steadily improving over the last 15 years, this research has shown that there are still many areas of major concern. In order for Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau to be appropriately and effectively provided for a number of requirements need to be met.

Increased Funding

The research has shown that there are significant shortages in all areas. High stress levels, burnout rates, and heavy workloads are reported for Māori working in disability organisations and special education. Teachers in schools and early childhood centres struggle to cope with inadequate resources and support. Researchers bemoan the lack of funding to allow the widespread dissemination of their findings and programmes. Parents struggle to find people and services able to assist their children with special needs. A substantial increase in funding would overcome many of these problems. This would enable more culturally appropriate resources, assessment measures, programmes and services to be developed and provided; more people to be trained and employed; and more research to be conducted and disseminated. The Government via the Ministries of Education, Health and Māori Development need to allocate funding

²⁰¹ It is suggested that the Poutama Pounamu Education Research and Development Centre has a major role to play in this future research. With the merger of SES and the MoE there is potential for Poutama Pounamu to provide wider kaupapa Māori research-based leadership in the development of culturally effective programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs.

specifically targeted to helping Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau. Tribal funding agencies also have a role to play in providing this finance.

Readily Available, Compulsory, Bicultural Training

The shortage of people with the professional and cultural expertise needed to develop and provide programmes, services and resources for Māori learners with special needs was evident in all research phases. Even when funding was available, positions could not be filled as there were too few people with the required expertise. This situation could be alleviated if preservice and inservice training that included a substantial, compulsory Māori component was readily available to teachers, teacher aides, psychologists, social workers, speech-language therapists and organisation personnel involved in working with Māori learners with special needs. This Māori component would need to include: Te reo; Māori cultural knowledge, beliefs, practices and values; the Treaty of Waitangi and the effects of colonisation; information relating to total immersion and bilingual education; and strategies for working with parents, whānau and the Maori community.

In addition, compulsory bicultural training has a major role to play in developing well-informed beliefs and attitudes that are supportive of Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau. Research findings have shown that societal and individual beliefs and attitudes detrimental to Māori are major barriers to culturally appropriate, effective service provision. Therefore bicultural training should include ideological, theoretical and empirical data which demonstrate the important influence culture has on the perception and management of special needs in particular and on learners' development in general. It should also examine majority cultural influence in education and society and the causes, impact and maintenance of unequal power relationships, prejudice, racism, disabilism, social injustice, inequality and poverty. It is hoped that a raised awareness of these issues will result in the development of positive attitudes amongst teachers, special educators and others involved in the care and education of Māori learners with special needs. It is also hoped that the positive attitudes and knowledge they gain will be passed on to students they teach and others with whom they associate.

Proactive Recruitment of Māori

The need for more Māori to work with learners with special needs, their parents and whānau was mentioned in all research phases. The rationale was that many Māori children, youth and adults feel more comfortable working with someone they can identify with and relate to culturally. It was also believed that Māori workers provided good role models and were more likely to have an appreciation of te taha wairua and to speak Māori. The research showed that Māori learners with special needs in Māori-medium education were particularly disadvantaged by the present shortage of culturally effective programmes and services. While te reo would be included in the previously mentioned bicultural training, it is acknowledged that many people would not develop the level of proficiency needed to work in total immersion situations during their training period. Therefore, there is a pressing need to introduce/increase measures to encourage Māori, especially those who are bilingual, to enter occupations that involve working with Māori learners with special needs.

The research identified a number of measures already being used to attract Māori to work with learners with special needs. These include proactive recruitment techniques, financial assistance, training incentives, mentoring and support programmes. These initiatives should be extended to cover a wider range of professions. Also additional measures such as guaranteed Māori placements should be introduced in courses where there is an acute shortage of Māori workers. Speech language therapy is a prime example.

Expanded Services

This study revealed that at present the majority of special needs programmes, services and administrative procedures are based on Pākehā perceptions and ways of working. It also revealed that the concept of special needs held by many Māori participants was broader than that which is presently provided for in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Some participants identified a specific category of special needs associated with being Māori. These factors must be taken into consideration if Māori learners with special needs are to be adequately provided for. The nature and range of present special education and disability services and programmes will need to be extended to accommodate Māori perceptions of special needs and preferences for service provision. This will entail the

development of broad-based, holistic programmes and services that incorporate Māori values, perspectives, ways of working, take cognisance of the learner's home background and involve and support their whānau.

Empowerment of Māori

Māori should be involved in all decision-making affecting Māori learners with special needs at national, regional and organisational levels and be empowered to provide their own iwi, hapū and pan-Māori services. This measure would not only assist in reducing the identified shortages in culturally effective provisions for Māori learners with special needs but it would also help to lessen the general power imbalance in educational decision-making that presently exists in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In order for Treaty of Waitangi obligations to be met, Māori need to be given the power and resources to determine their own future. This applies to all facets of life including the provision of programmes and services for Māori learners with special needs.

Although the focus of this research has been on Māori learners with special needs, it should be recognised that people with special needs in general are a disempowered group who need to be included in all decision-making affecting their lives. Who better to articulate needs and determine ways these can be met than people with special needs themselves?

Increased Parental and Whānau Involvement

The research findings revealed that parental and whānau involvement was an important ingredient in effective service provision. However many challenges to achieving this involvement were identified and proactive measures are needed to overcome these. It is recommended that all educational establishments and organisations develop a plan for encouraging and enabling parental and whānau involvement. These plans should focus on three areas in particular. First, educational establishments and organisations should include strategies to create a welcoming and supportive environment in order to overcome any negative experiences, attitudes, beliefs and cultural traits and behaviours that are barriers to parental and whānau involvement. Second, accessibility issues can be addressed by the introduction of a range of financial, organisational and administrative arrangements that enable access. Third, measures should focus on

empowering parents and whānau. The research revealed that, generally, educational establishments and organisations decided how, when, where and to what degree parents and whānau could be involved or “used.” Parental and whānau choice was often limited to deciding whether or not to become involved. Strategies need to be included that increase parental and whānau knowledge and skills and provide a genuine say in the education and care of their children with special needs. Because raising a child with special needs usually involves extra work and stress for parents and whānau, it is essential that participation in any early childhood, school or organisational activity be an empowering, beneficial, supportive and enjoyable experience rather than an added burden.

Conclusion

This research journey has revealed that Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau face a multitude of challenges to having their needs met in a culturally appropriate, effective way. However, it also revealed that these challenges are being met by good practices evident in many early childhood centres, schools and organisations throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. The successful programmes, services and strategies identified together with the cultural audit process developed in this study point the way to a brighter future for Māori learners with special needs, their parents and whānau. For this future to be realised all those involved in the education and care of Māori learners with special needs must pick up the manuka branch and make a genuine commitment to valuing and providing for diversity.

GLOSSARY OF MĀORI WORDS

While many Māori words have been explained within the body of this thesis, in the interest of maintaining the flow of discourse this has not always been done. Words not explained in the text are presented below. The meanings provided relate specifically to their use in this thesis.

Ako	To learn as well as to teach *
Anga	Framework
Arawatanga	Identity, history, traditions, beliefs, behaviours and values belonging to the Arawa tribe
Aroha	Love in its broadest sense
Aroha ki te tāngata	Sharing, caring and showing unconditional support and generosity towards others *
Arotake	Assessment
Auahi kore	Smoke free
Awhi	Provide help and support
Āwhinatanga	The process of providing help and support
Haere ra	Good bye
Haka	Ceremonial (challenge) song-dance
Hāngi	Earth oven
Hapū	Sub tribe
Harakeke	Flax (weaving)
Hinengaro	The seat of thoughts and emotions
Hui	A gathering following Māori meeting protocols
Ira atua	Life principle of supernatural beings
Ira tāngata	Life principle of mortals
Iwi	Tribe
Kaha	Strength, persistence
Kai	Food
Kaiako	Teacher
Kaiāwhina	Helper, Teacher aide
Kaimahi	Worker, Personnel

Kaitakawaenga	Māori liaison worker
Kaitiaki	Guardian, caretaker, guide
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face-to-face, meeting someone in person*
Kapahaka	Māori culture group
Karakia	Prayer, ritual chant
Kaumātua	Respected elder (both men and women)
Kaunihera	Council
Kaupapa Māori	Māori purpose or agenda
Kāwanatanga	Government
Kēhua	Ghost, spirit, apparition
Kēmu Māori	Māori games
Kia ora	Hello
Kiekie	Plant used in weaving
Kiko	Content
Koha	Gift, donation
Kōhanga reo	Māori-medium early childhood centre
Kōrero	Speak, talk, conversation, discussion
Koro	Elderly man
Koru	Spiral motif
Kōtahitanga	Unity and togetherness *
Kōtiro	Girl
Kuia/kui	Elderly woman
Kura	School
Kura kaupapa Māori	Māori-medium primary school
Mahi	Process
Mahi tahi	The unity of people working towards a specific goal or the implementation of a task *
Mana	Influence, power, prestige, status, charisma
Manaakitanga	Responsibility and authority for a host to care for visitors total wellbeing *
Manaia	Lizard/bird-like figure
Mana motuhake	Separate Māori political power with self-determining authority *

Mana tāngata	Human rights, integrity. Authority bestowed on an individual or group by others *
Mana whakahaere	Administration
Māoritanga	Māori culture, Māori perspective
Marae	Cultural meeting ground/place
Mātāpono	Principles
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Mihi/Mihimihi	Greet/greetings
Mirimiri	Massage
Mokopuna	Grandchild
Ngā tūrangā takitahi me ngā mana whakahaere	An individual's role/position and the accompanying responsibilities *
Noho marae	Overnight stay at a marae
Ōritetanga	Equality, equity
Pākehā	New Zealander of Caucasian descent
Pātere	Rhythmic chant
Poi	Light ball swung on string in musical item
Poroporoaki	Formal farewell
Pōwhiri	Formal welcome
Putunga	Accessibility
Rākau	Wooden sticks used in musical game
Rangatira	Chief
Rauemi	Resources
Raukawatanga	Identity, history, traditions, beliefs, behaviours and values belonging to the Raukawa tribe
Rohe	District
Rongoā	Medicine
Rūnanga	Council
Taha Māori	Māori dimension
Taha wairua	Spiritual dimension
Taiaha	Wooden weapon, long club
Take Māori	Māori matters, Māori concerns
Take whakahaere	Policy

Takiwā	Environment
Tamaiti	Child
Tamariki	Children
Tāngata whenua	Indigenous people
Tangi/Tangihanga	Funeral
Taonga	Precious possession, anything of high value
Tapu	Sacred, forbidden
Tautoko	Support, help
Te Aho Matua	Kura kaupapa Māori philosophy
Te Ao Mārama	The world of life and light, the human world
Te reo Māori	The Māori language
Tiakitanga	Looking out for, caring for others
Tikanga	Customs, protocol, rules, principles
Tinana	Body
Tino Rangatiratanga	Tribal self-determination
Tohu	Mark, sign of, proof
Tohunga	Skilled person, expert
Tohunga Ahurewa	An expert in esoteric knowledge
Tuakana-teina	Older child/younger child relationship
Tūhoetanga	Identity, history, traditions, beliefs, behaviours and values belonging to the Tūhoe tribe
Tūpuna/tīpuna	Ancestors
Wāhanga o te katoa	Programme components
Waiata	Song
Wairua	Spirit, spirituality
Wairuatanga	The spiritual and physical warmth and energy radiating from people, places and objects *
Waka	Canoe
Waka tino whakarawea	A very well-equipped canoe
Wānanga	Māori centres of learning, forums for learning and teaching *
Whai wāhi	Participation
Whakahoa	Partnership

Whakamā	Shy, embarrassed, ashamed
Whakamāori	Make Māori
Whakangungu	Active Protection
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakapiki tāngata	Empowerment
Whakatauāki	Proverb, wise saying
Whakaurunga	Integration
Whakawhanaungatanga	Establishing relationships. Kinship and spiritual ties that bind whānau and hapū together in a unified network of relationships *
Whānau	Extended family
Whanaungatanga	Kinship, relationship
Wharekura	Total immersion secondary school
Whare kai	Eating house
Whare tapa wha	Four-sided house
Whare tūpuna	Ancestors' house, main building on a marae complex
Whare wānanga	Māori university/higher school of learning

* These terms are cited in Berryman et al. (2002). The translations are those provided in the original research. However, readers are referred to Berryman et al. for a more in-depth discussion of their meaning.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: ORGANISATION QUESTIONNAIRE

PACE *Professional And Community Education*

November 1996

Kia ora

My name is Jill Bevan-Brown and I am presently working towards a Doctorate at Massey University. My particular interest is in Māori children with special needs and the special educational services and programmes provided for them. To this end I am contacting the main special education providers, support services, disability and Māori organisations to enlist their help in my research. What I would like to know is:

1. Does your organisation provide any services or programmes specifically developed or adapted for Māori children or adults with special needs?
2. If so, what do these services or programmes consist of?
3. What processes were involved in their development or adaptation?
4. What feedback have you had concerning these services and programmes?
5. Do you have any person/s in your organisation with particular responsibility for or expertise in providing services or programmes for Māori with special needs?
6. If you do not offer any services or programmes specifically intended for Māori with special needs and/or if you do not employ any person/s with expertise in this area, do you have particular reasons for this situation?
7. Do you have anything else you would like to add that is relevant to the topic being researched?

I would like to assure you from the outset that the intention behind this research is positive not critical. I am inspired by one of Sir Apirana Ngata's sayings:

"There are two ways of tackling problems. One is to explore the bad and feature it. The other is to discover good and encourage it."

I prefer the latter method and so my main focus will be on discovering and analysing provisions and services that are successful with Māori children with special needs and then disseminating this knowledge through my research.



Hokowhitu Campus
Centennial Drive
Private Bag 11 035
Palmerston North
New Zealand
Telephone 0-6-357 9104
Facsimile 0-6-356 9032

To help me achieve this goal I would appreciate you answering the seven questions posed previously. This can be done either by yourself (or a person delegated by you who has particular expertise in this area) by means of:

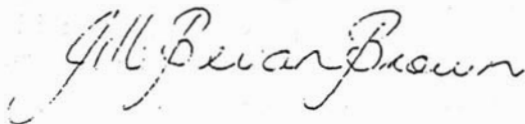
- i. ordinary mail (work address above, home address, 24 Rahui Road, Otaki),
- ii Email (j.m.bevan-brown@massey.ac.nz),
- iii by phone (work 06 357 9104, home, 06 364 5262),
- iv if you prefer and if travel to your workplace can be arranged, by a face-to-face interview.

I would also be grateful for copies of any brochures, pamphlets, booklets, policy statements etc provided by your organisation that contain any information relevant to my research topic. I will pay any expenses involved.

I realise that providing the information I seek will add further to your over-burdened workload and I apologise for this. I only hope that a concern for Māori children with special needs will prompt you to find time to answer this request.

Thank you in anticipation.

Arohanui

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'Jill Bevan-Brown'.

Jill Bevan-Brown
(Senior Lecturer, PACE)

NB. Data collected from this questionnaire will be analysed and presented in an **anonymous** form in research findings relating to Maori children with special needs. It is assumed that filling in this questionnaire, implies consent for its use.

APPENDIX B: STUDENTS' ASSIGNMENT OUTLINE

1. ASSIGNMENT OUTLINE

AN IMPORTANT NOTE FROM YOUR TUTOR, JILL BEVAN-BROWN

Like you I am presently involved in extramural study! I am in the process of doing a PhD research investigating culturally appropriate and effective ways of meeting the needs of Māori children and teenagers with special needs. This study will take approximately five years and involves researching how needs are being met by:

- (1) organisations and agencies such as IHC and SES,
- (2) schools and early childhood centres
- (3) Māori parents, children and whanau.

I would like to include data from this assignment option in the schools and early childhood centre phase of my research. To do this I need your permission. At the back of this Booklet you will find an **Information Sheet** which fully explains what involvement in this research project will entail for you and clearly outlines your rights in this respect. After reading this Information Sheet, take some time to consider what is being asked of you. If you have any queries or concerns at all please either ring or write to me. When you are satisfied that you fully understand what is involved, if you decide to participate in this study you should sign the **Consent Form** (also included) and return this with your assignment. Please note however, that in no way are you obligated to become involved in my research. If you are interested in doing this assignment option but do not want the data you collect to be incorporated in the research, simply do not return the Consent Form with the assignment and I will not use your data. Your decision to participate or not will in no way affect your grade for this assignment. It will be assessed according to the relevant criteria outlined in the Introductory Booklet for your course.

After reading through this Assignment Booklet, if you decide to do another of the assignment options would you please return this Booklet straight away. Only a limited number have been printed and it may be needed by another student.

In Study Guide 2/3 you learnt how important it is to take the culture of a child with special needs into account in any programme or service provided for him/her. In this assignment you are required to investigate how this is being done in a particular school/early childhood centre for Māori children or teenagers with special needs. To help you in this investigation you are required to use the Māori Cultural Input Checklist and Framework provided. They have been designed to focus you on exactly where and how Māori culture is being taken into consideration. Your assignment must follow the steps outlined below:

Step One - Choose an early childhood centre or school which has one or more Māori children/teenagers with special needs attending. (This may or may not be the institution where you are presently working. The Māori child/children with special needs may or may not have been "formally" identified by the SES or other outside

agency or expert.) However there must be in existence some type of programme developed or modified specifically to meet the special needs of one or more Māori children.

Step Two - Identify a person who has experience and knowledge of how Māori children/teenagers with special needs are being provided for in their early childhood centre or school. (This may be you in your learning institution.) If this is not you, you must seek the chosen person's consent to be interviewed. If you would like your assignment to be used for research purposes you must carefully explain this to your prospective informant and ascertain if they also agree to participate. Give them the Information Sheet provided for this purpose. When they have read it and you have discussed their involvement and rights, give them time to consider whether they wish to become involved or not. Contact them at a later date to find out if they agree to participate. If they do you should get them to sign the Consent Form provided. They may agree to participate for your assignment purposes but request that the information given not be used in my research. This is fine, information will be used only if relevant consent forms are returned. If they don't agree to participate at all, you have two options available to you:

- (a) find someone else to interview who does agree to participate,
- (b) choose another assignment option.

Assuming you are continuing with this assignment, you should now negotiate a mutually convenient time and place for the interview to be held and give your informant a copy of the Cultural Input Checklist and Framework (included later in this booklet) for them to consider in advance. Also invite the person you intend to interview to bring along a support person with them if they so desire.

Step Three - Following the guidelines for using the Cultural Framework, conduct your interview or if you are surveying your own school/centre, use the Cultural Framework to gather your data.

Step Four - Analyse the data you have collected and write up your findings under the headings provided in the following guidelines.

Step Five - Post your completed assignment to me remembering to include the relevant Consent Form/s where permission has been granted for information to be used for research purposes.

If you have any queries at all before, during or after doing this assignment please do not hesitate to contact me.

2. GUIDELINES FOR USING THE MĀORI CULTURAL INPUT CHECKLIST AND FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

For interest sake, before you use the Māori Cultural Input Checklist and Framework you may like to know a little bit about how and why they were developed. The first phase of the research from which they evolved consisted of an investigation into how various special education, Māori, disability and support organisations were providing for Māori children and teenagers with special needs. Questionnaires were mailed to 149 different agencies and organisations. When it came to analysing the data from these questionnaires a number of issues arose. Among these was the question of whether the programmes, services and strategies considered by the various organisations as being culturally appropriate did, in fact, meet this criterion. What does this term actually mean? Does its interpretation differ between people or between organisations? Who decides what is culturally appropriate and what do they base this decision on?

A literature research was conducted to provide some answers to these questions. Two different sources proved invaluable. Firstly, Te Pumanawa Hauora, a Māori Health Research unit based at Massey University had grappled with similar questions and had developed a variety of frameworks, models, checklists and guidelines to be used to evaluate the cultural component of various health and disability services. Secondly, the Treaty of Waitangi and literature relating to it were considered. Given the Treaty's significance as New Zealand's founding document and its important to Māori, its inclusion in any measure of cultural appropriateness is essential.

Eight principles from these two important sources were used to form the x axis of the Cultural Input Framework. Programme and service components that emerged from the questionnaire analysis and literature review data formed the y axis. Next the various programmes, services and strategies described by the organisations surveyed were considered in relation to the Cultural Framework. Fortunately they all fitted somewhere on the grid. Unfortunately, however, large gaps were revealed in certain areas!

You are now being asked to trial this Cultural Framework to investigate the ways school and early childhood centres are providing for Māori children and teenagers with special needs. Having never been used "in the field" before, the Framework will doubtlessly have many "bumps" that will need to be ironed out! You are being asked to identify weaknesses that need to be rectified and strengths that can be retained and perhaps even built on. Hopefully in the process you will also learn a great deal about how Māori children and teenagers with special needs can have these needs met in a culturally appropriate and effective way.

THE MĀORI CULTURAL INPUT FRAMEWORK

	Partnership	Participation	Active Protection	Empowerment and Tino Rangatiratanga	Equality and Accessibility	Integration
Environment						
Personal						
Policy						
Process						
Content						
Resources						
Assessment						
Administration						

HOW DOES THE CULTURAL INPUT FRAMEWORK WORK?!

The principles on the x axis should be at the foundation of school/early childhood provisions for Māori children - with or without special needs! The y axis contains the various components of programmes and services offered at schools and early childhood centres. If a facility is taking the x axis principles into account in all the y axis categories, they are doing an excellent job of providing for their Māori children. It is unlikely that a school/early childhood centre will have entries in every cell on the Cultural Input Framework. However the framework does give us a means of investigating our present provisions for Māori children, identifying areas of strength and weakness and guiding us towards future improvement. "Filling the framework" would provide a laudable goal for all schools and early childhood centres to aim for!

HOW DO I USE THE CULTURAL INPUT FRAMEWORK IN MY ASSIGNMENT?

Following this "Guidelines" section you will find the Cultural Input Checklist, a "filled in" Framework and a brief explanation of the principles on which the framework is based. In the shaded area across the top of the checklist, a key question is posed for each Framework principle. Similarly, in the shaded area down the left hand side a key question is posed for each programme component. These are the most important questions and are the ones you should concentrate on for your assignment. A secondary, focus question relating to intersecting x & y elements has been posed in each cell on the Framework grid. These are not the only focus

questions that could be asked but have been chosen as they provide an overall spread of issues and areas deserving consideration. (When using the Framework if you can think of relevant focus questions that are more appropriate to your particular work/interview situation please substitute them. In this way you will be individualising the Cultural Input Framework. If you do make changes to focus questions, please include your substitute question/s).

Complementary to the Cultural Input Checklist is a "filled in" Framework. In the shaded area across the top, you will find a performance outcome for each principle. These are what every school and early childhood centre should be aiming to achieve. In the shaded area on the left hand side are brief descriptions of the various programmes components. The grid itself is "filled in" with strategies that exemplify the intersecting x and y elements. They are answers to the focus questions posed in the Checklist and collectively demonstrate how the relevant key questions can be operationalised. Take the time now to read the Checklist and completed Framework in conjunction with one another to see how the system works!

The grid entries included are all real-life examples. They have been drawn from my own experience, the literature research and the strategies described in phase one of this study. Many other examples were appropriate but these particular ones were chosen as they provide an overall school/early childhood, general/special education, and child/parent/whanau representative selection.

Before using the Cultural Input Framework, two important points of clarification need to be made.

- (1) The Māori child with special needs is first a Māori child! This means that not only must his/her special needs programme be culturally appropriate and effective but the environment and general programme provided by the school/early childhood centre must also meet these criteria. Consequently in collecting data for this assignment, you should focus not only on the cultural input into special needs provisions but also on the school/centre life in general. (You will have already noticed that the examples given in the completed Framework relate both to general and special needs provisions.)
- (2) In collecting your data you will discover that many strategies belong in more than one category, eg "Parents, whanau & teachers jointly organise the annual kapa haka concert" has been entered as an example of the personnel-participation combination. It could have equally justifiably been entered into the process -empowerment & tino rangatiratanga or content - active protection categories. When it comes to analysing your own data you are asked to enter your examples in all relevant categories.

STUDYING YOUR OWN SCHOOL/EARLY CHILDHOOD CENTRE

If you are knowledgeable about the provisions for Māori children/teenagers with special needs in your own institution and plan to do your assignment using your school/early childhood centre, you can approach the task in a number of ways. Having read through the Cultural Input Checklist and Framework information you may like to brainstorm and record all the strategies used at your school/centre to meet the needs of (1) Māori children in general (2) Māori children with special needs. You will need to refer to your charter and other official documentation and consultation with other staff is also advisable. (Remember you should tell them what you are collecting information for and ask their permission to include their ideas.) Another possibility is to carry a note book around with you for a week and jot down all the examples of providing for Māori children that you come across in that time. Even if you have conducted an initial brainstorm it is wise to wait for a week or so before moving to the next stage of the assignment. It is amazing what you remember when you have had time to reflect! After using the information-gathering method that suits you best, you will need to analyse your data. Some suggestions for doing this are included in a following section.

CONDUCTING AN INTERVIEW

If you have no Māori children with special needs in your school/centre you will need to find somewhere that does and a person from this school/centre who is both knowledgeable about the provisions available for Māori children and willing to discuss them with you. When you locate someone who can fill this role you should use the procedure for gaining consent described earlier in this booklet and then arrange a mutually convenient time and place for the interview. You should give your interviewee the Cultural Input Checklist, completed Framework and information on the principles a week before the interview to allow them time to reflect on the interview questions. (You should photocopy this from your Assignment Booklet or dismantle the Booklet and give them your copy.) A danger in handing out the Checklist at this stage is that your interviewee may be put off by its length! You will need to explain to them that you will not be asking every question. Rather you will be focussing on the key question/s in each section. The focus questions and examples have been provided to jog their memories as they reflect on what their school/centre provides for Māori children. You can also assure them that they are not expected to have examples of every principle-component combination and reiterate that the school/centre is not being judged in any way. Your sole interest is to gather information about effective and culturally appropriate provisions and to trial the Cultural Input Checklist and Framework. Remind them that all information gathered is completely anonymous. Both they and their school/centre will not be identified in any way.

Having previously read the Cultural Input Checklist questions, the interviewee should have a good understanding of the type of information you are seeking. In the interview situation you should first ask a key question and then record the reply. If the interviewee does not reply you should prompt them with a focus question or example relevant to the key question asked. Before moving on to a new key question you should run your eye over the focus questions and examples. The information provided by your interviewee may well have covered these separate principle-component combinations but if you see any area that has not been raised in discussion, ask the relevant focus question. You will have to use your own judgement here. (You can choose to work from principle to principle or alternatively you may like to work your way down the programme components. Either approach is valid and should result in the same information being gathered.) Work your way through the various sections and finish off with these last three questions:

- (1) What type of special needs does/do the Māori child/children with this designation in your facility have? (This question is being asked to provide background information. Obviously the provisions made for one hearing impaired child in a kindergarten will differ from those made for six Māori teenagers with intellectual disability in the special unit at a college.)
- (2) Have you any comments to make about the weaknesses and strengths of the Cultural Input Checklist and Framework as an information-gathering, consciousness-raising tool?
- (3) Have you any comments of your own you would like to add?

Finish by thanking them for their time and contribution. If they have agreed to have their contribution included in my research please make sure you have the consent form signed and collected. Also collect back the Cultural Input Checklist and Framework you gave them to consider.

SORTING THE INFORMATION GATHERED

Similar to gathering checklist data and interviewing, different approaches to sorting information will suit different people. Following are some suggestions for you to consider.

- (1) Write out or type the 48 different principle-component combination headings ie partnership-environment, partnership-personnel etc. Now read through your data and sort your examples into the relevant categories. As mentioned previously, some strategies will fit in more than one category. You should enter them in each category for which they are appropriate by either using the copy facility in your word processor or by numbering each example and recording only the number in any relevant categories after the example has already been written out once.

- (2) Another possibility for sorting your data is to rule up a Cultural Input Framework grid. Write/ type out all your examples numbering them as you go. Consider each example and record its number in the relevant cell/s on the Framework grid.

Whatever method of sorting data you use, if you have information left at the end of the sorting process that does not appear to fit into any of the categories, write this up under the heading of MISCELLANEOUS. (It is important that you include these examples as they may highlight the need for an extra category to be added to the Framework.)

ANALYSING YOUR DATA

Now comes the interesting part of considering what all this data means! As each person will collect different information, different foci of analysis will present themselves but some key questions you will need to consider are:

- (1) What does your data spread tell you? Are there particular principles, components or combinations that predominate (strengths of the school/centre)? Are there any principles or components where there are few, if any entries (weaknesses)? What are the implications of your data spread?
- (2) Have any predominant patterns emerged? What are the implication of these patterns? (To illustrate this, an example I found in my research was that organisations were using many participatory strategies but very few empowerment strategies. A close examination of the examples cited showed that Māori parents and whanau were regularly being asked to help but rarely given any say in what they could do or how they should do it.)
- (3) Does your data show a good mix of special education and general education examples? Do the examples show both parents and children are being involved or does one group predominate? Are your examples originating from any particular level of the facility eg senior or junior school? Who is initiating your examples? Are policy examples evident in practice? Are there examples of involvement across all areas (eg policy formulation, consultation, planning, developing, implementing and evaluating) and at all levels (eg senior management to chalk-face involvement.) What are the implications of the answers to these questions?

No doubt there are many other questions that are particularly relevant to your situation. Use your own initiative and judgement in your analysis.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE ACTION

In this section you should reflect on the data you have collected and your analysis of it to make some recommendations for the school/early childhood centre you have studied. What suggestions have you for making Māori children's special needs programme, general programme and centre/school environment/routines etc more effective and culturally appropriate? The recommendations you make are for assignment purposes only but if you have studied your own school/centre you may like to act on these recommendations in the future.

3. ASSIGNMENT PRESENTATION

You should write up your research under the following headings:

1. **Research details**
 - (a) Type of facility investigated - ie early childhood centre/primary or secondary school.
 - (b) Designation and number of people consulted/interviewed - eg teacher, principal, parent, education support worker, etc.
 - (c) Type of special need/s of the Māori child/ren at the facility investigated.
 - (d) Number of children involved.
2. **Information gathered**

This section will probably be the largest. It should contain your data as described under the previous heading: "Sorting the Information Gathered".
3. **Data Analysis**

This section should contain answers to the questions posed under the previous heading: "Analysing your Data."
4. **Recommendations for Future Action**

Include the recommendations you decided on after reflecting on your research findings.
5. **Evaluation of the Cultural Input Checklist & Framework**

In this section you should comment on the usefulness of the Checklist and Framework for investigating the school/early childhood provisions available for Māori children/teenagers with special needs. In using the Checklist & Framework to collect, organise and analyse data, what did you find were its strengths, weaknesses and how could it be improved? If you conducted an interview you should also include the relevant comments made by your interviewee.
6. **Additional Information**

This section has been provided for you to include additional information or comments you wish to make, points worth pondering, issues raised etc in fact any thing at all that has not been covered in previous sections but, you believe, deserves mentioning.

It may eventuate that the school/early childhood you studied provided very little in the way of culturally appropriate services for its Māori children/teenagers with special needs. If this is the case and you have only a small amount of data to present and analyse, you can add greater depth to your assignment by spending more time on section 4, "Recommendations for future action."

A FINAL NOTE

Your assignment involves trialing the Cultural Input Checklist and Framework I have developed. As a result of your contribution changes will be made to ensure the final Checklist and Framework is as effective and user-friendly as possible. Because you are working with a draft that has many "bumps to be ironed out", I ask that you and the person you interview treat this Framework as confidential. The final product will be readily available for schools and early childhood centres to use and I will be encouraging them to do so. However I would not be happy to see copies of the draft Checklist and Framework being circulated and used when I know it is not as good as it could be. Not only would this mean that the school/centre would be using an imperfect instrument but my own integrity would be compromised.

ANOTHER FINAL NOTE!

If you have participated in this assignment **THANK YOU VERY MUCH** for your contribution to my research. It is really appreciated.

Arohanui

Jill (Bevan-Brown)

4. THE MĀORI CULTURAL INPUT CHECKLIST AND FRAMEWORK

The Māori Cultural Input Framework is based on eight essential principles originating from the Treaty of Waitangi and previous Māori research. In order to apply the framework to your school/centre situation you need to have a basic understanding of these principles.

1. PARTNERSHIP

This principle refers to an ongoing relationship between the two Treaty partners namely the Government (represented by its various agencies and government funded bodies such as schools and early childhood centres etc) and Māori (represented by constituted authorities such as runanga, marae committees, Māori/iwi organisations etc). In practical terms, partnership is exemplified by two partners to the Treaty working together to achieve mutually acceptable goals
(Durie, M. H., 1994).

2. PARTICIPATION

This principle refers to positive Māori involvement in all aspects of New Zealand society at the individual, hapu or iwi level. (Durie, M. H., 1994).
(This principles of Partnership and Participation obviously overlap but for Framework purposes the essential ingredient of the former is the fostering of a team relationship between school/early childhood personnel and Māori groups. The projects they are working on together need not necessarily be school/early childhood focussed. On the other hand, the essential ingredient of participation is the involvement of Māori individuals and groups in the day-to-day life of the school/early childhood centre.

3. ACTIVE PROTECTION

This principle refers to the Treaty guarantee to protect Māori "taonga" (treasures). In order to achieve this, proactive measures are necessary. This can be clearly illustrated in regards to the "taonga" of Māori language and tikanga. Protection involves more than leaving Māori unhindered to enjoy these treasures: to ensure their preservation and continuance the Government must actively support, value and promote their use in all spheres of New Zealand life. The implication of this for schools and early childhood centres is that programmes and services offered must address Māori cultural needs. This goes beyond cultural affirmation and cultural safety. It involves the active development of a Māori child's cultural knowledge, skills, values, beliefs and identity as an integral part of the service being delivered.

4. EMPOWERMENT & TINO RANGATIRATANGA

Empowerment involves providing Māori with the skills, knowledge, means, opportunity and authority to act for themselves and make their own decisions. Inherent in this is the provision of choices about which decisions can be made. Tino rangatiratanga is the Treaty provision which guarantees tribes the power to exercise authority in respect to their own affairs. Empowerment and tino rangatiratanga differ in that the focus of the latter is tribal authority over resources and taonga and tribal self determination, while the focus of the former is individual self determination in all areas of life. However in this Cultural Framework empowerment and tino rangatiratanga have been listed together as they are clearly interlinked. There are many strategies that can be utilised in schools and early childhood centres that will achieve both purposes.

5. EQUALITY AND ACCESSIBILITY

Article three of the Treaty promises Māori the "rights and privileges of British subjects". This constitutes a guarantee of legal equality between Māori and other New Zealanders. The Government acknowledges that implicit in legal equality is the assurance of actual enjoyment of social benefits. "Where serious and persistent imbalances exist between groups, in their actual enjoyment of social benefits such as health, education and housing, the Government will consider particular measures to assist in redressing the balance." (Principles for Crown Action on the Treaty of Waitangi).

The implication of this Treaty provision for schools and early childhood centres is that they may need to take proactive measures to ensure their Māori pupils are able to take full advantage of the programmes and services offered. The principle of Accessibility has been listed with Equality because of their obvious association. An important component of Equality is that of equal access. Affordable cost, convenient time and location, friendly personnel, barrier-free, safe environment and readily available and understandable advertising information are all important accessibility factors that schools/early childhood centres must take into consideration.

6. INTEGRATION

The dictionary definition of integration is, "to make into a whole by bringing all parts together." (Ilson, R. 1984, p 873). In the Cultural Framework this holistic principle is applicable at two different levels.

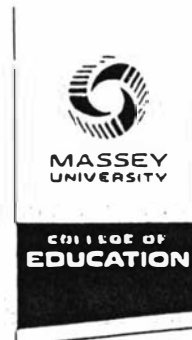
Firstly, at the school/early childhood level, integration involves making links with other schools, early childhood centres, Māori and community organisations and services to ensure Māori children are able to benefit from the range of expertise, resources and services available. These links help to overcome the fragmentation inevitable when education, health and social services operate in isolation. Also within the education system these links help to facilitate smooth transitions from one level to the next thus contributing towards a "seamless" education service.

Secondly, at the individual level, integration involves taking an ecological, holistic approach to programme content and service delivery. The Māori child should not be considered in isolation but in the context of the whanau, hapu, iwi and New Zealand society at large. The programme provided should cater for all needs - cognitive, cultural, physical, interpersonal (social) and intrapersonal (emotional, moral and spiritual).

SPECIAL EDUCATION, DISABILITY AND SUPPORT PROVISIONS FOR MĀORI CHILDREN AND TEENAGERS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

INFORMATION SHEET FOR B06.15/86.287 AND B06.02/86.284 STUDENTS

The assignment you have the option of choosing will be used in a research study being conducted by Jill Bevan-Brown, your tutor for B06.15/86.287 or B06.02/86.284. Research ethics require that you are made fully aware of what this research involves and that permission is gained for your participation and contribution. The following information is provided to this end.



Hokowhitu Campus
Centennial Drive
Private Bag 11 015
Palmerston North
New Zealand
Telephone 0-6-357 9104



1. WHO IS THE RESEARCHER AND WHERE CAN SHE BE CONTACTED?

My name is Jill Bevan-Brown and I am presently employed as a lecturer in Special Education for the Professional and Community Education Unit at Massey University College of Education and can be contacted at:

- (a) Work: Massey University College of Education
Phone (06) 357 9104 extn 8764.
Email j.m.bevan-brown@massey.ac.nz
- (b) Home: 24 Rahui Road, Otaki, phone (06) 364 5262.

This study forms a part of my Doctorate programme. My research Supervisors are Dr Ken Ryba and Associate Professor Robyn Munford both from Massey University and Professor Ted Glynn from Waikato University. The contact phone numbers for these people are:

Ken Ryba, Massey University, Albany Campus, phone (09) 443 9700.
Robyn Munford, Massey University, Turitea Campus, phone (06) 356 9099.
Ted Glynn, Waikato University, phone (07) 838 4500.

2. WHAT IS THE STUDY ABOUT?

The main aim of this study is to consult with people from special education, disability, Māori and support organisations, schools and early childhood centres, parents, children and whanau to identify culturally appropriate and effective ways of meeting the needs of Māori children and teenagers with special needs. Then to share this information for the benefit of these children and teenagers.

A further aim for this phase of the research is to trial the use of a Cultural Input Checklist and Framework as a means of investigating the culturally appropriate and effective services being provided for Māori children and teenagers with special needs. (As a result of your feedback, the Checklist and Framework will be evaluated, amended and improved for future use.)

3. WHAT WILL YOU HAVE TO DO?

If you choose this assignment option you will be required to:

- (a) Either, examine provisions for Māori children/teenagers with special needs at your school/early childhood centre or interview a teacher from another school or early childhood centre of your choosing to find out how Māori children/teenagers with special needs are being provided for in their institution. This interview should be held at a time and place that is mutually convenient to you and the interviewee and should take approximately one hour;
- (b) gain permission for this interview using the Information Sheet and Consent form provided;
- (c) use the Cultural Input Checklist provided as an interview guide and a framework to organise your assignment presentation. (Detailed instructions about how to use the Checklist and advice about how to conduct interviews is contained in your Assignment Booklet);
- (d) provide feedback as to the usefulness, strengths and weaknesses of the Cultural Input Checklist and Framework.

4. IS THE INFORMATION YOU PROVIDE CONFIDENTIAL?

You will be asked to collect and provide general information relating to culturally appropriate and effective programmes and services for Māori children or teenagers with special needs. No reference to individual children, teachers, early childhood facilities or schools is required. The information you give will be incorporated into the research anonymously. Neither you, your school/centre, the person you interview nor their school/centre will be identified in any way. However you and/or the person you interview may choose to be personally acknowledged for your contribution/s in the Acknowledgement Section of the final Research Report and/or in any book arising from the research. If you agree, your assignment will be photocopied so that the original can be returned to you as soon as it is marked. The photocopy will be used at the data analysis stage of the research. All information gathered will be securely stored and will be used only for the purposes of this research.

5. WHAT ARE YOUR OPTIONS?

If you are a B06.15/86.287 student your options for Assignment 3 are:

Option 1

Promoting Development and the use of Technology in Early Intervention.

Study Guide 5 considers how you can promote the development of children with a variety of special needs and also examines the use of technology in early intervention. These two themes have been combined for this assignment option.

You are required to explore how you can use a computer to meet the particular needs of four different children.

Child A has a physical/sensory impairment.

Child B has social/emotional/behavioural problems.

Child C has a speech/language disorder.

Child D is intellectually disabled.

From your experience, reading, imagination (or combination of all three)

- (i) Describe a particular special need for each child.
- (ii) Utilising sources of information outlined in the relevant section in study guide 5, investigate software programmes that could possibly meet the needs you have identified for each child. Provide a description of the programmes selected and justify your choice in relation to each child's needs.
- (iii) *Either:* If you have a computer and can gain access to ONE of the programmes selected, trial it. Then using one of the computer evaluation forms provided in study guide 5 (or one of your own choosing), evaluate the programme trialled. Write a concluding paragraph stating whether the programme was as appropriate as you anticipated. Would it meet the special needs of the child you intended it for?

Or: If you cannot get access to a computer and a selected programme, write up an explanation of how you would incorporate computer use for children A, B, C, and D into your early childhood centre or classroom. You will need to consider issues such as how you would schedule use into your daily programmes, difficulties you may encounter and how these could be overcome, how you will evaluate programmes chosen etc.

Option 2

The Cultural Input Checklist and Framework Assignment as described in this Information Sheet.

If you are a B06.02/86.284 student your options for Assignment 1 are:

Option 1

- (i) Compile a compendium of definitions for the following terms discussed in Study Guide 1:

Special Education
Children with special teaching needs
Children with special ability
Normalisation
Deinstitutionalization
Mainstreaming
Inclusion
Impairment
Disability
Handicap.

- (ii) Discuss some of the issues surrounding each of the 10 items and evaluate the extent to which the first seven listed are presently being catered for or being achieved.

Option 2

Equality of educational provision has been a driving force behind much of New Zealand's legislation, policy development and educational reform throughout the years. Examine major influences in these areas from a special education perspective and evaluate the extent to which they have actually achieved equality of educational provision for children with special teaching needs.

Option 3

The Cultural Input Checklist and Framework Assignment as described in this Information Sheet.

6. WHAT ARE YOUR RIGHTS IF YOU CHOOSE THE CULTURAL INPUT CHECKLIST AND FRAMEWORK ASSIGNMENT OPTION?

If you choose this Assignment option you:

- may agree to have all, some or none of the information you collect used in the research study. Your information will be used only if you have given permission by signing and returning the attached consent form. If your assignment involves an interview, the information gathered will only be used for research purposes if both you and the person interviewed agree to this via the consent forms;

- may change your mind at any stage and swap to another assignment option. In such instances if an extension of time to complete your assignment is needed, all reasonable requests will be granted;
- may ask any questions you want about the research at any stage;

If you are doing an interview and your informant withdraws before the interview or at an early stage in the interview, you:

- may find another willing informant or swap to another assignment option. If needed, all reasonable requests for extensions will be granted.

If you are doing an interview and your informant withdraws at a late stage in the interview, you may:

- *either* find another willing informant or swap to another assignment option. If needed, all reasonable requests for extensions will be granted,
- *or* complete the assignment using what information you have already gained. In such instances the information given will not be included in the research.

It should be noted that the selection of either the Cultural Input Checklist and Framework Assignment or the other assignment options will have no effect on your assignment grading. All assignments are marked according to the relevant criteria for PACE assignments as outlined in your Introductory and Assignment Booklet.

At the conclusion of this research, a summary of the study will be given to you if you request it. You can also borrow the completed Research Report from the researcher.

**SPECIAL EDUCATION, DISABILITY AND SUPPORT
PROVISIONS FOR MĀORI CHILDREN AND
TEENAGERS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS**

**CONSENT FORM FOR B06.15/86.287 & B06.02/86.284
STUDENTS**

I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had the details of the research explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time or refuse permission for my assignment or sections of it to be used for research purposes.

The information collected for my assignment will be used only for this research and in work and publications relating to it. I understand that the evaluation of my assignment will be based on the criteria outlined in the course Introductory and Assignment Booklet. Participation in this research will in no way influence the assessment of my assignment.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that it will be used anonymously. However if I request to, I may have my contribution personally acknowledged in the Acknowledge Section of the Research Report and/or in any book that may arise from this research.

I would like to have my contribution acknowledged:

- ☐ in the Acknowledge Section of the final Research Report
- ☐ in any book arising from this research

(tick choice/s)

I agree/not agree to have my assignment photocopied.

(circle choice)

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Written Consent

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____



MASSEY
UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF
EDUCATION

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SPECIAL EDUCATION, DISABILITY AND SUPPORT PROVISIONS FOR MĀORI CHILDREN AND TEENAGERS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

INFORMATION SHEET FOR INTERVIEWEES

If you have been given this sheet to read you will have been approached by a PACE student for information to enable them to do an assignment for a Special Education course they are presently enrolled in. This assignment requires them to investigate how Māori children or teenagers with special needs are having these needs met in a culturally appropriate and effective way. They are using a Cultural Input Checklist and Framework to help them gather information for this assignment. The Checklist and Framework were developed by their tutor, Jill Bevan-Brown, as part of her Doctoral Research. PACE students are trialling the Checklist and Framework and as a result of their feedback it will be evaluated, amended and improved for future use. Research ethics require that you are made fully aware of what this research involves and that permission is gained for your participation and contribution. The following information is provided to this end.

1. WHO IS THE RESEARCHER AND WHERE CAN SHE BE CONTACTED?

My name is Jill Bevan-Brown and I am presently employed as a lecturer in Special Education for the Professional and Community Education Unit at Massey University College of Education and can be contacted at:

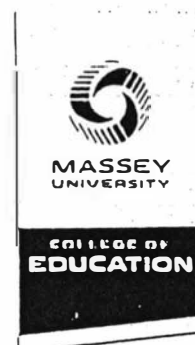
Massey University College of Education, phone (06) 357 9104 extn 8764.
Email: j.m.bevan-brown@massey.ac.nz

This study forms a part of my Doctorate programme. My research Supervisors are Dr Ken Ryba and Associate Professor Robyn Munford both from Massey University and Professor Ted Glynn from Waikato University. The contact phone numbers for these people are:

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A further aim for this phase of the research is to trial the use of a Cultural Input Checklist and Framework as a means of investigating the culturally appropriate and effective services being provided for Māori children and teenagers with special needs.

3. WHAT WILL YOU HAVE TO DO?

Participation will involve you in an interview to share with the PACE student and me information about the culturally appropriate and effective ways Māori children or teenagers with special needs are being provided for in your school/early childhood centre. Interviews will be held at a time and place convenient to you and the interviewer and should take approximately one hour.

4. IS THE INFORMATION YOU PROVIDE CONFIDENTIAL?

You will be asked to discuss in a general way programmes and services available for Māori children or teenagers with special needs. No reference to individual children, teachers, early childhood facilities or schools is required. The information you give will be incorporated into the research anonymously. Neither you nor your institution will be identified in any way. However you may choose to be personally acknowledged for your contribution in the Acknowledgement Section of the final Research Report and/or in any book that may arise from the research. All information gathered will be securely stored and will be used only for the purposes of this research.

5. WHAT ARE YOUR RIGHTS IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE?

You are free to decline this invitation to participate but if you do decide to become involved, you:

- can withdraw from the study at any time and request that information already collected not be used for research purposes;
- can decline to answer particular questions or to provide specific information;
- can agree to have your contribution included for the student's assignment but decline permission for it to be used for research purposes;
- can ask any questions you want about the study at any stage;
- can ask another person/people to be present at the interview.

At the conclusion of this research, a summary of the study will be given to you if you request it. You can also borrow the completed Research Report from the researcher.

SPECIAL EDUCATION, DISABILITY AND SUPPORT
PROVISIONS FOR MĀORI CHILDREN AND
TEENAGERS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS

CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWEES

I have read/have had read to me the Information Sheet for this study and have had the details of the research explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, decline to answer particular question/s or to provide specific information. The information collected will be used only for this research and in work and publications relating to it.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that it will be used anonymously. However if I request to, I may have my contribution personally acknowledged in the Acknowledgement Section of the Research Report and/or in any book that may arise from this research.

I would like to have my contribution acknowledged:

- ☐ in the Acknowledgement Section of the final Research Report
- ☐ in any book arising from this research

(tick choice/s)

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Written Consent

Signed: _____

Name: _____

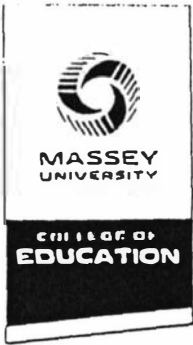
Date: _____

or Verbal Consent

Participant's Name: _____

Researcher's Signature: _____

Date: _____



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APPENDIX C: ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED IN SURVEY

No. respondents/ Replies counted	Group Type	ORGANISATION
1	D	A.D.H.D. Assoc. Inc.
1	S	Aroha Noa Family Services
1	D	Asthma Foundation - marae-based educators
1	M	Awhina Wahine Wellington Inc.
1	S	Barnados
2/2	D	CCS
1	S	Central RHA
1	D	Cerebral Palsy Society
1	D	Child Cancer Foundation
1	S	Christian Ministries with Disabled Trust
1	S	Community Child Health Services
1	D	Cystic Fibrosis Association of N.Z.
1	S	Dept of Soc.Welfare-Community Funding Agency
1	D	Diabetes N.Z. Inc.
1	S	Disability Information Services
1	E	E.C.D.U.
1	D	Eating Disorders Association
1	D	Epilepsy Association of N.Z. Inc.
1	S	Health Research Council of N.Z.
1	D	Hearing Association Inc.
1	D	Heart Children N.Z. Inc.
1	S	Hutt Valley Health (RPHS)
14/ 12	D	I.H.C.
1	E	Ministry of Education - Group Manager Maori
1	S	Ministry of Youth Affairs
1	D	Motor Neurone Disease Association
1	D	Multiple Sclerosis Soc. of N.Z.
1	M	Ngati Ranginui Iwi Health Services
1	S	N.Z. Children & Young Persons Service
1	D	N.Z. Haemophilia Society Inc.
1	D	N.Z. Neurological Foundation
3/3	S	N.Z. Riding for the Disabled
1	S	N.Z. Society for Musical Therapy
1	S	N.Z. Speech-Language Therapists Assoc.
1	S	N.Z. Assoc. of Occupational Therapists
1	D	N.Z. Federation for Deaf Children Inc.
1	D	National Foundation for the Deaf Inc.
1	D	National Heart Foundation
1	S	Parent Help Wellington Inc.
1	S	Parent-to-Parent N.Z. Inc.
1	D	Prader-Willi Syndrome Assoc. N.Z. Inc.
1	S	Royal N.Z. Plunket Society
1	D	Royal N.Z. Foundation for the Blind
1	S	Salvation Army
1	D	Schizophrenia Fellowship NZ Inc.

5/4	E	Special Education Services
1	E	Speld N.Z. Inc.
3/1	E	Poutama Poumamu
1	M	Te Puni Kokiri
1	M	Te Rongopai Morehu Social Services Trust
1	M	Te Runanga o Raukawa Social Services
1	M	Te Runanganui o Taranaki Whanui
1	S	Toughlove
1	D	Wellington Asthma Society Inc.
1	D	Wellington Hyperactivity Assn Inc.
1	S	Western Bay of Plenty Mental Health Trust

APPENDIX D: CULTURAL AUDIT INVITATION AND EXPLANATION

AN INVITATION

This is to invite your school to participate in trialing a Cultural
Input Checklist.

This Checklist is a positively orientated means of :

- (1) assessing how well your school is providing for Maori
children in general and Maori children with special needs in
particular,
- (2) developing a plan to improve your performance.

Detailed information is provided in the attached letter or from Jill
Bevan-Brown, Learning & Teaching Department, Massey
University College of Education (ph-06 357 9104, fax-06 351
3383) or home (ph-06 364 5262)

25/8/98

Kia ora,

If you are committed to providing a culturally appropriate education for the Maori children at your school or early childhood centre and would like some assistance in achieving this, please read on!

My name is Jill Bevan-Brown and I am presently working towards a Doctorate at Massey University. My particular interest is in Maori children with special needs. Arising from previous research with special education providers, support services, disability and Maori organisations, I have devised a Cultural Audit Process involving a Cultural Input Checklist which I am now seeking to trial in interested schools/centres.

What does this involve?

Briefly, the Cultural Input Checklist is a set of questions designed to focus your attention on what is being done to cater for Maori children in general and Maori children with special needs in particular and support Maori culture in a number of areas across the school/centre. Provided with the Checklist is supporting information explaining the principles on which the checklist is based and also a "filled in" checklist with examples of culturally appropriate strategies being used by various organisations, schools and centres. The Cultural Audit Process involves using the Checklist to gather information, analysing this information using a Cultural Input Framework and then formulating a plan of action for your school/centre based on the strengths and weaknesses identified in the process.

How is the research trial being conducted?

The Cultural Audit is a flexible process that can be adapted to suit the time and personnel available and the particular circumstances of your school/centre. Ideally it should involve the whole staff as this will ensure greater commitment to any plan of action formulated. However, it can be conducted by a smaller group or even a combination of small group and whole staff involvement. If your school is interested, you should contact me to discuss how it can best be organised to accommodate your circumstances. One scenario would involve me coming to speak at a staff meeting for approximately 15 minutes to explain the Cultural Audit Process including the Cultural Input Checklist. Individuals would then take note of culturally appropriate strategies during the following week and I would return to help analyse these strategies and formulate a plan of action at a further staff meeting. Another scenario is to explain, compile, analyse and plan all in one longer session of approximately one and a half to two hours. These are just two possibilities, you may have other arrangements that are more suitable to your circumstances.

What about confidentiality?

This Cultural Audit trial has two aims. The first one is to collect examples of culturally appropriate, effective strategies that can be shared with other schools/centres to ultimately benefit Maori children with special needs in particular and Maori children in general. The second aim is to get feedback about the Cultural Audit Process and the

Cultural Input Checklist in order to identify weaknesses and make improvements. To achieve these aims data will be collected and the analysis session will be taped. Transcriptions of the tape will be returned to the school/centre to allow staff to make any desired changes. All information included in the final thesis and any publications arising from it will be reported anonymously. The school/centre will not be identified in any way except in the Acknowledgment section if they so choose. No comparisons between institutions will be made - it is not that type of research! Apirana Ngata is reported to have said: *"There are two ways of tackling problems. One is to explore the bad and feature it. The other is to discover good and encourage it."* The focus of this research is definitely on the latter! All participating schools/centres will be sent a copy of the final research report.

I am planning to conduct these trials while on research leave in September and October. If you are interested in becoming involved, please contact me by phone (home=06 364 5262, work=06 357 9104, fax 06 351 3383) for further details or to arrange a date and time for your school/centre to become involved.
Arohanui,

APPENDIX E: SCRIPT OF INTRODUCTORY MEETING

INTRODUCTION

Kia ora,

Your principal has indicated an interest in participating in a research project I am involved in and has invited me along today to spend a short time in telling you about it. I am sure you are all aware of the failure statistics for Maori children. The reasons for this are many and varied but I believe one contributing factor is that Maori children feel alienated in many New Zealand schools. An ideal environment is a school where Maori culture is valued and supported and Maori children feel that both they and their culture are welcome. I have devised a Maori Cultural Input Checklist and a Cultural Audit Process which will help schools achieve this aim. Now you may feel your school is already performing well in this area and that is great - this Cultural Audit will provide tangible proof of this. However it would be a very rare school where there is no room for improvement and this cultural audit process, as well as identifying your strengths, will also indicate areas in which you can improve.

I am going to briefly describe the Cultural Audit and what you will be required to do in participating in the process. I would appreciate it if you saved any questions to the end as I only have a short time with you today and you may find that your questions get answered as we go along - if they don't, fire them at me at the end.

HOW DOES THE PROCESS WORK?

Briefly, doing a cultural audit involves you in using a checklist of questions to gather information about all the culturally appropriate strategies you are presently using in this school, then categorising this information, entering it on to this cultural input framework, analysing the framework to identify strengths and weaknesses, formulating a plan to improve areas of weakness and then putting this plan into action.

HOW IS THIS ORGANISED AND WHAT WILL I BE REQUIRED TO DO?

There are 5 steps

STEP 1 - PREPARATION - You will get 6 pages that you are required to read. These include

- (1) The checklist itself which contains questions focused on these areas
- (2) A filled in checklist that is provided as an example. Hopefully this will help you in interpreting the questions, provide a memory prompt for some things that you may already be doing in the school and later, in the planning stage, provide some ideas of things that you can do.
- (3) Two pages that briefly explain the principles on which this checklist is based. That is these categories up the top. (Down the side school life is divided into these 8 areas. They are fairly self explanatory but a brief definition is provided down this side of the filled in framework.)

STEP 2 - INVESTIGATION - Using the Cultural Input Checklist, you gather information about all the cultural appropriate strategies you are presently using in this school to meet the needs of Maori children. What each person is required to do will depend on how your school wants to organise the data gathering task. Different

methods will suit different schools and I will leave it to you to decide how you want to go about it. There are a number of possibilities.

DATA COLLECTION - POSSIBLE METHODS

All methods use the Cultural Checklist Questionnaire.

(1) 2 to 4 people take responsibility for collecting data on the Environment, Personnel, Policy and Administration categories across the school (1 or 2 categories each). All teachers collect data on the Process, Content, Resources, & Assessment categories in relation to their own classrooms. Data is shared, analysed at the planning meeting or passed on to the 2 to 4 people before the meeting for them to collate and prepare for presentation at the meeting.

(2) Sheets of paper with component and principle headings hung up in staffroom, all staff add entries as they come to mind during the data-collecting week.

(3) Individual teachers over a one week period jot down all the culturally appropriate strategies they come across in a dairy. Data is either shared and categorised at the planning meeting as a group activity or notebooks are handed into one or more people to collate and categorise before the meeting.

(4) One person or a small group are given the task of consulting with individuals over a 1 to 2 week period. Their job is to collect, collate and categorise strategies before the planning meeting.

When collecting data the aim is to record all the culturally appropriate strategies that are being used in the school - you don't have to worry about what categories they fit into at this stage, in fact you will notice that some strategies could go in several categories and we can deal with that at the planning meeting - the job at this stage is just to identify all these strategies.

STEP 3 - ANALYSIS/EVALUATION/PLANNING - At a staff meeting these strategies are analysed and put on to a Cultural Input Framework. As explained previously this filled out framework is then examined to discover areas of strength and weakness and a plan of action is formulated to improve areas of weakness that have been identified. I will come in at this stage to help you with this. It is hard for me to say how long this meeting will take. It will depend on how much data has been collected, the degree to which it has already been categorised etc. I'd say somewhere between one and two hours. I have some questions prepared that will help you focus your analysis and a form we can use to record your plan of action on.

STEP 4 - ACTION - Chosen culturally appropriate strategies are implemented over a period of time

STEP 5 - REVIEW - After a predetermined time of anything from 6 weeks to 6 months progress is reviewed, a new plan is formulated and so the process continues. (For those of you who are familiar with IEPs the cycle is similar)

I actually bow out after step 3, the planning meeting but I would be more than happy to come back to the review meeting if you want me to or act in an advisory capacity along the way.

I need to point out two things about the checklist.

Firstly, it is intended to cover from early childhood to secondary and this is a big ask as the systems at the various levels in education differ so much. Secondary school is the biggest problem not for the general categories such as environment, personnel, policy and admin but for the more class/subject specific categories of content and resources. For some subjects such as Maori and English the task is relatively simple but how does one include Maori content in 4th form Japanese, 6th form Chemistry or involve whanau in choosing, purchasing or making resources for 7th form Physics (I don't know!) I considered excluding certain subjects from the audit but then decided that was not a choice I should make - that I should be guided by what Japanese, Physics and Chemistry teachers say, perhaps other questions or considerations may be relevant for them and if so this is what I want to find out.

Secondly, you will notice questions and examples relating to Maori children with special needs. This is because they are my particular area of concern and my Doctorate for which this Cultural Input Checklist forms one small part is focused on these children. However Maori children with special needs are first and foremost Maori children and in catering for them effectively, a school must provide both a supportive environment for Maori children in general and Maori children with special needs in particular. In collecting data you should be focusing on both these areas ie special needs and regular needs.

I see the benefits of this process as being three-fold -

Firstly, for Maori children. As a result of the audit your school will become a more supportive environment for them.

Secondly, for you, the teachers. I have found an incredible amount of good will amongst teachers - they genuinely want to make improvements for Maori children but are not quite sure how to go about it - the Cultural Input Checklist and Framework provides a focused plan of action. It allows you to meet TOW and charter obligations - tangible evidence for ERO!

Thirdly, for me as a researcher - at the planning meeting I will be asking for feedback from you to help me improve the checklist and process. I am sure there are many bumps and lumps in it that need to be ironed out and I am hoping that teachers like you in the trial schools will help me do this. For this reason I must ask you to treat the material I hand out as confidential. I would hate to see it being photocopied and handed out to other schools in its present state. When it is refined anyone and everyone can have a copy but at this trial stage I would be unhappy to see it being distributed.

APPENDIX F: STRATEGIES IDENTIFIED BY THE KOHANGA REO WHANAU

Many suggestions were given for ways teachers could make their schools, centres and services more culturally appropriate and a number of successful, culturally appropriate practices and strategies were recounted. These included:

1. All pupils perform waiata in the school concert (not just the bilingual class);
2. establish a bilingual class;
3. parents given choice of total immersion, bilingual or mainstream class placement when enrolling their children;
4. family members employed to be in-class “minders” for students with severe behaviour problems;
5. family members employed as teacher aides for children with learning problems;
6. kohanga reo and kura whanau attend respective powhiri of children into kura and intermediate;
7. all school staff use basic greetings and reo with students;
8. short, compulsory, weekly professional development sessions to teach staff members basic reo, correct pronunciation of Maori names and waiata;
9. consultation with parents about correct pronunciation of Maori words;
10. whanau and Maori community members receive training in resource making and working with learners with special needs to build up a pool of potential helpers;
11. ability to use te reo included in advertisements for teachers;
12. requirement to use te reo included in teachers’ job descriptions;
13. extra one-to-one time provided for children who receive limited adult attention at home;
14. parent-teacher/SES personnel meetings emphasize the positive. Parents should be affirmed in their efforts to help their children and be provided with extra strategies they can use;
15. Maori history and Treaty of Waitangi included in school’s curriculum;
16. BOT includes Maori members;
17. school staff includes Maori members;
18. Maori teachers from bilingual unit consulted about Maori issues and content in the mainstream;
19. compulsory one hour te reo lesson for all college students;
20. communication with parents is jargon-free and delivered in a manner parents can understand and relate to;
21. special education services and advice provided to whole whanau so that they can all be involved in helping the child with special needs;
22. resource material is not just a translation of Pakeha-relevant material but depicts a Maori worldview;
23. teacher aide employed to visit whanau to build up trust and background knowledge of the child;

24. teacher aide, teacher or whanau member accompany SES personnel on home visits to “de-jargon” conversation;
25. intervention strategies use child’s strengths to develop their weaknesses;
26. teacher training includes experience in a kohanga reo;
27. natural resources used in teaching activities;
28. Maori management of intervention services;
29. specialists use whakawhanaungatanga to relate to Maori children and put them at ease before any testing.

APPENDIX G: EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT A: STRATEGIES

Educational Establishment A

Maori Content in Curriculum

1. Science - Maori legends eg the origins of mountains and volcanoes in geology, herbal remedies, plants (pingao for beach planting, harakeke), Maori attitudes to birth processes (F4 - human reproduction), Maori navigational methods in Astronomy, conservation and health issues eg comparing pre-European diet with the present day.
2. Maths - transformations use patiki form, Maori numbers and measurement (estimations), Aotearoa patterns.
3. Trans/communications English - letter writing incorporating Maori greetings and closings, unit standards dealing with "identifying own culture" and relationships with whanau, Year 9 "Ko au" introductory unit and visual and written literature reflecting a Maori perspective.
4. Social studies and history - traditional world of the Maori, Treaty of Waitangi, race relation issues. Content also includes Maori perspectives of issues taught.
5. Geography - Maori perspectives of land issues/environment.
6. Computing - a few Maori language word processing exercises
7. Biology - the role of the TOW in resource management (6th form).
8. Technology - Maori bone carving, its origin and history covered in year 11.
9. Art - a study of selected Maori artists and their works, in-depth exploration of the koru form, its origin, significance and use in traditional and modern art .
10. Special Education - T.O.W and local Maori history.
11. Home Economics - making Maori bread, hangi cooking, the historical aspect of Maori fabric, weaving techniques, cultural awareness of tapu/noa concepts in relation to food and food preparation, food-related marae practices, Maori names for food.
12. Wood technology and graphics - Maori patterns.
13. Partnership principle in relation to ownership covered in accounting.
14. Students encouraged to present Maori topics for the Science fair.

Assessment

15. Maths - Oral and kinesthetic assessment eg model making in maths
- 16 . Geography, History, Social Studies, Maths - Maori content included in what is assessed
17. Science - Some peer and self assessment .
18. Art -Self, group and visual assessment components in programme.
19. Special needs - assessment takes Maori concept of disability into account.
20. English - Peer and group assessment and oral feedback in formative assessment.
21. Home Economics - Practice-based assessment procedures.
22. Computing - Some oral assessment.
23. Parents fill out home portion of ecological assessment (for transition students and those coming from primary to secondary).
24. Exam practice from F3 on, recognising those with limitations in reading and writing - substrands.

Teaching Processes and Strategies

25. Te reo Maori used in greetings and some instructions and comments (Geography/History/Social studies, Science, English)
26. Commerce - Oral group presentations.
27. Maths - Co-operative learning groups, practical activities eg isometric drawings, probability activities, kinesthetic and oral learning techniques used.
28. Commerce - Wide variety of teaching and learning styles incorporated into programme including co-operative learning. 7 learning intelligences used.
29. English - Oral processing used as an integral and substantial part of curriculum delivery. Viewing and visual presentation skills are taught and developed eg presentation of whakapapa in a coat of arms form.
30. Home economics - Oral and practical teaching strategies and peer tutoring.
31. Favourable pupil-teacher ratio in Maori language classes.
32. Tu tangata classes observe Maori protocols eg karakia, no shoes in room.
33. School has cultural group that is valued and encouraged to perform.
34. All year 9 students involved in overnight stay at local marae.
35. Iwi consulted about new curriculum developments (Geography/History/Social studies).
36. Maths Department calls on Maori student's knowledge in area of Maori content.
37. Maori parents, whanau and child involved in setting goals and determining IEP content.
38. Children rewarded for Maori related knowledge and skills in all Special Education curriculum areas.
39. IEP data collected across a range of areas ie home, whanau, school & community.
40. Criteria used for selection of students for extension class ensures a Maori presence.
41. Disciplinary matters dealt with away from the rest of the group - kanohi ki te kanohi.
42. Senior and adult students involved in planning activities in home economics.

Resources

Physical Resources

43. Use of social studies, history and geography texts written by Maori authors ie presentation of subjects from a Maori perspective. (However content in geography texts tokenistic).
44. Maori resources used in maths programme ie Maori number charts and posters.
45. Science programme uses Maori-relevant books and wall charts.
46. Special education resources in science, social studies and reading include books in te reo or with some Maori text. Maori-relevant tapes .
47. Maori posters hung in Special Education room.
48. Wall display of Maori artists work and use of relevant books.
49. Departmental equipment (eg calculators) lent to children who do not have them (maths).
50. Home economic resources shared with visitors and community as a whole.

People Resources

51. School kaumatua takes a role in ceremonial occasions such as important powhiri.
52. School has an appointed kaumatua.

53. Tu tangata students used to provide support for Maori children in maths classes & have input into cultural aspects of lessons (science, geography/history/social studies, English).
54. Local kaumatua blessed new Science labs before they were used.
55. SES, Ngati Raukawa Social Services, CYPFS and Maori Mental Health Foundation all involved for the benefit of Maori children.
56. Visiting performances often have a strong Maori dimension eg Te rakau hau working with "Take 2" production.
57. Whanau lend support in catering for school functions.

Personnel

58. Maori staff members used to explain Maori protocol in a variety of situations to students (Trans/communications Eng).
59. Principal acts as role model by including some reo in powhiri.
60. Year 10 Dean visits contributing schools to discuss children's strengths etc.
61. Maori BoT rep and kaumatua involved in selection of HOD Maori, Interview protocol was Maori.
62. Maori staff member, teacher aides and teacher aides in training provide role models for Maori children (Proportion of Maori children = 33%, BoT rep = 10%, staff = 4%, Teacher Aides nearly 100%).
63. HOD Maori given non-teaching time to organise Maori Language Department.
64. HOD Maori consults with iwi re taonga and resources.
65. Maori jobs advertised in Maori eg HOD Maori position.
66. Geography/History/Social Studies Department draws on the expertise of Maori staff.
67. Geography/History/Social Studies/Science/Art teachers model correct Maori pronunciation.
68. Some staff members have received training in Maori culture, beliefs and language as part of their initial Diploma of Teaching or Special Education Diploma.
69. Maori teacher aides share their knowledge, skills, experiences, beliefs, value and reo to benefit children throughout the school.

Environment

Physical

70. Date on whiteboard in both English and Maori (Trans/communications Eng).
71. Bilingual signs throughout school, Maori artwork displayed in classrooms and school environment.
72. Classroom/library displays include Maori place names, prominent Maori people.
73. Supportive atmosphere and lay out of art room conducive to movement and group work.
74. Flexible seating arrangements in English classes.

Emotional

75. School-wide acceptance that the Maori language is important and must be supported.
76. Sitting on desks and head touching forbidden.
77. Te Wahi Tautoko, Maori name for support class.
78. School has open door policy.
79. Staff are respectful of differing cultures, co-operation is practised.

Administration

- 80. Close liaison with contributing schools eg teacher aides on Tu Tangata programme used in local primary schools.
- 81. Maori representative co-opted on to the BoT.
- 82. Maori BoT rep involved in goal setting.
- 83. Whanau committee/support group has input into Tu tangata programme and management
- 84. Maori BoT rep involved in matters relating to Maori resources and taonga.
- 85. All students have access to all courses.
- 86. Teacher given administrative responsibility for Maori grants, trusts and scholarships.
- 87. Maori BoT rep given choice of committee involvement.
- 88. Maori BoT rep on disciplinary committee.
- 89. Funding support for Maori language and culture eg Maori tagged funding plus extra
- 90. Maori language offered at all levels.
- 91. Maori parents have three avenues to raise concerns - direct approach to teachers and management, via BoT rep or via whanau committee.
- 92. Maori BoT rep selected by BoT after consultation with kaumatua and iwi.
- 93. Maori greetings used in school newsletter and weekly assembly.
- 94. Parent-teacher evenings held.
- 95. Fundraising to allow equal access to activities and events.

Policy

- 96. Whanau committee/support group consulted on new charter.
- 97. N.E.G. 9 & 10 incorporated into school charter.
- 98. Maori BOT member monitors Maori-related policies.

APPENDIX H: EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT B: STRATEGIES

Education Establishment B

1. Middle school has noho at local marae.
2. Whaikorero competitions held at local marae.
3. Whanau hui held in Room 9.
4. Hall is used for kapahaka practice and powhiri.
5. All te reo activities open for parents to attend and support their children.
6. Bilingual signs indicate position of the office, hall and classrooms.
7. Maori-relevant pictures and charts are evident in some rooms.
8. Room set aside for Maori studies only.
9. Panui are sent to parents to have some input in discussions during whanau support hui re ideas etc to improve and enhance their children's learning of things Maori.
10. Kaiawhina holds noho marae and kapahaka practice at her home. School provides koha.
11. School has contact with XXX College Cultural Group and Maori language tutor .
12. Overnight stays have been held at local marae for children and their teachers (annual).
13. Maori learning enhanced with "hands on" experience of Tangihanga, Powhiri, Manuhiri o Tawahi etc.
14. All staff follow Maori tikanga under the guidance of kaiawhina.
15. References for Maori translated into Maori.
16. Kaumatua from tangata whenua are involved in recruiting and appointing of Maori staff.
17. Teachers and kaiawhina organise annual concerts.
18. Kapahaka group enters the Waikanae competition.
19. Powhiri are held for all kohanga reo graduates in front of the hall.
20. All kohanga reo children are invited to pre-school visits on Thursday mornings 9-10:30am, for settling in.
21. Kaiawhina has 5 hours per week.
22. Tohu are given to children making progress in te reo.
23. Kaiawhina works one and a half hours weekly with kohanga reo graduates.
24. Kapahaka classes are held weekly ,1 hour juniors, 1 hour middle school.
25. School has ample Maori resources.
26. Kaiarahi is well-resourced.
27. Majority of staff live locally and so are readily accessible to parents.
28. R.T.M visits weekly for planning sessions with kai awhina.
29. S.E.S. Kaitakawaenga available for children with special needs.
30. School has a policy on the implementation of the Treaty of Waitangi.
31. Kaiawhina's resources shared throughout school.
32. All parents were invited to attend the charter and policy writing review.
33. Invitations were sent to the 4 local marae to send representatives to a series of meetings to help review the charter and develop school policy.
34. School has a policy to welcome ERO, visitors and new pupils with a Powhiri.
35. Invitations to attend powhiri are sent out both in Maori and English.
36. Kaiawhina attends all policy-setting meetings.

37. Official documentation contains commitment to equitable outcomes for Maori children.
38. College has powhiri for new students - Principal & teachers attend to support former students.
39. Results of essential skills assessment are collated yearly and target groups are being identified.
40. Form two students visit secondary schools.
41. A. P.'s job description contains commitment to easing kohanga reo graduate's transition to school.
42. Panui in Maori & English sent out inviting participation in policy development.
43. Buddy teaching used in middle school
44. Culturally appropriate practices eg no sitting on tables supported by teachers and Maori children. (No powhiri with toilets in background)
45. Teachers have high expectations of all children.
46. Individual programmes for underachievers via special needs teacher.
47. Principal works with special abilities children every morning (middle and senior, 1 term rotation system).
48. Study of N.Z. history and TOW in social studies curriculum.
49. Maori content in curriculum includes karakia, mihimihi, nga ra o te wiki, te maramataka, te whaikorero, te waiata tawhito, whakapapa, kapahaka, te reo kori, nga momo takaro katoa i te reo.
50. Parents and whanau committee invited to B.O.T meetings.
51. Kaiawhina attends staff meetings.
52. Science curriculum includes study of local environment eg flax mill
53. Kaiawhina teaches Maori language to junior classes and takes middle school for kapahaka.
54. Some staff include basic reo in their lessons.
55. Te reo kori included in PE.
56. Kaiawhina and RTM decide appropriateness of waiata taught.
57. Children learn about tikanga of the marae and Maori values (eg from working in the kitchen to paepae, whare tupuna and Marae atea protocols and duties).
58. School has a broad, holistic curriculum.
59. Kaiawhina and kaiarahi reo have shared their experiences with children and staff. They teach karanga, poi, taniko & manaaki tangata.
60. Parents active in sports coaching and called on to help with transport for outings.
61. Children visit carving and weaving courses.
62. Grandparents come in to school to teach weaving.
63. School has room for storage of Maori resources.
64. \$2000 spent on school piu piu.
65. Parent working in school for child's glasses.
66. Maori-relevant books coded in library.
67. Task Force green people used to help in classroom.
68. Tu Tangata Trainee teacher aides do teaching practice in school.
69. Kaiawhina invites Kaumatua to in-school meetings and to help at powhiri.
70. Maori representatives invited to judge children's speech competitions (year 7 & 8 children).
71. Parents' & Grandparents' knowledge & skills drawn on to help children with their speeches.
72. Parent interviews held twice a year.

73. Kohanga reo graduates have reo section in portfolio.
74. Planning outline form in junior class has section for reo.
75. R.T.M and kaiawhina have input into what reo is assessed.
76. Kaiawhina ascertain reo ability of kohanga graduates from kohanga reo staff.
77. All areas monitored to identify barriers to learning.
78. Fundraising to subsidise trips etc.
79. Skills, attitudes and values monitored and compared.
80. All portfolios available sent out before parent interviews and brought to interviews for discussion.
81. Kapahaka group performs at local concert, school concert, old peoples home/Masonic village.
82. BOT application forms sent to three marae committees.
83. Peer tutors requested from XX College
84. Past winners of the speech contest present taonga to new winners.

APPENDIX I: EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT C: STRATEGIES

Educational Establishment C

1. Children's Maori art work displayed in classrooms, corridors and noticeboards around the school.
2. Culture group's uniform and CD cover have Maori designs.
3. Powhiri given to important visitors.
4. Powhiri to new children and staff.
5. Poroporoaki at end of the year for children and staff who are leaving.
6. Live-ins for kapahaka group and parents over weekends.
7. Marae visits - done by each area of the school at different times.
8. Release time for teachers to attend tangi.
9. Group or class attend tangi where appropriate.
10. Once a term whanau meetings.
11. Classroom-based meetings for a variety of purposes eg kapahaka, camps etc.
12. Whanau feeling about the school, "If a child is hurt in the playground it is every body's problem, it is not isolated...as a staff we operate as a team" Also, "lots of cuddles in the playground from the Maori children. They just come and give anybody a hug and we do the same back."
13. The teachers support the kapahaka group by attending competitions and concerts.
14. Culture groups at junior and senior level, practices in school time.
15. Staff members knowledgeable about tikanga provide guidance for others - "Boo boos are not treated as the sin of the century. It is explained gently, given to us in a very simple and loving way how we can rectify the situation." Community are also supportive in this way - "If you are open you can learn."
16. Resource teacher of Maori based at the school and has given whole staff Maori lessons once a week. Not now but provides help on an individual basis when requested eg helps principal with his speeches.
17. Several staff have taken ASTU Conversational Maori Papers
18. Policies - Maori-related eg Curriculum delivery, EEO, equity, tangihanga leave, policy-making, RTM, nga akomanga and rumaki reo. Also relevant sections in Parent Handbook, Charter etc.
19. Parents consulted for charter policy. Others drawn up and not ratified by the BOT until parents have a chance to comment. Newsletter notifies that a public copy is available at the school. Depending on policy different methods are used - for whanau-related policies copies are made and handed around the whanau or presented at whanau meetings. Maori input at BOT level, kaumatua consulted.
20. Whanau involved in interviewing for support staff for bilingual and rumaki rooms.
21. Maori rep on BOT staff appointment sub committee.
22. Co-operative learning used regularly.
23. Co-operative planning within syndicates.
24. Importance placed on social skills - sharing and caring etc.
25. Parent tutors used for reading mileage.
26. Peer tutoring.
27. Maori content and language - kapahaka, written language, drama - all curriculum areas in bilingual and rumaki rooms but to a lesser degree in other classrooms. (Junior

- area less because many children come in with limited language . Have to build their skills and confidence in English first but do include basic reo such as greetings).
28. Bilingual class have acted as tutors in the reo for senior classes in the mainstream.
 29. Parents used as resources.
 30. Visits to Maori homes.
 31. Bilingual and Rumaki have curriculum in Maori.
 32. Maori books in the library including biographies of Maori.
 33. Learning Centres in Pakeha and Maori.
 34. Main entrance to school has carved archway.
 35. Library signs in Maori and English.
 36. School motto/logo in Maori and English. This is on children's portfolios, school letterhead, school brochures, Charter and other school documents.
 37. Classes have a number frieze in Maori.
 38. Maori section on report form for some classrooms.
 39. Maori section in planning and roll books.
 40. Goal setting/review sessions with parents and children in March and June. Visit parents who don't turn up to these sessions or arrange an alternative time for them.
 41. Input into the spending of funds at bilingual whanau meetings. Recommendations made, needs reviewed at these meetings.
 42. Information about Maori grants sent out in newsletters, prospectuses for Hato Paoro and other Maori Boarding Schools given out to Maori families.
 43. Children taken to open days at these colleges.
 44. Tribal Scholarship forms held at school and distributed where appropriate.
 45. Costs kept to a minimum - stagger trips, fundraise, family concessions, costs paid off at office over time.
 46. Maori parents invited to attend IEP meetings.
 47. RTM takes special needs children from Rumaki room.
 48. Those children with special needs who are not on IEPs have goal setting session with teacher and parents as all other children do.
 49. Reading material for special needs children geared to their individual interests.
 50. Treaty training for staff.
 51. Carvings around staff area.
 52. Swimming pool mural on Maori theme.
 53. Maori & TOW input in BOT training.
 54. Maori staff members for children to identify with and use as role models.
 55. Maori staff given responsibility in Maori-related areas eg spending of Maori funding, employment of kaiawhina.
 56. Staff & BOT members easily accessible to Maori children & their parents.
 57. Staff meet with College staff to ensure continuity between primary and secondary schooling.
 58. Maori staff members of kapahaka organisations.
 59. Long term plans contain procedures for supporting & promoting Maori culture and language, for achieving equitable outcomes for Maori children and a commitment to holistic education and working with other schools, centres and organisations.
 60. School scheme contains reference to the use of outside resources and achieving equitable outcomes for Maori children.
 61. Whanau hui used as a means of consulting and involving hapu/iwi in the planning, development and delivery of programmes and services.
 62. Use of team planning and infolink to foster holistic education.

63. Koha used to remunerate Maori resource people.
64. Children's differing levels of cultural knowledge, experience and identification ascertained through discussion and sharing of family knowledge.
65. Staff discussion to monitor equity of access, use and outcomes for Maori children and to identify barriers to achievement or access.
66. Maori teachers run powhiri.
67. Information collected concerning child's ethnic origin and kohanga reo attendance.
68. Issues and concerns can be raised by Maori parents at class level and in whanau meetings.
69. Oral assesment done when written assessment is inappropriate.
70. Home-school reports and newsletters jargon free.
71. Course needs of pupils relayed to local college.

APPENDIX J: EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT D: STRATEGIES

Educational Establishment D.

1. Policy that kohanga reo attendance prerequisite for entry into total immersion unit.
2. Discussion of policies relevant to whanau held at twice termly whanau hui.
3. Whanau hui act as forum for whanau concerns.
4. Class-swapping to enable children outside the total immersion unit to benefit from knowledge and expertise of Maori staff.
5. Teina class lead karakia and waiata at junior assembly.
6. Inclusion of karakia and waiata in school assembly
7. Senior pupils lead karakia and waiata at school assembly.
8. Self-evaluation used for reo section of evaluation folder.
9. Group-evaluation used in assessment.
10. Progress in te reo reported in evaluation folder of total immersion children and those in the mainstream who have had lessons in basic reo.
11. Running records done in Maori for children in teina class.
12. Parallel drawn between Maori concepts such as aroha and manaakitanga and religious instruction concepts such as sharing and caring.
13. Reo knowledge of Maori students in the mainstream celebrated and shared with their peers.
14. Maori input in content across the curriculum eg tangaroa in sea study and social studies unit on local historic landmarks and people eg Te Rauparaha.
15. Children's Maori art work displayed in classrooms, corridors and noticeboards around the school.
16. Bilingual signs throughout the school.
17. Maori greetings in school notices, total immersion notices in te reo.
18. School and class-wide powhiri and poroporoaki to welcome/farewell visitors, new students and staff.
19. Marae facilities used for school assemblies, parent meetings, school sleep-overs, youth group meetings etc.
20. Total immersion class has own display space in school library.
21. Parents involved in helping with kapahaka group, whanau kai, hangi at school gala etc.
22. Library contains books in te reo, N.Z. history books from a Maori perspective, Maori biographies, stories with Maori characters and novels by Maori authors.
23. Funding available to purchase Maori material in areas identified as poorly resourced.
24. Multiple copies of basic Maori readers enable children to take books home on a regular basis.
25. Enrolment form for total immersion pupils contains questions relating to child's iwi, hapu and marae affiliations, use of te reo in the home and kohanga reo kaiawhina's estimate of the child's ability in te reo.
26. Enrolment form for total immersion pupils contains list of skills/activities parents are willing to share with the Unit.
27. All employees have an understanding and appreciation of Maori culture & a respect for Maori people.

28. Maori BOT members involved in the recruitment & appointment of staff.
29. School has Maori staff members for the children to identify with and use as role models.
30. Maori staff members given responsibility in Maori-related areas and are supported in this role.
31. Staff and BOT members easily accessible to Maori children and parents.
32. Annual total immersion unit noho marae and unit trip involves staff, whanau and children.
33. Local Maori community notified of job vacancies in total immersion unit and canvassed for likely candidates.
34. School has open door policy. Parents are encouraged to visit and made to feel welcome.
35. Results of all assessments entered on school-wide data base. Procedures established for periodic monitoring & comparison of results.
36. School-wide reinforcement system acknowledges effort & excellence in all areas including manaakitanga, aroha and other important cultural values.
37. Whanau involved in overall assessment of Unit via discussion in regular whanau hui.
38. All classes learn about the TOW in February each year (Waitangi Day).
39. Maori parents and their child involved in setting goals and determining IEP content.
40. Kaumatua consulted about "culturally & religiously appropriate" prayers and hymns.
41. Annual school trophies include one for bilingual expertise, Maoritanga and Manaakitanga.
42. Whanau committee consulted on Maori-related matters including spending of Maori-tagged funding.
43. School database contains cultural information eg number of Maori children and kohanga graduates.
44. Whanau committee canvas Maori community for BOT candidates.
45. School newsletter jargon-free & uses a reader-friendly format. Important school notices, invitations and concerns followed up with a telephone call or face-to-face contact.
46. Flexible timetabling allows for an integrated programme.
47. Release time for teachers to attend tangi.
48. Group or class attend tangi where appropriate.
49. Resource teacher of Maori based at the school and assists as requested.
50. Parents consulted for Charter policy. Others drawn up and not ratified by the BOT until parents have a chance to comment. Newsletter notifies that a public copy is available at the school. Depending on policy different methods are used - whanau-related policies discussed at whanau meetings.
51. Whanau involved in interviewing for support staff for Rumaki rooms.
52. Co-operative learning used regularly.
53. Whanau members used as resources.
54. Costs kept to a minimum - stagger trips, fundraise, family concessions, costs paid off at office over time.
55. Maori parents invited to attend IEP meetings.
56. Facility for kai after whanau meetings.
57. Noho held at local marae on a regular basis.
58. Beach/river trips regularly undertaken.

59. People with art, weaving etc expertise involved in helping children in these areas.
60. School is well-resourced in Maori area - eg tapes, books, posters, kapahaka uniforms.

APPENDIX K: EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT E: STRATEGIES

Educational Establishment E

1. School has a kapahaka group and bilingual class.
2. Parents invited to join the kapahaka group once a week.
3. Bilingual class has regular contact with other schools via inter bilingual and immersion class visits.
4. Open door policy for parents.
5. Role models provided by two Maori teachers and Maori teacher aide.
6. Maori staff member responsible for Maori curriculum and resources.
7. School policy on the integration and implementation of Maori language in classes.
8. Parents given copies of school policies to comment on, involved in Charter development.
9. Maori consulted on school-related matters and Maori protocol.
10. Tihe Maui Ora Maori language syllabus used in junior classes and form 2.
11. Maori children, parents and whanau and community members invited to share their knowledge, expertise and experiences through electives.
12. Expertise of Maori staff called on throughout the school.
13. Maori music tapes utilised.
14. Maori parents given the opportunity to participate in the making and purchasing of Maori resources.
15. Maori children have access to a wide-range of Maori relevant resources eg library books, CD roms, music tapes, poi, rakau.
16. Assessment involves all essential learning areas, skills, attitudes and values including cultural knowledge, skills and reo (reports have Maori heading).
17. Portfolios showing children's progress sent home.
18. School has Maori rep on BoT.
19. Maori parents can raise issues and concerns via the BoT or directly to principal.
20. Culturally fair assessment measures and procedures used.
21. Regular contact with kohanga reo maintained - powhiri given to KR graduates entering school.
22. Maori cultural input into assemblies and concerts.
23. Powhiri given to visitors. Kapahaka group involved.
24. Staffroom and library used as venue for hui.
25. Maori BoT rep involved in recruitment and appointment of staff.
26. School has kaumatua.
27. Karakia said in bilingual class.
28. Maori reo content in classroom includes place names, colours, and basic sentence structures.
29. Jargon-free, reader-friendly format of school newsletter (Maori design included).
30. Whanau meetings held.
31. Parents involved in children's class selection - bilingual or mainstream.
32. Four school policies relating to Maori and equity (include NEG/NAAGs).
33. Maori staff and BoT member involved in all policy reviews.
34. Information relating to child's ethnicity, tribal affiliation and kohanga attendance collected and stored on computer.

35. Maori parents/whanau involved in school sports.
36. Te reo kori resource used.
37. Maori artwork decorates the environment.
38. Parents given choice of time and venue for IEP/IDP meetings and invited to bring whanau members along to meeting.
- 39 Teachers insist on and model correct pronunciation of Maori words especially Maori names.
40. Where appropriate Maori content included in learning units eg bush study, social studies units, legends.
41. Children from bilingual class teach other classes Maori action songs.
42. Wharekura and kaiako work with kaumatua.
43. Child's iwi/hapu, marae and whakapapa acknowledged in pepeha, kawa and tikanga etc. covered in wharekura.
44. Wharekura classes make use of local marae.
45. TOW principles included in charter.
46. Parents fill out survey for new entrants to whare kura.
- 47 RTM and whakapapa connections (whanau networking) used to identify Maori resource people.
48. RTM involved in assessment.
49. Parental involvement in child's progress and programme via informal discussion at parent interviews.
50. Parent involvement in gala and hangi.
- 51 Parent helpers used.
- 52 A variety of teaching approaches utilised.
- 53 Parents welcomed to share wharekura lunch area.
- 54 Staff work with a variety of community organisations for the benefit of Maori children eg CYPS, Special Education, Maori Woman's Welfare League, Strengthening Families.
- 55 A variety of assessment processes utilised including self assessment, peer and group assessment and parental comments.
- 56 "Class swap" to utilise staff members ability in the reo.
- 57 School has a kapahaka group.

APPENDIX L: EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT F: CULTURAL INPUT CHART

Culturally Appropriate Strategies used at Educational Establishment F.

	Partnership	Participation	Active Protection	Empowerment & Tino Rangatiratanga	Equality & Accessibility	Integration
Environment		5, 4	14	20, 21		
Personnel		7			27	33
Policy	1	8	15	22	28	
Process	2	9	16	23	29	
Content	3	10	17		36	
Resources		11, 12	18		31	
Assessment		13		24		34
Administration	4		19	25, 26	32	35

APPENDIX M: EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT G: CULTURAL INPUT CHART

Culturally Appropriate Strategies used at Educational Establishment G

	Partnership	Participation	Active Protection	Empowerment & Tino Rangatiratanga	Equality & Accessibility	Integration
Environment	1	35,36	76-78	134-140	174-191	226-230
Personnel	2-6	37-41	79-85	141-147	192-199	231-234
Policy	7-11	42-46	86-94	148-152	200-202	235-236
Process	12-18	47- 53	95-107	153-160	203-210	236-238
Content	19-21	54-60	108-121	161-163	211-214	239-240
Resources	22-25	61-65	122-130	164-166	215, 216	241-244
Assessment	26-30	66 -69	131-132	167	217-218	245
Administration	31-34	70-75	133	168-173	219-225	246-249

APPENDIX N: EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT H: CULTURAL INPUT CHART

Culturally Appropriate Strategies used at Educational Establishment H

	Partnership	Participation	Active Protection	Empowerment & Tino Rangatiratanga	Equality & Accessibility	Integration
Environment	1	2 - 5	6,7,37	8 - 11	12, 13	14, 15
Personnel		16, 17	18, 19	20 , 21	22	23
Policy	24	25	26, 27		27	28
Process		29	30, 31	32, 33	34	35
Content			36, 49-52		38	
Resources	7	39, 40	41		45, 46,	47
Assessment						
Administration			48	42,	43,	44

APPENDIX O: EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT I: STRATEGIES AND CULTURAL INPUT CHART

Culturally Appropriate Strategies used at Educational Establishment I.

PARTNERSHIP team relationship	How is your school working in partnership with M. to achieve mutually acceptable goals?
ENVIRONMENT How does the physical/ emotional environment convey acceptance + valuing of M.people/ culture?	No examples
PERSONNEL Do all employees have a understanding and appreciation of M. culture and respect for Mpeople?	1. Some, very limited, staff training / development if the classroom teacher chooses to remain in the classroom during the 30 mins per week te reo lesson given by te kaiako.
POLICY What commitment to meeting the cultural needs of M. children is contained in your policies, charter and other official docs?	2 Partnership goals are acknowledged on paper eg School charter, other official school documents and National Curriculum documents.
PROCESSES What culturally appropriate methods are used in planning development and delivery of your progs and services?	3 Maori kaiako plans and delivers the Maori withdrawal group programme.
CONTENT What M. skills, know, exper, lang, tikanga, values and beliefs are incorp. into the curric and activities?	4 Some eg Treaty of Waitangi in Social Studies, Maori Myths and Legends, art work. This depends on individual teachers.
RESOURCES How are M. people, skills, knowledge, exper, lang, tikanga, values and beliefs reflected in resources displayed and used?	5 Resource people: te kaiako and the children. 6 Some sharing of resources between te kaiako and RTLB. Te kaiako has no control over Maori budget. She has access to school photocopier and art resources etc.
ASSESSMENT How are M. skills, know, practices, lang, exper, beliefs and values taken into consideration in assess and evaluation procedures used?	7 Te kaiako assesses proficiency in te reo and tikanga for withdrawal group children and writes comment on school report at end of year.
ADMINISTR/N How are the admin procedures used sensitive to and supportive of M. people, culture, values and practices?	No examples.

PARTICIPATION involvement	How is your school involving M. children, parents, whanau?
ENVIRONMENT How does the physical/ emotional environment convey acceptance + valuing of M. people/ culture?	8 Desks are arranged in groups in the classrooms to enable co- operative group work. Toilets are available but out of sight.
PERSONNEL Do all employees have a understanding and appreciation of M. culture and respect for Mpeople?	7 End of year concert includes an item from the Maori withdrawal group.
POLICY What commitment to meeting the cultural needs of M. children is contained in your policies, charter and other official docs?	10 All new/ revised policies are available in a folder in the foyer for all parents to view and comment on. 11 Maori BOT rep involved at BOT level. 12 Te kaiako is rewriting te reo/tikanga policy for withdrawal group along Maori, rather than pakeha, lines. This involved considerable "discussion" with senior Management!
PROCESSES What culturally appropriate methods are used in planning development and delivery of your progs and services?	14 RTLB calls at families' homes. Principal often contacts families by phone.
CONTENT What M. skills, know. exper. lang, tikanga, values and beliefs are incorp. into the curric and activities?	12 Te kaiako is rewriting te reo/tikanga policy for withdrawal group along Maori, rather than pakeha, lines. This involved considerable "discussion" with senior Management!
RESOURCES How are M. people, skills, knowledge, exper. lang, tikanga, values and beliefs reflected in resources displayed and used?	15 Maori parents were invited to contribute to a tikanga unit by at least one teacher (they declined the invitation). 16 Te kaiako readily shares her knowledge, expertise and experience with the withdrawal group children. All parents are invited to Reading Tutors course, many Maori parents attend.
ASSESSMENT How are M. skills, know, practices, lang, exper, beliefs and values taken into consideration in assess and evaluation procedures used?	18 All parents attend IEP/IBP meetings. 19 Some, limited, peer assessment occurs through "buddy" scheme for children with Special Teaching Needs.
ADMINISTR/N How are the admin procedures used sensitive to and supportive of M. people, culture, values and practices?	11 Maori rep on BOT.

ACTIVE PROTECTION	How is your school supporting, valuing, promoting M. culture? What is it doing to develop the M. language, knowledge, skills, experiences, beliefs and values of its M. pupils?
ENVIRONMENT How does the physical/ emotional environment convey acceptance + valuing of M. people/ culture?	20 There is a large sign "kia ora, welcome to *** school" and prominent kowhaiwhai patterns around more "pakeha" images from the town at the entrance to the school. There is a mural of Maui in the playground. 21 Bilingual and te reo signs in the office area and library. Several classrooms have displays of Maori art work, posters of te reo colours, numbers, alphabet etc.
PERSONNEL Do all employees have a understanding and appreciation of M. culture and respect for M. people?	23 One Maori staff member (not a trained teacher, referred to as "te kaiako" in this data) employed for 2 days a week specifically to deliver te reo/tikanga programme. 1 day with withdrawal groups and 1 day working with classes. Some (limited) inservice if class teacher chooses to stay in the room during these lessons. One Maori male employed through Task Force Green as a role model for lunchtime supervision and afternoon sports. He is also the BOT rep.
POLICY What commitment to meeting the cultural needs of M. children is contained in your official docs?	25 There is an expectation of the use of te reo across the curriculum. Te kaiako follows a specific te reo/tikanga programme with her groups and with each class.
PROCESSES What culturally appropriate methods are used in planning development and delivery of your progs and services?	26 Some culturally appropriate strategies/procedures are encouraged under guidance from the RTLb, but this is limited in actual classroom practice. Eg rote learning, modelling, co-operative learning strategies, sense of ako, group responses.
CONTENT What M. skills, know. exper, lang, tikanga, values and beliefs are incorp. into the curric and activities?	27 There are some bilingual/te reo signs. One lesson a week with te kaiako for each class. Some curriculum content eg legends, numbers, simple commands, but these are not fully adopted by the teachers. 28
RESOURCES How are M. people, skills, knowledge, exper, lang, tikanga, values and beliefs reflected in resources displayed and used?	29 The 2 Maori staff members are high quality resources. 30 There are some books, posters, puzzles and games for use with the withdrawal group. Te kaiako does not have control of a budget.
ASSESSMENT How are M. skills, know, practices, lang, exper, beliefs and values taken into consideration in assess/ evaluation?	31 All parents are invited to comment when syllabi are written. For special education, Maori parents have been resistant in the past to having their children removed from the ordinary classroom. The recent moves towards inclusion are therefore very welcome and seen to be supporting this particular Maori perspective on assessment/education.
ADMINISTR/N How are the admin procedures used sensitive to and supportive of M. people, culture, values and practices?	32 Information on the children's cultural group is collected on the admission cards. These are kept in locked filing cabinets in classrooms. The information is used for funding and for Min of Ed statistics eg number of suspensions. 33 The school newsletter has kowhaiwhai motives. Bilingual and te reo signs in the office area.

EMPOWERMENT tino rangatira tanga (individual and tribal)	How is your school providing M. chd/parents with the skills, knowledge, means, opportunities and authority to act for themselves and make their own decisions? How are you being guided by iwi in matters relating to M. resources and taonga?
ENVIRONMENT How does the physical/ emotional environment convey acceptance + valuing of M. people/ culture?	A training course for parent reading tutors was held at the local bilingual school. All parents are invited to a parent/teacher/child interview twice a year. All parents of new entrants have the school system explained to them.
PERSONNEL Do all employees have a understanding and appreciation of M. culture and respect for Mpeople?	Te kaiako has responsibility for delivering the te reo/tikanga programme. Resources are limited, with no control over budget. Support from other staff is very limited.
POLICY What commitment to meeting the cultural needs of M. chd is cont in official docs?	Te kaiako has met with the new Principal and Senior teachers to discuss te reo/tikanga policy implementation.
PROCESSES What culturally approp methods are used in planning, development/delivery of progs/ services?	The 2 Maori staff utilise their own culturally appropriate methods.
CONTENT What M. skills, know, exper, lang, tikanga, values and beliefs are incorp. into the curric and activities?	There can be consultation with iwi about "tribal" appropriateness of cultural content through te kaiako if the individual classroom teacher chooses to do this eg use of poi by boys.
RESOURCES How are M. people, skills, knowledge, exper, lang, tikanga, values and beliefs reflected in resources displayed and used?	No examples
ASSESSMENT How are M.skills/know practices, lang, exper, beliefs and values taken into consideration in assess and evaluation procedures used?	Class teacher assesses children's level of cultural knowledge through informal observation. Te kaiako comments on report for withdrawal group children only.
ADMINISTR/N How are admin procedures sensitive to and supportive of M. people, culture, values and practices?	All parents are invited to a parent/teacher/child interview twice a year. Any issues/concerns would be dealt with through the class teacher/Principal. Other meetings are called as the need arises eg for behaviour problems. BOT reps. are selected in consultation with local marae and by written and face to face invitation to stand.

EQUALITY AND ACCESSIBILITY	How does your school ensure equity of access, use and outcomes is achieved for Maori children?
ENVIRONMENT How does the physical/ emotional environment convey acceptance + valuing of M. people/ culture?	42 The training course for reading tutors is free, well advertised, at central locations including the local bilingual school.
PERSONNEL Do all employees have a understanding and appreciation of M. culture and respect for M people?	43 The proportion of Maori staff/BOT reps does not match the proportion of Maori children (2 part time staff and 1 BOT rep for 37% of 200 children). The 2 Maori staff are accessible to Maori children and parents.
POLICY What commitment to meeting the cultural needs of M. children is contained in your policies, charter and other official docs?	Recent ERO report highlighted the fact that there is currently no data on Maori achievement. This will be addressed in the near future.
PROCESSES What culturally appropriate methods are used in planning development and delivery of your progs and services?	26 Most teachers seem to think that Maori children are no different so they do not consider using culturally appropriate methods. Some culturally appropriate strategies/procedures are encouraged under guidance from the RTL B, but this is limited in actual classroom practice. Eg rote learning, modelling, co-operative learning strategies, sense of ako, group responses.
CONTENT What M. skills, know, exper, lang, tikanga, values and beliefs are incorp. into the curric and activities?	40 Maori content is included on the school report for the withdrawal group. 44 It is included on the IEP if relevant.
RESOURCES How are M. people, skills, knowledge, exper, lang, tikanga, values and beliefs reflected in resources displayed and used?	No examples.
ASSESSMENT How are M skills/know practices, lang, exper, beliefs and values taken into consideration in assess and evaluation procedures used?	There is equity of access to Maori withdrawal programme. Most assessment tools represent the dominant culture. "Barriers" are still seen to be a "problem" with the child or home, not with the methods used.
ADMINISTR/N How are the admin procedures used sensitive to and supportive of M. people, culture, values and practices?	33 The school newsletter has kowhaiwhai motives. 14 Home/school contact is often by phone call. RTL B visits homes.

INTEGRATION 1) other schools/ communities 2) holistic approach	How does your school consult and work with other schools, M and community organisations for the benefit of M. children? Are you providing a holistic programme that caters for Maori children's needs in all areas and considers them within the context of their whanau, hapu, iwi and NZ society?
ENVIRONMENT How does the physical/ emotional environment convey acceptance + valuing of M. people/ culture?	No examples.
PERSONNEL Do all employees have a understanding and appreciation of M. culture and respect for M people?	45 RTLB works with te kaiako eg recommends resources from Learning Media. 46 SES specialists are consulted when appropriate eg OT, BEST. 47 Contact with other organisations as appropriate eg IHC, Barnardos for counselling etc.
POLICY What commitment to meeting the cultural needs of M. children is contained in official docs?	48 "Holistic" statements in curriculum policy documents.
PROCESSES What culturally appropriate methods are used in planning development/delivery of progs/ services?	46 SES specialists are consulted when appropriate eg OT, BEST. 47 Contact with other organisations as appropriate eg IHC, Barnardos for counselling etc.
CONTENT What M. skills, know, exper, lang, tikanga, values and beliefs are incorp. into curric/activities?	48 "Holistic" statements in curriculum policy documents.
RESOURCES How are M. people, skills, knowledge, exper, lang, tikanga, values and beliefs reflected in resources displayed and used?	49 Te kaiako delivers the te reo/tikanga programme and is funded by the Maori grant. Male Maori role model is an interested parent and is funded by Task Force Green.
ASSESSMENT How are M. skills, know, practices, lang, exper, beliefs and values taken into consideration in assess and evaluation procedures used?	50 Yes, assessment does involve all these areas. They are included on IEP/IBP as appropriate.
ADMINISTR/N How are the admin procedures used sensitive to and supportive of M. people, culture, values and practices?	51 Holistic programming is possible, as this is a primary school.

Culturally Appropriate Strategies used in Education Establishment I

	Partnership	Participation	Active Protection	Empowerment & Tino Rangatiratanga	Equality & Accessibility	Integration
Environment		8	20,21,22	17,34,35	42	
Personnel	1	9	1,23,24	16	43	45,46,47
Policy	2	10,11,12	25	36		48
Process	3	13,14	26	37	26	46,47
Content	4	12	27,28	38	40,44	48
Resources	5, 6	15,16,17	29,30			49,24
Assessment	7	18,19	31	39,40		50
Administration		11	32,33	34,41	13,14,33	51

APPENDIX P: EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT J: CULTURAL INPUT CHART

Culturally Appropriate Strategies used at Educational Establishment J

	Partnership	Participation	Active Protection	Empowerment & Tino Rangatiratanga	Equality & Accessibility	Integration
Environment	1, 9	9	22 - 24	18, 37 - 39	18, 51 - 54	65 - 67
Personnel	2	10	25 - 28	40	55, 56	68 - 70
Policy	3	11, 12	29 - 30	41	57	71
Process	4	13, 14	31	13,15,42,43	58, 64	72
Content	5	15	32, 33	44	59, 60	73
Resources	6	16	34	45 - 47	61, 62	74
Assessment	79	17, 18	35	48 - 49	63	75
Administration	7, 8	19 - 21	36	50	64	76 - 78

APPENDIX Q: EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT K: CULTURAL INPUT CHART

Culturally Appropriate Strategies used at Educational Establishment K

	Partnership	Participation	Active Protection	Empowerment & Tino Rangatiratanga	Equality & Accessibility	Integration
Environment		1	2-6	7,8	9-11	12
Personnel	13	14, 15	16	17	18, 19	20, 21
Policy	22	23, 24	25, 26		27, 28	29
Process	30	31	32	33	34, 35	36, 37
Content	38	39	38	40 - 44		
Resources	45 , 46	47	48-50	51	52	53, 54
Assessment		55, 56	57	58, 59	60, 61	62
Administration	63	64, 65	66	67, 68	69, 70	71

APPENDIX R: GUIDELINES FOR CATEGORISING STRATEGIES

GUIDELINES FOR CATEGORISING STRATEGIES IN A CULTURAL AUDIT

A number of students have found the process of placing strategies into their appropriate categories on the framework a difficult task. An approach I have found helpful is outlined below.

STEP ONE

Examine each strategy in light of the following structure and related questions:

WHO (subject) is doing WHAT (action) to WHOM (object) and WHY (purpose)?

1. What is happening? (ie what action is taking place?)
2. Who is involved? (ie. who is the subject and who is the object?)
3. Why did the action come about? (ie what is the purpose behind the action and the motivation for it to be handled in a particular way?)

STEP TWO

Once the facts above are clear for a particular strategy, examine the various programme components described in the shaded left hand column of the filled in framework. Ask yourself, which component does the strategy mainly relate to? It is possible that it could relate to more than one component and that is fine. However you should guard against accepting minor connections as this practice leads to multiple categorisations and ultimately a more positive audit than is warranted.

In deciding which programme component the strategy is related to, you should concentrate on the action that is occurring.

Environment - Is it focussed on physical setting or emotional climate?

Personnel - Has it anything to do with staff recruitment, selection, professional development, responsibility or activities?

Policy - Is it related to the content or development of any official documentation?

Process - Is it principally about the way something is done?

Content - Is it about the substance of what is taught or delivered?

Resources - Is it about the material or people who are used to teach or assist in delivering a service?

Assessment - Is it concerned with evaluating progress, standards or determining eligibility for a service?

Administration - Is it related to how a school/centre is funded, managed, maintained or organised?

An affirmative answer to your question means you have identified the programme component/s of your strategy.

STEP THREE

Revisit your answers to the who, what, whom and why questions you posed from the outset. With this information in mind read across the performance outcomes that are given in the shaded area under each principle heading on the filled in framework. Does the strategy under consideration demonstrate any of these outcomes? In doing this exercise, the questions you will be asking are:

Partnership - Does this strategy involve school/centre staff working with Maori/iwi/hapu or whanau representatives to achieve mutually acceptable goals?

Participation - Does this strategy show Maori parents and/or whanau positively involved in some school/centre-related activity?

Active protection - Does this strategy show that Maori culture, values, knowledge, skills, experiences, beliefs or language are being supported, valued, promoted or developed in some way?

Empowerment - Does this strategy involve Maori learners, parents or whanau in gaining the skills, knowledge, means, opportunity or authority to make their own decisions and/or to act for themselves?

Tino Rangatiratanga - Does this strategy involve iwi/hapu representatives in making decisions related to Maori resources, taonga or Maori/iwi issues?

Equality - Does this strategy show any disadvantage or imbalance experienced by Maori learners or their parents being redressed?

Accessibility - Does this strategy involve measures to ensure Maori learners, parents or whanau can access services, resources or educational opportunities?

Integration - Does this strategy involve school/centre staff working with staff from other schools/centres, Maori or community organisations?

Does this strategy show a holistic approach to education?

An affirmative answer to your question means you have identified the principle category. A “strong” match should be sort. Sometimes there is more than one strong match and this is fine, one strategy can demonstrate a number of principles. However, as previously mentioned, you should guard against accepting minor matches as this practice leads to multiple categorisations and ultimately a more positive audit than is warranted.

STEP FOUR

Now you have your category established, check the question posed and example given in the appropriate cells of the Cultural Input Checklist and Sample. Do you feel that your newly-categorised strategy fits comfortably with the question and example given? Are they closely associated or related? If not it might be wise to run through the steps again just to make sure your analysis of the strategy is appropriate.

AN EXAMPLE

Let us take an example to demonstrate how this process works. I have purposely chosen an involved example.

“Teachers attend a local, night time concert given by their school’s kapahaka group. The group includes a child in a wheelchair.”

STEP ONE

1. What is happening?

- ♦ A kapahaka concert is being performed for the local community.
- ♦ Teachers attend kapahaka concert in out of school time.
- ♦ Child with disability performs in concert.

2. Who is involved?

- ♦ Kapahaka performers and the local community

- ◆ Teachers (these are not the group's tutors)
- ◆ Child with disability
- ◆ Why did the action come about?
- ◆ The group's tutors wanted to give children the experience of performing to a large audience and to celebrate their kapahaka talents.
- ◆ Teachers wanted to show their support for the children's efforts
- ◆ Disability is not considered a barrier to inclusion in all school activities including cultural activities.

STEP TWO

- ◆ Possible programme component categories are Environment (emotional climate), Process and Content but the strongest relationship in this instance is Environment. The main focus of the action is that it is a concert being performed to the community. It demonstrates an emotional climate supportive of taha Maori.
- ◆ This aspect of the example is directly related to staff activities so the Personnel category is appropriate.
- ◆ The focus on this aspect of the example is that the child with a disability is involved in the same activity as his/her peers. The Content is the same.

STEP THREE

- ◆ The concert demonstrates the school's valuing and promotion of Maori culture therefore it is an example of Active Protection. It is also an example of Integration because the school and the community are both involved in affirming the group's efforts. Participation is another possible choice because parents participate by their concert attendance. However, it is not included as parental participation has been subsumed into the stronger community focused category of Integration. (Providing two entries for the same thing would positively skew the audit results.)
- ◆ Again Active Protection is chosen because the teachers attendance at the concert demonstrates their valuing of Maori culture (and their students).
- ◆ Two categories chosen here. Active Protection because the child's Maori culture is being affirmed and his/her skills being developed and Equality/Accessibility because measures have obviously been put into place to enable this child to perform in his/her wheelchair.

STEP FOUR

- ◆ Environment and Active Protection, Environment and Integration - Congruence with Checklist questions and examples.
- ◆ Personnel and Active Protection - not a good match but choice considered appropriate. Checklist questions needs extending.
- ◆ Content and Active Protection, Content and Equality/Accessibility - Intention evident.

CONCLUSION

Hopefully these guidelines will help you in categorising strategies. However it should be noted that categorising is not a straightforward exercise and often there is no "one right answer." In categorising the example above you may have come up with different combinations. This is quite acceptable as long as you have valid and significant reasons to justify your choices

