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WHANAU/BILINGUAL UNIT IMPLEMENTATION:
AN EDUCATIONAL RESPONSE TO CHANGE WITHIN NEW ZEALAND PRIMARY
SCHOOLS.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master in Education at Massey University.

Patricia Pringle

1992

MASSEY UNIVERSITY



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Acknowledgment

The author wishes to acknowledge with gratitude and thanks the generosity of the Kaumatua, the District Advisor Education Maori and Pacific Islands, The two Resource Teachers Maori, the Principals, Teachers and Parents within the study boundaries who were so willing to give of their time in the sharing of their vision, and wisdom.

Grateful thanks are also extended to the Supervisors, Dr R.K. Harker and Mrs Arohia Durie for their guidance and help in bringing the study together.

Acknowledgement is also made of the foundation laid by Kathleen Irwin in 339, and Melanie in the Reo. They opened the eyes of an English-Scot New Zealander to the heritage of the Land.

Patricia Pringle

Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena koutou katoa.

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GLOSSORY

Ako -	expression of the unity in meaning existing between learning and teaching.
Aroha -	love.
bi-cultural-	two meaning and symbol systems in co-existence.
culture -	system of symbols and meanings by which people make sense of their world.
Kai Awhina -	helper, assistant.
Kura Kaupapa Maori-	education through total immersion in a Maori milieu.
Kaiarahi Reo -	Maori Language assistant.
Kaumatua-	Maori elder.
Kaupapa -	Maori methodology.
Kohanga Reo -	language nests, pre-school education within a Maori milieu.
Manaaki -	caring, sharing, empathy.
Maoritanga -	knowledge framework within Maori values.
Powhiri -	welcome, greeting.
Te Kaiako -	the teacher.
Te Reo -	the language.
Nga Tamariki -	children
Tangata Whenua -	People of the Land.
Wairua -	spirituality.
Whanaungatanga -	familiness .
Whanau -	family.

ABSTRACT

A study employing ethnographic methodology in the manner of Lutz (1984) towards the examination of change through the implementation of Whanau, or Bi-lingual Units, within an existing primary school structure in two components of low density Maori population. Each component contained a primary and intermediate school setting. Data were gathered through observation and interviews with Principals, teachers, parents, children and Resource Maori personnel. Two basic directions underpinned the study. One concerned with manifested change within the total school structure, and the other with the legitimacy of what was taught from a Maori perspective. Legitimacy of Maori Values was assessed alongside the given definitions of Tauroa (1980) and Ka'ai (1990), while the changes within the school structure were aligned with the contentions expressed by Banks (1988) and Irwin (1988,1989) as necessary for the manifestation of a bi-cultural perspective within a school structure. The implications of the study were that the Units had been successful in their provision for knowledge and learning from within a base in Maori Values, but that the utilization of the Units as a platform for promoting change within the over-all school structure was insufficient by itself, to bring about those changes necessary within the education structure, if New Zealand society is to become at least bi-cultural.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with an educational response to the aspects of change implied by the recognition of New Zealand as a bi-cultural society. Specifically the objective was to investigate the manner in which Maori Values in relation to learning and knowledge, through the establishment of Whanau groupings within functioning primary school structures have been negotiated and dealt with.

With the dawning awareness within the last decade,

"that New Zealand's present society is mono-cultural and ethnocentric with the dominant Pakeha culture controlling all the major institutions and restricting other cultural expressions.....(Tauroa 1982:140)

has come the realization that change is necessary if New Zealand is to become at least bi-cultural. Implementation of a bi-cultural perspective however, extends beyond the mere provision of a cultural alternative. It is the underlying ethos, method and values of presented 'knowledge' which determines interpretation, or 'world view' (Harker & McConnochie 1985).

"Education cannot be an equaliser when its curriculum, methods and ethos are derived solely from the culture of the dominant group in society."(Irwin 1987, SG 2:19)

By embracing the principle of a 'non-racist curriculum' (Irwin 1988) the core Curriculum Review (1987) provided a firmer

foundation for recognition of tangata whenua partnership in education. (Keni Johanni-Piahana 1988) Thus the way was opened for the legitimization of Maori values in relation to knowledge and learning within the functioning education structure. Whanaungatanga and Aroha could have official status within the State School system. The implications of a Whanau system of education as it exists within the concept of Maori Values could therefore, prove to be the break through sought by Maori people.

The introduction of 'another point of view' has relevance also for those of the dominant cultural group, as a bi-cultural perspective cannot become a reality without the comprehension and understanding of those who belong to the dominant cultural group. To have walked a mile in another's shoes (Irwin 1987) provides an illumination of not only another's reality, but a clearer view of one's own. The prime focus of the study therefore is towards providing a clearer vision of the way in which negotiated change through the legitimization of Maori Values in knowledge and learning within the State system may have introduced a dual cultural perspective for both Maori and Pakeha students within the Primary School structure.

Two basic directions suggested themselves. One, concerned the school structure. Had it changed to any recognisable degree, or had it merely rearranged the surface form, allowing that which had always been, to flow on unimpeded? If New Zealand

is to become at least bi-cultural, then the State School structure will of necessity be required to manifest a change towards a bi-cultural perspective. This raises an issue of definition. Bi-culturalism, like its counter-part multiculturalism is clouded by ideology, rhetoric and misunderstanding when it comes to manifestation in reality. If culture is defined as being the "system of symbols and meanings by which people make sense of their world" as typified by Metge (Irwin 1988), then, bi-cultural implies two meaning and symbol systems in co-existence. A bi-cultural society, to paraphrase Irwin, would therefore be,

"one in which 'both 'cultural groups are able to make sense of their world, communicate with each other and plan and live their lives as they see fit."(Irwin 1989)

Irwin (1988) employing the holistic model of Banks points out the requirement for the total school environment to be the unit of change. Within the conceptualisation of Bank's model,

"the total school environment is conceptualised as a system that consists of the following variables: the school staff, school policy and politics, the school culture and hidden curriculum, the learning styles, the languages and dialects, community participation and input, the counselling programme, assessment and testing procedures, the instructional materials, the formal curriculum and course of study and teaching styles."(Irwin 1988:72)

Irwin is quite specific regarding the contentions of change when she states that,

"Until each of these variables reflects a position of ethnic pluralism, then the programme cannot be described as bicultural". Irwin 1988:72)

Assessment of the import of Bernstein's three message systems, the curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation, together with the context of education, (Harker & McConnochie 1985) supports Irwin's contention. Therefore in order to conclude that any change found within the school structure was a bi-cultural manifestation, that change was necessarily required to be exhibited within the total school environment.

Direction two, concerned the legitimacy of that which was taught from a Maori perspective. Was what was provided a legitimate conception of Maori Values? That is, was the Kaupapa acceptable to Maori people as a valid presentation of their world view, or cultural perspective? In order to provide an acceptable habitus for Maori students the value base was necessarily required to reflect the Kaupapa, or objectives of Maoritanga in practice. The whanaungatanga (familyness), aroha (love), manaaki (caring, sharing and empathy) and wairua (spirituality) of Maoritanga (Tauroa 1980, Ka'ai 1990) require expression within the curriculum, pedagogy and ethos of the Whanau Unit. In accordance with Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital (Harker & McConnochie 1985, Irwin 1988), without a legitimate Kaupapa the unit could not lay claim to providing a valid habitus for Maori students, and therefore, neither could it be considered as contributing

towards a bi-cultural perspective. However, the challenge of cultural diversity has implications beyond the confines of the school system.

The "concept of multiculturalism [substitute bi-culturalism] emphasises a more equitable allocation of resources and the sharing of power." (Irwin 1989)

The issue therefore becomes one of power and control. Understandably, from a Maori perspective the second direction is of the greater importance, since it is they who have been disadvantaged by the system for so long. (Kaai-Oldman 1988) The ramifications of sharing resources and power however, point to the desirability in obtaining an appreciation of cultural diversity within the dominant group.

"The crux of the policy-making problem for multicultural societies is that the final power for decision-making on minority needs and rights is taken within the constraints of dominant public opinion under circumstances where the majority, rather than the minority, is usually in control." (Churchill 1987:67)

Therefore, though a separate system might prove to be a necessary option for Maori people, it might not, in itself be sufficient to ensure an equity in life chances, or the facilitation of a bi-cultural society.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The necessity for change towards the recognition of cultural diversity within New Zealand emerges as a common theme from current writings. Spearheaded by Tauroa's (1982) blunt perceptions in exposing the myth of multi-cultural Utopia in New Zealand, recent publications have highlighted the unresolved nature of the monocultural dominance of mainstream culture within New Zealand. Calls for action have become more strident through the eighties into the nineties. For with the dawning awareness within the last decade,

"that New Zealand's present society is mono-cultural and ethnocentric with the dominant Pakeha culture controlling all the major institutions and restricting other cultural expressions.....(Tauroa 1982:140)

has come the realization that change is necessary if New Zealand is to become at least bi-cultural. By embracing the principle of 'a non-racist curriculum' (Irwin 1988) the core Curriculum review (Dept. of Education 1987) provided an official framework for the recognition of "Tangata Whenua as partners in education."(Johanni-Piahana 1988:61) Renwick in particular was optimistic about the influence of the Curriculum Review in promoting change.

"...The development of school curriculum that acknowledges the place of Maori as tangata whenua, and deals equitably with Maori students is the highest priority, and the most difficult challenge facing the state school system." (Renwick 1988:19)

While Renwick was optimistic about the recognition of Maori values in their own terms within the State system, he also sounded a warning that it could be the State system's last opportunity to deliver on its promises.

Bilingual education became part of the New Zealand education scene with the establishment of Bilingual Schools in Ruatoki and the Hawkes Bay in the late seventies, and developed elsewhere in various forms, including bi-lingual units, through the eighties. (Benton 1984,1988) Such innovations were located mainly in areas of high Maori population, and increasingly in order to respond to the needs of Maori children emerging from Kohanga Reo pre-school education. (Benton 1984,1988) Benton (1984) provides an informative account of the common characteristics of five bi-lingual schools.

From the point of view of this study however, the most comprehensive published background material is that presented in 'Getting It Right'. (Hirsh & Scott 1988) Prepared in three sections the material builds upon that official framework towards equity expressed within the Curriculum Review. The over-view in Part One explores the possibilities opened up by

the Curriculum Review (Dept. of Education 1987) for future direction. Part Two explores the principles, concepts and issues as they appear to several prominent education activists, while Part Three details the practices and programmes in action as practitioners reveal the joys and problems of their attempts to give reality to a bi-cultural perspective. The majority of those attempts were efforts made within existing school structures with a high Maori population. Research in the current study could be considered to extend those initiatives, but from within areas of lower Maori population percentage. As well, some of the principles and concepts expressed within the text, particularly those of Irwin, have been assimilated into the theoretical base.

The New Zealand state education system has however, undergone a radical change in administrative structure since the implementation of the Curriculum Review, with the advent of 'Tomorrows Schools,' and more recent assessments such as those expressed in "Political Issues In New Zealand Education" (Codd, Harker & Nash 1990) are less than encouraging. Codd, Harker and Nash (1990) consider the removal of the State's regulatory powers gives free reign to the forces of hegemonic domination in society. They cite the results from decentralization in China (Robinson 1986 cited Codd, Harker & Nash 1990) as a far from encouraging example of what the future could hold in New Zealand. Social reality in an unequal society in accordance with Bourdieu's cultural capital

theory reproduces inequality in favour of the dominant group. (Codd, Harker & Nash 1990) A contention which echos the disquiet expressed by Tuhiwai Smith (1986) and Hingangaroa Smith (1986). Grounded in the theories of Bourdieu, Freire and Apple, Tuhiwai Smith is more concerned with abandonment of the present structures and creating entirely new moves, towards the education of Maori people within a Maori ethos. Her account reflects a Maori perspective on the operation of ideology and power within education, and she makes some astute comments on the cultural struggle and the breaking of constraints towards self determination for Maori people. Hingangaroa Smith is similarly constrained against a Pakeha defined Maoritanga which loses relevance for Maori people. Both Smiths support the total immersion programme of Kura Kaupapa Maori as an alternative schooling option, which they see as not only representing a conscious resistance initiative against the poor performance of the State system, but also a positive and radical move towards changing the ideological dimension for Maori youth. (Hingangaroa Smith 1990) By implication Kura Kaupapa Maori programmes raise questions concerning accountability within those initiatives undertaken within the existing school structure, such as Whanau and Bilingual Units.

"The ramifications of Kura Kaupapa Maori establishment outside of the state schooling system must inevitably raise questions as to the efficiency of these programmes [Taha Maori initiatives, bilingual units and bilingual schooling] in terms of learning outcomes, use of resources and effective use of state funding." (Hingangaroa Smith 1990:193)

Together with the work of Harker (1986) these articles sound a warning of the possible dangers for a Maori cultural perspective within existing structures.

The theme is echoed in "Education as Cultural Artifact" (Harker & McConnochie 1985) which outlines the necessity of having members of a culture define their own perspective or world view in order to ensure its relevancy. In their clear, concise account of the effects of the imposition of the cultural perspective of the dominant group on to the Australian Aborigine and New Zealand Maori through the role of schooling, Harker and McConnochie (1985) highlight the dilemma facing pluralist societies. The dilemma of 'life styles' versus 'life chances.' A dilemma examined and expanded upon by Bullivant's text, "The Pluralist Dilemma".(1981) The message seems loud and clear, self determination in the recognition of alternative cultural values. This poses problems for both the dominant and minority cultural groups which have yet to be resolved, and as Benton (1984) points out, the necessity is for wisdom in decision making and change within other social institutions, if moves towards bi-lingual education are to advance an honest bi-cultural partnership within New Zealand society.

In assisting teachers towards the development of a bi-cultural/bi-lingual perspective both "Ideology in the Schooling of Maori Children" (Simon 1986) and "Preparing

Teachers for Bi-cultural Classrooms" (Harrison 1986) serve as useful background reading. The former in illuminating the recent past and the attitudes of practising teachers, and the later in providing insight and understanding of the determinants of behaviour in the implementation of another cultural perspective within a state system. Harrison's account describes the work undertaken with Eskimo people in Alaska, and in considering the implications for New Zealand, pinpoints one of the greatest problems as being a shortage of qualified bi-lingual personnel.

"There simply are not enough certificated Maori-speaking individuals for the number of positions that exist now, nor are these teachers available for additional bilingual classrooms as programmes develop around the country"(Harrison 1986:43)

A statement as pertinent to the existing situation in New Zealand, as it was when made five years ago.

Maori Values are an important aspect of this study and two writers who give valuable insight into their dimension in relation to knowledge and learning, are Tauroa and Ka'ai. Tauroa's "Maoritanga in Practice" (1980) and Ka'ai's thesis on, "Maori Pedagogy, Te Kohanga Reo and the Transition to School" (1990) provide substance for an arena largely unexplored from a Maori perspective, by the education structure.

Illuminating also is Pere's "Ako, Concepts and Learning in The Maori Tradition" (1982). While her text may be less easily understood without some prior background experience or knowledge within a Maori idiom, it is nevertheless a valuable asset for those seeking to gain insight into learning and knowledge from a Maori perspective. Of note is her warning to would be policy makers who desire to set down hard and fast rules concerning a universal Maori kaupapa within existing primary school structures.

"There is no such thing as Maoritanga.....Each tribe has its own way of doing things. Each tribe has its own history. And its not a history that can be shared among others....I can't go around saying because I'm a Maori that Moaritanga means this and all Maoris have to follow me."(Pere 1982:5)

Reference to Maoritanga within the bounds of the fieldwork material therefore is considered to be contextually confined by the Maori values of the data base.

For teachers open to the adoption of a genuine bi-cultural perspective within schools these texts provide informative reading.

The educationalist who has probably had the greatest impact on the formulation and foundation of this study however, is Kathleen Irwin. With her astute and forthright comments on racism (1988) and multicultural education (1989), Irwin brings challenge and clarity to a realm cluttered with rhetoric and

misunderstanding. Employing the holistic model of Banks(1988) Irwin points out the necessity for change within the current structures if Maori education is to become acceptable to Maori people.

"Change in the area of Maori education in the future will have to be coined in terms of bold pro-Maori visions, as articulated by Maori, if it is to be expected that it will be acceptable to Maori people."(Irwin 1989:15)

The challenge of providing for Maori values within the existing school structures of the State education system therefore emerges as not only topical within current publications, but has yet to be resolved satisfactorily from the point of view of many Maori people. Renwick's warning (1988) may prove to be prophetic.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The original research design envisaged was that of a critical ethnography in the manner of Angus. Lawrence Angus (1978) employed a base in critical theory in an attempt to understand the complexity of organizational life within a school setting, by focussing on the dialectical relationship between agency and structure. Agency and structure were regarded as equally important and inseparable from one another. It therefore seemed reasonable in pursuing what appeared to be a similar study, to attempt a similar theoretical perspective. The contentions of Critical Theory are important in relation to the empowering nature of the theoretical base. (Chilcot 1987, Lather 1986)

In expounding research as praxis Lather (1986) emphasises the need for reciprocity between data and theory, and researcher and researched, in order to empower the researched towards the transformation of their own reality. The duality of ownership implied within reciprocity aligns readily with a Maori perspective of knowledge, providing a further reason for the pursuit of this research upon a base in critical theory. Within a Maori perspective, knowledge has communal ramifications.

"Research belongs to the whanau and the Maori community, it should empower the community to develop strategies that enable it to survive and to flourish" (Tuhiwai Smith 1986:10)

The objective in this study therefore, was towards emancipatory research which would provide insight for all concerned. However, the practical considerations of organization necessitated a less fluid foundation, hence the addition of further strategy. Therefore, while the intention to use the theoretical contentions provided by Angus, and the empowering nature of critical theory, was not discarded, the contentions of Lutz (1984) were assimilated in order to provide a basic structural framework from which to proceed.

Lutz distinguishes three models in providing for a holistic, or complete as possible, description of meaning. The operational model which is built up from events observed by the researcher. The representational model which is built from the explanations and meanings of the subjects, and the explanatory model which is derived from the other two, within the context of theory by the researcher.

In defining ethnography Lutz (1984) distinguishes between the employment of ethnography and ethnographic method. Wolcott (1988) however, prefers to treat ethnography as a way of approaching research, rather than a method.

"Ethnographic accounts do not point the way to policy decisions; they do not give clues as to what should be done differently, nor do they suggest how best to proceed. Ethnographic attention tends to focus on how things are and how they got that way" (Wolcott 1988:203)

The intentions of the study therefore combine the tenets of both Lutz and Wolcott towards the building of the models prescribed by Lutz, together with the notions of duality in the relationship of continuity and change expounded by Angus(1978). That schools have reformist possibilities is a contention supported by Angus (1978) and others.(Codd, Harker & Nash 1990, citing Willis 1977)

"Despite the evidence..... that [schools] help to obscure the over all domination of capitalistic relations, numerous examples amongst teachers of individual resistance to institutionalized practices suggest that ...education could have reformist possibilities which would grow out of the contradictions that can be detected between intentions and actual practices at the school."(Angus 1978:44)

Bourdieu in his theory of Cultural Capital, highlights the part played by the school in reproducing social and cultural inequalities. (Harker 1990) The match, or mis-match of personalized cultural embodiment, or habitus, with the cultural embodiment of the school, equals either success or failure for the individual in the attainment of cultural capital, and educational success. For Maori students, the ignoring of Maori identity (Walker 1973) through the mis-matching of the habitus and the school cultural embodiment,

thereby promoting educational failure, is well documented. (Kaai-Oldman 1988) The restoration of a positive evaluation of Maori identity and self respect is therefore long overdue. (Walker 1973) Bourdieu's theory suggests that in order to provide such a restoration, that is, a match in cultural embodiment for Maori students, the school curriculum is required to embrace the knowledge code and pedagogy of Maoritanga. Bernstein (Harker 1990) argues that it is not only the curriculum which is required to reflect the cultural context, but the way in which knowledge is transmitted, pedagogy, and the way the transmission is tested, evaluation, which are equally important in their reflections of the cultural bias. The expectation therefore would be, in line with the theories of Bourdieu and Bernstein, that the Whanau Unit would pursue policies based upon the values of Maoritanga, and that those values would be reflected within the curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation of the programme.

Banks goes even further, in that he considers the total school environment is required to reflect the value base of both cultures, if it is to be considered a bi-cultural manifestation. The movement away from cultural hegemony to be sustained, is necessarily required to be system wide.

"Even though any one factor may be the focus of initial school reform, changes must take place in each factor in order to create and sustain an effective... (bi-cultural)..... educational environment." (Banks 1988:40)

A reform endorsed by Hingangaroa Smith (1990) in his citing of the necessity for a fundamental structural change within schooling, if the educational crisis for Maori students is to be alleviated. While a single Whanau Unit may therefore serve as a catalyst for change within the school system, it could not in itself promote a bi-cultural environment, without an accompanying manifestation of change within the total school system. Irwin (1988) in investigating an experiment in education involving the transmission of Japanese culture within an existing school structure, concurred with these suppositions, when she found that education within her study was the product of two separate structures functioning alongside each other, rather than a bi-cultural environment for all children.

While however, the afore mentioned theories provide a necessary framework for investigation, they are insufficient by themselves in providing guidance concerning a Maori perspective. The distinctive characteristics of a Maori world view can only be understood fully on its own terms. (Ministry of Education 1990) Guidance therefore rests with the Maori people themselves, and it is within Tauroa's (1980) exposition on 'Maoritanga in Practice' that substance is provided for the identification of Maori values within this study.

Tauroa (1980) stresses the interrelatedness of all aspects of Maoritanga, both the tangible and intangible elements and the "close cohesive interpersonal relationships" that give a dynamic 'oneness' to living. (Tauroa 1980:12) Whanaungatanga, the concept of familiness in Maori terms embraces an extended family group, and implies an accepting of responsibility for each other in the Whanau, along with the practise of the related virtues of aroha (love), manaaki (caring, sharing and empathy) and wairua (spirituality). (Ka'ai 1990) A Maori knowledge code would therefore necessarily embrace the values implicit in the concept of whanaungatanga, including the intangible elements, in a unity and interrelatedness that is difficult to define in terms of Pakeha terminology and understanding in relation to education, but, which is nevertheless necessary, if that which is portrayed as a Maori perspective is to be authentic.

Ka'ai (1990), drawing on her own, and the research of Metge (1984) and others, provides some guide-lines for the identification of a Maori pedagogy. She points out that 'to learn' and 'to teach' is conveyed in the Maori language by the one word 'ako', which signifies a unity in meaning between both concepts. The "unified co-operation of learner and teacher in a single enterprise" (Ka'ia 1990:12) is characteristic of the Maori conception of obtaining knowledge, and distributes the rights for the initiation of any discourse equally between learner and teacher. This fluid exchange

between the roles of teaching and learning, may require children to assume the leading role in instructional sequences, or to take responsibility for tutoring other children in the tuakana-teina, or peer tutoring situation. (Ka'ai 1990) The tuakana-teina relationship is particularly relevant in the older children taking responsibility for teaching and assisting the younger children in their learning.

Evaluation, the third criteria demanded by Bernstein is more difficult to ascertain. It may only be authentically assessed by those who have the authority within the framework of Maoritanga to determine if they are satisfied, that what is presented as knowledge within the confines of Maoritanga, is legitimate in accordance with the value base. The danger lies in the possibilities of appropriation through the reinterpretation of the kaupapa out of context. (Hingangaroa Smith 1990, Mead 1977) Evaluation of a programme solely upon the terms of the established criteria of the school may well constitute such an appropriation. Initiatives, such as those of a bi-lingual or Whanau unit, within an existing school structure, therefore present weaknesses as well as strengths, particularly in relation to the preservation of the Maori base, in the provision they seek to provide, towards a bi-cultural embodiment.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS

The intention of this study was to pursue a case study employing ethnographic methods. There were two components parts for data collection, case study A and case study B. Each component base was centred within a Primary School Whanau Unit which had an off-shoot into an Intermediate. Data collected therefore were from within four School settings. While there were two components to the study, they were not envisaged as being strictly in accordance with the definition of a comparison study, (Dixon, Bouma & Atkinson 1987) in that it was not the points of difference between them which was the focus of the study, but rather, that the data from each would hopefully serve to provide a clearer picture of what was, and how it had got that way. In other words the prime objective was to provide description, hopefully 'thick,' of the implementation of Whanau groupings within functioning primary school structures.

Data were gathered by two main means, participant observation and open-ended interviews. The Employment of both serving to accommodate for duality's of action.

"Action is ultimately dual, consisting both of what the outside observer can see, and of the actors understanding of what they are doing. The duality.....is what distinguished action [and] sets the problems for social science."(Hughes 1988:114)

Open-ended interviews were employed, as being more appropriate to data collection from within a base of Maori cultural values. Oral responses were seen as the most appropriate means for data collection, and discussions were not confined to the specific question base. The question base served as a platform only, from which discussion could be launched.

Triangulation (Lather 1986) was served in three ways. Firstly, by conducting interviews with teachers, parents, and authority personnel independently. Secondly, in having two separate components data bases, and thirdly, by employing participant observations. As reference documents proved to be somewhat scarce and sketchy, they played a low key role in the analysis, though they were included where available and appropriate.

Differences existed in the width and depth of data collection between the two components. Case study A because of its location and familiarity was more accessible. It also had a historic component in that it was an extension of a previous research project. (Pringle 1988) Case study B had a less accessible location and was virgin territory within the boundaries of the study. The intention was to authenticate all scripted interviews with those who had given the interview in order to eliminate error and mis-interpretation. This however given the time frame of the study proved to be a difficult undertaking especially with resource people who had

many demands made on their time. A compromise therefore was necessary in that the majority of interviews were discussed again with the interviewee, but it was not possible to do so in all instances.

In his pursuit of a holistic approach to understanding schooling, Lutz (1984) expounded a three model structure as an appropriate way of presenting meaning. The combined output of the models serves to provide a body of descriptive data of the phenomenon being studied in as complete a manner as possible. (Lutz 1984) Thus the output of the representational model, the subjects point of view, combined with that of the operational model, the researchers observations, together with the theoretical base serves to form an explanatory model, which allows for a wider comprehension of meaning than would be possible from any single focus. Fieldwork data from the study were organized according to this structural framework.

The representational models in both case studies were constructed from a composite of the blending and editing of interviews undertaken with the Units' Teachers, including the Kaiarahi Reo, the Principal, the Resource Teacher Maori (RTM) and District Adviser Education Maori and Pacific Islands (DAEMPI), parents and a small sample of children. Both parental and pupil samples were randomly selected.

The operational models in both A and B were constructed from the fieldwork observations undertaken by the researcher and discussion and interviews with the professional educators concerned. The intention was to restrict the data gathering to those details directly relating to the research question, hence observations centred on those details which reflected a Maori perspective, and ignored the general structure of the teaching day which was more reflective of general teaching practice. Data in A also reflected attendance at a general meeting held between parents and the school representatives.

Both the presentations of the representational and operational models were divided into sub-sections in order to facilitate reading and the flow of ideas. These sections included, Beginnings, Operation, A Teacher's Perspective, A Parental Perspective, A Pupil's Perspective, A Bi-cultural Perspective, The Daily Routine and a section on the Intermediate similarly divided where appropriate. Case study A also included a section from the point of view of the Kaumatua.

The aim of the Explanatory Model was to collate the material within the two other models employing the tenets of the theoretical base towards providing a clear description of what has taken place within the Units. The provision was of a single model, blending the findings of both case study A and B towards the answering of the initial question framework. The seven basic questions (appendix A) which constituted that

framework therefore form the basis of the Theoretical Model. From this Model emerged the main findings and contentions that provide a detailed profile of the manner in which the implementation of Maori Values in relation to knowledge and learning have been negotiated through the establishment of Whanau groupings within existing functional primary school structures.

CHAPTER FIVE

MODELS.

1. REPRESENTATIONAL MODEL - STUDY A

A TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVE.

The Unit was not seen as being 'different' to other classes within the school by its Teachers. Rather it was perceived as having an additional component. It was considered important that the children got, and were perceived as getting, the same quality of education as others, in order to avoid any connotations of 'missing out'. Emphasis was on the core, and a good general education, but with an extra component in Maori language and culture.

The major problems, from the Teacher's perspective centred on time and number factors. Time, in that there were so many things to fit in, and dead lines to meet. Both children and teachers, had to work harder and more effectively in order to accommodate all those demands. Book week, for example 'squeezed' an already tightly stretched daily programme. The teachers found themselves with more meetings, and more newsletters to send out, than other classes within the school. The Unit collectively, had as many pupils as a three teacher school, and the same wide range of levels, which had been hard to meet at first, but had become easier with experience.

Family grouping had the advantage of catering for the more able student extremely well, as they responded to the challenges within the wide ranges offered, until that is, they reached the 'top'. Teachers they felt, needed to be aware of this, and respond accordingly. For the Whanau teachers the rewards lay in working as part of a team, and getting to know children really well. There was however, also a great sense of responsibility, even wakeful nights, with the awareness that these children were one's responsibility for a whole three years.

A PARENTAL PERSPECTIVE.

i) A Group Of Maori Parents.

For this group of parents, the Whanau Unit means a bonding. A bonding across all age groups, parents, grandparents and children. The basis for total support, self esteem and success for their children, and if there were members without a close extended family, then the Whanau family became their family, and they supported each other. Even disciplining of the children, when necessary, was done through contacting the parents. The Unit was not seen as being exclusively for Maori people, as segregation, this group of parents believed, would not cure the racism that still existed.

The children bond with each other, stick up for each other, and help each other. They're protective of each other, and the boys were taught to protect the girls. They might scrap and argue amongst themselves, but with outsiders they formed a close knit unit, which spilt over into out-of-school hours. They were also taught to have respect for one another and for their elders.

The Whanau Unit was an extension of Kohanga Reo which enabled the children to grow up in Taha Maori with confidence in themselves. To know they were Maori and be proud of it. To be able to handle it and not lose their self esteem. To be comfortable in it, was the ultimate goal. That was the reason the children have been placed in the Unit with some families even crossing the City, passing several Schools on the way, to be there. That was their level of commitment. This group of parents were very pleased about the progress of the Primary unit. Their children they felt were doing well in all subjects. The whole school had taken it on board, and they themselves feel comfortable, not different, when they go along to school. The Unit was part of the School, not segregated, and with its' classes participating fully in their respective syndicates. The parents acknowledged that they did not get along to School as often as they would like, or felt they should. They had a dilemma in commitment with being fully extended with Kohanga responsibilities. They considered however, that when a need arose, it was met.

ii) Pakeha Parents.

Family One.

It was the annual October school letter which opened the way for this family, and as a result a daughter joined the class after having spent her first six months of schooling in a new entrant class. As a family they knew little about the Unit and would not have asked, as they had thought it was for Maori children only. The main enthusiasm for belonging lay in learning the customs of another culture and gaining a greater understanding of that culture, which for them was particularly relevant in a New Zealand context. Having come from a totally Pakeha background it had been a learning experience for the whole family.

The family feeling and mixed age groups was for them an important part of experience from the Unit. Nervous at first, the mother then became very excited about the class, and saw it as having changed and informed the whole family. She felt that through her involvement in the class she had been able to open up other people's perspectives through talking with them about what took place there.

The father was on the Board of Trustees and through his involvement with the Unit had increased acceptance for the Unit amongst other Board members. Being enthusiastic to the out-side world was important. Through a slow process attitudes were changing, and the feeling which used to exist

against the Whanau was dissipating. It was lack of knowledge which this family believed caused the fear, that understanding was able to dispel. That was why it was important that the Whanau should be incorporated in with the rest of the school.

Within the class itself the children did most things other classes did. It was a kind of lateral extension, and as a family they were not worried about concentration on the 'three Rs'. The fact that visits were all Marae based, and singing was nearly all in Maori, was of some concern, but the opportunity to learn Maori tended to out balance that concern. The mother provided support through parent helping, but could not help she felt out with things Maori as she was still unsure of her ground there.

Family Two.

For this family the Junior Whanau has provided the warmth of sharing and caring for their son that they were looking for, after an unhappy experience in another class within the school, when they first shifted in from out of town. As a family they recognize the importance of a cultural alternative, coming from a mixed cultural heritage themselves. Though they are pleased with their son's progress in general, they are a little disappointed with the lack of progress in Written Expression and Maths. Lacking the background experience in Maori Culture and Language, the son finds the

morning Whanau time can be quite stressful. He doesn't really enjoy the Whanau time, finding it boring and repetitive, but loves the Waiata and Hakas. While her son may find it hard to be part of a group, the mother considers it is good for him in learning to co-operate, and sub-merge his own needs.

A PUPIL'S PERSPECTIVE.

A discussion was undertaken with six children, three girls and three boys chosen at random within the Senior Whanau .

The girls enjoyed the class for the friendly people and the cultural learning. They liked the different trips and the visitors, and though they didn't claim to be fluent in Maori language, they could understand and managed to speak small sentences. Caring, was an important part of the class, as for example, when someone hurts you, the group cares for you. They also enjoyed having the Junior and Senior classes in together in that the little ones could learn from them. Two of the girls had come right through from Kohanga. They were quite happy with the class as it was and did not want to change anything. The class, they felt was different to other classes, or at least seen by other classes to be different, in that they had been teased and called names by other children. One of the things they had done as a group was to invite other classes to come and share with them during class time, in order to show them what the Whanau was really like. The main

reason for joining the class appeared to be parental desire, with Mum and Dad wanting them to learn the language. The girls seemed quite happy with the decision to join. Of the three, two had a parent who spoke Maori, while for the third, no one else in the family did.

For the boys the chief reason for joining the class seem to centre again on the parental wishes, and learning the language seemed to be the prominent motivation for both children and parents. One boy had asked his mum and dad if he could belong to the class. All three had been in the class since they started school and had come through the Kohanga Reo. Two of the boys were brothers. They could talk to each other in Maori, and could understand the language, but felt they needed more words to be able to converse fluently in Maori themselves. Hangi and outings were a prominent feature of their enjoyment of the class and they liked the coming together, pointing out that Whanau meant family. They were quite happy with the class the way it was, and didn't have any changes they wished to make. They enjoyed being what they felt was 'well known' within the area and felt they got to go places because of this. While they had been called names such as 'blackie' by some other children they felt this was not now as bad as it used to be. Playtimes found them mainly playing together as a group with the class cricket set. Mostly they handled any name calling by ignoring it and walking away.

A BI-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

A bi-cultural perspective according to the Teachers within the Whanau Unit was one which took account of both cultures equally. In accordance with this definition therefore, the very existence of the Whanau unit within the school gave credence to Maori culture. Within the class itself, the aim was towards the provision of Maori role models, and to ensure the same respect and importance was accorded Maori culture, as European. It had taken time to address the existing imbalance, but the teachers now felt they were close to achieving an equity, in the attitudes, knowledge and respect for things Maori, that were currently being shown. The key attitude required was, are you showing Aroha?

On the initiative of the Whanau teachers, classes from other parts of the school were being encouraged to visit the Whanau bringing things to share. In this they were aiming to bring a greater understanding and appreciation of things Maori to other classes within the school. The aim of creating opportunities for the rest of the school to know what was going on in the Whanau, such as spending a week within the class, were important contact points for presenting a positive image of a two cultural perspective.

The Unit, according to the Principal had had an impact on the School to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the degree of involvement undertaken. For those who belonged to the

unit, the children, parents and teachers, the impact was greater. For the rest of the school it was more obvious when ceremonies were performed and the whole school was involved, as for example when a Powhiri was performed for visitors. Staff members were supportive and there were no extreme views represented there, though there was a greater range of feeling in the over-all school parent body, where attitudes varied from ardent supporters, to an anti group. There had been incidents of racist remarks within the school, but these were confined to a handful of children. On occasions the Principal had had to field verbalization against what was perceived as an over-indulgence in things Maori. The Principal believed implicitly however, that the Whanau Unit should be there. He therefore attempted to keep any hassles, and there were hassles, as private and submerged as possible, in order to facilitate the smooth functioning of the Unit as an integral part of the school.

THE KAUMATUA.

The local Kaumatua placed high importance on the Whanau unit within the school. He considered it was the next, and necessary step, to follow Kohanga Reo. It should, he thought be extended through all Primary and Secondary education into tertiary levels, for it was through the Whanau that the Mokopuna could learn to step in both cultures. The Whanau provided the familiarity of their own culture within an

environment for learning about the Pakeha culture, and that the Kaumatua saw as a highly desirable side-by-side existence.

"Let them run side by side" he said.

He himself, though more comfortable in Maoritanga, could slip from one culture to the other with ease, and it was this ability that he aspired to for young Maori. The Whanau allowed young Maori to be Maori, while learning to understand and function in Pakeha society.

The spiritual dimension, or Wairua, of Maoritanga, revealed the essence, the Mauri, that breathed through the performing of ceremonies such as the Haka, the Mihi, the Karanga and the Powhiri, and brought them 'alive'. It was this 'aliveness' plus the Aroha and the sharing, the intangible elements of Maoritanga, which were essential to its functioning.

The Maori way was through 'we' not 'I', and it was the group which pushed the individual up the ladder not the striving of the individual. In that way the individual was supported by the group and always had the covering of the group for decision making. The other side of that functioning was the responsibility the individual had to the group for actions undertaken. Thus the Kaumatua emphasised the group element in learning, and the importance of that for learning within the Whanau.

In relation to the Whanau decision making he was not always able to get to meetings, which were usually at night. However, the School Principal visited often to discuss and share what had happened, and to generally keep him inform. The Pakeha parents of the Whanau also called, and it was with some humour he related that it was they who were pushing the strongest for the Whanau to be extended onwards into the Intermediate School.

The Maori Community had had the major responsibility in choosing the Kaiarahi Reo for the Whanau, but had had no input into the choosing of the teachers. They were however quite happy with the present teachers and the progress of the Whanau unit. The Kaumatua considered the lack of available teachers with Reo, or a Kaiarahi Reo to work alongside teachers, as the major hindrance to progress, particularly in relation to the Intermediate. With a philosophy of 'taking things slowly' however, he was prepared to wait, and build with care and patience on that which had already been achieved.

THE INTERMEDIATE.

THE PRINCIPAL'S PERSPECTIVVE.

The Principal had reservations associated with propagation of a Whanau unit within the Intermediate school. For instance, the school policy was to look at the child and the teacher, and attempt to match the two. Also Intermediate education, the Principal considered, had components especially geared to that developmental stage which all pupils should partake of. Not the least of the Principal's concerns, was that the Whanau should not become a 'clique' of children isolating themselves as an enclave within the school system. However, in what were the early stages of implementation his two points of focus were, a concern with providing a Maori language input, and in concentrating on attitudes right across the school. As well he did not wish to reorganize towards a school wide system of 'Whanau' or family groups, as had happened in the Intermediate in Study B, but preferred to retain the system under which they were currently operating.

Problems had surfaced with timetabling in trying to cater for all aspects of the programme. Some children had opted for another class rather than their Maori language class, when interests clashed, and this had not pleased their parents. The parents were critical of the provision made within the school, and were not happy with the manifested loss in skills of Maori language exhibited by their children. The Principal

admitted that timetabling was a major headache, and the proposal to keep the children entering from the Primary Whanau Unit together in one class in 1992, would he hoped, eliminate many of the scheduling clashes. This contingency however hinged on the outcome of the political moves being undertaken by the parents.

The Principal recognised he was 'under fire', from the parents who were not happy with the progress to date, with the most vocal being the Pakeha parents. The Principal's response to this criticism, while reiterating the school's openness to suggestions, was to point out that the school simply did not have the needed resources for full Whanau implementation at this time. His suggestion was that the parents go political by writing to the Minister, pointing out their desire for the school to comply with their wishes, and the Government's responsibility to fund it. As a result the Whanau parents were now seeking a mandate from Intermediate Board of Trustees to lobby on their behalf. A bright spot, was the receipt of a grant allocation of \$500, matching the locally raised equivalent, towards the setting up of the Whanau room.

A TEACHER'S PERSPECTIVE.

The young teacher in charge of the 'Whanau hours' saw Maori Values within her area of responsibility as being manifested

in respect for things Maori and in following the protocol. This implanting of respect was more important she thought than the actual learning of words. Together with the young Maori language expert she saw the Whanau as a family situation where everything belonged in common. This was the premise they operated from when taking lessons in the designated Whanau room. While some class teachers were unhappy about the withdrawals for Maoritanga sessions, as they felt that the children were 'missing out', this young teacher disputed this, considering the opposite was nearer the truth in that the children needed more, a double dose, for the empowering it brought.

The young teacher was far from confident about the implementation of a fully fledged Whanau Unit within the school in the near future. She and the young Maori language expert have hopes of a full Whanau eventually, and saw themselves as keeping everything together till that happened. It was the designated Whanau room which was the seat of the Year One's disappointment. The community she said, claimed they would fit the room up, but nothing had happened. There would appear to be a communication gap between the expectations of the parents and those of the school, and what was being said, was not matching what was happening. Parents were expecting a full Whanau in future, but she did not believe it would happen in its fully fledged form within the next year.

AN 'OUTSIDERS' PERSPECTIVE.

A chance conversation with a member of the Intermediate staff, not directly involved with the Whanau Unit, but with pupils in his class who were, lead to an 'outsiders' point of view.

This teacher viewed the two systems as mutually exclusive with little common ground because of the underlying clash of values. The supposed caring and sharing of Maori culture and the individualistic competitive stance of the European had he thought, little in common. Intermediates were particularly difficult because they were virtually primary schools run on secondary lines, and timetables were the chief stumbling block as they were extremely difficult mechanisms to work out. Anyone who had ever had the responsibility for establishing a workable timetable would identify the problems. A suggestion was that maybe keeping Form One and Two in the primary school would enable a Whanau to have a greater chance of success than in an intermediate situation where the children were only there for two years. He also questioned the primary situation where the Whanau Unit had been divided into senior and junior classes as,

" wasn't a Whanau a family and didn't a family include all age groups? "

Along this line of reasoning was the primary school really operating a Whanau?

This teacher considered Maori Studies was more important than other things for the children who took them. Several children in his room went, and while they were out he took language on his own programme, and did not expect them to 'catch up'. Other teachers he believed worried that the children were 'missing out'. One look at the blackboard list of requirements in the way of respect for elders, the Kaiarahi Reo and listening to others, should be enough to convince any teacher of the spin-off value from internalizing such a code.

A BI-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE.

A bi-cultural perspective for the young teacher of the designated Whanau Unit was one in which the whole school participated in both cultures. A culture, she believed was not separated out, but was part of the mainstream with everybody having both cultures. In relationship to the work she was participating in on Maoritanga she felt that as long as it was shared, it would have some impact, on at least a section of the school. For example the Powhiri to welcome a visiting School had had an impact on those who took part through witness to the proceedings, while those who participated gained in respect and Mana. Of note was the presence, at the Powhiri, of the School group who were planning a trip to Australia. They were keen to learn some Waiata and some language for use on their trip. The young

less than positive about some of the attitudes of other staff members. When she had tried to share her insights after attending in-service courses on things Maori, no one she felt really wanted to know, and this was evident from their body language. Whether it was herself or things Maori they were rejecting she wasn't sure.

A PARENTAL PERSPECTIVE.

A Group of Maori Parents.

Parents were less than happy with the present arrangement. Their consensus was that the School should have taken a lead in giving a commitment. In this they were critical of both the Principal and the Resource Teacher Maori. From their perspective language, the provision of which was causing the difficulty, was not the only important element necessary for Whanau foundation. Though they acknowledged the centrality of its importance, they felt that the children who came from the primary unit already had had enough language to support each other, and that more importantly, they needed the group support to keep their self esteem intact. From their point of view,

" Reo is a bonus. The icing on the cake, but it is not the most important thing. The Wairua, the Aroha and the coming together in prayer. The following of the Kaupapa, were just as important and it doesn't have to be in Reo,"

For them, that their children were together and supporting each other was the most important thing. Those who had gone on to Intermediate in the present year had been devastated to find out they would not be together. The boys in particular just didn't like it.

Perhaps, the parents suggested, we should look at taking turns in the classroom, unpaid, to help sustain the language, until the School could afford a Kaiarahi Reo. At the moment being taken out of a class for three hours instruction was quite contrary to Maori values, and you couldn't form a bond in that sort of situation. They were also critical of the necessity in time-tabling choices, and asked why their children should have to make a choice between their culture and other activities.

The parents suggested that if one of the other Intermediates were prepared to make a commitment to having a full Whanau Unit in the following year, then maybe that was where they would send their children. It would certainly come as a relief to these parents, not to have to keep pushing, as they felt they had been at the fore-front of implementation for both the Kohanga and the Primary Whanau, and more importantly, so had their children. They were getting tired of the effort required, and of going over the same arguments. Building the bridges was consuming work.

REPRESENTATIONAL MODEL - STUDY B

A TEACHERS PERSPECTIVE.

i) The Junior Class Teacher.

In the present teacher's opinion one of the biggest problems in establishing a Bi-lingual Unit within current school structures was the dimension of fitting Maori ideas into a Pakeha framework. From his own studies what has stood out, was the necessity for the whole institution to be part of any change if that change was to be successful. In other words the unit of change needed to be the whole institution, and this gave him some concern when he contemplated the Bi-lingual Unit. He could see a possibility that Whanau or Bi-lingual Unit could become self defeating for Maori children. For example, seeing the blond, fair skinned Pakeha excelling in Maori language, as well as in other subjects was hardly encouraging for Maori class members. He had seen this happen. He also thought that some of the Pakeha parents had missed the point in that they were looking only to their own children's benefit, and not the group as a whole. It therefore became a plus for them, but defeated the objective of the Unit which was group orientated. While they were well meaning and supportive, it was still a case of 'taking', which they had already been doing for one hundred and fifty years.

ii) The Kaiarahi Reo.

In the opinion of the Kaiarahi Reo the major problems for the School and the Unit lay in communication. People lacking in understanding were fearful. A contention supported in discussion with the RTM and DAEMPI who considered that once people saw how the Unit worked they were less threatened by it.

iii) The Principal.

From the Principal's perspective the Unit was treated as part of the overall school experience and not seen as different or separate. The classes were after all following the same syllabus as other classes with a greater input of Maori, particularly in relation to language. The Principal was keen to see greater use made of Maori ceremony within the School, but as he was retiring at the end of the term felt the initiative would need to come from others.

A PARENTENTAL PERSPECTIVE.

i) A Pakeha Parent

For this parent it was the family type atmosphere of the Unit where one could walk in at anytime which she enjoyed. She chose to place her children in the Unit because of the 'good' teacher, the concept itself and had had her three children within the unit. The original teacher had been very organised and ran a very structured programme. The teacher now was

different, but acceptable. She considered that it was important to be accepting of difference. Tolerance was after all, in her view, what the bi-cultural concept was about. Tolerance in learning to accept people and their beliefs.

The Whanau Unit was a very close knit unit where the older children looked out for the younger ones. Group togetherness was a feature of the Unit, and the children built up a rich background history together, as they really got to know each other. In terms of education her children had had a well rounded experience in different things, and made their own judgements.

The class had had its ups and downs, with the opposition and uncertainty of the beginning, turning to acceptance as people obtained a greater understanding of the base concepts. When she was able to she helped out in the Unit as a parent helper, and also did relief teaching there when required. She was a member of the Board of Trustees and had pushed for co-opting of Maori Representatives on to the Board. Decision as to who they should be, was she thought, a choice to be exercised by the wider Maori Community.

ii) A Maori Parent.

Both parents in this family identify as Maori. The Unit's importance for them lay in its provision of a taste of a Maori environment, and in its supporting nature. It was not just

just the language but the cultural aspects which were important. This family lived over the other side of town and brought their children daily, passing other schools to do so. Because they had little Maori language themselves, they were building on what the children were learning at school. They were now more relaxed and not as shy of the language as they had been. The Grandparents, who were embarrassed at their own lack of language, were also learning along with the children.

While the mother assisted in the programme when time allowed, work commitments, and the lack of knowledge in the language were the reasons which prevented the Father from joining in as much as, perhaps he should. A strongly expressed sentiment, was that immersion in experiences of Maoritanga, such as those propagated within the Whanau Unit, should be compulsory for every New Zealander in order to dispel the ignorance that existed within our society. Racism has been an issue the parents had had to contend with for most of their lives.

iii) A Mixed Maori and Pakeha Family.

Within this family, the father identified as Maori, and the Mother as Pakeha. It was again the development of a Maori perspective and language which was the important factor in their choice of membership of the Unit. Of the two children, one had gone into the class on entering school, and the

youngest had joined straight from Kohanga. They were learning along with the children and were amazed at the children's capabilities in the language. Several family members were learning along with the children as well.

The language was one of the main motives for having had their children join the class, and the mother expected them to develop language competency. She also felt that developing the values which display an awareness of people's needs, and caring for people was important. Equally important was the extended family concept.

The children were making good progress, and the class in her eyes was not greatly different to other classes. In fact she would not want it labelled as different, as to her that would mean segregation. As a family they tried to attend each term's shared tea, and also tried to be involved at other times when they could.

A PUPILS' PERSPECTIVE.

The group consisted of a randomly selected group of three girls and three boys ranging in age from 8 to 11 years old.

Three of the children had siblings either in the class, or in the Junior Unit. The main reason each of the children gave for being in the class was to learn about Maori culture and

the language. Learning the language had priority, followed by art and Maori culture. The chance to learn speeches and Hakas was an important consideration for the boys. A ten and half year boy liked the class because he felt they played more games, while an eight year girl liked the freedom to move around.

One ten year old girl was particularly forthcoming and expressed the wish for a greater input of things Maori. She would have liked to see the weekly sharing time with the Junior class, happen more often, preferably once a day. She also considered there should be more of the Reo used than at present, as for her things were too Pakeha. While the majority of the group were in the class because of siblings, or parental choice, she had asked her parents to let her join the class.

Four of the children had come up through the Kohanga. One eleven year old expressed disappointment with the class at the start of the year, due to the lack of Maori language. He had been through Kohanga and experienced other bi-lingual units. Teachers he commented didn't seem to stay here long. He enjoyed the chance to read a lot.

A nine year old's contribution was that she enjoyed the class, sometimes.

A BI-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE.

The junior class teacher liked to think that the unit was contributing towards a bi-cultural society. A society in which all New Zealanders, Maori and Pakeha, felt comfortable in either culture. Optimistically he liked to think of a bi-lingual society as well, but felt that to be somewhat of a dream.

For the Kaiarahi Reo bi-culturalism was something she didn't necessarily define, but rather had an understanding of. To her it was being open to thinking people and not culture. Rather it was a natural thing to make conversation and switch from one language to another, especially around children. It was greeting a wee Samoan new comer with 'Talofa' and watching the joy that lit his face.

A bi-cultural perspective from the Principal's point of view was one in which everyone's value system, or cultural aspect, was accepted for what it was. He was not sure of the part played by the Unit in promoting this within the school, but felt that it was at least giving parents a choice.

A bi-cultural perspective for both the Advisers was one in which people were at ease and comfortable in either culture. They saw it as tremendously important that the bi-lingual units become firmly established, because in seeing how the

units work, people were less threatened by them. It was the unknown which was threatening. The sad thing for them was in observing the willingness with which local people had embraced an awareness of things Japanese, yet largely ignored the Maroitanga which was part of their own heritage.

THE INTERMEDIATE.

THE PRINCIPAL'S PERSPECTIVE.

There had been little opposition to the establishment of the unit and the Principal felt that was because people knew what to expect. The ground had been well prepared. It was when teachers and others were ignorant that they felt threatened and responded accordingly. The Principal had deliberately set out to ensure teachers were fully informed and knowledgeable about requirements. He did not place his staff in threatening situations. Consultation through Huis had been the main basis for joint decision making. Three years ago when he arrived, the school had been very racist in the playground with Maori gangs and labels such as 'nigger' commonly applied. Now this had all gone.

The unit, the Principal believed did not have a school wide application, since that was not one of its objectives. Maoritanga was taken as a school wide option outside of the

unit's functioning. The unit was an additional section of a school wide bi-cultural emphasis. All doors and rooms throughout the School were labelled in both Maori and English, and the Art Teacher had organized and supervised the preparation of Murals for putting up round the entrance ways. Newsletters were headed in Maori with English translations, and all assemblies began and concluded in Maori. The unit itself only took prominence on occasions when a Powhiri was performed.

A TEACHER'S PERSPECTIVE.

The young First Year teacher in the Unit did not view what was happening in her class as anything particularly special. The respect and working together which she considered the basis of the class, would be her expectation for any class. She felt however that the unit did have an impact on the whole School through their role as ambassadors for things Maori.

Bi-lingulism apart she did not consider the programme any different to any other programme. The language was fitted in where appropriate, and where opportunities existed, with the aim being to use Maori as much as possible in a natural way. The programme she thought did need to be structured educationally however, and towards this end the support of the RTM who came in every Tuesday was important. The RTM was her

chief resource. The teacher herself identified as Maori, and had a fair to middling amount of Reo.

The chief problems the teacher identified with the children was sometimes a certain arrogance that they're special, and they would also 'play' on the ignorance of things Maori in other adults. Promoting the simple things such as taking ones shoes off on entering the room could be a frustrating experience, when, because others did not attach importance to the concept, they did not see why they should. For herself there was a freedom and relaxation in not having to carry the full weight of responsibility in things Maori as she had done in the past at Teachers' College. The rewards lay in encouraging children to find their culture, and in the respect that things Maori were given. It lay in helping fit the young for life with a good grounding in their own culture.

2. OPERATIONAL MODEL - STUDY A

Beginnings.

Originating in the promotion of Maori studies by the Itinerant teacher of Maori, followed by pressure from the Maori Community, the impetus for the establishment of the Whanau Unit took five years, to manifest. With the strong support of the then Principal, the Unit opened in 1987 with twenty-five children centred on a junior attainment level, under a trained, experienced teacher, and a Kaiarahi Reo. As a classroom was already available within the junior school area, little in the way of alteration was required in order to accommodate the Whanau. The class teacher, very aware of the gaps in his own knowledge, instigated a close relationship with the local Kohanga Reo, went on courses in Maoritanga and language, and, visited other Whanau Units in order to supplement that knowledge lack.

The School's present Principal took up his appointment during the Unit's second year of operation. The single unit had branched into a Junior and a Senior Whanau, and although the Junior class was running well, the Senior class had problems. With a relieving teacher, due to withdrawal of the inaugural teacher on sabbatical, the children had got 'labelled,' and were blamed for a large portion of any mis-endeavours by the rest of school. Parents of children within the Junior Whanau

were not at all happy about the prospect of their children going on into the Senior Whanau. Drawing upon his considerable experience in integrating school fractions, the Principal devised a plan of action with the express purpose of increasing the 'Mana' of the Senior Whanau. In this, he was aided by the moving on of both Whanau teachers, and the arrival of a new Deputy Principal, who had multi-class background experience. The Senior Whanau was therefore moved into the main school building under the tuition of Deputy Principal, and efforts were directed towards integrating both Junior and Senior classes into their respective syndicates. The Junior teaching vacancy was advertised, tagged as a Whanau position requiring some Reo, empathy with, and experience of, Maori culture. A new teacher meeting these requirements, was duly appointed in 1989.

A further complication existed however, in that the Kaiarahi Reo, due to her level of commitments in other community areas was over-loaded. This led to unreliability in her attendance at the school, which was counter productive for the teachers in their planning. The Principal attempted to solve the problem by formulating, in consultation with an all Maori professional group, the Resource Teacher Maori, a Maori Inspector, and the Reading Advisor, who shared his concern, a clear job description for the Kaiarahi Reo. Co-incidentally, and the Principal did not engineer it, the Kaiarahi Reo left due to her commitments, and in consultation with the Marae,

and the Resource Teacher Maori, a temporary appointment was made. The following year the position was formally advertised and the acting Kaiarahi Reo, confirmed. This appointment is reviewed every two years. Noticeably the structure of the programme changed, and the success level went up. There were still problems to be ironed out mainly associated with the Kaiarahi Reo's coming to understand teaching skills and a teacher's role. Currently the Kaiarahi Reo had gained a place in the Teachers' Training course for those skilled in Maori Language.

Further adjustments followed in 1990. As the Deputy Principal wanted a change, and the Principal felt the objective of integration had largely been achieved, with the 'Mana' of the Senior Whanau raised, and the children having a greater pride in themselves, the classes were moved to their present location. Currently they were located adjacent to each other within the bounds of what was primarily the Junior School complex. The staff member who had been specifically appointed for the Whanau took over the Senior Whanau, and the Junior Unit was undertaken by a teacher, with seniority, already on the staff. The Principal admitted he came in for some criticism for not involving the Maori Community in the latter choice. He felt justified however, in that he was in a position to know the over-all needs of the school, its strengths and weaknesses, and the compatibility of the teachers. He also wanted a teacher with seniority who could

give a lead professionally. Continuation of the Unit did depend on someone already on the staff willing to take it on, as there was no job vacancy to advertise. From 1991 the Unit has gained official recognition as a Bi-lingual Unit with the associated rise in teacher salaries.

THE VALUE BASE.

The elements which constituted the Maori value base were identified as residing in the presence of a Kaiarahi Reo. It was this position, the teachers' agreed, which embodied the values, and ensured they were adhered to. Other elements included:-

- the range of family grouping,
- the caring and sharing for others,
- the older helping the younger children,
- the co-operative learning and playing,
- the way visitors were welcomed,
- the respect for the Kaumatua,
- the opening and closing each day with a Karakia,
- the coming together of the whole Whanau to begin each day -
- in Mihi and Waiata, greeting and song,
- the presence of Taonga with the extra value on things of the past,
- the importance, and appreciation of people.

OPERATION.

The children were, according to their teachers, particularly good at sharing and caring for each other. This extended into the playground where they frequently played in a large group mixing older and younger children. Children learnt to work co-operatively alongside each other, and how to help other people. Important programme components were the learning of their Pepeha and the Waiata. A new Waiata was introduced at least once a month and basically learnt through oral repetition. Emphasis was on leadership from within the group, and those children with the ability in Maori, were encouraged to take the initiative. Thus children were seen as a resource, with those who had knowledge and understanding, teaching others. A spin off, was the increase in self esteem and confidence which spilt over into other subjects. Praise and recognition were important strategies which were probably employed more than in many other classes.

The Kaiarahi Reo was shared between the two classes in order to make the most of the Maori input, and organization had the flexibility to encompass her use in both small or large groups. The aim was always towards maximizing the benefits of her expertise in Maori language and culture. Every day began with a community Whanau time involving both classes. An additional, joint Whanau time was scheduled for Thursday afternoons. Daily, corporate planning was undertaken at after school meetings, to evaluate and plan strategies.

Reading and language materials were plentiful, and up-to-date. The readers were free from School publications and the consensus from the group was that the latest materials were colourful and attractive. The Unit now had its own spending budget, and was therefore able to keep up-to-date with publications and games. As well, the new Maori Language Syllabus was being trialed within the Unit, along with the resources that went with it.

People support was strong, from the regular visits of the Resource Teacher Maori, to the moral support of the Kaumatua and local Marae. There was also a strong parental support base, though the Principal, and the Resource Teacher Maori, would like to see more informal support, where parents or family dropped in, just to be there. The Principal has said to the Kaumatua,

"Look there's a couch in there Jack you just come and sit there and be our Kaumatua."

For a while one of the Grandmothers was doing just that. As well, most morning Whanau times have one or two parents, relatives or a visitor to join them.

Involvement is not without difficulties for parents however. They already have heavy commitments, with a comparatively few doing a whole range of things. Many were either heavily involved in the Marae, committed to younger siblings, or both

parents were tied to working. For some, their own negative school experiences turned them away, while others doubted their own ability to handle the language. Lack of obvious parental presence may well, as the Principal suggested, constitute a vote of confidence in the smooth functioning of the Whanua, or, the Whanau may be seen as the domain of the Kaiarahi Reo. No reira, when there was a function everyone came, and the numbers swelled.

The criteria for selection of children to the unit were hierarchical. First consideration was given to those children who came from Kohanga Reo, followed by the children who had come from another bi-lingual unit. The third criterion was for Maori children whose parent's wished them to be included, followed by children who had siblings in the class. Finally, those non-Maori children whose parents wished them to be there had a chance of selection when places were available. The situation had moved from wanting to withdraw, to having more children wishing to join than could be accommodated. Each October a newsletter was sent home across the school explaining the Whanau unit to parents, and giving them the opportunity to indicate if they wished their children to join the unit the following school year. For new entrants without Kohanga or bi-cultural experience, the advice given was that they should spend the first six months in a new entrant class prior to joining the Whanau, as the learning of school skills

was considered sufficient, without the added dimension of new language at the same time.

The Whanau teachers reviewed the class units each year looking at who was there, their degree of progress, and response to the programme. Where indications were that a child's needs, or the needs of the other children, were not being met, for what ever reason, then that child might be returned to a usual classroom. Children had been reinstated in usual classrooms when the language load had proved too demanding, or, as in one or two cases, where parental and child aspirations had been mis-matched.

THE DAILY ROUTINE.

The day began with Whanau time, as both Juniors and Seniors joined together in prayer, greeting and song, which encompassed the first twenty minutes of every day. Older children could be noted assisting younger children into place, and generally keeping an eye on their performance. The session was usually led by one of the children with the Kaiarahi Reo prompting if, and when necessary. Verbal communication was conducted entirely in Maori without translation. Several parents were usually present at this time, along with any visitors, who on this occasion included the Science Adviser and the Resource Teacher Maori (RTM), with the Principal making a brief appearance.

An additional Whanau time was under-taken one afternoon each week. This particular Whanau time was conducted by the Kaiarahi Reo as a group session, with girls and boys in separate groups, as they were practising for cultural competitions. Each group worked by themselves under the guidance of the older members of the Unit, while the Kaiarahi Reo alternated her attention between groups. The boys had additional assistance from one of the Intermediate boys who the previous year had been in the Primary Whanau. The girls practised Poi and Waiata, while the boys refined manoeuvres with sticks. A father of one of the newer entrants was in the background watching, and gradually eased his way in to help his son with holds and stance. The children's efforts were concentrated, with some laughter and obvious enjoyment, but remarkably free from 'fooling around', or distraction. Whether the Kaiarahi Reo was actually working with a group or not, seemed to make little difference to the effort put in, and the children remained consistently on task. Of general note was the ease with which all children could pitch and sing in key, and the ease and speed with which they learnt new songs.

The Senior Classroom was a double unit block minus dividing walls. Individual desks were set out in the equivalent of one classroom, leaving the other as an open space for coming together. A large mural depicting the sun in bold orange and

red, with black scrolls of Maori design, dominated the room. The mural had been prepared by the children in individual sections and then put together, making a very effective centre piece. Paintings depicting Maori legends, pictures on themes from Maoritanga, and pictures with Maori and English subtitles adorned the walls, along with the children's own art and language work in both languages. The children were adept at written work in both languages and would often blend the two.

Example one.

"Ka haere matou ki toku kainga no te mea Ka haere matou ki te ra whanau o Roi. Ko ia toku tuakana. We had to buy a keke for toku tuakan."

Example two.

"As she looked closely in the whakata she realized her kiri was dripping from the bone in her karohi rima. Seconds later her karu was half the way down her porihirihi."

Language instruction in Maori, both oral and written, and the learning of their Pipiha, for both Classes, was under-taken in small groups, which the Kaiarahi Reo withdrew during general language time. The Junior class had an additional general Whanau time in their own class following the main Whanau time each morning.

The Junior classroom was a single room unit, and in appearance little different to any other well run Junior classroom. Much of the work depicted at the time of the observations was on topics related to the general curriculum, such as a topic on firemen, rather than having a specific Maori orientated theme. Captions and labels depicted both Maori and English translations, particularly those relating to the names of everyday requirements such as the days, months and weather. Maths graphs were labelled in both Maori and English. Of note for its innovative content was the poster from the Department of Health, Te Tari Ora, depicting members of the New Zealand netball team with the Maori women to the fore. Its message 'Takahia te Hikareti', 'Stay Smokefree'. The class had been working on that topic as part of the health theme.

The teachers' comments to the children in both classrooms were highly positive and encouraging in content. For example,

"Teno pai in projects. I was tremendously impresses with those."

In presenting the projects to the group.

"Etu if you'd like to. Pake pake moreh. Kereru about any of the things."

In dealing with unacceptable behaviour.

"We don't do that in this class as we are all family and here to help one another."

The accent was on the rewarding of acceptable behaviour through encouragement. Simple commands were generally given in Maori without translation.

Of note on the wall in the Senior room was a chart setting out the intangible elements which provided the basis for the class ethos. Entitled the 'Treaty of the Senior Whanau' it set out guides lines for acceptable behaviour on the part of both pupils and teacher.

Nga tamariki aims to:-

1. Listen at listening time and contribute at talking times.
2. Be thoughtful, sensible and helpful.
3. Put effort into work.
4. Show Aroha.

Te Kaiako aims to:-

1. Treat each child as an individual and a friend.
2. Provide good learning conditions and interesting things to learn.
3. Help each child to learn at a rate that suits that child.
4. Show Aroha.

The Unit was trialing the new Maori language syllabus and in the Senior class the current focus was on tapu/noa. Hence the story the RTM had brought along to read to the Senior class had the concepts of tapu and aroha as its base. The group sat in a circle on the carpet in the clear area. Discussion interlaced the reading and the story which concerned an injured blue penguin. (Part 2 No 2 19) The point of returning animals to their own habitat was the major discussion point, which branched into experiences some in the group had had concerning the finding of bones and 'treasures', such as greenstone and carvings. The class teacher had blended health themes with Te Wairoa in her presentation of the topic. This blending was typical of a large portion of all topics, where it was relevant.

The most obvious characteristic to the observer was the mix of ages groups in a single class. In this they resembled a sole charge, or three teacher country school. For a large portion of the time it was impossible to tell, from general observation, the individual ages or stages, of the children.

The children spent the majority of their time under group tuition sharing the Teacher's attention. While, for example, the teacher worked with one group on core content say in maths, an older child tutored another group, and still other children engaged in individual work, or worked on the computer. This seemed to be the general pattern of the day in

both rooms, with additional parent helpers in the Junior classroom. Within the Junior room the two most recent new entrants were obvious to the observer through their behaviour patterns, though this was not necessarily so for all new entrants, as some blended from the moment of joining.

The Whanau times aside, both classes operated and followed the same syllabus as other classes, and therefore, much of the day was little different to that which may be reflected elsewhere in the Primary system.

Of note was that the children from the senior Whanau played together during break times, usually playing cricket on an area in front of their room, and appeared to have little contact with children in other classes. The children from the Junior Whanau, though they also appeared to play mainly together, were less obvious in that they were in the junior area of the school, and were thus less easily discernible as a separate unit.

THE INTERMEDIATE.

While some consideration of a Maori perspective began for the Intermediate in the early eighties, and was reinforced with the location of the Resource Teacher Maori's Office on the School Campus in the later part of the decade, it was the

establishment and successful development of the Whanau Unit at the Primary School which had put pressure on the Intermediate to provide some form of continuation for those children. A dialogue began in 1989, and extended into 1990, where the Principal deliberately set-out to consult, and build towards an understanding, to avoid problems and opposition. He was adamant that he would not be rushed into anything. A policy statement with the grand plan and progress up-date had been issued in term three 1990.

At the present stage, the Intermediate does not operate a fully fledged Whanau unit. While the long term goal is to eventually have a fully 'Whanau' unit, it could not be set up yet, as the school simply did not have the necessary resources. The children who came from the Primary Whanau in the current year 1991, were given a choice in class placement. Some chose to enter other classes, some the accelerated [English] language class, while the rest are incorporated within two parallel, Form One and Two composite classes, which were to run side by side.

A year one teacher with an interest and sensitivity to things Maori staffed one class, while a more senior staff member was in the other. A young Maori language assistant came in three times a week and took three half hour sessions. One on Maori language, one on culture incorporating the Pepeha, the Powhiri and the Haka etc, and the third one on art in conjunction with

the art teacher. In the latter, concentration was on developing the Koru for decoration within the eventual Whanau room. The culturally based sessions were accessible across the school, while the language session was exclusively for those who came from the Primary Whanau.

Funding came from the Maori language factor funding, which was set aside towards this end after full consultation with parents. The funds were tagged, and parents had the right to say what they wanted done with them towards the proliferation of Te Reo. What happened when, or if, the funding ran out presented a problem of some magnitude.

The major thrust for the establishment of the Whanau at Intermediate had come from the parents of the Whanau class at the Primary School. The consensus from these parents was that the pace is not nearly fast enough to suit them. They were determined on a full Whanau class for next year. This created problems in the area of finance and staffing for the Principal and School. As there was no vacant position for a Senior Teacher, the school was not able to advertise for a suitable person to staff a full Whanau class. The lack of Maori teachers with language, and/or the lack of a Kaiarahi Reo to work alongside a trained teacher, was hampering the scheme and appeared to be the main stumbling block to the inauguration of a fully fledged Whanau class within the school.

THE LANGUAGE SESSION.

As the Unit does not operate as a fully fledged Whanau Class observations were centred on the language session.

The language session, which caters exclusively for ex-Whanau children began with games. Both Teacher and Language Instructor were friendly, welcoming and encouraging. The children were smiling, laughing and participated keenly, especially in the game where they were taxed to be first in remembering Maori colour names. Competition in this game was keen, but without rancour, and seemed to be more a case of taxing oneself in memory, than competing against another person. The room was minus individual desks, though there were chairs and some large tables around the perimeter. Children sat in a circle on cushions along with the Teacher and Language Instructor to receive their task instructions.

The task, to make a book employing simple narrative in Maori which could be shared with their classmates back in their home rooms. The teacher had instructions on cards with children's names on which she gave out. While confined in regards to topic, the children had a choice in layout, and in what they drew as illustrations. For example the given topic on using Maori number names could be illustrated by using birds, objects or whatever took the author's fancy, and placed wherever the author chose on the page. Books were available for help and inspiration if the children wanted them.

The objective was multi-faceted in that not only were the children reinforcing their own knowledge, but they had something to encourage others with, and to demonstrate to their own class teacher that they were participating in something worth while. This seemed a major concern of the year one teacher, that she should produce concrete evidence to justify the time spent on things Maori to the 'home' class teachers.

The time flew and didn't seem nearly long enough for the task in hand. The children were actively engaged on task the whole lesson, and the teacher commented that she considered she obtained more work from two particular pupils here, than in her class time, where they were low achievers. She suggested there could be several reasons for this, including the smallness of the group, and perhaps this was the system they were use to working under.

The saddest part of the morning took place at the beginning of the session when a girl was sent back to her room because she had come on the wrong day. With shoulders drooping, her face expressed both dejection and embarrassment as she left. The young teacher expressed her distaste for the system which required her to reject that pupil simply because she had come on the wrong day.

A MEETING.

A meeting between the parents from the Primary Whanau and representatives from the Intermediate including the Principal, called to discuss the co-opting of two Maori Representatives to the Intermediate Board of Trustees provided a kaleidoscope in points of view.

While the main objective of the meeting, from the point of view of its stated agenda was achieved, that was Representatives' names were put forward for consideration by the Board, considerable difference in opinion concerning the 'real issue', when the class was to become fully operational, remained unresolved. Frustration appeared to be centred on two issues.

1) The community wanted the School to give assurances that the Whanau would happen the next year.

2) The School wanted the community to undertake a commitment to make it happen.

Neither side was prepared to move without the assurance of the commitment from the other first. A significant question asked of the Principal by a member of the Maori community, "What do you understand by a Whanau ?" was unfortunately side tracked and remained unanswered.

Two points of view seemed to crystallize from the discussion. One centred on activating the Whanau Unit, with the Reo following when possible, and the other, that it was the Reo that was required to make the Whanau existence possible. The Resource Teacher Maori was of the opinion that the Reo was the important priority, while many of the parents were more concerned with having the class established. Discussion was conducted with feeling, and some anger at times, but the meeting was firmly chaired by the chairperson. The evening concluded with a shared meal, though not all those present at the meeting remained to share in this.

OPERATIONAL MODEL - STUDY B**Beginnings.**

The initial impetus for what was eventually to become the Bi-lingual Unit in Study B came in language input. Funded by the then Education Department under the ruling of the local area Education Board the now District Adviser on Education Maori and Pacific Island (DAEMPI) came to spend an hour a day with the ex-Kohanga children within the school. It was the Principal at the time who originated the issue by asking what was to happen to the Kohanga children on school entry. Her concern, coupled with that of the Kohanga parents saw an increase in the language hours to twenty a week, though these had to be shared with other schools. The following year brought the realization that something more was needed within the school, and the Kohanga funded one of their members to come in on a part time basis. Thus, the present Kaiarahi Reo began working at the school.

Under the regulations of the Education Authority of the time a class required official recognition as a Bi-lingual Unit, before a Kaiarahi Reo could be officially appointed. With the Principal's enthusiastic support this status was granted in 1986. The local Iwi were asked to choose a Kaiarahi Reo for the full-time position, and the withdrawal of the other candidate left the present Kaiarahi Reo to be appointed to the

position. She has held the position ever since, and is currently under-going teacher training, and will graduate from the Teachers' College Division K Course at the end of the current year. This means that at the beginning of 1992 the Junior Unit will be staffed by a certificated teacher who is also a Maori language expert.

The school had three teachers on the staff at the time of initial implementation who were attending courses in Maori language on their own initiative. One of these teachers became the teacher in the Bi-lingual Unit and another came in when the initial teacher left.

A strategy employed by the original Principal in setting up the Unit was to encourage the present teacher, in his then position as Senior Teacher Junior Classes, to write a policy based on the concepts of Maoritanga for the whole school, minus the Maori terms. Employing Tauroa's 'Maoritanga in Practice' (1980) as a base, the teacher formulated such a policy. It went a considerable way towards forestalling much opposition, and means the school still has a 'covert' policy based in the precepts of the caring and sharing of Maoritanga.

There was still some opposition from parents within the school community however when the unit was first set up, stemming from the concept that the children could be 'missing out'.

This was largely sorted out with the help of the Resource Teacher Maori (RTM) and the DAEMPI. Strong opposition against too much Taha Maori in the general curriculum also existed as was evident from an aborted earlier attempt to introduce Maori studies within the school by the present Unit's teacher acting in his then capacity as Senior Teacher Junior Classes. Now as a result of the work within the Unit the opposition has been turned around and a demand for Taha Maori in other classes has emerged.

Selection for class membership had a priority for Kohanga children followed by those who have experience in Maori language. The next criterion was for those who have, or had had, siblings in the class. The final criterion was parental desire for their children to be in the class. There was also an expectation for the families to speak Maori at home.

Each day, for the Unit, begins and ends with both classes together in Waiata and prayer. Prayer was also said before lunch each day. On Friday afternoons the whole afternoon was devoted to a sharing, or Whanau time together. The Junior Class Teacher's vision is for the eventual conducting of the whole programme completely in Maori.

Shared pair tutoring was also an important part of each day. This shared tutoring, and the older helping the younger

children, the Tuakana-Teina relationship of Maoritanga, had had an unexpected spin off in the rest of the School.

The Bi-lingual Unit had been located within the main school block. At the beginning of this year they were suddenly told they were being relocated on the perimeter in a two classroom block. The Unit's staff were apprehensive that they were being pushed out, and isolated from the rest of the School. What transpired however, was that the rest of the school had been so impressed with the success of the Tuakana-Teina strategy that they now wanted to employ it school wide. All classes were therefore to be inter-dispersed as Junior-Senior units throughout the school. This general reorganization was carried out on the recommendations of the staff according to the Principal, and while he was not aware of any undue influence from the Bi-lingual Unit in this, the Bi-lingual Unit teachers themselves, were convinced it was an indirect spin off from the relationships they have built within their classes. The problem dimension of the move was the lack of understanding given to the spiritual dimension. The necessity for the correct ceremony in vacating the old premises, and inhabiting the new, had been neglected.

THE VALUE BASE.

Whanaungatanga, the concept of familiness in Maori terms, was the chief concept of the Unit's base, though all the ti-Kanga were important. Of particular importance was the Wairua, or

spirituality, which was a difficult concept to evaluate in Pakaha terms, and even more difficult to provide with a criterion for assessment.

The values were significant, and served to authenticate the Reo. In the opinion of the DAEMPI and the RTM, while a Bilingual unit could exist on such a base without necessarily having the Reo, the Reo required this base for authenticity. In other words the language could not live without the values, and while the language may be a necessary ingredient within the unit, it was not sufficient in itself to ensure legitimization in relation to Maoritanga. This created an added difficulty in choosing teachers, as not all who identified as Maori were necessarily suitable, nor were all those who spoke the language. In the words of the DAEMPI,

"They are seeing through Pakeha trained eyes and the heart is missing."

One of the difficulties for the present teacher within the unit had been in the identification of Maori Values. As he did not identify as Maori himself, he chose to be guided by the Kaiarahi Reo and the families within the unit as they expressed their needs. He considered the strategies of importance employed within the unit were much the same as those used in other classes, but with an emphasis on sharing. The Principal also preferred to be guided by the Maori Community as to the features that were important within the Unit.

The Kaiarahi Reo identified the respectful attitudes, with aroha, and Whanaungatanga, and the big looking after the little, as the important values together with the language. The language to her, was the first thing.

The Unit had been fortunate in securing a really sympathetic relieving teacher to carry on when the original teacher left. They were also fortunate in that the community was allowed to exercise choice through a panel from the Marae as to who they had.

The local Iwi did have contact with the Unit and shared their skills. There were always people coming and going. A Maori grandmother who came on a regular basis to support her Mokopuna was most impressed with what she had seen of the class, and liked the middle way of having both cultures. She herself did not have the language and married to a Pakeha she had elected not to have much to do with the Marae. What she had seen in the class had given her food for a new line of thought and she felt good about what is happening there.

The Unit was not without day-to-day operating problems, and tended to fluctuate between highs and lows. One day it would run really well, and the following day be full of problems. Basically these difficulties stemmed from the lack of permanent staff with which an expected relationship could be built up. This was in no way a reflection on the present

staff and the job they are doing in keeping the Bi-lingual Unit functioning. When problems arose, then there was a need to sit and talk about it, which often brought a solution and a greater understanding of the expectations of both teachers and parents. The term family tea meetings have proved a useful forum for getting to know one another.

Boundaries in relation to responsibilities set through a job description were a valuable necessity for the Kaiarahi Reo position within a school according to both the DAEMPI and the RTM. It was important in order to prevent the Principal from having unrealistic expectations for the job, and to give the Kaiarahi Reo a guide line for job requirements. In setting these boundaries, the Kaumatua could play an important role. The intervention of the Kaumatua could be, and in one circumstance was, both timely and necessary, for the continued smooth operation of the units involved. Basically it was a situation requiring communication and fine tuning through discussion.

OPERATION.

The present teacher within the Junior Unit, took a side-ways promotion from Senior Teacher Junior Classes, to fill the gap created when the inaugural teacher left. A gap that he considers he is filling until the present Kaiarahi Reo completes her training at the end of the year. Whether he

will then teach in the Senior Class is uncertain. The senior class was at present without a permanent teacher, and though he could be available, he had still to give the matter some thought. He was adamant that it was a matter to be decided through consultation with the community.

The Unit at the present time had staffing problems with the lack of a permanent teacher in the Senior Class and the Kaiarahi Reo committed to completing her training. A shortage of trained staff was a major problem. For example, when the position in the Senior Unit was advertised, no suitable applicant applied. This lack of available qualified staff was compounded by the shortage of available Kaiarahi Reo positions. Both the DAEMPI and RTM were adamant that a Primary trained, Maori speaking teacher was a necessity.

The future however looked bright, with eight fluent Reo speakers under-going Primary Teacher training who would be qualified in two years. That meant that there would be Primary trained, Reo speaking teachers available in three years time.

Maori language had been another area of struggle for the unit during the current year with the Kaiarahi away so much, and the relieving teacher in the Senior class had little Reo. These difficulties are hopefully behind them now that they had obtained a Kai Awhina, though there had been 'teething'

problems. For example when the strategies employed by the Kai Awhina, such as in keeping children in over lunch time and morning break as punishment, had not been in keeping with the parental expectations. This had necessitated considerable discussion.

THE DAILY ROUTINE.

The introduction to both classrooms was the row of shoes stored just inside the door, and the realization that all comers were expected to remove their footwear on entering the room. No fuss was made over the requirement however, as it was just accepted as the natural thing to do. Some parental concern had been expressed, especially during Winter time, for keeping the children's feet warm. The consensus was to look into the provision of slippers, or some form of indoor foot covering for next winter.

First impressions were of a busy bubbling junior classroom with children happily involved in the tasks they have been set. A scene reproduced many times over in any well run junior classroom. Through an easily moveable, folding door, the senior class was likewise busily involved, with at times the noise level reaching a crescendo, until audible teacher commands reduces it back down to a quiet buzz. Neither class was particularly quiet in its movements, or speech. In the Junior room it is impossible to distinguish at a glance who

the newest arrivals were. Some children were taller than others but height is not a reliable guide to age.

Next door, in the Senior room, it was likewise impossible to place children in grades from observation. Their desks were arranged in rows, though they were seldom all seated in them at the same time, until prior to break times, when they were expected to tidy up and be seated, prior to being dismissed. It transpired there was an older child at the end of each row who served as a leader monitor. An enactment perhaps of the Tuakana-Teina relationship of Maoritanga. The over-all general impression was of a Sole-Charge, or Two-Teacher Country School, where children of necessity, worked in groups together, or by themselves, without constant Teacher supervision.

In the Junior classroom the teacher interspersed Maori names along with their English counterparts in a natural manner. References such as, 'one of Tane's special trees the Totara,' were accepted as part of the natural flow of conversation. They were certainly accepted as such by the children. The Spring, or Koanga Mural, the class was working on, was labelled in both Maori and English, as were the art and picture displays throughout the room. Simple commands such as 'Etu', 'E noho', and 'Whakaronga mai', were given in Maori without translation. Children used similar commands with ease. This was evident in both rooms.

In the senior room, the Kai Awhina stationed near the front of the class was keeping an eye on general work proceedings, and would comment in Maori, to individual children, mostly boys, from time to time. Under his watchful eye the older Maori boys in particular seemed to adopt a more respectful attitude. This attitude change was reflected in the more erect body postures adopted after comments from the Kai Awhina.

Maoritanga was catered for in the joint morning Whanau times, in small group instruction and in the weekly additional Whanau times. Both junior and senior classes opened and closed together, with prayers and Waiata, in a daily shared Whanau time which occupied the first twenty minutes of each day. Prayer was said again prior to lunch. The Kai Awhina withdrew groups in the senior class, from time to time during the day, for instruction in language and Maoritanga.

The additional Whanau time, a weekly coming together for an afternoon by the whole Unit, had juniors and seniors interspersed for Waiata, action songs and Hakas. The dividing wall partition was rolled back to give more space. On this occasion it was lead by the District Adviser Education Maori and Pacific Island, (DAEMPI) and she taught through verbal instruction, employing repetition and modelling of that which she wished the children to learn. A parent joined in and served as an additional roll model for the group. Several of the older children who knew the song and actions,

also served as models for the rest of the group. Parents who arrived to collect children towards home time either joined in, or came into the room to watch. Children entered into the performances with enthusiasm and relish.

Certain 'cameos' stand out as representative of the time spent with the Unit:-

a) The look of intense concentration on the face of a young Maori boy as he listened and followed a taped story from a Maori Language Reader. He was deeply absorbed.

b) The hug a Kui gave her Mokopuna during the morning session. Again it was their faces which conveyed their feeling for each other.

c) The verbal intervention by a youngster, in Maori, to a question spoken in Maori between two adults, and the adults laughing acceptance, of the unexpected response with "Ka Pai".

d) The 'helping hand' of one child for another as he painted in an outline with the comment, "She can't do it but I can."

e) The placing of crayons in the middle of a group table and the comment by the child who put them there, "If its in the middle they can share."

f) The offer of help from one child to another, "If you want I'll help you."

g) Two Senior boys conversing in Maori.

h) The 'jarring note' when a parent helper 'bawled out' a youngster for spilling paint. The child seemed to shrink into herself.

i) Finally, the instruction given by a group of children on how to eat a Huhu grub, followed by a graphic demonstration. The Kai Awhina had brought the grubs in that morning for consumption, and the children were entranced.

Special strategies were not discernible from observation as anything other than those employed in general, in other classrooms. The over-all impression was one of a well lived in family dwelling, homely and comfortable, with the evidence of occupation strewn around. An environment where children could feel accepted and not necessarily required to be on their best behaviour all the time.

In the playground the children from the two classes intermingled and didn't appear to stand out from others, nor were they noted as playing just within their own classes. An exercise time during the morning was taken as a school-wide activity across several classes. All joined in the aerobics

session taken to a 'Micky Mouse' musical presentation labelled 'Mouseacize'.

THE INTERMEDIATE.

The concern for an ongoing provision for their children had prompted parents from the primary bi-lingual Unit towards enlisting the sympathy of the local intermediate. The intermediate had a new Principal, and a delegation of parents had met with him, and presented their needs. The Principal's response was to investigate what could be done. With full Iwi support he used re-start payment to employ two people to get Maori culture flowing within the School. Timetabling allowed two classes as options, to run four times a week, of one and half hour sessions each. The Principal had then reorganized the whole school into Whanua units so that all Form One and Two pupils belonged to one of four Whanau. The second year saw the employment of a Kaiarahi Reo, who besides teaching a group of selected students was also timetabled in Taha Maori for all Classes. Therefore, as all teachers were required to be there during the lesson with their classes, they observed and absorbed the cultural and language presentations.

A major problem in providing a fully fledged Bi-lingual Unit at the intermediate had been in finding a suitable applicant to run it, until this year, when the present First Year Teacher was recruited. A Kaiarahi Reo was employed from

Maori factor funding until the money ran out, and though they had applied for further funding this had failed, as all the newly created positions had gone elsewhere. Therefore when the current Kaiarahi Reo was accepted into the Teacher Training scheme the School did not replace her, as the class teacher elected to carry on by herself.

The Principal saw himself as a facilitator who responded to the wishes of the parents. This contention was supported by the DAEMPI who felt the outlook for the intermediate was promising, with the willingness of the Principle to run with the community's expressed needs. Taha Maori, to the Principal was something of value.

Selection for the Unit had a tough criterion based on having had Kohanga, experience within a Primary Whanau, or equivalent bi-lingual experiences. Of the forty five applications for this, their first year as a fully-fledged unit, only twenty eight places had been available. The teacher had little direct contact with a local Marae, and felt a single Marae was not relevant to class members as they came from many different tribes. Therefore there was no one Kaumatua to whom they would all relate.

THE DAILY ENVIRONMENT.

The entry foyer signaled a welcome to alternative cultures with the bi-lingual labels above doors and room entrances and with colourful multi-cultural murals and art work adorning the walls. One piece of work in particular depicting the octopus as a symbol of intangible and tangible elements in Maoritanga was striking in its presentation. A large Mural blending both European and Maori cultural symbols adorned the wall opposite the entry. Going straight from the Advisers' Office to the Intermediate however provided a complete, though unintended, contrast in climates. Moving from the welcoming warmth and friendliness of the DAEMPI and RTM's headquarters straight into the Intermediate Staff Room was the equivalent to taking a 'cold shower', or at least that was how it felt. While the impression was in no way intentional, or expressive of a lack of welcome, the words of welcome were eventually forth coming and the meeting had been pre-arranged, it was nevertheless the initial reaction on entering the teachers' realm.

The classroom itself was welcoming and contained many illustrations round the walls within pictures, notices and labels that this was indeed a bi-cultural environment. Shoes were again required to be removed at the door. The class teacher seemed well aware of the elements of Maoritanga and somewhat reluctant to place too great an emphasis on what she was doing. To her the portraying of a bi-cultural and bi-

lingual expression was a natural extension of her own milieu. Of note was her quiet yet firm expression of views.

Of further note was the greetings exchanged between Principal and students as he moved about the School. Words were geared towards encouragement and it was obvious that he knew, and was known well, by the students as they smilingly responded to his greeting.

3. EXPLANATORY MODEL.

The Maori Values upon which the Whanau concept rests were determined by the Maori people themselves. The values were selected, identified and supported by the Iwi, and further upheld by the Kaumatua, Advisers and Resource personnel associated with the Units. Both these perceptions emerged clearly from the evidence presented in the operational and representative models of both study A and B, along with the perception that those values aligned with the substance provided by Tauroa (1980) and Ka'ai (1990) within the theoretical perspective. The Maori Values upon which the concept of the Whanau Units within the two school settings rest, may therefore, be concluded as those associated with Whanaungatanga, the concept of familyness in Maori terms, and the interrelated values of Aroha, Manaaki and Wairau, as identified by both Ka'ai (1990) and Tauroa (1980).

A further clear conception which emerged from the models was the strategic importance of the Kaiarahi Reo position. The Kaiarahi Reo position was a key element in the identification, and representation of not only the Maori Values, but in the maintenance of all aspects of the Kaupapa within a Maori cultural perspective in the school setting. She was depended upon, and acknowledged as such, by the Teachers involved within the Units, to give direction and guidance as to the manifestation of both the tangible and intangible elements of

Maoritanga. That the intangible were given consideration along with the tangible was evident from the attention given to the concepts of caring and sharing which were built into the ethos of the classrooms. Children were seen to share and care for each other in their daily behaviour. Aroha was evident within the comments and instructions spoken by teachers and staff within their daily routines. It may therefore be concluded that teachers and children within the classrooms of both study A and B had the intention to fulfil the expectations of Whanaungatanga. It may further be concluded that the position of a Kaiarahi Reo, an appointment made by the Maori people themselves, was a strategic and necessary condition for ensuring that the concept of Whanaungatanga was a legitimate manifestation according to the precepts of Maoritanga.

The difficulties, particularly financial, associated with the obtaining of a Kaiarahi Reo, appears to be a critical element in the establishment of a fully-fledged Unit within a School, as the attempts within the intermediate in study A illustrate. While the intermediate in study B was similarly constrained, it had the advantage of the availability of a Maori Language speaking Teacher who had the ethos of Maoritanga as her own cultural habitus. A suggested assumption therefore is, that where there are trained teachers with a Maori cultural habitus available, the position of Kaiarahi Reo is less critical to

the implementation of a legitimate Kaupapa within bi-lingual and Whanau Units.

The establishment of a legitimate base for Maori Values in relation to learning and knowledge was a gradual process of growth, which required the maintenance of a delicate balance between teaching skills and expertise in Maoritanga. While the two components exhibited some difference in their manifestation, there was however, a remarkable degree of similarity in their developmental paths. Both grew out of momentum from within the Iwi as an extension of Kohanga Reo for their Primary age children. Both flourished under the guidance of Principals whose enthusiastic support helped maintain momentum, and counter opposition sufficiently, to establish the Unit. Both began as single classroom units which expanded into Senior and Junior classes, and, both now push out for extension into an Intermediate. Also to be acknowledged was the critical role played by the Resource Teachers, and Advisers in Maori in their promotion and support of the Units, and the personnel involved. Their background, communication networking, undoubtedly paved the way for relative acceptance of the implementation and on-going functioning of the Units within the school system.

Where the Units differ in implementation lies in their initial bias. For study A, the bias lay in a Social Studies agenda towards studies in Maoritanga, while in study B, the bias was

both studies. Therefore the difference in classification would appear to rest more on the terms of Pakeha compartmentalization of knowledge fractions, than in any real difference in terms of Maori Values.

Class membership was, and still is, determined according to a hierarchic scale which favours those children who come from Kohanga Reo foundations, or who have a Maori language base. This hierarchic procedure was the same for both studies, thereby giving support to the contention that the units were primarily formed to provide a Maori milieu for the schooling of children from Kohanga Reo, within the State structure. A provision that, in accordance with Bourdieu's theory of Cultural Capital, is a necessary one if children from a Maori cultural embodiment are to attain educational success.

In the examination of the curriculum content, the most obvious manifestation of Maoritanga lay in the joint Whanau time each morning. This Whanau time was conducted in Maori with little English translation, and was under the guidance of the Kaiarahi Reo, who controlled the direction and content of the session. While other sectors of the day were timetabled for specific learning times, and Maori language permeated the programme where practical, it was the Whanau time which ultimately set the units apart from other classes.

Less obvious differences between the units and general classes emerged through the pedagogy of the tuakana-teina, or peer tutoring relationship, and to a certain extent the fluidity as conceptualized by Ka'ai (1990), existed in the teaching-learning role. Verbal teaching strategies were employed by the Kaiarahi Reo, particularly in learning new songs and action routines, but otherwise such strategies, though recognized, were not given any undue emphasis over and above the general strategies employed in New Zealand primary classrooms. Data from both studies suggested that both curriculum and pedagogy attempted to reflect Maori Values in manifestation. A contention which Bernstein (Harker 1990) claims is a necessity, for the knowledge transmission to be considered legitimate. In presentation of curriculum and pedagogy therefore, the units within the two studies may be seen to be attempting to operate within a Maori milieu, in order to provide a legitimate habitus for Maori children.

While the Maori people undoubtedly had the power of decision making in relation to the Maori content of the programmes within both studies, and the curriculum and pedagogy can be determined as reflecting the values of their knowledge base, the authenticity of Bernstein's third criterion evaluation, is less easily discernible. Bernstein determined that evaluation was as important as curriculum and pedagogy in the reflection of cultural bias in a knowledge code.

Teachers in the units, particularly within study A, appeared to feel some pressure to justify what they were presenting in relation to balance between Maori and general curriculum content. Their concern was expressed as a need "to show children were not missing out". An arena which raises issues related to evaluation. For example, what is supposedly missed, by whose definition and to whom is the justification directed? If the justification is directed towards proving to Maori parents that their children are gaining an,

"adequate and effective education in both Maori and English" (Benton 1984:254),

then the justification may be claimed as being legitimately based, in relation to the value base. If however the pressure is solely towards determining an assessment within a Pakeha knowledge framework, then there are grounds for concern, and for a more detailed investigation into whose 'interests' were ultimately being served. In a climate of scarce resources the dangers of dispossession and expropriation (Benton 1984) are real. Some disquiet also arises from the remarks made by a staff member in Study B, concerning the possibility of a Pakeha appropriation of the Whanau content. A warning, which echos that of Mead (1977), and Hingangaroa Smith (1990) concerning the hegemony of the dominant cultural base. However as Benton points out,

"bilingual education in English and Maori is a gamble. It can be justified only on the grounds that the Maori language is something too important to be ignored by the New Zealand education system, and then only if the

prime beneficiaries of its economic as well as its cultural advantages are members of the Maori community. "(Benton 1984:264)

While the contention from Critical theory attributes the power of decision making in evaluation to the Maori people themselves, which leaves the ultimate discernment with them in regards to acceptance or rejection of that which has been provided within the school, this does not absolve policy makers within a Pakeha framework from the responsibility of ensuring that decision making on evaluation, as well as curriculum and pedagogy, in relation to Maori knowledge is made from within that framework. That is, on Maori terms and values.

The data from the Operational and the Representative models in both studies, supports the contention that the Maori people are satisfied with that provision as it has been manifested within the primary units for their children. Such is the strength of their conviction, that Maori parents bring their children across town, at considerable expense and effort, passing other schools on the way, to ensure their children are educated within a Maori cultural embodiment. Also of note, was the strong relationship with the local Marae in study A, and the valued input of the Kaumatua to the Whanau unit. The displayed support and enthusiasm exhibited by the Iwi suggests that the Whanau units, in the primary schools at least, are in fact providing a legitimate manifestation of

Maori values in relation to knowledge and learning, to the satisfaction of the Maori people concerned.

The cutting edge of current implementation however, resides in the out-reach towards establishment in the intermediates. In contrast to the similarities between the two studies in their earlier manifestation, the current thrust is characterised by difference. In study B, the impetus co-incided with the appointment of new Principal who not only embraced the concept whole-heartedly, setting up a fully fledged Unit despite problems, but proceeded to re-organize the whole School into Whanau, or family related groups, in preference to the more usual age/stage syndicates.

The Principal in study A was more cautious, and while accepting of the initiative from the parents, has delayed the implementation of a fully fledged unit until the problems, particularly financial, could be sorted out. The parents, both Maori and Pakeha, are far from happy, or accepting of, the situation, and it is towards this arena that they are currently directing their energies. In this, there would appear to exist a divergence of opinion over the required prominence of the Reo in relation to the initial establishment of a fully-fledged unit. For the School, the provision of the Reo was the prime consideration, while for the parents, the establishment of a unit to embody the values, was the major consideration. A critical but ignored question directed at

the Principal, "What do you understand by a Whanau?", (Operational model Case Study A) supported the contention of a mis-match in comprehension between the parents and school personnel over the constitution of a 'Whanau Unit' in Maori terms.

As little seems to have been required in the way of major adaptations to accommodate the Units within the School, physical provision for the Units was not a problem. Classrooms were already available on site, making implementation in relation to the physical requirements a relatively simple accomplishment, restricted to surface refurbishing, and material provision where required. The impact on general School organization therefore was minimal in relation to the physical re-arrangements necessary for accommodating the Unit, and little different to that which would be required to accommodate any general class within the School.

The units in both studies have however, undergone re-location for various reasons during the years they have been in operation. Those under-taken in study A were in order to ensure the integration of the Unit as part of the School. This was in line with the preferences expressed by parents, and the Kaumatua, as they did not wish a separatist manifestation.

In study B the primary unit has had a greater impact on general school organization, by spearheading re-organization towards an initiation of the Teina-Tuakana relation of Maoritanga. While the primary principal was dubious at attributing the re-organization to the existence of the Unit, the teachers were more forth-right in their assessment of the positive influence of the 'Whanau' in bringing about that change. In the intermediate in study B the school re-organization appears to have stemmed more from the desire to attain a bi-cultural school environment, of which the bi-lingual unit was but a part, than upon the unit's influence for change.

However, in both studies the Units are demonstratively a part of their School. They participated in their appropriate syndicated activities, and general scheduled activities of the School, along side other classes, and though these activities stemmed from the general knowledge framework of the School, rather than that of the Unit, they served to produce a bonding of unity in school identity. The only discordant note, was the preference of the children from the Senior Whanau in study A for playing exclusively together at all break times, with its accompanying enclave status connotations.

Material resources, unlike the problems which beset earlier forays into bi-lingual education (Benton 1984) have not been a

problem. Games, language and reading books, appeared to have been readily available and attractively presented, and resources accompanied the trial Maori language syllabus. For teachers and pupils, embracing the components of two cultures, has increased the work load, and the ability of students to cope with this extra load is one of the considerations taken into account in study A, when the annual assessments for class membership are made.

The major problem in resources for these units has been in the scarcity of human resources. Namely, in the provision of Kaiarahi Reo, and trained teachers with foundations in Maoritanga. This was particularly relevant to study B which has struggled to achieve stability in staffing in the current 1991 year. It was also relevant to the non-start of a fully-fledged unit in the intermediate in study A. Current initiatives in teacher training for Maori language experts should hopefully alleviate the problem within the space of the next three years. Impact on general school organization therefore has placed few out of the ordinary demands, other than in staffing requirements, on the school as a whole, but made more demands for adjustment on the part of the unit's pupils, teachers, and in study A the principal, towards becoming an intrinsic and accepted part of the school identity.

The prevailing attitudes of those involved with the unit, professional educators, children, and parents reflects a positive and enthusiastic support for the learning environment provided by the classes. Families, both Maori and Pakeha, elected to be part of the group in order to retain, advance and extend their knowledge and understanding of Maori culture and language. For Maori parents the depth of meaning extended beyond the surface significance of schooling. The unit was, 'Whanau', family, the total embodiment of their values and beliefs within which their children might grow to 'stand tall', as Maori. Thus it was the Maori cultural embodiment which was the significant attraction of the Unit for families.

It was this cultural embodiment which provided for the perception of difference between the Unit and other classes. Teachers however were reluctant to stress the connotations of difference in relation to the unit's curriculum content, preferring instead to define the unit's programme as 'the same with an additional component.' While this viewpoint may be reassuring in regard to the maintenance of the State curriculum, and in establishing school unity, there could be a danger in loosing sight of the importance of the connotations of difference, for the establishment of a Maori cultural perspective in knowledge. Bourdieu's theory of cultural embodiment necessitates the recognition of that difference.

Children were more aware of the concept of difference in the component of Maoritanga, with on occasion, negative consequences. In study A, field data records incidents of racism. The principal had also been required to field criticism and unfavourable comments from time to time. The areas of adverse criticism had however, as had similar areas in study B, diminished in relation to the Unit's operational time span, particularly when they have been deemed 'successful' in that manifestation. The contention that understanding removed the threat posed by ignorance, would appear a reflection of truth in relation to bi-cultural education. More positive attitudes were reflected by those not directly involved with the units, as their own growth in understanding and perception of Maoritanga within the units, matured.

The effectiveness of the impact of the unit towards promoting a bi-cultural perspective within the school, was proportional to the degree of involvement with the unit. For those closely involved, the impact of a two-cultural dimension was intensive. Within the units the aim was to ensure the same Mana was accorded the Maori culture as the European. Parents were appreciative of the two-cultural, bi-lingual dimensions of the unit, and in many instances whole families were learning along with the children, especially in regards to the learning of the Reo. Maori parents were satisfied with, and supportive of, the manifestations of their own

cultural reality portrayed within the Units. For those belonging to the Units therefore the manifestation of a two-cultural perspective was a reality.

That the units had influenced other areas of the school is also to be acknowledged, and teachers within the Units have made a conscious effort to reach out to others within the school. However, in accordance with the contentions of Banks (1988) and Irwin (1988), and echoed by Hingangaroa Smith (1990), manifested change is required to permeate every aspect of the school structure before that institution may claim to present a bi-cultural perspective. The reality within both studies, as presented by the data within the operational and representative models, is that the school structure remains dominated by Pakeha cultural values towards knowledge and learning. The changes that have taken place within the organization of the primary school in study B may, in the future, promote further changes towards the full-scale manifestation reiterated by Banks, but at the present time, they are insufficient to substantiate a two-cultural dimension. The institution closest to providing that manifestation, was the intermediate in study B. Those changes however were not necessarily attributable to the existence of the unit.

In relation to the requirements of a system wide bi-cultural perspective, as expounded by Banks (1988), what was manifested

within the parameters of the studies had more in common with the findings of Irwin (1988) towards the product of two separate co-existing structures, than a single bi-cultural entity. That is, the Whanau or bi-lingual units within both A and B co-existed alongside the main school structure. While the main school system retains a mono-cultural expression, then the two, of necessity remain separate. The units up to the present time, by themselves, therefore, are insufficient to promote the changes necessary within the State school system for the manifestation of a bi-cultural society within New Zealand.

CHAPTER SIXCONCLUSION

This study began with the contention that change was necessary if New Zealand was to become at least a bi-cultural society, and sought, to examine the educational response to aspects of that change through the implementation of Maori values in relation to learning and knowledge, through the establishment of Whanau, or as they are now officially titled, Bi-lingual Units within functioning primary school structures. Two study components comprised the data collection field and though they appeared to present considerable difference in the manifestation of their objectives, there emerged remarkable similarities in the problems, implementation and attainment of that for which they strove. They were different yet remarkably the same. Despite the fact that the units appear successful in the manifestation of knowledge and learning from within a Maori values base, particularly for those directly involved, the contention here, based upon the theoretical perceptions of Banks, is that Whanau/Bi-lingual Units in and by themselves are insufficient to promote wide spread change towards bi-culturalism within the primary school structure.

While the units may not in and by themselves be sufficient to promote a wide spread change towards bi-culturalism within the

primary school structure, they, by their successful establishment and continuing existence within existing school structures, give credence to the theory (Angus 1978, Codd & Harker 1990) that potential reformist possibilities do exist within the school system at a local level. That the units have continued to manifest knowledge and learning within the values of a Maori knowledge base is born out by the strong support given them by the local Iwi. If New Zealand is serious in the intent to become a bi-cultural society however, then other initiatives, in addition to those promoted by Whanau/Bi-lingual Units, will need to be directed from within the main-stream school system.

From the evidence collected within the study it would appear that the Principal of a school is a driving and vital force in the direction and action of any initiatives towards a bi-cultural perspective, be it within the school as a whole, or restricted to initiatives such as those expressed by the units. So too, are parents, whose dedication and persistence were a necessary ingredient in the implementation and maintenance of the units. Qualified, experienced teachers who were open, sensitive and receptive of the initiative were also necessary for success. It was the dedication and persistence of parents and teachers at the local level which had brought results manifested in not only the children within the units, but in the learning that was acknowledged as taking place in whole families, both Maori and Pakeha, as a result of

involvement within the bi-cultural structure. That there had been, and still were, problems to over-come was fully acknowledged.

While some of the problems were related to a lack of understanding and knowledge concerning cultural differences, the biggest stumbling block to progress at the current time was the lack of trained, qualified, bi-lingual/bi-cultural teachers. In lieu of such teachers the Kaiarahi Reo position had been the pivotal element in implementation and maintenance of a unit within the Maori milieu, and where the units have had difficulties in obtaining the services of a Kaiarahi Reo, for whatever reason, they have had difficulties in maintaining the Maori perspective, particularly in the language. Teachers, the Kaiarahi Reo, Principals, Parents and Maori Resource Educators have however, worked together in partnership to establish and maintain units which have made manifest their claim to present knowledge and learning from within the perspective of Maori values.

In retrospect therefore, and in accordance with the two directions pursued (refer introduction) the ramifications from the evidence presented in the study suggests the units have a legitimate presentation of knowledge from within a Maori perspective. In regard to recognised change in the over-all school structure however, the suggestion put forward is that they are insufficient by themselves to bring about the

necessary changes required if New Zealand is to become a bi-cultural society.

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APPENDIX 1

The purpose of this study is to provide a detailed profile of the manner in which the implementation of Maori values in relation to knowledge and learning have been negotiated through the establishment of Whanau groupings within existing functional Primary School structures.

1. How were Maori Values upon which the Whanau concept rests determined?

- a) How were the Maori values selected?
- b) Who identified them?
- c) What are they?

2. How was the concept of providing a legitimate base for Maori Values in relation to learning and knowledge organized?

- a) Where did the initial impetus come from?
- b) Who provided the major input in maintaining momentum?
- c) What resources were available, or required?
- d) What preparation procedures were necessary?
- e) What was the criteria for membership of the class?
- f) What was the required time frame to enable a suitable launching?

3. How has the curriculum been implemented?

- a) How was content selection determined?
- b) What strategies are of particular importance?
- c) What are the main features of the daily programme?
- d) What are the perceived differences in content to conventional programmes?

4. How is validity for the transmission of Maori values obtained?

- a) Who are involved in the decision and evaluation processes?
- c) What degree of contact exists between the Whanua group and the local Marae?
- d) Do the local Maori families have a choice in where they send their children to school?
- d) How pervasive is the Maori language in curriculum content?

5. What impact has the Whanau group had on general school organization?

- a) What physical re-arrangements were necessary in the allocation and renovation of classrooms?
- b) What additional resources were required?
- c) How did curriculum changes effect daily timetabling and subject scheduling?
- d) What joint activities take place?

6. What are the prevailing attitudes of teachers, parents and children towards the Whanau grouping?

- a) Why did families elect to be part of the group?
- b) How do the teachers, children and parents directly involved perceive the group?
- d) How do teachers and children not directly involved perceived the group?
- d) How is the Whanau grouping perceived as being different to other classes?

7. How effective is the implementation perceived to be in relation to promoting a bi-cultural perspective within the school?

- a) Do parents of children within the group perceive the group as fulfilling their expectations?
- b) Do Maori parents perceive the group as fulfilling their expectations?
- c) How does the Principal perceive the progress of the group?
- d) Do teachers perceive the implementation as making a contribution towards a bi-cultural perspective?

APPENDIX 2Question base for Interview with Resource Teacher Maori

1. Where and how did the idea of a Whanau unit based in a Primary school originate and can you elaborate on those beginnings?
2. What are the Maori Values which under-pin the Whanau Units within the schools and how were they determined and selected?
3. What is your involvement with the unit and how do you view its progress?
4. What degree of influence and involvement do the local Maori people have in relation to the unit?
5. Intermediate has just begun with the ideas of the unit this year. How do you see the progress and direction of the implementation there?
6. What impact do you see the unit having on the school system?
7. What are the implications of the unit for the local Maori people?
8. What do you see as the major problems?

Interview Question base for Principals.

1. What lead to the establishment of the Whanau unit within your school?
2. How does the unit 'fit' within the over-all school organization?
3. What do you consider are the most important features of the Whanua programme?
4. What do you see as the differences between the Whanua programme and other classes?
5. What degree of contact exists between the Whanua unit and:-
 - a) the rest of the school ?
 - b) yourself ?
 - c) the local Marae ?
6. How do you view progress to date and what of the future?
7. What do you see as the major problems?
8. In your opinion what would be the prevailing attitudes towards the unit from within :-
 - a) the school?
 - b) the board ?
 - c) the community?
9. How would you define a bi-cultural perspective?
10. How effective do you think the unit is, or could be in contributing towards a bi-cultural perspective?

The focus of this study is on implementation of the Whanau unit within the school and I am interested in two aspects of this. The class itself, and how the school has accommodated to the class. In order to obtain information from both perspectives I would like to speak with a) Yourselfes the teachers, b) a group of children, c) a group of parents. I would also appreciate the opportunity to spend a day or two observing the programme in action.

Basis for interviews with the teachers.

1. Can you identify the Maori Values upon which the class is based?
2. How has the programmes been constructed to take account of those values?
3. What are the main features of your daily programme?
4. What strategies are particularly important?
5. How were the children selected for the class?
6. What resources and support are available?
7. How is this class different to other classes?
8. How does the class 'fit' with the rest of the school?
9. How would you assess the attitudes of those 'outside' the class to the class?
10. What do you see as the major rewards of the programme?
11. What do you find are the major problems?
12. What part does the local Marae play in the programme?
13. How would you define a bi-cultural perspective?
14. What contribution, if any, would you see this class as making towards a bi-cultural perspective within the school?
15. Is there anything else you consider important that has not been covered?

Interview question basis for Parents.

1. What does the Whanau unit mean to you?
2. Why did you choose to have your child join the class?
3. What did you expect to get from the class?
4. Do you feel pleased or disappointed about progress?
5. How has the class changed your child or your family?
6. How do you see this class as different to other classes?
7. What kind of support are you able to give the class?

Basis for discussion with a group of children.

1. What is the most important thing to you about this class?
2. What do you like best about it? Why?
3. What would you like to change ? Why?
4. How do you think it is different to other classes?
5. Why did you choose to join this class?