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Better Relationships for Better Learning
Schools addressing Maori Achievement
Through Partnership

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the policy document *Better Relationships for Better Learning: Guidelines for Boards of Trustees and Schools on Engaging with Māori Parents, Whanau, and Communities* (Ministry of Education, 2000a).

The thesis is concerned with an examination and analysis of the Ministry of Education's policy *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document and its implementation as evidenced by a case study school.

The thesis demonstrates that while Government policy may intend to benefit Maori, the outcomes do not necessarily do so. It is argued that neither Government nor schools, as agents of the state, are neutral bodies but in large part reflect the influence of the majority over the provision of education for Maori. The claim for school/Maori partnerships made in the policy *Better Relationships for Better Learning* ignores the founding partnership envisaged through the Treaty of Waitangi. Maori participation as partners in negotiating the terms of the relationship with the school is ignored. This thesis examines the function of those relationships in terms of 'Better Learning', investigating the developments and practices in schools for Maori children's learning

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Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi,  ngari he toa takitini.

*My skill does not come just from me,
But comes from the combined skill of those around me.*

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Chapter One

1.0 Introduction

Ever since I can remember I have always had a strong sense of what is right and what is wrong in terms of fairness. Perhaps this notion was instilled in me early because I am a twin and twins understand from an early age what it means to be treated the same and therefore what it means to be treated differently. A sense of justice in terms of what is the right moral action insofar as it marks the extension of interpersonal relationships with others was therefore an understanding I became aware of during early school years. This sense has remained key to helping me understand my world. Schooling highlighted the notion of difference for me early as well. My twin is very fair and I have a much darker complexion. We didn't regard ourselves at the age of five as Māori or Pākehā until we enrolled at school. We were branded according to our skin colour from the first day and spent some years either fulfilling roles or resisting them according to that brand. When I became a mother I was very decisive about the fact that my own children would not be so readily branded nor misunderstood. They would learn from an early age that their difference and uniqueness was something to be proud of and to cherish.

Some years later teacher training and teaching in the classroom rekindled these lessons as I witnessed a number of Māori students struggling to battle the brands and misconceptions attached to being Māori. It is for this reason that the document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* appealed to me when I picked it up to peruse its contents. Here was a document that encouraged schools and Māori to meet halfway and build a relationship that would ease the battle so that Māori students could get on with learning in a friendly environment. If only it was that easy.

In terms of Māori educational underachievement Government statistics indicate two key facts. First that over 84% of Māori students are educated in the general mainstream school system,

“...making it imperative that Māori receive the best educational opportunities in those schools, as well as in all other educational settings” (Ministry of Education, 2002:14).

Second, that the disparity between Māori and non-Māori achievement in our country’s education system is increasing. Māori are not achieving in the same numbers in proportion to their non-Māori counterparts.

“It is disturbing to find that despite improvements for Māori in some areas, gaps have either remained the same or widened” (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998:6).

The second comment suggests that currently Māori are not receiving the best educational opportunities our mainstream schools have to offer. A raft of statistics and discussion documents (*Ministry of Education & Te Puni Kōkiri, 1997, 1998, 2000*) further suggest that the attempts of succeeding Governments’ to address these disparities have not worked.

In March 2000 the Ministry of Education released an initiative for improving the education of Māori entitled *Better Relationships for Better Learning: Guidelines for Boards of Trustees and Schools on Engaging with Māori Parents, Whānau, and Communities*. The document is founded on the premise that schools that are inclusive of the concerns and interests of Māori parents are better able to translate these into more effective programmes of learning and teaching for Māori children (Ministry of Education, 2000a). The document guidelines were developed to enable schools to set up and maintain good relationships through a partnership with Māori parents and communities. The focus was one that had been first attempted in 1989 through school Boards of Trustees but *Better Relationships for Better Learning* was also attempting to focus on learning outcomes.

The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document offers the exploration of a fuller partnership experience than explored in previous educational policy. Durie would agree that a better relationship deal however requires a basis of understanding from which both parties can develop.

“For a partnership to exist between whanau and school there must be a basis for understanding” (Durie, 1989:18).

The rationale behind this thesis is to take into account Māori theory and knowledge in terms of critiquing the document’s implementation because to date Government initiatives have had limited success in addressing a better relationship notion. The aim is to expose what is working well for Maori and what is not in terms of the policy; what schools are doing and how this might be improved. The critique will follow school and teacher responses to the document. Pere best sums up the rationale behind the use of teacher perspectives in the research project.

The level of learning and motivation of Māori in the schools depends on the experiences that teachers have and the way that the Department of Education expects them to implement a Māori programme. What the teachers’ know, believe and feel about Māori determines their daily actions in the schools, and it is in the light of this that we should evaluate any discussion of ‘Māori in the schools’ (Pere, 1982: 94).

An examination of the policy itself, the ways in which it has been implemented, and the quality of this implementation, are therefore the concerns of the research. The thesis seeks to establish whether or not the policy has strength and to identify areas that might require further development. The process will involve policy deconstruction and an assessment of its implementation within the school context.

The policy, *Better Relationships for Better Learning*, has been in schools for two and a half years at the time of this research; therefore it is an appropriate time to consider progress with its implementation. The aim of the research therefore is to ascertain the extent the policy document has been and may be implemented through the example of a case study school.

Chapter Outline

The research *Better Relationships for Better Learning: Schools addressing Māori Achievement through partnership* is presented in four main sections. The first section (chapters one and two) introduces the research and explores literature central to the topic. Historically, Government attempts to challenge Māori underachievement have failed. The fact that the disparity gap between Māori and Non-Māori has either grown or shown little change is evidence to this fact (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998). The literature review has two parts. Part 1 explores the attempts Government has made to counter this fact and an analysis as to why this failure occurred.

Part 2 broaches the topic that better relationships between Government agents (schools) and Māori communities are central to the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document and asks how that relationship first began in order to better understand the historical framing of such an affiliation. Grounded in the Treaty of Waitangi discourse, partnership may be perceived in a number of ways. Part Two of the literature review considers the Governments approach for addressing Māori underachievement by giving focus to a partnership relationship between Māori and schools. The document clearly sets out the ways in which the partnership arrangement may be perceived by schools for Māori. Māori however may perceive this relationship differently.

The second section (Chapter Three) offers an explanation of the methodological justification and procedures of the research selected in order to give an insight into the methodology used. All human behaviour is subject to constructions based around the values and ethics perceived as valuable by the individual or group. Research is no exception. These constructions distinguish that which we consider acceptable behaviour against those that are generally considered unacceptable. The methodological section of the research explores both Māori and Western constructions, valued for this thesis and gives some justification for the legitimation of both perspectives. Such justification includes the use of particular data gathering techniques, research procedures and research design for the research method.

Document analysis is vital to the research and Section Three (Chapter Four) is an analysis of the document under examination – *Better Relationships for Better Learning (Ministry of Education 2000a)*. While Government policy espouses benefits for Māori, a closer examination reveals that the agenda is not necessarily beneficial but may instead work toward maintaining an unequal balance of power that places Māori in a position of participation rather than partnership. The elements for drawing up successful relationships promoted by the document are also interrogated. These elements are not necessarily inclusive of Māori perspectives.

Section Four presents the research fieldwork and findings of the case study school and puts forward an analytical discussion that weaves together the literature and fieldwork sources, the documentary evidence, the historical events, the theoretical concepts and the critical issues arising from the implementation of the programme in the school under study.

Chapter Two

2.0 Literature Review

Part one of this chapter focuses on the issue of Māori educational underachievement. It argues that a number of theoretical positions have contributed to Māori underachieving because the focus is on Māori as the problem. In particular the chapter examines concepts like ‘difference’ and ‘gaps’ that have their roots in a colonial discourse based on racism. Part two examines the notions of partnership as a means to establish a foundation from which *Better Relationships for Better Learning* can be analysed and understood. This section argues that partnership has been a problematic term for Māori as their Treaty partners (Pākehā) continue to struggle with conceptions of partnership that are founded on relationships of (Pākehā) dominance and subordination of Māori.

2.1 *The Underachievement Issue*

The performance of Māori in the New Zealand education system has been widely debated and documented over the last 40 years in a number of reports, for example, Hunn (1961), McLaren (1974), Barrington and Beaglehole (1974), Hirsh (1987) and government agencies such as the Ministry of Education (1997) and Te Puni Kokiri (1998, 2000). Earlier debates viewed Māori as the problem and assumed they didn’t have the skills and intelligence to adapt and readily assimilate to a western way of living and learning. Later work claims that in spite of Māori participation in all sectors of education having increased since the 1980s, disparities continue to persist between Māori and non-Māori educational achievement.

Historically the scale of disparities between Māori and non-Māori participation and achievement have been so wide that improvements by Maori have had a minimal impact on reducing the difference (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998:6)

Statistics provide evidence that Māori achievement rates are lower than that of non-Māori in New Zealand (Te Puni Kokiri 1998, 2000). The pervasive use of statistics has been regarded as evidence of the failure of Māori students at school. The assumption is that these number tests and graphs are culture free, neutral and objective, they are not. Rather they are based on a framework that measures outcome rather than process. Thus by simply treating Māori students as objects with measurable attributes the reasoning as to why and how Māori fail are questions that remain unchallenged. As educational researchers we must ask ourselves why these systems of measurement focus on outcomes as a preferred means of assessment of our students. Why should the focus be concerned with the social pathology of Māori, that is, with failure and not with success? These processes are not examining the fundamental values of the school system, its structures or our wider society. Instead, the underachievement of Māori students' has been located in a particular way. Dei and Calliste (2000:34) refer to this preference of framing as a means to:

“...justify the (educational) status quo by attributing causal priority to the victims themselves”.

The focus is mainly on the Māori student rather than on the whole educational context of which the child is merely one part (Keddie, 1973). Māori underachievement is thus readily explained in terms of deficit approaches that locate cultural deprivation and problem-solving theories as pivotal to explaining why underachievement exists in the first place because the educational context is seen to be 'unproblematic'.

Smith and Tosi (cited in Pihama, 1993:28) claim that:

The home environmental and family background became the focus by which to explain differences in school achievement and underachievement, providing the framework through which to categorise children's achievement levels. The categorising of children in such a way allowed for the development of the conceptualisation of those groups of children designated as “underachievers” as being ‘culturally disadvantaged’ or ‘culturally deprived’.

While cultural deprivation may no longer be overt in terms of driving education policies and practices, there is evidence to suggest that such an approach remains the underlying philosophy governing the use of some of the discourse and methods for assessing and researching the educational achievement of Māori students. Anne Else's (1997) summary of the report *Māori Participation & Performance in Education* by Simon Chapple is one such example.

The report claims that:

...having fewer family resources seems to explain about two thirds of the education gap between Māori and non-Māori (Ministry of Education, 1997:18).

Durie (1998) points out however that while research which adopts these types of deficit models informs national policy, they have not lead to improvement for Māori. This point is picked up by Jenkins and Jones (in Marshall, Coxon, Jenkins & Jones, 2000), who further explain that many government educational policies and reports identify the 'disparity' between Māori and Pākehā in terms of different schooling outcomes. From this view the aim in reducing disparity is to make Māori outcomes look more like those of Pākehā (Marshall et al, 2000). Consequently the continuation of assimilation as a means to address underachievement remains a focus for education policy.

Assimilative approaches litter New Zealand history and were evident as early as 1816 when Mission schools first began because the missionaries were predominantly British and believed civilisation and Christianity were closely linked (Simon, 1986). Settlers of the time perceived the races of the world in hierarchical stages ranging from the inferior savage to the superior civilised races (Simon, 1986).

Johnston (1998) argues that Pākehā conceptions of 'difference' were influenced and driven by ideologies of racial superiority of particular groups (British European for example) and the oppositional contrasting position of racial inferiority of others (Māori). Johnston agrees that these assimilative assumptions still pervade teachers' beliefs today (1998).

In more recent Government policy, cultural deprivation may have changed its guise. It may now be referred to as ‘disparities’ or ‘gaps’ (Shuker, 1987, Openshaw, Lee and Lee, 1993, Kenrick, 2001), but this recalibrated theory is not new to the discourse of Māori education. The gaps notion is consistent with the concept of deprivation because it infers an absence of something needed in order to better ‘fit’ with society. The problem is that the constitution of desirability is not defined by those who are said to have the deficiency. These gaps have been identified and defined by non-Māori. Furthermore the defining of such gaps has occurred from a point of reference reflecting a dominant monocultural perspective that positions Māori as different and therefore the problem.

Smith (in Pihama, 1993) and Johnston (1998) claim that the Māori world has been represented through the eyes of non-Māori as ‘other’ or ‘different’ when a commonly Western point of reference has been the centre of that framing.

As Māori we have been defined in terms of our differences to our colonisers... the way ‘other’ has been historically structured has denied us our own ways of defining and relating to differences. In creating a ‘new’ nation, the colonisers placed greater emphasis on how different they were from (and much ‘better’ than) the inhabitants (Smith in Pihama, 1993:56).

Dominant group constructions of Māori have viewed Māori as both different and abnormal. Deficit theories in this sense are based upon an assumption that the overrepresentation of Māori in educational underachievement is due to their lacking the appropriate knowledge, skills and culture of the dominant group. Intelligence Quotient (I.Q.) testing would have certainly substantiated this view and was used popularly in New Zealand from the 1920s as a means to measure intelligence¹. The fact that today I.Q. tests are viewed as contentious assessment tools due to their cultural bias was not necessarily taken into consideration by schools that adopted the practice to categorise and group children. I.Q. testing not only ignored the cultural difference of minority groups but many countries used them despite the fact that they did not relate to the experience of the child being tested. The *TOSCA* test for example, was developed from concern that

¹ There have been three major tests commonly employed since the 1920s in New Zealand schools, these include the Stanford-Binet tests, the Otis test of General Mental Ability and the Test of Scholastic Ability or *TOSCA* (Olssen, 1988).

the *Otis* test was not specifically relevant to New Zealand society (Olssen, 1988). Nash and Codd (1983) argue that commonly used standardized tests, such as the Otis Test of Mental Ability and TOSCA, are culturally biased in that they discriminate unfairly against the children from ethnic minorities. Nash (1983) published a paper entitled *Four charges against TOSCA* in which the second charge claims that TOSCA contains a bias against Māori children. As a result Māori were viewed as less intelligent and possessing lower mental capacity, a view consistent with racial discourse.

The perceived ‘gap;’ between these two groups (Māori and the dominant group of our society, Pākehā) continues to be of importance in justifying Government educational policy today because Māori difference continues to be seen as the variable that needs ‘putting right’.

In the twentieth century, one of the Government’s more overt strategic objectives for Māori development has been to make significant progress towards developing policies and processes that lead toward what has become the popularly coined phrase ‘*Closing the Gaps*’ between Māori and Non-Māori. This includes what is perceived as the educational achievement gap. While the report *Progress towards Closing the Social and Economic Gaps between Māori and Non-Māori* (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998) for example, accepts that Maori experience poorer educational outcomes, higher unemployment, lower income levels, lower rates of home ownership and poorer health than non-Māori, they rarely pinpoint the institutional and social practices that create, maintain and perpetuate these outcomes. As argued in earlier, the problem is the benchmark reflects a dominant monocultural structure from which Māori people are measured. The structure assumes an underlying premise that Māori want the same outcomes as their dominant culture counterparts and furthermore can reach these if they simply take up the same opportunities. It would seem that the tools for measuring these opportunities are commensurable. Durie (1998:258) however cautions us to reconsider this approach because:

“Where dominant cultural norms are used as the benchmark for research, Māori difference is likely to be problematised”.

This kind of assessment assumes a position that Māori and Pākehā share fundamental cultural commonalities at the start of the education process, an assumption not necessarily true. Dei and Calliste (2000:22) discuss this belief as the idea that:

...we start from a relatively level playing field, that we have access to similar resources and that we have comparable values, aspirations and concerns. Nothing can be further from the reality of the racially minoritized in our communities (Dei & Calliste, 2000:22).

Dei and Calliste describe this belief as engaging in the politics of denying race and difference, Māori difference for example is then ‘problematised’. Battiste & Youngblood Henderson, (2000: 92) explain that the resolution for assertions of this type follow the idea that there is “*one best remedy*” for the educational troubles of Indigenous peoples, even though the notion of one best system has been discredited.

Māori uniqueness, like that of many indigenous groups, has been classified by dominant group constructions as ‘other’ or ‘different’. This ‘difference’ classification marginalises Māori knowledge while simultaneously centralising and normalising Western dominant views and knowledge (Pihama 1993, Smith 1999).

If the philosophy behind closing the gaps of Māori difference were to be put aside it might become more obvious that *Closing the Gaps Reports* are significant indicators that our society’s systems perpetuate inequitable participation and achievement outcomes for Māori because these outcomes are based on one perspective alone. The interpretation of these gaps is based on one perspective, the perceived outcomes for learners are based on one perspective and the selection criteria for assessment are based on one perspective. It is fair to say this perspective is monocultural.

The high rate of Māori underachievement witnessed in these reports is a major cause for concern and positive and effective strategies must be considered because Māori difference is not the problem and therefore should not be the focus. Basing further strategies for improvement on participation assessment alone is not the answer.

As Johnston (1998) has argued, addressing difference need not be about viewing difference as a problem, instead the recognition of Western points of reference as norms from which all ‘others’ are judged and measured is a problem. Valuing diversity as enhancing and providing a fuller richness to our unique society may be a preferred option because it does not necessarily favour one group over another. For example the philosophy on which Kura Kaupapa Maori is grounded, Te Aho Matua, incorporates the idea that the uniqueness of learners should be valued and celebrated rather than fashioned to conform to the needs of the school. This topic is becoming more widely explored by indigenous researchers and writers since ‘the problem’ has been conceptualised in terms of what minority learners don’t have in order to participate to their full potential in a education system that does not match their cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1971). As early as 1973 Torrey (in Keddie, 1973) pointed out that many students came to school to find their experience devalued and discounted; they were treated as empty, to be filled with knowledge from the dominant culture, and their own cultural experiences and knowledge are not deemed valid.

The Government initiative *Making Education Work for Māori* (1997a) was a supposed attempt to address this notion of difference and find a way of challenging the ever widening gap of achievement that was so clearly highlighted in the *Closing the Gaps* report. Māori knowledge and ways of knowing had no part to play in the comparative forms of assessment used in schools nor did it have any part to play in the ‘Gaps’ report. In mainstream schools for example, Māori knowledge and ways of knowing have been largely regarded as irrelevant. The view that Māori knowledge is inferior and less valuable in mainstream education programmes is also a remnant of racial views that position Māori knowledge in hierarchical order at the bottom of the ladder. Māori cultural experiences and knowledge have not been deemed worthy of inclusion. Value-laden forms of assessment from the dominant culture are used to provide solutions for ‘filling the empty gaps of Māori’ in our society.

They have been the means for addressing difference as Canady and Hotchkiss point out:

“The most formidable obstacle to student success is the pervasive practice of sorting and ranking learners “
(Canady & Hotchkiss in Vatterott, 1999:11).

Clearly the schools are not working for Māori in terms of addressing Maori education.

Another solution attempted by Government was to rectify the gap/difference problem by including Māori views in a consultation process that then deemed Government solutions as valid. Released as a document to promote dialogue on the development of strategies for improving Māori educational achievement, *Making Education Work for Māori*, proposed a series of twenty five regional consultation hui around the country. In all, the official findings published in 1998 concluded that the more than 400 responses from the consultation and discussion paper could be grouped around five broad and interrelated issues.

- *Māori want more say in education*
 - *There needs to be greater accountability*
 - *There needs to be more responsiveness and diversity in education*
 - *There need to be changes in attitudes and expectations*
 - *There needs to be better information and communication*
- (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998:5).*

A strong focus was on parents wanting to be part of the equation – Māori parents and whānau wanted to play a more active role in the education of their children, not only at home, but also within the education system (Te Puni Kokiri & Ministry of Education, 1997). This is not a new demand. Submissions to the Taskforce to Review Educational Administration (1988), ten years earlier, highlighted the issue that Māori concerns revolved around a widespread desire to get a better deal for their children from the education system. It was hoped that a shift to a more autonomous model for decision-making in schools might also mean a shift to autonomy for Māori (Johnston, 1991). Although the reforms signalled major policy changes in education in response to the persistent inequalities highlighted in reports, autonomy did not eventuate.

The report condemning the lack of progress in closing social, economic and educational gaps between Māori and non-Māori was not published until 1998. The report showed that although throughout the 1980s there was some reduction in the disparities between

Māori and non-Māori educational participation and achievement, over the past five years² there had been little and in some cases no change in the broad gap that exists between Māori and non-Māori achievement. Results of the follow up report in 2000 showed little change from the original findings. Government became concerned that the educational crisis of growing Māori underachievement was not being addressed by those who hold the ‘real power’ within a centralised state structure (Smith, 1991).

Since the Taskforce report, Government has launched a series of intervention initiatives to deal with Māori underachievement (Smith, 1990). Annual reports titled *Ngā Haeata Mātauranga* publish the aims and initiatives from Government proposals and schemes (Ministry of Education, 2002). The reports provide a Government overview of Māori education from early childhood to the tertiary sector. They include targets and initiatives specifically directed at Māori, including initiatives that are intended to support Māori students as part of broader education strategies aimed at raising achievement. None of these have adequately addressed the relationships between Māori and schools and what it involves. Just as the Taskforce Review made claims that an education system within which Māori have considerably more scope than they did already to exercise “*a fair measure of influence over their children’s education*” would result (*Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988:66*), the Ministry claimed that a key priority in this consultation process would be to share ideas as to how communities, schools, employers, parents, students, and Government could make a difference in Māori education (Ministry of Education, 1997c). Fundamentally however a *fair measure of influence* implies a fair measure of power, power which Māori do not possess. Māori participated by having a say in the consultation process. To a large degree Māori were saying the same things they had ten years earlier; the desire and focus remained on becoming involved, seeking greater input because a fair measure had not materialised.

² The past five years since the publication of the report in 1998.

The Government responded with the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document which places the relationship between Māori and schools to the fore. A partnership arrangement is the key to developing this relationship. The document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* is an initiative undoubtedly derived from the idea that a better relationship will lead to better learning. The proposal included the idea that a partnership be struck between the two parties (Māori and schools). The document aspires to a partnership relationship defined as “*a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi*” and therefore is about “*two peoples entering into an agreement as equal partners*” (Ministry of Education 2000a:7). This definition is further elaborated to express an expectation in policy making that accounts for “*the sharing of power and decision making, satisfactory methods of consultation, and the inclusion of cultural perspectives in policies*” in which “*representation is ensured at all levels of administration*”³ (Ministry of Education, 2000a:7). The parameters by which this notion of partnership will be established is clearly set down in the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document.

2.2 Partnership

The partnership philosophy between Māori and the State has drawn its inspiration and legitimacy from the ‘two nations’ ethos inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi. Representatives of the British Crown and iwi Māori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. It is considered to be a

“founding document of New Zealand society and the basis of constitutional authority” (Fleras & Elliott, 1992:187).

This signing signaled a commitment to a partnership between the Crown ‘state’ and Māori. While the treaty has been regarded as the founding document of our nation, one which provides the platform for ongoing Māori development and Māori people’s relationship with the Crown and with other peoples, Boston, Martin, Pallot and Walsh (1996:141) point out that the commitment of partnership between the Crown and Māori has not been enduring.

³ These assertions and definitions proposed by the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document are explored again in Chapter Four.

“...the state, dominated by the Pākehā majority largely neglected Māori interests and did little to nurture or promote Māori language, values, customs and economic development”.

It is only in recent decades that the Treaty has been taken more seriously (Kawharu, 1989, Marshall, 1991, Irwin, 1998). The catalyst for this change is attributed to a number of developments. These include growing demand by Māori for social justice, and the administrative reforms in education brought about by David Lange in 1988, then Prime Minister and Minister of Education in the fourth Labour Government (Ballantyne, 1997). Boston, Martin, Pallot and Walsh (1996) describe these changes as a determined effort by the Labour party to rethink Government’s whole approach to protecting Māori culture and resolving Treaty grievances. While this might be so, Government chose to reorganize the situation under their own terms and largely without Māori input.

In June 1986 the Labour Government announced that Treaty principles⁴ would be incorporated in all future legislation and that Government departments and ministries were obligated to consult the appropriate Māori authorities in policy matters related to Treaty issues or ‘partnership responses’ (Macdonald, 1990 in Fleras & Elliott, 1992:192). The changes that followed the Labour Government restructure set a precedent in terms of developments toward Māori-school relations. It was seen as a period of

...unprecedented change and reassessment, in many ways consistent with upheavals across the country’s public-service sector. A rethinking of Māori policy and administration along bicultural lines is a central component in this restructuring process (Fleras & Elliott, 1992:173).

Clarity for defining this precedent however was not evident.

⁴ The Crown had earlier defined the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi into five broad areas, see appendix 4 (Burke 1990).

The 1987 Report *Administering for Excellence* contained recommendations regarding reform of the administration of the education system. The report addressed the Treaty of Waitangi by giving it recognition in the following two statements.

“the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi will be observed”
(*Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988:3*).

“Māori people have a special status under the obligations of the Treaty of Waitangi” (*Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988:4*).

No other reference was made to the Treaty (Johnston, 1998). Government responded to the recommendations of the report with a policy document *Tomorrows Schools (1989)*. The *Tomorrows Schools* document however was not consistent with the Taskforce Review because it made no mention of the Treaty. A further problem in terms of defining the validity of Treaty discourse within Government policy was that neither document provided guidelines from which Treaty provisions might be observed, other than the statement claiming the special status of Māori people. Furthermore the authority Māori might receive for this special status was never defined. Although it may be argued that these changes are regarded as an attempt to address the issue of social injustice for Māori in New Zealand society and perhaps even an attempt at reparation given the precedence, schools did little more than carry these statements over to their school charters and include them within charter discourse. The two references made to the Treaty of Waitangi have been awarded little recognition when transferred to the classroom and school context other than policy discourse. Fleras and Elliott (1992) conclude that suspicion and doubt still exist in Māori-Pakeha relations and due, in part, to the inequities within the system and the monocultural bias of government policy.

Effective from October 1st, 1989, the reforms made a number of changes, one of which was to place each school under the overall control of a Board of Trustees. The School Trustees Association was established in 1990 as a governing body for Boards of Trustees. The Association made the claim that partnership was to be the *“key legitimating concept in the administrative reforms”* (Ballantyne, 1997:37). Although the concept of ‘partnership was used extensively to promote the *Tomorrow’s Schools* reforms, the term was used to refer to a number of relationships. For example, Ballantyne (1997), Wylie,

(1990, 1991, 1992), and Gordon, (1993) see that *Tomorrow's Schools* facilitate a working partnership be established between parents and professional trustees in the majority of schools. Partnership between community and the school and parents and the Board of Trustees became the focus although partnership came to imply collaborative decision-making and community involvement. The degree of collaborative decision-making and community involvement however was determined by the school. In terms of Māori collaboration many schools chose to represent this involvement from the Māori voice on School Boards of Trustees. Maori however did not see equitable representation on School Boards and therefore the scale of collaborative decision-making was minimal (Johnston, 1991). The notion of partnership drawn from the Treaty and the foundation of partnership drawn from *Tomorrow School's* reforms were perceived quite differently. Johnston (1997) claims that Māori interests were marginalised in the restructuring process particularly at the school and community level such as representation on the school Board of Trustees and through consultation with Ministry. Although partnership was part of the discourse of *Tomorrows Schools* and the expected outcome might include the notion of a sharing authority, this view was not promoted. The partnerships implied therefore, did not arise from a Treaty relationship.

This would suggest that a partnership relationship between Māori and the Government has not been established because Government has chosen to employ policies based on a representation of Māori that is not necessarily accurate or representative. The concept of partnership inherent in school charters does not draw from the power sharing philosophy derived from the Treaty of Waitangi relationship. The way power has been used in education does not always recognize Māori needs in promoting active participation. Ramsay (et al, 1993) makes this point in their research with regard to collaborative relationships between home and school.

“The types of power used by people in schools can either inhibit or facilitate collaborative decision making” (Ramsay, Hawk, Harold, Marriott & Poskitt, 1993:230).

Schools had acted more as inhibitors rather than facilitators of collaborative partnership decision-making with regard to community relations. As a result of the findings of the *Administering for Excellence report*, Government was proposing a school-community partnership in the policy document *Tomorrow's Schools* but this partnership was not consistent with former report recommendations in regard to Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi.

More recent Government initiatives and policies are prepared to define the notion of partnership between Māori and the State more specifically. The *Better Relationships for Better Learning (Ministry of Education, 2000a)* document is one such example. One might assume from Government intentions asserted in the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* policy that Government is willing to further explore the partnership deal in more depth in an educational context.

“Schools can apply many of these different aspects of partnership in their school policies, management and operational procedures, interaction with the local community, and provision of education” (Ministry of Education, 2000a:7).

Government recognition that acknowledges that Māori may have something meaningful to contribute to the achievement of Māori students and the rich diversity of school life has been long awaited by Māori. The form this relationship will take and whether it will raise opportunities for Māori to engage in a partnership of quality in which Māori representation is also meaningful are important issues related to this vision.

The choice is not whether schools develop a relationship with Māori communities but what the quality of the relationship will be. A good relationship will add a dimension and richness to school life that would not otherwise be possible (Ministry of Education, 2000a:7).

If schools are to adhere to the two references made to the Treaty of Waitangi that presently sits within school charter discourse then it is expected that they have a professional responsibility to ensure the stability, maintenance and quality of a relationship between the school and its community. This includes the Māori community.

The 1987 report of the Committee to review the School Curriculum identified the principle that “*The curriculum will honour the promises of the Treaty of Waitangi to the Māori people on Māori language and culture*” (Durie in Kawharu, 1989:283). The guarantee in the Treaty (Article two) requires affirmative action to protect and sustain the language and, as cited by Sorrenson (1989) from the Te Reo Māori Report (1986).

The promises of the Treaty of Waitangi of equality in education as in all other human rights are undeniable. Judged by the system’s own standards Māori children are not being successfully taught, and for this reason alone, quite apart from the duty to protect the Māori language; the education system is being operated in breach of the Treaty (Waitangi Tribunal cited by Sorrenson in Kawharu, 1989:170).

Furthermore the Education Amendment Act of 1991 set out terms that defined the development of further national curriculum statements. These included the 1993 *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (Ministry of Education, 1993) which acknowledges among its nine principles that:

The New Zealand Curriculum recognizes the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi (Ministry of Education, 1993:7).

One would expect therefore a partnership arrangement must take into consideration the Curriculum Frameworks statement obligations with regard to Treaty responsibilities. Translated to a school-Māori relationship a meaningful partnership is one that would recognize these obligations and work toward a shared authority within the school. Māori representation and the power to make meaningful decisions must be incorporated.

There is now a sense of urgency in addressing the needs of Māori in schools due to the increasing disparity between Māori and non-Māori achievement levels. Government’s decision to track Māori achievement and participation levels since the 1998 *Closing the Gaps reports* (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998, 2000) will highlight this growing disparity even further if the issue is not addressed. The disparity is evidence that Treaty agreements have not been honored. The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document is an initiative for Government to pick up on this obligation and use it as a means to address Māori achievement. The doorway for a partnership between Māori and schools was

opened when the initial *Administering for Excellence* document made recommendations that recognized the Treaty of Waitangi. The operations of Tomorrows schools have not picked up on this opportunity. Further Government documents, such as the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework*, imply the notion of a partnership derived from Treaty discourse. The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document defines this partnership more explicitly. It suggests a partnership of equal representation and power in decision-making. It also asserts that cultural perspectives be included in policies. The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document holds the strongest reference yet to the potential of a partnership between Māori and schools derived from the Treaty of Waitangi discourse. This research explores ways in which one school has employed the initiative to improve Māori achievement and build a better relationship with its Māori community.

Partnership and Consultation – a mismatch process

Government strategies to address Māori underachievement have been varied and numbered. Some strategies clearly do not work in favour of Māori. For example, the Government committed plans for addressing disparities between Māori and Pakeha in the 1997 initiative entitled *Making Education Work for Māori*, took the cue from Government legislation to include Māori in consultation. The consultation approach for this initiative involved the collaboration of two Ministries (the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Maori Development) to hold a series of regional meetings around the country during November 1997 to January 1998. The purpose of these ‘hui’ was to invite the Māori community and those interested in Māori education to discuss issues in education for Māori students (Ministry of Education & Te Puni Kokiri, 1997a).

In 1997, schools around the country were invited to participate. The exercise was about looking for ways in which schools and their Māori communities might work more effectively in partnership (*Ministry of Education, 1997b*). The means to give effect to this aim, the consultation process, did not however necessarily strengthen the aim of partnership. Partnerships imply a sharing of both risks and profits because all parties engage jointly throughout. A Treaty principle of partnership implies certain

responsibilities sit with the Crown to protect Māori education and certain obligations sit with Māori to abide by Crown law. If Government is to engage with Māori as Treaty partners the Government should not hold the power to take the risks that have severe consequences for Māori. Māori must have a say. As stakeholders, partners do not expect to be jettisoned part way through negotiations once the consultation process is over and the key decisions are to be made. This type of ‘*nondecision making*’ acts as a means to subdue Māori interests. Bachrach and Baratz (1974) describe the process as one in

...which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are even voiced; or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision making arena; or, failing all these things, maimed or destroyed in the decision-implementing stage of the policy process (Bachrach & Baratz in Lukes, 1974:18-19).

An understanding of partnership with regard to the Treaty therefore would suggest that power sharing would be involved. However the way in which Government initiatives have engaged with the issue of partnership with Māori in education is to take a consultation approach (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001). The idea that Māori are called in for a ‘tikanga check’ or to meet a consultancy touchstone on a particular policy is commonplace in Government initiatives. *Making Education Work for Māori* is one such example (Ministry of Education, 1997). This approach never addresses the hidden relationship of unequal power rather than an advantageous partnership for all involved. Māori are not advantaged by such an arrangement, but disadvantaged by the powerlessness over any real say in the decision making process. Lukes (1974) in his one dimensional view of power, argues that the locus of power is determined by who prevails in cases of decision making. Government educational decisions have largely prevailed in New Zealand society clearly identifying that the locus of power does not lie with Māori but with Government. Problematic government consultation initiatives are reflected within a broad range of societal arena that fail to validate Māori knowledge and values. The environmental, health and law arena are examples. The Ministry for the Environment for example, also notes in their handbook for consultation processes with tāngata whenua that “*In some cases, tangata whenua say consultation is not enough*” (Ministry for the Environment, 1991:6). The problem with a consultation approach is

that when one seeks consultation, they merely seek advice from another. Seeking this advice is about the desire to gain information or knowledge that can be taken up for consideration or, alternatively, discarded. The power of choice to include sits with those seeking advice, in this case the Ministries, and not with those being consulted in this case Māori. Here lies the issue of power or rather powerlessness. Consultants merely offer advice; they hold no power to enforce the use of that advice. A shared partnership is not evident in this situation. The powerlessness of Māori during such policies and initiatives is often tripled. Māori are powerless through: (1) hierarchical disadvantage, (2) a monocultural process and (3) lack of representation. Ministry representatives have authority in terms of defining the parameters for consultation. They enforce the cultural process, although this is not always necessarily overt. They also choose who will take part and who might representative Māori. The position of subordinate consultant belongs to Māori and the position of decision maker to Government. The notion of partnership is barely evident under these circumstances, and cannot lead to an enduring relationship with goodwill.

The consultation process is not sufficient to meet a Treaty relationship partnership because the 'real' decision-making power sits with government and its officials who estimate what counts as 'an education as good for Māori as that achieved by any other New Zealander' (Ministry of Education, 1997c). Māori once again lack any substantial input or veto power and simply serve to legitimate Government policy. The structure of past so-called partnership relations must change if we are to effect positive change for Māori students.

It is time to give careful consideration to this notion of partnership in schools and what it involves. If partners share jointly in both risks and profits then it is to be expected that schools will as of right include Māori whānau and community in the framing of policy, decision making and implementation of programmes. Whānau are often placed in passive and supportive roles in school operations. The report *Community-School Collaboration: Beliefs and Practices* prepared by members of the Education Department at the University of Auckland shows that 90% of principals, teachers, chairpersons and

parents believe the most effective way for parents to be involved in the schooling of their children was by being supportive of the child or the school. This perspective must be challenged. The worth of parental participation is untapped and undervalued within our mainstream schools. It is curious to note that this report states:

“Few respondents saw the parents’ role as involving teaching the child” (Timperley, McNaughton, Parr & Robinson, 1992:6).

To date the majority of Māori parents in our mainstream schools are encouraged by schools to continue to fulfil passive or supportive roles rather than active positions in the education of their children (Carroll, 1998). This may be in part due to teacher attitudes toward parental involvement. Vatterott (1999:7) claims that

“...relationships of domination not only saturate the structures and norms of schools’ and the experiences and expectations of students and administrators, but they also lie deep within teachers”.

Such beliefs ride on the ideological premise that the state knows best for our Māori students. But as Shuker (1987) points out Māori education in our state schools has been more about schooling for assimilation than schooling for achievement. This involvement is not a partnership arrangement. The struggle to move beyond relationships of dominance to one of partnership will mean grappling with long-held assumptions about teaching and learning in mainstream schools and shaking off the taken for granted patterns of compliance to one set of educational norms. Both schools and Māori must be party to this because when one enters into a partnership arrangement one expects to have a say, perhaps even equal participation. But when one also has a document (Treaty of Waitangi) that is regarded as a founding manuscript from which to base this partnership certain expectations about the responsibilities and obligations that lie within that manuscript must be considered. Article two of the Treaty of Waitangi certainly guarantees Māori authority over those things deemed valuable from a cultural perspective. The acknowledgement of Te Reo Māori as a taonga in terms of Treaty rights is one such example. The education of children is indeed of great cultural value also. Māori will need more say if a partnership relationship is to give opportunity for these treasures to be protected.

The Link Between Better Relationships and Achievement

The Ministry of Education recognizes the connection between better relationships between schools and their communities and student achievement. Founded on the premise that schools inclusive of the concerns and interests of their parents are better able to translate these into more effective programmes of learning and teaching for children (Ministry of Education, 2000a), success should follow. Success is more likely when schools, parents and the community work well together.

Harris and Russ (1994) support this premise.

Harris and Russ (1994) write that treating education as a partnership between home and school proved to be an important element in raising pupil achievement (in Tomlinson, Gunter & Smith, 1999:69).

Numerous research studies indicate this assumption may hold some validity. Meticulous studies conducted by the Institute of Education in London in 1994 for example, identified the importance of a home-school partnership as a key characteristic to school effectiveness (Bastiani & Wolfendale, 2000). Sockett, DeMulder, Le Page & Wood (2001) also assert that there is increasing recognition that teachers' awareness of and respect for the child's home culture and 'lived curriculum' helps children make important connections between new experiences and established knowledge as an aid in their learning. Scott's 1997 report claims that schools which harness effective parental support were more successful in terms of addressing achievement and concluded that both community and parental involvement in schools is an important factor in raising standards of achievement (Scott, 1997 in Bastiani & Wolfendale, 2000).

The enormous and continuing importance of home influences upon educational outcomes has been widely accepted for many years, although its real significance has not always been taken into account, either in Government policy or in the everyday life of many schools (Bastiani & Wolfendale, 2000:19).

A number of New Zealand schools work from a premise that a strong and effective link exists between student achievement and parental and community involvement. In terms of school-Māori relations Government are only now beginning to explore the possibilities and potential of that link; that partnership, through the responsibility to consult with the Māori community. The New Zealand experience is unique given the structure of Māori society and the Treaty partnership between Māori and the state. Ideally the Treaty of Waitangi is about Māori and the Crown entering into an understanding as equal partners and the spirit of that partnership and the way in which it might be supported has implications at several levels; education is just one of these. Educational partnership formation therefore will also be unique. Such a formation must consider that a partnership arrangement with the Māori community will include iwi, hapu and extended whānau networks.

The Ministry claims that the benefits of a home-school partnership are also believed to include higher student self-esteem and higher educational achievement (Ministry of Education, 2000a).

Many teachers and Māori Parents' believe that young people do best when their families and whānau are actively involved in their schools, and more Māori involvement in schools is likely to lead to enhanced Māori achievement (Ministry of Education, 2000b:6).

For that reason, success is more likely when schools, parents and the community work well together.

Better Relationships for Better Learning has the potential to develop an effective partnership. Partnership within a Treaty context challenges the dominant cultural group in New Zealand to consider their relationship with the tāngata whenua. It is not that the document is the solution; rather it is an opportunity for further development and exploration of this partnership potential, one so far little explored.

Partnership Potential

Presently greater participation in our education system is about taking part more fully in the cultural reproduction of existing inequalities rather than accessing a system that is conducive to a Māori way of learning and achieving (Harker, 1985). Participation and Partnership in this research context is defined in keeping with that identified by Mason Durie (in Kawharu, 1989) who describes the concepts in the decision-making process as the rights of groups and as well as the rights of individuals. The idea of a Government commitment to addressing Māori achievement in a partnership development has much potential. Sadly neither of the *Closing the Gaps* or *Making Education Work for Māori* reports explored the option. It seemed involvement by Māori was to be framed yet again as participation rather than partnership. While the notion of participation has gained recognition in the Treaty of Waitangi context through the Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988) as one of the three principles⁵ critical to social policy development, Kawharu (1989) explains that Māori participation in New Zealand generally falls short of the opportunity to have a genuine say and have delegates who are representative of the Māori community. Participation is about taking part, the question remains therefore - which part would Māori be included in. That part is to continue to depend upon the decisions made by Government officials and the schools, and Māori are once again to fit within this structure.

One might ask then – “if this is not the space from which to develop, then what is?”

Keddie (1973) also suggests that it might be wished that schools could become less reluctant in their willingness to recognise and value the life experience that every child brings to the classroom and at the same time become more willing to examine and to justify what schooling could be about and what kind of life experiences children are being offered. The position for Maori in Aotearoa is particularly unique in this respect because Maori hold a distinctive place as the indigenous people or ‘tangata whenua’ of the country. If Maori knowledge and ways of knowing are not reproduced and reflected in our society the result is simple, we stand to lose the rich diversity of this uniqueness

⁵ *The Royal Commission also set out the principles of protection and partnership (discussed earlier) as key to developing social policy.*

for good. This reflection however must incorporate a fuller partnership experience and go beyond seeing student participation alone as a significant means to understand underachievement. The resurrection of a partnership principle according to Durie (in Kawharu, 1989) will require a move as a bold departure from the accepted views of the State that include its presumption to represent Maori on all occasions. A fuller partnership experience must go so far as to incorporate an understanding and application of Maori knowledge, tikanga, reo and cultural practices within every facet of school life, including assessment. Furthermore this experience should include the impact of associated agencies which govern it, such as Te Puni Kokiri, the Ministry of Education and the work of researchers in education. This will mean that the roles of these agencies will need to be clarified (Durie, *ibid*). The developing educational policies should be consistent with the Articles of the treaty of Waitangi.

The Challenge – Partnership Implementation

The Ministry's recent claims state that success in education is much more likely when schools, parents, and the wider community work well together with a strong and genuine sense of partnership.

Schools that are more inclusive of the concerns and interests of Māori parents are better able to translate these into more effective programmes of learning and teaching for Māori children (Ministry of Education, 2000a:4).

The document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* outlines the notion of partnership in terms of its application in schools and so here lies the challenge of the rationale – that is, the attempt by schools to work toward making the policy ideals a reality by defining this notion more fully.

Schools can provide a model for other local organizations to follow. They have the opportunity to develop relationships with Māori that involve mutual commitment and communication, leading ultimately to co-operation (Ministry of Education 2000b:24).

Ministry policy (the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document) qualifies the partnership arrangement in terms of seven key principles. These are listed in the document as follows:

Partnership:

- a) can occur at all levels of policy making by the sharing of power and decision making, satisfactory methods of consultation, and the inclusion of cultural perspectives in policies.*
- b) can refer to the process of drafting, implementing, and monitoring legislation.*
- c) Is about the manner in which representation is ensured at all levels of administration.*
- d) concerns the allocation of resources*
- e) extends the provision of services and the types of services available.*
- f) Challenges the diverse ethnic and cultural groups in New Zealand to consider their relationships with the tangata whenua*
- g) requires opportunity for the partners to regularly review their relationship*
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:7)

However professional observation of the gap between these ideals and the reality of present mainstream school practice is still vast. Despite two and a half years of supposed policy implementation, not all levels of policy making are shared and effective Māori representation has not eventuated. The New Zealand community has not been challenged to consider their relationship with tāngata whenua. Māori, as partners, have not had a fair opportunity to review their relationship with schools. Limited power roles in the consultation process alone will not ensure this. Whether or not Government and schools are willing to relinquish enough power to allow Māori a partnership of substance is yet to be determined.

Chapter Three

3.0 Research Methodology and Methods

3.1 *The Theory Behind The Practice Of Research*

How we go about doing education research is very much shaped by the question we want to answer. According to Clark, (1997) what we think the educational research question involves and what we think constitutes scientific inquiry are closely related. Some of the philosophical perspectives of researchers have commonalities, and therefore, simply put, these fundamental beliefs form the basis of a position we call a paradigm. Critical theory for example is one such paradigm (Gibson, 1986, Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Kaupapa Māori theory is part of another (Smith, 1990). In positioning ourselves within a paradigm we are asserting our theories about what and how we value things. Epistemological, ontological and axiological premises are contained within a researcher's paradigm as a basic set of beliefs that guide research action⁶ (Clark, 1997).

Not all researchers make this consideration regarding paradigms when conducting research and simply put, buy into the 'best fit' in terms of the match between the data collection techniques and the research question under study. According to Gibson (1986) researchers who fail to take the positioning of paradigms into account operate at the mercy of unexamined assumptions because all interpretations are historically and culturally situated. If as researchers, we stopped to consider that each paradigm engages a different set of value-laden philosophical beliefs and historical and cultural interpretations, we might also better understand that in turn this lends itself to particular types of inquiry. All research is value-laden because we are influenced by the world in which we are raised. Not all researchers however acknowledge that our paradigms are laced with the values constructed as part of our own cultural world and the culture of the wider society in which we live. Sometimes the values of our cultural world and wider

⁶ Clark describes ontology, epistemology and methodology in the following manner: ontology: our theories about what there is in the world, epistemology: our theories about our knowledge of what there is in the world and axiology: our theories about what and how we should value the things in the world including our knowledge and ourselves.

society complement each other because they ‘harmonize’, at others they conflict. If we are located within a Māori theoretical paradigm, an additional complexity is that we begin from a point where political numerical dominance by Pākehā counterparts makes it difficult for Māori to have work validated and legitimated.

Pere’s (1982, 1997) work on concepts and learning in Māori tradition for example has been given little consideration as supporting the notion of Māori pedagogy in Government policies and initiatives for our New Zealand state schools. Characteristic of Māori research, as with any research, reality is interpreted through social constructions that are uniquely Māori and at times uniquely iwi. The tikanga and kawa of each iwi is Māori recognition that each group constructs their own beliefs and values although some of these constructions have commonalities. The research design and ideological base on which we base our work is never neutral therefore it is with purpose and justification that specific paradigms have been chosen as the foundation on which this research is mounted.

Māori language and knowledge are validated in this project by exploring Kaupapa Māori theories as those Māori constructs that best represent an understanding of Māori living and learning. The justification for doing so is equally specific and comprehensible in two concepts, those of Social Justice and Tino Rangatiratanga. Māori have a right to determine and assert what is appropriate in education for Māori people, this determination aligns with the notion of tino rangatiratanga (self determination). Given New Zealand’s colonial history the validation of Māori language and knowledge is also about addressing the injustice that Māori face in society today (social justice). Social justice in this context is to do with the concern that where the education system uses largely the majority group language and forms of knowledge in teaching, learners who begin school speaking a minority group language or from a basis of knowledge and values drawn from minority group experiences that are different are obviously at a disadvantage. Māori for example are assessed in the majority group language and knowledge alongside others who already have a fluent competency in these areas.

Proficiency in Māori language and knowledge is counted as irrelevant (Janet Holmes, 1984).

Additionally a range of techniques might come into play. For example both qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques may be used in a research project. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000) there has been a distinct move from quantitative to qualitative philosophical views in contemporary educational research and qualitative research has become difficult to define because contemporary researchers may also draw from multiple theoretical paradigms to support the use of a range of data gathering techniques. The research contract work of Kathleen Jacques (1991); *A study of six South Island primary school programmes in New Zealand* is one such example. Jacques draws on critical theory using the alternative explanations of Freire and Ogbu to question the deficit theories that Thornton and Bereiter position clearly amid linguistic and cultural deficit theories (1991). With regard to research Denzin & Lincoln (2000) claim that if paradigms share axiomatic elements that are similar or share similar features strongly between them, it is possible to blend elements of one paradigm into another, so that one is engaging in research that represents the best of both worldviews. The merge of two paradigms engaged for this research involve the integration of *Critical Theory* and *Kaupapa Māori Theory*. It must be pointed out however that a blending of commonalities does not see either paradigm as ‘belonging’ to the other; each stands in its own right. Perhaps Sutherland’s (1994:33) explanation describes the use of theoretical approaches here.

By utilising, yet indigenising, theoretical approaches, Māori people are able to deconstruct notions which purport to enable and empower and thereby ‘emancipate’ Māori people by reconstructing theories which are more appropriate.

Sutherland’s comment however does not assert the idea that Māori constructions already exist from which Māori theoretical approaches may be utilized. A reconstruction may not be necessary. Kaupapa Māori does make this acknowledgement and further rejects dominant group constructions of Māori as alternatives because Māori constructions are related to being Māori, dominant group constructions of Māori are not. Therefore primarily deconstructions in this way are used to better understand the principles and

aims of the Western constructions in the first place. A reconstruction of Western approaches (as outlined by Sutherland) to suit Māori needs may not be necessary. Pihama (1993) best explains the strength of Kaupapa Māori as a useful tool in terms of politicizing people.

Kaupapa Māori theory is a politicizing agent that acts as a counter-hegemonic force to promote the conscientisation of Māori people, through a process of critiquing Pākehā definitions and constructions of Māori people, and asserting explicitly the validation and legitimation of Te Reo Māori and Tikanga (Pihama, 1993).

Critical Theory

Critical theory is grounded in the theoretical tradition developed by the Frankfurt school⁷ at the University of Frankfurt.

Some 70 years after its development in Frankfurt, Germany, critical theory retains its ability to disrupt and challenge the status quo... Such vibrantly polar reactions indicate at the very least that critical theory still matters (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:279).

Critical theory as described by Gibson (1986) is critical in the sense that it stands apart from the prevailing order of the world and asks how that order came about. In doing so institutions (such as schools and government departments) and the social and power relations involved are not taken for granted by called into question. In challenging the structures and systems critical theorists dissect the ways in which people connect their everyday experiences to cultural representations (Gibson, 1986). This dissection can be complicated by the taken-for-grantedness of the meanings and assumptions of social constructions in our everyday human activities (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The majority of teacher participants who participated in the research interviews for example assumed that the school assessment procedures already in use were best for all students. This meaning convoluted the research because the interrogation of reasoning for such an assumption needed to be multi-layered in order to track the participants' foundation of belief. The origins of belief had to be pursued in order to better understand the teachers'

⁷ A group of writers connected to the Institute of Social Research from the Frankfurt school developed the theory.

perspective. This notion of assumed *rationality* is described by Gibson (1986) as one of the most oppressive features of contemporary society. This is the nature of critical theory; that of unraveling the ideological codings embedded in cultural representations (Gibson, 1986).

Critical theory is also directed towards an appraisal of the social and political factors as a whole rather than to the separate parts of the phenomenon under examination. A critical theorist is concerned with how the parts are interrelated, just as this thesis is concerned with how the different perspectives and experiences of the interview participants are related to the actual school policies and practices informing the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* project. An examination of the parts may bring the particular into focus however an understanding of how the parts fit in relation to the whole will bring about a better understanding of the wider context.

In relation to Māori, Linda Smith (1999:185) asserts that critical theory enables researchers to explore notions of critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) would agree that this is particularly useful in areas of educational practice. While the use of the case study design alone used in this research may not fully explore the fact that many of the aims and purposes of teachers are not the result of conscious choice so much as the constraints contained in the social structure in which they have little control, the use of critical theory works to expose this.

“One aim of critical theory is the task of interpretation for purposes of criticizing and dismantling unjust and undemocratic education and social practices and transforming them”
(Schwandt in Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:202).

It is not only socially constructed value systems (mentioned earlier) that impact upon what is done in the name of research, but also the degree of power exercised in doing so. The notion of power is central to the topic under study, the topic of developing better relationships in order to provide ‘better learning’ for Māori through a partnership. Critical theory is intensely concerned with the need to understand the various and complex ways that power operates to dominate and shape consciousness (Denzin &

Lincoln, 2000). Furthermore critical theorists ask not only about the power relationships but also of the social and historical contexts that produced them (Gibson, 1986). Claims to authority are examined and reexamined in research that employs critical theory as a means. Although not overt, the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* project is concerned with analyzing the competing power interests between different groups and individuals, namely, the State, the staff of the school under study, the Māori community, the parents and indeed Māori students.

Critical theory is not solely used as a means to examine phenomena; its use in research is more complex than this. Kemmis (1980) proposes that the use of critical theory in research also aims to combine understanding and change into one recipe. The theories adopted for this case study design enable the document policy to be scrutinized in terms of the power relations involved and the shaping of consciousness and domination that prevail. Government representatives designed and implemented the document and Government interests are foremost representative of dominant group interests, Māori interests are not necessarily the focus, rather majority perceptions of what Māori interests ought to be. This is therefore an opportunity to combine understanding and change into one recipe that better asserts the interests of Māori. The case study design allows an understanding of the policy and outcomes which the school interprets and implements *Better Relationships for Better Learning*. The case study also reviews Government policy *Better Relationships for Better Learning* in terms of its assertions and developments in the school context. The reflection and analysis of the findings may result in further action for the school involved. In turn, this is used to inform and refine the researchers developing theories and initiate further research topics.

Kaupapa Māori Theory

As described later in this chapter Graham Smith (1991), one of the first advocates in this field, proposes Kaupapa Māori theory as a valuable theory in education intervention to promote change. Smith grounded some of his ideas concerned with Kaupapa Māori theory on the practices already a reality in Kura Kaupapa Māori education programmes. These programmes were originally established and developed for some years outside of the state schooling structure by Māori communities.

While these schools are concerned with Māori language revival and survival they involve much more. In these schools 'to be Māori' is taken for granted and the legitimacy of Māori language, knowledge, culture and values are assumed to be natural. Māori parents also chose to move outside of the state school setting in a conscious effort to resist inhibiting structural elements embedded in these schools and which were therefore perceived as generally contributing to the poor performance of many Māori pupils in state schooling (Smith, 1991:13).

Kaupapa Māori theory also aligns with critical theory in that it can expose underlying assumptions that serve to veil the power relations that exist within education (Pihama, 1993). Because Kaupapa Māori theory is concerned with the struggle for autonomy and self-determination (tino rangatiratanga), privileged group structures that support the status quo of unequal power relations in order to protect their advantages, are exposed. Tino rangatiratanga has become a critical factor in Treaty discourse since post Treaty days and is occasionally evident in educational policy and reports. Graham Smith explains how self determination (tino rangatiratanga) has resulted from analyses of limiting Western constructions that do not favour Māori autonomy.

"The impetus toward 'tino rangatiratanga' as an organizing philosophy has also been as a result of Māori critical analyses of the limits and capabilities of biculturalism" (Smith, 1991:14).

Tino rangatiratanga therefore is also central to the notion of Kaupapa Māori theory and the practice of a Māori search for opportunities to exercise self determination today. The concept of Kaupapa Māori theory therefore was identified by Smith following the example of Kura Kaupapa Māori and is seen as a means to expose the process by which power operates to limit and prevent emancipation. These forces are not taken for granted,

they are closely examined. Greater degrees of autonomy can be achieved for Māori through Kaupapa Māori Theory. Kaupapa Māori Theory is complex. The uses and meanings of Kaupapa Māori theory are varied and diverse. While Bishop (1994) explores the idea that this theory addresses the prevailing ideologies of cultural superiority that pervade our society, Pihama (1993) reminds us that Kaupapa Māori Theory should be couched within Māori perceptions and constructions rather than those as defined by the dominant group.

Kaupapa Māori theory is therefore related to being Māori. The philosophical basis for this research supports a position that clearly validates and legitimates Māori language, knowledge and culture from a rangē of Māori perspectives. Kaupapa Māori theory is connected to Māori philosophy and principles. The many definitions of Kaupapa Māori theory may attempt to capture a number of Māori models of practice and theory (Smith 1991, Pihama 1993, Bishop 1994, Durie 1998), but all have one common purpose - they attempt to afford Māori perspectives some space. Linda Smith describes this process as

...attempts to retrieve valuable research space from a Māori perspective by setting new directions for the priorities, policies, and practices of research for, by and with Māori (Smith, 1999).

While Critical theory affords us the opportunity to deconstruct the underlying ideologies that do not support social justice for Māori in education, Kaupapa Māori theory will play a part in identifying Māori constructions that are more appropriate as a means to address such issues. These (Māori) constructions must however occur by Māori for Māori, because Kaupapa Māori theory is a theory that is related to being Māori. Supporting this view Irwin, (1994:28) affirms that Kaupapa Māori theory:

“is concerned with working upon a foundation of Māori philosophy with a paradigm that stems from a Māori worldview”.

Graham Smith (1991) best defines the perspective of Kaupapa Māori Theory undertaken to meet the research aims. He outlines Kaupapa Māori research as:

- “(i) related to being Māori,
- (ii) connected to Māori philosophy and principles,
- (iii) takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture,
- (iv) is concerned with ‘the struggle’ for autonomy over our own cultural well being” (cited by Mead, 1996:200).

Both Critical theory and Kaupapa Māori theory components are further outlined in the discussion section of the research project. They are also used as an approach for engaging in the research discussion.

3.1.1 The Research Design - A Case Study

The case study as a design for inquiry was selected for this educational research because it offers the most fitting method in this instance. However the term *Case Study* is used in several ways. While case studies can include research of a quantitative nature, in education they tend to be qualitative, although not exclusively so (Dixon, Bouma & Atkinson, 1987). Case studies have become one of the most common ways to do qualitative inquiry and according to Yin (1994) are differentiated from other types of qualitative research in that they are an intensive description of a case. In this instance a case study design is employed to gain an in-depth understanding and meaning of the situation for those involved, that is for teachers, the researcher, the Principal, students, Māori representatives on the Board of Trustees and for the Māori community and those ‘stakeholders’ in Māori education. The research process is as much an interest as the research product, the research context as much as the research content and a case study approach will support these aspects. This case is the study of a single school and the ways in which it is bound by policy and practice. Detailed information is collected by using a variety of qualitative data collection techniques during a sustained period of time. The snapshot the research offers of the case is equivalent to that of the camera used; in as much as the type of lens (or data collection technique) will determine how well the study is focused. Not only does the case study provide a richly detailed snapshot of a particular social phenomenon (in this case the way in which a school implements the *Better*

Relationships for Better Learning policy) but it is also exploratory, as relatively little previous research⁸ exists on the topic.

3.1.2 Ethical Considerations

*“All human behavior is subject to ethical principles,
rules and conventions which distinguish socially acceptable
behavior from that which is generally considered unacceptable.
The practice of research is no exception”
(Anderson, 1990:17)*

In a New Zealand context, researchers have a responsibility to see themselves in relation to many communities: the community of the school and classroom, the community of Treaty of Waitangi partners, the local community, the multicultural community, the professional community, the national community and the research community (Broadley, 2000). Inherent in these communities are sets of obligations. A large component of these obligations consists of issues regarding ethicality.

Research in a New Zealand setting should involve the unique Treaty of Waitangi relationship and therefore subscribes unique ethical issues. There are certain protocols that the relationship with *tangata whenua* (people of the land), Māori, brings to New Zealand classroom research. Te Ariki and Spoonley, (1992) discuss the idea that research with Māori raises important issues to do with social responsibility, moral accountability, social relevance and the political application of research findings.

Furthermore Durie (1998:257) points out that

*... the contribution of research to the development of new knowledge
can become an end in itself, but for Māori academics and for
those Māori communities involved in research, more is required.*

⁸ The works of Kenrick (2001) and Graham (2002) were completed after the writing of this research began.

Durie (1998:257) explains that the worth of this new knowledge will then be validated through its contribution to Māori progress and development because:

“Māori development is about moving forward to achieve goals identified by Māori for the collective benefit of Māori”

A key element of this research therefore will be to include establishing a research partnership with participants that positions research knowledge and skills as beneficial for Māori. In doing so Māori forms of knowledge, tikanga, skills, practices and te reo Māori will be validated. The disposition of these forms will be discussed as they arise in later chapters of the study. It must be noted at this point however, that a Western approach to research has not necessarily been the taken for granted frame of reference. This is after all a study where Māori education is significant and where the researcher is Māori. As an indigenous researcher it is important to establish a research tradition, which is grounded in Aotearoa. Although the methods used are substantially ‘traditionally mainstream’, the research will primarily meet quality standards expected by both Māori and Non-Māori.

In order to best address ethical considerations for the fulfillment of this research study, lengthy discussions were held with supervisors guiding the project, with University colleagues in the field of Māori education, with whānau and iwi networks and with the staff of the school.

Participation in professional development was considered as another opportunity to address the ethical considerations involved. This comprised of the completion of University papers covering Research Methods; both Western and Indigenous, and courses regarding research with human participants. Upon completion certification and passes were obtained. The importance of participation in the above courses was the better understanding gained of the research process and indeed the principles surrounding the notion of indigenous research as asserted by Smith (1999) and Johnston (1999).

The following questions were used as a point of reference throughout the course of the research and guided many of the actions taken, particularly the fieldwork component of the project.

- What Counts as Research?
- How is Research Conducted?
- Who has designed the Research methods?
- Whose methodologies feature predominantly in the Research?
- Whose interests does the Research serve?
- Whose Research is it anyway?
- Who owns the Research?
- Who will benefit from the Research?
- Who has designed the questions?
- Who will carry it out?
- Who will write it up?
- How will the results be disseminated?

(Johnston, 1999)

The School Board of Trustees approval was also a point of '*checks and balances*' in terms of ensuring the nature of the research was not harmful to those involved. Board members gave careful consideration to the project in discussions with the Principal and then gave their approval. Finally application was made to the University's Human Ethics Committee for approval and commencement of work. The Committee is rigorous and thorough in their review of all proposals. The University's code of conduct for teaching and research guidelines therefore have been applied and undertaken by the researcher as a member of the academic community at Massey University. This research project was reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee prior to fieldwork being undertaken, as referenced and coded item PN Protocol 01/109.

Access to teachers' to the Māori representative on the School Board of Trustees and subsequently to students occurred only after the Board and Principal had the opportunity to discuss their participation among themselves and were satisfied that they wished to give their approval for the researcher to approach the school and negotiate a data gathering schedule. Every attempt was made during contact with interview participants to ensure that a clear understanding of the research aims had been given. Prior to the commencement of all interviews the researcher outlined the aims and objectives of the research, participant rights and the proposed use of the information that was to be gathered. No interviews commenced without written consent first being obtained.

Although written informed consent had been obtained by all participants, each was informed of their right to withdrawal from any question or questions through the duration of the interview and indeed to withdraw from the data gathering process prior to completion of data gathering at the school. The right to total confidentiality and anonymity from participants being identified was maintained throughout the project.

Although interviews were tape recorded for ease of transcription later, all participants were informed of their right to have the tape recorder switched off at any time. Correction of the data contributed could also be amended by those who had contributed the data upon request. The data would be kept for five year period for which the University is obliged to keep records and then it will be destroyed unless participants requested it be returned to them. For the duration of those five years the data would be stored in a lockable filing cabinet at Massey University under a coded numerical system so that identities were protected. The key to the identity codes was kept at a separate location – the researcher's residential address. Participants were free to ask questions throughout the period of the research and were given contact numbers to reach the researcher if queries were to be addressed outside of school hours. All participant rights were outlined in each of the information packages pertinent to each member (Appendices 1, 2 & 3) and each interview participant retained their information package. Participants were asked to sign a written form of consent, indicating they understood their rights and agreed to participate in the research project (Appendices 1, 2 & 3).

3.1.3 Data Gathering Techniques

One value of the case study is that the researcher can use a variety of data collection techniques and methods that allow a more holistic study, than with many other designs (Hakim, 1987). A discussion and analysis of school policy records, otherwise referred to as documentary evidence or document analysis, is case specific in this study and served to “*corroborate and augment evidence*” (Yin, 1994:81). Documentary evidence, namely Ministry and School policies associated with the Government’s initiative *Better Relationships for Better Learning*, were the objects of retrieval and extensive analysis. An insight of these documents has been offered as a means to set the scene for the research (Chapter Four). Discussions with the Principal regarding Ministry and School documents were held in order to obtain an insight from the perspective of the school into the current theory and practice concerning *Better Relationships for Better Learning*.

Interviews are also vital sources of information for this case and essentially reflect their qualitative nature in the open-ended manner in which they were conducted. For example the Māori Representative on the Board of Trustees was asked *6(i) What opportunities does the school provide for local Māori to develop a long-term relationship (with the school)?* All questions on the interview schedules were purposefully open in order to encourage a full rich qualitative response (refer to Appendices 1, 2 & 3). Furthermore matching standard questions were posed to participant groups, thereby affording an opportunity to compare and correlate responses between groups. Yin (1994) claims that the key advantage of interviews is that they provide a means whereby the participant’s own rich personal perceptions and interpretations have been expressed. In this case, interviews provided insights from the Principal, the Māori Representative on the School Board of Trustees and classroom teachers’.

Interviews also provided a context in which ‘*kanohi ki te kanohi*’ (face to face) approaches, a preferred mode of communication among Māori according to Bishop (1994), can occur. Durie’s (1990) explanation better sheds light on understanding this concept by stating that the ‘*kanohi kitea*’ or *seen face* cements one’s membership within

the Māori community in an ongoing way and this is supported by Smith's (1999) suggestion that this is part of how one's credibility is continually developed and maintained. The face to face interaction will allow participants to ascertain to some degree the integrity of the researcher. Although interviews took no longer than one hour per participant, informal discussions were held between participant and researcher prior, and on completion of the interview in order to allow those taking part an opportunity to clarify any matters concerning the interview or to simply get to know the researcher a little better beforehand. The duration of time spent in the school covered a school term and therefore some staff also took the opportunity to chat informally during morning tea and lunch breaks with the researcher.

Observations of school practices serve as the final source of evidence in this study and were conducted as casual data collection activities by the researcher, for the most part, as non-participant. Observations took place in the 'natural' environment of the participants, the classroom. They were conducted with the focus on valid recording of behaviors of both teacher and pupils using an unobtrusive strategy of anecdotal notes and recordings so as not to interfere with the natural sequence of teaching and learning events.

"The aim (of the observation) is description and interpretation from the inside rather than strict measurement and prediction of variables using a quantitative approach" (McKernan 1996:59).

The observational research for this study was concerned with corroborating data and practices. At the time of observations the researcher was a familiar face on the school premises. A school term had lapsed from entry into the school until the commencement of observations. Observations were made in two classrooms and the data from these observations will be integrated into Chapter Five and Six.

All three data gathering techniques were used in order to develop a ‘*converging line of inquiry*’ (Yin, 1994), otherwise known as a process of triangulation, to further validate the entire case.

“Thus, ‘*triangulation*’ is used to see the case from various vantage points and to correlate methods with perspectives” (McKernan, 1996:74).

These vantage points included perspectives from teachers, the Principal, Māori representatives on the Board of Trustees and students from one school site. This case study is concerned with the ‘context’; it is concerned with placing the study meaningfully and the use of triangulation further validated this placement.

3.1.4 Research Procedures

There were three modes of interaction in which participants were involved.

- The first involved interviews with teachers’, the Principal and the Māori representative on the School Board of Trustees. Interview schedules are marked as appendices 10.3.1, 10.3.2, and 10.3.3.
- The second mode involved an observation of policy implementation, i.e. the way in which teacher practice reflected policy in the classroom. Interaction between teacher and Māori pupil was observed.
- The third involved informal discussions with the Principal regarding the policies the school has put in place regarding *Better Learning* for Māori. These policies were collected and integrated into the research project via document analysis.

Selecting a school sample was a relatively straight forward process. A list of potential participant schools’ were drawn up according to the convenience of proximity and on the basis of whether or not the school had demonstrated evidence of Māori education present in their schools. Two schools were contacted by phone for initial introduction. School A’s Principal was most receptive and set up a time to meet. School B preferred the introductory package to be dropped off at the school office without a meeting in person.

School A responded positively to the possibility of research in their school three weeks after the Principal – Researcher meeting. School B did not respond.

Negotiating access and justifying the project to participants was conducted with much care. Access to the school was initiated with a face to face meeting with the Principal in which a letter and information package to the Principal and Board of Trustees was submitted. This initial interaction was informal and gave the Principal an opportunity to put forward any questions once an outline was presented. The meeting was also an opportunity for the researcher to grasp an initial brief of the school situation with regard to Māori education. Participants were not approached until Board consent was obtained through the Principal. The Principal contacted the researcher after three weeks to confirm acceptance of the research proposal and make arrangements for the project to commence. The Principal and Deputy Principals' (acting Deputy Principals' were responsible on occasion) were key negotiators between the researcher and participants and set up the timetable for interview dates and staff involvement.

Staff involvement took place on the school premises and at times when relieving resource people could be obtained without additional inconvenience to the school.

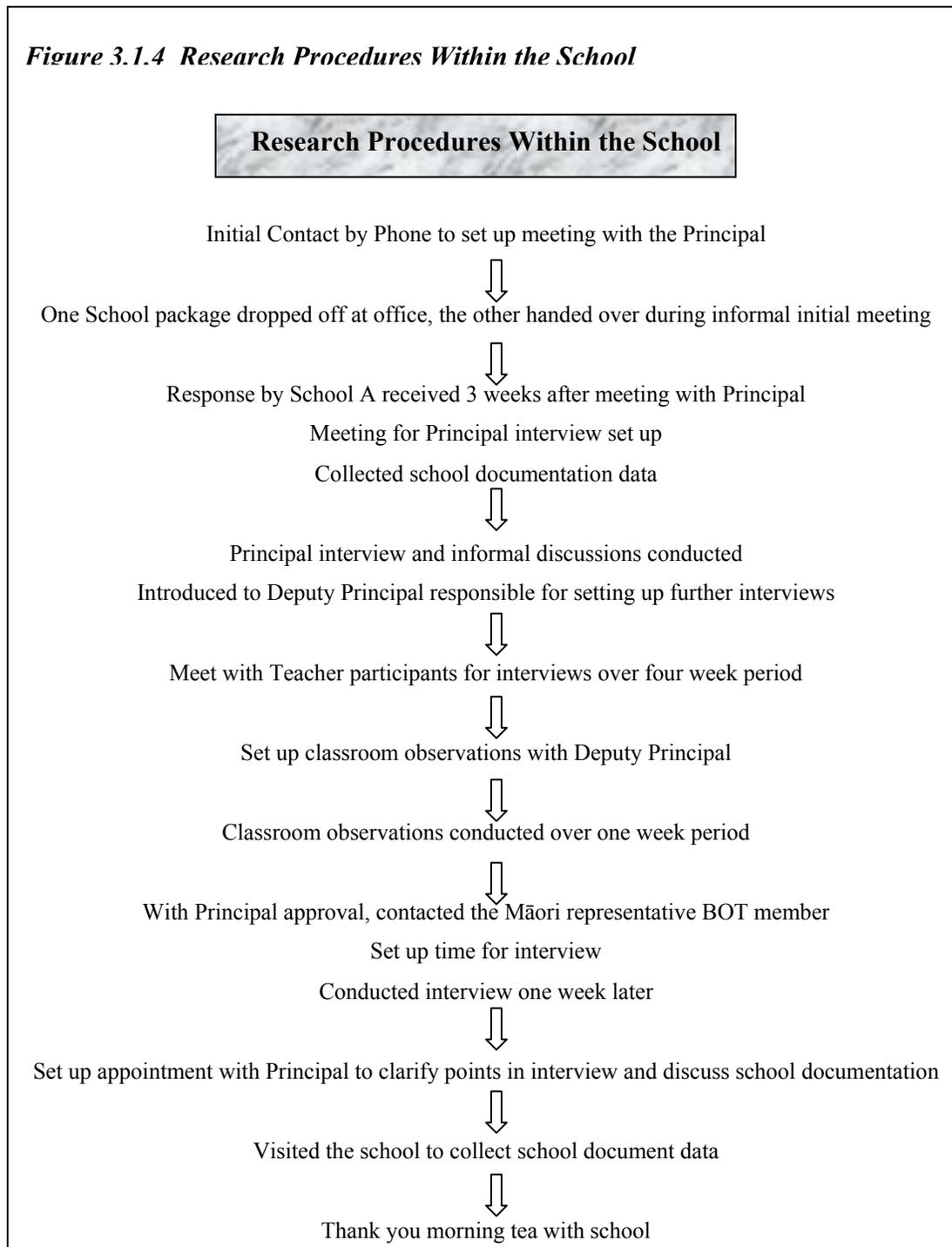
The result was that the research module within the school took longer than anticipated, the positive advantage however was that a solid and effective relationship built up over this period. During this period some teachers indicated their concern with the availability of adequate resources for teaching Māori. Because the notion of reciprocity was central to the project the researcher obtained some resource material appropriate for teaching local Māori history and passed these onto members of the teaching staff. All school staff were friendly, welcoming and accommodating. The teachers also felt confident about being interviewed and observed. The fact that a strong foundation that focuses on the principle of relationships was formed was conducive to the nature of the overall research project.

Originally, it was intended that the Student Observation Consent Forms would be distributed and collected by the researcher however the Principal designated the Deputy Principal as the coordinator for school participation in the research and therefore consent forms for student observations were distributed and collected by school staff.

Classroom observations (described in section 3.1.3 Data Gathering Techniques) were used to compare policy principle to classroom practice and verify the implementation of the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document. Classroom observations were scheduled for two of the teacher participant classrooms.

Parents and students were given the researchers contact details in order to be personally available for clarification and further details concerning the research. No parents made contact and sufficient forms were returned. The Deputy Principal contacted the researcher regarding arrangements for classroom observations and teachers consented to have the researcher present at the back of the classroom unobtrusively observing. Thanks must be acknowledged for the time and effort put into scheduling and welcoming the researcher into the school, the experience was made pleasant by the schools warm and friendly staff.

Figure 3.1.4 Research Procedures Within the School



3.1.5 Participants

The participant school is urban and as an Intermediate type school with a roll of approximately 400 students. The composition of the student population includes 21% *Māori*, 70% *Pakeha* and 9% classified as *Other*. The students participating in the observation therefore are from the 21% who have chosen to identify as Māori and are Year 7 & 8 (Form 1 & 2) students.

The school has approximately 22 teachers. Only six teachers were sought for the research project. The rationale for this number of teachers was concerned with selecting a number that would provide substantive data for the project. Too few teachers would provide only a constricted number of responses from which comparative data would be limited. The Principal handed out information packs to those teachers who showed an interest after having talked through the project. The research proposal made clear that no more than six teachers would be interviewed. This number was selected on the basis that too many interview participants would result in too much data for collection and analysis management and too few would offer too little information for research of substance. Ten packs in all were given to the Principal. The names of the six teachers consenting to participate in interviews were given to the researcher once the deputy principal was placed in charge of scheduling interview times. Two of these six teachers' were fluent in te reo Māori and had a very good understanding of Māori concepts and tikanga. They identified as being Māori. Observations were made in two of the six teacher classrooms. One Māori representative from the Board of Trustees and the Principal also took part in interviews (the Principal was also involved in discussions concerning school policy and development conducive to the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document). Broader profiles of the participants are offered in the 'Research Fieldwork' section (Chapter Five). All interview participants' received copies of the interview schedule prior to interviews being conducted in order to give them time to become familiar with the content (refer to Appendices 1, 2 & 3).

All interview participants have been given identification numbers. These are random numbers from 1 to 8 so that quotations can be referenced according to each participant's contribution without disclosing the identity of those involved. Identification numbers may show a correlation of similarly numbered quotes that expose a particular participant profile. The identity of the School and its participants has been protected under the ethical conditions agreed for the research.

3.1.6 Limitations

Single School Project

Choosing one school to conduct research could have had limitations for the validity of the project, however it was soon discovered that one school provided more than enough data and information to present a substantive piece of quality research.

Time

The unavailability of additional staff to release interview participants did not hinder the research project although it did lengthen the research timeframe within the school considerably. The overall benefit of establishing an effective relationship with staff members however outweighed any advantage of a more expedient collection of data.

Snapshot Perspective

Given the time allocated to the research project and the complexity of school organization and operations, the perspectives presented in this work are snapshots of the school context. All multifaceted operations of the school related to the project could not be obtained due to time constraints. What have been collected therefore are those components regarded by the researcher to be most pertinent to this project.

Chapter Four

4.0 Document Analysis

4.1 *Better Relationships for Better Learning*

While a number of documentary sources from both the School and Ministry of Education were collected and analysed during the course of this research the document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* (Ministry of Education, 2000a) forms the principal documentary source of the study. As outlined in the introduction the aim is to critique and examine the document in order to determine its effectiveness for a better relationship between Māori and schools.

The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* guidelines contain eight sections dealing with aspects of consultation and development.

They (sections) look at how parents' active participation might be developed, what consultation means in practice, what some schools are doing that they have found to be effective, and some of the barriers and challenges that schools meet and how they deal with them (Ministry of Education, 2000a:9).

Figure 4.1a Eight Aspects of Consultation and Parental Engagement

Eight Aspects of Consultation and Parental Engagement
Principles of Success
Governance and the Board of Trustees
Māori Language and Culture in the School
School Activities and Interaction with Māori parents
Truancy and Discipline
Relationships with Iwi, Hapu and Marae
Relationships with the Community
Relationships with Other Schools

The areas of School Governance, Consultation and Encouraging Parents Participation are key to the policy document. Each area assumes that the schools authority is a given. Three main notions emerge from these sections. The first is to encourage schools to look closely at the way in which communication has been set up between Māori and schools and to prompt schools to consider the effectiveness of such approaches. This includes the use of Māori language and culture in the school. A number of the suggestions and ideas promoted in this section are particularly pertinent given the case study findings of the research. For example among some of the models and ideas, the document identifies particular forms of communication valued by Māori communities and encourages schools to use ‘whānau friendly’ methods such as the ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ approach (Ministry of Education, 2000a). The Board of Trustees participant for the school under study also promotes this approach.

“We keep going over kanohi ki te kanohi approaches in our Board training” (7).

This includes a Māori world-view in State educational discourse and signals a development in Government initiatives in terms of working toward a more unique policy framework that is grounded in recognising indigenous perspectives. The definitions given to these methods however are limited and Māori representation is not evident in the document otherwise.

Another pertinent issue is that the document assumes schools are approaching Māori parents in a number of ways, however school research indicates that this is not necessarily so.

*“Several schools have found it effective to visit Māori parents at home because they prefer personal contact”
(Ministry of Education, 2002:23)*

The majority of teachers in this research had not visited Māori parents at home and had not deliberately and proactively gone about determining the educational aspirations of Māori parents for their children. It is suggested therefore that the examples within the document are at best ideals rather than the reality for most schools. Research data evidence endorses this view.

The document suggests that schools should foster te reo Māori and Māori values, in which things Māori become part of normal procedures of the school rather than being seen as extras. This was also a key finding from interview results, that is, that the school should encourage Māori tikanga, knowledge and pedagogy within the total school environment rather than using an additive approach to curriculum content (Ministry of Education, 2000a). A number of the suggestions and ideas promoted in the document are however supported and reinforced from case study findings of the research suggesting that some document principles hold some validity alongside research evidence.

School-community interactions are also considered within the document in terms of Māori communities and school activities, truancy and discipline and relationships with other schools. It was evident in the case study research that a number of teachers had not set up a Māori network resource and the need to do so was fundamental to community support. The document acknowledged this detail. The document however does not acknowledge the difficulty schools have in doing so. The issues surrounding this difficulty are instrumental in supporting schools to overcome the problem. A number of the teacher participants agreed that networks in the Māori community are important but were unsure as to how they should go about setting these up. While the document promotes the opportunity available to establish a better relationship with the Māori community, schools and school staff do not necessarily have the skills or knowledge of cultural differences in order to do so. Some direction is necessary.

They (schools) have the opportunity to develop relationships with Māori that involve mutual commitment and communication, leading ultimately to co-operation (Ministry of Education, 2000a:25).

The second notion emerging from these sections is to consider the factors, based upon results of thirty ‘successfully’ operating schools, which contribute to building an effective relationship with Māori. The means by which this success was measured however has not been established in the document content. Sourcing the details and context of school experiences used within the body of the document is made difficult by the inability to track actual school recordings. Whether or not this is an ethical constraint, the document does not specify. Without verification this ‘success’ has instead to be assumed.

Eight principles, regarded as successful for effective consultation and parental engagement are presented in the document and are discussed in the latter section of this chapter.

Figure 4.1b Principles of Success

Principles of Success
A Strong Leadership Team
A Powerful School Vision
Understanding and Responding to Educational Needs of Māori Communities
Long-term Strategies for Change
Being Prepared to Change
Managing Relationships Proactively
Understanding How Best to Consult with Maori

Although most useful in guiding schools to consider the means by which an effective relationship might be established, the principles are founded on Western values and have not incorporated a Māori perspective in terms of the underlying philosophy that supports a partnership of quality. Integral to Māori thinking is the *whakapapa* (linking origins) of all things and the way in which Māori seek out relationships that connect to those things around them; relationships between ideas and theory, relationships between actions and relationships between people. The document does not reveal the origins or whakapapa of ideas and experiences evident in the content. There is no evidence of a basis for the organisation of ideas, establishing these origins is related to being Māori, it is then that one can come to understand the deeper philosophy on which ideas have been layered and built.

“Whakapapa is a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things (Barlow, 1991:173).

As the following whakatauāki suggests the idea that relationships and people play an important part in the life of Māori is key to understanding a Māori context therefore an understanding of the origins of particularly the Māori concepts should be acknowledged.

*“Hutia te rito
Hutia te rito o te harakeke
Kei hea te kōmako e ko
Ki mai ki ahau
He aha te mea nui
He aha te mea nui I te ao
Maku e ki atu
He tāngata, he tāngata, he tāngata*

*Pluck away the sustenance
Pluck away the sustenance of the flax
And where shall the bellbird sit
Ask me what is the most important thing
What is the most important thing in this world
I will say
It is people, it is people, it is people (Karetu, 1987)*

These principles regarded as the elements of success have therefore been amended throughout the course of the research to validate Māori values, concepts and acknowledge the origins (where possible) unique to Māori learning, teaching and society. The amended principles are incorporated into the Discussion section, although the specific elements of success promoted by the document are detailed at the end of this section.

The third idea emerging from the document sections is that of school governance and management. Much of the discourse devoted to this third area addresses an operational system already defined by school boards and quality standards set down by school management and Ministry regulations. That is, subsections for co-opting Māori members, Māori committees and school policy in relation to Māori and Trustee responsibilities are developments already or currently underway in the school. The document does not challenge the hierarchical structure of existing school business in which Māori play a minor role in decision making. While the document principles and philosophy include an elaborate description for a partnership of quality, the irony is that

set school practices work to inhibit and limit these ideals because Māori join in after the fact. Minimal representation on school Boards of Trustees is one example of how this occurs (Johnston, 1991). Māori representatives are often one person amid a number and have very limited power in terms of the democratic vote. Limited community consultation and involvement of the Māori community in school practice and organisation is another. Although revision of the National Education Guidelines are supposed to address the issue of Māori representation with specific amendments including the idea that each Board of Trustees, through the Principal and staff are required in consultation with the school's Māori community to develop and make known to the school's community policies, plans and targets for improving the achievement of Māori students, this process does not necessarily address the issue of an unequal power relationship. The Māori community may offer information regarding school practice and organisation but in terms of holding any power to enforce the decisions they come to they are powerless. These situation works to inhibit or limit a partnership arrangement.

Additionally the guidelines provide examples and models for schools to use or adapt to their own circumstances. The flexibility of such models and examples enable schools to consider their own unique situation accordingly. Individual school autonomy however is not necessarily an effective model for ensuring that policy ideals are put into practice if no managing accountability is in place. As suggested in the *Making Education Work for Māori* report (1998), greater accountability will also be necessary if schools are to have free reign of policy application.

Beneath the Rationale

In an educational context the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* policy proposes a set of initiatives designed to assist schools to be more responsive to Māori and to help Māori to become more involved in what happens in the education of their children (Ministry of Education, 2000a).

The rationale explains that

“Schools that are more inclusive of the concerns and interests of Māori parents are better able to translate these into more effective programmes of learning and teaching for Māori children”
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:4).

The foreword of the document includes an introduction that speaks about applying collective skills, energies and abilities to support the learning of children. The idea that this learning takes place in the state school context with fixed systems and structures is taken for granted. If the philosophy underpinning the document rationale is examined more closely, the paternalistic approach of what Freire refers to as state *mechanicists* (Freire, 1985) becomes evident. Freire regards these *mechanicists* as those that limit the freedom of the subjects (Māori) by well-meant regulations keeping them in a state of dependence. The state of dependence comes about from the assertion that

“... ultimately the professional initiative and responsibility must come from the school” (Ministry of Education, 2000a:4).

State schools are under Government control. Paternalism works to maintain the status quo of unequal power relations by allowing only superficial transformations to occur preventing any real change in the power dynamics of school operations.

The guidelines have been provided as part of the government’s efforts to see that

“All Māori students get the best possible education”
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:6).

The terms of those conditions therefore are already set. Māori aspirations are given little consideration in this policy.

Given that this is part of the government’s commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and “... reflects the emphasis given by the government to significantly improve the educational status of Māori” (Ministry of Education, 2000a:6) the policy is merely an exercise in Government small talk. Although Government reaffirms its support of the Treaty of Waitangi and principles, it does so by referring to its own criteria (those Treaty principles produced by Government in 1984⁹, and once again the failure to clearly commit by outlining the status of Māori and how the Māori principles translate to the

⁹ In the 1980s different agencies (including the New Zealand Māori Council and Government) set about defining the Treaty in terms of its key principles as a means to guide further action (Graham, 2002).

classroom and school context renders the ideal ineffective. Unskilled teaching staff will continue to treat the policy as mere rhetoric so long as schools that allow them to do so are able to because this educational practice often takes its cue from educational policy. The case study data collected for this research demonstrates that a number of teachers are uncertain about Treaty application. In this circumstance a sheer retelling of a paternalistic theme is obvious because no real change can be expected if the means does not suit the proposed ends (Freire, 1985). Freire (1985) would argue that if Māori are in a habit of being directed, as our educational history in this country demonstrates, this situation is more than a retelling of paternalism it is “*an instance of manipulative paternalism*” because schools are working to support that direction (Freire, 1985:79).

The document also incorporates ideas that persuade readers of the common sense approach to education in our state schools. For example the idea that all Māori agree getting a good education has always been the highest priority and that schools have important responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi to make sure that Māori are part of maximum benefits. However all of these common sense arguments made in the text of the document support Government assertions that – “*ultimately the professional initiative and responsibility must come from the school (Ministry of Education, 2000a:4).*

The school is an agent of the State. The State therefore is the governing and controlling body for education because it is presumed that Government policies act in the best interests of all learners. For this reason any claims to an equal partnership cannot be delivered. The document is a Government document after all and Government is only one partner in the deal.

Supplementary Guidelines for Existing Operations

The document guidelines are intended to supplement existing school operations. This is evident in the text of the document.

*“One way a school might use these guidelines ..to photocopy sections relevant to their **current** stage of development and use this material as a discussion document for meetings”
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:5).*

Furthermore the document takes a *mainstream-centric* approach (Banks, 1997), reinforcing a sense of Government superiority to enforce thus masking the relationship between Māori and schools. Masking occurs because Māori do not have equal opportunities as their non-Māori counterparts in education and the state does not necessarily know nor act in the best interests of Māori. The state is also representative of dominant cultural norms and values that pervade our society in general and therefore not a neutral party in the partnership role. State policy is therefore biased and although it may work to favour Māori determination and success, it certainly does not prioritise it. Māori often are not in control of the distribution of their own knowledge within schools. This unequal relationship denies Māori partners the opportunity to view their cultural perspectives as a unique and distinct contribution to school systems and structures. Those aspects that may be included are merely added to the curriculum content, rarely to the systemic level of operations. A mainstream-centric approach negatively influences Māori partners because it does little to include Māori aspirations, hopes, pedagogy and worldview. The assumption is that learning works best if teachers and schools are in charge and Māori merely contribute some attractive components of Māori knowledge through a consultation process. Implicit to document analysis Māori parents can expect to see success for their children if they adopt school terms; not their own, nor any terms which have been negotiated on grounds of an equal partnership. Philosophically a partnership is not being advocated but rather notions of compliance and conformity grounded in our nation's history of assimilative policies.

Māori will continue to be alienated in the school in part because they experience cultural conflict as a result of the differences between the school's and their own cultural experiences and part because they have little control over their own education and learning (Bourdieu, 1971).

Bourdieu's model of cultural capital explains how the mainstream centric approach (the cultural capital of the dominant group) is essentially the foundation of our New Zealand state schools.

Just as our dominant economic institutions are structured to favour those who already possess economic capital, so our educational institutions are structured to favour those who already possess the cultural capital, defined according to the criteria of the dominant group (Harker, 1985:65).

Outcomes for Māori will stand little chance for change if the schools dominant culture does not consider the cultural capital of Māori students because as Harker (1985) espouses the cultural capital of our state schools will continue to act as a most effective filter in the reproductive processes of a hierarchical society.

“Poor achievement for different groups in a society then, is not something inherent in cultural difference per se, but is just as much an artefact of the way schools operate as is success for other groups” (Harker, 1985:65).

In terms of Māori cultural capital, Māori cannot cash in their dollars in a market that does not recognise the value of their currency. While the document encourages schools to consider the incorporation of Māori pedagogy and knowledge it does not sufficiently challenge nor change the basic assumptions, nature and structure of the school. Current operations are supported and reinforced, so too are dominant cultural values and the struggle for Māori achievement under Western frames of reference. A partnership relationship cannot be enduring under these circumstances.

The idea that document guidelines are authoritative and intended as supplementary to the existing school operations is also evident in the self-review framework near the end of the book. The school governance and management section of the document suggests the school conduct a self review in order to assess and evaluate their own development. A self-review would enable schools to evaluate how well initiatives for involving Maori parents and whānau in the life of the school are working (Ministry of Education 2000a). One might note that the philosophical focus, found in former policies and initiatives, shifts from assessing student participation to assessing school life, systems and structures

by way of a self-review. The ‘*attractive*’ aspect of this type of review for schools is that it may appear as far less intrusive and threatening than one conducted by an external moderation team such as the Educational Review Office. In addition a review that evaluates the systems in place is more likely to expose the school structures that inhibit Māori development. Self review processes however are decided by school management members with little if any Māori representation (Johnston, 1998) who alternatively may choose not to assess systems in greater detail and expose inhibiting structures. The document’s description of the self review component is as follows:

“one section that virtually every school will find immediately useful”
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:5).

However that it is not the tool that determines its effectiveness but rather those that utilise the tool. While schools may use self review – a potentially effective tool, it is their use of it that determines its effectiveness because schools still hold the autonomy to determine what they will hold as accountable and what they will not.

Many aspects considered for review from the document are features currently in place in the school.

Does your school’s planning process consider how the school can give effect to the National Education Guidelines with respect to Māori?
Does your school offer courses that acquaint all students with te reo Māori? (Ministry of Education, 2000a:28-29).

The majority of mainstream schools operate with Western cultural practices that dominant our systems and exclude Māori knowledge. It is not the quantity of Māori knowledge that should be assessed in Western-laden school systems but rather the ideology of systems that do not benefit Māori. The document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* chooses not to delve into a system or ideology analysis as a means to better understand the philosophical and theoretical assumptions behind school practice. Instead the document shows us the *surface layer* where the philosophical and ideological goals are made invisible by being turned into policy, programmes and practices. Surface manifestations however can be deconstructed in order to identify with the foundation on

which they have been built and the analytical section of this chapter proposes to do that (Sullivan, 1997).

Performance Management versus Maori Partnership

It was also anticipated that the recent changes to the National Administration Guidelines, which place explicit requirements on schools to plan for improving the achievement of Māori students and to carry out a self-review in this area, would further prompt schools to evaluate their performance.

School boards of trustees have a responsibility under the National Administration Guidelines to review their school's performance. Part of self-review should include assessing how well your school is responding to the needs of Māori students (Ministry of Education 2000b: 27).

Performance evaluation in this manner is based on “good management practice” (Ministry of Education, 2000a:27) rather than good partnership practice because discussions devising these processes are usually framed within the language of maintaining and improving standards and this very often masks ways in which power is selectively transmitted. The management facets of school operations are primary to the review rather than the partnership facets that ensure a relationship of quality. The components that may incorporate Māori perspectives and knowledge are largely limited to reporting procedures, curriculum content and methods for engaging the Māori community. The fundamental rationale and use beneath these methods is concerned with monitoring and audit processes in order to meet quality standards for management review rather than ensuring a partnership of quality between Māori and the school that enables Māori an equal say as partners.

While the intentions demonstrated in the text of the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document may be commended as positive and beneficial moves for Māori it must be remembered that the foundation and terms on which they sit is essentially Western cultural norms which assume to benefit Māori. It is easy to be swept away by surface manifestations presented as alluring ideals beneficial for Māori learners in

mainstreams state schools, however a number of researchers would argue that it is not the little incorporation of Māori knowledge that sits at the centre of Māori educational development and progress but rather the gate keeping systems that control and regulate the dissemination of that knowledge and pedagogy. Often those in charge of the dissemination of Māori knowledge in our mainstream schools are not Māori and do not diffuse this knowledge within the culturally correct context in which it is best understood. The terms for regulation and management are not being espoused within the document itself, these terms have already been assumed as that of Government control.

In an empowered partnership arrangement school staff and the Māori community share power as well as responsibility for student success and failure. The document offers a traditional view as described by Vatterott (1999) rather than an empowered partnership.

In a traditional school, teachers' often claim they ask students to "take responsibility" but only within the teacher's parameters and by the teacher's rules. Such is not responsibility but obedience – similar to the administrator who claims to empower teachers by allowing them to provide input, and then proceeds to ignore or neutralize their input (Vatterott, 1999:16).

Empowering Māori communities requires teachers to rethink the power structures within policy and classroom practice. Despite the well-founded arguments regarding the notion of partnership in an early section of the booklet, Māori must also have a meaningful say in determining how that partnership relationship may be set up and work.

Partnership or Participation?

The document makes numerous claims describing the importance of striving for a partnership relationship of quality between schools and Māori communities. Some of the fundamental principles included in the document that define a partnership of quality include the following.

- an agreement as equal partners
- a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi
- policy making that includes the sharing of power and decision-making
- including cultural perspectives within policy

- representation at all levels of administration
- acknowledging the status of tāngata whenua
- regular reviews that include both partners

(Ministry of Education, 2000a).

It is agreed that the principles defining a partnership of quality outlined in the document are key. The equal partnership role must be questioned by both Government and schools if the parameters for defining the relationship being proposed have already been set. Can this relationship be an equal partnership arrangement or are Māori once again to participate in the parameters already set and simply be consulted when deemed necessary? Such terms are not encouraging with regard to the partnership concept and will not be enduring.

The Potential of a Partnership of Quality

If we look to this notion of a fuller partnership experience we do find hope in the reformation of the proposed strategy for Māori education, the policy *Better Relationships for Better Learning* (Ministry of Education, 2000a). The strategy surfaced with a fundamental difference from previous educational initiatives addressing Māori participation and achievement. The essential difference from previous educational schemes (for example the 1980's Taha Māori programmes) is that this document proposes some positive '*grounds for a relationship of partnership*' between Māori communities and schools. Therefore it recognises that people are the basis of a workable relationship. While previous documents indirectly address this notion of partnership and pay it little heed, the new initiative *Better Relationships for Better Learning* deals with it more directly.

“Partnership can occur at all levels of policy making by the sharing of power and decision making, satisfactory methods of consultation, and the inclusion of cultural perspectives in policies”
(Ministry of Education 2000a:7).

There is however room to develop this interpretation of partnership in more detail and move beyond the method of consultation.

To clarify this analysis, one could say that the document ventures into territory largely unexplored and that in itself has potential, however it aims to address the needs of only one party or particular target group (non-Māori) and then stops short of a deeper understanding for the majority of mainstream teachers who are largely monocultural and unskilled in the area.

This policy document is set up for school rather than Māori community partnership use because it asserts a paternalistic protective approach whereby Māori are taken care of by the school. This approach is evident in the fact that the policy principles have already been set. This is problematic for Māori development and determination because such an approach asserts a belief that the state, (and school), know best for Māori. The decisions have already been made for Māori and schools simply ask the Māori community to validate this belief by participating in the consultation process.

The document signals an interest by Government in working as equal partners with Māori because it acknowledges a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi in which “*two peoples entering into an agreement as equal partners*” (Ministry of Education, 2000a:7). The degree of power relinquished in this move however is yet to be determined and is sure to be an ongoing key issue. The Government however plays a role described by Schattschneider (in Lukes, 1974) as *mobilisation of bias* in which key issues such as this are organised out of political discourse and in all likelihood will continue to do so until Māori ‘force’ the issue or take the initiative to address it themselves. Schools are in a position to initiate this issue and explore it. The exploration however will be hindered if the state does not apply action to the acknowledgement of its Treaty obligations although Māori resistance has shown that Māori can gain power in spite of state policies that hinder development. Graham Smith (1990) agrees that Māori can take greater control still in order to transform the detrimental effects of policies that have led Māori into an educational crisis if dominant interest groups relinquish not only power but also resources.

The assumption that one party can be unbiased in making assertions for the interests of both parties in a two number partnership is hardly credible yet this is Government practice with regard to Māori. Durie (in Kawharu, 1989) for example agrees that there have been innumerable situations in which the State has unfairly presumed to speak for both Treaty partners. Policies such as the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document are witness to this practice. This policy is a production of regulations and meanings that subjugate the lives of one group (Māori) while simultaneously empowering and advancing another. A meaningful partnership can never be realised under these circumstances. As Durie (ibid) points out

“...the right of Māori people to make their own nominations none the less remains” (in Kawharu, 1989:295).

Furthermore the guidelines of the document will continue to maintain the conditions that create this powerlessness because it works from a position whereby existing school operations are taken for granted. The terms have already been set. While it might be argued that Māori knowledge and perspectives may gain some ground in the classroom curriculum under this documents guide (and as well it might), the selective arena in which Māori take part is determined through the implementation of the policy because Government not only asserts its authority but also lays down the parameters by which Maori may take part. The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document therefore is defined, instigated and controlled by Government which works to serve the needs of non-Māori students and staff first. While the document encourages schools to be proactive rather than use reactive piecemeal initiatives, Government does not heed this suggestion. The document is a reaction to the crisis of Maori achievement identified in the *Closing the Gaps reports* (1998, 2000). While it recognises that teacher skills are part of the problem pertaining to a better relationship with Māori the underlying philosophy promotes interventions primarily for non-Māori staff, Māori input is limited in respect of the consultation process being asserted. The process is equally one of self rejuvenation as much as it is one of subjugation because Māori are not party to the decision regarding process and practice.

The potential and challenge of the policy therefore is not how schools are going about implementing these guidelines but how schools are interpreting them. Smith (1990:183) describes the present Māori education crisis as reviewed by Government initiatives and suggests that “*fundamental structural change is required to overturn this situation*”. Case study data demonstrates that both school practitioners and management accept the authoritative position of the document and act on directives from Government. If schools are prepared to look beneath the rationale critically and determine whose interests are best served (rather than assuming Māori interests are because Government says so) then perhaps innovative and challenging solutions to the Māori achievement crisis can be explored. The question for schools is whether or not they are moved to do so.

4.1.1 The Elements of Success

Better Relationships for Better Learning offers six ‘**Principles of Success**’ related to the experiences of some of the most successful schools that have worked on building positive and constructive relationships with Māori parents and whānau in Aotearoa / New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2000a). The Ministry prior to document release collated contributions of ideas and experiences from almost thirty primary, intermediate and secondary schools (from the Bluff to Northland). Although schools comment on the usefulness of these elements there is no evidence to verify that they have indeed lead to better learning for the students involved. Furthermore the document does not comment on how schools, using the preferred elements, transferred this better relationship to better learning practices. School comments have simply been used within the document content to support and substantiate the effective use of the six principles outlined. The six principles are listed below and have been integrated into this section.

1. A Strong Leadership Team
2. A Powerful School Vision
3. Understanding and responding to the educational needs of Māori communities
4. Long-term strategies for change
5. Being prepared to change
6. Managing relationships proactively

A Strong Leadership Team

Leadership and learning are indispensable to each other.

John F. Kennedy (1963)

The first principle of success explored in the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document is that of a strong leadership team.

The document school research data indicates that leadership in ‘successful’ schools usually comprises the following members:

- principal
- integral members of the School Board of Trustees
- representatives school whānau groups
- key members of the Māori community

The commitment from the leadership team is essential because school management and policy implementation is often controlled by this team. Ministry views agree with the idea that commitment and interest from the principal and trustees is essential.

“...the school’s leadership is instrumental in mobilizing people to change” (Ministry of Education, 2000a:10).

A number of critical literature perspectives of school leadership respond in a variety of ways against what they view as the hierarchical, ‘strong leadership’ and market-dominated culture of educational leadership in schools (Grace, 1995). The very nature of traditional ‘headship’ itself may have to be challenged for example, in order to make way for a strong leadership team that takes into account the more complex Māori concepts pertinent to developing a partnership of quality. Establishing Māori representation within the lead management team may be necessary. Foster (1989) proposes that leadership is at its core a critical practice which involves reflective and critical thinking about the ways in which schools might need to change. Tomlinson, Gunter and Smith (1999) agree that leadership is a job which requires strong professionals who have consistent value systems that are relevant to the school, its pupils and its community. A consideration here however is what the school defines as its community. A leadership team that recognizes the relevance and impact of the schools values for all its stakeholders - its pupils, staff and community, is a team better positioned to support a positive appropriate vision for

all. The leadership team will need to have committed people in it, open to the notion of inclusion and shared power. In order to include and have groups represented meaningfully each team member must understand the social order of different groups within society. In the New Zealand context for example this translates to understanding how Māori value social order. Leaders must recognize the importance of having skilled staff and be proactive about producing the changes to meet these needs. Finally the leadership team must be open to venturing out into areas little understood by themselves and their colleagues and show a positive enthusiasm to the idea of supporting this exploration (Grace, 1995). Good leaders are those willing to learn more themselves and work toward pulling everyone on the team together. Inspiring team interest, enthusiasm, and passion is vital. Without a consistent commitment and the ability to communicate effectively, the leaders of the school, the teachers, the community and the Boards of Trustees, exercise programmes with little unity and shared vision.

*“The Schools emphasised that commitment and interest from the principal and trustees are essential”
(Ministry of Education, 2000b:10).*

A Powerful School Vision

The Māori parents contributing to the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document commented that schools should commit to a vision for Māori children’s education. The document also supports the idea that conveying this vision clearly, through all means of communication, is vital. Therefore a vision needs to be explicitly shared.

Rigorous studies conducted by the Institute of Education in London (1994) also indicate that a key element to an effective home-school relationship is when schools have *a shared vision and goal* with their communities (Bastiani & Wolfendale, 2000). A vision can be understood in a number of ways.

In terms of the New Zealand experience, the Ministry of Education again emphasises this point in the pamphlets distributed to the Māori community.

*“The vision needs to explicitly incorporate Māori values and aspirations and show that the school values Māori culture”
(Ministry of Education, 2000b:10).*

When considering a partnership relationship this statement might also incorporate Graham Smith's (1991c) element of *taonga tuku iho* which he relates to the principle of Maori cultural aspirations. Smith discusses the incorporation of Māori language, knowledge, culture and values as a means to validate and legitimatise Māori cultural aspirations. He claims that one of the faults of previous schooling interventions has been the lack of serious consideration given to these components (Smith, 1991). By the year 2002 (eleven years since Smith's statement) a number of government policy writers and educational researchers and practitioners have in fact given serious consideration to the incorporation of Māori knowledge (Simons, 1986, Smith, 1991, Durie 1993, Pihama, 1993, Mead, 1996). The issue is now one of a lack of serious action on Government's behalf to address these considerations. Māori have acted by way of Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, by lobbying for bilingual and immersion classes within mainstream schools and being fundamental in setting up these initiatives. Given the conditions under which these initiatives were set up by Māori (a minority group working against Government ideology and goals) the mission undertaken is nothing short of breathtaking and demonstrates the commitment and dedication given to self determination. Government are yet to respond on a par with Māori efforts.

According to the Ministry of Education (2000a) if schools have no vision for Māori, Māori parents are unlikely to get involved. Māori (as partners with schools) however should be involved in the devising of that vision from the onset. Tomlinson, Gunter and Smith (1999) claim their research has shown that effective schools are those where practice is a result of a consistent and collaborative way of working and decision-making. Perhaps the New Zealand mainstream collaborative encounter can learn much from the Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori experience. The vision for these two initiatives has been such a powerful and embracing force that it has committed large numbers of

Māori communities to be involved despite economic obstacles. According to Graham Smith (1991) the shared commitment to such a vision is so powerful that its members (in particular the first generation members of the Kōhanga Reo movement) have the capacity to work around socio-economic and home difficulties. This action of mediation in socio-economic and home difficulties he termed the principle of *kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o ngā kainga*. The shared vision of the whānau plays a key role in this mediation.

The philosophy of *Te Aho Matua* for Kura Kaupapa Māori is one such example of a collective or shared vision. The *shared* potential or *bicultural feature* of the Te Aho Matua philosophy is that it acknowledges Pākehā culture and skills as important for Māori in terms of participating fully in our society. Pākehā culture is therefore also integral to every part of the total school environment. This shared vision and philosophy embraces the whānau involved and together members work toward inclusion in order to better address the needs of their children. A shared vision can provide guidelines for excellence for Māori and Pākehā and indeed wider education in our society if both perspectives are taken into consideration. The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document does not necessarily do this. If a vision is to be shared than all stakeholders must be included.

Understanding and responding to the educational needs of Māori communities

The diverse educational needs that exist within the Māori community should be identified and acted upon if schools want to successfully build a relationship of value with the Māori community. According to the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document data gathered from several schools indicate that they have already incorporated the suggestions of their Māori parents and whānau into school programmes (Ministry of Education, 2000a:11).

After extensive consultation with Māori parents and whānau, one college has written specific goals concerning retention rates and academic achievement for Māori students into its strategic plan. Other schools support Māori-initiated rünanga matua or whānau groups that work alongside trustees and teachers to further kaupapa Māori in the school (Ministry of Education, 2000a:11).

Understanding and responding to the educational needs of Māori communities is about more than a review of specific goals that address retention rates and academic achievement however. It is not only members of the Māori community that must be included in meaningful key operations of the school but an understanding and application of Māori knowledge and perspectives as well. Māori preferred styles of learning and teaching are also fundamental to the needs of Māori communities.

Learning styles may be referred to in a number of ways. Dunn & Dunn (1987) for example consider learning styles in terms of the learning environment preferences while McCarthy (1990) considers learning styles as thinking about which sense provides you with the most learning. Malfese & Segalowitz (1988) and Springer & Deutsch (1985) consider learning styles by determining brain hemisphere dominance through tracking electrical activity in the brain to determine where more activity takes place while the brain is completing certain tasks. Griggs & Dunn (1984) explain that learning styles may further be defined by social and time preferences. Some people like to learn and study in groups while others like to study alone. Some may prefer to work in small clumps of time and work several times a day while others like to spend a longer amount of time at one sitting and then be done with the task. Carroll's definition offers a readily understood explanation.

Learning style is the term used in education to refer to the ways in which learners prefer to learn or to the way in which a person learns most efficiently. There are probably as many ways to think about learning styles as there are individual styles for learning (Carroll, 1998:15).

The proposal that there are Māori preferred learning styles which are more responsive to Māori needs has been made by both Pere (1982) and Metge (1984). Jill Bevan-Brown (1999) also argues that effective pedagogy for Māori students comes about by providing learners with a holistic education, a style preferred by Māori. Pere attempts in her 1982 study to reveal the formal and informal structures and processes of traditional modes of Māori learning that have significance for Māori people today. Her work is groundbreaking in that it is one of the first pieces of literature that identify and acknowledge the legitimacy of Māori pedagogy with some depth. Aptly titled 'Ako', her writings work to

give a deeper understanding of Māori concepts and learning in Māori tradition. Since her publication others have followed in exploring the deeper concepts of Māori pedagogy and the preferred learning styles (Metge 1984, Smith 1991, Bevan-Brown 1999).

It is only more recently however that Government has accepted Māori preferred learning styles and incorporated these into state bicultural policy such as the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document. Particular forms of communication valued by Māori, for example, are included in the policy document (Ministry of Education, 2000a).

“Ensure that there is ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ contact. Several schools have found it effective to visit Māori parents at home because they prefer personal contact on discipline issues”
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:23).

On drawing from Pere’s (1982) original work¹⁰, Smith (1991) describes the purpose of a culturally preferred pedagogy as *Ako Māori*. His belief is that for Māori, teaching and learning settings and practices are closely associated to the cultural backgrounds and life circumstances of Māori communities. In other words the experience of Māori learners should occur in a culturally appropriate context in order to be meaningful and address the educational needs of Māori learners (Johnston, 1998).

Furthermore Smith (1991) explains that because education is largely geared to a monocultural frame of reference via the fact that many of our educational practitioners are monocultural people who lack the skills and knowledge to teach Māori, Māori learners rarely see any relevance to their own experiences within schools. In terms of drawing together a partnership with Māori and understanding and responding to their educational needs, schools must consider the impact of unskilled staff. Staff that are unskilled in Māori pedagogy, appropriate Māori relevant learning contexts and Māori knowledge for example are more likely to exclude it altogether. While it may be often argued that most students learn relatively well under most circumstances, teachers must be aware of the *educational achievement gap* between Māori and non-Māori stressed by the Ministry of Māori Development (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998). The responsibility of teachers to act upon this information is one of professionalism. To ensure optimal

¹⁰ Rose Pere published *Ako: concepts and learning in the Māori tradition* nine years earlier.

learning takes place under the best circumstances as often as possible, teachers need to understand what Ako Māori is. Therefore a quality partnership must also include well-informed and skilled practitioners. Consulting with the Māori community is no longer a viable option as a means to address Māori input because Māori need to be partners in every part of the educational system, not simply powerless advisors. Furthermore one group in the partnership deal is afforded recognition of their efforts by way of a financial reward for their efforts and the other is not – this is not a partnership arrangement. Another complexity is that while the school is being prompted to better understand and respond to learner needs the other partner (Māori) is simply being encouraged to offer up advice from a distanced position. The process of consultation ensures schools are responding, the distanced partial involvement of the process however ensures that the powerlessness of Māori is maintained. If schools are to understand and respond meaningfully to the educational needs of Māori communities staff must be skilled in order to understand what this means in terms of addressing the power dynamics of a partnership.

Long Term Strategies for Change

School data collected by the Ministry of Education claims that Māori participation in schools increased after five to eight years of hard effort and work.

*“One secondary school recalls that it has taken them over ten years to develop a relationship with the local Māori community and to establish Māori language in the school”
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:11).*

School data evidence convinced the Ministry that the components of gradual change, realization of the importance of the consultation process and building consensus for change are important factors in supporting long-term strategies for change. Change therefore should be monitored over time and given time to be effective. Change may not happen overnight because not all staff and community members may be committed to exploring the relationship they hold and understanding how it operates. The consultation process is regarded by the document as key to building a consensus for change. Support for change may also take time because in most state school situations Māori are disempowered and do not get to experience a more equitable power status in all levels of

school operations. Lukes (1974) agrees that positions of power are used when one group exercises power in a manner contrary to another groups interests. Power is exercised when the Government participates in the making of decisions that affect Māori. Power is also exercised when the Government devotes its energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the Māori participation (in the consultation process for example). To this extent the Government succeeds in doing so because Māori are prevented for all practical purposes from bringing to the fore a powerful representation that might in their resolution be seriously detrimental to the Government's set of preferences. It follows then that central to the principle of long-term strategies for change is the focus and long term commitment given to the development of a meaningful partnership that enriches the lives of both parties. The benefits of developing a meaningful partnership are that ideally the school community will be enriched by the thorough addition and integration of Māori knowledge and perspectives. The Māori community therefore will be enriched by the right to exercise their 'tino rangatiratanga' (self determination) and explore the sites accessible to the endless boundaries of a Māori way of learning in a contemporary society. Both parties however will need to better understand the taken for granted status of the dominant group of our society in comparison to that of Māori to comprehend the unequal power dynamics that render Māori powerless in the present circumstances. Schools must not continue to hinder the right of Māori to assert their determination or tino rangatiratanga.

The words 'Tino Rangatiratanga' were used in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi to express absolute sovereignty, that is, the power to make and enforce laws in Aotearoa. Under article two of the Treaty of Waitangi Māori were to retain the right to govern their important cultural 'taonga' (treasures). This understanding within Treaty partnership terms however is contested because Māori lost the right to make decisions about those matters that crucially affected their cultural wellbeing, the crown retained that authority. Little regard was given by the Crown to accept the conditions of article two and enable Māori control over maintaining these cultural taonga (treasures). Tino rangatiratanga is

used within the context of this research therefore to refer to the collective right of Māori to determine their own wellbeing, be that cultural or educational.

Graham Smith (1991) describes the concept of tino rangatiratanga or ‘self determination’ more specifically as the goal of having control over one’s own life and cultural wellbeing. He refers to greater key decision-making in schooling in areas of administration, curriculum, pedagogy and Māori aspirations. This decision-making power is the crux of the issue in terms of partnership development, i.e. bringing balance to an unequal power relationship through a vision of tino rangatiratanga.

Smith suggests that if Māori have the opportunity to make these choices they are more likely to be committed to making them work. The reliant state in which Māori have been ‘fashioned’ to depend upon Government strategies and decisions for the care of their own welfare has not enabled Māori to gain sufficient liberty and self-sufficiency simply because the concept of self-determination conflicts with the Western concept of self-government. In self-government dominant monocultural values pervade, Māori self-determination does not. In order for a partnership of any quality to be developed both Māori and schools will have to consider this conflict carefully. A partnership of quality must include an equal power status that may take time to establish given the history of Western rule shortly after colonization began.

Being Prepared to Change

The Ministry of Education claims that schools that are prepared to change are often those that have stretched their staff and the community to achieve changes in behavior (Ministry of Education, 2000a:11). The contributing schools agreed that this can occur more readily when attainable yet challenging goals are set that allow for staff to be retrained in order to overcome any resistance.

Teachers engage in activities whereby they are calculating alternatives and utilizing criteria to select a course of action everyday. However how often do these teachers consciously consider the value-laden traits that underpin their thinking and actions?

Furthermore, do we consider that teachers are engaged in professional reflective and conscious decision-making during this time?

Unfortunately, as Jere Brophy has observed, “most studies of teachers’ interactive decision-making portray it as more reactive than reflective, more intuitive than rational, and more routinized than conscious” (Norlander-Case, Reagan & Case, 1999:26).

Professionalism in the teacher role must be about teachers accepting responsibility for their actions and being prepared to change by developing a professional conscience. Clark (1992) suggests that teacher decision making is endowed with implicit theories and these theories are much more than private matters of personal taste and opinion.

“They can have dramatic consequences” (Clark, C.M. 1992:78).

Clark advocates that as teachers we should rouse ourselves and take our implicit theories seriously and make them more explicit and visible – *“at least to ourselves”* (1992:79).

Clark believes that in order for our beliefs and theories to develop we must get them out on the table where we can see them. Accepting responsibility therefore is about the teachers being able to ‘visualize’ their ideas and beliefs in order to better understand them rather than merely reacting to situations and following predetermined models. Teaching is a professional role that demands a professional responsibility. Accepting this responsibility goes hand in hand with developing a professional conscience. According to Norlander-Case, Reagan & Case (1999) this will involve more than relying on instinct or prepackaged set of techniques, the teacher needs to consider what is taking place by engaging in critical reflection. Accepting responsibility as a mainstream teacher must then also be ultimately entwined in a critical review of ones teaching and therefore be about grappling with long-held assumptions about teaching. It must also be about inspecting taken for granted traditional patterns of acting in our classrooms (Vatterott, 1999).

Why should success for Māori students in our mainstream classrooms depend upon them becoming acculturated into the dominant group? Although the Treaty of Waitangi has been awarded little recognition when transferred to the classroom and school context (other than a mention in charter and perhaps policy discourse) teachers may take their obligations from articles two and three whereby Māori students' have the right to an education in their language, their culture and their ways of knowing and living.

The problem is that the rights expressed in the Treaty have not been given a clear pathway for delivery from Treaty to classroom practice. Determining how cultural practices and Māori pedagogy may be also protected and acclaimed has been given little consideration in the education system. Furthermore according to the document the concept of partnership allows for Māori to be considered as equals in power sharing and decision making arrangements. Schools do not appear to have come to terms with the citizenship rights of Māori in article three of the Treaty either. As agents of the Crown, teachers have an obligation to accept these requirements as responsibilities and give effect to these rights.

Managing Relationships Proactively

The Ministry of Education (2000b) found that schools effective at building relationships with Māori were the ones that were proactive about intervention and change.

“...the schools took the initiative by identifying what changes needed to occur and started consultative processes to achieve them (Ministry of Education, 2000b:11).

The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document claims that when a development of a relationship initially involves an imbalance of power three stages are engaged. The first stage relates to the notion of resistance.

“1. a demand for equal rights and recognition within the established order or culture from the less powerful culture” (Ministry of Education, 2000a:11).

The second stage is concerned with notions of domination and subordination

“2. an assertion of the less powerful culture in opposition to the values of the dominant culture” (Ministry of Education, 2000a:11).

And the third stage occurs as a result of stage one and two and contains the notion of valuing diversity.

“3. an acceptance and valuing of difference by society at large and a willingness to live co-operatively” (Ministry of Education, 2000a:11).

Collectively these notions suggest a critical theorist approach in which recognition is given to the fact that oppressive relations are built upon forms of exploitation that benefit a dominant group. In New Zealand this may refer to the hallmarks of colonisation, that is the relationship between coloniser (the British Crown) and those colonised (Māori).

However while it may be argued that these three stages exist within the dynamics of resistance, a significant factor of critical theory appears to have been omitted. Critical theory is concerned with self-absorption or self-consciousness about its own concepts and assumptions as much as it is about the concepts and assumptions of others and therefore one would assume that if this were a critical theorist viewpoint the school practices and Government policies that create and perpetuate unequal power relations would be closely examined (Gibson, 1986). They are not. The documents three stage tier model does not place any onus on school or government reflection in order to initiate the managing of relationships proactively. All stages assume an initiation of action by Māori. Māori (the less powerful culture) are to demand or recognise things aren't fair (stage one), Māori are to assert themselves in opposition to dominant culture values (stage two) and society in general will then accept and value difference and want to live co-operatively (stage three). If this is indeed the criteria for managing relationships proactively then stage one and two were addressed some time ago and we simply await the long time coming of stage three and should ask ourselves why it is that we don't have an acceptance and valuing of difference by society at large with a willingness to live co-operatively. Or is it that living co-operatively means for Māori to be living in the belief that all is fair now? The problem with this three stage model is that action toward social justice doesn't work that simply. Furthermore it doesn't work at all if both parties are not committed to accepting their part in the task and using their proactive initiative to demonstrate commitment and belief. This responsibility does not sit with one party in a partnership arrangement.

The irony of the location of this approach within government driven guidelines and policy is that in the New Zealand context of Māori-Government relations, government represents the dominant group and is therefore the offender in terms of legitimating oppressive policy and practice that serve to maintain their position of power. The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document is no exception. Why should Government get to sit and wait for Māori to raise their hands and say “Hey wait a minute, that’s not fair!” Government effectively organises some issues into politics while others (key to Māori) are organised out (Johnston, 1998). Schattschneider (in Lukes 1974) refers to this process of organisation as *organisation is the mobilisation of bias* because all forms of political organisation have a bias in favour of the exploitation of some kinds of conflict and the suppression of others.

Bachrach and Baratz’s work bring this crucially important idea of *mobilisation of bias* into the discussion of power by explaining power as:

A set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals and institutional procedures that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others. Those who benefit are placed in a preferred position to defend and promote their vested interests. More often than not, the ‘status quo defenders’ are a minority or elite group within the population in question (in Lukes, 1974:17).

According to the school research data gathered by Ministry, successful leadership and the ability to manage relationships proactively involved foreseeing these three stages (Ministry of Education, 2000a:11) of development and responding accordingly. In other words leadership teams from mainstream schools (who generally run systems that create, maintain and perpetuate institutional oppression) are claiming to have recognised the outcomes of their actions and have therefore responded without being prompted by the Māori community to do so. This remarkable experience however has not been detailed in the document itself and therefore the cases in point cannot be verified nor the surrounding circumstances in which these claims are founded. In fact few of the ideas of the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* are referenced so that they may be sourced. This in itself is an example of how Government organises for bias. The issues being addressed

by the document suit Government interests and needs foremost and are selectively organised. Māori parents however **have** expressed their desire for schools to be proactive in committing to a vision for Maori children rather than “*than adopting a piecemeal, reactive approach when issues arise*” (Ministry of Education, 2000b:10). The schools making claim to initial proactive intervention who “*did not wait for Māori to say that the school needed to change*” appear to have forgotten the numerous arguments and demands for change throughout the history of New Zealand education (Ministry of Education, 2000a:11). Graham Smith (1991) for example has argued for sometime now that while *Tomorrow’s Schools* reforms did very little to change the status quo of the current schooling crisis related to Māori education, effective and meaningful change occurred prior to this time, through the emergence of Kura Kaupapa Māori schooling. The demand for change however was pitched long before Tomorrows School reforms. Kura Kaupapa Māori schools and Te Kōhanga Reo centres began as a resistance type initiative to the existing state schooling options and preceded *Tomorrow’s Schools*. Smith (ibid) broaches the idea that Māori parents have had little opportunity to address change in respect of what constitutes an appropriate schooling with regard to administrative, organisational, pedagogical and curriculum choices in mainstream schools. Kura Kaupapa Māori on the other hand provided the opportunity for this. Smith identifies a new alternative with respect to proactive educational intervention strategies. His critical ‘change’ factor is driven by the notion of Kaupapa Māori or what Smith refers to as ‘Kaupapa Māori Education Intervention’. An intervention strategy, according to Smith, that has evolved out of the Māori community through Kōhanga Reo and the Kura Kaupapa Māori experience (Smith, 1991). While Kōhanga Reo was seen a liberating action for Early Childhood Māori Education, Kōhanga Reo took this lead from the initial liberating action of Te Wananga o Raukawa which began in 1972. Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura and other Wananga followed this first development and are systems of developing Māori pedagogy that provided for ongoing levels of education. This is an example of proactive management. Again Government is yet to perform on par with these efforts.

Tino rangatiratanga, kaupapa, whānau, ako Māori and kia pike ake i ngā raruraru o ngā kāinga (Smith, 1991:20-22) are some of the components of Kaupapa Māori Education intervention that have been integrated into this chapter. These proactive educational intervention strategies have seen success in alternative schooling options created outside of state systems. It is now time these ‘alternative’ philosophies were given due consideration inside mainstream state schools because Government initiatives struggle to ground philosophy for teaching and learning in a Māori context. Smith agrees that a theory grounded in the New Zealand experience provides exciting possibilities.

*“The emergence of Kaupapa Māori out of the New Zealand context as a theory of change provides exciting potential as an intervention into Māori schooling crisis **generally**” (Smith, 1991:26).*

If mainstream initiatives have had little effect, it seems the next step would be to consider alternative proactive theories. Furthermore stakeholders (including school staff) will have to be prepared to commit their initiative to maintaining and supporting proactive change.

Understanding How Best To Consult With Māori

Recent Government policy interventions represent attempts to view consultation as an integral part of the wider educational system rather than as a separate service provided by individual schools. The research document is no exception. The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document devotes a full page to providing readers with an understanding of how best to consult with the Māori parents and whānau (Ministry of Education, 2000a:12). The insistence of Government to infiltrate every sphere of educational decision making with a consultation approach in order to consider Māori needs serves to legitimize the process as one that addresses the inequitable power relations; it does not.

The consultation process is selected as an organization mobilizing bias (Lukes, 1974) because it serves as a form of successful control by Government and schools over Māori, that is, of Government and schools securing Māori compliance. Lukes explains that this typology of power embraces the notions of coercion, influence, authority, force and manipulation. In this situation involving authority means Māori comply because they

recognize that Governments and/or schools command is perceived as reasonable in terms of the legitimacy possessed as a body of authority. Additionally Governments can use this approach to assume legitimate power (Erchul & Martens, 2002). According to Erchul and Martens (ibid) the term *legitimate power* refers to an agent's (Government or school's) potential to influence a target (Māori) based on the target's belief that the agent has a right to influence because of their professional role or organisational position (Erchul & Martens, 2002). In other words if Māori first view government and school policy as saturated with consultation methods then perhaps these methods may be more easily digested at the practical level when the school seeks to legitimate its power and request a Māori perspective from the community. In this manner the consultation process works as a device to reduce opposition and to appear to be democratic.

When adopting a critical theorist perspective to the issue of consultation the question raised regarding the consultation process is less concerned with purpose, that is, why one is consulting, and more concerned with method and efficiency, does consultation work for Māori?

While the “*good consulting practices*” outlined in the document (p. 12) are positive, and in the appropriate context probably beneficial for those involved, the underlying philosophy of the literature assumes a school centric view in which Māori ways of interacting and communicating are not given equal status. The Ministry has already gone about defining the parameters that constitute good consultation practices, Māori are to join in after the fact. These practices also are representative of the authoritative school approach that is already assumed. All negotiations in the consultation process are on the school's terms. For example the following ‘good consultation practice’ demonstrate that the board has already established what it is consultation seeks to achieve rather than asking the Māori community for some involvement in deciding how Māori should become more involved. This highlights the fact that Māori are not already integral participants in the school system.

“... the **board** should ensure that everyone has a clear understanding of what the consultation seeks to achieve”
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:12).

The document states that:

*“Schools that have improved their relationships with Māori parents and whānau understand how to consult effectively with Māori”
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:12)*

But the consultation process is not necessarily key to whānau operations and communications. Whānau members do not consult other members and then withdrawal to come to a decision, instead they negotiate and take the time to reach a consensus so that everyone involved has the opportunity to exercise membership rights and express views knowing that each view will be given careful consideration.

The concept of whānau is central to understanding how best to interact and communicate with Māori. Pere (1982) refers to the concept of whānau as dealing with the practices that bond and strengthens kinship ties. The concepts important to this strengthening are loyalty, obligation and commitment and according to Pere is part of the whānau

“... inbuilt support system” (Pere, 1982:23).

The concept of whānau however is not bound by kinship ties alone, this concept may be developed within a school community and seen in the relationship between pupil and teacher for example.

“Within the Māori context, the teacher-pupil relationship is an intimate one based on high expectation with both the more learned and the learner working together on a set task” (Pere, 1982:67).

Pere offers another example. While such a relationship involves a partnership in which pupil and teacher are positioned jointly to evaluate the ongoing process and development of their efforts, our mainstream schools are not always conducive to this practice, nor is the process of consultation.

The notion of whānau is complex and this complexity is not readily understood by a number of mainstream teachers and schools, however a Principal in an explanation provided to student teachers once expressed the notion in the following manner. The Principal explained that in terms of addressing any of the Māori students in the school environment, student teachers should always remember that they were also addressing the

whānau as well. The Principal was making the point (through personal experience) that the whānau of the school is always closely associated with the Māori child and that the child often represents the whānau and often shares experiences with the whānau base. The whānau may take the role as a practical support structure to alleviate and mediate a range of difficulties (Smith, 1991) and teachers therefore should be open to this role. The Principal stressed that teachers should always be accountable for what they say and how they interact with their students because whānau may take collective responsibility to assist and intervene. According to the Ministry of Education some schools are attempting to practice this whānau concept in terms of their relationship with the Māori community.

One school's family-friendly policy acknowledges the important place that whānau have in their children's education. It states "Our Kura is a family place that our school whānau and community will always feel they are welcome and comfortable within (Ministry of Education, 2000a:20.)

Whānau groups and involvement as part of school structures however preceded the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori at a time when bilingual classrooms and units were first set up in the 1970s (Hirsh, 1987). Being open to the concept of whānau is about much more than feeling comfortable to enter, the relationship incurs a responsibility and commitment. The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document from Government supports the notion of whānau as important in setting up a positive and meaningful relationship of partnership and this is a doorway to exploring the powerful commitment a whānau can produce. The commitment of whānau doesn't end at 3 o'clock when students leave school to return home. Furthermore consultation (under these terms) is a process whereby the authority checks in, collects information and checks out. Dissimilar to the consultation process, whānau membership isn't a matter of checking out, whānau membership is lifetime.

4.2 Additional School Documents

A summary of the most recent Educational Review Office report of the school has been included in this section to provide a situational understanding of the schools current circumstances. Four key school related documents were also examined. The purpose for their inclusion was to provide a foundation on which to base the school practices and participant responses. Two documents are revised draft policies concerning Māori education for the Bilingual and Mainstream classes, another contains information from the latest School Self Review and the last is an Action Plan forwarded by two teachers to the Board of Trustees. Three of the documents are given letter identifications in order to reference direct quotes from each item. They are as follows:

Figure 4.2 Key to Policy Identification

<i>Bilingual Māori Immersion Programme Policy</i>	<i>Document A</i>
<i>Te Reo Me Ngā Tikanga Mainstream Policy</i>	<i>Document B</i>
<i>Teacher Initiated Action Plan</i>	<i>Document C</i>

All three documents are official records of the school they are open to analysis.

4.2.1 Education Review Office Report

An examination report on the case study school by the Education Review Office provides another view of the school beyond the case study research data. A situational understanding of the schools position prior to the commencement of the research project can be gained from such an examination as a means to ‘set the scene’. Although the report is public knowledge the research school has chosen to remain anonymous for the purposes of this project. For this reason exact wording and terms that would disclose the identity of the school have been avoided.

The report was released approximately some twelve months before the research. An accountability review of this type evaluates the quality of education received by students and the performance of the Board of Trustees in providing education services.

The Education Review Office recommended that the school address a number of areas in order to ensure the quality of education at the school was raised. These areas have been grouped into four main sections by the researcher.

The sections are:

- Management
- Environment
- Curriculum and Teaching
- Assessment.

Management

In terms of school management responsibility the school was prompted to address a unified sense of direction within the school. This requirement was still outstanding from two prior ERO reports and was a key concern of the review. A leadership focus that encouraged change in order to improve the quality of education the school provided was of concern.

Environment

The improvement of the emotional and physical environment of the school was mentioned in the report. The quality of the emotional and physical wellbeing of students was to be addressed if students are to have a better quality of education.

Curriculum and Teaching

The report was concerned with the lack of structures that guided teaching and curriculum delivery. Teacher responsibilities with regard to the curriculum and their teaching role were not clear and a wider range of teaching strategies were not evident in teaching practice. Monitoring consistent and thorough staff performance was suggested by the ERO representatives.

Assessment

Finally the monitoring of assessment in order to ensure the outcomes were explicit and useful in terms of further learning was stressed in the ERO report. Schoolwide approaches to assessment procedures were not evident and needed to be devised so that curriculum management and assessment practices were improved.

These four areas have been integrated throughout the research and are addressed as they relate to the project.

4.2.2 School Policies

The Principal interview established that the latest educational review of the school by the Educational Review Office was the catalyst for the present ongoing school-wide review of Māori education policies and practices. The period following the ERO report had included a stage of policy revision and development and as a result the school was now

“at a stage where a lot of the stuff is going to be going out for community consultation... We’re still advancing ... still developing, but we know that the ground work is being done” (7).

According to the Principal, revision of the policies was due in part to the need to further refine and define the policy content.

I think we had too many (policies) to start with, and the Board just brought it back, some of them didn’t say too much. You see we used to have a thing called tikanga Māori policy – well – it didn’t say much ... it wasn’t doing much, it wasn’t specific enough. We’ve got rid of the airy fairy stuff...we’re now trying to be much more specific there by what we really mean by that (7).

In relation to the Better Relationships document, the specific programmes under focus by the school are the bilingual education programme in which the school provides second language learning and teaching in Māori (*Bilingual Māori Immersion Programme Policy*) and Māori education within ‘mainstream’ classes in which the school provides all children with an opportunity to gain an understanding of Māori language and culture within curriculum contexts (*Te Reo me Ngā Tikanga Mainstream Policy*). Both policies were still in their revised draft form and awaiting completion of community consultation

and ratification by the Board. Given that the Principal requested that former policies and documents were not used in the research, no formal comparative data is presented regarding the transition from past to present policies. However some teachers perceived that little was being done as the following comments demonstrate.

From what I've seen in the past, I don't know what's happening now, but in the past I've seen a lot of parents used for kapahaka (in the bilingual classes)... Haven't seen a lot of consultation type with group face to face meetings. Best I could say is that I've just seen parents in the school helping out with the children mainly in the bilingual unit (3).

My understanding is that not a lot has been done at this stage because we've been asked what we need as staff to help deliver the curriculum to the kids and what we'd need as far as support, you know like raw material, or tapes or whatever we may need to help us so that's what we've done so far we've filled out a sheet and handed it to the Principal (1).

Initially Principal and Board of Trustees responses indicate that the direction the school was seeking to advance was in response to their effectiveness in meeting ERO requirements (as discussed in section 4.2.1). According to the Principal

"We felt that we were doing a reasonably good job in doing these sorts of things but we didn't like the outcomes of what they observed. So we worked really hard on it since then" (7).

However a more in-depth analysis of the interview responses indicate leading on from this initial direction school management discussions and consultation hui with the Maori community had occurred regarding what the school has to offer the community in terms of Māori education.

The Principal explains the schools response when parents raised the question "What can your school provide?"

We've taken that to heart now and we're leading from the front by saying that we want our school to be the preferred intermediate... for Māori students and to that end my two kaiako here are working on long-term achievement programmes for our Māori students and working on presenting our school to the community by going out and meeting them, talking to parents, visiting schools, visiting groups, developing our profile so that people start to understand where we're at" (7).

The reconceptualized direction therefore has now come to be more about raising the standards of Māori achievement and responding to the needs of their Māori learners and whānau in order to present a quality profile to the community and attract students.

An array of intervention plans to address the shortcomings in present school operations and teaching practice in the area of Māori education were underway. The revision of school policy is part of this address.

The actual policies under study have not been included in the body of the research in their entirety due to potential of the detailed school characteristics being identified. Confidentiality and anonymity was the preferred choice made by the school.

Bilingual Māori Immersion Programme

The purpose for the examination of this policy is to identify and determine the principles by which a partnership relationship with the Māori community has already been established and continues to be maintained. The bilingual class has been operating since the late 1980s and therefore some links with the Māori community are already in place.

“We’ve always had a whānau group which is made up of our bilingual parents. We invite them into the school to do things as frequently as we can but this hasn’t always been as successful as we’d like” (8).

As a result the Principal explained that one aim of the policy revision was indeed to “revitalise whānau groups” (8) and strengthen whānau participation.

Rationale for the Bilingual Māori Immersion programme was a concern with providing a second language learning and teaching programme in Māori that was supportive to a Māori relevant setting (Te Ao Māori). The belief is that a Māori relevant setting would foster the concept of whanaungatanga through regular hui and involvement. The principles of the policy include a model of progression in which teachers would follow a progressive programme of delivery. The nature of this progression was to ensure that language delivery and acquisition was developed.

An entry criterion was also fixed to the Bilingual policy. The policy proposed that two bilingual classes would cater for the array of student language proficiencies, each operating at two different language levels. *Class A* would cater to those students entering from Māori Immersion or Bilingual environments. Entry could also be obtained into this class if the student could demonstrate that their Māori language proficiency met the level taught in that class. *Class B* was for those students who had selected bilingual education but did not yet reach the required proficiency in Class A. Class A would operate at a language level above Class B. A prescribed level of language ability was appointed as the set goal upon completion of the term for students in the bilingual classes (that is level 4/5 of the Māori curriculum document). Furthermore the option of transferring students into mainstream remained a factor if teaching staff, whānau and senior management had concerns regarding student progress and achievement. The decision making power of whānau was unclear in this process however because the approach by which whānau were to be included was framed as consultation in the policy itself.

“If teaching staff, in consultation with whānau...,” Document A.

Pedagogical statements were also contained within the policy. Māori preferred learning styles and tuakana/teina relationships were to be fostered. Teachers from the bilingual unit did not participate in the research and observations did not include the bilingual class, therefore the reference to the Bilingual policy is simply to establish the direction of the recent reviews for Māori education and the underpinning principles for building a relationship with the Māori community.

The bilingual class is a unique and characteristic feature of the school and all teacher participants infer that it is the heart of the Māori education programme within the school. Therefore understanding the plans for this class may also help clarify the forecast of Māori education within the mainstream classes.

Te Reo Me Ngā Tikanga Mainstream Policy

Rationale justification for the te reo Māori and tikanga Māori within the mainstream was concerned with all children having the opportunity to gain an understanding of Māori language and culture. This rationale is consistent with New Zealand curriculum framework principles.

“All students will have the opportunity to acquire some knowledge of Māori language and culture. Students will also have the opportunity to learn through te reo and nga tikanga Māori” (Ministry of Education, 1993:7).

The concepts in the school policy were about developing student knowledge and understanding in these areas in order to better value the ‘dual cultural heritage’ of New Zealand. Therefore the concept of valuing diversity was also apparent within the policy’s principles.

The schools understanding of these concepts included the significance and implication of the Treaty of Waitangi for schools. The policy indicated that the mainstream proposal hoped to develop this significance in classroom practice. The policy proposal would apply these principles by way of consideration given to the Māori preferred learning styles, the progression of learning for children, the manner in which classroom environments reflected the dual cultural heritage and visits outside the school that promoted Māori culture. The education of Māori learners in mainstream was supposedly strengthened in terms of the partiality given to recognising Māori preferred learning styles. Specific goals that targeted Māori learners in mainstream in order to progress their education was not evident otherwise. The goal was to provide students with programmes of learning that developed an appreciation and understanding of Māori culture; a goal that addressed primarily the education of non-Māori students.

While the policy claimed to offer opportunities in a range of areas few of these were evident in interview responses or the brief classroom observations that were made. Classroom observations showed that Māori students were expected to fit into learning styles, learning contexts and practices that favoured Western pedagogy. Māori students were complying with the mainstream cultural capital of the school.

Interview responses also indicate that a coordinated approach to classroom planning for Māori education does not appear to be underway yet among the staff. In the duration from past to presently developing policies, Māori education in the mainstream classes appears to be dormant.

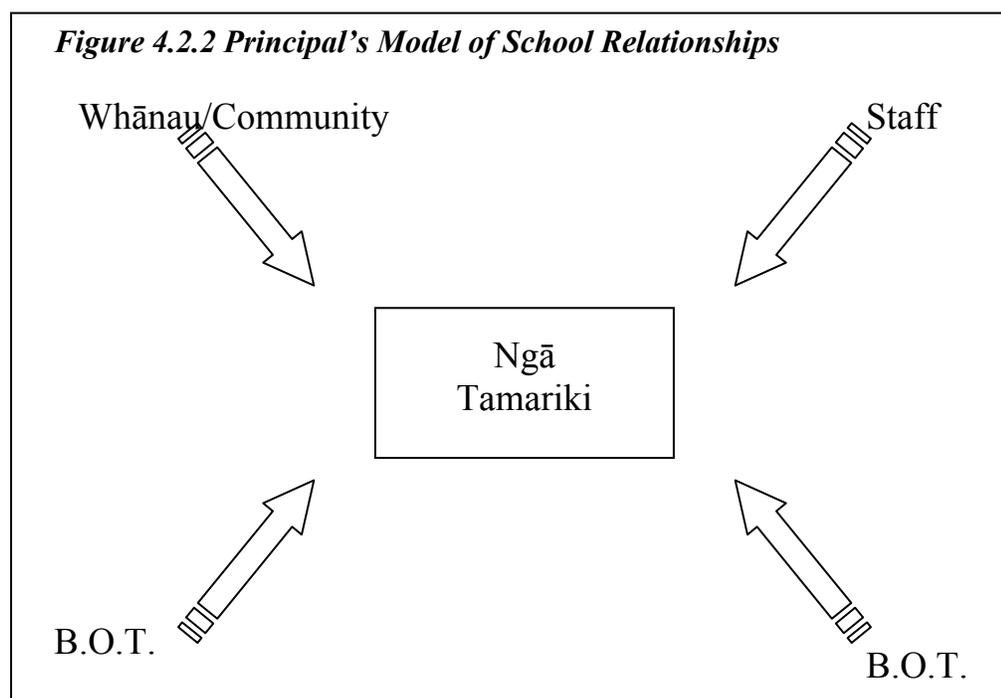
Policy Philosophy

One would hope that policy revision involves decision makers that carefully and deliberately position themselves within a philosophy of understanding that asserts particular goals about how and what they value. If so, the goals behind the philosophy should engage a set of values and beliefs that are consistent with the types of implementation practices being used. These practices must be meaningful for all stakeholders and management must hold a value of belief in what they are doing.

The Principal of the case study school has a strong conviction in the changes that are to be implemented within the school.

“So we’re listening, we’re collecting ideas, we’re valuing our practice and what we do... these’s some basis of belief and ability of what we’re doing” (7).

Amid drafts of strategic plans and policy revision the Principal had drafted a model (Figure 4.2.2) for the schools interpretation and philosophy of how partnership could exist between school groups for the benefit of the child’s learning.



Central to the philosophy is the well-being and needs of the tamaiti (child). The supportive relationships nurturing the child's learning are the surrounding groups; the school staff, the School Board of Trustees and the whānau/community.

“All of these people attend to the needs of the tamariki in the centre”(8).

Informal discussions with school management members as well as policy analysis suggest a number of key principles lie beneath the recent policy changes in the school. These principles include tino rangatiratanga, inclusion, incorporation and legitimation of Māori knowledge and progression of student learning.

On the whole, policy philosophy has been given considerable thought at management level and the proposals viewed by the researcher in policy revision are direct responses to the specific needs of the school. Translating these philosophies into action through implementation however may not be straightforward given that already a translation from philosophy to policy has been inconsistent. While the philosophy (in figure 4.2.2) emphasises the child as central to the framework of school relations and educational opportunities, the *Te Reo me Ngā Tikanga Mainstream Policy* has chosen to centralise the notion of language and culture. The needs of the child are relegated secondary to culture and language and the focus on the specific relationship of the child and their interactions with teacher, school, Board and community are then shelved. While it is apparent that the school has attempted to collate data from all classroom teachers' in order to identify the needs for improving Māori education and furthermore have devised a list of recommendations as a result, notions of incorporating a partnership of substance are yet to be consistently explored.

“In our school wide assessment we are extracting and disassembling it to get the information about Māori students and how they are achieving and then recommendations are made on that” (8).

Given the dominant cultural and structural systems in place in most mainstream New Zealand schools it is suggested that most of these schools would not have addressed this issue. If partnership between Māori and state schools are to continue to be framed within a process of consultation, a fundamental approach by Government standards, then recognising notions of tino rangatiratanga, inclusion, incorporation and legitimation of Māori knowledge and progression of Māori learners will not be effectively realised. Getting the philosophy and principles right is the first step, placing these into a workable system that legitimates Māori knowledge is another.

4.2.3 School Self Review

The process of self-review is to help one determine how well tasks are being accomplished. Amendments to the National Administration Guidelines in 1999 (effective from 1 July 2000) are an attempt by Government to have schools focus more specifically on how well they are accomplishing educational-related management tasks by implementing the self-review process and ongoing monitoring. A self-review process also enhances a schools own capacity to sustain continuous improvement without pressure from an external moderator. All School Boards of Trustees are required to maintain an on-going programme of self-review of their school's performance and part of this self-review should include assessing how the school is responding to the needs of Māori students (Ministry of Education, 2000a). The amendments place explicit responsibility on the school to consult with the Māori community in terms of policy and target developments for improving the achievement of Māori students. Schools are also to report achievement to students, their parents and the school's community.

Each Board of Trustees with the principal and teaching staff is required to: report to students and their parents on the achievement of individual students, and the school's community on the achievement of students as a whole and of groups... including the achievement of Māori student (Ministry of Education, 2000a:3)

To follow on from the notion of reporting to Māori parents, whānau and community schools are prompted by the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document to use the self review process. The document has drawn up a self-review framework as a guideline that recognises the importance of meeting the requirements of schools to report to the Māori community on the progress it is making (pages 27-30).

The self-review framework set out on the following pages does not cover all aspects of self-review that would be required to examine the participation and achievement of Māori students. Its focus is on how schools can assess their efforts to engage Māori parents and whānau in a range of school activities (Ministry of Education, 2000a:27).

Essentially the documents self review covers eight areas and was drawn up from a number of monitoring and audit resources¹¹. The eight areas are listed as follows:

- School governance
- Planning and policy
- Setting strategies for development
- Curriculum and programme development and delivery
- Te reo Māori and tikanga Māori
- Human resources
- School environment
- Linking home, community, and school.

The document claims that the self review will be very useful in both the planning and review process. A criticism here is that while Government is asserting the process of self review on the one hand and a partnership relationship with Māori on the other; the two do not coincide. Māori are not represented in self-reviews because the composition of our school staff and management does not afford Māori a status whereby they are included in the institution in the first place. Māori are not representative in the process of self review unless on the school Board of Trustees and as Johnston has pointed out (1991) Māori representation on school boards is limited. The changes made to the National Administrative Guidelines, effective from 2000, are an attempt to address the need for

¹¹ The Ministry of Education (2000a) has drawn from two key resources: the *Alaska Standards for Culturally Responsive Schools* and the Education Review Office's *Self Review in Schools*. Other resources are listed in Appendix 1: Resource Material of the document.

Māori input by promoting a consultation approach. But one must ask “Is this enough to ensure a partnership arrangement?” because consultation is not the same as partnership. One would expect that the self review would follow once schools have addressed responsiveness to, and achievement of, Māori students given what Ngatata Love (1998) describes as the widening of the educational gap between Māori and Non-Māori (Ministry of Education & Te Puni Kōkiri, 1998). A self review should indicate how much more work needs to happen. The case study school however has only recently addressed this ‘gap’ issue and to date the self-review within the school has included a ‘Nga Mea Māori’ questionnaire task to staff. Staff participating in interviews however signalled that a clear understanding of what the questionnaire they had received entailed was not evident. The Māori representative on the School Board of Trustees indicated in interview responses that the self-review in *the Better Relationships for Better Learning* booklet was not used in its exact format by the school, however it was used as a guideline for establishing a self-review outline regarding ‘Ngā Mea Māori’ in the school.

“We’ve done a self-review on teachers about what they understand in terms of curriculum and programme delivery” (8).

The actual self-review document has not been included in the body of the research in its entirety due to the detailed characteristics of the school being identified.

It appeared that the recent draft policies for Māori education in the Bilingual and Mainstream classes were outcomes of the review. Further outcomes were that vision statements for the bilingual class had been reformatted and included in the strategic plan, an entry criterion had been developed for the bilingual class and the plan to extend the bilingual class in number had been developed and publicised. A number of needs were also identified from the self review for Māori education in the mainstream classes.

These needs included:

- In school Staff Treaty of Waitangi training
- Staff Professional Development in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori either in the school or externally
- Staff Understanding of Māori pedagogy
- The purchase of teaching resources
- School revision of National Administrative Guidelines

- External school experiences to promote understanding of Māori culture (eg: marae visits and stay overs)
- Networking with contributing schools and the nearby secondary school

While the self review process has pinpointed a number of areas for further consideration it must be noted that the majority of these areas support the existing school system and do not challenge teachers to devise ways of drawing a partnership between the Māori community and the school. All but two of these areas remain within the school environment and are limited in the manner in which the school ventures into the environment of the community itself.

Although interview responses indicated that a number of consultation hui between school and the Māori community have taken place recently, this was largely by the teaching staff of the bilingual class in regard to developing plans for the unit and had not included the majority of mainstream class teachers. Responses also indicated that participants felt the consultation process could be better.

“Our school doesn’t know how to consult with the community, they don’t know how to bring the community in because some of the staff here don’t have the experience, they don’t have the knowledge base” (6).

This teacher participant was concerned with the single cultural experiences of most teaching staff that little prepared them for an understanding of how Māori society operates. These concerns highlighted the skill and knowledge of teachers in the area of Māori education and had implications for pre-service teacher education.

The self review process is also about increased understanding and consensus of current strengths as much as it is about the areas of need and development within the school. The school can review the outcomes of their efforts in a number of ways.

Although a number of needs were identified, so too, were a number of positive developments and strengths. Teachers indicated that they would be in favour of professional development in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori. Teacher participant interview responses showed that teachers believed that a better knowledge of things

Māori would enable them to more confidently teach Māori learners. Approaches to further learning therefore are open and attitudes were encouraging because development of Māori knowledge and understanding was likely to impact upon classroom programmes and practice according to the teachers. A number of the teachers expressed a desire to know more about Māori culture and values in order to better relate to their students. Policy development and aims would also enable learning experiences outside of the school environment such as at the marae. Teachers did not appear to understand that this learning was as much about learning alongside the Māori whānau community as it was about learning things Māori. Relationship building would be essential to the development of the better learning notion.

Another strength was that some teachers had already taken the initiative to attempt to incorporate Māori contexts of study into their programmes. Teacher interviews also indicated that teachers recognised the expertise and strengths within their own school and were very complementary of the three Māori teachers within the school in terms of the support they provided to their colleagues.

“So we’ve got some excellent people in the school to get resources and ideas” (1).

In past school practice Māori teachers had been given the responsibility regarding staff development in the area of Māori language and tikanga. When one Māori teacher was approached more recently, a refusal to go from class to class teaching Māori was given. This teacher’s view had been that isolated teachings were not conducive to good language learning practices in general and this method had failed in the early 1980s therefore was likely to fail today. The teacher also expressed that all too often Māori teachers are loaded down with additional curriculum responsibilities because of the limited expertise within schools. One of the Māori teachers was in charge of Māori education in the mainstream classes and another had the responsibility of the bilingual class. The third teacher (given the roll numbers) would move into teaching in a second bilingual class proposed for the following year.

Other than the classroom context, a particular strength which emerged from the self-review process was that some teachers were now thinking about how the school promoted itself physically as a culturally inclusive environment that valued Māori education, knowledge and therefore students. These teachers hoped to initiate an environment which demonstrated to Māori students, the Māori community and the community at large that the school valued Māori. During interview responses a number of teachers shared their views on the unwelcoming site the school represented.

Further to this thinking in September 2002 two teachers presented an Action Plan for improving Māori education programmes in the mainstream classes of the school to the Principal and Board of Trustees member.

4.2.4 Teacher Initiated Action Plan

A recent plan initiated by two teachers in September 2002 contained a proposal for a number of changes to the school's present situation in order to better enhance Māori education programmes. This proposal is identified in the content of this section as *Document A* for the purpose of referencing direct quotes. Both teachers' had consulted with a Resource Teacher of Māori, visited other schools for advice and guidance and were keen to define a starting point for progress.

The Action Plan covered six fundamental areas.

- Physical Environment
- Pedagogy
- Staff understanding
- Teaching and Planning
- Professional Development
- Management

These six fundamental areas would implicitly address the teachers understanding of the Māori student. Teachers would procure a better understanding of the needs of their Māori students by developing their knowledge of pedagogy, Māori language and perspectives.

Already expressed in both participant group (management and teaching staff) interviews was the desire to breathe life into *the physical environment* of the school in order to present more welcoming surroundings that reflect the value of a bicultural stance. Suggestions included signage, redesign of the school logo and a display of work that promotes a sense of belonging for students, teams and the school at large.

Pedagogical issues were evident in the action plan suggestions to adopt a marae environment within the school which lends itself to traditional Māori learning styles. The teachers' forwarding this proposal were also willing to commit time and coordinate planning and facilitation of a programme for staff development in this area. *Staff understanding* could be enhanced by such development. The rationale was that if staff better understood the protocols behind particular tikanga and Māori values then practice in the classroom could certainly lead to student understandings as well. Furthermore teaching and planning could include the use of instructions, greetings and basic vocabulary through regular and frequent use of a marae base programme in the classroom. This progression using Māori language as a natural part of every day could extend, suggested the two teachers, to assemblies and wider administrative uses in the school. Promotion of the language in its written form was also suggested. Again both teachers indicated their willingness to commit time, planning and the drawing up of resources to do this.

Professional development options were targeted in the proposal with suggestions of free language courses and night classes operating in the area. The proposal also suggested staff within the school have the expertise to facilitate these courses. The researcher pointed out to one of the teachers who submitted this proposal that this would be a huge responsibility and workload for those involved when school funds should cover this role sufficiently. Additionally it was anticipated that a Noho Marae would benefit all staff skills and understanding.

The proposal writers acknowledged that *management* commitment would be essential if these ideas were to be put into action successfully. A collective approach that captured everyone's 'drive', passion and 'togetherness' was emphasized. Both teachers recognized that full staff support and understanding was necessary in order to execute the action plan; however the suggestion was made that the task would not be too onerous if local resource skills and expertise were drawn in.

"Staff may partake in free language courses run by Te Wānanga o Aotearoa" Document C.

"School Crimson¹² offer night classes" Document C.

"We need local resource people to assist. This will include Te Manawa, Te Kupenga, Te Wānanga, Resource Teacher of Māori... and many others" Document C.

The proposal was indeed forward thinking and marked for the researcher a significant indication of the school staff's ability to be proactive about intervention and change.

This proposal was more than mere rhetoric because the two teachers (one Māori and one non-Māori) had demonstrated a willingness to commit themselves to the submissions offered despite the extra workload and numerous duties involved. An interview comment from the Māori representative on the School Board of Trustees had indicated a positive response to receiving the proposal. The Māori representative's elation and pride in such a proposal was undeniably justified. It was progressive proposals such as this that would lead the school closer to achieving its vision.

¹² School name given a nom de plume for the purpose of anonymity.

Chapter Five

5.0 The Research Fieldwork

5.1 Interview Data

The policy document, *Better Relationships for Better Learning: guidelines for Boards of Trustees and Schools on engaging with Māori parents, whānau and communities*, has been in Primary and Intermediate schools for over two and a half years so the likelihood that schools and teachers have read through and began implementation of the policy should be promising.

5.1.1 Participant Profiles

Question one of the interview process enquired as to the training, experiences and backgrounds of those involved and provided information to profile participants.

The Principal

The Principal has had over 30 years experience as a Principal in schools. This role has covered a broad array of schools ranging from small rural farming communities with local tangata whenua interacting closely with the school on a daily basis to the larger urban inner city schools where many of the working parents visit the school on less frequent occasions. Some of the school rolls included a high proportion of Māori students. The Principal therefore has witnessed a number of Māori initiatives proposed by Government and local Māori communities with regard to Māori education and overall considered these to be positive experiences.

I've gone from a range along a continuum of where peoples' understandings were (regarding Māori education) and where I thought that they had got to and some of those were determined by prevailing government priorities, school priorities and peoples' aspirations of the time. I think I've been lucky to be part of the very best of it and party to some of the developmental end of it all (7).

The Māori representative on the Board of Trustees

The Māori representative on the Board of Trustees is also a trained teacher with experience in mainstream and immersion Māori education. The profile of this interview participant therefore includes a fluency in te reo Māori and competency in Māori knowledge and issues. Their present teaching role (although not in the case study school) had offered the Māori representative experience with implementing policies to do with Māori education. This participant had also taken professional development courses specifically to address the need for a Māori language knowledge base within the school of current employment.

Teachers

Of the six teacher participants interviewed their backgrounds in terms of training and experience, was varied.

Two were first and second year teachers still completing their two year registration, while others had been teaching for some years ranging up to ten years experience. The six participants were primary teacher trained, one of whom trained in an immersion Māori primary programme. One teacher has experience teaching in the secondary school sector. All teacher participants presently taught in the mainstream sector of the school.

The expertise offered by these teachers was also diverse. The school was fortunate to have teachers with strengths and interests in the areas of sports coaching, science, Mathematics, Physical Education, Visual Arts, Māori language, Foreign languages, Bilingual education and the Arts. One of the teacher participants had teaching experience in a bilingual class environment and was now given the senior responsibility for Māori education for the mainstream classes. Two of the teachers were Māori with a sound understanding of Māori culture and language and a passionate attitude toward progressing school developments in this area. Another teacher was also an Associate senior teacher charged with supervision of a guidance and support programme for a beginning teacher in the school.

All enjoyed teaching at a Year 7 and 8 level.

5.1.2 Understanding Of The Document

Your school received from the Ministry of Education (2000) the policy document *Better Relationships for Better Learning*; can you briefly explain what you understand this document to be about?

Teacher Understanding

When teachers were asked to briefly explain their understanding of the document *Better Relationships for Better Learning*, 50% of the teachers indicated that until just prior to the interview they had not read through nor viewed the document before. One teacher had seen the document but had not been through it thoroughly. Another teacher had been through the document thoroughly when it first became available in schools and could readily discuss the contents; at this time the teacher was teaching in the bilingual class of the school. The majority of participants therefore had briefly read through the document prior to interviews and for the purpose of the interview. One teacher from the group of participants had not read the document at all. The document had been in circulation in schools since March 2000. It was now September 2002. It was already the professional responsibility of this group to be familiar with this two and half year old policy document.

A senior teacher participant explained that the senior staff of the school had been given the documents by the Principal and told to read them because they contained what teachers needed to know in terms of consulting with the Māori community. It was determined therefore that senior staff had had the opportunity to examine the document under study; the remaining interview participants had not initiated a thorough review of the document or been provided with a breakdown of the contents.

The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document suggests that better relationships might be established with Māori in a partnership relationship. This would lead to a better learning environment for Māori students. Furthermore the nature of partnership relations might be strengthened at several levels of school operations. A summary of key explanations and understandings from teacher participants are included in the following notions expressed in samples of their own words. The teachers believed the document to be about:

“Everybody working together in the school for the benefit of the children” (1).

“It’s really getting them (staff) to understand what community consultation is about” (6).

“Schools have conferred with the community and local whānau” (2).

“How best to use the whānau and Māori community... to improve performances by Māori children” (3).

“Draw links between how schools run” (5).

All teachers understood the element of relationship was involved; however the extent to what that element might cover was unclear. Only two teachers in this initial response talked about the idea of drawing parents into a partnership relationship and that was defined in terms of a consultation process. These teachers’ initial responses considered that a partnership between the Māori community and the school would be framed within the process of consultation. The partnership concept was not given further consideration until later when participants had to be prompted to consider that the relationship be seen as a partnership and were asked directly to qualify this notion.

Principal, Board of Trustees

Both the Principal and the Māori representative on the Board of Trustees had a clear vision of the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document. They identified some aspects of the document's content and discussed the notion of partnership more fully than teachers.

“developing cultural understanding between groups of people” (7).

“recognizing community values... Encouraging all families of whatever cultural background they come from – that have aspirations for their children to express those to the school and to help and support the school to bring those to realization...for schools to be listening to their community to responsive to what people are saying” (8).

Although this initial response about the idea of partnership included more than consultation (the desire for more Māori participation was discussed), prospects for a fuller partnership arrangement were not detailed.

5.1.3 Working Together With Māori

Questions were put forward to gather data concerning the ways in which Māori were included in the education of their children and to ascertain the many ways in which the school interacts with the Māori community.

How do you find out about the educational needs and aspirations of Māori parents and whānau?

Obtaining Whānau Aspirations

All interview participants were asked how they went about obtaining the educational needs, visions and aspirations from Māori parents and whānau.

At the management level of school operations, the Principal and Māori representative on the Board of Trustees explained that obtaining the educational visions, needs and

aspirations of Māori parents and whānau was conducted through questionnaires, surveys and consultation hui (meetings).

“Yes, through consultation meetings and talking to Māori parents at a number of hui held this year” (8).

According to the principal a more recent development has been the inclusion of whānau in the appointments process *“to find out what they want” (7).*

Māori participation rather than partnership however continues to be defined by way of Māori entering the school space and working within existing school operations rather than the school approaching whānau outside the school premises.

Teachers’ also identified ‘meet the teacher evenings’ and Parent-Teacher interviews as the key methods for ascertaining Māori whānau aspirations for their children.

“At the beginning of the year when I first had my class the first thing I did is have meetings with parents to find out what their goals and aspirations were for their kids” (1).

Two of the teacher participants did not obtain the aspirations and educational visions of the Māori whānau and did not consider it necessary to consult with their Māori community.

“I never really had to - over and above school interviews” (1).

“I don’t really verbally ask but I do just talking to their parents through interviews and the phone, using your own observation you get an idea of how much they value their own culture and education without really having to ask” (4).

Contrary to the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document suggestions, these two teachers admitted that they did not meet with their Māori parents in order to determine Māori aspirations and visions. It was also inferred by two teachers that this role and responsibility sat with the teachers in the bilingual unit of the school. Teachers justified this inference with a statement that indicated the few numbers of Māori in their mainstream classrooms. Their belief was that with few Māori in class there was no real demand for Māori knowledge to be incorporated. Accepting professional responsibility was not evident from these teachers with regard for seeking Māori educational aspirations nor did all teachers accept that Māori education was for all students – rather than simply

for those Māori numbers who expressed an interest. Interestingly the two Māori teachers included statements that justified their practice for Māori programmes concerned with the fact that the majority of Māori students (84%) throughout the New Zealand education system sit within the mainstream sector, their perspective was from a broader context than their own classroom. Therefore a classroom vision that incorporates values and aspirations from the whānau and shows that teachers value Māori culture may not exist in every classroom and certainly did not exist in terms of a collegial vision of unity for the whole school. Interestingly the two teachers that did not seek Māori aspirations and visions are also members of the participant group that view the *one assessment process fits all* belief. The consistent responses from these two teacher profiles suggest that they are grounded in beliefs that support one best monocultural system for all. Furthermore as participant 4's response indicates, Māori needs are addressed dependent on demand rather than by right or the professional responsibility of the teacher.

Secondary means, for obtaining this information comprised of informal discussions and meetings on the school grounds or over the phone. Two teachers' also perceived that having an open door policy for parents to come into the school at any time was a welcoming approach.

“They know that they can walk in and out whenever they like because that’s what I told them, that makes them feel that they’re welcome” (1).

50% of teacher responses indicated that informal discussions with parents were likely to be in reaction to a teacher initiated request to behavioral needs or progress of the student rather than a deliberate effort to ascertain whānau visions for the educational needs of the child involved.

“To tell the truth I don’t think I have ever been to one of their houses to meet with them- so just as there is a need – I give them a call and speak with them” (3).

Teachers were interacting with parents on a needs basis, that is, if they perceived a need.

Working together

Do you include kaumātua and Māori community expertise in your programmes?

The concept of including the Māori community expertise and local kaumātua into the classroom programme was not a familiar one to the majority of teachers interviewed in the research.

I don't use any outside people to come in and help, maybe the specialist people in the school might provide resources but other than that I rely on the resources I already have and integrate it with whatever we do" (2).

Four of the six teachers had not established community networks to access Māori expertise and skills and expressed concern regarding their limited knowledge of protocol in going about this.

"No – where do I go?" (1).

"Not the Māori community – no" (3).

"Relationships in the Māori community, I haven't really done a lot of that sort of thing... No because I don't know a lot of people in the community to ask as well...if I had a network of people who are prepared to come in and do some teaching by all means I would" (4).

"Support from Māori parents – no, not specifically – nothing more than any other parents, no not in my class anyway. I think the bilingual group have more input from their Māori parents...I know they come in through the bilingual group for pōwhiri in school, they bring them in then, but as far as other classrooms are concerned we don't really have a lot of input" (2).

Overall teachers did not appear to draw in community expertise often; rather when outside expertise was used, the classes left the school to access these sources. Visiting museum and the local Science Centre programmes were examples of classes accessing *outside* sources. Given teacher responses it appears that teachers are lacking the strategies or confidence to access a wider range of human resource expertise.

The two teachers' that had accessed Māori support from the community on a regular basis also identified community networking as an area of need for the school and its staff. These two teachers were Māori. One of these teachers consulted with a local iwi member when seeking further information regarding local protocols and educational development.

“In actual fact consultation is a part of education... but for a school like ours staff have to be educated on bringing the community in” (6).

The significance of Māori community networks therefore was to the extent to which they were personal to each teacher rather than to the school itself.

Again consistent responses from the participant teacher groups indicated a particular profile emerging in terms of the ways in which Māori education was addressed. Māori teachers' were utilizing and taking steps to incorporate Māori resources, knowledge and understanding more readily than their non-Māori colleagues.

Encouraging Māori to Participate

Do you work together with parents and whānau to provide complementary educational expectations between home and school?

The Māori community was encouraged to participate in the education of their children through consultation hui, newsletters, meetings, informal conversations and phone calls.

“But we don't have any particular preference that we use – I suppose in school newsletters are the most common way” (7).

One interview participant concluded that the Māori community was encouraged to participate in negative ways. This participant elaborated further with examples.

“We don't have a team if there is no coach and we can't go on school trips if we don't have enough parent support, that's the sort of message we give as a school” (8).

This participant was inferring that the Māori community would therefore get the message that the school didn't do things if parents and whānau couldn't be bothered turning up to support it. The participant's point was that this approach was not conducive to encouraging Māori to take part in school activities and developments.

Only one teacher was proactive about contacting parents for positive feedback and catch-up sessions, that is, catching up with the parents and letting them know what recent positive progress was being made by their child.

Another teacher expressed the following in response to the question of encouraging Māori participation.

“I haven’t had a huge lot of input ...I don’t know how you could encourage them (Māori parents to be more involved) because I think it depends on the individual teacher too” (1).

Both Principal and Māori representative on the Board of Trustees expressed problems with drawing in kaumātua and Māori whānau and parents in general to support the school.

It’s very very difficult to get Māori parents support but then that’s kind of indicative (of this level of school). I keep telling the kids its cool for your folks to be at school, a lot of the kids don’t like their parents here and for a lot of parents they’ve just finished looking after their children for six years and want to get back out into the workforce...But I don’t think it(Māori participation) is at a level that I find satisfactory...I think those Māori parents should be coming to school like other times when their kids were younger and sharing their particular skills and talents with the kids because that’s where they are going to get most of their modeling and leadership from for the future and unless they do the kids are not going to get it... So I don’t know how we encourage parents to do that and to get on board to come and be part of it (7).

5.1.4 Implementation

What has your school implemented in terms of classroom practice and development regarding the policy of Better Relationships for Better Learning?

School Wide Development

Both the Principal and Māori representative on the School Board of Trustees discussed the number of reviews, action plans and changes presently being made to the school policies and programmes, some of these were yet to be ratified. The Educational Review Office representatives had proposed recommendations and requirements concerning a

number of areas for development within the school. The Principal explained these developments in the following statement.

“Again it’s only early days, because we were getting it wrong before and we’ve really only been getting it right the last six months... So new days, but that’s the evolutionary process of change” (7).

Māori education was one such area. Of specific focus was the implementation and monitoring of proposed action plans with ongoing Māori community consultation to improve the effectiveness of learning programmes. The initiatives related to the document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* presently being developed by the School Board of Trustees and Principal were:

- Developing consultation with the Māori community
- Self-review concerning ‘Ngā Mea Māori’
- Discussions with BOT on Kanohi ki te kanohi process
- Bilingual Policy revision
- Māori Education in mainstream policy revision
- Staff Training pending
- Teacher Support Networks
- Interschool networking
- Strategic plan
- Reporting of Māori achievement
- Meeting timelines in the development process
- Developing curriculum policy statements

School initiatives presently being developed, for the most part, reinforced the idea of school authority and control of Māori education. As the list of developments shows the majority of developments underway concern the school context; school operations, school staffing needs, school control. Developments for Māori participation in the partnership arrangement had been largely considered within consultation schemes.

While the Board representative and the Principal were clear about the developments and vision for Māori education within the school, all teachers were not.

Four of the six teachers were unclear about developments undertaken to address Māori education programmes within the school. Furthermore no timeframe was ever alluded to in terms of implementation by either the teaching or management staff. A clear strategic plan and timeframe was not evident. Two participants explained that a questionnaire sheet had been circulated asking for a list of teacher needs regarding curriculum delivery for Māori education in their classrooms, but were unsure as to any further outcomes regarding this sheet. Only two teachers indicated understanding this to be part of a self-review effort by the school. Three teachers perceived that little was being done.

“I don’t think a lot has been done at this stage” (1).

“Don’t know what’s happening now” (3).

This research cannot establish school developments between the release of the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document (2000) and the ERO review having been conducted and the report released (late 2001), given the restricted nature of the data provided. However since the ERO report release (late 2001) and the final stages of research field work (December 2002) – approximately a one year span, developments appear to have largely included a questionnaire, a self review, school consultation hui and a range of staff meetings. The planning and setting up stages for change within the school have been underway for sometime now however classroom observations indicate that in terms of implementation little has been done.

Classroom Practice

What strategies have you established as a classroom teacher for the development of Māori participation and achievement?

Discussions with the Principal revealed that, prior to the recent review of policies and programmes pertaining to Māori education within the school, general mainstream teachers had:

a folder of work for things Māori that they were expected to introduce as part of their classroom programme, but it was kind of isolated, it was kind of seen as something that was separate” People are expected to find the Māori links now, it’s a more integrated approach that we’re looking for... so that when its introduced it has some particular meaning and purpose for being where it is (8).

Given that the researcher was asked not to use any former policies and documents prior to recent school policy reviews, these folders were not produced for examination.

Presently, amid renegotiations of Māori education policies, teachers continued to add components of Māori knowledge to their classroom practice upon individual discretion. Accepting professional responsibility that entails a professional conscience about the teaching role and teaching obligations was not evident.

“That’s individual too; it’s up to the individual teacher if they want to incorporate Māori culture into what they can” (1).

Māori knowledge and language therefore had not been afforded a secure position within school curriculum and had been prioritized according to time availability by some teachers’.

“We go through little spats of focus on te reo but as government puts more pressure on teachers’ the days need to get longer or something because I mean we can’t fit everything in at the moment” (3).

Although, according to the Principal, most of the teachers in the school had not deliberately addressed the principles of the document in their classrooms, they could identify the ways in which they applied strategies into classroom practice in order to meet the underlying principles in the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* policy. All, but one, of the teacher participants offer programmes that acquaint students with Māori language and culture. The explanation given by this teacher for not doing so was as follows:

“No, I haven’t done it yet” (4).

This teacher explained that she had not had the time to implement such a programme to date and that although she managed to do so last year this year had been particularly busy. When considering their own implementation of the document principles, curriculum integration was one method used by five of the teachers to apply components of the policy *Better Relationships for Better Learning*. This and other methods identified by teachers have been charted in the following table:

Figure 5.1.4a Methods of Implementation of Policy Principles

Methods	Teachers indicating use of the method
Curriculum Integration	5
Kapahaka	1*
Parent help	1*
Use of Māori role model	1
Parent – teacher interviews	6
Open door policy	2
Community Consultation	1

Although some methods have been identified by teachers as a means to implement the document principles, these teachers did not necessarily use the method themselves; rather they indicated having observed this in the bilingual classes. These identifications have been highlighted with the use of an asterisk (*) next to them. The inference that the bilingual class carried the responsibility of Māori education for the school was made once

again and discounts the professional responsibility of teachers to consider their own implementation strategies or specifically the lack of these in more detail.

Curriculum integration was understood to be incorporating components of Māori knowledge, tikanga, culture and language into the theme or topic under study in the classroom. The following teacher participant comments express the way in which teachers did this.

“I just integrate it with what I’m doing at the time, so you can find an aspect of it and you can bring that in” (2).

“Whenever I’m doing something I always make sure there’s Māori in there... and I display it so they (the students) can see it... so that they do have an awareness of things Māori” (6).

However consistency as to the quantity and quality of such implementation was not evident.

Incorporating Māori knowledge into the curriculum

How do you include Māori input into curriculum programme planning and design?

The ways in which Māori knowledge is incorporated by the teachers is largely additive in nature, that is, teachers add some themes to the curriculum content without changing its basic structure, purpose or characteristic (Banks 1997).

I have done a couple of lessons on it like body parts or with a song but mainly its just the date in Māori or instructions - for example, if we’re doing a science unit on Native trees and plants – again bringing in the Māori names” (2).

As discussed later in this section the additive nature of these ‘integrations’ does not favor the validity of Māori knowledge. Those aspects that are added were identified by the teacher participants as basic vocabulary (For example: greetings, days of the week, numbers), a basic understanding of some tikanga (Māori values and protocols), some Physical Education activities, visits to community expertise institutions (the Science centre or museum), Visual art activities, kapahaka and studies of societies and customs of Māori in social studies units (refer to figure 5.1.4b). Teachers were concerned with their

own lack of skills and knowledge of things Māori. These areas have been recorded in the following chart for easier identification.

Figure 5.1.4b Learning Areas utilized for integration of Curriculum

Learning areas used for Curriculum Integration of Māori
Basic Māori vocabulary
Tikanga Understanding
Physical Education
Science
Technology
Visual Arts
The Arts – kapahaka
Social Studies

Banks (1997) argues that additive approaches consist of the addition of content, concepts, themes, and perspectives to the curriculum without challenging its structure. While the practice of implementing components of selected Māori knowledge to the existing curriculum structure may be convenient for teachers, this approach also has its disadvantages. Additive approaches reinforce the idea that Māori history and culture are not integral parts of our mainstream culture because a fuller integration of Māori knowledge is excluded. As Banks (1997) explains students may continue to view Māori knowledge from a Eurocentric perspective and fail to understand how the dominant culture and Māori culture are interconnected and interrelated. For example, Johnston & McLeod (2001) identify when components of Māori knowledge added to the curriculum are located largely within the '**LADSS**', that is, **L**anguage, **A**rt, **D**ance, **S**inging and **S**ocial Studies an understanding of Māori perspectives are limited. The teaching of Māori knowledge and understandings within these areas is not being challenged. Kapahaka for instance, in singing is used widely and the depth of kapahaka protocols and lore (which is intricate and complex) is often excluded. Both kapahaka and waiata are also Māori pedagogies for the introduction and transmission of Māori knowledge and are

laden with traditional teachings and wisdom that embrace the theory and knowledge of Māori thought. The majority of New Zealand mainstream teachers are not Māori however and do not possess the knowledge surrounding Māori pedagogy as attached to the curriculum topic. Judith Simon's (1986) work showed that in the 1980s teachers were incorporating Māori into their curriculum in particular ways. Language often included an integration of a smattering of Māori vocabulary. Arts included a focus on Māori patterns and visual arts and the occasional drama theme of a Māori *myth* or *legend*. Dance involved waiata-a-ringa, kapahaka and perhaps kori tinana (movement) in Physical and accompanying Music education with Māori songs. The Social Studies curriculum often took an anthropological view of the way Māori were, rather than are in contemporary society. So often when teachers' pigeonhole Māori knowledge into LADSS categories alone there is a risk of reducing the value and perception of the knowledge as 'mere' practical applications and the depth of theory, diversity and complexity may be overlooked. Māori knowledge therefore should be taught across the array of essential learning areas and with a depth that exposes the complex theory behind such practices. The data collected from the case study school suggests teachers are beginning to access a broader range of learning areas. An understanding of the Māori curriculum document and the skills it espouses is also pertinent in order for teachers to relate the links between Māori knowledge and the essential learning areas.

While this school had extended their incorporation of Māori knowledge into the areas of science and technology this was because local community organizations presented a Māori perspective to a particular aspect of the topic under study at the time. Although it is crucial that Māori knowledge sit within a Māori relevant setting and is integrated throughout the total school environment case study participants teachers were opting to provide Māori expertise from an outside source.

While the learning areas used for curriculum integration of Māori knowledge and understandings do not fall largely into the LADSS framework (as figure 5.1.4b shows) it might be considered that perhaps teachers' are rethinking their incorporation of Māori knowledge and what it is that constitutes Māori knowledge in order to connect to Māori

philosophy and principles. However a deeper analysis of the data material reflects the fact that most teachers are incorporating the wider range of essential learning areas because of the expanding choice of community expertise provided by local organizations. Additions of Māori knowledge in Science and Technology for example were dependent upon the current themes running at the local science and technology centres outside the school grounds. Teachers are taking advantage of this expertise. Two teacher participants describe the input of outside expertise in the following manner.

“We taught flight and to look at the Māori aspect of it we looked at Manu Tukutuku (Science centre exhibition)...The opportunities are there, they don't come very frequent, I always try to include it, well I couldn't say always. We went to Manu tukutuku recently and last year went on camp in Hawkes Bay to visit the sleeping giant and looked at the legend and a myth kind of a Romeo and Juliet type of story” (3).

“I've got the class booked into the science centre to do the kites” (4).

One must therefore question the onus on teachers to take responsibility for learning these areas themselves. If outside sources are not available do teachers simply exclude a Māori perspective? This raised an issue not covered in this project but residue for perhaps another research topic in the future. Indeed the sourcing of outside expertise may suggest that teachers are beginning to explore the diversity and wider range of learning areas for incorporating Māori knowledge than ever before. This is consistent with the documents suggestions. Is this a definite move from what Simon's (1986) research indicates as little evidence of things Māori residing in the curriculum except at fundamentally tokenistic Taha Māori levels? Data evidence would indicate that Simon's observations may be challenged by some of today's teachers as too can the LADSS approach to incorporating Māori into the curriculum. Another related issue is the priority given to the teacher professional development given the vision of the school management and the awkwardness of some teaching staff with regard to things Māori. The school has identified the need for professional development but not necessarily prioritized this need within developmental planning.

Teacher Concerns with implementation

Teachers did not comment on the idea of addressing a match between Māori community aspirations and practices in schools because they had not determined what Māori community aspirations were. They did raise some concerns however throughout the interview process.

While teachers are exploring the learning areas for curriculum integration research interview responses indicate that the consistency and frequency at which this happens is an area for concern. Teacher participants recognized that an incorporation of Māori knowledge was ‘peppered’ through the curriculum content rather than incorporated as an integral component to classroom teaching. Teacher participants also identified some reasons for the peppering of Māori knowledge into classroom programmes. Two teachers identified the need for a collaborative and collective focus on the body of knowledge that should be incorporated in terms of addressing a more equitable balance to the curriculum content. Teachers could be teaching a consistent body of knowledge. The curriculum documents although a prescription from which to apply knowledge do not provide teachers with a description of that knowledge. Teachers are concerned with their own lack of Māori knowledge in order to apply the curriculum statements.

“... it would probably be better if we had a unit or something that we could work from...it would be better if we had ideally a kit for each team...so we’re all doing the same thing. Rather than a bit here and a bit there” (1).

The need for further teacher skills and knowledge in Māori knowledge was one reason given for this peppering. Limited Māori language was another.

“Most of the Māori that I do... is visual arts because I did that paper and therefore I’ve got the language of different designs... I’ve got that information that I can rely on and I feel confident in delivering it, but anything outside of that – no” (4).

“it’s very level one type Māori because I’m not very expert on it, I couldn’t put a sentence together myself” (2).

When asked how the school was incorporating Māori knowledge one teacher expressed concerns with the quality of knowledge being taught.

“in the sense if you’re looking at tikanga no, we are really just skimming the surface I guess” (6).

Follow up questions showed that this teacher was disheartened by the ways in which Māori knowledge that had been offered was used by the majority of mainstream teachers in the school. This teacher was reluctant to share Māori knowledge because it was difficult to observe the use of knowledge with conflicting teacher practices that did not endorse the use appropriately. The use of the concept tapu was one such example. The participant teacher’s explanation was brief and outlined how teachers had been given advice and protocols within the school regarding the use of taonga and had not heeded it much to the disappointment of the advisor teacher. The tapu of that taonga had been broken in the process. The same teacher identified teacher skill and knowledge of things Māori and the need for progression with learning programmes as key areas of need in addressing Māori education within the mainstream classes.

“Each year you should progress, but there is never any progression ...our teachers haven’t really got passed colours, numbers and greetings” (6).

Perhaps the fact that few teacher participants had taken up the opportunity to enhance and develop their knowledge in this area was a factor.

Responses point out that if this school is to be proactive about intervention and change then the schools visions and goals for incorporation of Māori knowledge and understandings must first be shared and clearly understood. It is only then a commitment to a plan of change for Māori education can be given. While the school has taken the initiative to identify what changes need to occur through policy review and started the consultative processes to achieve them not all teachers have an understanding of this development and whatsmore the wider context in which they play a critical role. The time span from ERO report review to consultation with the Māori community also indicates, some twelve months on, that the process has been lengthy. Implementation is not yet underway.

Resources

Do you make available reading materials and resources in te reo Māori?

Does your classroom context provide opportunities for students to learn in Māori relevant settings?

Some interview questions sought to establish the availability and usage of supportive material resources for teachers. The majority of teachers expressed their concerns regarding the lack of adequate supportive resources.

“Māori don’t seem to have the resources that I’ve seen...there’s nothing there to help you start...I’ve done stuff right from the beginning of the year til now but I don’t feel its enough, yeah, I’d like to be doing a lot more and I wrote that on the form that came around. Everyone wrote down resources” (1).

While the research did not carry out a formal inventory of resource material pertinent to the Māori education programme, classroom observations and interview responses identified some of the resources available. Key resource materials used by teachers in Māori curriculum teaching consisted of Māori calendars, class sets of Māori readers, Māori dictionaries and the appropriate library book that ‘fitted’ the theme at the time. The school self-review process had revealed the lack of resources as a concern. Although the school has a large number of Māori readers, these are not utilised by the majority of teacher participants’ because these teachers’ do not understand te reo Māori.

“There are books written in Māori, I don’t use them because I don’t know what they mean” (2).

“No, I think maybe because I haven’t got anyone that speaks it in the class” (4).

The teachers who were incorporating Māori into their classroom programmes on a regular basis were the teachers with the expertise, knowledge and skills in this area; the two Māori teachers. These two teachers also accessed a broader range of resources including human resource personnel. This was evident in responses to the question

regarding whether or not teachers provided opportunities for students to learn about local Māori history and cultural traditions. Those with lesser Māori knowledge did not.

5.1.5 Treaty of Waitangi

Proposed as a founding document of our nation and based on the notion of partnership, the Treaty of Waitangi has an important role to play in the operations of our New Zealand state schools. In order for New Zealand teachers to better understand how a partnership between Māori and school might work it is important that they consider the foundations of Māori – Crown partnership and the implications of this relationship for schools. It is essential that teachers have a clear understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi, its content and the implications for classroom practice. Teachers therefore were asked questions pertaining to their understanding and use of the Treaty of Waitangi and its application to the classroom context.

Does your school take into account the Treaty of Waitangi? How?

Does your school provide training to help members understand the Treaty of Waitangi?

While five of the six teachers agreed that the Treaty of Waitangi was taken into account by their school, four understood this incorporation largely to be the Waitangi day study covered at the beginning of the year in each classroom. Two teachers indicated that they realized the Treaty was mentioned in school policy and all but two of the teachers were unsure as to how it might be applied within a more total school environment. Only one teacher talked about the realization that the Treaty was not about a unit of work but how they conducted themselves as professionals to give effect to Treaty of Waitangi obligations in the daily business of the school. This was the one teacher that did not agree that the Treaty of Waitangi was taken into account by the school and indicated having completed extensive training and courses on Treaty principles and the relationship implications between Māori and the state.

This same teacher commented on beliefs regarding Treaty implementation in schools.

“It should be something that should be inclusive everyday – everyday... the Treaty is about everyday things, it isn't just about I've done a unit on the Treaty so now I know” (6).

When asked about their own understanding of the Treaty all teachers expressed an interest in professional development in this area and the willingness to take up such an opportunity. Self review outcomes by the school also revealed that few staff indicated that they had in-depth understanding of how the Treaty of Waitangi principles and concepts transferred over to education. The identification of a need for staff development regarding the Treaty of Waitangi had been made in the schools self review process in June 2002, six months later teachers had still not received support or staff development in this area.

The Māori representative on the Board of Trustees acknowledged that courses on Treaty understanding and issues had been taken up by the Board and follow up sessions were yet to happen with the staff. Professional development for the Board of Trustees had been facilitated and carried out in Board meetings by a Board member with knowledge and skills in implications of the Treaty for the school governance. Both Principal and the Māori representative on the Board of Trustees acknowledged the Treaty understanding by staff as an area of need.

“There's quite a need for the upskilling for members of our staff so that we are on the same wavelength, so that they have an understanding of these things...I don't think that their level of understanding gives them the confidence to be able to raise issues and to put it alongside everything else that they do in context” (7).

The fact that teachers were entering the profession without a clear understanding of how Treaty issues impact upon classroom practice as a tool for improving the achievement of Māori children was of concern to the Principal.

‘I think that there are some issues in there for me in terms of pre-service training. I don’t think that College of Education spend sufficient time talking about what these things mean and putting them into a proper context so that there’s equity and kids needs, ...it’s (training) not about improving Māori children’s achievement and that sort of thing...they (Colleges of Education) have more of an adult kind of way with what they do’ (7).

Teacher responses support the Principal’s viewpoint. Two teachers’ commented that they could not remember their pre-service education programmes addressing the Treaty of Waitangi.

“I don’t event think we touched on it?” (1).

“No I haven’t had any training” (4).

An additional complication to this issue is evident in personal observations made by the researcher in the programmes for pre-service education. Witnessed has been the struggle within College programmes between staff who support a more thorough education in Treaty understandings and representatives of curriculum areas other than Māori to have their interests represented. As in the mainstream schools, Māori interests have often lost out to those curricula regarded as more worthwhile.

Further to this concern was the Principal’s expression that although schools have a duty to upskill staff these opportunities were limited in post service training and development due to financial constraints. The Principal pointed out that in his view; it was not the ‘primary’ responsibility of schools to provide a gap filling of this magnitude for teacher pre-service education.

“Why are they (training providers) placing people in our schools without a reasonable understanding in this area? Schools’ don’t have the financial resources to provide the big chunks that these people are missing – that’s the Colleges job. Our primary concern is getting the kids to learn” (7).

Counter to the Principal's viewpoint, teachers already in schools who missed the component of pre-service training that addressed the new technology curriculum were not prepared for teaching in this area. It then became part of the schools professional duty to provide a gap filling of this magnitude for a number of their staff, why was knowledge of the Treaty seen in a different light? Intensive education through school groups and programmes must address this need if teacher recruitment is prepared to enlist teachers with a limited knowledge in this area. The situation regarding Treaty training is no different. The gaps of knowledge in teaching staff must be tackled by the schools who can seek the expertise from courses provided in the wider educational community if not the school itself.

The Principal and one Māori teacher commented on the belief that the concept of tino rangatiratanga was central to Māori education and with what happens in schools with regard to Treaty implications.

“Tino rangatiratanga is a deeper concept within the Treaty context, Māori are looking for their own sovereignty or at least self determination in taking control of their destiny as a cultural group... we all have the same expectations in terms of success but the Treaty should help us maximize standards for Māori children... we should be looking at ways Māori learn, so I put to you this question – Do we know enough about the learning styles of Māori?” (7).

Interview responses however indicate that teachers are not utilizing a range of learning styles in order to cater for the needs of Māori. The evidence suggests the belief that one size of assessment fits all continues to pervade classroom practice and act as a distraction from the legitimacy of Māori pedagogy in the first place. The school will need to think about setting a standard for staff to meet in terms of what constitutes Māori knowledge within the school. Furthermore in order to be effective and not have to address this issue each time a teacher is employed, the criteria for selecting teachers on recruitment must be rigorous.

Mead (1996) suggests that educational training providers must also be reconsidering the ways in which they provide opportunities for teachers to better understand Māori knowledge in schools. Mead (1996) points out that regardless of whether trained teachers are Pākehā or Māori; they employ pedagogic strategies which realize the code structure upon which their training has been based. In other words what is produced in teacher education is reproduced in the classroom education. This raises the issue as to whether our teacher education programmes are providing sufficient Māori pedagogic discourse and modeling or whether they simply reproduce patterns of underlying codes which privilege dominant forms of knowledge (Bernstein, 1990).

5.1.6 School Beliefs and Visions for Māori

What is your vision for the development of Māori participation and achievement?

The Principal interview response indicated that the school had given careful consideration to a broad array of school developments recently. The element of leadership was one such consideration since last years ERO report.

When asked how the school vision shows that the school values Māori culture and language. The principal responded with the following comment:

By an environment which encourages and celebrates leadership and making it happen through performance, involvement, human support, respect, enthusiasm, dialogue, achievement, again we're not making those distinctions between cultural groups we're saying those are actually characteristics for everybody – whoever (7).

Posted on the staffroom wall is the schools vision and this vision outlines key areas regarding leadership. Although the document itself cannot be disclosed due to the ethical principles of the research (the right to anonymity) the principles of the vision can be discussed within the content of this section.

The Principal discussed the relationship between having a good leadership team that understands their responsibilities and clarifies a shared vision for the rest of the team. In terms of Māori education, a number of initiatives were underway. One of the first points of call for this Principal was to make sure that teachers understood their obligations in terms of the changes made to recent National Education Guidelines.

“We’re making sure that staff know NAG 1 part 2 and 5” (7).

A section of the staffroom wall had been allocated to display the school vision and strategic plans for the school. Accompanying this information is a copy of the recent changes made to the National Administration Guidelines. The paperwork was comprehensive.

One teacher however felt that this display did little to develop an understanding for staff and made the following comments.

We need to think about what we are good at doing, what are we no good at doing? and wē are getting bombarded with NAGs, we are getting bombarded with reading, with exemplars, we’re meeting, wē meet every night, its not productive meeting, the goal posts changed, they give you a different ball and the games changed” (6).

In terms of a vision for Māori education within the school the two policies undergoing current review for Māori education and the bilingual class indicate the direction of school plans to revitalize whānau groups, incorporate Māori pedagogy and better reflect the dual cultural heritage in mainstream classroom programmes. Furthermore the schools strategic plan includes a local goal of offering their school as the preferred choice for Māori medium education and a proposal to expand the bilingual unit. This would be a difficult plan to realize given that research data pointed to evidence suggesting many staff were unskilled and ill prepared for this directive. Discussions with the interview participants, in particular the Principal, Māori representative on the Board of Trustees and the teacher in charge of Māori education for the mainstream sector of the school shed further light on the visions for Māori education.

It was clear a lot of target goals had been set up.

“So we’ve got amazing levels of stuff that we are up to” (7).

Overall the school hopes to raise the standards of Māori achievement with a major overhaul of school operations (in particular management assessment and monitoring systems) and classroom practice in order to raise the profile of Māori education offered by the school. The array of plans and schemes in order to achieve this however are numerous.

The school Board of Trustees is undergoing training in a number of areas in order to raise its member’s awareness of the issues involved with Māori education and indeed interacting with the Māori community. Treaty of Waitangi training and Government policy sessions have been part of this overhaul.

Responses by the Māori representative on the Board of Trustees also expressed the importance and need to draw all teachers into the school vision. As stated earlier school management has spent time revising their vision for Māori education and has recently reviewed draft policies for Bilingual Māori Immersion and Te Reo me Ngā Tikanga Mainstream programmes (discussed earlier in 5.8.2). Consultation has been a key approach to ensuring Māori are considered in the decision making of such policies. The school appears to define this consultation process as calling a meeting, notifying the community and parents via newsletters and through the meeting allowing Māori the opportunity to discuss and comment on the initiatives that have been drawn up. Feedback from the Māori community recently collated by the school has been conducted in this manner. It is evident that the Board representative and the Principal are passionate in their vision for Māori education within the school. The Board and Principal participants recognize that the plan to extend the bilingual classes and offer the school as a preferred school of choice will take time and much commitment and effort.

Also evident in interview responses from the Principal and Māori representative on the Board of Trustees was the desire for more Māori knowledge to be incorporated into mainstream classroom programmes. The self-review process (discussed in section 4.2.3) had identified that most staff would like professional development with te reo Māori and tikanga in order to improve their classroom practice. The Principal also mentioned that the Resource Teacher of Māori was another support service for the teachers. However the Resource Teacher of Māori had not been used for professional development with curriculum documents. The Principal felt that the 'folder' system that teachers had worked from was adequate until the ERO report indicated otherwise.

Both participant groups (management and teachers) acknowledged the need to present the school as a friendly welcoming place and suggested a general clean-up and reorganization of the physical environment. The Māori representative on the Board of Trustees expressed the need to have more Māori parents coming into the school, pertinent to this need was the visual welcome people received upon entry to the school premises. A large bilingual (Māori and English) sign meets those who access the tidy school entrance with the school name. Evidence of further Māori/English signage was absent. Other than the sign stating the name of the school the entrance displays no supplementary visible '*āhua*' (form, shape or appearance) of things Māori that would reflect the value given to a dual cultural status. The trees and shrubs at the main entrance are largely exotics, the school logo presents a symbol reminiscent of conquerors and armor with a Latin motto and school murals depict visual art of global sites. Unfortunately the layout of the entrance driveway presents itself as a narrow corridor of types and is not easily accessible. This corridor is prone to congestion if too many motor vehicles arrive at one given time. Finally largely unused redundant building structures line the narrow entrance corridor appearing visually as wasted space. Otherwise the school buildings past the corridor entrance have a fresh coat of paint and the more recent plant life taking hold in the gardens are aesthetically appealing.

Teacher initiated proposals and the recent School Review on Ngā Mea Māori show evidence of consideration given to the school entrance concern. Management was looking to redesign the school logo to enhance Māori representation within the school.

Vision of Achievement

With regard to school achievement some teachers were unclear about the wider school developments concerning the Māori education plans, although all teachers expressed similar visions regarding desirability of participation and achievement for their Māori students.

“To keep them (Māori students) achieving” (1).

Teachers also talked about their visions for their Māori students and community.

“I would like to see more Māori participation and achievement” (2).

Teachers considered the application of strategies in achieving this vision with much apprehension. All responses were concerned with the issue of personal knowledge and skills in addressing the Māori curriculum.

While teachers' have confidence in their teaching of non-Māori aspects of the curriculum they were concerned with the support structures in place to achieve their visions for further Māori participation and the lack of resources in an area little explored in terms of their own personal experience.

“I need more support from people who have got the qualifications, the skills and expertise.. and resources and different ways to implement it (Māori knowledge), some ideas would be good” (2).

These were issues concerning professional development for teachers as too was the issue that the non-Māori teachers struggled with identifying strategies for addressing Māori participation and achievement that was unique to Māori pedagogy and ways of knowing. If the Ministry of Education's document, *Better Relationships for Better Learning* intends that schools will incorporate Māori values, language, knowledge, culture and aspirations, unskilled teachers will make this goal difficult to realize.

One teacher claimed that she didn't see a difference in the needs of Māori students as opposed to the students in the rest of her class. Assessment for example, was conducted using the monocultural processes and structures carried out in the rest of the schools monitoring systems. The assumption, that one best educational system fits all, continues to pervade teacher beliefs and was evident in interview responses.

"I don't specifically analysis them separately from any kid, I just do them on par with everyone else in the class... Nothing else specifically... no I don't do a lot of assessment specifically on Māori itself" (2).

*"Just monitoring them like the rest of the class... the whole class is the class and I just make sure that they're achieving at their level... I assess them all as a class I don't look at them individually as much" (1).
"Probably just assess them all the same...just the same as everybody else" (4).*

"As generally any assessment criteria that I give, that fits in my classroom programme and I take note of how my children are achieving in comparison with any school wide assessment that's been completed and given back to me... I just do a quick comparison to see if mine are in there or not" (3).

This number of interview responses indicate that the school's one system operates to bring Māori students, as far as possible, under the same educational system as Pākehā, with nominal equity of learning using Māori culturally preferred pedagogy and knowledge, that is assimilation. Collins, Insley and Soler (2001) state that how teachers select, classify, distribute, transmit and evaluate the curriculum that it considers to be important reflects the distribution of power and what is considered to be legitimate knowledge. Furthermore decisions about what to assess, about why the assessment is to take place, and about how to conduct assessment are usually framed within the processes that maintain and improve standards and that these standards mask the ways in which power operates. The teachers infer that the decision to assess all students the same fits with their school and classroom procedures – this is their process for maintaining school standards and school authority.

The school has responded to the idea that Māori pedagogy is not catered for in past school policy and new visions have been embodied in the reviewed policies for Māori education in the bilingual and mainstream classes. The policies now state that:

Tuakana / Teina and Māori preferred learning styles will be fostered (Document A - Bilingual classes)
Māori preferred learning styles will be acknowledged and fostered in classroom programmes (Document B - Mainstream classes).

However in giving Ako Māori due consideration, one needs to comprehend the dual nature of this concept. Earlier works have explored this notion (Cormack, 1977, Makereti, 1986, Pere, 1982) however Webber explains this exploration in the following statement.

“The word ako means to learn as well as to teach. In the Māori world therefore it is an acceptable practice for the learner to shift roles and become the teacher, and for the teacher to become the learner” (Webber, 1996:12).

For example the idea that the learner take on the responsibility of being the teacher or tuakana (elder) to her or his teina (younger) is acceptable and in fact encouraged from an early age in Māori society (Pere, 1982 Cormack, 1997) As Cormack (ibid) suggests it reinforces the principles of commitment and responsibility to the whānau. The peer tutoring programmes evident in some of our mainstream state schools while similar to the tuakana/teina system do not advocate a position whereby the teacher relinquishes the power that accompanies the teaching role as with tuakana/teina relations. Traditionally our mainstream state schools have been more to do with a salute to the existing society than a critical inquiry into power and knowledge as they relate to student experiences (Fletcher, 2000). As such Māori aspirations may include Māori pedagogy. Non-Māori teachers struggled to understand how this could be so.

Teacher participant responses would imply that teachers will need guidance and education programmes to ensure that they understand what these newly revised components of policy revision entail. It is difficult to know to what degree these aspects were incorporated (if at all) in policies prior to the drafts as a request by the Principal was made not to include previous policy in the research data. No comparative position can be

taken. The discussions with the Principal did demonstrate that there were concerns that teachers do not better understand Māori pedagogy.

“Do we know enough about the learning styles of Māori? The basis of assessment schools use are strategies that are not New Zealand based and our schools have been transferring those sort of cultural values from abroad into our systems until we find this sort of stuff pervading our system. Māori need to design our own methods” (8).

Furthermore two teachers held perceptions that if parents had not opted for their children to be in the bilingual classes then they were not interested in things Māori or simply didn't have a strong background in it.

“All the parents who wish their children to go further with it (Māori language and culture) have sent their children in it (bilingual classes), so the ones with ‘no’ interest have put their children in the mainstream classes” (3).

The assumption that those students whose families had opted for mainstream rather than bilingual education had no interest in Māori language and culture is an unsubstantiated fallacy because as one interview participant indicated, there are a number of reasons that influence the parents' choice to select appropriate classroom environments for their children. Some families in the past had not opted for the bilingual class because of the stigma attached to Māori knowledge as unimportant. Informal discussions with teachers also indicated that some parents viewed the unit as a dumping ground for Māori students with behavior problems. This teacher suggested frequent parents meetings to shift parent thinking would be useful.

“Kids won't go into the unit, it's that stigma attached to the unit, that whole stigma thing, and we've had fluent kids who won't go to the unit” (6).

The assumption that Māori children, who enter mainstream rather than bilingual classes, have no interest in Māori language and culture may also be discounted from the researcher's personal experience regarding relationships with school parents. Reasons for the selective of classroom depended on a wide range of variables.

Professional development in the understanding of Māori knowledge, pedagogy and issues may address teacher skills in the area of Māori education; it may also address some of the misconceptions surrounding the reasons Māori parents select particular types of educational programmes for their children. Furthermore teachers' will be in a better position to ask themselves whether or not there is a match between Māori aspirations and what happens in their school.

5.1.7 Teacher Needs

Does your school provide opportunities for you to become familiar with te reo Māori and tikanga Māori?

Does your school provide opportunities for you to promote te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in teaching?

Four of the teacher participants indicated a desire to take up professional development in the area of te reo Māori and understanding tikanga and culture.

Most often stated was a need for a more in-depth understanding which might bring about more confidence to teach in this area. The assumption that more knowledge would in turn determine the quality of teachers for Māori learners was prevalent.

“I’m the type of person who is not very confident in teaching in that (Māori) culture because I don’t know enough... I know we have been asked to incorporate Māori in the class, and those people who like myself haven’t got a lot of knowledge and background in it aren’t particularly confident and therefore a lot hasn’t been done, I need the skills to be able to do that” (4).

When discussing their own needs, teachers displayed an open and willing attitude to develop their teaching in the area of Māori knowledge given support, encouragement and time.

“If I was given it – yes I would take advantage of the training... I need more support because I think I give a very surface understanding of it, I know a little bit about the protocols and the science and that’s not enough” (2).

“Depending on time... I would be keen to so long as the situation was good” (3).

One teacher felt the opportunity to extend their own knowledge in Māori language and tikanga was limited due to the expertise that could already be located within the school's bilingual unit. The inference was that management would not view the request as necessary if the expertise already existed among school staff. Interestingly the two policies regarding Māori education reviewed by the school (included in section 4.2.2) did not extend to include priorities in staff development. Perhaps this was because the School Self Review (discussed in section 4.2.3) addressed this need. While the school self review had indicated that most staff indicated they would like professional development with te reo Māori and tikanga in order to improve classroom practice, subsequent plans allowed for Board members and the bilingual teacher to be given development opportunities in these areas, mainstream teachers were not included in these plans. The Management visions and new school wide developments for Māori education would be difficult to realize under these circumstances. The self review report was dated June 2002 and professional development for teaching staff in these areas had still not been conducted at the time of the last interview in October 2002.

Another response expressed that requests had not been addressed in this area by school management.

“I’ve actually asked for more professional development in te reo Māori for some years now but it hasn’t eventuated” (2).

All teachers acknowledged a process within the school for making requests regarding professional development. Not all however had made a request to further their personal language development and understanding of tikanga and culture despite having expressed a desire to do so. Five of the teachers explained the process for professional development was more a personal individual choice rather than a staff requirement.

“I’m sure they (school management) would probably provide opportunities to do that if I requested or asked but being so busy with other things...” (4).

“At the start of the year we were offered professional development, what courses we would like to go on, obviously we could select something from there if we wished to” (3).

“Māori can, we can do whatever, we can incorporate it (te reo Māori and tikanga Māori) into all the subject areas really, its up to the individual teacher how little or how much they do really” (1).

Accepting the responsibility to improve personal and professional skills in Māori education has not been taken up by all teachers. One teacher chose not to teach Māori in the classroom at all this year despite the New Zealand curriculum’s framework clearly stating that all students will have the opportunity to acquire some knowledge of Māori language and culture (Ministry of Education, 1993). This teacher gave little explanation other than time management commitments not allowing the opportunity. The teacher’s inference was that ‘other’ time commitments translated to prioritizing other essential learning areas over Māori. Obviously teachers can still feel free not to display the professional responsibility of teaching Māori education in this school environment. Teachers are taking the opening to engage Māori education based on individual will and interest rather than professional conscience and responsibility. One might assume that those with little interest and will to do so are taking advantage of the lull between the schools transitional period from past to present policy. However without evidence we cannot assume a Māori education programme was effectively in place previously and therefore find ourselves asking - On what standards are these decisions by teachers made? ERO’s report implies that the Māori education programme is lacking. Are teachers therefore sitting quietly in the lull or is this lull a remnant of past practice? Without further study it is difficult at this point to ascertain why teachers are rejecting their professional responsibility to teach in this area. These issues are subject to further scrutiny and analysis in the Discussion section. Opportunities for further personal and professional development have been made clear to all staff members and whatsmore all teachers could readily identify the process for accessing professional development. Furthermore one teacher participant claimed that colleagues and the School Board of Trustees had been informed of the availability of free language courses run by a local wānanga group and of te reo Māori night classes offered by a local secondary school.

Another staff member expressed frustration at the unwillingness of staff to get involved and accept responsibility for Māori education in the school.

“Teachers have to be responsible, they have to do it and if they can’t then they’re not doing their job properly and you’ve got to question why...Its about saying to these teachers it part of your job description and you have to do it” (6).

Teacher Suggestions

Have you any further comment to make regarding Better Relationships for Better Learning and how we might achieve this in our New Zealand schools?

Although teachers seemed reluctant to commit themselves professionally to advancing their limited knowledge and skills in the area of Māori knowledge they were prompt to forward suggestions for the development of Māori education within the general mainstream of the school. Their ideas for developments included

- Developing resources kits in teams
- Sharing resources between teams
- Sharing expertise between teams
- More cultural performances that include the mainstream classes
- More Māori parental involvement
- Continue the recent hui whereby Māori are consulted
- Professional development in Māori knowledge
- Draw up a database of Māori networks and contacts
- Physically relocate the Bilingual classes and its resources so that they are centralized within the school
- Promote and improve the relationship between the Bilingual and mainstream classes.
- Upgrade the physical environment and entrance of the school to a welcoming area that promotes the value of Māori within the school
- Promote Māori within the physical environment of the school, promote a bicultural outlook.

- Setting up classrooms with a marae environment which lends itself to traditional Māori learning styles
- Make Māori language a natural part of the mainstream school day

A number of these suggestions had already been submitted in a written report to the Board of Trustees by two staff members (one an interview participant). Others had been evident in principle in plans displayed on the staff room wall. The Board representative expressed the elation in receiving innovative and exciting ideas from the staff and said the Board had welcomed the ideas and were working on approving some of them.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Participants offered an array of experience and training.

5.2.1 Understanding the Document

While some senior staff, the Principal and Board of Trustees member had taken the opportunity to examine the document and become familiar with its contents the majority of teachers had not. Given the opportunity to read through the document briefly most participants understood a relationship between Māori and the school was being espoused.

5.2.3 Working Together with Māori

While the school had an array of methods for working with and consulting Māori parents, whānau and community, consultation meetings appeared to be a recent preference. One third of the teacher participants did not obtain Māori whānau aspirations and educational visions and did not consider it necessary to consult with their Māori community.

The majority of teacher's state Māori-teacher interaction happened on a needs basis, that is, if there was a concern or specific learning need.

Four of the six teachers did not include Māori resource people or kaumātua into their classroom programmes because they had not established Māori community networks and expressed their concern in knowing how to go about this.

Parental support in classrooms was limited, teachers generally accepted that parents were not responding to newsletters, and that this was indicative of the intermediate school level of their students and the perception of parents that school participation was less necessary at this level.

5.2.4 Implementation

Despite two years of policy release the Principal considers school development is in an elementary stage of implementation. None of the participants (Principal, Board or teaching staff) indicated an estimated timeframe for implementation.

The consideration given to the school development and review currently underway in the last ten months in the school were reactive rather than proactive due to prompts from an ERO report.

ERO findings indicated that implementation and monitoring of action plans for Māori education had to be rigorous because most classroom environments did not reflect Māori language and tikanga in mainstream classroom programmes and practices.

While the management level of the school clearly understood the direction of school wide development, the majority of teacher interview participants' did not and so classroom practice was not necessarily tailored to address ERO concerns, the school vision or strategic plans for Māori education.

Most teachers were not specifically addressing the principles of the document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* but could identify strategies applied to classroom practice that were related to the document principles.

The majority of teachers favored an integrated additive approach to incorporating Māori knowledge into the classroom. Staff were not necessarily aware of the detrimental effect of additive and LADSS approaches.

The research data shows that teachers are venturing out to trial Māori knowledge within a broader range of essential learning areas possibly because of the expanding choice of community expertise within local organizations.

Incorporation of Māori knowledge was dependent upon individual will therefore Māori language and values were not necessarily fostered in all classrooms. Rather it appeared randomly according to the teacher's decision as to whether or not it could be incorporated into the current classroom theme. The majority of the time it was not.

Teachers identified a need for a strategic consistent body of Māori knowledge in the curriculum. Furthermore a progression for students through the Māori curriculum was not evident. Pertinent to this need was the request for professional development in te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and Māori culture in general. Although expressions of further professional development were made few teacher participants had taken up the opportunity to enhance and develop their knowledge in this area.

The availability of quality resources was a problem for teachers. Valuable Māori texts within the school were not utilized due to teacher skill.

Research data regarding implementation of Better Relationships for Better Learning principles indicate significant implications for teacher education.

5.2.5 Treaty of Waitangi

Two thirds of teacher participants assumed that a focus on Waitangi day at the beginning of the year was addressing practical application regarding the Treaty of Waitangi.

All teachers expressed the desire to learn more about the Treaty and its implications for classroom practice.

The management level of the school had already identified the need for staff training in this area and has plans to bring in 'outside' personnel to facilitate staff development on the Treaty of Waitangi.

Board of Trustee members had already received professional development regarding the Treaty of Waitangi, teachers had not.

5.2.6 School Beliefs and Visions for Māori

The school plans to develop another bilingual classroom and promote the school as a preferred choice of education for Māori students.

The management levels of the school recognize a number of strategies and plans are needed to realize these visions. Not all teachers however knew of the visionary plans for school development.

Teachers have a strong desire to see all of their students succeed.

Most teachers were not convinced that they possessed the skills, knowledge and resources required to successfully implement a quality Māori education programme in their classroom.

The limited understanding of Māori pedagogy impacted upon teacher practice regarding assessment procedures and the belief and practice that one assessment system fits all.

That is, most teachers knew of no other methods of assessment than those provided in mainstream models, furthermore they had not explored the potential of Māori pedagogy or the diverse rangē of assessment procedures.

Some teacher participants expressed their desire to better help Māori students but were not sure how to go about this.

Most teachers did not see the need for different assessment methods that included Māori pedagogy. Revision of school policy indicates that management staff have recognized this area of need and have attempted to accommodate it with new policy standards.

5.2.7 Teacher Needs

Teachers most often stated the need for a more indepth understanding of things Māori.

The majority of teachers expressed a desire for professional development in Māori language and tikanga, however not all teachers have accepted responsibility to follow up this opportunity on an individual basis.

Staff development in Māori education is crucial to the success of proposed school developments and has not been given due consideration in a manner that will ensure this school development will be successful.

Teacher suggestions for developing Māori education within the school are exciting and innovative. Innovative and exciting ideas may lend themselves to inspiring passion and drive in other team members willing but unsure as to how to move forward in school development.

The school is currently working on addressing some suggestions made by staff for improving Māori education within the school.

It's (the school) a very formative state of where its going to in terms of a new direction and unless people really embrace it and believe in it of what it really is about, it's not going to really latch on – so it is more than the school will do it's bit to lead, the school will do its bit to motivate but until people feel that they belong and that they're confident with what they are doing both within the school and without I think that we've got a pretty hard road to hoe and not just for our school but for any school. Wē have to see Māori being lived as part of our values in the community. I'm sorry to say it's my experience that there are still too many knockers out there asking why should we be doing this for Māori (8).

Chapter Six

6.0 Discussion

The intent of this chapter is to explain the significance of the research findings by grounding the discussion with other research experiences. The discussion section is an examination and analysis of the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* policy and its implementation as evidenced in the case study school. Policy analysis, school practice, research findings, current literature and research all culminate to provide a broader picture of the research parameters and content. Central to the analysis of all data is the application of Critical theory and Kaupapa Māori theory. Through Critical theory the opportunity exists to dismantle the underlying ideologies that do not support social justice for Māori in education. Kaupapa Māori theory will play a part in illuminating Māori constructions and the reconstruction of Western theories that might better suit Māori learning.

6.1 A Strong Leadership Team

The ERO report of the case study school identified that school development was mired by a lack of professional leadership and direction. Whatsmore the previous ERO report had also identified this need in order to improve the quality and consistency of cohesive teaching and learning programmes across the school. The school vision demonstrates that the school has been thinking about the role of leadership within its recent reviews. Although those in senior management of the school play a crucial role in giving practical effect to the professional direction and success of the school not all senior teachers understood their part in this direction. One teacher pointed out that although a recent press release indicated to the public that the school was hoping to add to its bilingual unit in the following year, a number of teachers (including senior management staff) were not told of the publicity release beforehand. The ERO report had criticized the school for lack of professional direction and support for staff as contributing significantly to high levels of inconsistency and poor performance in classroom practice and school

organization. Research evidence appears to support this criticism because teachers had little understanding of the vision for Māori education in the mainstream classes and a collective plan for obtaining that vision. It appears that communication networks between school staff were inadequate and doubtful. This communication problem would need to be resolved before the school could hope to communicate effectively in establishing a partnership between the school and the Māori community otherwise the link between better relationships and better learning would be a tenuous one. One teacher participant expressed the importance of the leadership with regard to the school.

“A school needs to be lead by a leader and the leader needs to treat people with dignity and respect and needs to make sure that people get given a job and they do it. Also you need a leader that you’ve got respect for”⁶.

A recurring theme throughout the research was that teachers did not demonstrate a clear understanding of their roles and responsibilities with regard to the new directions the school was taking in Māori education. Much groundwork for redefining the parameters of school direction and ensuring the all staff clearly understand the direction the school is taking and their own role in supporting this direction needs to happen before the school could hope to build better community relations. The mission is otherwise hindered. A strong collective leadership team is yet to be developed.

Some staff members appear to have consented to accepting the perplexing situation in which teachers work at individual plans and programmes and do not collectively establish a clear team direction. Again the ground on which this acceptance is won was cause for concern. Why weren’t teachers questioning this state of affairs? Did the power attached to the leadership role influence this inaction? The teachers’ are themselves actors in the process of maintaining this state of affairs by virtue of their acceptance of it and to the extent that they participate in it without resistance. The assertion therefore is that this situation is the teacher’s choice in so much as they participate in the situation and appear to take little part in challenging and questioning the reasons for it. A number of the case study teachers’ appear to have no interest in a critical perspective of individual teacher autonomy perhaps because they favour a situation that does not call their own teaching values and culture into question. This position was of significant concern to the

researcher because as Freire (1985) points out, only beings who can reflect upon the fact that they are determined are capable of freeing themselves.

If they did not sever their adherence to the world and emerge from it as consciousness constituted in the admiration of the world as its object, men would be merely determinate beings, and it would be impossible to think in terms of their liberation. Only beings who can reflect upon the fact that they are determined are capable of freeing themselves. Their reflectiveness results not just in a vague and uncommitted awareness but in the exercise of a profoundly transforming action upon the determining reality (Freire, 1985:68).

The present situation begs the question – Are the school staff ready to launch a partnership with emancipatory goals for Māori in gaining their own tino rangatiratanga if they cannot liberate themselves from their present quandary?

If as the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document suggests the principal helps team members to develop a realistic long-term goal and to move towards it because the

*“School’s leadership is instrumental in mobilizing people to change”
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:10)*

then perhaps we can expect little change until a strong collective leadership team has been developed.

There are numerous reports and research that supports the idea that a strong leadership team in school operations is critical if schools are to develop effectively.

In 1995 the research work of Sammons, Hillman & Mortimore concluded a number of factors for effective schools (Tomlinson, Gunter & Smith, 1999). Professional headship that took into consideration aspects of firm and purposeful leadership, a participative approach and professionalism were key factors to the findings.

Research has shown that the key role of leadership is in initiating and maintaining the school improvement process, in the headteacher as the leading professional and in the headteacher sharing leadership responsibilities: a participative approach (Tomlinson, Gunter & Smith, 1999:65).

Loftus and Selley (in Tomlinson, Gunter & Smith, 1999), also support the claim that schools are more effective where practice is a result of a consistent and collaborative way of working and decision-making.

From a more relevant perspective NZEI Te Riu Roa published a Primary Research Project in 1999 entitled *Professional Leadership Strand: interim report* that discusses four key areas concerning the leadership role in our New Zealand schools. These key areas are concerned with the characteristics and preparation of a strong leader, the support systems and resources that assist this leadership role and the professional development that would help the ongoing development of leadership. The document acknowledges the importance of relationships from an early stage in the book and defends the importance of strong leadership teamwork.

“Successful schools are people oriented places... Senior staff are key members of the school team and the principal needs to establish effective working relationships with them (NZEI Riu Roa, 1999:7).

Therefore it follows on that for a school to be successful in their quest for a community-school partnership senior staff management must be committed to *teamwork* to support a strong effective leadership team. Hope lay in the fact that pockets of willing teams were evident in the case study school structures.

The Principal of the case study school resigned near the end of the course of this research. Perhaps the next professional leader to take the reigns of the school will demonstrate the skills required to attempt to transform the social relations in the school as a shared enterprise. The recruitment team in charge of selecting their new Principal must consider the characteristics that research would indicate make an enthusiastic and inventive leader of excellence. An effective communicator is the key. This should include a leader that works with the team and manages time and tasks effectively, who understands the importance of conveying school developments and visions clearly to all stakeholders and helps teachers and whānau understand their role and responsibilities in this big picture in order to achieve its goals.

6.2 *A Powerful School Vision*

Critical theorists would argue that consideration must be given to understanding the wider context in which the topic under study is being examined. Therefore if we are to closely examine school collaboration in terms of a unifying school vision we must also consider those areas that impact upon the fact that there is little consensus among teacher interview participants for visionary goals for their Māori students. While focusing on the areas that impact upon the purpose for this low consensus level in order to better understand why the school vision and aspirations for Māori education were little understood we draw attention to issues regarding conveying explicit school plans to staff. In turn this understanding is given a framework by connecting the affiliation between better relations and better learning. Doing so will allow us to understand how the issues are interrelated.

The principle of ‘shared vision and goals’ was taken into consideration in the 1995 research work of Sammons, Hillman and Mortimore as a key factor for school effectiveness (in Tomlinson, Gunter & Smith, 1999). Their research study supported aspects concerned with unity of purpose, consistency of practice, and collegiality and collaboration as significant issues in the findings.

“Consensus on values of the school is associated with improved educational outcomes” (Tomlinson, Gunter & Smith, 1999:65).

The case study school did not have a consensus of values in terms of staff understanding and collegiality. Tomlinson, Gunter and Smith (ibid) support the idea that improvements inherent in any vision are long term and therefore the involvement of a meaningful school and Māori community partnership must be based on what they refer to as *true commitment*. This commitment according to Tomlinson, Gunter and Smith can only be secured if the needs and wants of stakeholders are accurately identified and included.

It is therefore advisable for heads at least to ask the stakeholders what their vision is, before embarking on a programme of school improvement (Tomlinson, Gunter & Smith, 1999:16).

Hope resided in the fact that the school had identified areas of concern and were working toward addressing these; some movement in the course of development was evident.

The case study school was presently consulting with the Māori community in order to ascertain the aspirations and visions pertinent to Māori education. Their process (discussed in chapter four) includes calling a meeting, notifying the community via newsletters and through the meeting allowing Māori the opportunity to discuss and comment on the initiatives that have been drawn up. Feedback from the Māori community recently collated by the school has been conducted in this manner.

The work of Gwenn (another source in the literature of Tomlinson, Gunter and Smith, 1999) supports the idea that implementing and sustaining school visionary goals are best provided by grounding the vision in the community it serves. In a New Zealand context this means including the Māori community.

The visions for Māori education can be numerous and diverse given that Māori are not one homogenous group. Different perspectives highlight an array of concepts and principles for consideration. Pauline Waiti¹³, Executive Officer of the National Association of Māori Mathematicians, Scientists and Technologists, has a vision that a curriculum review might happen in the near future to include a Māori world-view by giving Māori the opportunity to have “*real involvement in decision-making processes*” (Tāpine & Waiti, 1997:15). Waiti’s vision supports the idea that Kaupapa Māori theory conveys an assumption that existing domineering regimes are socially constructed and as such are humanly flexible (Pihama, 1993). If flexible consideration is given to the theory that underpins school practices and that theory is inclusive of Māori philosophy perhaps real involvement for Māori in the decision making process can occur. A vision can then be devised that is powerful because it is grounded in the community it serves.

¹³ Waiti’s vision is set out with the aspirations of 22 other senior Māori educationalists in the 1997 booklet *Hē Māori ki Mua: visions for Māori education*.

The case study school has had difficulty realizing a collective vision within the school for all staff and communicating this vision effectively so that all members understand the direction the school is taking. Once this difficulty has been overcome the school is better positioned to draw in the Māori community and consider how Māori aspirations and visions might further mould and shape the visionary goals for Māori education.

Māori aspirations and visions, according to Pere (1997:28), can also be related to *taonga tuku iho* or those “*treasures that have come down*” from ones ancestors. As exclusively related to being Māori ‘*taonga tuku iho*’ fit the realm of Kaupapa Māori theory assertions. Smith (1991) would also view these *taonga tuku iho* as cultural aspirations and values that are closely linked to elements of success for Māori students. The Ministry of Education (2000a:10) states that “*Your school should clearly convey its vision for education, and for Māori education, through all its communications*”. While the case study school is now in the process of consulting with their Māori community in an attempt to find out what Māori stakeholders want with regard to a school vision, not all school staff are supporting this enterprise because not all staff realize the developments currently underway. Furthermore some mainstream teacher participants do not see the relevance of *taonga tuku iho* for their Māori students because they relate comfortably to a reality in which dominant groups constructs are a *common sense* justification for the maintenance of inequalities and continued oppression of Māori learners (Pihama, 1993). Teachers do not necessarily want to work collectively with Māori communities if individual teacher determination collides with Māori collective shared aspirations when schools are asked to consider a partnership deal with their Māori community. Durie expresses her desire that national educational policies should be

...developed from the premise that at the heart of all provision of education for Māori are the needs, aspirations and well-being of all those who constitute its focus, that is, Māori learners and their communities (in Tāpine and Waiti, 1997:37).

Teachers are not necessarily addressing Māori aspirations as a right of Māori to an education that meets their needs; furthermore some are not addressing it at all. Teachers first have to know what these aspirations are before they can address these as a right. If policy were to begin from the understanding outlined by Durie then perhaps teachers

would be better encouraged to include these perspectives. Inclusion would be better recognized by educational practitioners if the lead promotes the inclusion meaningfully, that is, if policy is to lead with inclusion then practice is more likely to follow this lead. This incurs a professional responsibility for a shared focus for all educational practitioners including those at the 'chalkface'. The case study school has carefully reconsidered a number of their school policies and deliberately incorporated aspects that lead to the including Māori knowledge and perspectives. However the school also demonstrates a distinct and obvious disparity between policy philosophy and classroom practice and indeed policy philosophy and teacher understandings. This may be in part due to the lengthy time for implementation concerning strategic plans. The implementation stage has been a lengthy one, two and a half years to date.

Well we're just moving into that field now, I would have to say we probably haven't done much. In the past we sort of waited for it (Māori aspirations) to dribble into the school, but we've been much more proactive now in that we are preparing questionnaires and surveys like the one we've done with staff (8).

There is clearly a need to translate the philosophy of Māori education present in policy to practice in order to preserve the ideals of the principles that have been drawn up by the school. First however all teachers and Māori parents must have an opportunity to be bought on board of the wider vision for Māori education within the school. Otherwise the situation may well be as Hatton (1994) explains, that while teachers', parents' and students' all presumably share the same goal of a good education and the related visions and values, one cannot assume that they have a shared understanding of what this entails. The school will need to promote this vision proactively in order to obtain interest, motivation and contributions. Shared vision and goals as a principle of success for building better relationships between school and Māori community must embrace the notion of inclusion and apply it by way of Māori representation in all areas of the school because while the school has exciting plans for the future, management visions have not been realized by the majority of teacher participants. Representation is not found, given or discovered under a rock, it is produced and therefore Māori representation must also have an opportunity to be included and produced in school visions and shared goals (Hall in Quigley, 1999: www.panix.com).

6.3 Understanding Māori Needs

The Part of Practice

Literature from Bernstein (1990) and Mead (1996) support the idea that patterns of pedagogic communication in our mainstream schools are based on underlying codes which privilege dominant forms of knowledge while simultaneously contesting non-dominant (Māori) ways of knowing. Denzin and Lincoln also expose this purpose directly.

Pedagogy is a useful term that has traditionally been used to refer only to teaching and schooling. By using the term cultural pedagogy, we are specifically referring to the ways particular cultural agents produce particular hegemonic ways of seeing (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:285).

The term *cultural pedagogy* is an attempt therefore to make clear the idea that the practice of teaching and learning is socially constructed and humanly determined and interpreted.

Fletcher (2000) prompts us to consider that understanding how classroom practices divert our attention from the source causes of our most pressing troubles in schools is vital to understanding cultural pedagogy. Some patterns of classroom practice in the case study school represent some common value positions regarding the schools cultural pedagogy. Teacher participant quotes used in section 5.1.6 support the particular common position that one monocultural assessment system fits all. An application of critical theory in order to interrogate this view would suggest that dominant group teachers are protecting the underlying codes which privilege their positions of power within the school. Furthermore these teachers are taking for granted their commonsense view of right to power in terms of who makes decisions and who should. Collins, Insley and Soler (2001) explain this to be about:

“... mechanisms for assessing the curriculum often reveal as much about the motivations and ideologies of the educationally powerful as they do about the efficacy of the learning that has taken place” (Collins, Insley & Soler, 2001:125).

Scott Fletcher (2000), an Assistant Professor in the Department of Education at the University of New Hampshire, makes two arguments against teachers with such a view. The first argument concerns the value neutrality of the curriculum based on Western standards and the second argument disputes the meritocracy of public schooling. Fletcher's experience in teaching, and local as well as national school reform, afford him a standpoint whereby he argues that schools appear to fulfill their public responsibilities by offering all students an equal opportunity to compete for the resources society has to offer. Clearly the nature and availability of schooling assessment opportunities have been misconstrued here as falsely equivalent to the acquisition of the one body of formal superior knowledge for success. Michael Apple (1993) also asserts that the curriculum is not value-neutral.

“What counts as legitimate knowledge is the result of complex power relations and struggles among identifiable class, race, gender, and religious groups” (Apple, 1993:46).

The teacher participant interview responses demonstrate that a view of value-neutral curriculum and indeed pedagogy continues to pervade teacher beliefs. The assessment practices of the majority of teacher participants from the case study school reinforced the idea of school authority and control over Māori achievement by applying monocultural assessment processes and structures for all students. The assumption that one best assessment system is value neutral and therefore fits all was not challenged by the majority of these teachers.

Fletcher's (2000) second argument disputes the notion that schools are meritocratic institutions dispensing culturally useful knowledge to all who work for it. With regard to the New Zealand educational experience Marshall (1988) states that we must be concerned with the foundation of belief for the notion of meritocracy (ability plus effort equates to merit¹⁴) because these matters hold considerable value in our state schools.

The belief by teachers that students will have equal opportunities if they are all treated the same in spite of the historical research evidence that states otherwise (Coleman 1966,

¹⁴ The belief or myth (devised by Michael Young, secretary of the policy committee and head of research for the Labour Party in Britain 1940s) that if one has the ability and works hard then they will succeed despite other factors that may influence that success.

Marshall, 1988), continues to stand closely associated to the meritocratic myth. One example of a case study participant's response was that

Just monitoring them (Māori) like the rest of the class... the whole class is the class and I just make sure that they're achieving at their level...I assess them all as a class I don't look at them individually as much (1).

If teachers are choosing to assess all students in the same way based on a dominant set of values then this set of values is hegemonic because the process of contestation indicates that an overriding set of dominant culture values have 'won out' and gained some form of general acceptance by the majority of teacher participants (Hatton, 1994). Hegemony, a notion developed by Antonio Gramsci, is central to critical research. In a contemporary 20th century Gramsci understood that dominant power is not always applied plainly by physical force but also through social psychological attempts to win peoples consent to domination through cultural institutions such as schools.

Gramsci used the term hegemony to denote the predominance Of one social class over others (e.g. bourgeois hegemony). This represents not only political and economic control, but also the ability of the dominant class to project its own way of seeing the world so that those who are subordinated by it accept it as common sense and natural (Chandler, <http://www.aber.ac.uk/>).

The negative outcomes for students with a cultural capital that does not match that of the school and are forced to accept dominant group control is made clear in Fletcher's following quotation.

"Students whose experience and self-identity are not rooted in the dominant culture face the almost unbearable dilemma of trading their cultural identity for the distant promise of success in a society that has so far denied it to them (Fletcher, 2000:32).

School practice defines success, as much, by what is not included in a particular learning experience. The case study school largely excluded Māori knowledge from their classroom curriculum. Equal access to knowledge in this way may be limited by an unequal distribution of (Māori) knowledge and the culturally preferred pedagogy within Western systems. The one monocultural knowledge, teaching and assessment system therefore does not suit all students.

Smith (1990) describes the effects of this one system for Māori.

The control of the New Zealand school curriculum by Pākehā dominant state interests directly correlates with the inferior positioning of Māori subordinate iwi interests, both in and outside of schooling” Smith, 1990:188).

Many teacher participants’ in the case study school did not appear to understand that forms of Māori pedagogy exist or may be preferred by Māori learners. In this situation one must ask if school practices are fully reflective of the rhetorical commitment to Māori education in school policy. Proceeding this inquiry is the importance of yet another question – *Are mainstream teachers prepared and skilled in the area of Māori knowledge and pedagogy?* Do these teachers understand the needs of Māori? For the case study school at the centre of this research, the Principal’s comments again included a similar question and indicate the readiness of teachers in this area.

“Do we know enough about the learning styles of Māori?” (7).

The Principals comments go on to stress that inappropriate use of assessment methods with origins from abroad pervade our educational systems and do not suit our New Zealand experiences. This Principal recognises the importance of grounding assessment procedures within a local context with a design origin that is uniquely Māori.

“Māori need to design our own methods” (7).

Clearly the correlation between better relationships with Māori in order to facilitate better learning cannot be effectively realised if Māori needs are not understood. Furthermore as the Principal points out New Zealand school practices should be grounded with Māori knowledge and pedagogy in mind.

The Part of Policy

It is not only school practices that entrench the beliefs and values of equality but indeed Government policy as well. For example if we examine the *Making Education Work for Māori* booklets more closely we note that a goal was identified:

“It wants to see all Māori getting an education that is as good as that achieved by any other New Zealander” (Ministry of Education & Te Puni Kokiri, 1997a &b:5).

One might ask however - What constitutes ‘an education that is as good as that achieved by any other New Zealander’? This was not defined. Furthermore Māori insisted in the report of this initiative (Making Education Work for Māori, 1998) on a goal of excellence in education rather than this low benchmark of ‘*an education as good as that achieved by any other New Zealander*’. The assumption here is that Māori want this ‘same’ type of education that other New Zealanders are getting. The initiative has chosen to advocate a desired ‘sameness’ closely linked once again to the notion of ‘*equality*’. This claim appears deceptively simple, it is not. Given that the report does not specify a definition in respect to what qualifies as an education ‘*as good as*’ that achieved by any other New Zealander, we can only assume that once again Government have left scope to define this sameness on behalf of Māori. The document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* stems from this prior assumption; that Māori can obtain an education as good as that received by other New Zealanders if better relationships are established with the Māori community and in turn better learning will result. This might be so if the issue was solely about the Māori community becoming more involved in the school context.

*The idea is to increase Māori parents’ awareness of what they can expect from schools and suggest ways in which they can become more involved in supporting their children’s learning
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:5)*

Marshall (1988) explains that equality functions in this type of ‘talk’ not so much as a descriptive term (describing characters etc) but as a prescriptive term, prescribing how people should be treated alike. Policy plays a part in maintaining these sorts of notions. The notion of equality has a notorious history in terms of the way in which it has been often used to defend the treatment of Māori in our education system. Equality of opportunity in this way¹⁵ asserts the belief that supposedly everyone in our society has the same opportunity to succeed in education, and that rewards and success will be distributed on the basis of ability and hard work (Marshall, 1988, Fletcher, 2000). However as Mulgan (1989) explains, if equality really worked in this way, then it could

¹⁵ Equality in this instance is distinguished from *Equality of Outcome*. Equality of outcome was developed as an alternative way of approaching equality. This alternative was to consider ways of addressing inequalities so that success is evenly spread by acknowledging that different groups may be treated differently. The Equality of outcome approach claims that fairness requires different treatment so that equal outcomes will be achieved (Marshall, 1988).

be expected that success in education would be evenly distributed across all social and ethnic groups. Statistics prove otherwise (Sultana, 1989). Marshall (1988) therefore cautions us to think critically about the notion of equality and points out that:

“the institutionalisation of the underlying concept of equality has increasingly put Māori students at a disadvantage in terms of what is expected from them from the day they enter school”
(Marshall, Coxon, Jenkins & Jones, 2000:11).

In raising questions about the nature and meaning of concepts like this, we must inevitably raise wider issues about education and ultimately about what we take to be the prevailing values in the society in which we live. Assumptions of equality mask the ideological foundation on which they are based. They assert a common sense argument of what education involves which is not necessarily true for all. The majority of case study participant teachers assumed that one form of monocultural assessment gave all learners the same opportunity in terms of achievement. The policy statement *as good as that achieved by any other New Zealander* runs into classroom practice and is given credence when teachers treat all learners in the same light. The idea that fairness will be achieved if we treat everybody in the same way fails to take into account that people are not the same (Mulgan, 1989). When addressing the education of Māori students we cannot assume a common view is appropriate nor accommodating because it is not value-free or necessarily beneficial (Hatton, 1994). In order to treat people fairly, often recognition needs to be given to individual or group differences because:

“there is nothing natural about any of the things we do in the name of schooling, or about unequal social relations and the beliefs and practices which maintain and reproduce them”
(Marshall, Coxon, Jenkins & Jones, 2000:11)

As a follow on from the *Making Education Work for Māori* initiative the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document does not attempt to openly state that there is one system for all, rather it addresses the needs of Māori in the following manner:

“These guidelines are provided as part of the government’s efforts to see that all Māori students get the best possible education”
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:6).

Underlying concepts from *Making Education Work for Māori* show that Government has viewed Māori participation in a particular way and this view may continue to run through the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document more implicitly as *the government's efforts*. Government is not necessarily looking for excellence in Māori aspirations of education; rather policy reflects the idea to address the issue of closing the educational achievement gap with non-Māori. The majority of teachers from the case study school support notions of equality. The key issue here is that one set of guidelines for schools assumes that one set of principles and strategies will be appropriate for the two parties involved in the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* deal. Given the exclusion of a Māori perspective due to teacher skills, it will not.

Embracing Māori Perspectives and Knowledge

Policy and philosophy aside, staff skilled in Māori knowledge and perspectives are crucial to the success of this relationship deal. Sockett, DeMulder, LePage & Wood (2001) claim that having a disconnection between the knowledge and experience the student brings to the classroom and current learning expectations is an obstacle that influences the learning experience of the student. Case study interview responses suggest teachers' are integrating Māori knowledge into the curriculum using an additive approach. The addition of content, concepts, themes and perspectives will need to do more than simply fit the existing curriculum structure if they are to be advantageous and challenge the idea that Māori history and culture are not integral parts of our society. Hope exists in the idea that the case study school may begin with additive approaches as a means to an ends. Banks describes this process as the use of additive approaches being starting points to developing curriculum reform in terms of including Māori knowledge, a stage New Zealand supposedly entered in the 1980s with the emergence of Taha Māori programmes prompted by the Core Curriculum Review.

“The additive approach can be the first phase in a transformative curriculum reform effort designed to restructure the total curriculum and to integrate it with ethnic content, perspectives, and frames of reference” (Banks, J. 1997:235).

Banks is asserting a process whereby the additive approach is part of a progressive route to move from one stage to another to reach the transformation stage. Banks transformation approach differs fundamentally from the additive approach because the goals, structure and perspectives of the curriculum are challenged and changed. The advantage here for students is that they are given the opportunity to view concepts, issues, themes and problems from several ethnic perspectives and points of view. A school mainstream-centric perspective in this instance is one of only several perspectives from which issues, problems, and concepts are viewed (Banks, 1997). Students need not perceive their own cultural stance as the 'norm' of society. The case study school does not show any evidence however that there were plans to move out of the additive approach by including a depth of Māori concepts, issues, and themes. Furthermore although Banks approaches may have advantages in terms of multiethnic value (the view from which he writes) the Māori perspective is unique to New Zealand and therefore while giving due consideration to Banks commentary, a Māori commentary must take precedence.

It follows that if teachers are incorporating little Māori into their classroom programmes and do not consider Māori ways of knowing, teaching and learning in classroom practice then they may be creating obstacles for Māori students and the Māori members of the community. Limited learning experiences that minimalise and reduce the rich diversity of Māori knowledge are evident in both Additive (Banks, 1997) and *LADS* (Johnston, 2001, 2002) approaches.

The *LADS* (Language, Art, Dancing, and Singing) model was developed from a pre-service educational programme. It enables teachers to identify minimalistic token Māori programmes that focus only on content, by attaching a framework for reference. Students are encouraged to consider a 3 tier model that includes all levels of Māori content, context and concepts (the three C's). When developing lesson plans to facilitate successful outcomes for Māori learners (learners of things Māori) student teachers may give little consideration to the underlying concepts of the content they intend to include and not always apply content to a Māori relevant context. While Johnston and

McLeod (2001) also acknowledge that a high number of student teachers in teacher education initially locate Māori knowledge as principally relevant to the Social Studies curriculum (*LADSS*) the case study research data indicates this is not necessarily true for some of the case study teachers. Teacher participants also indicated that they are beginning to explore other curricula as well. Not covered in this research is the issue as to why teachers are beginning to explore a wider range of essential learning areas when integrating Māori into the classroom curriculum. Perhaps this is due to the wider range of community expertise available. Interview responses indicate this might be so. Consequently neither *LADSS* approaches nor smatterings of Māori knowledge integration give their Māori learners the opportunity to explore and understand the richness and complexity of Māori knowledge and culture (Johnston, 2002). Teacher awareness and understanding of these issues is important. The teacher participants of the case study school did not appear to have this understanding.

Innovations in Māori assessment and pedagogy are vital and necessary considerations if we are to move beyond the patterns of the past – the pattern of disproportionate Māori underachievement. These innovations will require staff to understand the complexities of *Ako Māori* (Māori pedagogy) so that Māori knowledge and pedagogy is validated and not minimalised.

Māori have already indicated that they expect teachers to address the needs of Māori in the same way they address the needs of non-Māori; that is by offering opportunities that take into consideration the needs of their students. Excluding Māori from the curriculum therefore is not an option.

“They (Māori) want assurances that the people who are providing education services are capable of responding to their needs in the same way they respond to the needs of non-Māori” (Ministry of Education, 1998:5).

According to Vatterott (1999) the use of knowledge as power is often left unexposed because of the assumption that teachers' act on behalf of their students.

“Curriculum (content) dictates instruction. Content is something the teacher knows that the student does not, and the teacher decides what is worth knowing. Knowledge is power and the teacher has it” (Vatterott, 1999: 20).

Ako Māori and Māori knowledge are excluded and therefore deemed irrelevant because teachers are unskilled in the area and therefore do not chose to include it. If a partnership of quality is to be developed then skilled staff are a critical factor of this arrangement. The case study participants display a positive attitude to upskilling in the area of Māori knowledge and this is cause for hope.

6.4 Tino Rangatiratanga

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) claim that critical research that aspires to the name *critical* must be connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular group or public sphere within society. In our contemporary New Zealand context this and the notion of tino rangatiratanga as a means are closely related. Tāpine and Waitī (1997) describe this notion of tino rangatiratanga as a right of Māori, a right that Māori presently do not have the freedom to exercise.

Māori want the power to determine their own destiny. Education is yet another area where Māori have the right to make their own choices as a people. Issues such as having a choice in the type of schooling that they engage in, the preferred languages of learning and speaking, and the content that is taught are slowly becoming redefined and recognized by Māori to be rights, not privileges (Tāpine & Waitī, 1997:13).

Waitī D, Flavell and Rei (in Tāpine & Waitī, 1997) define tino rangatiratanga in relation to education as a means to empower Māori. One case study teacher participant expressed her beliefs in empowering Māori as connected to the right to decide what Māori need for Māori education.

“I don't have any problems with Pākehā teaching Māori, not at all, I don't have any problems with Pākehā doing this, but Pākehā will not come in and tell us (Māori) what Māori need for Māori education” (6).

To do so, claimed this teacher participant, would be to take away our tino rangatiratanga. The freedom to exercise control and self-determination is not a privilege that one may assume to hand over; to empower, it is, as Tāpine and Waiti (1997) state, a right. In an educational context exercising this right is about positioning Māori communities to contribute to teacher implementation and the opportunity for non-Māori teachers to constantly refer back to the source of knowledge; the Māori source. School management groups will have to contemplate providing opportunities for Māori representation.

Educational research that claims to strive for tino rangatiratanga therefore does not merely explore the assumptions and imperatives that hinder the reality of tino rangatiratanga; it must also work toward forms of political action that can redress the injustices found in school, government and classroom practice and policy. Fletcher explains this process in terms of a critical theorist's perspective.

Even with a good understanding of how power and status are embedded in the organization and norms of social institutions, critical consciousness will be incomplete if it does not help individuals gain a rich understanding of the local communities in which their plans and projects are carried out (Fletcher, 2000:124).

By becoming aware of ideological assumptions that inform teacher practice we can begin to enter into a debate regarding those assumptions and how they are not leading to emancipatory actions that fulfill tino rangatiratanga. Here critical theory in a research context can attempt to expose the forces that prevent Māori from shaping the decisions that crucially affect their lives. Two thirds of the teacher participants indicated that their present knowledge of Treaty matters was gained in the pre-service education programme. Teachers, who had been teaching for a number of years did not receive any courses on the topic in their pre-service education, some had read literature on the topic.

Specifically, most teachers' had not considered how the Treaty might be applied to the wider school environment (i.e. across sectors other than the classroom) and sought clarification regarding the application of Treaty in practice in the classroom.

The management level of the school have already identified the need for staff training in this area and have plans to bring in 'outside' personnel and run staff development on the Treaty of Waitangi. Critical research therefore can lead to a more complex understanding

of the ways various aspects of social and educational experiences condition the capacity of Māori to make choices and pursue particular aspirations. Pertinent to this study is the necessity to scrutinize the relationships that develop between school, government and Māori in order to understand how educational policy can inhibit the development of autonomy (Fletcher, 2000). Always the concept of power is related to this debate. In terms of education Vatterott (1999) describes the importance of sharing power so that those involved can take advantage of being in control and determining their own learning.

Shared power and responsibility means that students are given control over their own academic futures, have input into classroom decisions, are held accountable for their actions, and are allowed to solve their own problems (Vatterott, 1999: 16).

This is so for the Māori community as much as it is so for students. Sharing power and responsibility can lead to fulfilling the realization of tino rangatiratanga because Māori can take control over their education.

In association to the unique situation between Māori and school relations, Rei (1997) asserts the idea that the Treaty of Waitangi is an important platform from which her visions for Māori education and tino rangatiratanga can actually happen. Rei claims the Treaty is:

“an ideal model for ensuring that the Government and Māori, in a joint partnership, can respond in ways that are effective for our (Māori) children” (in Tāpine & Waiti, 1997:16).

In order to use the Treaty as a model for ensuring an equal partnership it is crucial that both partnership representatives understand the key principles of the Treaty and associate themselves and their obligations and responsibilities readily. This understanding must extend to the way in which the Treaty of Waitangi encompasses Kaupapa Māori theories because the Māori version of the Treaty embraces those concepts that relate to being uniquely Māori. Subsequently an understanding of how these concepts translate to classroom practice is essential.

Case study teacher participant responses indicate that while some teachers can identify the descriptive details of Treaty articles, the majority do not understand how this translates to classroom practice and professional obligation.

The school context therefore must be concerned with their own obligation and responsibilities to the Treaty. The Principal's following comments capture the school's present situation in relation to Treaty obligations and implementation.

“Well I don't think it happens particularly well yet, I think the Treaty of Waitangi has to be thought of in the same kind of contextual framework as tino rangatiratanga – I think that that's pretty important that they're seen together” (7).

Feedback from discussions regarding school policy and clarification of interview data clearly highlights the Principal's position regarding the Treaty as a useful framework from which to maximize Māori achievement.

Meeting the needs of Māori through the Treaty of Waitangi and tino rangatiratanga is about everyone working together, knowing what the requirements are, having some responsibility – a defined one that is worthwhile, having a common goal and genuine nurturing of the learning process and clearly understanding what their responsibility is about (7).

The Principal's comments indicate that a process for framing the Treaty as a model to fulfill tino rangatiratanga issues has been considered, at least at a personal level.

If the school policies and practices are to explore this idea then the Principal will need to share this understanding on a broader level otherwise the majority of teacher participants will continue to regard the Treaty of Waitangi as a one day a year special event and never strive to understand the day to day implications for the classroom context.

Durie (in Tāpine & Waiti, 1997) goes a step further and suggests the visions for Māori education must include policies for Māori education that are decided by Māori who are representative of the range of Māori communities of interest and expertise. This consideration must extend beyond the national level; it must also be in regard in terms of the school level and be representative of the range of interests and expertise in the Māori community of the school.

The consultation processes may not be adequate to ensure that this happens because the consultation process does not necessarily tolerate an equal power status between partners. The Government therefore has a responsibility to ensure that the collaborative processes involved and presented in guidelines such as the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document can be pursued so that an equal power status for both parties exists (Rei, 1997).

*“...there needs to be a real contribution by both Māori and non-Māori to make sure that our Treaty relationship works”
(Rei in Täpine & Waiti, 1997:66).*

6.5 *Accepting Professional Responsibility*

The teaching profession is indeed a professional role and with professional roles come professional responsibilities. Being prepared to accept these responsibilities and change ones practice in order to benefit others is fundamental to developing a professional conscience. Rudduck (1991) describes the developing professional role of teaching as that which is concerned with

*...the capacity of a teacher to remain curious about the classroom;
to identify significant concern in the process of teaching and
learning; to value and seek dialogue with experienced colleagues
as support in the analysis of situation; and to adjust patterns of
classroom action in the light of new understandings (in Dean 1999:111).*

The Ministry of Education asserts that key to developing better relationships between schools and the Māori community is the attribute of being prepared to change. Being prepared to change is closely associated to a teachers developing professional conscience. At times this may include changes in behaviour and attitudes (Ministry of Education, 2000a).

Carroll describes the importance of this link for developing the self esteem of students.

There is an established link between behavior and self-esteem, although it is not certain which influences the other or whether they are just mutually influential...Children who have high self-esteem believe that what happens to them happens through their own efforts...In order to have high self-esteem, individuals must feel capable. This means that the children need to view themselves as possessing skills and being able to achieve. For high self-esteem, children must also feel significant. In other words, they must feel that what they do, say and think matters to those around them. ... Finally, children must feel worthy. It is important that they consider themselves to have value and be unique” (Carroll, 1998: 167).

Teachers therefore are bound by their professional responsibility and conscience to provide opportunities for all learners to possess skills and be able to achieve in order to feel worthy. This is concerned with being responsible for what happens in the classroom. If better relations between the Māori community / whānau and the school are proposed as a means to achieve better learning which in term leads to achievement and success then a Māori perspective for positive relations is essential to understanding this concept of professionalism. According to Pere (1982) in traditional Māori society tohunga (experts in this context of the learning institutions) had to be specialists of the highest order. The professionalism of teaching and learning was not taken lightly because the product of such institutions had to lead the people in all fields of endeavour. These specialists were accountable to wairua in a spiritual sense and accountable to the community they served, in an earthly sense (ibid). According to Pere (1982) these teachers aimed at excellence and were perfectionists. It is not unusual then that the word ‘kura’ (meaning school in English) can mean precious treasures that includes valuable information and knowledge. Accepting responsibility therefore is not an individual endeavour in Māori terms. Unfortunately a number of mainstream schools and the staff that work within these institutions do not understand the collective commitment and responsibility accepted in the professional role of teaching. The case study research evidence supports this claim given that a number of teacher participants teach the Māori curriculum dependent on individual will and interest rather than a collective professional responsibility and conscience.

Teaching Dependent on Individual Will

The hap hazard approach of permitting teachers to teach the Māori curriculum dependent on will with little collective focus is a dangerous pursuit because Māori concepts are not best understood under these conditions. Classroom experience has provided evidence that the success of too many Māori education programmes is dependent on the will of teachers rather than a collective school vision. Whatsmore if the teachers involved are not skilled and knowledgeable in the area and little is done to ensure upskilling occurs; the management systems of the school are remiss. The risks for the students and for a positive Māori profile are enormous. Tāpine and Waiti (1997) assert that strategies need to be implemented which adequately address the issue of a shortage of competent teachers because teacher incompetence has created problems for Māori learners and caused damage to Māori education in general. Their argument is that teachers with inadequate training have a detrimental effect on children's learning.

While community expertise may aid the classroom practice in teaching of Māori knowledge case study evidence shows that some teachers are choosing not to be proactive about establishing or drawing from resourceful community networks. Arbitrary individual teacher visions for student learning can further complicate the situation and teachers' can feel isolated and as a result unmotivated to teach in this area. Some of the teacher participants demonstrated a disappointment in school collectivity with regard to school direction and a consistent body of knowledge for Māori education. As a result they perceived that little was being done to develop school directions in Māori education and consequently did little to challenge the situation. There is no doubt that becoming a professional educator can be a lonely task if the school visions are not united and if teachers are not adequately skilled; a quality Māori education programme may remain unaccomplished by even those well-intended teachers if professional responsibility is not accepted by teachers (Freppon, 2001). According to Norlander-Case, Reagan & Case (1999) being aware and accepting responsibility will enable teachers to realize the importance of taking risks associated with issues regarding diverse groups.

*“Teachers’ must be fully aware and accepting of the changing population that they will be responsible for”
(Norlander-Case, Reagan & Case, 1999:119).*

Our state schools have had a Māori population in its schools for many years now and yet mainstream school teachers are still not fully aware of the needs of Māori learners. Prospect lies in the fact that all teachers of the case study school identified the need for professional development in the area of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori. Professionalism demands quality resource personnel who understand their role implicitly and are prepared to accept the responsibility of the changing needs of their students. The fact that many teachers are ill prepared to teach Māori knowledge and language to their students negates the curriculum objective set down by Government that all students will have the opportunity to acquire some knowledge of Māori language and culture (Ministry of Education, 1993).

Teachers must enter our schools with less variance between school curriculum expectations and teacher ability to fulfill these. Accepting professional responsibility and developing a professional conscience therefore must begin before teachers are enlisted into schools. Teacher knowledge and skills must be adequately acquired from pre-service teacher education programmes and redressed with ongoing in-service training that caters for the changing needs of learners and teachers.

Pre-service and In-service Teacher Education

Roger Smith (2002) suggests that teachers need to receive regular educational training in order to take on board new advice and use it to develop and become more successful in their teaching role. Some teacher participants were new to teaching and did not feel that the pre-service education programme had adequately prepared them for teaching in the area of Māori education. Other teachers had chosen to take professional training opportunities to develop other areas considered as priorities; that is, areas other than Māori.

The idea that the team must also commit themselves to action if improvements are indeed to happen was expressed by one interview participant.

It's (the school) a very formative state of where its going to in terms of a new direction and unless people really embrace it and believe in it of what it really is about, it's not going to really latch on – so it is more than the school will do it's bit to lead, the school will do its bit to motivate but until people feel that they belong and that they're confident with what they are doing both within the school and without I think that we've got a pretty hard road to hoe and not just for our school but for any school. Wē have to see Māori being lived as part of our values in the community. I'm sorry to say it's my experience that there are still too many knockers out there asking why should we be doing this for Māori (8).

Accepting responsibility for the diverse needs of a changing population of learners is an obligation teachers must be fully aware of according to Norlander-Case, Reagan & Case (1999).

Tāpine and Waiti (1997) suggest that it is widely accepted that there needs to be more Māori teachers and more attention given to the type of training that teachers' receive. Furthermore Durie explains (in Tapine & Waiti, 1997) that in order to meet the visions for Māori education and facilitate successful education outcomes for Māori learners, teachers' and student teachers would be better prepared by pre-service and in-service teacher education programmes that take full account of individual, cultural, social and linguistic diversity in respect of learner abilities, needs and aspirations.

The research evidence suggests that teacher participants require professional development in the area of Māori knowledge and perspectives in order to better facilitate classroom practices and community networks that support the establishment of a school-Māori community partnership and address the needs of their Māori learners. While teacher participants express a desire to do so many have not taken up the opportunity to participate in Māori in-service education. The case study school teachers need to accept responsibility to do this and proactively seek out opportunities to improve their knowledge and skills in this area rather than wait for school developments that implement school wide training. Concerns regarding teacher skills and knowledge may fall on deaf

ears if teachers themselves are not willing to demonstrate a commitment to addressing their own needs. The school however is not free from onus. While the school has recognized the need for education in specific areas (the Treaty of Waitangi) and plans to conduct in-school training, some six months later training has not begun. The lengthy time between policy intentions and practical implementation indicates a weakness in the planning stage of the proposals. No timeframes were evident in any of the schools document proposals perused by the researcher.

The implication for providers of pre-service and in-service education is that the types of knowledge and skills must be reconsidered in terms of meeting educational policies and initiatives. If teachers' are expected to be prepared to take on the government policies and schemes than educational providers must carry the onus for preparing these teachers. This preparation must also include a critique of the policy in order to better understand the underlying philosophy on which it is based and emphasize to teachers the link between building better relationships with Māori in order to facilitate better learning outcomes. Again a Māori perspective is critical to better understanding why Government mainstream policies don't fit Māori educational needs. Ultimately if all parties accept their role and responsibility in the scheme the goals are more likely to be achieved. For parties to do this however stakeholders must sit around the negotiating table and understand what it is they are party to and what their responsibilities and obligations to the task are. Teachers have a professional responsibility to provide their learners with the best possible learning environment.

6.6 Managing Relationships proactively

Following a solemn ERO examination the school took the initiative to identify what changes needed to occur and started consultative processes to achieve them. Schools dedicated to improving education for their Māori students must consider the value of being proactive about intervention and change without persuasion from external moderators being the catalyst for change. The benefits of external moderators are not under question here, the motivation for action is. Professional responsibility obligates

schools to regularly review their policies and practices in order to meet the needs for the growing diversity of its learners. Schools must also be prepared to review and assess their practices and programmes with student benefit in mind and not solely for the purpose of meeting quality standards set by government agencies.

Motivation aside, the school has put considerable effort into planning and review of its practices and policies. Pockets of staff groups have been revealed who are prepared to carry the responsibility for intervention and change for the benefit of their students and the wider school. Such is their commitment that these teachers have offered their time to facilitate additional training and support for other staff members. While the professional responsibility sits with the whole school and the management team specifically, these teachers must be commended for their enthusiasm and dedication. Other teachers' once inspired or better informed may also welcome the opportunity to get more involved. While the Ministry document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* stated that Māori parents wish schools to be proactive in committing to a vision for Māori education, not all case study teaching staff has adopted a stance to accept this request. One teacher participant for example chose not to teach Māori to all her students because she prioritised other learning areas as more important in their learning. Freppon (2001:2) argues that effective teachers are "*teachers who search for their own strengths*".

Some of the case study teacher interview participants have not considered the perspectives of the Māori community whatsoever and therefore have not searched for their own strengths in this area. Establishing a partnership of quality will be difficult under these present circumstances unless a clear staff majority is willing to commit time, effort and initiative to such a plan. The responsibility for Māori education in mainstream schools does not sit with Māori alone, Pākehā have a role as vital and as important to the success of Māori education programmes within mainstream schools. Numerical dominance alone signals the persuasive force these teachers possess.

"The aspirations of Māori for education are affected by non-Māori at all levels" (Tāpine & Waiti, 1997:17).

Minority dedication will not necessarily produce a force of substantial proactive intervention and change necessarily to fulfill the school's vision for Māori education. If the status quo of disproportionate underachievement levels of Māori in education is to be challenged and changed, intervention must be proactive *and* a majority collective is preferred. Kura Kaupapa Māori and Kōhanga Reo initiatives have proven proactive intervention and change can occur. Many of these centers began without adequate staff, a building, resources, teaching skills and the organization skills required to address all of the facets of establishing a new institution. Mainstream schools have a number of these requirements already in place. Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori have proven that bringing sufficient staff on board to capture the aspirations and visions of Māori education can work even when the Government and majority mainstream society values and beliefs are stacked against you. Smith claims that schools offer our Māori parents little encouragement and opportunity to address change in respect of what constitutes an appropriate schooling for their Māori children in mainstream schools (Smith, 1991). This appeared to be the case in the case study school. Staff at the case study school will need to manage Māori-school relationships more proactively if Māori interest is to be gained and maintained. This may require a reconceptualisation of the school communication processes and acknowledging that some of these do little more than support the dominant position of a particular group as the only appropriate approach for all students (Bourdieu, 1973). If the present situation remains unchanged then Māori parents can expect little change for their children's educational opportunities. Bourdieu's model of cultural capital explains how schools reproduce social and cultural inequities from one generation to the next and articulates the argument that it is the dominant group whose knowledge and culture is essentially the foundation of schools.

Just as our dominant economic institutions are structured to favour those who already possess economic capital, so our educational institutions are structured to favour those who already possess the cultural capital, defined according to the criteria of the dominant group (Harker, 1985:65)

Teachers are asserting the cultural capital of the dominant groups as natural and appropriate for all and are treating all children as if they had equal access to it. Hence, according to Harker (1985) the cultural capital that the school takes for granted acts as a most effective filter in the reproductive processes of educational achievement. Under

these circumstances Bourdieu explains that for a non-dominant background student to succeed, surrender from the home to the school habitus is required. Harker's (1985) explanation states that schools that carry only one 'currency' of cultural capital have a very powerful assimilative outcome for their students. Outcomes for Māori will stand little chance for change if the schools dominant culture does not consider the cultural capital of Māori students. Therefore being proactive about intervention and change in this context must also include being willing to challenge the norms of dominant group acceptance. This challenge will have to come from non-Māori as well as Māori. That includes members of the dominant group who may not necessarily recognize their own privilege. According to McIntosh (in McGoldrick 1998) seeing oneself as an oppressor and an unfairly advantaged person or as a participant in damaging a culture may be difficult given that the culturally and powerfully dominant are taught to see themselves as individuals whose moral state depends on individual moral will.

Furthermore initiating intervention and change is about more than self reflection. Such a process must be formative and include an ongoing self review process that monitors, evaluates and **amends** developments. This is a requirement for all school professionals.

When activities or developments are initiated and implemented it is important to build review into the process – monitoring, evaluating, reviewing and amending need to become part of the culture of continuous improvement and increased effectiveness (Tomlinson, Gunter & Smith 1999:66).

The opportunity to become more proactive about intervention and change must not be drawn from the teachers and school staff alone. Māori must have a say. It is important therefore that Māori are not only welcomed into the school in an appropriate manner and given the opportunity to offer support and initiatives but become part of our educational institutions by offering and controlling a Māori perspective in all facets of school operations. Schools are located in a history of shutting Māori out, however being proactive about intervention and change is about being proactive and demonstrating the initiative to encourage Māori to 'come in' and participate. This *about-face* philosophy will need careful consideration. Managing Māori-school relationships proactively by demonstrating initiative is essential to establishing a partnership of quality.

6.7 Consulting for Control

A trend emerging out of the last two decades regarding public education in relation to Māori needs has seen a thrust by Government to consult with Māori communities in an effort to include Māori interests and address Māori participation and achievement.

This trend has overflowed into Government policy and in recent changes to the National Educational Guidelines for New Zealand education; Māori have been located in terms of their involvement in schools largely within a consultation approach.

“NAG 1 (revised)

Each Board (School Board of Trustees), through the principal and staff is required to.....in consultation with the school’s Māori community, develop and make known to the school’s community policies, plans and targets for improving the achievement of Māori students” (Ministry of Education, 2000a: www.tki.org.nz).

The consultation process was the basis of belief behind an approach utilised in the *Making Education Work for Māori* initiative of 1997 and was more about making Māori work for education than ensuring education was working for Māori. Government representatives popped into regional hui (meetings) for the consultancy touchstone, ticked a box to confirm these criteria had been met and then withdrew to reorganise ‘their’ strategy. Despite the expressions of commitment to a partnership relationship from state policy there was certainly no intention of developing partnership terms in the decision-making that followed. Ellsworth describes the process whereby one group assumes to speak for another as well-versed with the concepts of domination and subordination (1992 in Fletcher, 2000:98).

“The cycle of domination and subordination often begins... when a person in a position of power speaks for others, or speaks as if what they say can encompass (can be generalized across) the experiences of others”.

The history of New Zealand leadership and power roles reflect the subordinate position Māori have been fashioned to accept in our society and the dominate role of Western values and knowledge in our education and wider systems.

Fletcher expands on Ellsworth's idea on the cycle of domination and subordination by suggesting that this claim to authority is common not only in educational policy but especially among classroom teachers and frequently silences those whose interests and needs are

“already least well understood, pushed furthest to the margins, or most readily exploited by the dominant group” (Fletcher, 2000:98).

In this attempt to better represent Māori interests Government has done little to acknowledge Māori constructions of social order central to Māori society. Whānau for example has been given little consideration under the terms of consultation perhaps because it meets all three criteria set down by Fletcher (ibid). The complexity of the whānau concept is ‘least well understood in mainstream schools, pushed furthest to the margins in management systems, and exploited by dominant group interests’. Vatterott (1999) not only agrees that relationships of domination exist with schools but argues that school structures and norms are saturated with relationships of domination, therefore the struggle to move beyond this dominating relationship is concerned not solely with external forces, it is an internal struggle within the school environment as well. Vatterott explains that addressing this relationship will mean challenging ones beliefs about education given the coercive force of school practices.

It means wrestling with long-held assumptions about teaching and shaking our taken-for-granted- patterns of acting and ways of relating in classrooms ...The coercive nature of schooling has conditioned teachers to believe that autocratic authority must be maintained (Vatterott, 1999:7).

If teachers and policy makers were to shake their taken-for-granted patterns of acting and ways of relating in classrooms then perhaps more consideration may be given to this concept of whānau as a legitimate process for management and classroom operations. Consultation is not necessarily the best approach for communicative value with Māori. Working as a whānau is not only conducive to a partnership arrangement but is more appropriate for Māori communities. Cormack (1997) supports the notion of employing the concept of whānau in developing better learning outcomes for Māori students and has found it to be a most useful tool for teaching effectively in the classroom. Māori have already expressed interest in relationship dynamics formerly tested in educational

initiatives. In the final report of the *Making Education Work for Māori* plan that summarises Māori aspirations, Māori are reported to wanting more say and more responsiveness and diversity in education.

Māori had demonstrated huge interest in the *Making Education Work for Māori* consultation process by attending the regional hui around the country in large numbers however they had to work for education in the interests of their students and children by standing at these hui to convince Government representatives of a number of ideas and issues; issues and ideas that Government took for themselves. In terms of the whānau process no reciprocity was evident, the integrity of Government relations was not maintained and any commitment to a partnership with Māori had been abandoned. The power dynamics involved ensured ‘Government still wielded the rod’ and departed with the decision making power. It appeared Government were not interested in a collaborative partnership, only in collecting data and withdrawing.

This consultation process was not consistent with the goal of partnership because although the Government’s intention was that responses from the meetings, (as well as written submissions), would inform the development of future proposals for Māori, this did not include Māori decision-making at any level. The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document is a direct follow on from this initiative and continues to inform its audience with a commentary that legitimates the consultation process. In this way it is fundamentally inconsistent with its own goal of partnership. Consultation is not an apt or constructive process from which to realise the partnership arrangement it asserts. Even so Government has a section of the document (*Better Relationships for Better Learning*) devoted to ‘Understanding how best to consult with Māori’.

“Schools that have improved their relationships with Māori parents and whānau understand how to consult effectively with Māori...”
(Ministry of Education, 2000a:12).

There is a more coercive insidious nature to the consultation approach being espoused in the *Better Relationships* document however. The document guidelines go on to encourage leadership teams to develop consultative mechanisms and networks that

“secure the necessary mandate for changes to increase Māori participation in the school” (Ministry of Education, 2000a:12).

Perhaps from first glance this statement seems harmless enough, it appears Government wants to increase Māori participation in the school. However when we consider that consultation is being used as a means to secure the necessary mandate for change determined by Government and not Māori, we must ask ourselves what it is that is regarded as necessary and is this necessity regarded equally by Māori for Māori or is it a means by which the state can ascertain, assert and maintain control.

The fact that schools are viewed as authority systems that can secure necessary directives for Government goals is itself a coercive use of the education system and reminiscent of former assimilative policy agenda. Schools are, after all, agents for the Government not neutral bodies in the partnership deal. Policy language of this nature serves as a form of regulation and domination. The domination of monocultural practice therefore is legitimated by this Government policy. The consultation process is regarded a means to secure Māori conformity and Government control and authority. School practice is supposed to take its lead from this document. Māori constructions of social order are insignificant to this purpose. If consultation was regarded as the vehicle to support and encourage a partnership arrangement then we might expect to see the domination of monocultural practices not only take a back seat but instead be booted out in the *Better Relationships* proceedings.

The research work of Sammons, Hillman and Mortimore (1995 in Tomlinson, Gunter and Smith, 1999) conclude that home-school partnership that take into consideration aspects of parental involvement in their child’s learning are elements of effective schools. It follows therefore that for schools to be successful in their quest for a Māori community – school partnership understanding what constitutes whānau involvement is vital.

Whānau as a structure in the Māori social order matrix is central to Māori society. If as Pere (1982) claims, the wellbeing of the whānau or team is dependent upon how well its members complement and support each other, teachers must be willing to commit their support and develop a more open approach to increasing Māori-school relations with an understanding of what the concept of whānau means from a Māori perspective. It is then that as Sammons, Hillman and Mortimore (ibid) suggest, teachers that have a deeper understanding of whānau concepts for Māori children are better prepared to assist and understand the Māori child's learning. Sockett, DeMulder, LePage and Wood support this concept.

“When the parents, the teacher and the child can share their experiences and perspectives and discuss ways to negotiate and perhaps reconcile conflicts, this shared understanding of the child provides greater support for the child's learning”
(Sockett, DeMulder, LePage, & Wood, 2001:161).

Clearly while the concept of whānau deals with practices that bond and strengthens ties understanding the associated links is important to Māori. Some case study teacher participants did not acknowledge this importance nor take it into consideration when interacting with Māori whānau. Pere (1997) acknowledges that the way Māori organize and govern themselves as whānau may be quite different from that of Western culture but these ways are not necessarily well understood by the majority of teachers in our mainstream state schools.

Furthermore the organisation and social order of whānau can involve complex expectations from its members. The idea of maintaining the *mana* and integrity of whānau dynamics, the reciprocity gestures settled, sometimes over lengthy periods of time and the accepted commitment to the duties of whānau are rooted within whānau systems. Teacher participants from the mainstream sector of the case study school had had little experience with regard to developing relationships with Māori whānau.

Contemporary society can create difficulties for whānau members when conflicting lifestyles that challenge these duties come into play, particularly if whānau operations are no longer closely associated or utilised less because two conflicting sets of cultural values exist.

“It (whānau) is an area that can pose challenges for an individual who has to live in and out of different ideologies” (Pere, 1997:26).

The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document broaches the concept of whānau involvement in the areas of planning, teacher selection panels and meetings whereby a large number of issues regarding school operations are discussed.

The power of these representative Māori groups however is checked in the following statement that sits directly under these suggestions.

“Boards need to consider how much responsibility to give whānau groups. Some statutory responsibilities cannot be delegated to others” (Ministry of Education, 2000a:16).

Once again Māori are reminded of their limitations within the partnership deal. The conclusion is that a partnership will also be checked in terms of its authority and status of power. The intention of a meaningful partnership was never part of the documents schema. An inconsequential partnership which meets the outwardly appearance of alliance would suffice. Government never intended giving up any authorization.

Sutherland warns that Government reforms and policy might work in this way.

“...more often than not reforms which appear to address Māori concerns can be classified as mere rhetoric in so far as they do not acknowledge and therefore do not change the structural nature of conditions which impact upon Māori” (Sutherland, 1994:34).

It is upon this ideological acceptance that the policy *Better Relationships for Better Learning* sits since its purpose is to secure a Government mandate rather than work toward a meaningful partnership. If we are to ensure a partnership of quality we need to carefully consider the platform on which we lay the foundation for this development.

The positive aspect of consultation approaches are that schools are coming face to face with their Māori communities and developing relationships to one degree or another. The case study school utilizes the concept of hui with regard to the ways in which it consults with the Māori whānau of the school.

The concept of hui is important in negotiations with whānau and its members are not bound by kinship ties alone. The concept of whānau may be developed within a school community but should be realised as a Māori construct not simply as a Western meeting approach. In terms of social order hui emphasise the arrangement of relationships and how they function.

Pere (1997) comments on the way in which hui are used to legitimate whānau membership.

“The hui is important to social order and impresses on people the significance of that order...People need to feel they have the right and the time to express their point of view” (Pere, 1997:44).

According to Pere in a Māori system one would expect in hui, such as the regional meetings held for consultation under the *Making Education Work for Māori* plan and consultation hui held between the case study school and the Māori community, which Māori expect to approach the key decision makers on an equal basis with what she describes as

‘...eyeball to eyeball’ communication... In other words the individual that is being approached cannot hide behind a system” (Pere, 1997:36).

Unfortunately this is not always the case. Chrispeels, 1996 (in Bastiani & Wolfendale, 2000) claim that often a school centric view sees family involvement and support solely in terms of the willingness and capacity of parents to support the work of teachers on the school’s own terms – not on terms of whanaungatanga nor on the terms of equal partnership. Bastiani and Wofendale (2000) claim that the reason for schools viewing family involvement on the school’s terms and with less parental involvement is due to a number of schools maintaining a rather suspicious and distanced view of the benefits of closer working relationships. Schools still regard too much parental and whānau

presence as an intrusion. Case study evidence supports the idea that this may be the way some teachers feel.

I don't have a problem with them (parents) coming to my room, but I know that some of our staff don't like parents coming in they don't like Board coming in .. its not a welcoming place... a lot of our parents don't like coming to school because they've had bad image of school (6).

Some schools are now hoping to better understand Māori cultural practices and Māori social order by communicating and interacting with whānau through this *loaded* consultation process. Historically Māori have not been encouraged to enter mainstream schools and provide support, advice and guidance in the education of their children. As a result many schools now struggle to entice Māori into a system perceived as unfriendly and uncompromising in terms of recognising Māori values. Is it little wonder if Government promotes the consultation process in recent initiatives as a solution for ensuring Māori have a say rather than exposing its maintenance of government control. Māori are not oblivious to the undertones of Government policy. The historical account of government policies has left a legacy of broken promises and supposed premises that have never been realised. The Treaty of Waitangi was one of the first from which Māori took count.

Professionalism carries particular obligations and responsibilities and as a practicing classroom teacher one expects that the development of parent-teacher communication should be nurtured and fostered in order for both parties to create and understand the best possible learning environment for their shared interest; the learner. Teachers need to be committed to exploring the notion of whānau and understand the implications of its social order so that the needs a partnership arrangement are developed. Consultation may not be the only method to ascertain this information; given the undertones of this policy it may not be the method at all. The process of consultation might be better replaced with a method that takes into account the notion of collaboration in order to redress the needs of all stakeholders involved. Ramsay, Hawk, Harold, Marriott and Poskitt (1993) for example, found in their New Zealand studies that where key position stakeholders (in both the schools and the community) were prepared to share power, people accepted

ownership of the changes more readily and moved quickly towards a collaborative partnership. Bastiani & Wolfendale, (2000) also identify a sharing of common values and sense of ownership supporting notions for parental involvement. A commitment to collaborative methods might be more readily taken up by the Māori community because it is more conducive to the operations of whānau rather than concerned with the agenda of securing Government authority. If Government is prepared to offer a partnership deal then it must follow through an underlying philosophy that commits to this notion.

Chapter Seven

7.0 Conclusion

Summary

Fairness in education is an issue if Māori statistics represent a disproportionate number of Māori underachievers. Government strategies to address this underachievement have been numerous but disappointing. The latest recalibration of solutions and attempts to address this crisis include a relationship perspective, that is, a proposal that Government gives emphasis to a partnership arrangement between Māori and schools.

The Government document *Better Relationships for Better Learning*, part of an initiative to counter Māori underachievement expects to have Māori participating more fully in the education of their children. This thesis has provided an analysis of the document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* and an examination of the extent to which the intentions of the document have been implemented in a case study school. Understanding the manner in which policy is approached is essential to understanding the thesis. The research has followed a line of investigation that provided a greater understanding of the theory, practice and justification for the document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* and the impact it has had on a case study school. The research makes a number of conclusions, including the point that a number of inconsistencies exist. Furthermore these inconsistencies contribute to the ways in which schools (the case study school in particular) may fail to implement the document in accordance to an ideal proposal. Schools can use the document to guide their own relationship with the Māori community but must be aware that the development of a partnership entails much more than merely implementing Government initiatives. There are two sides to a partnership arrangement.

Inconsistencies in the Government Ideal

The problem with the document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* is that it is a proposal dealing with two issues in the one policy document; that of Māori underachievement and the other, the demand by Māori for more say in education. The underlying assumption in the document is that the latter will contribute to addressing the former position; however the research for this thesis does not substantiate that assumption. The analysis provided throughout the thesis shows the process of implementation set down in the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document exposes inconsistencies. The *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document proposes that schools consider engaging with Māori parents, whānau and communities more readily in order to develop better relationships. The suggestion is that the outcome of this development will result in better learning for Māori students and work towards meeting Māori needs. To implement a new plan of action that focuses on relationships and the building of a partnership arrangement clear understandings as to how that partnership is defined is the first needed. The document assumes the authoritative position by which presumptions about Māori learning and teaching might be applied to Western frameworks and processes as a point of reference. This inconsistency involves the condescension common in government policy that Non-Māori shall decide what works best for Māori. An example lies in the definitions offered as a framework for a deeper understanding of the partnership notion. Māori need to be part of the process. Māori views of partnership must be included. Māori perspectives and knowledge should be included. It follows on then that schools would also exclude this knowledge if the document is the proposed set of guidelines from which to model development. Government must prioritise staff understanding of Māori needs in professional development if the partnership ideal is to be realized.

The second inconsistency is thereby highlighted. This contradiction assumes that a partnership deal can be struck under the present mainstream school conditions in which power is not distributed equally. Partners are supposed to assume an equal sharing of the profits, risks, losses and decisions. Schools will never reach the aspirations for Māori

tino rangatiratanga under these conditions because Māori do not have the autonomy to control the crucial decisions about education that affect their lives. This unequal power status must be challenged.

Making decisions, the document assumes, is the duty of the school management team. Some aspects of the development plan will need coordination and this coordination needs to be a clear responsibility for someone. Lead teachers must show an interest in how work on the proposal is going and should be aware of the teachers who have a particular need for support in carrying out their responsibilities related to the initiative. The third inconsistency is therefore brought forth. The success of the document proposal is dependent on mainstream teaching staff that are largely unskilled in the area of Māori education. This majority is also overwhelmingly representative of the dominant monocultural group of New Zealand society. Representatives will require extensive support to realize the proposal ideals. While a strong management or leadership team must have effective communicators who realize the importance of sharing and conveying the visions for the school clearly, they must also possess the skills and knowledge to complete those tasks. The document supports the idea that a strong leadership team is essential to the success of drawing up this partnership and yet without the teacher skills and knowledge and without teacher desire or the opportunity to obtain these, the success of the proposal is jeopardized. Teachers must show initiative for their professional responsibilities and accept this. The proposal is a people orientated endeavour based on relationship building and therefore the leadership team must have people orientated communicators who are capable of reflecting on two world views, one for Māori and one for the school. Skilled staff and Māori representation is the key.

On setting the school vision for the direction of partnership a clear set of target goals which can be seen to be achieved and identifies the associated tasks readily is important. It is also essential to consider the amount of time any particular task will take and to plan what is reasonable. Goals that are long term need to be broken down into tasks which can be done in the short term within the case study school for example. Often once the school has established the vision, clarified the definitions, set the target goals and

identified the associated tasks which act as parameters for the school a community direction is sought. Inconsistency number four is exposed. Māori representation throughout the key policy making and school planning stage is often omitted or allocated minimal Māori representation. Furthermore the concept of whānau as a networking and support structure within this representation is given little consideration. An understanding of Māori learner and Māori community perspectives are added to the policy framework after the fact or used to sit over Western reconstructions that do not expose the depth and validity of Māori knowledge as unique. This finding is replicated in Smith's earlier 1991 work in which he also found that Māori have been excluded from meaningful education policy development. A powerful school vision cannot be realized under these circumstances.

At this stage the document suggests that Māori perspectives can be established by consulting with the Māori community and working toward incorporating Māori perspectives and knowledge in the school curriculum and different levels of school management. Here lies the fifth inconsistency – Consulting for Control. Māori hold no real power in the process of consultation. Though the process itself is a useful one it is not conducive to the partnership proposal because Māori do not expect to offer up knowledge and understandings that may be used or alternatively, discarded and then have no part in the decision making and implementation that follows. This is not the nature of partnership. It is little wonder that the case study school have not yet matched the practice to the philosophy given the process and conditions in which this proposal is to be nurtured. Clear statements that include Māori representation at every level of school operations will overcome this dilemma. Statements about whose responsibility it is to carry out particular tasks should be set by both parties. Māori may have some sense of control and autonomy if they realize that they are better represented than ever before and if some joint responsibilities help develop the idea of working together but if Māori are not represented at every level of school operations a partnership arrangement will not be realized.

In terms of addressing the document principles practically (in the classroom) teachers themselves must take on their responsibility in the proposal seriously, it is their professional obligation to do so. They have an obligation to proactively follow up on their own learning and regularly monitor their progress and development against the changing needs of a diverse group of learners. The sixth inconsistency involves the lack of government, schools and educational providers to seriously call teacher professionalism into question and have teachers accountable for their teaching obligations. Government and school policy and educational pre-service training providers have a professional responsibility to ensure that teachers develop a professional conscience and are skilled and knowledgeable in the area of Māori education. Schools also have an obligation to see that these skills are carried out (Dean 1999).

One might ask if the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* document is so fundamentally inconsistent then what use is it? In terms of the assertion the document makes for a partnership relationship between Māori and schools under present circumstances, it is not because the vision for a partnership under these conditions cannot be realised. However in terms of having schools think about the relationships it has with their Māori communities and as a guideline for challenging this relationship, the booklet is innovative because it ventures into territory where most Government documents fear to tread. It espouses and therefore legitimates some notions and ideas that Māori would not have imagined witnessing in Government literature some twenty years ago. The suggestions that Māori should have equal power status and reach for tino rangatiratanga within state school institutions are two such examples supported in this document. The idea that education could become a collective and collaborative partnership between Māori and state schools is another. Although one might argue that these statements are nothing more than rhetoric (rhetoric witnessed by the underlying assumption that Government autonomy prevails) the fact remains that these initiatives are worth exploring and developing and government has validated them. The vexing and perplexing aspect of this proposal is that these ideas are likely to be trialed under conditions that are not conducive to their success and probably receive a disapproving rap by school systems that struggle to realize the value. Notwithstanding the number of

inconsistencies, the document has highlighted a number of key elements of success which have left a residual of issues for further study and exploration. Research data and literature sources support the importance of these elements and stress the importance of these working in combination within the partnership proposal. The lack of one key element (a strong leadership team for example) can see the rest of the development tumble down. Partnership as it ought to be should include Māori representation in leadership, in the school vision, in school curriculum and operations, in the way the relationships is managed and in the communicative approaches adopted by the school. To ignore these needs is to ignore the requirements of a fair and equitable partnership deal. These needs can only be addressed once staff are ready to accept their professional duty. It is true that Government will no doubt rethink the partnership proposal in the light of what it will deem as either the schools or communities inability to endorse the document and yet another initiative will emerge. As Popkewitz and Fendler explain (1999) the terrains of power, knowledge and pedagogy are never static. Government responses to Māori education therefore are being recalibrated regularly. Each calibration however refuses to submit to the notion of endorsing Māori tino rangatiratanga on Māori terms and the work for Māori researchers therefore continues. We must continue to work to expose the recalibration of Government policies and initiatives for what it is; a resistance to Māori determination, and simultaneously strive to have Māori constructions legitimated and realized in a wider context.

Systems cannot change until attitudes change. Teachers must believe in their own ability to impact student learning and the student's will to learn. Teachers must learn to share power and responsibility (Vatterott, 1999:21).

Some exciting prospects exist in the visions of the case study school for Māori education. The problem however has been one of interpretation rather than implementation. Once schools realise that a partnership involves two parties equally and consider Māori representation in practical terms rather than the mere philosophical, we might see some progress. This will be difficult however given that Government's undertone in the document cues teacher views to follow on that responsibility for sole authority sits with

Government. School policy must be grounded in the unique New Zealand experience that includes Māori representation and represents the unique community it serves.

The Case Study School

Given an understanding of the inconsistencies of the policy document we are better informed in drawing an analysis of the actions taken by the case study school regarding this Ministry initiative.

Drawing in the Māori community from the initial idea in its conception is key to Māori having the opportunity to determine how the relationship might be formed in the first place. The school (perhaps like many others) picked up the document and considered it from a point whereby school authority is a given. While the document *Better Relationships for Better Learning* is Government policy it is also a guideline article and schools may venture out to explore the building of relationships and 'rewrite' the definitions for this development. Schools therefore might have considered a Māori representative group with whom to work regarding the policy from the onset. Further to this idea Māori must be given an array of opportunities and means for interaction so that those who do not have the time to come into the school, those who chose not to come in but still want to play a part and those who simply prefer another mode of interaction can still contribute. Consideration should be given to the face to face contact that many parents prefer with regard to school-home relations.

Having contributors from the Māori community within all levels of discussions for the development of the document is important in a partnership proposal. Māori representation is vital. This representation should not attempt to be limited due to large numbers (given the opportunity); rather an equal distribution of representatives from the community and the school should be an ideal. Once these teams have been established (including the management team) staff professional development should be prioritized and realized in correlation with the aims and goals of the *Better Relationships* document and the discussions that occur. The fact that the majority of teachers are monocultural

and unskilled in the area of things Māori should attempt to be countered by addressing the criteria set down by the school in professional development and in new staff appointments. In particular Māori teachers who have these skills should be sought to address the uneven number of Māori and non-Māori staff. Staff development should also include participation from the members of the Māori community who have chosen to represent their community and become a part of the whole school development programme. This is one means for encouraging the total membership to be working toward the same goal.

Those teams or groups that take responsibility to lead should also be committed to the professional responsibility to initiate and inform the wider community and all school staff as to the nature and goals of the development being proposed. A collective vision should be kept alive by a driving force from within the school and the community. It is also the duty of these teams to break down the collective vision to short term goals that are achievable in a given timeframe that allows for formative assessment throughout the progress made. These short term goals and the associated tasks must be made known to all staff and all staff encouraged to support them. Those teachers that choose not to support the goals must be called into question by the school management team rather than left to work dependent upon individual will. Exciting proposals from individual teachers may be considered not only by the Board but by the lead teams and integrated into a total school development plan under these circumstances. Dean (1999) has explained that schools have an obligation to see that the skills and tasks required for school development are carried out. Some teachers in the case study school have demonstrated their willingness and commitment to supporting school developments already. It is essential that this commitment be encouraged and nurtured.

Finally in all that the school does with regard to the document development, consideration must be given to legitimating Māori knowledge, pedagogy, tikanga, language and ways of knowing. A proactive role must be taken to ensure that this happens and the idea that Māori representatives will take care of this aspect should not be assumed. This responsibility sits with all members of the school; parents, teachers, Board

and students. The case study school research highlighted the idea that teachers are seeking out community expertise more and this development should be encouraged. A partnership is about sharing the responsibilities, the encouragement of new ideas and the reinforcement of traditional beneficial school operations. Legitimizing things Māori however is not only about teaching practice, policies and school operations; it is also about using an attitude that makes explicit this legitimation. While the case study school has some exciting ideas to trial not all staff are ‘on board’ with the developing vision and the success of the vision depends upon effective communication between management teams and teaching staff with effective Māori representation. Therefore the Ministry of Education policy *Better Relationships for Better Learning* is implemented only to the extent to which the school considers it important. The positive point here is that schools and Māori may work together in partnership to critique, review and adapt the policy principles to suit the needs of their students/children. Critical to the success of this outcome however is the need for schools to incorporate Māori representation so that the adapted policy principles are a ‘true’ reflection of the partnership arrangement. Were this to be the case, the extent to which the *Better Relationships for Better Learning* policy is implemented would be decided by the two parties, the school and the Māori community. In unison the possibility of an effective partnership may be realized. In order for Māori to realize the full extent of policies to improve Māori education such as *Better Relationships for Better Learning*, this thesis concludes that Māori participation has to be integral to all levels of policy, progress development from initiation to implementation and a Treaty based Māori participation should be based on the concept of equal partnership as expected for arrangements between Māori and agencies of the Crown such as schools. Without such a level of partnership Māori will remain in a position of disadvantage in any exercise concerning participation with schools about realising the aspirations of Māori learners at school.

Nau te rourou, naku te rourou

Ka ora ai te kaupapa o ngā kura

From your contribution and my contribution

School philosophy can flourish

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Appendices 1

Principal Package

INTRODUCTION LETTER AND INFORMATION SHEETS

for the Principal and Board of Trustees

Towards Better Relationships for Better Learning Schools Addressing Maori Achievement

Ko Ruapehu kei runga
Ko Rotokura kei raro
Ko Te Turi o Murimotu e tu nei ra
Whakarehu taku kite i te awa o Whangaehu
Te marae o Ngati Rangi e tau nei
E tu ra koe e koro, Rangiteauria
Hei tohu ki te ao e
E kore e hipa i o mokopuna
Ka puta ka ora to iwi e

Tena Koutou Katoa.

Date:

*Ki te Komiti Kura, tena koutou
To the School Board of Trustees, greetings
E te Tumuaki, tena koe, he mihi nui hoki,
To the Principal, greetings also,*

My name is Jen McLeod and I am a lecturer and student at Massey University College of Education. I am studying toward my Masters of Education degree and am this year working as a student on my research thesis in order to complete the requirements for this degree.

My Supervisors for this research project are:

Professor Arohia Durie	Dr Patricia Johnston
Head of Department Te Uru Maraurau	Senior Lecturer Te Uru Maraurau
Massey University College of Education	Massey University College of Education
Palmerston North	Palmerston North
Phone: (06) 3569099 X8636	Phone: (06) 3569099 X8612

My research thesis focuses on the policy introduced by Government in March 2000 entitled ***Better Relationships for Better Learning*** (Ministry of Education, 2000). This policy proposed a set of guidelines for Boards of Trustees and school staff on engaging with Maori parents, whanau and communities. A number of schools are justly proud of the ways in which they have catered to the needs of their Maori students and addressed the relationship of partnership with Maori. I am keen to hear about these successes and also to share the perceptions and interpretations of educational practitioners located at the chalkface and school environment in terms of what is working well, what we can build upon and what we can develop further.

I am interested in the way in which your school has implemented this policy through classroom programmes and practices. To complete my research thesis I wish to conduct a study that entails interviews with teachers, the Principal and Maori representatives on the Board of Trustees and make classroom observations of these practices (All interview schedules are attached). A collation of policy documentation from the Ministerial and School levels would accompany informal discussions with the Principal regarding school policy pertaining to this initiative. In other words what do teachers, principals, Maori members of the Board of Trustees have to say regarding this initiative and how do Ministry and School policies and practices represent this? Interview times and discussions would naturally meet with participants approval given the teaching and administrative commitments and workload associated to each role. I estimate that interviews would take no longer than an hour and around half an hour to an hour for observations. The discussion with the Principal regarding school policy would also take approximately an hour. Overall each group would spend no longer than a maximum of two hours in total involved in the research. I understand that Maori representatives on the Board of Trustees and teachers must also agree before any research can begin and therefore will not approach these participants until consent from the Board and Principal have been obtained. Consent will later also be sought from students (and their parents/caregivers) involved in the observations should you agree.

I am therefore seeking your permission to approach your school in regard to participation in this study. I have enclosed relevant documents for your perusal and potential distribution to teachers, yourself, Maori members of the Board of Trustees and students' (and their parents/caregivers) pending your decision and that of the Board. I would be happy to meet and discuss the research further with you and outline the intent of the enclosed documents confirming rights and obligations in the project.

I am available to discuss or clarify any of the details within this information package. I would also be happy to come into the school to discuss or present this research in person.

I can be contacted directly at Massey University College of Education on (06) 3569099 X8628 or by leaving a message with our Department secretaries on either (06) 3569099 X8963 or X8740.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, PN Protocol 01/109. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact

Professor Sylvia V Rumball

Chair

Massey University Regional Human Ethics Committee: Palmerston North, telephone (06) 3505249

email S.V.Rumball@massey.ac.nz

How the information you contribute will be used

Fulfilment of Masters Degree

I will be using the information collected from this study in the production of a thesis as partial fulfilment of Massey University's requirements for the degree of Master of Education. The information collected from schools will be analysed and contribute to the overall study.

Publication

This thesis publication will therefore potentially sit as a resource available in the Massey University library to future researchers in terms of providing information about the topic under focus. Parts may also be used to produce reports, journal publications and seminars given on the research topic. Any agreement regarding confidentiality and anonymity will remain effective for such uses.

Sharing of Information

The sharing of this information with research participants therefore is crucial prior to its completion as the people studied have an absolute right to know what has become of the data they have volunteered and its possible use and application. Draft copies of each contribution will therefore be made available upon request for correction.

Your Rights in the Research

- **The researcher will maintain total confidentiality and anonymity from participants being identified**
- **Participation is voluntary, therefore the right to decline to participate at any stage of the interview/observation or to answer or give response to any of the questions is assured**
- **Participants may choose at any time prior to the completion of data gathering at the school to withdraw from the research project**
- **Questions about the study may be asked by participants at any time during participation**
- **Participants may choose whether or not to have their interview recorded on audiotape, the researcher alone will transcribe all recordings. Participants may request to check this transcript. Correction of the information contributed may be made upon request and have attached to the information a statement of the correction prior to completion of the research and before the final copy is drawn up.**
- **Participants may have the tape recorder turned off at any time.
The researcher will take notes throughout the interview.**
- **Participants may choose to have the data they have contributed destroyed or returned to them at the completion of the five-year period for which the University is obliged to keep records.**
- **Participants have the right to know that all data pertaining to the research will be kept securely stored in a lockable filing cabinet at Massey University in the researchers office under a coded numerical system so that identities are protected**
- **Participants will be sent a summary of the draft research findings for comment.**
- **A copy of the research which will be accessible through Massey University upon completion**

Thank you for taking the time to read through this package and consider my request.

If you decide to take part in this research as a participant then please return a completed '*Consent Form*' to the researcher in the stamped addressed envelope that has been provided. You may keep the information sheets for further reference.

If you have any further questions please ring me on (06) 3569099 X8628, or leave a message for me to get back to you by contacting one of our secretaries on that same number, on extension 8740 or 8963 and we can either discuss these over the phone or make a suitable time to meet and talk.

Kia Ora

Jen McLeod
Lecturer / Researcher/Student
Te Uru Maraurau
Massey University College of Education
Private Bag 11-222
Palmerston North
PH: (06)3569099 ext 8628 or 8740 or 8963

CONSENT FORM

for Teachers' the Principal and Maori Representatives on the Board of Trustees

Towards Better Relationships for Better Learning Schools Addressing Maori Achievement

I have read the Information Sheet and am satisfied that I understand the study. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time prior to the completion of data gathering within the school and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission. (The information will be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project).

I understand that I have the right to have the data I contribute destroyed or returned to me at the completion of the five year period for which the University is obliged to store this information. The data will be securely stored in a lockable filing cabinet under a coded numerical system during this time.

I understand that I can request correction of the information I contribute prior to completion of the research and before the final copy is drawn up.

I understand that I may request a summary of the draft research findings and offer comment and that I may have access to the results of the research which will be accessible through Massey University upon completion.

I agree / do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

Nau te rourou, Naku te rourou; Ka ora ai te iwi

From your contribution and my contribution, the people will be sustained

Name of Researcher:	Jen McLeod	Contact Phone Number:	(06) 3569099 X8628 direct line
Address:	Massey University College of Education Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North		(06) 3569099 X8963 to leave a message

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE for the School Principal

Question 1

The Principal will be asked briefly to give details on their training and leadership role.

Question 2

Your school received from the Ministry of Education (2000) the policy document *Better Relationships for Better Learning*; can you briefly explain what you understand this document to be about?

Question 3

- (i) What has your school implemented in terms of school wide development regarding the policy of *Better Relationships for Better Learning*?
- (ii) Are there other policies that have been developed in your school that deal with Maori participation and achievement?
If so, what are these?

Question 4

- (i) Does your school take into account the Treaty of Waitangi?
- (ii) Does your school provide training to help members understand the Treaty of Waitangi?
- (iii) Does your school give effect to the National Education guidelines with respect to Maori?
- (iv) Does your school include objectives in relation to Maori achievement?
(Could you elaborate?)

Question 5

- (i) How does your school "*lead from the front*" and demonstrate "*commitment to working with Maori parents' and whanau kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face)*" (Ministry of Education, 2000:3)?
- (ii) How does your school vision show that the school values Maori culture and language?
- (iii) How does your school find out the educational needs and aspirations of their local Maori communities?
- (iv) Building relationships take time, what long-term relationships has your school developed or is developing with their Maori communities?
- (v) How does the 'building of better relationships with the Maori community enhance the learning and achievement of your Maori students?

Question 6

- (i) Does your school provide opportunities for teachers to become familiar with te reo Maori and tikanga Maori?
- (ii) Does your school provide opportunities for you to promote te reo Maori and tikanga Maori?
- (iii) How does your school review and improve outcomes for Maori?
- (iv) How does your school involve kaumatua, whanau and local Maori leaders and community members in planning?

Question 7

- (i) How do you include Maori input into curriculum programme planning and design?

Question 8

- (i) Does your school provide opportunities for students who wish to learn in Maori?
- (ii) Does your school offer programmes that acquaint all students with te reo Maori?

Question 9

- (i) Do you have an open door policy that attracts Maori to participate? Explain.
- (ii) Do you provide a physical environment that is inviting and accessible for Maori parents and whanau?
- (iii) Do you provide opportunities for local Maori to contribute to the school's physical and classroom environment?

Question 10

- (i) How do you consult with the Maori community?
- (ii) *Better Relationships for Better Learning* claims that more Maori participation will lead to educational achievement for Maori children, how do you work with Maori parents to provide complementary educational expectations between home and school?
- (iii) How do you support your staff to work with Maori parents to provide complementary educational expectations between home and school?

Question 11

Have you any further comment to make regarding *Better Relationships for Better Learning* and how we might achieve this in our New Zealand schools?

Thank you for your contribution to this research. Kia ora mo tou tautoko i te kaupapa nei.

Appendices 2

Maori Representative on School Board Package

INFORMATION SHEET

for Maori Representatives on the Board of Trustees

Towards Better Relationships for Better Learning Schools Addressing Maori Achievement

Ko Ruapehu kei runga
Ko Rotokura kei raro
Ko Te Turi o Murimotu e tu nei ra
Whakarehu taku kite i te awa o Whangaehu
Te marae o Ngati Rangi e tau nei
E tu ra koe e koro, Rangiteauria
Hei tohu ki te ao e
E kore e hipa i o mokopuna
Ka puta ka ora to iwi e
Tena Koutou Katoa.

Tena koe

My name is Jen McLeod and I am studying toward a Masters of Education degree at Massey University. The final component of my degree study involves a research thesis entitled *Towards Better Relationships for Better Learning: Teachers' Addressing Maori Achievement through Partnership*

My Supervisors for this research project are:

Professor Arohia Durie	Dr Patricia Johnston
Head of Department Te Uru Maraurau	Senior Lecturer Te Uru Maraurau
Massey University College of Education	Massey University College of Education
Palmerston North	Palmerston North
Phone: (06) 3569099 X8636	Phone: (06) 3569099 X8612

I am seeking your support and participation to carry out this research study. I am interested in the Government's policy document "*Better Relationships for Better Learning*" and the ways in which one school has implemented this policy into their classroom programmes and contexts. Many schools are justly proud of the ways in which they have catered to the needs of their Maori students and addressed the relationships of partnership between schools and the Maori community. I am keen to hear about these successes and also to share the perceptions and interpretations of educational practitioners located at the chalkface and school environment in terms of what is working well, what we can build upon and what we can develop further.

Your school has been selected on the grounds of proximity (its location is convenient for the researcher), roll size (the larger roll offers the researcher the opportunity to conduct interviews with six teachers and therefore potentially six students will be observed) and policy implementation (the policy document under study is in use in your school). This is a research concerning schools engaging with Maori students and communities therefore the students selected will be Maori and be in the class of a teacher who will have interviewed by the researcher.

The methodology of this research involves conducting interviews with Maori Representatives on the Board of Trustees in order to gain an understanding of the implementation of the '*Better Relations*' policy document. Interview Schedules are attached. The interview time would meet with your approval given the administrative commitments and workload associated to your role. I estimate that interviews would take no longer than an hour. Overall each group would spend no longer than two hours in total involved in the research.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, PN Protocol 01/109. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research please contact:
 Professor Sylvia V Rumball
 Chair
 Massey University Regional Human Ethics Committee: Palmerston North telephone (06) 3505249
 email S.V.Rumball@massey.ac.nz

How the information you contribute will be used

Fulfilment of Masters Degree

I will be using the information collected from this study in the production of a thesis as partial fulfilment of Massey University's requirements for the degree of Master of Education. The information collected from schools will be analysed and contribute to the overall study.

Publication

This thesis publication will therefore potentially sit as a resource available to future researchers in terms of providing information about the topic under focus. Parts may also be used to produce reports, journal publications and seminars given on the research topic. Any agreement regarding confidentiality and anonymity will remain effective for such uses.

Sharing of Information

The sharing of this information with research participants therefore is crucial prior to its completion as the people studied have an absolute right to know what has become of the data they have volunteered and its possible use and application. Draft copies of each contribution will therefore be made available upon request for correction.

Your Rights in the Research

- **The researcher will maintain total confidentiality and anonymity from participants being identified**
- **Participation is voluntary, therefore the right to decline to participate at any stage of the interview/observation or to answer or give response to any of the questions is assured**
- **Participants may choose at any time prior to the completion of data gathering at the school to withdraw from the research project**
- **Questions about the study may be asked by participants at any time during participation**
- **Participants may choose whether or not to have their interview recorded on audiotape, the researcher alone will transcribe all recordings. Participants may request to check this transcript. Correction of the information contributed may be made upon request and have attached to the information a statement of the correction prior to completion of the research and before the final copy is drawn up.**
- **Participants may have the tape recorder turned off at any time. The researcher will take notes throughout the interview.**

- **Participants may choose to have the data they have contributed destroyed or returned to them at the completion of the five-year period for which the University is obliged to keep records.**
- **Participants have the right to know that all data pertaining to the research will be kept securely stored in a lockable filing cabinet at Massey University in the researchers office under a coded numerical system so that identities are protected**
- **Participants will be sent a summary of the draft research findings for comment.**
- **A copy of the research which will be accessible through Massey University upon completion**

Thank you for taking the time to read through this package and consider my request.

If you decide to take part in this research then please return a completed 'Consent Form' to the researcher in the stamped addressed envelope that has been provided. You may keep the information sheets for further reference.

If you have any further questions please ring me on (06) 3569099 ext 8628 or leave a message for me to get back to you by contacting one of our secretaries on that same number, on extension 8740 or 8963 and we can either discuss these over the phone or make a suitable time to meet and talk.

Kia Ora

Jen McLeod
Lecturer / Researcher
Massey University College of Education
Palmerston North
Ph: (06) 3569099 ext 8628 or 8740 or 8963

Some schools are already meeting the needs of Maori students, and their experiences can help other schools
(Ministry of Education, 2000:2)

CONSENT FORM

for Teachers' the Principal and Maori Representatives on the Board of Trustees

Towards Better Relationships for Better Learning Schools Addressing Maori Achievement

I have read the Information Sheet and am satisfied that I understand the study. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time prior to the completion of data gathering within the school and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission. (The information will be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project).

I understand that I have the right to have the data I contribute destroyed or returned to me at the completion of the five year period for which the University is obliged to store this information. The data will be securely stored in a lockable filing cabinet under a coded numerical system during this time.

I understand that I can request correction of the information I contribute prior to completion of the research and before the final copy is drawn up.

I understand that I may request a summary of the draft research findings and offer comment and that I may have access to the results of the research which will be accessible through Massey University upon completion.

I agree / do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

Nau te rourou, Naku te rourou; Ka ora ai te iwi

From your contribution and my contribution, the people will be sustained

Name of Researcher:	Jen McLeod	Contact Phone Number:	(06) 3569099 X8628 direct line
Address:	Massey University College of Education Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North		(06) 3569099 X8963 to leave a message

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

for Maori Representatives on the Board of Trustees

Question 1

Representatives will be asked briefly to give details on their experience on Board of Trustees and relationship to the Maori community.

Question 2

Your school received from the Ministry of Education (2000) the policy document *Better Relationships for Better Learning*; can you briefly explain what you understand this document to be about?

Question 3

What has your school implemented in terms of school wide development regarding the policy of *Better Relationships for Better Learning*?

Question 4

- (i) Does your school take into account the Treaty of Waitangi?
- (ii) Does your school provide training to help members understand the Treaty of Waitangi? If so, have you taken advantage of this training?
- (iii) Does your school give effect to the National Education guidelines with respect to Maori?
- (iv) Does your school include objectives in relation to Maori achievement?
- (v) Does your school provide opportunities for you to promote te reo Maori and tikanga Maori?

Question 5

- (i) What is your vision for the development of Maori participation and achievement in your school?
- (ii) Does your school's vision show that the school values Maori language and culture?
- (iii) Does the school provide opportunities for the Maori community to share their educational needs and aspiration?
- (iv) How is your Maori community encouraged to work with the school and participate in school activities?
- (i) Do you work together with parents and whanau to provide complementary educational expectations between home and school?

Question 6

- (i) What opportunities does the school provide for local Maori to develop a long-term positive relationship?
- (ii) As Maori representative on the Board of Trustees, what opportunities do you have to develop a positive and meaningful relationship between the school and the local Maori community?
- (iii) How do you consult with the Maori community?
- (iv) How do you get Maori parents involved in the running of the school?
- (v) Have you set up any Maori committees in the school? If so, what does this role include?
- (vi) Does your school provide opportunities for you to promote te reo Maori and tikanga Maori?
- (vii) Does your school provide a physical environment that is inviting and accessible for Maori parents and whanau?

Question 7

How does the 'building of better relationships with the Maori community enhance the learning and achievement of your Maori students?

Question 8

Have you any further comment to make regarding *Better Relationships for Better Learning* and how we might achieve this in our New Zealand schools?

Thank you for your contribution to this research. Kia ora mo tou tautoko ki te kaupapa nei.

Appendices 3

Teachers' Package

INFORMATION SHEET **for Classroom Teachers'**

Towards Better Relationships for Better Learning **Schools Addressing Maori Achievement**

Ko Ruapehu kei runga
Ko Rotokura kei raro
Ko Te Turi o Murimotu e tu nei ra
Whakarehu taku kite i te awa o Whangaehu
Te marae o Ngati Rangī e tau nei
E tu ra koe e koro, Rangiteauria
Hei tohu ki te ao e
E kore e hipa i o mokopuna
Ka puta ka ora to iwi e

Tena Koutou Katoa.

Tena koe

My name is Jen McLeod and I am studying toward a Masters of Education degree at Massey University. The final component of my degree study involves a research thesis entitled *Towards Better Relationships for Better Learning: Teachers' Addressing Maori Achievement through Partnership*.

My Supervisors for this research project are:

Professor Arohia Durie	Dr Patricia Johnston
Head of Department Te Uru Maraurau	Senior Lecturer Te Uru Maraurau
Massey University College of Education	Massey University College of Education
Palmerston North	Palmerston North
Phone: (06) 3569099 X8636	Phone: (06) 3569099 X8612

I am seeking your support and participation to carry out this research study. I am interested in the Government's policy document "*Better Relationships for Better Learning*" and the ways in which one school has implemented this policy into their classroom programmes and contexts. Many schools are justly proud of the ways in which they have catered to the needs of their Maori students and addressed the relationships of partnership between schools and the Maori community. I am keen to hear about these successes and also to share the perceptions and interpretations of educational practitioners located at the chalkface and school environment in terms of what is working well, what we can build upon and what we can develop further.

Your school has been selected on the grounds of proximity (its location is convenient for the researcher), roll size (the larger roll offers the researcher the opportunity to conduct interviews with six teachers and therefore potentially six students will be observed) and policy implementation (the policy document under study is in use in your school). This is a research concerning schools engaging with Maori students and communities, therefore the students selected will be Maori and be in the class of a teacher who will be interviewed by the researcher.

The methodology of this research involves conducting interviews (interview schedule attached) with teachers' in order to gain an understanding of the implementation of the 'Better Relations' policy and to take part in classroom observations relevant to this policy. The interview and class observation times would meet with your approval given the teaching and administrative commitments and workload associated to your role. Consent of all students and their parents will be sought before observations are conducted. Given that some students may decline to participate, independent tasks may need to be set in another space for those not participating to enable teacher, consenting students and the researcher time to fulfil these observations. I estimate that interviews would take no longer than an hour and around half an hour to an hour for observations. Overall each group would spend no longer than two hours in total involved in the research.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, PN Protocol 01/109. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact:
 Professor Sylvia V Rumball
 Chair
 Massey University Regional Human Ethics Committee: Palmerston North
 telephone (06) 3505249
 email S.V.Rumball@massey.ac.nz

How the information you contribute will be used

Fulfilment of Masters Degree

I will be using the information collected from this study in the production of a thesis as partial fulfilment of Massey University's requirements for the degree of Master of Education. The information collected from schools will be analysed and contribute to the overall study.

Publication

This thesis publication will therefore potentially sit as a resource available to future researchers in terms of providing information about the topic under focus. Parts may also be used to produce reports, journal publications and seminars given on the research topic. Any agreement regarding confidentiality and anonymity will remain effective for such uses.

Sharing of Information

The sharing of this information with research participants therefore is crucial prior to its completion as the people studied have an absolute right to know what has become of the data they have volunteered and its possible use and application. Draft copies of each contribution will therefore be made available upon request for correction.

Your Rights in the Research

- **The researcher will maintain total confidentiality and anonymity from participants being identified**
- **Participation is voluntary, therefore the right to decline to participate at any stage of the interview/observation or to answer or give response to any of the questions is assured**
- **Participants may choose at any time prior to the completion of data gathering at the school to withdraw from the research project**
- **Questions about the study may be asked by participants at any time during participation**
- **Participants may choose whether or not to have their interview recorded on audiotape, the researcher alone will transcribe all recordings. Participants may request to check this transcript. Correction of the information contributed may be made upon request and have attached to the information a statement of the correction prior to completion of the research and before the final copy is drawn up.**
- **Participants may have the tape recorder turned off at any time.**

The researcher will take notes throughout the interview.

- **Participants may choose to have the data they have contributed destroyed or returned to them at the completion of the five-year period for which the University is obliged to keep records.**
- **Participants have the right to know that all data pertaining to the research will be kept securely stored in a lockable filing cabinet at Massey University in the researchers office under a coded numerical system so that identities are protected**
- **Participants will be sent a summary of the draft research findings for comment.**
- **A copy of the research which will be accessible through Massey University upon completion**

Thank you for taking the time to read through this package and consider my request.

If you decide to take part in this research then please return a completed 'Consent Form' to the researcher in the stamped addressed envelope that has been provided. You may keep the information sheets for further reference.

If you have any further questions please ring me on (06) 3569099 X8628 or leave a message for me to get back to you by contacting one of our secretaries on that same number, on extension 8740 or 8963 and we can either discuss these over the phone or make a suitable time to meet and talk.

Kia Ora

Jen McLeod
Lecturer / Researcher
Massey University College of Education
Palmerston North
Ph: (06) 3569099 ext 8628 or 8740 or 8963

Some schools are already meeting the needs of Maori students, and their experiences can help other schools
(Ministry of Education, 2000:2)

CONSENT FORM

for Teachers' the Principal and Maori Representatives on the Board of Trustees

Towards Better Relationships for Better Learning Schools Addressing Maori Achievement

I have read the Information Sheet and am satisfied that I understand the study. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time prior to the completion of data gathering within the school and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission. (The information will be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project).

I understand that I have the right to have the data I contribute destroyed or returned to me at the completion of the five year period for which the University is obliged to store this information. The data will be securely stored in a lockable filing cabinet under a coded numerical system during this time.

I understand that I can request correction of the information I contribute prior to completion of the research and before the final copy is drawn up.

I understand that I may request a summary of the draft research findings and offer comment and that I may have access to the results of the research which will be accessible through Massey University upon completion.

I agree / do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed: _____

Name: _____

Date: _____

Nau te rourou, Naku te rourou; Ka ora ai te iwi

From your contribution and my contribution, the people will be sustained

Name of Researcher:	Jen McLeod	Contact Phone Number:	(06) 3569099 X8628 direct line
Address:	Massey University College of Education Private Bag 11 222 Palmerston North		(06) 3569099 X8963 to leave a message

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE for Classroom Teachers'

Question 1

Staff will be asked briefly to give details on their teaching background and training.

Question 2

Your school received from the Ministry of Education (2000) the policy document *Better Relationships for Better Learning*; can you briefly explain what you understand this document to be about?

Question 3

What has your school implemented in terms of classroom practice and development regarding the policy of Better Relationships for Better Learning?

Question 4

- (i) Does your school take into account the Treaty of Waitangi?
- (ii) Does your school provide training to help members understand the Treaty of Waitangi? If so, have you taken advantage of this training?
- (iii) Does your school provide opportunities for you to become familiar with te reo Maori and tikanga Maori?
- (iv) Does your school provide opportunities for you to promote te reo Maori and tikanga Maori in teaching?

Question 5

- (ii) What is your vision as a classroom teacher for the development of Maori participation and achievement?
- (iii) What strategies have you established as a classroom teacher for the development of Maori participation and achievement?
- (iv) How do you find out about the educational needs and aspirations of Maori parents and whanau?
- (v) Do you work together with parents and whanau to provide complementary educational expectations between home and school?
- (vi) How do you assess progress towards positive outcomes for Maori?

Question 6

- (i) Does your teaching incorporate cultural differences into your classroom context?
- (ii) How does your teaching draw on Maori needs and differences in classroom programmes and curricula?
- (iii) Do you use kaumatua and Maori community expertise in your programmes?

- (iv) How do you include Maori input into curriculum programme planning and design, (kaumatua, whanau and local Maori leaders and community members)?
- (v) Does your classroom context provide opportunities for students to learn in Maori relevant settings?
- (vi) Do you provide opportunities for learning about local Maori history and cultural traditions?
- (vii) How do you assess students learning on those topics?
- (viii) Do you make available reading materials and resources in te reo Maori?
- (ix) Do you offer programmes that acquaint all students with Maori language and culture?

Question 7

How do you consult with the Maori community?

Question 8

How does the 'building of better relationships with the Maori community enhance the learning and achievement of your Maori students?

Question 9

Have you any further comment to make regarding *Better Relationships for Better Learning* and how we might achieve this in our New Zealand schools?

Thank you for your contribution to this research. Kia ora mo tou tautoko ki te kaupapa nei.

Appendices 4

PRINCIPLES OF THE TREATY OF WAITANGI AS DETERMINED BY THE CROWN

1. The Kāwanatanga Principle The Principle of Government

The first Article of the Treaty gives expression to the right of the Crown to make laws and its obligation to govern in accordance with constitutional process. This sovereignty is qualified by the promise to accord the Māori interests specified in the second Article an appropriate priority.

2. The Rangatiratanga Principle The Principle of Self Management

The second Article of the Treaty guarantees to iwi Māori the control and enjoyment of those resources and Taonga which it is their wish to retain. The preservation of a resource base, restoration of iwi self management, and the active protection of Taonga, both material and cultural, are necessary elements of the Crown's policy of recognizing rangatiratanga.

3. The Principle of Equality

The third Article of the Treaty constitutes a guarantee of legal equality between Māori and other citizens of New Zealand. Furthermore, the common law system is selected by the Treaty as the basis for that equality although human rights accepted under international law are incorporated also.

The third Article of the Treaty also has an important social significance in the implicit assurance that social rights would be enjoyed equally by Māori with New Zealanders of whatever origin. Special measures to attain that equal enjoyment of social benefits are allowed by international law.

4. The Principles of Cooperation

The Treaty is regarded by the Crown as establishing a fair basis for two peoples in one country. Duality and unity are both significant. Duality implies distinctive cultural development and unity implies common purpose and community. The relationship between community and distinctive development is governed by the requirement of cooperation which is an obligation placed on both parties to the Treaty.

Reasonable cooperation can only take place if there is consultation on major issues of common concern and if good faith, balance, and common sense are shown on all sides. The outcome of reasonable cooperation will be partnership.

5. The Principle of Redress

The Crown accepts a responsibility to provide for the resolution of grievances arising from the Treaty. This process may involve courts, the Waitangi Tribunal, or direct negotiation. The provision of redress, where entitlement is established, must take account of its practical impact and of the need to avoid the creation of fresh injustice. If the Crown demonstrates commitment to this process of redress then it will expect reconciliation to result.

(Burke, 1990:54-55)

