Kua tae kē tatou?
Are we there yet?

Tikanga ā Rua i roto i ngā Kura Auraki o Āotearoa
Biculturalism in New Zealand Mainstream Schools

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Education (Adult Education) at Massey University.

Mary Jennifer Snowden (nee Graham)

January 2012

This thesis is dedicated to

my Dad

Parāone Ngaruhe Graham (Darky)

(October 12, 1926 – August 14, 2010)

E te rangatira

Anei rā tō whānau

E mihi atu nei ki a koe

E te rangatira o tēnei rohe

Ko te maunga Hikuroa, hi!
Ko te moana Kāririkura
Te waka o Tinana hi!
Ko te hapū Ngāti Moetonga
Te Rarawa te Iwi
Tūmoana te tangata
Kerehoma te whānau e

Ana, ana, aue hi!

(Donna Ross, 2010)

He Maioha

Karakia Whakawātea

He hōnore, he korōria ki te Atua, he maungarongo ki te whenua, he whakaaro pai ki ngā tāngata katoa. Hanga e te Atua he ngākau hou, ki roto, ki tēnā, ki tēnā, o mātou. Whakatōngia tōu wairua tapu, hei āwhina, hei tohutohu i a mātou, hei ako hoki ki roto i te kotahitanga o tēnei puna reo. Āmine

I te tīmatatanga te kupu, ko te kupu te Atua. Ko te Atua anō te kupu o te timatatanga Nāna ngā mea katoa i hanga. Karekau i tētahi mea, kāhore te hanga i a ia. Ko ia te ora, ko te ora te maramatanga mō ngā tāngata katoa. Nō reira, he mea tika tēnei ki te tautoko i ngā tikanga ō o tātou tūpuna, arā kia tīmata i ngā mahi katoa i runga i te karakia, māna ka whakawātea. E tō mātou Matua nui i te rangi whakakoikoi ō mātou hinengaro,kia pai ai tō tātou hiahia ki te rapu mātauranga o tēnei Āo. Āmine

I ngā rā o mua, nā te Atua anake te kaihanga o ngā mea katoa, nāna i whakatō te otaota tuatahi, ka puta he rākau, ka puta ko Tāne Mahuta. I tērā wā, ko ia te kaitiaki o ngā kīrehe e ngokingoki ana, mō ngā manu e rere mai ana, engari ko te āhua o te tangata ki te tapahi rākau ki te hanga whare. Nō reira, ki tō tātou poupou o tō tātou whare tupuna o Wainui tū mai, tū tonu.

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Āpiti hono, tātai hono, te hunga mate ki te hunga mate,
Āpiti hono, tātai hono, te hunga ora ki te hunga whakapapa.

Ka hua te wananga, ka noho i a Rikoriko , ka puta ki waho ko te Po, ko te Po-nui, te Po-roa, te Po-tuturi, te Po-pepeke, te Po-uriuri, te Po tangotango, te Po-wawa, te Po-kitea, te Po-i oti-atu-ki-te Mate. Nā te kore ai, te kore te wiwia, te kore te rawea, Ko Hotupu, Ko Houora, ka noho i te atea ka whanau mai Ko Ranginui. I tērā taha ko te Pū ko te Weu ko te More ko te Aka, ko te Ahunga Aponga Kune Iti, Kune Rahi, Popo Kunau, ko te Hine Awaeawae ko te Rangi ko te timatanga mai o te Āo marama. Ko te Ao Nui, ko te Ao Roa, Ko te Kanapanapa Ko te Whe Kerekere Ko te Ao Hiwahiwa ko te Ao Kerekere ko te timatanga mai o te Āo Marama, Te Rapuna, Te Kukuni, Te Hihiri, Te Manako, Te Mahara, Hinengaro (te whakaaro), ka whanaumai Ko Papatuanuku. Tangaroa, Tawhirimatea, Haumia Tiketike, Tumatauenga, Rongomatane, Tane Mahuta, Ka puta ko Hine Ahu One, Hine Titama, Ko Hine Nui te Po ,Ko Hine Iwaiwa, Ko Mahuika. Anei te whakapapa ō ō tātou tūpuna, i heke iho ai mai i Rangi Tu Ha-Ha ki a mātou i te hunga ora. Tēnā hoki tātou.

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Whakamārama

Ki te taha o tōku matua
Ko Hikuroa te maunga
Ko Kāririkura te moana
Ko Māmari te waka
Ko Tūmoana te tangata
Ko Wainui te marae
Ko Te Rarawa te iwi
Ko Ngāti Moetonga te hapū

Ki te taha o tōku whaea
Ko Tokatoka te maunga
Ko Kaipara te awa
Ko Mahūhū ki te Rangi te waka
Ko Haumaiwārangi te tangata
Ko Āotea te marae
Ko Ngāti Whātua te iwi
Ko Te Uri o Hau te hapū

Ka moe a Tamati Rewiti Graham i a Ngāwini Merata Rivers
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Ka puta mai a Manuao Waimarino Marama Toka
Ka moe a Parāone Ngaruhe Graham i a Manuao Waimarino Marama Toka
Ka puta mai a Mary Jennifer Graham
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Kia ora mai anō tātou

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The house has boundaries, but the heart is without boundaries.

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Nau te rourou naku te rourou ka ora ai te iwi
Your basket of knowledge along with mine will sustain the future wellbeing of the people.

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Ko te kai a te rangatira. He kōrero, he kōrero, he kōrero.
Sustenance for a chiefly figure. Discussion, debate and oratory.

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My success should not be bestowed onto me alone, as it was not individual success but success of a collective.

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Te Pūtake o te Kōrero
Abstract

The rationale for conducting this research is embedded in the articles of The Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tīrītī o Waitangi 2.3), the cornerstone of the partnership between Māori and Pākehā. Te Tīrītī promotes research set in a peculiarly Āotearoa New Zealand context where *biculturalism* is seen as promoting a dignified, respectful coexistence of Māori and Pākehā in which both languages cultures and ways of life are acknowledged and valued (Vasil, 2000). In the context of this work the word *biculturalism* concerns the cultural being of Māori and Pākehā alike. Though the word *biculturalism* appears in the New Zealand Curriculum, the works explored in the process of undertaking this research did not name *biculturalism* as existing in New Zealand schools, hence the paucity of up-to-date references.

Using aspects of Kaupapa Māori (Smith, 1997) as the research method the research aimed to develop a better understanding around the implementation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori to promote *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools today. The historical context that foregrounds *biculturalism* and the educational policy that influenced the growth and development of *biculturalism* were also taken into account. In endeavouring to understand and define the shape and form of *biculturalism* a small group of teachers (Te Whānau Rangahau) agreed to share their ideas around the tensions, successes, enablers and challenges involved in *'creating a space'* for the implementation of te Māori (Māori language) and tikanga Māori (Māori culture and values) to nurture and assist *biculturalism.*

Keeping within the framework of Kaupapa Māori the kairangahau (researcher) felt 'kanohi ki te kanohi' (face to face discussion) was both relevant and appropriate. The use of focussed conversations and individual interviews provided a unique opportunity to identify key influences on teacher willingness to engage in discourse around *biculturalism.* An opportunity to determine essential elements that need to be present to allow *biculturalism* to be nurtured through to fruition was also captured.

This thesis found that the perception of including te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools to encourage true *biculturalism* continues

to be complicated and worked through institutional and social practices. These create, maintain and perpetuate a dominant ideology that maintains a monolingual, monocultural Pākehā curriculum.

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NB: The use of the macron in the words Māori and Pākehā have been dictated by contemporary use and the time when written works were produced. Macrons are used to mark long vowel length. This practice was less common before the 1990's.

Wāhanga Kotahi: Chapter 1

Whakatakato i te Tūāpapa
Laying the foundation

1.1 He Whakataki
Introduction

The 'bi' in *biculturalism* is discussed here as specifically relating to the language and customs of Māori and Pākeha. The integration of *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools is a subject dear to my heart as Māori, a registered teacher, a lecturer involved in training beginning teachers and an adviser responsible for the delivery of professional learning and development focussed on the planning and implementation of te reo Māori. As the background of the kairangahau colours the research, Appendix 5 attempts to give readers an insight into her own experiences thus brokering an understanding of where my commitment to *biculturalism* stems from.

If we as a nation are to make *biculturalism* a reality in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools, as proclaimed by the Treaty of Waitangi, *biculturalism* has to be central, integral and implicit in everything we do. Te Reo Māori and tikanga Māori are the backbone of *biculturalism* in education. However, this thesis proposes that they have continued to be perceived as an added distraction rather than an essential component. This thesis is the result of a small exploratory study, at the heart of which reside the stories of a small sample of teachers and their experiences creating *biculturalism* by teaching te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in their schools and classrooms.

The primary objective was to explore the participant teachers' perceptions of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori presence as it contributes to *biculturalism* in mainstream Āotearoa New Zealand schools. In an attempt to understand the nature and implications of bicultural policy development in Āotearoa New Zealand, this thesis identifies and discusses some of the influencing ideologies that have underpinned *biculturalism* policy and practice.

The term *biculturalism* (discussed in further detail in Chapter 3.4) has particular significance for Māori and Pākehā (Middleton, 1992; O'Sullivan, 2007; Rata, 2005; Ritchie, 1992) that is based on a shared past (Yukich, 2010). For the purpose of this study *biculturalism* has been defined as enabling "two peoples to co-exist in dignity and to begin to respect and relish each others' languages, cultures and ways of life" (Vasil, 2000:1). The founding document of our nation, The Treaty of Waitangi, (Vasil, 2000) (further discussed in Chapter 2.3) insists that both Māori and Pākeha languages and cultures have equal status. However in the mainstream education system, Māori language and culture have been denied voice, denied existence (Tooley, 2000) and "as the Māori language went into retreat, so too did a major contribution of Māoriness among new generations of Māori" (Durie, 1998:301).

This fact has denied Māori both equity and justice: equity since being prohibited from using ones mother tongue as was the case in the past in Āotearoa New Zealand schools mainstream schools (Barrington, 2008) Māori have been denied real opportunity of self-expression and self-determination (Durie, 1998). Equally without equity there is no justice because formal education has been a process of subordination for Māori language rather an empowering one (Durie, 1998; Walker, 1996). Let us look at the state of te reo Māori in the New Zealand school context today.

There are eight Learning Areas in a school curriculum. Te Reo Māori aligns with the Learning Languages learning area, which means that it does not sit on its own in order to be equal with English. As part of The New Zealand Curriculum (2007) teachers are encouraged to recognise and promote the use of te reo Māori in their classrooms and the wider school community. Although the notion of intent is satisfied, there is no requirement to teach te reo Māori or acknowledge tikanga Māori in Āotearoa New Zealand schools. In 2008 Te Marautanga o Āotearoa, for use schools in a Māori medium setting, was launched as a sister document to The New Zealand Curriculum. It states a requirement that the school incorporate English language learning in the curriculum. So here we have a discrepancy between requirement for

instruction in English and Māori. If *biculturalism* is to be accepted in Āotearoa New Zealand it is vital that each language is given the same importance and visibility along with the tools to command the dignity, respect and status they each deserve. To discover the most current truths around te reo Māori and tikanga Māori mainstream schools' curriculum in Āotearoa New Zealand questions were required to be asked.

1.2 Ngā Pātai

The Questions

The three main questions to inform and guide the research were:

1. What shape / form does *biculturalism* take in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools today?

2. What factors contribute to the successful integration of *biculturalism* in our classroom programmes (that is, in the New Zealand Curriculum)?

3. What are some of the challenges teachers face when trying to integrate *biculturalism* into classroom programmes?

The participants were chosen from teachers I had trained who had completed a bilingual degree. An integral part of that training was explicit teaching and learning strategies aimed at furthering the implementation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream classrooms. In accordance with tikanga Māori I named the participants as a group, Te Whānau Rangahau. The rationale was that as in many groups the distilled knowledge finally emanating from the group was collectively informed and owned.

Thus the questions of whether the teachers in Te Whānau Rangahau were going to be the face of *biculturalism* in their schools and if so why, if not why not, was something occupying the minds of the teachers as well as the kairangahau. A further point of interest was to discover if possible what was expected of these teachers as classroom practitioners attempting to

implement *biculturalism* in New Zealand classrooms by way of inclusion of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in the curriculum.

As a result of moves in the 1970s, made by the teachers' union, the New Zealand Education Institute (Spoonley, 2009) to incorporate Māori themes into classroom programmes (Simon 1986), teachers have inherited a professional responsibility to create a learning environment that is reflective of a bicultural partnership. It has been declared that this partnership was established between Māori and Pākehā with the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi 1840 (Collins, 2004; Glynn and McFarlane, 1999; Smith, 2003; Stirling, 2003). The notion of *biculturalism* however was not explicitly explored in the debates leading up to the final signing. There was no explicit mention of *biculturalism* when the Treaty was signed, so was *biculturalism* inferred by the words that were used in the Articles or were there subliminal messages that people failed to read? That is another question for another time.

Nevertheless the intention of this research was to uncover the shape or form *biculturalism* takes in our schools, as defined by Te Whānau Rangahau. As Smith (1990) asserted, education has been and is a critical site for the development of a *bicultural* society. He went further by insisting that *biculturalism* was in fact the mode through which the goal of integration would ultimately be achieved. In answering the questions of how *biculturalism* may be integrated into Āotearoa New Zealand schools it must first be discovered whether there is space for this to occur. Discussion must first be had around how the state first negated *biculturalism* then began to attempt reinstatement through *Māoritanga* and *Taha Māori.*

1.3 He Wātea mō Tikanga-ā-Rua i Āotearoa?
Is there a Space for Biculturalism in New Zealand?

Māori as tangata whenua should have unique status in Aotearoa New Zealand society. The wellbeing of Māori, indeed their survival is dependent upon the maintenance of Māori language and cultural practices that are unique to them and underpin their status in the partnership that was

predicated on the signing of the Treaty. The following paragraphs give an overview regarding the determined relegation and imperfect reinstatement of Māori language and cultural practices.

1844 saw the Native Trust Ordinance set out processes that included education, for the civilisation and assimilation of Māori. Then in 1847 the Education Ordinance, encouraged schools to teach through the medium of English (Simon, 1999). Twenty years later saw the Native Schools Act that took Māori education out of the hands of church missionaries transferring control to the Crown. An assimilative agenda insisted on "the need to teach Māori children English and to Europeanize them" (Barrington, 2008:15).

The intentional elevating of English to the dominant language as discussed above resulted in te reo Māori being relegated to second class status not only by Pākehā but also by Māori themselves. As a result of this relegation tikanga Māori, in the form of Māori cultural practices were frowned upon and actively discouraged. One such practice was the role of the Tohunga, viewed as an expert, skilled in the arts of healing. Pākehā were suspicious and sceptical about his skill and they encouraged Māori to go and see a 'real' doctor. Eventually the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907 put in place to save Māori from these heathen practices ensured the Tohunga lost their mana and control (Simon, 1999). Essential elements of Māori culture were at risk of survival and key Māori contributions toward *biculturalism,* although not yet identified or realised by Māori were systematically being eroded (Durie, 1997).

Yet over time successive education policies such as *Māoritanga* and *Taha Māori* continued to negate the relevance and validity of *biculturalism*. With the 1970s and the rise of young well-educated Māori who believed in their right to recapture and maintain their heritage, politicians began to listen. In the 1980s there was a shift to official policy recognising *biculturalism* (Tooley, 2000). However the old guard of the dominant English ideology continued to challenge the introduction of *biculturalism* across all spectrums of the educational landscape. Thus the ideology of European cultural superiority (Walker, 1991) was and is perpetuated by hegemonic practice for well over a century. Even today where the idea of *biculturalism* is promoted in schools,

resulting in a presence in the consciousness of teachers' minds, this is not necessarily shown in their action.

Biculturalism is promoted by those teachers who have had a major mind-shift toward introducing te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in their teaching of the New Zealand curriculum. However as teachers the shape and true form of *biculturalism* continues to elude many educators, teachers and classrooms today.

Attempts to create a space for *biculturalism* have been fraught with **tangible** and **intangible** obstacles since the establishment of Mission schools in Āotearoa New Zealand in the early 19th century. Institutionalised racism reinforced by the dominant ideology remains systemic and perpetuated by political, social and academic "gate-keepers" (Walker, 1991). The development and implementation of educational policies intent on assimilating Māori (Barrington, 2008) have been the most **tangible** deterrents to creating space for *biculturalism.*

Biculturalism was never a goal of early Āotearoa New Zealand schools rather a reinforcement of monoculturalism where English was dominant. The difference today is that being bicultural is a part of the every day reality of Māori and Pākehā students. For those less concerned with the implementation of *biculturalism* this everyday reality may be deemed insignificant, however the extent of the loss for Māori in the big scheme of things whilst it cannot be quantified in any real terms is of major importance. There were and are many more challenges to come.

1.4 Ngā Wero
Challenges

Depending on the lens that has been placed over them **intangible** challenges to *biculturalism* are more difficult to grasp hold of and can be inclined to cause dissonance, in the sense that everything we 'know', 'do' and 'see' has become 'normalised'. Because stepping outside the space of normality means being

different and standing out. Promotion of monoculturalism as *the norm* and anything outside of that being 'othered' (Shields, Bishop, and Mazawì, 2005) has led to Māori, becoming *hegemonised/homogenised beings.* My experience has been that as a responsible member of society I just want to fit in and be accepted not for whom I need to be, but for whom I am. Being a young Māori teacher during the period when Māori were agitating to recapture lost rights caused a dilemma for me and possibly for other Māori teachers at this time.

The 1980s was a turbulent period for Māori, but especially for me as a teacher in a white upper-class area of Auckland. At that time Bastion Point was occupied by Māori protestors voicing displeasure over government "plan[s] to subdivide [the land] … for private ownership" (Spoonley, 2009:101). To maintain credibility I felt it important to distance myself from the protesters because they were viewed publicly as troublemakers. I wanted and needed to be seen as professional and credible, I had no choice but to compromise.

In spite of, or maybe because of, the seen and unseen forces educators must continue to challenge, question and debate forms of *biculturalism* in the educational spaces of our children's lives. Schools are political spheres that promote societal preferences, politicised by the government through the implementation of school curriculum. Freire (1996) supports this when he insists that education is not neutral but is in fact inherently political. Paying closer attention to *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand schools and particularly the role of school curriculum will continue to inform us about the intricacies that influence Te Whānau Rangahau as they work to create bicultural spaces of their own whether it is in a Pākehā context or a Māori context.

1.5 Te Whānau Rangahau

The Research Family.

Working within a Kaupapa Māori research methodology framework, the kairangahau has located the research cohort into a te Āo Māori (the Māori

world view) paradigm. Te Whānau Rangahau literally means *the research family.* This name also encapsulates the interconnectedness (Hemara, 2000) and reciprocal responsibility (Metge, 1984; Pere, 1982) of all forms of relationships whānau, whanaunga, whanaungatanga and whakawhanaungatanga. Reference to Te Whānau Rangahau will be made with use of the full name throughout the thesis. It is a common practice to use abbreviated forms of names in many writing circles. However in taking this stance, the kairangahau does not reduce Te Whānau Rangahau to a mere TWR. This practice is also necessary to ensure the mana and integrity of all whānau members is kept intact. As mentioned previously 'kanohi ki te kanohi' is one of the many Māori cultural preferences for interaction with other people. This approach greatly influenced the decision to use discussion and interview forums as a means for gathering ideas.

Focussed conversations and interviews provided an indispensable snapshot into what is happening in terms of *biculturalism* in their schools. Their voices give life to different scenario that collectively enable or disable the agenda of *biculturalism.* Te Whānau Rangahau conversations explored key influences on teacher willingness and their ability to engage in discourse associated with *biculturalism*. Furthermore, whether or not there were essential elements that need to be present for *biculturalism* to flourish in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools. These issues have been examined to give substance to the challenges presented, tensions created and successes celebrated in the *bicultural journey* taken by Te Whānau Rangahau.

1.6 E hāngai ana te rangahau? He aha ai?

Is this research relevant? Why?

This research is important for all teachers in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools who espouse the inclusion of *biculturalism* in their classroom but in reality practice exclusion; indeed for all teachers in Āotearoa New Zealand. It is important for Māori students as they struggle to see themselves reflected in the school environment, in the school curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007) and in the culture of the school because they

continue to underachieve and are still 'othered' (Shields, Bishop, and Mazawì, 2005). Non-Māori students should also be given the opportunity to share in the richness of Māori culture through language and tikanga so that the practices of *biculturalism* are infused in everything we do. Classroom teachers are charged with the responsibility to be change agents for the future. Metge (2008) in her personal memoir recalls the reservations Māori leaders and parents had about "the mono-cultural" nature of the state school system, and pressed strongly for the greater recognition of Māori language and culture in the school …" (p.14). In 2011 many of the problems that were of concern then, are still on the agenda today. The crux of this being,

> *(…) whatever happens in education is influenced by pedagogy – Paulo Freire's famous book reflects this in the title Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1972). And what happens in pedagogy, teaching styles, curriculum, and so on, is the outcome of certain policies adopted by schools or educational institutions or government bureaucracies (Marshall, Coxon, Jenkins and Jones, 2000:9).*

The ideology of *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools has been limited to the support of aspects of Māori language and culture (May, 1999) in the school curriculum. The first wave of *biculturalism* ensconced in the discourse of *Māoritanga* (Simon, 1986) insisted teachers organise classroom topics around Māori themes, (discussed further in Chapter 3.3). The next wave was development of *Taha Māori* (literally translated means the Māori Side) (Smith, 1996) programmes. Teachers were expected to include a Māori dimension into all aspects of their classroom programmes and into the culture of the school in the form of karakia, mihimihi and pōwhiri. This provided the government with the platform to develop *biculturalism* using a western frame of reference largely determined by the Pākehā majority (Bishop and Glynn, 1998) and unfortunately the people for whom it was originally developed were once again left sitting on the fringes (Smith, 1996; Smith, 1990a) of education and schooling.

Many of the teachers who delivered these *Taha Māori* programmes were Pākehā. This is still the case today. In spite of this the responsibility fell on the

shoulders of the few Māori teachers (Lee, 2008) at the time. So we have to wonder how people who view the world through a monocultural lense could be considered the best conduits for developing and implementing *biculturalism* (Walker in Simon, 1986) in that it promotes the language and culture of a group that challenges the status quo. Although both Māori and Pākehā have assumed that *Taha Māori* could attend to the underlying issues of colonialism, Bishop and Glynn (1998), and Smith (1990b) are adamant *Taha Māori* was an implementation of *biculturalism* designed to meet the aspirations of the Pākehā majority not those of the Māori minority. Consequently questions need to be asked. How much further has *biculturalism* progressed since then? Or like integration is it really assimilation in another guise?

1.7 Te Hangatanga o te Tuhinga

The structure of this thesis

Wāhanga Kotahi: Chapter 1

Whakatakoto i te tūāpapa lays the foundation for the thesis giving readers an insight into the impetus behind this exploration. Readers are acquainted with *biculturalism* and have their initial encounter with Te Whānau Rangahau and the main research questions. Finding a 'space' for *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools is complicated by a number of tangible and intangible forces, which work in harmony to maintain a dominant ideology. Kaupapa Māori as a framework for research methodology alongside focussed conversations and individual interview provide the forum for discussion. To finish the chapter more questions have to be asked about the state of *biculturalism* in the context of the Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream education.

Wāhanga e Rua: Chapter 2

Ngā Kōrero o Nehe recaptures a lost time, introducing readers to traditional Māori forms of education and schooling. It goes on further to chronicle the

arrival of missionaries and colonialists then familiarises readers with the agenda to 'civilise the natives' and recounts the influence missionaries had on formal schooling. The Treaty of Waitangi, the founding document of our society is presented within a context of missionary influence, French interest and British uncertainty of how to officially stake their claim on Āotearoa New Zealand. This chapter discloses the structures, assumptions, values and concepts that ultimately led to the demise of traditional Māori education and schooling.

Wāhanga e Toru: Chapter 3

Ngā Kaupapa Mātauranga o te Kāwanatanga provides a commentary of the journey through social policies of assimilation, adaptation, integration and *biculturalism* and their impact on education and formal schooling. Discussion outlines the different priorities of each policy, their similarities and their differences. Although each policy had a new name and points of difference were visible, assimilative tendencies were so entrenched Pākehā found them difficult to abandon. This chapter reminds us of the philosophical thinking that was to underpin each government policy for Māori development focussing specifically on education. It also brings to our attention a superiority complex that continued to blind policy makers right through to the 1980s and continues to do so today.

Wāhanga e Whā: Chapter 4

Tukangatanga examines Kaupapa Māori as a framework for research that promotes an indigenous approach, grounded in Māori worldviews. Elements of intervention attributed to the success of Kaupapa Māori in research methodology are identified and discussed. The principles give an insight into 'Māori ways of knowing and being' and the table of responsibilities remind us about being accountable for our interactions. Te Whānau Rangahau have been introduced with discussion around different modes of interaction. This chapter provides a space for transformative practice in research that is determined for Māori, by Māori and with Māori. Other emerging Māori

researchers are alerted to the option of choosing to work within a framework that has a cultural base grounded in Kaupapa Māori steeped in the traditions and practices of our tupuna (ancestors).

Wāhanga e Rima: Chapter 5

E whakarongo ana ki te reo is a kete filled with voices, current experiences and recollection about the notion of *biculturalism* in the lives of Te Whānau Rangahau. The narratives provided weave together a chain of events that have contributed to their understandings and interpretations of *biculturalism* as a child, at Teachers' College and in their own schools. Trials encountered and tribulations confronted are shared alongside the successes celebrated as young teachers endeavour to create a space for *biculturalism* in their schools. This chapter gathers in the individual voice to help formulate collective messages and further questions for education administrators, teacher educators and for teachers themselves.

Wāhanga e Ono: Chapter 6

Kei hea tātou inaianei weaves together all strands that make up the five emerging themes and brings to the attention of the reader issues that surround *biculturalism* in a school context. Te Whānau Rangahau establish themselves at the forefront of the discussions articulating messages to ensure educators refocus on *biculturalism* again. As a result of the findings recommendations are made and questions asked of groups that are key contributors to the sustainability of *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools today.

1.8 He whakarāpopoto
Summary

In reflecting on the opening statements of this thesis, is we are to make any positive moves forward in the cultural [well]being of Māori and Pākehā in Āotearoa New Zealand's mainstream schools, *biculturalism* needs to be given real space in which it can grow. The Treaty of Waitangi advocates for equal

status in an education system that has denied the rights of Māori (Barrington, 2008) and therefore the development of *biculturalism* since the administration of the first schools. Working within a kaupapa Māori research framework, Te Whānau Rangahau has contributed to the movement of *biculturalism* in their own space and on their own terms. If *biculturalism* can be furthered by the implementation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools then why is such a struggle to make it such a reality? And how do we deal with an assimilative ideology that pervades every space we move in?

This opening chapter has laid the foundation for the thesis giving readers an insight into the impetus behind this exploration. Readers have been acquainted with *biculturalism* and have an initial encounter with Te Whānau Rangahau and the main research questions. Finding a 'space' for *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools is complicated by a number of tangible and intangible forces, which work in harmony to maintain a dominant ideology. Kaupapa Māori as a framework for research methodology alongside focussed conversations and individual interviews will provide the indigenous space for discussion and analysis.

In the following chapter readers are introduced to traditional Māori forms of teaching and learning in Whare Wānanga. Major players in the development, establishment and signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and their roles are revealed as the kairangahau makes her way through the story of a document that will affect the lives of all New Zealanders as long as it continues to exist.

Wāhanga e Rua: Chapter Two

Ngā Kōrero o Neherā
The History

2.1 Mātauranga Māori Tūturu
Traditional Māori Education

Before the arrival of missionaries Māori had a system of learning that was unique, vibrant and ever changing to meet the needs of the society they lived in (Nepe, 1991; Pere, 1982). While Whare Wānanga (House of Knowledge) (Best, 1923) were seen as the formal setting for higher learning in traditional Māori society, more informal learning took place under the guidance of adults. Whānau (family) were key contributors to a child's learning. Intergenerational teaching and learning (Pere, 1982; Hemara, 2000) was common as parents were often occupied with providing the essentials for survival. "Kaumātua were considered a vast information source. Their wisdom and reflection were considered essential to the teaching of practical and social skills along with underpinnining esoteric and ethical principles" (Hemara, 2000:43).

Informal lessons were associated with real life situations and "occurred for Māori in all manner of activities that included work, leisure, play, warfare, agriculture, the arts and fishing" (Graham, 2002:29). Learning was a gradual process that became more complex as the student matured. In some cases the learning was indirect rather than explicit. Pere (1982) reiterates this when she recalls how she is amused and intrigued by the imitative process of her two-year-old grandson (possibly during whaikōrero although this is not explicitly stated) whose imitation is complete with gestures and facial expressions. Although traditional informal curricula was not formalised or negotiated, the elements of spiritual, intellectual, social and physical wellbeing were incorporated into the learning (Hemara, 2000). These elements however were explored in much more depth in the Whare Wānanga.

Initially "the concept of Whare Wānanga a depository for the knowledge acquired by the tupuna (ancestors) is prominent in the explanations of

knowledge acquisition, storage and transmission of tupuna" (Winiata and Winiata, 1995:138). 'Esoteric knowledge' that existed between mankind and gods was restricted to higher ranking individuals, and their whānau because firstly this knowledge was deemed extremely sacred (*tapu)* and secondly the concept of wānanga was located in conservatism (Graham, 2002) and thirdly because Whare Wānanga were concerned with the transmission of higher class knowledge – as opposed to ordinary folklore (Winiata & Winiata, 1995:139). The infrastructure of Māori society that built its foundation on historic traditions, rules and regulations (*tikanga and kawa*) were perpetuated through the Whare Wānanga. This is confirmed when Best writes,

> *We are all aware that the Māori possessed no graphic system, no form of script by means of which accumulations of knowledge might be recorded and so handed on to succeeding generations. It was this fact that rendered the School of Learning such a useful and important institution, inasmuch as it conserved oral tradition, all prized lore, and transmitted the same unaltered to posterity (1923:6).*

Winiata and Winiata (1995) insist that high powers of memory were required by Māori to conserve this oral tradition. This notion is reinforced because

> *Rote learning was the hallmark of whare Wānanga learning. Huge tracts of historical events and details, whakapapa and esoteric beliefs were learnt this way. This type of learning appears to have been highly ritualised. The ritual may have enhanced the mana of the learning and the curriculum (Hemara, 2000:41)*.

Over time Whare Wānanga were divided into two areas of learning, Te Kauwae-runga (*the upper jawbone)* and Te Kauwae-raro (*the lower jawbone)*. Te Kauwae-runga dealt with 'esoteric knowledge' pertaining to the passages of time, the creation, the realms of Papatūānuku (Earth Mother), the origin of all things literally anything associated with gods 'the celestial realm' (Smith, 1915 in Graham, 2002). Te Kauwae-raro was more concerned with 'practical knowledge' (Ka'ai, 2005), whakapapa, historical events, tapu and noa (sacred

and common) on and all matters pertaining to mankind 'the terrestrial realm' (Smith, 1915 in Graham, 2002).

According to Best (1923) in his monograph on the *Māori School of Learning,* originally superior forms of knowledge did not exist. This was therefore the impetus for the journey Tāne (*regarded as a god and patron of higher forms of knowledge)* took to obtain the 'Three Baskets of Knowledge' *(Ngā Kete o te Wānanga)* from the 'celestial realm' of Io (*the Supreme Being)*. The three baskets were divided accordingly; Te Kete Aronui represented all knowledge pertaining to good – all things humane, Te Kete Tuatea was the basket or repository of evil – the knowledge of all pernicious things, Te Kete Tuauri was the basket of ritual – the knowledge of ritual acts and formulae (Best, 1923:11). The knowledge and teachings of the Whare Wānanga maintained prominence in traditional Māori society until the arrival of Christian missionaries from the 1800s (ibid) at which time it slowly eroded throughout the ensuing decades of 19th and 20th centuries.

2.2 Ngā Mihinare me ngā Koroniara
The Missionaries and Colonials

> *Christianity was the cutting edge of colonialism … their ideology affirmed superiority. They [missionaries] established institutions that helped entrench and accelerate colonialism, therefore undermining the fabric of indigenous ways of knowing (Consedine & Consedine, 2001:71).*

The first missionaries sent to New Zealand were instructed to model the 'arts of civilised life' in their everyday life (May, 2003). A key figure in the establishment of the first Anglican Christian Mission Society in New Zealand in 1814 was Samuel Marsden. The agenda to 'civilise the natives' (Simon, 1990; Walker, 1991) incorporating the 'word of God', meant that Marsden was followed closely by missionaries from other denominations. Samuel Leigh, a close friend of Marsden's, established a Wesleyan Missionary Society in Whangaroa in 1823. In 1838 a Roman Catholic mission led by Jean Baptise Francois Pompallier landed at Hokianga (May, 2003). Unlike Anglican missionary families, the Catholic priests could not model the family styled 'arts

of civilised life', and seemed to place less emphasis on 'Europeanising' Māori. However, Consedine & Consedine (2005) believe their intentions were just the same as all other missionaries and "although the Catholic Church believed it had a role in protecting the 'natives' in any particular country, the goals of evangelisation became subordinated to the colonisation process" (p.65).

Māori culture and language were an integral part of the colonial landscape, while the new British ways of 'knowing and being' were foreign to Māori. Effective interaction for both groups was dependent on their ability to create meaningful dialogue. Early missionaries and settlers needed to be able to speak Māori if they wanted to live, trade and work amongst Māori (Barrington, 2008). The missionaries, the settlers and Māori were reliant on each other in different ways. The introduction of modern tools and gadgets brought to New Zealand by settlers piqued Māori curiosity. Everyday chores were made less onerous by the iron tools and the muskets gave Māori a firepower they had never possessed before (Graham, 2002) and the gift of literacy appealed greatly to our tupuna (O'Regan, in Collins, 2004) therefore

> *From 1814, twenty-six years prior to the arrival of the colonial settlers, missionaries transported and adapted new educational ideas and techniques, as a vanguard tool towards creating a 'civilised' Christian society (May, 2003:1).*

The most direct route for Māori to literacy enlightenment was education. The missionaries had targeted schooling as the key instrument for the 'civilisation agenda' (Simon 1986) and a primary means of assimilation (Codd, Harker & Nash, 1985; Shuker, 1987). In 1814 the Church Missionary Society established a fund for schools and outlined their intent and they worked on the premise that

> *The instruction of children facilitates access to their parents, secures their friendship and conveys information to them through unsuspected channels. The minds of children are susceptible and less under the influence of habit and prejudice than those of their parents (May, 2003:6-7).*

In their zealous pursuit of literacy (both English and Māori), Māori were quick to pick up the offer that schooling presented to them. On August 16, 1816, Thomas Kendall opened the first mission school at Rangihoua, in the Bay of Islands. He had a class roll of 30 pupils. Unfortunately lack of trade at the settlement caused families to leave the area in search of better options and the school was closed down in 1818. Mission schools went into hiatus for at least the next twelve years and "it was not until the 1830s that Māori interest in schooling escalated because of increased immigration (by Pākehā), greater trade opportunities and an expansion of technology" (Graham, 2002:32).

Although mission schools had experienced a setback, the Māori pursuit of the English language was relentless. This was fuelled by the strong belief that the knowledge of this language would bring them power (Walker, 1991) within the tribe (*iwi*) and in the community at large. Barrington and Beaglehold (in May, 2003) stated, "the desire to become literate was clearly the most striking expression of the Māori receptivity to Christian teaching" (p.17).

By the 1830s, Māori heads, hearts and minds had been captured by the inherent power of literacy and the word of God as a means to save their wretched souls. Ngapuhi chief Ruatara, who had become a personal friend of Samuel Marsden, became a patron for Marsden and his other missionary friends (May, 2003). When Māori leaders became fervent religious followers it was a natural occurrence for their people to follow suit. Consequently it was inevitable, after earlier setbacks, that when mission schools were established again in Māori communities, the missionaries experienced very little opposition. It was widely believed that the missionaries had the interests of their Māori followers at heart, as the concept of 'evangelical humanitarianism' Falloon (2010) was at the forefront of their thinking, as is supported by Orange (1989), Te Puni Kōkiri (2001), Newman (2010). However it is also clear that civilising the natives (Walker, 1991), and ensuring missionary influence over the moral development of Māori would not be lost (Consedine and Consedine, 2000).

Mission schools and Māori aptitude for learning were in synchronicity. Marsden (May, 2003) had recorded in one of his writings that Māori were fond of reading and even those who did not attend school had learned to read. William Brown also observed that

> *If one native in the tribe can read and write, he will not be long in teaching the others. The desire to obtain this information engrosses their whole thoughts and they will continue for days with slates in their hands (May, 2003:18).*

May (2003) asserts an influential political outcome for increased Māori interaction in mission schools was Māori belief that missionaries could talk to God through the power of the printed word and a growing belief in the necessity of print literacy. During this time the missionaries were instrumental in selling the Treaty of Waitangi (discussed more thoroughly in 2.3) to Māori as a positive influence in their lives and that of their children. They were to find that this was not necessarily the case at all.

2.3 Te Tīrītī o Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi

Historical reports reveal there were a number of issues facing Māori and the British Crown in 1840. For instance, Māori expressed concerns over the unruly behaviour of settlers and the devastating effect of musket warfare during inter-tribal skirmishes (Orange, 2011, Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002). The impact of introduced diseases on Māori settlements was taking its toll and there was increasing pressure for Māori land as more settlers arrived from England. At the same time, the British Crown were aware that other imperial powers such as the United States and France were also displaying a keen interest in New Zealand (Consedine and Consedine, 2005). The pace of settlement accelerated leaving Britain feeling more vulnerable (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002). Although there was a relationship of economic interdependence (Shaw, 1992), absence of any formal agreement in the territory was making it difficult for Crown representatives to exercise any authority when relationships deteriorated. William Hobson who was the Crown representative for the territory at the time was sent specific instructions from the Colonial Office,

> *He was to negotiate a treaty which both sides understood fully and with 'free and intelligent consent of chiefs; he was to obtain sovereignty, but only if Māori were willing to cede it; and he was to obtain land, but on the condition that Māori retained enough for their own purposes and would not be disadvantaged (Consedine & Consedine, 2005:87).*

Hobson was charged with securing sovereignty for Britain, by treaty if possible, but above all in a peaceful manner. Three main factors had to be considered: establishing the legal status of the country, displaying humanitarian concern for Māori welfare and convincing the Māori population that further British intrusion should be accepted. It was unfortunate that, "because these three aspects were inextricably woven in the treaty-making, the negotiations were a source of confusion both at the time and subsequently" (Orange, 1989:32).

When Hobson arrived he knew this was a matter of urgency. He was also mindful that there needed to be some form of consultation with Māori. A hui with Confederation chiefs was hurriedly organised but after a few days other invitations went out, (Orange, 1989). In anticipation of a treaty Hobson drafted preliminary notes as a basis to work from. He became unwell and handed the final writing task over to James Busby who hastily cobbled together what would become known as the Treaty of Waitangi (ibid).

According to William Colenso, a mission printer who attended the gathering at Waitangi, debate about whether or not to sign a treaty went on for a number of hours. The first speakers initially rejected Hobson's proposal however intervention from prominent chiefs Hone Heke, and brothers Tamati Waaka Nene and Patuone Nene who were long time associates of the British missionaries (Orange, 1989) was a critical turning point (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001) in the discussion. Their support swung the mood of the meeting towards Hobson. Henry Williams, a senior Anglican missionary also assured the chiefs that

> *…the missionaries fully approved the Treaty, that it was an act of love towards [the chiefs]on the part of the Queen … That this Treaty was a fortress to them against any foreign power which might desire to take possession of their country … (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001:32).*

Furthermore

> *The Treaty was presented in a manner calculated to secure Māori agreement. The transfer of power to the Crown was thus played down. Māori suspicions were lulled by official recognition of Māori independence … Finally the benefits to be gained from the treaty were stressed, rather than the restrictions that would inevitably follow (Orange, 1989:33).*

Much is written about the events leading up to the signing of the Treaty but the role of the missionaries is often downplayed when,

> *In effect, it was the pre-colonial missionaries – sincere men and women … who prepared the way for the Treaty of Waitangi, enabling Britain to enter into a partnership with Māori to share the land (Newman, 2010: 14).*

Without the pomp and circumstance of the day before when all the debate had taken place, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed on February 6th, 1840, between representatives of the British Crown and approximately 500 Māori chiefs (Smith, 2003). The signing of the Treaty is recognised as the defining moment when a *'partnership'* was forged between Māori and the Crown (Collins, 2004; Stirling, 2003). At this time, the first formal acknowledgement of both Māori and Pākehā as significant residents in Āotearoa New Zealand: Māori as indigenous people and British immigrants as first settlers (Morgan, Coombes and Campbell, 2006) was made. Consequently

> *Under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori and Pākehā agreed to grant the other specific rights that were coherent with certain obligations as detailed in the three articles that make up the Treaty (Graham, 2002:12).*

The fact that there were several English versions of the Treaty and one Māori text 'Te Tīrītī o Waitangi' meant that, from the outset the 'partnership' was

established with inherent linguistic and cultural differences and misunderstandings (Marshall, 1991). This created confusion about rights, responsibilities and obligations of Treaty signatories (please see Treaty Articles). Even though the Māori text was the Treaty document signed by most Māori, neither official text is a direct translation of the other (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001). The articulation of the ideology 'two people as one nation' seemed to permeate the proceedings and is reiterated by Hobson's words "He iwi [ko]tahi tātou" (*We are one people)* as each signatory was handed a share of tobacco and two blankets (Orange, 1989). It is because of this Vasil (1988) and Božič-Vrbančić (2008) along with many other researchers understand that the concept of *biculturalism* stems from the Treaty of Waitangi. Taniwha (2005) contends

> *The structural framework of Te Tīrītī o Waitangi engaged Māori and British Crown subjects / Pākehā with the premise of equally contributing in all aspects of New Zealand society, economically, and politically, being powered and mandated from a Māori and Pākehā bicultural framework (p.19).*

The English version and a Māori version of the Treaty have been included so that readers have the opportunity to clarify in their own minds the conceptions or misconceptions that have come about since the Treaty of Waitangi was first signed in 1840.

Articles of the Treaty of Waitangi

The three versions of the Treaty are as follows:

English Version

Article the First

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.

Article the Second

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the Third

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

Māori Version

Ko te Tuatahi

Ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu-te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te Tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangitira ki nga hapu-ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangtiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te Wenua-ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

Ko te Tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini-Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

Translation of Māori Version
(Kawharu, 2011).

The first

The Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs who have not joined that Confederation give absolutely to the Queen of England for ever the complete government over their land.

The second

The Queen of England agrees to protect the chiefs, the subtribes and all the people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their chieftainship over their lands, villages and all their treasures. But on the other hand the Chiefs of the Confederation and all the Chiefs will sell land to the Queen at a price agreed to by the person owning it and by the person buying it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her purchase agent.

The third

For this agreed arrangement therefore concerning the Government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand and will give them the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011).

Table 1.
Key language differences between English and Māori in Te Tīrītī o Waitangi
(Snowden, 2012).

	English text	Māori text translated
Article 1	… cede to her majesty … powers of sovereignty … *kāwanatanga*	… give absolutely … the complete government over the land … *kāwanatanga*
Article 2	… full exclusive and undisturbed possession of Lands and Estates, Forests, Fisheries and other properties …	… unqualified exercise of chieftainship over lands, communities and everything that is valued (*tāonga)* to Māori people.

In Article 1 (English text) powers of sovereignty (kāwanatanga) intimate complete abdication of authority from one people to another in this case from Māori to Pākehā. In the translation of the Māori text the word governorship has (kāwanatanga) "create[d] a point of divergence and debate that has been prevalent ever since the Treaty was signed" (Graham, 2002:14). A governing body [is] a group of people who "conduct the policy, action and affairs (of a

state organisation or people) with authority (Oxford Dictionary, 2011) “in partnership with the managers” (Reader’s Digest Wordpower Dictionary, 2002:418). In this case governorship would mean to have a predominating influence in the public affairs of a country, sovereignty on the other hand gives one “supreme authority, complete power” (Oxford Dictionary, 2011). Article 2 creates dissonance around the understanding of the word tāonga. The English text makes reference to land based properties, the Māori text translation points out that tāonga are everything that is of value to Māori people, which includes Māori language and customs.

The significance of the Treaty of Waitangi for education since its signing was lost in educational policy that was subsequently formulated in the ensuing years to continue the ‘civilising agenda’ (Simon & Smith, 2001) and entrench the process of assimilation (Shuker, 1987) initiated by the missionaries.

2.4 He Whakarāpopoto

Summary

This chapter has provided the reader with an historical overview of the events leading up the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the major players involved in the process. The role of the missionaries in gaining the trust of Māori while the British Crown were more intent on annexation rather than ensuring terms and conditions were fair. Dissonance created around the different versions of The Treaty of Waitangi continues to generate debate. Readers are able to make their own assumptions about the linguistic differences in the Treaty and whether or not they were relevant then and if they are even relevant today? Returning to the issue of differing versions of the Treaty of Waitangi we are reminded that the ‘word’ is a powerful tool used to empower or disempower. Unfortunately if ‘interpretation’ by both parties wishing to make an agreement does not bring about ‘shared understanding’ negative consequences could quickly follow. Chapter 3 traces the journey through the policies of assimilation, adaptation, integration and *biculturalism,* ending with a special emphasis on *biculturalism* and The New Zealand Curriculum (2007).

Wāhanga e Toru: Chapter 3

Ngā Kaupapa Mātauranga o te Kāwanatanga
Government Education Policy

3.1 Whakawaimehatanga
Assimilation

In 1844 only four years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi the *Native Trust Ordinance* was passed. This Act made provision for Māori education as part of the 'civilisation' process and formalised assimilation (Coxon, Jenkins, Marshall and Massey, 1994). It also paved the way for the development of Māori as brown skinned working lower class Pākehā. The *1847 Education Ordinance* funded mission schools on the proviso they taught through the medium of the English language, focussed on a curriculum that provided 'industrial training' and religious training, and agreed to annual government inspections (ibid). Slowly but surely the Māori ways of 'knowing' and 'being' were being eroded. The *1858 Native Schools Act* went even further actively discouraging the use of te reo Māori. The first full-time inspector Henry Taylor proclaimed that in

> *Carrying out the work of civilisation among the aboriginal native race through the medium of schools … [t]he Native language itself is another obstacle in the way of civilisation. So long as it exists there is a barrier to the free unrestrained intercourse which ought to exist between races (Simon, 1999:2)*

Hugh Carleton, an Auckland Inspector in 1862 and Member of Parliament, expressed a similar view "I consider that too much stress cannot be laid upon the requirement of the English language … civilization cannot be advanced beyond a very short stage through means of the aboriginal tongue" (Barrington, 2008:19). This requirement of the English language would impact very quickly on the Māori population but especially men.

The *Native Representation Act* of 1867 allowed male Māori who were sole owners of their own properties to vote. It was decided that if Māori were going

to vote they needed to be fluent in English (Barrington, 2008), hence the establishment of the *Native Schools Act 1867*, and the development of a national school system controlled by the Department of Native Affairs. This Act virtually took education out of the hands of the missionaries and into the control of the state (Barrington, 2008). Rather than helping missionaries to rebuild mission schools after the wars between Māori and settler troops (1845 – 1872) the government offered secular state-controlled primary schools to Māori communities who petitioned for them. Another result of the Act was that Māori were also made responsible for providing land for schools and making regular financial contributions to the everyday cost of running a school.

The 1871 *Native Schools Amendment Act* waived financial contributions [from Māori] to schools but strengthened terms and conditions of the *Native Schools Act.* In 1877 the government established a national system of education under the *Education Act.* Māori were still expected to contribute to the costs of materials, land provision and teacher remuneration for the establishment of Native Schools and assimilation became even more entrenched. During this period, New Zealand schools

> *Were bastions of British society. The values and culture promoted was British … There was no place for Māori culture in the schools. Some schools existed for Māori children but even these schools focussed on British culture (Barrington, 2008:30).*

The *Native Schools Code* introduced in 1880 was the first mechanism for making school compulsory for "every Native or half-caste child" (New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, 2011). Rules and regulations around the administration of schools were put in place, school committees were formed but the teacher ultimately had autonomy over the decision-making and the general running of the school. At the same time traditional Māori practices, such as waiata Māori, and the use of Māori language were deemed to be inappropriate for the schoolyard. In 1894, the *Schools Attendance Act* ensured Māori children attended Native Schools. What transpired during this timeframe was to have a profound effect on educational outcomes for Māori

up until the present day (Simon, 1986). Māori cultural and social frameworks were being eradicated from the schema of life (Johnston, 1998) and “the ability for Māori to have control over and make decisions about schooling implied by the architects of the 1867 Native Schools Act never eventuated in practice” (Barrington, 2008:81). Despite some evidence of often paternalistic, humanitarian attitudes, assimilation, was overtly and covertly the prevailing policy (Hill, 2010; Smith, 2010).

In January 1880, James Pope was appointed organising inspector of Native Schools. Native Schools under Pope’s direction were the first ones provided by and directly controlled by the central New Zealand government. Instruction was to be in English only and teachers were expected to model general conduct and practices that modelled European civilisation (McGeorge, 2001). Pope travelled extensively to visit schools and see firsthand the policies he strongly believed in and to see how they were being implemented. In 1899, Director of Education George Hogben succeeded William Habens and issued a report only a few months after appointment. He added a comment that “the plea for manual training and technical instruction, and in general, for the greater use of concrete methods in teaching, has a peculiar force in reference to our Native schools” (Barrington, 2008:105).

This comment would have major significance for Māori education policy and practice at both the primary and secondary levels for the next forty years. William Bird, Inspector of Native Schools from 1903 until 1930 ensured the earlier work of Pope was sustained in the policies and practices under his regime. Men like Habens, Pope, Hogben and Bird ‘spearheaded’ the assimilation goal. At the end of their terms in office both Pope and Bird affirmed this and “as far as Bird was concerned, Māori culture had no place in Native Schools curriculum … [t]he purpose for which the Māoris in the old days engaged in weaving and carving, no longer exist[ed]” (Simon and Smith, 2001:185).

3.2 Takatūriatanga

Adaptation

In 1931, a change of policy attributed to the appointment of a new Inspector of Native Schools, D.G. Ball, meant a move in a new direction. It had become evident to Ball that the assimilationist policies had not been as successful as first anticipated. Māori had chosen what they wanted to discard and had continued to practise those things they felt were necessary for their well-being. As a result of this they could speak English well and had retained their own mother tongue. In addition to that, Māori had absorbed some of the European knowledge but very much retained their traditional social skills (Simon and Smith, 2001). Ball explained that although Māori were being assimilated while they were at school, one needed to remember that

> *The child, on leaving school, dropped back into Māori modes of living, met face to face, Māori difficulties and perplexities in this modern world and the spark of clear thought, ignited by the school, became damped in the heavy vapour of tradition (Ball 1940:278 in Simon, 1998).*

The New Zealand Native Schools, under the leadership of Ball, adopted a policy of '*cultural adaptation'*. Adaptation education policies were popular with British colonial policy writers, and had been used with a measure of success in Africa and India (Simon and Smith, 2001). Any adaptation to western culture within schools exhibited **adaptation to** and **acceptance of** western power and control. The British education policy of adaptation focussed in practical aspects of education such as agriculture or traditional arts. In New Zealand, '*cultural adaptation'* "[it] largely involved the inclusion of selected elements of Māori culture – arts, crafts and music **(but not Māori language)** – into the existing curriculum" (Smith, 1998:1).

Although this appears to be simplistic, the thinking behind 'adaptation' is more complex than originally thought. Control over the school curriculum still rested with the Education Board. Elements for inclusion were chosen by Pākehā on the premise they did not threaten or alter the status quo (Pākehā domination) (Johnston, 1998). The Department of Education had reserved the right to

decide what represented 'the best of Māori heritage and custom' (Smith, 1998). '*Cultural adaptation'* as an education policy was designed to support 'indirect control'. The examples of practice signalled in this paragraph reflect *'cultural adaptation'* in various forms. The exemplar for success would be acceptance of hegemonic thought and practice as natural and normal in their Māori world. Ball uses a metaphor to describe the relationship he wanted to foster "Ball thus represents adaptationist education as a bridge or intermediary stage through which the Māori child needed to progress in order to be effectively assimilated into European culture" (Ball 1940:284 in Simon, 1998).

The Native Schools' *cultural adaptation* policy was undoubtedly motivated and fashioned on British policy; the similarities being more significant than the differences. Both groups wanted to "manage their respective indigenous populations in ways that would win their co-operation and develop them into productive and law abiding citizens without disturbing existing power relations" (Simon and Smith, 2001:198) at that particular time. This still continues today.

Uneven implementation of the *cultural adaptation* policy means the overall impact is hard to gauge. Some teachers supported the policy and others just totally ignored it. The radical move of including aspects of Māori culture into the curriculum did not deter schools from their 'civilising' objectives (Walker, 1991). A positive outcome was raising the consciousness about the recognition of Māori cultural values as valid and valuable aspects to be included in the school curriculum. It is also interesting to note that this idea of introducing Māori cultural values, Māori cultural practices and Māori language into all classrooms was once again highlighted as an aspect for inclusion as part of the policy of integration.

3.3 Whakaurutanga
Integration

Concern for Māori student achievement had never been an issue for the Department of Education. It may have gone unnoticed again if it was not for the appearance of the Hunn Report (1961). When the report was written,

Hunn was Acting-Secretary for Māori Affairs (Caccioppoli and Cullen, 2006) and had been engaged by Prime Minister Walter Nash to review his department. While the focal point of the review was the working of the Māori Affairs Department, Hunn's report "clearly demonstrated statistically, that in relation to the rest of society, Māori were severely disadvantaged in the areas of housing, health and employment and education" (Coxon, et al, 1994:71). The Hunn Report did not specifically target education but the absence of Māori in educational achievement statistics highlighted the need for this issue to be closely scrutinized. In 1961 the official racial policy of *integration* replaced the policy of assimilation. This was a landmark decision because assimilation had been the driving force of education for more than a century (Simon, 1986). The new aim of the '*integration*' policy was "to combine (not fuse) the Māori and Pākehā elements to form one nation wherein Māori culture remains distinct" (Hunn, 1960:15).

At the outset of this research, so slight were the differences in the policies of *integration* and assimilation, it seemed there was no difference at all. Assimilative practices, although covert in nature (Cameron, 1985) continued to flourish under the guise of *integration* (Consedine and Consedine, 2001; Marshall, Coxon, Jenkins and Jones, 2000; Simon, 1990; Walker, 1991). Sullivan (1994) supports this belief and contends integration can be designated as the formal acknowledgement of cultural diversity, but only through the eyes of the dominant culture. Street-Potter (1978 in Sullivan, 1994) describes *integration* as "a modest tokenism, an acceptance of that which is quaint in minority culture but a worried rejection of those cultural aspects that seem not just alien but feel threateningly so" (pp.50-51).

Irwin (1989 in Sullivan, 1994) credits Hunn for introducing the notion of *integration* into the Aotearoa New Zealand education. She describes *integration* as "a less crude, less racist version of assimilation … Integration is described as a more liberal and humane version of facilitating the interaction of two cultures" (p. 209). In effect it would seem that the best of both cultures would be integrated with the dominant culture. Those elements of Māori culture that had endured the rigours of near extinction would become part of

the New Zealand culture (Bishop and Glynn, 1998). In the classroom, *integration* has taken the form of implementing aspects of Māori language and Māori culture into the teaching programme.

The National Advisory Committee for Māori Education established in 1955 included a resolution in their 1971 Report "that the school curriculum must find a place for understanding of Māoritanga, including Māori language" (Walker, 2004:240). Māoritanga was defined as "specific Māori cultural values [which] were 'selected' and promoted as positive aspects of Māori society. These became the organising themes around which the classroom topics were selected for teaching" (Smith, 1996:364) Māoritanga programmes, Māori language did not feature at all.

Both Simon (1986) and Smith (1996) were critical of the delivery of Māoritanga programmes (discussed in the previous paragraph). "All seven Teacher Education programmes in New Zealand established Māori studies type courses" (Walker, 2004:241) in support of Māoritanga. Unfortunately the teacher training did not equip the mainly Pākehā teachers with the knowledge or skills to be able to deliver such programmes, therefore results were mixed. Some teachers resisted and others denigrated Māori and 'Māoritanga', undermining the values and beliefs of Māori language and culture (Simon, 1986). Curriculum development was haphazard; innovation by one teacher would be countered by apathy from another.

The next phase of *integration* was 'Taha Māori' (Hirsh, 1990; Smith, 1996) defined by educational discourse as the *Māori Dimension,* to be included in all aspects of the classroom programme and become integral in the school culture. The Taha Māori policy had been favoured by the Department of Education because it seemed less threatening to mainstream than other options. Introducing the Māori language as a compulsory subject presented a number of issues (Coxon, et al, 1994). The majority of the teaching force had little, or no Māori language knowledge. Taha Māori had been justified on the grounds that "Māori culture is unique to New Zealand; it is a distinctive

characteristic of New Zealand identity; it is a model and springboard for the study of other cultures (New Zealand Educational Institute, 1981).

However there was no allocation of time given in the daily classroom programme (Penetito, 2010) for anything Māori. Added to this tension, was the directive that the nature of Taha Māori was merely a strand to the existing curriculum, it was not to be explicitly visible and was not to appear as a new subject (Coxon, et al, 1994). This appeared to be tokenism rather than realism. Consequently, a critique of these conflicting tensions led to an understanding of why the Taha Māori policy was not as unsuccessful as it could have been.

At this time, political agitation around similar notions of Taha Māori were being advanced by Māori activitists (Spoonley, 2009) who had already marched on parliament with a petition to establish a Māori language day and consequently secured Māori language week at a later date. The activists wanted to bring Māori in from the margins of society and "it was intended that Māori culture be recognised as a valued part of New Zealand society and that Māori be full participants in an inclusive national culture" (Rata, 2005:267). Middleton (1992) an "educational researcher who was writing after the peak of biculturalism's emergence" (Yukich, 2010:15), agrees with Rata that this was the first stage of *biculturalism*. This statement would however be disputed by others who believe the signing of The Treaty was really the first stage of partnership (Vasil, 2002). The point of difference between Taha Māori and *biculturalism* was moving Māori culture out of the classroom and into all domains of the community.

'Taha Māori' gave official recognition to 'Māoritanga' and created debate around its inclusion in the school curriculum (Smith, 1996). Teachers were challenged by the expectations of 'Taha Māori', especially because they were under-resourced, uninformed and basically ill prepared. Graham Smith (in L.T. Smith, 1996) felt that Pākehā needs and aspirations rather than Māori concerns were being catered to. Linda Smith carried out a study with four teachers, observing and participating in dialogue to find out how they were

coping with the delivery of Taha Māori. Despite what appeared to be the good intentions by the Department of Education, Māori were frustrated that classroom teachers continued to position Taha Māori as insignificant when placed alongside other curriculum areas. Like Māoritanga, Taha Māori did not receive the support it needed to be able to compete with everything else that was happening in the school. It was often left to Māori teachers (few in numbers at this stage) to take we sole responsibility for the implementation of Taha Māori (International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, 1999) in their schools.

3.4 Tikanga ā Rua

Biculturalism

> *Whilst a variety of ethnic groups now reside in [Aotearoa] New Zealand, the term 'bicultural' has particular resonances for Pākehā and Māori based on their shared past and present. The most politically potent symbol of the Māori-Pākehā connection is the Treaty of Waitangi … (Yukich, 2010:13).*

The term *biculturalism* in the New Zealand setting usually refers to the relations between Māori (the indigenous population) and *Pākehā* (the descendants of British and other European colonists) (Middleton, 1992), and calls to mind the Treaty of Waitangi (Ritchie, 1992). "Historically, biculturalism was a response to the growing Māori political assertiveness during the 1970s and 1980s and became a philosophical framework for policy development across the public sector" (O'Sullivan, 2007:21).

However, there would be many changes to the shape of *biculturalism* before it became part of the New Zealand psyche. Middleton (1992) notes these changes, revealing that *biculturalism*

> *In its less radical sense, it refers to "bicultural individuals", for example, Pākehā attempting to learn Māori language and customs. In its more radical sense it refers to the restructuring of major social institutions … according to Māori values (p.305).*

Rata (2003) argues that *biculturalism* was an outcome of a close alliance, which developed over time between leaders of the Māori revival, who were mainly academics. She refutes claims that change was brought about at a local level and declares that the emergence of *biculturalism* came about as a result of fundamental changes to the world economy and nations themselves (Rata, 2005). However, Māori writers (Bishop, 1996; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999) acknowledge the impact of the global economy but also reiterate that decolonising campaigns (coming out from under the wing of colonialism) for independence and cultural revival led to the rise of local identity movements culminating in *biculturalism.*

Middleton (1992), Rata (2005) and O'Sullivan (2007) contend that there are different forms of *biculturalism.* Middleton (1992) in describing the 'less radical version' and the 'more radical version' noted the major changes in the thinking that had taken place but makes no further comment of agreement or disagreement.

Rata's (2005) interpretation of *biculturalism* is viewed through a number of lenses. She identifies three significant shifts away from the initial intent of *biculturalism* that she believed was to

> *bring Māori in from the margins of society … it was intended that Māori culture be recognized as a valued part of New Zealand society and that Māori be full participants in an inclusive national culture (Rata, 2005:267).*

The first was a move away from cultural recognition and inclusion (Middleton, 1992) to a focus on 'ethnic identity'. This emphasized differences and rejected cultural commonalities (ibid). It also meant that recognition of these cultural differences needed to be taken into account. The second shift away from the initial intent was to an interpretation of ethnic identity in political terms insisting on "A government-tribal political partnership based upon the tribes' interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi" (Rata, 2005:268). The final shift away

was “the structuring of indigenous identity as tribal identity” (ibid). This final shift is what Rata describes as neotraditionalism, a transformation grounded in a modern form of traditional belief and practices. Rata believes these moves by Māori in reframing *biculturalism* have been divisive and have undermined “the essential features of *biculturalism* – the commitment to cultural recognition within universalist democratic politics" (Rata, 2005:276).

O’Sullivan (2007) asserts that there are two types of *biculturalism,* ‘bicultural reformism’ and ‘bicultural distributivism’.
Bicultural reformism,

> *accepts that state institutions and regulations are those of the majority culture and assumes that reforms to these can make them responsive to Māori while surrendering little in the cultural practices and values of the majority (O’Sullivan, 2007:18).*

A response to bicultural reformism was *TE-PUAO-TE-ATA-TU: The Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare (1988).* This report commissioned by Anne Hercus, who was Minister of Social Welfare at the time, contained thirteen recommendations for ways to make the Department of Social Welfare more responsive to Māori. Recommendations included a suggestion to “incorporate values, cultures and beliefs of Māori people into all policies developed in the future of New Zealand” (Hollis, 2005:14). A significant outcome of *Te-Puao-o-Te-Ata-Tu* and a shift toward bicultural reformism was returning the Matua Whāngai programme to its original intent, to keep tamariki Māori who within their whānau environment rather than under the control of the state. “It was an important attempt by the state to recognise the significance of Māori values and customs” (Hollis, 2005:15); unfortunately it was also poorly resourced.

‘Bicultural distributivism’ alternatively sought equal representation for tangata whenua (*Māori*) and tauiwi (*non-Māori members of the population*) in the form of power sharing. This was not seen as politically viable because **tauiwi** did not want to give up let alone share any power. O’Sullivan ultimately believed

that "*biculturalism* is a political theory that developed and views society from a particular interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi that is limiting rather than liberating" (O'Sullivan, 2007:24). The variable views of *biculturalism* lead the writer to view *biculturalism* as a cross pollination of thoughts and ideas.

So what did this mean for schools? What did *biculturalism* look like in schools before the 1970s? What were the changes that took place and why? What does *biculturalism* look like in our schools today? What evidence do we have?

> *The curriculum of a society's schools is an integrated part of the culture of the society. To understand the meaning of any set of curriculum practices they must be seen as both arising out of a set of historical circumstances and as being a reflection of a particular social milieu* (*Grundy, 1987:5 in Mutch, 1996).*

3.5 Tikanga ā Rua me te Marautanga

Biculturalism and the curriculum

The table on the following page uses key information from Mutch's (1996) article highlighting the curriculum changes that took place in Social Studies from 1961 to 1995. These changes go some way to revealing the extent of the development of *biculturalism with*in educational policy and Social Studies curriculum development from the 1960s to the 1990s.

Table 2: Curriculum changes in New Zealand Social Studies 1961 – 1995

The Decade	*The Curriculum Content*
The 1960s Designated as **"The Stable Years"** because the curriculum reflected the complacency of the time. There was "unsurpassed prosperity and social tranquillity" (Dunstall, 1981:397)	The content of social studies curriculum was designed to preserve and celebrate the 'status quo'.
The place of Māori **Māori history is labelled as 'myths and legends', Māori language and culture marginalised as ceremonial, teaching focussed on the Māori way of life before the Europeans.**	
The 1970s **"The Split"** refers to the curriculum following two paths. Forms 1 & 2 followed the Secondary syllabus while the Primary Schools followed a more pedagogic approach where children's interests and stages of cognitive development and moral development explored.	A series of national newsletters called *Faces* were produced. Planning focussed on 'What we can learn about why people think, feel and act as they do. A 'context' for learning consideration was examined. The 'golden years' of Social Studies.
Māoritanga **Specific aspects of Māori culture chosen for inclusion – often teachers did not have the knowledge to support this so it did not happen.**	
The 1980s Referred to as **"The Decline"** fuelled by the belief that schools were failing to prepare students for adult life. This was also following a decade of inflation and zero growth and politicians were disturbed by the 'social engineering' they felt was occurring.	Teachers reverted back to formal, knowledge-centred approach and blamed the lack of direction, out of date resources and limited in-service opportunities for the Social Studies demise.
Taha Māori **Māori culture and language were formally introduced as part of the curriculum but they needed to be integrated into all of the teaching that was taking place.**	
The 1990s **"The Response"** to the conflicting political forces of - 'neo-conservative' (Dale, 1989), 'neo-liberal' (ibid) and 'post modern factionalism' (Gilbert, 1995).	Strands that would run through the compulsory part of the curriculum, these would be developed in more depth as the child progressed through school.
Post-modern factionalism **Insisted all interest groups should be heard. The content used inclusive language e.g. to ensure that *women, men and children* are presented in a *diverse range of roles* and the origins of *Tangata Whenua* [the Māori people] and *Pakeha* [non-Māori, usually European) cultural groups and their reasons for moving to *Aotearoa New Zealand.* (Ministry of Education, 1994).**	

This table is a combination of the author's ideas alongside Mutch, (1996) in New Zealand Social Studies 1961 – 1995:A View of Curriculum Change.

Despite the fact that Mutch was focussed on Social Studies the kairangahau has attempted to parallel changes happening with *biculturalism* alongside the changes reflected in the Social Studies curriculum. This is also an attempt to capture the essence of what was happening in society at the same time.

During **The Stable Years** (see Table 2) as people wallow in complacency Māori language and culture is marginalised. **The Split Years** are significant in that it mirrored what was happening for Māori on Āotearoa New Zealand political landscape. As previously suggested this was the time of Māori political agitation, the introduction of Māoritanga into the school curriculum was one of the outcomes (Spoonley, 2009). **The Decline Year** mirrors that fact that Māoritanga was failing to meet the initial demands made by Māori and therefore the introduction of Taha Māori. Unfortunately Taha Māori disappointed Māori academics (Penetito, 2010; Smith, 1996) that felt non-Māori students rather than Māori students had benefitted. **The Response Years** allowed diversity to find its way into the school curriculum and in some way restored the shaky partnership that had existed between Māori and Pākehā since the signing of the Treaty.

To reiterate this thinking it needs to be noted that *Tihē Mauri Ora!: Māori Language Junior Classes to Form 2: Syllabus for Schools* (Ministry of Education, 1990) pre-empted the release of the new curriculum documents (of which Social Studies was one). "The teaching of Māori is a watershed in the development and recognition of Māori, of Māori language and Māoritanga as a significant component in the education of New Zealand children" (Ministry of Education, 1990:6). A commitment to *biculturalism* is inferred by the belief that

> *Respect for all people, provision of equity for all, and acknowledgement of differences are marks of a mature and tolerant society … Many people in New Zealand are bicultural in the sense that they have access, by birth or upbringing, to two cultures. In the context of this syllabus, biculturalism refers to Māori and European cultures (Ministry of Education. 1990:9).*

The seeds of *biculturalism* sown with the signing of the Treaty are seen to be taking sprout. In the face of uneven odds a small Māori voice begins to resonate in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools. Albeit, many of the parameters continue to be determined by the dominant culture the presence of *Tihe Mauriora* created in consultation with Māori confirmed a move forward.

In 1993, the Ministry of Education released *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework.* The document was produced in both Māori and English to reinforce the notion of *biculturalism.* This was a milestone occasion for *biculturalism* as the forewords stated

> *Koia anō e aro ana ki te Tiriti o Waitangi, ki te **tuakiri kākano rua**, me tōna porihanga kākano tini hoki (Te Tāhūhū o te Mātauranga, 1993:1).*
>
> *The Curriculum Framework acknowledges the value of the Treaty of Waitangi, and of New Zealand's **bicultural identity** and multicultural society (Ministry of Education, 1993:1).*

The New Zealand Curriculum Framework was supported by seven National Curriculum Statements to sit alongside seven essential learning areas (Shearer, 2010). The focus was on numeracy, literacy and technology. There was a huge dilemma here: although the majority of National Curriculum Statements had been given a mandate by the Ministry of Education *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* had been left out in the cold. Whether this was intentional or not, one of the most influential documents that could have driven the agenda of *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools had been ignored.

The *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) was developed and finally mandated in 2010. When in draft form, a lot of debate was generated around the omission of any references to the Treaty of Waitangi (which abdicated any responsibility to 'partnership' or *biculturalism*). In February 2007, Cheryl Doig completed a report titled *The New Zealand Curriculum: Draft for Consultation, 2006, The Impact of Feedback on the Final Curriculum.* From the feedback received during the consultation period it was found that

> *The lack of inclusion of Treaty of Waitangi, biculturalism and Māori concepts was the most common theme. Māori kupu and concepts should be used more explicitly throughout the document and further reference to these ideas made in the Learning Areas (Doig, 2007:5).*

Consultation respondents also wanted to review the lack of reference to the Treaty of Waitangi/bicultural society and environmental sustainability (ibid) in the Values section of the curriculum. Two other references were made to the Treaty of Waitangi in Learning Language (a newly introduced learning area) and Social Sciences (formally known as Social Studies). Learning Languages suggested that,

> *The role of Te Reo Māori needs to be more clearly defined and given higher priority either here or alongside English. Perhaps a Treaty of Waitangi section for Māori could be included. Make the place of New Zealand's other official languages, Te Reo Māori and New Zealand more explicit (Doig, 2007:13-14).*

The final recommendation was for the Social Sciences Learning Area. They were insistent "in this Essence Statement there should be explicit reference to the Treaty of Waitangi and the tangata whenua" (Doig, 2007:15).

Minister of Education at the time, Chris Carter acknowledged that the Treaty of Waitangi had been omitted from the draft document but this had been rectified. During a parliament debate with other Cabinet Ministers, held in November 2007, he responded to heckling about the Treaty claiming

> *Yes. In drafting the new curriculum we recognised the fact that schools are already guided by the principles of the Treaty embedded in the National Education Guidelines. However, many consultation respondents felt that it would also be appropriate to include explicit reference to the Treaty of Waitangi as New Zealand's founding document. We have responded to this feedback by making the Treaty explicit in the overall purpose, principles, and values of the curriculum (Carter, 2007).*

An assumption, that a mere mention of the Treaty in the *National Education Guidelines (NEG 9)* was enough of a commitment did nothing to appease education stakeholders. The Ministry of Education bowed to public pressure and reinstated the Treaty into *The New Zealand Curriculum* where under the Principles section on page 9, it reads

> *The curriculum acknowledges the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the bicultural foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand. All students have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (Ministry of Education, 2007:9).*

Biculturalism in the form of bicultural foundations is 'acknowledged' in the above statement couched in the language of intent rather than commitment. Intent implies a level of commitment that is not binding. It leaves this statement open for interpretation, thus creating a dilemma for teachers who are unsure of what is required. The nature of the language within the New Zealand curriculum creates a juxtaposition of 'exclusion' embedded in messages of 'inclusion'. Other examples of this can be found in the Principles; "The curriculum encourages …, The curriculum reflects …, The curriculum offers…, The curriculum supports …" (Ministry of Education, 2007:9). These sentence stems help shape a curriculum that recognises a bicultural foundation in essence however the commitment to *biculturalism* could be questionable.

To support the inclusion of te reo Māori in the *New Zealand Curriculum* (and therefore encourage *biculturalism)*, a major development has been the launch of *Te Aho Arataki Marau mō te Ako i Te Reo Māori – Kura Auraki: Curriculum Guidelines for Teaching and Learning Te Reo Māori in English-medium Schools: Years 1-13* (Te Aho Arataki Marau) (Ministry of Education, 2009). "The guidelines provide support and assistance in planning and delivering high-quality programmes for teaching and learning te reo Māori" (Ministry Of Education, 2009:4). National Professional Development and Learning workshops were held for teachers to guide them in the implementation of these programmes. As a facilitator of these workshops it was pleasing to see the goodwill among teachers who do believe there is a place for *biculturalism* in their schools and try very hard to support te reo Māori and tikanga Māori programmes to further this happening in their schools. Teachers still however have to grapple with the realities of a very full curriculum aligned to the recently introduced National Standards. The emphasis on English literacy and

numeracy leaves learning areas that support *biculturalism,* like te reo Māori, vulnerable to being marginalised once again.

All forms of *biculturalism* discussed have been relevant but for the purpose of this research, the thesis will investigate the 'less radical' form of *biculturalism* (Middleton, 1992) through the teaching and learning of te reo Māori in mainstream schools. What does it look like in classroom practice? What conditions make it possible for effective teaching and learning to take place? What conditions make it difficult for effective teaching and learning to take place?

3.6 He whakarāpopoto

Summary

If history is to be believed it appears the agendas of assimilation, adaptation and integration all originate from a place of concern for the physical, spiritual and cultural wellbeing of Māori. However the marginalisation of Māori ways of 'knowing' and 'being' have been the aftermath of a general assault on what it means to be Māori. The initial intent of *biculturalism* as described by Rata "that Māori culture be recognized as a valued part of New Zealand society [and] Māori be full participants in an inclusive national culture" (2005:267) only exists according to parameters placed around it by the dominant culture. Does *biculturalism* continue to be marginalised along with Māori culture? Is the same happening in our schools? What can you do about it and why would you even bother? The next chapter introduces the research methodology, brings us back to the research questions and brings Te Whānau Rangahau to the forefront of the thesis.

Wāhanga e whā: Chapter 4

Tukangatanga
Methodology

> *In sharing our research stories and methodologies, we validate the processes we have been through and ensure our research activities remain context relevant, ethical and beneficial. Through articulating what it is we do when we engage in research as Māori people we demystify the research process and subsequently reinforce the importance of methodological evolvement (Webber, 2009:4).*

4.1 He Whakataki
Introduction

The decision to use Kaupapa Māori methodology as a way to truly engage Te Whānau Rangahau was formed on the basis of wanting to gather more than just data for analysis. Data is produced to enable us to understand or explain our observations within the study of a particular phenomenon. It was the researcher's intention that **all** research participants (self included) be involved in **all** aspects of the data production, analysis and synthesis. Instead of being the 'outsider' (Smith, 2005) or the 'other' (Shields, Bishop and Mazawì, 2005) component of the research, research participants would become caregivers (kaitiaki) of the ideas they shared and the new knowledge that had been co-constructed. Te Whānau Rangahau understandings are the beginning of our contribution to research that will hopefully make people think more deeply about the face of *biculturalism* not only in our schools but also in society at large.

It was also important for Māori worldviews (I have used the plural to acknowledge that there is more than one Māori world view which is inevitably influenced by whānau, hapū and iwi traditions, values and customs) to be acknowledged. Although not all participants were Māori, their choice to train in an Initial Teacher Education (ITE) Programme in which te reo Māori and tikanga Māori were integral, displayed a strong commitment to te Āo Māori.

Three main questions to inform and guide the research were:

1. What shape / form does *biculturalism* take in Aotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools today?

2. What factors contribute to the successful integration of *biculturalism* in our classroom programmes (that is, in the New Zealand Curriculum)?

3. What are some of the challenges teachers face when trying to integrate *biculturalism* into classroom programmes?

This chapter introduces Kaupapa Māori as a concept from which theorising can begin. Discussion is centred on a derivation of the term 'Kaupapa Māori' and the origins of a Kaupapa Māori position. The researcher has also chosen to identify key characteristics, principles to adhere to ensure successful engagement and culturally relevant practices while participating in the research with Māori and Māori communities. Traditional western research methodologies have tended to be *about Māori* and focus *on Māori.* Kaupapa Māori is positioned from a Māori point of view.

4.2 Te Tukanga Rangahau
The Research Process

"The purposive sampling technique, also called judgement sampling" (Tongco, 2007:147) was used to select research participants. This technique allowed the researcher to determine research participation according to the purpose of the research and relevant participant knowledge and experience (Bernard, 2002; Lewis and Sheppard, 2006). If the purpose of the research was to look at *biculturalism* in mainstream schools it made sense to interview teachers from the local community who had displayed a firm commitment to bicultural practice. Working in an Initial Teacher Education programme meant the kairangahau already had established links with the local school community. A group of five teachers who graduated from an Initial Teacher Education programme with a Bachelor of Education/ Bachelor of Teaching (endorsed in Primary Bilingual Education) degree between 2006 and 2008

were approached by the kairangahau to become part of the research cohort. These teachers were graduates who had focussed on the development and establishment of bicultural teaching environments, which included te reo Māori and tikanga Māori as part of their everyday classroom practice.

The five teachers were women I came to know firstly as students. They had all been class members in a number of papers I was teaching at the time. Secondly as friends, so as time passed the relationship grew and there we found space for the *professional being,* and the *personal being*. I attended their family gatherings (both happy and sad) and they returned the favour. Eventually as colleagues in the same profession I was able to walk alongside these women offering support as an adviser for the teaching and learning of te reo Māori in mainstream schools. There were no men involved in the study because on completion of his degree the only male graduate of this time had relocated to the North Island. All teachers had displayed a genuine commitment to supporting *biculturalism* in their schools and classrooms. Being able to define this *biculturalism* or articulate clear indicators of *biculturalism* is at the heart of this small study. Te Whānau Rangahau was in the beginning stages of formation.

Kaupapa Māori methodology promotes the " use of a kanohi ki te kanohi approach when establishing networks, interacting and engaging with individuals and organisations" (Elliot-Hohepa, 2007:1). Informal conversation was the first line of inquiry into whether or not teachers would be interested in joining Te Whānau Rangahau. These conversations took place in a number of locations; at the college, in their homes, at social gatherings. There were initially six women who showed an interest in being part of the research group, however teaching commitments (one had just started at a new school) and travel distance (the school is 81.5 km from Invercargill) made it difficult for this teacher to participate. Once a verbal consensus of interest had been established an Information Package including all relevant details around the study were posted to teachers.

A table has been included to give specific information about each piece of information Te Whānau Rangahau received and the purpose of each item.

The information package included

Table 3: The Information Package

Item	Purpose
A cover letter (Appendix One)	To introduce the researcher in the context of pepeha (links to Papatuānuku) and whakapapa (genealogy) to prospective research participants. To establish the aim/purpose of the research study.
Information sheet for participants (Appendix Two)	To reiterate the aim/purpose of the research study. To give clarification regarding data collection processes. To ensure prospective participants know the option to withdraw is available if there is a need or want. To inform prospective participants about anticipate hui dates.
Consent form (Appendix Three)	To ensure prospective participants fully understand what they are giving permission for.
Copy of Ethics Approval (Appendix Four)	To assure prospective participants that correct procedure had been followed to gain academic approval for research study

It was nearly a month before the final consent form was received from Te Whānau Rangahau. The kairangahau followed up receipt of the last consent form with an email inviting each Te Whānau Rangahau member to write her a letter about their journey through *biculturalism* in their homes, during their teacher training and in their classroom practice. Included in the email were a number of questions for Te Whānau Rangahau to consider. All participants responded in some written form of email. Most of Te Whānau Rangahau responded to the questions. This first piece of data gave the researcher some background information about each participant and their own understandings of *biculturalism* in their lives

4.3 Kaupapa Māori

Māori Ideology

Kaupapa Māori began as a grass roots response to a history of Māori educational failure in Āotearoa New Zealand (Smith, 2003). This section describes the evolution of Kaupapa Māori from Māori conceptualisations to a transformative theory that underpins Kaupapa Māori research and the consensual interactions that come as a result of this.

Pihama and Samu (2007) understand "kaupapa Māori emerged as a discourse and a reality, as a theory and a praxis directly from Māori lived realities" (p.22). Taki (1996) takes us back in time tracing the derivation of the word 'Kaupapa' into an understanding of key words and their conceptual bases. Accordingly,

> ***Kau*** *is often used to describe the process of "coming into view or appearing for the first time, to disclose …* ***ka u*** *may be translated as " … be firm, be fixed, … Papa is used to mean "ground, foundation base." Together* ***kaupapa*** *encapsulates these concepts, and a basic foundation of it is "ground rules, customs, the right way of doing things (p.17).*

This is only one definition, but it provides us with a starting point, and a basic understanding of why the word **Kaupapa** has been coupled with **Māori** when discussing theories and approaches unique to the indigenous people of Āotearoa New Zealand.

Kaupapa Māori is located within the anti-positivist debate raised by critical theory "in particular to the notions of critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation" (Smith, 1999:185). As an indigenous approach, grounded in Māori worldviews (Smith, 1999), it has emerged from "the wider ethnic revitalisation movement that developed within New Zealand … [and blossomed] with the intensification of political-consciousness among Māori communities" (Bishop, 1996:11).

Smith (1997) realised the need for Māori to formulate and recognise their own theory. He quotes Freire in Darder who advocates for the transformation of a

structure in which researchers and research participants can become "beings for themselves" (Smith, 1997:450). According to Smith (2003), Māori needed to confront what he called ***distractions*** e.g. always being on the ***back foot***, *responding* as opposed to ***suggesting***; *following* instead of ***leading***. He suggested that Māori were responsible for perpetuating the most difficult distractions to counteract. Gramsci (1971, cited in Smith, 1997) describes this ***self-abuse*** as hegemony. He explains that

> *Hegemony is a way of thinking – it occurs when oppressed groups take on dominant group thinking and ideas uncritically and as 'commonsense', even though those ideas may in fact be contributing to forming their own oppression. It is the ultimate way to colonize a people; you have the colonized colonizing themselves (Smith, 2003:3).*

Kaupapa Māori therefore is a theoretical attempt to develop counter-hegemonic practice and understandings; it is about "asserting the right of Māori to be Māori while at the same time building a critique of the societal structures that work to oppress Māori" (Pihama, Cram & Walker, 2002:41). The term Kaupapa Māori captures Māori desires to affirm Māori cultural philosophies and practices (ibid). Bishop (1999) points out "a Kaupapa Māori position is predicated on the understanding that Māori means of accessing, defining and protecting knowledge existed before European arrival in New Zealand" (p. 2).

Evidence to support Bishop's claim can be found in the writings of Sharples (1998) who believes the roots of Kaupapa Māori are entrenched in 'old knowledge' that belongs to another time. One of the most important things to remember is that Kaupapa Māori began as a 'grass roots' response to " a history of educational failure in New Zealand" (Smith, G., 2003:6). Keeping all of this in mind "at the core of Kaupapa Māori is the catch-cry **To be Māori is normal**" (Ministry of Social Development, 2004:142). The transition into Kaupapa Māori research followed on as a natural progression

4.4 Rangahau Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori Research

All research draws from a number of research paradigms, although there is often one form of research methodology that stands out for the researcher, therefore

> *Writing and research is never innocent. Indeed we have to consider how, in describing what we see in an 'objective way' we are already locked into the frameworks of cultural understandings which can inevitably be critically assessed in terms of their political contours and interests (Webber, 2009:2).*

Kaupapa Māori research is where the writer feels most comfortable. Kaupapa Māori research is conceived, developed and carried out by Māori (Walker, Eketone and Gibbs, 2006; Walker, 1996), endorsing a 'by Māori, for Māori' approach, that ensures Māori worldviews (Kennedy and Cram, 2010) is accepted as valid and legitimate. The nuances of Kaupapa Māori research are as familiar to this writer as breathing. Graham Smith (1999) who has done extensive work around Kaupapa Māori identifies key characteristics of Kaupapa Māori research. He summarizes these by saying Kaupapa Māori research;

> *1. is related to 'being Māori'*
> *2. is connected to Māori philosophy and principles*
> *3. takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and*
> *4. is concerned with 'the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well being' (Smith, 1999:185).*

Some years earlier Smith (1991) identified six intervention elements (Pihama and Samu, 2007) he attributed to the success of 'Kaupapa Māori' within the educational context of Kura Kaupapa Māori. These same elements went on to inform Kaupapa Māori research methodology. Although the intent of these principles has not diminished in any way, shape or form, like all things in this ever-changing world, adaptations have been made over time. The contributions of other Kaupapa Māori theorists (Pihama, 2001; Pohatu, 2004) to the validation and legitimisation of Kaupapa Māori research are evident in

the addition of *Te Tīrītī o Waitangi and Āta principles. Te Tīrītī o Waitangi* provides the platform for Māori to affirm their tangata whenua status and challenge the present state of affairs. *Āta* gives us a gentle reminder about how to behave when engaging in relationships with other people. Kaupapa Māori insists that research is not 'done to' people but rather it is a process of interaction and engagement where all parties are **present** and **respected**.

Key principles of Kaupapa Māori

> Tino Rangatiratanga (Self Determination principle) – allowing Māori to control their own culture, aspirations and destiny.
>
> Taonga Tuku Iho (Cultural Aspiration principle) – Within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, these Māori ways of knowing, doing and understanding the world are considered valid in their own right.
>
> Ako (Culturally preferred pedagogy principle) – Teaching and learning practices that are inherent and unique to Māori, as well as practices that may not be traditionally derived but are preferred by Māori.
>
> Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga (Socio-Economic Mediation principle) – This principle asserts a need for Kaupapa Māori research to be of positive benefit to Māori communities
>
> Whānau (Extended family structure principle) – This principle acknowledges the responsibility and obligations of the researcher to nurture and care for these relationships and also the intrinsic connection between the researcher, the researched and the research.
>
> Kaupapa (Collective Philosophy) – The 'Kaupapa' refers to the collective vision, aspiration and purpose of Māori communities. Larger than the topic of the research alone, the kaupapa refers to the aspirations of the community.
>
> Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) – Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) is a crucial document which defines the relationship between Māori and the Crown in New Zealand. It affirms both the tangata whenua status of whānau, hapū and iwi in New Zealand, and their rights of citizenship. The Tiriti therefore provides a basis through which Māori may critically analyse relationships, challenge the status-quo, and affirm the Māori rights (Pihama, 2001).
>
> Āta (Growing Respectful Relationships) – The principle of āta relates specifically to the building and nurturing of relationships. It acts as a guide to the understanding of relationships and wellbeing when engaging with Māori (Pohatu, 2004)
>
> (Rangahau, 2011b).

Kaupapa Māori theory provides a long overdue Māori lens in the field of research, which for so long, had been dominated by western ideology. The principles of Kaupapa Māori theory (with accompanying explanations) gave non-Māori an insight into ' Māori ways of knowing and being' that had never been captured before. As a result of these principles a set of responsibilities for researchers conducting research in Māori communities was formulated (Te Awekotuku in Smith, 1999).

Table 3 is an adaptation of the 'community –up' approach that Linda Smith developed "to recognise that researchers have key accountabilities to the indigenous communities they were researching with" (Cram, 2009:313).

Table 4: Practices when researching with Māori communities

Cultural values (Smith, L., 1999).	Researcher guidelines (Cram, 2001).
Aroha ki te tangata	A respect for people – allow people to define their own space and meet on their terms.
He kanohi kitea	It is important to meet people face-to-face, and to also be a face that is known to and seen within a community.
Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero	Looking and listening and then maybe speaking. Develop understanding in order to find a place from which to speak
Manaaki ki te tangata	Sharing, hosting, being generous.
Kia tūpato	Be cautious – be politically astute, culturally safe, and reflective about insider/outsider status.
Kaua e takahi te mana o te tangata	Do not trample on the 'mana' or 'dignity' of a person.
Kia māhaki	Be humble – do not flaunt your knowledge; find ways of sharing it.

(Adapted from Table 1, Kennedy & Cram, 2010:6).

Fundamental to the characteristics, principles and practices of Kaupapa Māori research are Māori notions of negotiation, balance, reciprocity, and accountability (Graham, 2002). At a conference in Wellington in 2009 participants were listening to a presentation about Butchard's Garden in Canada. The presenter explained how earth had been taken from one place to fill and complete the gardens. At the end of the presentation the kaumātua asked," So, how did they fill the holes? When they took the soil from one place it left a hole. When we take something from one place we must always put something back to replace what we took" (Pohatu, 2009, personal communication). This simple statement encompasses the responsibilities and

accountabilities Māori researchers have to their whānau, iwi, hapū and their research group members. How we give back and what we give back need to be informed by mutual agreement.

Māori have a strong cultural preference for narrative. Best (1975 in Winiata and Winiata, 1995) made an observation that "Māori depended entirely on memory, oral tradition, [and] on verbal teaching" (140). It therefore seemed appropriate for the kairangahau to use some form of narrative as the key tool for data gathering. Bishop (1996) writes that traditionally in research, the researcher has been 'the storyteller', submerging the 'real voice' of the research participant, in a reconstituted version of his or her own. To overcome this the researcher has used the medium of 'Focussed Conversation' and individual interviews as the preferred tools for gathering information and eliciting the 'voices' of the women (Clough and Nutbrown, 2002). Bishop (1996) believes gathering these conversations in a semi-structured interview forum is an authentic way of capturing the thoughts and feelings of research participants in their most natural form. He also insists that it allows them to engage in discourse that is developed and shaped by the speakers.

A closer inspection of focussed conversations highlight the reasons the kairangahau preferred this medium as a tool for gathering information over any other. It is an opportunity to "tap [the] expertise" (Clough and Nutbrown, 2002:73) of Te Whānau Rangahau and "acknowledge the special nature of their role" (ibid) as classroom teachers (an important point reiterated in 4.5). The kairangahau is also afforded a rare opportunity to write something with research participants ensuring that their part is acknowledged and valued. Focussed conversations create an environment to acknowledge the commonalities we all have and the dynamics we share being women. For too long researchers have 'looked in on' rather than 'walked alongside research participants.

If we accept that there is no one way of seeing things, then our methods need to reflect this and embrace rather than deny diversity (Barnes, 2000:5) Although Kaupapa Māori research is a unique approach, Barnes (2000) also

accepts the practicality of western methodologies being interwoven through the research. Qualitative research methods have been employed by the researcher in an effort to recognise and analyse different perspectives (Flick, 2009) thus "enabling a more equal conversation to take place where power can be negotiated" (Barnes, 2000:6). The semi-structured interviews "conducted in a dialogic, reflexive manner" (Bishop, 1996:29) facilitated "ongoing collaborative analysis and construction of meaning about the experiences of the research participants" (ibid).

4.5 He whakamārama

A familiarisation

This section of Chapter 4 introduces readers to Te Whānau Rangahau.
The following table has been included to give readers a summary of the makeup of Te Whānau Rangahau.

Pseudonyms have been given to participants to protect their privacy.

Whānau members were contacted and had input into the format for the record of ethnicity. Those of mixed descent all requested that Māori be recognised as their first marker for identity.

Iwi affiliations are an integral part of 'being' Māori and recognition of these affiliations is normal practice.

Time in schools gives an indication of how recently teachers have graduated and been in the school environment.

School types give us an indication of where Te Whānau Rangahau are situated within the local school communities. The type of class and year *places individual members of* Te Whānau Rangahau place in the context of their teaching level.

School responsibilities indicate the expectations that are placed on them by school leaders even for Te Whānau Rangahau have recently graduated in the last two years.

Table 5: The makeup of Te Whānau Rangahau (Kairangahau, 2012).

Name	***Ethnicity***	***Iwi Affiliation***	***Time in schools***	***Type of class Year Level***	***School Responsibilities***
Rāhera	Māori Pākehā	Te Rarawa Ngāpuhi	4 years	English medium Year 6	Kapa Haka Te Reo Māori
Nicky	Pākehā		2 years	English medium Year 3	Kapa Haka Te Reo Māori
Kuini	Māori Pākeha	Tainui Kai Tahu	3 years	Māori medium Year 2	Kapa Haka
Kōwhai	Māori Pākehā	Kai Tahu Waitaha Kāti Mamoe	4 years	English medium Year 3	Kapa Haka Te Reo Māori
Kelly	Pākeha		2 years	English medium Year 3	

Initial letters informed the kairangahau of Te Whānau Rangahau understandings of *biculturalism* prior to hui (whānau meetings) being held. These participant understandings of *biculturalism* are included below in each biographic text as they inform readers regarding each participants starting point.

Each biographic text then shows the letters of introduction written by Te Whānau Rangahau members. Then the final part of familiarisation is a mixture of information gathered by the kairangahau and direct quotes from transcripts. All direct quotes are italicised. The ethnicity of three of Te Whānau Rangahau was Māori/Pākehā, two were Pākehā and all displayed a commitment to *biculturalism* through their enrolment in a bilingual teaching degree. This commitment has been followed through by their efforts to include *biculturalism* into their daily classroom practice.

4.5.1 Ngā Kōrero o Te Whānau Rangahau

Te Whānau Rangahau biographic texts

Rāhera
(Māori/Pākehā descent, affiliated with the iwi of Te Rarawa and Ngāpuhi).

I knew the difference te reo and tikanga Māori made in my life when I was younger and because of that supported bi-cultural environment growing up, I always felt proud to be Māori. I realised that not all Māori/Pākeha people felt like this.

Kia ora. I was born and raised in Murihiku, to a Māori father and a Pākehā mother. I decided to train as a Primary Bilingual Teacher when I was 24 years old because I believed it was important to pass on the Te Reo and Tikanga Māori I knew, to children. I taught fulltime for 4 years in a Decile 5 Primary School, with a 20% Māori roll. I was responsible for starting Kapa Haka and developing the Māori Whānau group within the school. I wanted Māori children to be proud to be Māori and to know that they had the right to learn about their language and culture.

On entry into Teachers' College Rāhera had a good grounding of *biculturalism* from her parents. Growing up, her Māori heritage was always embraced and encouraged, which gave her confidence in her own sense of self-identity. Her mother's understanding and the way she accepted the Māori culture showed Rāhera that with an open mind, *biculturalism* might be realised for Māori and Pākeha people. She *didn't realise there was actually anything different* about being Māori or Pākehā because they both seemed normal.

As a child Rāhera distinctly remembers being so proud to be Māori. She remembers conversations around being lucky to have; a language, a culture, a history, tikanga and stories that were special to Māori. *"I think biculturalism for me as a child is people being supportive of Māori stuff because you do Pākehā stuff all the time so biculturalism was being inclusive of that and actually being supported".* Moving into secondary school Rāhera felt like she

was part of a whānau – the Māori teacher at the time made a difference and the Principal was supportive of Māori things happening in the school.

At Teachers' College *biculturalism* was *shared kai and heaps of gatherings,* approachable tutors, karakia, waiata and tikanga in place. It also looked like people working together as a whānau. Experiences at college increased Rāhera's knowledge and depth of tikanga and te reo Māori and gave her the confidence to want to share these in all the different contexts that she found herself. Working alongside students in the mainstream programme also introduced Rāhera to the frustrations and concerns that other teachers have when they are expected to develop and implement te reo Māori programmes in their schools. She developed an understanding and empathy for how they were feeling and because of this is able to relate to teachers who feel overwhelmed in her school today.

Before Rāhera's arrival at her school, notions of *biculturalism* had not been realised in any concrete way. This was due mainly to the fact that there was no one in the school with the know-how of how to move forward. She immediately set about establishing a Māori presence in her classroom with the introduction of signs and borders that incorporated te reo Māori words, phrases and Māori designs. Eventually this Māori presence would manifest itself in the shape of kowhaiwhai panels (made by the students) as a permanent display in the school office. The establishment of a Kapa Haka opened the door for Māori whānau and Pākeha whānau whose children joined the group to meet and work together as one. Changing meeting protocols to include children and kai was also instrumental in bringing more Māori whānau to the school gates. Previous meeting protocols did not encourage the presence of children or the practice of shared kai. All of this has taken time. The only on-going tension is the inclusion or lack of inclusion of te reo Māori in all classrooms. At present Rāhera is on maternity leave but still continues to be actively involved in the life of the school as the Kapa Haka tutor. She hopes to continue influencing positive changes for *biculturalism* in the future but also has other priorities in her life at the moment, the most important being raising her young baby.

Nicky
(Pākehā descent, her commitment to Te Āo Māori led to the completion of a bilingual teaching degree).

Before I entered college I knew that our country was bicultural, however I think I confused this with being bilingual. I don't think I truly understood what biculturalism was. I did know that it was two cultures living in one nation but didn't think any further into this.

I am a bilingual trained primary school teacher. I am currently in my third year of teaching and have been responsible for teaching Kapa Haka over this time. My primary school and primary teachers helped to develop my interest in and passion about Te Āo Māori. Throughout secondary school and teachers college I continued to study both the language and tikanga. I am continuing my journey alongside the children in my classroom; I believe that all children deserve the inclusive environment that I was exposed to as a child. I am passionate about creating real experiences that expose children to both Te Reo and Te Āo Māori within my classroom and the wider school.

Nicky developed an interest in te reo Māori and Kapa Haka while she was at Primary School. She literally *picked the culture up at the gate* – when Nicky arrived at school she *merged herself into the Māori culture*. Her family accepted this and it is just as well because the values, attitudes and practices of Te Āo Māori often spilled over into her home life. Even though her home wasn't bicultural Nicky *had the support to pursue her own beliefs and values and grow in the settings* she was in. At Secondary school Nicky was discouraged from taking te reo Māori as a classroom subject – she was told she was *too bright to take Māori.* This did not deter her enthusiasm and during her secondary years it was accepted that if you needed to find Nicky all you needed to do was look for the Māori girls. During her time at school Nicky was fortunate to have some really inspirational teachers. It was one of these teachers who would mentor Nicky in her journey into Te Āo Māori (The Māori World). He was to influence these interactions until the day she graduated.

Nicky's passion and commitment led her to enrol in a bilingual teaching degree. At Teachers' College Nicky felt *biculturalism* was modelled when lecturers moved smoothly between English and te reo Māori. She felt comfortable in the rooms that had been delegated to the bilingual programme and felt less supported when she moved into other parts of the College. On her first day she felt she had come in to be part of a larger whānau comprising of all students in the bilingual teaching programme regardless of what year you were in.

In the school context Nicky believes teachers have been like her and confused *biculturalism* with bilingualism. There is bilingual signage around the school and teachers have participated in professional development to support their learning of te reo Māori. She believes it is *an uphill battle* because although *it's been handed to them on a platter,* teachers have been slow to put their new learning into practice. Nicky also emphasizes lack of knowledge around te reo Māori and tikanga Māori as one of the stumbling blocks. Although teachers come to Nicky for guidance, stepping up to take a lead role as a second year teacher (not yet fully registered) has presented many challenges. One of Nicky's ambitions for the future is to reproduce a biculturally safe environment in her classroom because she feels it is inclusive and a comfortable place to be.

Kuini
(Māori/Pākeha descent, affiliated with the iwi of Tainui and Kai Tahu).

When I first entered training and heard about biculturalism I assumed it was in reference to two different cultures and working within them. My understanding was someone knowing and understanding the language and culture of 2 nations.

I am a bilingually trained primary school teacher. This is my third year teaching in a Māori Immersion class teaching Year 0 - Year 3. I am actively involved in learning and speaking in Te Reo Māori. It is a passion of mine to teach students in Te Reo Māori and watch as their learning develops and their world grows. I believe learning Te Reo me ona Tikanga Māori is

imperative to enhancing Māori students awareness of culture and identity thus developing more positive and capable citizens for the future.

Kuini didn't actually know what *biculturalism* was as a child but now looking back in retrospect she believes she lived two cultures. There didn't seem to be a tension, when she went onto the marae with Dad or went down South with Mum, she always knew what to do, what was expected of her and she felt valued and loved. *My Mum is of Māori/Pākehā descent but lived (her Māori side) vicariously through me through Kapa Haka and learning te reo, whereas my Dad was able to give me the components of those as well.* All through school Kuini was still being Māori and Pākehā and felt like she was being accepted. Rāhera questioned this wondering if this was because of the school culture and environment or the positive whānau interaction in two worlds. Kuini felt it was a reflection of how she was raised rather than the school environment.

Kuini did not have a lot to say about her time in the Teachers' College context however she did make a couple of comments. In the physical environment she felt there was an invisible sign on the door that said "Do Not Enter – Bilingual", she did not go any further to explain this. On the other hand she said she felt like she *was coming to another home.* Kuini did not qualify this statement either but I could make an assumption that she is intimating the whānau environment that Rāhera and Nicky both talk about – perhaps?

Teaching in a bilingual unit where Kaupapa Māori, tikanga Māori and te reo Māori are considered normal changes the dynamics of *biculturalism*. Students from the unit interact with the wider school for assemblies and sports afternoons but most of the time they are pretty much self-sufficient. They arrive at school and bring their Pākehā knowledge with them, but leave it at the door as they enter the classroom. Kuini feels it is contentious to try and develop *biculturalism* when students have been specifically sent to school to learn through the medium of te reo Māori and practice tikanga Māori as an integral part of their lives. This is definitely an 'outlier' because the main

emphasis of *biculturalism* has been on the inclusion of Māori aspects rather than English aspects into the classroom curriculum.

Kōwhai
(Māori/Pākehā descent, affiliated with the Southern iwi of Kai Tahu, Waitaha and Kāti Mamoe).

A biculturalism classroom to me is acknowledging and learning about tikanga Māori and making some of those practices a normal part of your day. It is about linking your current learning to Māori tikanga and Te Reo and being inclusive of any culture relevant to your classroom.

My name is Kōwhai and I am a bilingually trained primary school teacher. This is my fifth year teaching and I have recently become responsible for teaching kapa haka also. I have had an interest in Te Reo and Te Āo Māori since my own primary school days and throughout my education I studied the language and tikanga. Because I believe there is an importance for children to be exposed to and involved in Māori culture, I trained bilingually and I do my best to be inclusive of Te Reo and Te Āo Māori in my own classroom where appropriate. This is a journey I have just begun and I look forward to continuing to learn more about biculturalism in the classroom and putting this into practice.

Kōwhai felt *biculturalism* wasn't a big thing for her family. She was aware that she did have [another] culture, Kai Tahu was her iwi but she never actually learnt it at home. At Primary School 'it' was the norm and it wasn't until she went to High School that she realised she was part of a minority culture. She wanted to learn more and her High School experience made her realise how lucky she had been at Primary.

Biculturalism at Teachers' College was the Māori room where research about tikanga Māori and recreating things from the past to develop a deeper understanding happened. The notion of minority comes up again and she felt students had a tendency to 'stick together' because of this.

Kōwhai is teaching at her local Primary School, the same school she attended as a child. There was a bilingual class that students chose to be part of; te reo Māori and tikanga Māori were practiced in this class. Kōwhai felt she hadn't missed out on anything because 'it' was still present in all other classes. She was aware of the changes that had happened since she had been a student and acknowledges the 'normal' *biculturalism* she experienced as a child was missing. *When I first started … there were a lot of brown faces, but that was it there was nothing.* She believes the drive for developing *biculturalism* in the school needs to come from the top and this was not happening when she first arrived. A change in Principal has marked a change in direction for the better. Teachers still struggle with te reo Māori and tikanga Māori but because it is now seen as a school-wide focus teachers feel *they're getting the support they need, they don't have to do it by themselves, so we've started.*

Kelly
(Pākeha descent, she has only recently been introduced to a Māori worldview).

My understanding of biculturalism before I entered teachers college was non-existent. It hadn't even crossed my mind until the opportunity at college arose. I had no understanding of the Māori culture let alone what bicultural education even meant.

My name is Kelly and I am a recently registered teacher teaching in a year 2-3 class. I graduated teachers' college with a Bachelor of Education (teaching) in Primary Bilingual Education Te Pōkai Mātauranga o te Āo Rua. Prior to teachers' college I had no exposure or understanding of Te Reo Māori or Te Tikanga Māori. I furthered my understanding of the Māori language and culture by attending the Te Ara Reo language programme and the Mauri Ora Spirit of Aotearoa programme during my time at teachers' college. I am currently completing the Diploma in Māori language through Te Ara Reo.

Kelly states that her introduction to *biculturalism* came with her entry into Teachers' College. *When I was a kid, I was never exposed to any other*

culture really until I got to College, um whether it was my narrow mindedness or just the lack of education I had towards 'it' or what I don't know. Kelly recalls when she looked back at Primary School photos – *oh look there was a Māori girl in our class.* She had never even noticed this before and doesn't remember anything about the child at all.

On first entering Teachers' college Kelly was enrolled in a mainstream teaching programme. After a number of positive interactions with students and lecturers from the bilingual pathway she requested a transfer. *It was such a new experience for me being immersed in another culture and the drive and the hunger to get to know it for me … I was like ohh this is new I wonder what it's about.* Kelly became proactive and enrolled herself in extra-mural courses to support her new learning. She attended a Te Ara Reo (Māori Language) programme run through the local Southern Institute of Technology by Te Wānanga o Āotearoa and enrolled in the Mauriora (tikanga based) programme also through the Wānanga.

In her final year of training Kelly felt confident enough to introduce simple social managerial te reo Māori into her classroom programme. As a classroom teacher she has continued to do this but feels the support mechanisms she had around her at college are no longer there. Kelly firmly believes teachers make a conscious choice about *biculturalism*. She is also of the mind that teachers can *walk alongside the Māori culture while keeping in focus and trying to understand [their] own culture.*

Tēnā koutou katoa

4.6 Ko ngā kōrerorero
The conversations

To elicit the voices of this small group of women and in an effort to capture their thoughts the kairangahau chose to use 'Focussed Conversations' and individual interviews as tools for gathering the messages implicit in those thoughts. If I was going to "tap their expertise" (Clough and Nutbrown,

2002:76) I needed to acknowledge the special nature of their role. All sessions involved conversation that negotiated many terrains. Some (not all) have been listed; absolute silence, passionate disclosures, conflicts, short pauses, excitement, humour and discovery. “Focussed Conversation work … aims to allow for the convergence of lives and experiences” (Clough and Nutbrown, 2002:75) challenging the ‘hygienic research’ (Oakley, 1993 in Clough and Nutbrown, 2002) and legitimising personal involvement. Clough and Nutbrown (2002) also emphasize the presence of the researcher as a person and hold the view that “Personhood cannot be left behind, cannot be left out of the research process” (Clough and Nutbrown, 2002:75). These ideas sit comfortably within Kaupapa Māori research and so the decision to use focussed conversations in the form of semi-structured interviews again followed a natural progression. The Focussed Conversation work took place between May 2010 and August 2010. It was vital that these conversations allowed us to share the knowledge we already had and allowed us to create “new knowledge through connective discourse as [we] listened and spoke to one another” (Clough and Nutbrown, 2002:74).

Focussed Conversation and interviews bring to mind the Māori context we are all familiar with ‘hui’, that is the meeting of a group of people in a designated place. Initially the kairangahau had considered gathering data in a number of other ways, possibly video snippets and reflective journals, however time constraints and organisation difficulties meant hui were a more feasible and practical option. A decision to hold three hui was made on the assumption that the first would be around whakawhanaungatanga and creating a safe environment for Te Whānau Rangahau. The second hui would be individual interviews thus creating an opportunity for each Te Whānau Rangahau member to present their own voice and significant messages. The final hui would bring Te Whānau Rangahau back together to synthesize and analyse their own stories. Although this seemed to be an easy option the process was still fraught with challenges. Timetabling the one to one dialogue sessions proved most challenging as teachers were heavily engaged in school based activity and I was still working fulltime and had to respond to the needs of my

students (in class) and the teachers (in schools). What I presumed would take a week took more than a month.

Hui 1 – When Te Whānau Rangahau met for the first time tikanga Māori was used to establish to the protocols of interaction therefore the hui began with 'kai' and 'kōrero'. It was an opportunity to catch up, re-establish links and generally see how everyone was doing. This was followed by mihi and a welcome to everyone. Before the conversations began the kairangahau asked for permission to use a dictaphone as a tool for capturing 'authentic conversation'. A series of open-ended questions were asked

> What is your understanding of *biculturalism*?
> As a child what did *biculturalism* look like, sound like, feel like?
> In your Initial Teacher Education programme, what did *biculturalism* look like? Sound like? Feel like?
> In your schools how is *biculturalism* experienced in the environment, in the curriculum, in the way you run your classroom?

There was no particular order in which participants had to respond, but it was agreed that everyone should contribute unless the discussion involved something they could not comment on. Participants were also asked to announce themselves before speaking as this would help during the transcribing process. Initially participants were hesitant to speak. Despite having received permission to use the dictaphone people felt uncomfortable. This is something I had not encountered with this group before [they liked to talk] – it took a couple of people to speak before everyone became more relaxed and the conversation began to flow. The thought of being recorded seemed daunting for at least one group member whose voice is missing in the first conversations – however, this coupled with the fact that she had no previous encounters with the concept of *biculturalism* before she came to college might also account for her initial invisibility.

At the completion of the session, a himene (song) was sung and everyone joined in karakia (prayer). This hui lasted for nearly two hours – a time frame

was given before the start of the hui so that Te Whānau Rangahau could organise themselves around their whānau and other things they may have been doing (it was important to stick to the time frame, part of the credibility and the transparency in the process). The kairangahau took the dictaphone home to transcribe all conversations. I was surprised how familiar I was with their voices and some of their stories. At the same time there were parts of their stories I had never heard before and this was exciting and enlightening. Although transcribing was labour and time intensive, it gave me the chance to consider what was being 'said' in the 'context' of the conversation and the research. Another colleague suggested I might like to employ someone to do the transcribing for me but I did not want to be separated from what was being said. I needed the opportunity to digest everything in the context of their lives and the context of the research – I did not want to give this up. Once all transcripts had been completed (this took a week) they were distributed to Te Whānau Rangahau by email. This gave everyone ***control*** over the discourse they had created and allowed opportunity for changes if they felt a true record of their voice and messages had not been articulated. Comments were made about how many ums and ahs there were but otherwise people were satisfied that the transcript was a correct record of their voices.

Hui 2 – These hui were carried out as individual interviews and took place in participant's classrooms, participant's homes and at the College of Education (any place where people felt comfortable if home or school were not viable meeting places). A time frame of one to one and a half hours was given for this hui. The researcher set up a timetable of hui dates in collaboration with research participants. The intention was that these hui would be completed in a week, during the month of June. The logic behind this timetable seemed very simple but in the reality due to many unforseen circumstances e.g. unscheduled whānau commitments having to be met and work related commitments, these hui were not completed until the end of July.

Again open-ended questions were used to guide and focus the conversations that took place.

> Has your understanding of *biculturalism* changed since we last spoke? Why? Why not?
>
> What are the things that have impacted on your approach to *biculturalism*?
>
> What do you think *biculturalism* looks like in your classroom/school?
>
> What influence/impact have you had on establishing *biculturalism* in your school?
>
> Describe the positive effects of *biculturalism* in your classroom.
>
> What opportunities have been created for you in your journey through *biculturalism?*
>
> Describe any tensions you may have encountered in your journey through *biculturalism.*

Because this was a one to one interview situation, there was more opportunity for individual members of Te Whānau Rangahau to put their personal stamp on the conversation. The kairangahau was not pedantic in using the questions in their current form but used discretion about what would be more appropriate depending on the direction the conversation was taking. It was during these conversations that Te Whānau Rangahau really began to delve more deeply into *biculturalism* in their own lives and in their own schools. Although the term *biculturalism* is central to this research the word 'it' has been informally ascribed to *biculturalism*. As in the first hui, conversations were recorded using the dictaphone, transcribed by the kairangahau then emailed to each Te Whānau Rangahau member for perusal and approval for use.

Hui 3 – This was the most important hui for Te Whānau Rangahau because it signalled an end to the 'conversations' and presented an opportunity to work collectively with the data gathered. Te Whānau Rangahau members were keen and interested to see if their ideas had been the same, similar or just different. It was the researchers' intention to use a collaborative research

method (Clough & Nutbrown, 2002; Teppet, 2008) where participants were encouraged to play active roles in the synthesis and analysis of data gathered. Research participants were invited to attend a one day workshop which would focus solely on extrapolating key ideas and recurring themes in the data gathered. Because I had to return to the North Island to attend a family bereavement this hui did not happen. A lot of time and negotiation had gone into organising this day, it coincided with the school holidays and I was grateful that people were prepared to give one of their days up. Unfortunately this was a lost opportunity and so a half day hui spanning Saturday morning and some of the afternoon was negotiated instead. One of the research participants was not able to attend because she was playing netball, however all the others were able to be present and it was decided that we would forge ahead. Before the hui began, discussion around the purpose of the hui and the reason for research participant's participation was clarified. Participants appreciated the opportunity to still be involved at this stage and looked forward to working as a team.

Participants worked in pairs, initially revisiting their own dialogue, identifying their own recurring themes and ideas. This took all of us back to the purpose of the research and the reason for their involvement. Revisiting their own dialogue allowed another occasion to reflect on what had been said and make comment about whether or any thinking had changed – if so why? If not why not? The next step involved reading their partner's transcript, completing the same process previously used. Themes had already been established in the revisiting of their personal transcripts it was just a matter of whether or not these came through in their partner's transcript. Comparisons were made and pairs brought their findings back to the whole group for discussion. Recurring themes were categorised and a tally chart was used as a tool to determine, the most prominent and least prominent themes. Not highlighted during this session were the 'outliers' e.g. the confusion between *biculturalism* and bilingualism, the state of *biculturalism* in a bilingual unit in which te reo Māori is the medium of instruction. The emergent themes were used by the kairangahau as the platform for the final discourse.

The kairangahau maintained contact with Te Whānau through the medium of text, email, and the social network of Facebook. These forms of contact eventuated because the kairangahau relocated, approximately 1500 kilometres away from the place where the research took place. Draft copies of completed sections of writing for perusal by Te Whānau Rangahau were frequently emailed and this process continued until the research was submitted in its final form.

To ensure that all participants will be able to access the completed work if they so desire a copy of the research will be presented to the library at the local Initial Teacher Education institution in the area where the research was carried out.

4.7 Tikanga Matatika Rangahau
Research Ethics

In an effort to maintain the integrity of Kaupapa Māori the kairangahau chose to listen to interview clips (Rangahau, 2011) of a group of Māori researchers prominent in the development and implementation of indigenous Māori research models. The kairangahau has summarised and recorded those discussions in an effort to capture their perceptions of ethics from a uniquely Māori perspective taking into account their Māoriness is informed by whakapapa (genealogy), pepeha (links to Papatuānuku and iwi affiliations) and tikanga (protocols and customs peculiar to their whānau, iwi and hapū). The name of Māori researchers who participated in each interview clip has been distinguished in bold type. All of the researchers have travelled the worn path of western research paradigms and have found their way back to Kaupapa Māori (Rangahau, 2011b).

Aroha Mead discusses ‘free, prior, informed consent’. ‘Free’ consent is obtained without coercion of any kind. ‘Prior’ consent is about asking before the research begins and not as a result of work that is already being carried out. ‘Informed’ consent guarantees the research participant is fully informed about implications of the research whether they be positive or negative. This kind if consent is not unconditional and is always subject to any changes that

may take place. In the broadest sense ethics is based on reciprocal 'respect' and the 'safety' of all participants, these can be linked back to Āta (growing respectful relationships) and Kia māhaki (being humble) mentioned previously in the Chapter.

'Whakatūpato' is the main message from **Hariata Pohatu**. Kaupapa Māori researchers must be mindful about where the interaction is taking place and ensure tikanga Māori is observed to keep the mana of both the researcher and the participant in tact. For the Kaupapa Māori researcher ethical issues are broader than just consent.

Linda Smith proposes that everything you do as a researcher is an ethical site that must be treated with respect. The 'consent' that is received by the Kaupapa Māori researcher encompasses much more than just the formalities agreed to in standard research application. All conditions of interaction are underpinned by the notion of reciprocity. The responsibilities placed on the research participation are also placed on the researcher, it works the same way for accountability. For Smith however, at the heart of ethics is 'the nature of relationships' very much governed by reciprocity.

Wally Penetito, agrees and emphasizes that a good attitude from the researcher is important. He points out that given time, if trust is developed between the researcher and research participants the interaction can be fruitful for both groups. The number of interactions and the nature of the interaction are important for trust to be developed, we need to make a connection.

(Rangahau, 2011a).

Kaupapa Māori determines the process of 'whakawhanaungatanga' traditionally referring to kinship connections and reciprocal responsibilities of kinship as the foundation for establishing this trust. Tuuta, Bradman, Hinds, Higgins and Broughton (2004) argue that "Whānau is the basic building block of traditional Māori society and is inextricably linked to identity and commitment" (p. 2).

In their research report *Te Kauhua* (a programme that supported school-based action research projects, with school and whānau to improve outcomes for Māori learners), they conclude that

> *Over time, whānau has been reshaped to include a variety of arrangements (Durie, 1994; Metge, 1994). One of these arrangements is the use of concept as whānau as a management framework for organising and managing relationships (Tuuta, et al, 2004:2).*

The kairangahau affliates strongly with Wihongi (2002) who captures the essence of the research whānau when she declares

> *Within the context of my research, whanaungatanga referred to the whānau like realtionships that existed between my research whānau, the research participants and myself based on a common kaupapa (my research topic) … (Wihongi, 2002:2).*

It was the belief of the kairangahau that her relationship with Te Whānau Rangahau was one of 'mutual trust' that had developed over their years of association through the process of whakawhanaungatanga. Kaupapa Māori and tikanga Māori were an integral part of this interaction. The respect between the researcher and participants was reciprocated and the relationship itself had transformed from the 'teacher – pupil relationship' to that of 'colleague', 'friend' and 'whānau'. Therefore after consultation with her supervisor, the Chair of the COE Ethics Committee and other colleagues a decision was made to submit a 'Notification of Low Risk Research' (see Appendix Four). As an emerging researcher and a distance learner navigating unfamiliar processes was difficult at times. Having a better understanding of the ethics approval process and possibly being in closer proximity to my supervisor may have alleviated some of the tension I was experiencing at the time. Another tension was also brought about by the need to be 'bicultural' and having traverse Pākehā and Māori notions of ethics.

4.8 Whakarāpopoto

Summary

This chapter introduced the research questions and affirmed the ideology of Kaupapa Māori as a framework for the thesis. It traced the establishment of Te Whānau Rangahau from initial verbal conversations to a research cohort made up of five teachers. Readers were acquainted with each individual whānau member. These discussions outline their own personal journey, in, through, around and outside of *biculturalism.* Te Timatanga described the processes and tools the researcher employed to gather in Te Whānau Rangahau. An in-depth discussion of the focussed conversations illustrated the parameters placed around the interview process and the emphasis placed on Te Whānau Rangahau being actively involved and engaged in the dialogue. A Māori lens was also engaged to highlight commonalities present in Kaupapa Māori and the western academic ethics approval process. Chapter 5 takes the reader inside the focussed conversations magnifying collective messages around *biculturalism* that Te Whānau Rangahau deemed relevant and important.

Wāhanga e Rima: Chapter 5

E whakarongo ana ki ngā reo
Listening to the voices

5.1 He whakataki
Introduction

As a collaborative approach in both gathering data and writing up of research findings, focussed conversation had the potential to be a "democratic, inside-out approach" (Teppet, 2008:40). Clough and Nutbrown (2002) assert "What is different about [the] writing which emerges from focussed conversation work is that the group participants do not simply provide the quotes, they co-author the whole piece" (p.76). Research participants were trained teachers who had the "tools, confidence and ability to articulate themselves" (Teppett, 2008:40) therefore they were able to "describe their world, their issues, their needs, their wants, through their own narratives" (ibid). This also meant they were able to engage in most of the analysis process effectively. Due to the researcher relocating to Auckland from Invercargill this 'kanohi ki te kanohi' engagement has not been as extensive toward the end of the writing as it was in the initial and middle stages of data gathering. To counteract this, copies of draft chapters 1 and 2 have been emailed to research participants for perusal and comment. As the draft copies became more numerous the kairangahau this became less manageable. Most responded positively either by email or through Facebook

As with all data gathered, "analysis and interpretation are required to bring order and understanding. This requires creativity, discipline and a systematic approach. There is no single or best way," (Taylor-Powell and Renner, 2003:1) there is no established rule, however there are a number of researchers (Clough and Nutbrown, 2002; Fairclough, 2003; Johnstone, 2008; Thornbury, 2005; Wiersma and Jurs, 2009) who suggest how this might be achieved. For research participants the analysis has been about more than categorising and coding themes. Identifying themes then delving into "the relationships between different discourses" (Fairclough, 2003:124), uncovering the lexical and grammatical devices that give the text cohesion

(Thornbury, 2005) and paying attention to deviant discourse to give a voice to the minority have been some of the challenges the research participants have encountered during this process.

Despite the challenges the research group established a framework for analysis that they felt drew out key themes and ideas, sits comfortably alongside Kaupapa Māori methodology and applies the practices of focussed conversations and interviews. Data gathered in focussed conversations and individual interviews has been utilised in each particular context. Research findings have been recorded as a combination of responses to questions asked in focussed conversations, individual interviews and emails received from Te Whānau Rangahau before any discussion forum had been entered into. To introduce each summary discussion the kairangahau has incorporated a sentence stem to highlight the theme. Quotes from transcripts have been integrated into the writing to identify convergence/divergence of views. Specific discourse analyses identifying basic text cohesion devices in the form of lexical repetition and lexical chaining of words that share similar meaning where possible have also been included.

5.2 Ko ngā Mohiotanga o te Tikanga ā Rua
Understandings of biculturalism

5.2.1 Ko ngā Whakautu Ēmera
Email responses

Nicky believes she has confused *biculturalism* with bilingualism. She knows about two cultures in one country but has not explored anything beyond this,
"Before I entered college I knew that our country was bicultural, however I think I confused this with being bilingual. I don't think I truly understood what biculturalism was. I did know it was two cultures living in one nation but didn't think any further than this" [Nicky].

Kuini faces a similar dilemma as Nicky, in that language appears to be the focus. An interesting occurrence is the introduction of the word *'normal',*

"Before my training I thought biculturalism in the schools was a 'normal' classroom environment taught in mostly Te Reo Māori" [Kuini].

Kōwhai has assumptions about the two nations,
"When I first entered training and heard about biculturalism I assumed it was a reference to two different cultures and working within them … someone knowing and understanding the language and culture of two nations"[Kōwhai].

Rāhera feels she has a good understanding of *biculturalism* crediting this to her dual parentage and the positive role modelling and acceptance she experienced while growing up,
"I had a good grounding of biculturalism from my parents – Mum, Pākehā and Father, Māori. Growing up, my Māori heritage was always embraced and encouraged … my Mother's understanding and the way she accepted the Māori culture showed me that with an open mind bi-culturalism (this was emphasised as two distinct parts of one word) can be realised for Māori and Pakeha people" [Rāhera].

The final email response to be recorded reintroduces us to one member of Te Whānau Rangahau, who has a strong empathy for *biculturalism* but really didn't have any understanding of the concept,
"My understanding of biculturalism before I entered teachers' college was non-existent" [Kelly].

Before any conversations begin it has been established that research participants have varying degrees of understanding of *biculturalism.* Rāhera had a strong sense of what *biculturalism* is and Kelly had no idea. Nicky and Kōwhai acknowledge two cultures and Kuini and Nicky are unsure whether we are meaning *biculturalism* or bilingualism.

5.2.2 Ko ngā Kōrerorero Hiwaia
Focussed conversations

Research participants espoused perceptions of *biculturalism* strongly influenced by a binary interplay between two distinct cultures,
"Having two cultures" [Kuini].
"Knowledge and understanding of two cultures" [Kōwhai].
Although it was identified that values and beliefs of these cultures would be different there was an emphasis on acceptance, celebration, and inclusion,
"Two cultures living working together respecting both cultures and cultural practices, accepting and celebrating difference" [Rāhera].
"Two cultures coming together in an environment and working alongside each other to respect, understand, celebrate other peoples' way of life" [Kelly].
"Being inclusive" [Nicky].

Within the discourse there is constant repetition of the word 'two'. This is derived from the prefix 'bi' *"bi means two"* Kōwhai, *"bi translate that to two"* Kuini. Although the specific terminology 'bi' is pretty much self explanatory within the Aotearoa New Zealand context Yukich (2010) insists "Whilst a variety of ethnic groups now reside in New Zealand, the term 'bicultural' has particular resonances for Pākehā and Māori based on their shared past and present" (p.13). Another point to note in the discourse is the language that is used in relationship to the notion of *biculturalism.* The phrases *coming together* and *working alongside* and words such as *understanding, respecting, accepting, celebrating* endorse and promote a culture of co-operation and collaboration. This discourse represents *biculturalism* as a perspective of the sphere of influence research participants inhabit at this present time.

5.2.3 I taku tamarikitanga... te āhua
As a child... it looked like

In most instances research participants didn't have any understanding of the term *biculturalism* as a child and yet they report about experiencing the world from two different spaces as normal,

"I don't actually know if I knew what biculturalism meant as a child … in retrospect looking back I lived in two cultures" [Kōwhai].
"… You didn't actually realise there was anything different … there are some Māori words that I didn't even know were Māori because I just thought they were the words for things … I suppose I can relate to it being normal" [Rāhera].
"Um the whole school did at times have the bicultural feel so it was yeah … that was just our school and that was just normal" [Nicky].
Kuini alludes to a point of difference and yet is trying to make a distinction between *biculturalism* and bilingualism,
"When I was at Primary school I'm not saying biculturalism as such but there was a bilingual unit so to me that was a different room where you did Māori all day"

On the other hand Kelly has lived a monocultural life,
"I was never exposed to any other culture really until I got to college … I had no idea so college to me has been a real eye opener to what biculturalism is".

The responses of research participants lead to other questions outside the scope of the research. For more than half of the participants *biculturalism* was normal. Was this normal for *biculturalism* to be normal because one parent was Māori and the other Pākehā? Is it because they walked in two worlds without knowing it? Kelly acknowledges her monocultural upbringing and realises although there was a Māori student in her class when she was a child, she had never actually ***seen*** her, *"… when I look back at my Primary School photos now I … oh look there was a Māori girl in our class and I had no idea".* The discourse presents a pattern of normality for everyone except Kelly who was raised in a town where the only culture recognised by her family was the dominant white culture.

I taku tamarikitanga...	**te rongo**
As a child...	it felt like

Positive feelings toward *biculturalism* are expressed by research participants and the influence of school on these feelings are recognised,

" When I was a kid and I distinctly remember this, I was proud to be Māori … I know the Māori teacher at that time made a difference and that the Principal was supportive and that the school whānau supported it " [Rāhera].
"I felt loved … I was loved when I went up North, I was loved when I came down South" [Kōwhai].
"I kinda feel the same like it wasn't a big thing for my family I was aware that I did have a culture and that I was Māori and my iwi was Kai Tahu, I was aware of that but never actually learnt more about that at home I got it from school that was the, that was the norm" [Kuini].

Nicky however had a totally different experience,
"Unlike you guys I kinda picked up the culture at the school gates, I would get to school in the morning and then I would merge myself into the culture".

Within the discourse Nicky's reference to *"the culture"* is an anaphoric reference, referring back to the word *"Māori"* used by Rāhera, Kuini and Kōwhai. This will also be seen in later texts when *biculturalism* is often referred to as *"it".*

Kelly's voice is silenced during this part of the conversation because she doesn't feel like she has anything to contribute. While others are talking I make a gesture to her for comment, she shrugs her shoulders and nods her head from side to side to signal no. The absence of Kelly's voice serves to reinforce her earlier comments, about not being *"exposed to another culture"* and having *"no idea".*

Toward the end of this conversation Rāhera has one final comment. She has been in dialogue with other research participants and questioning why she had such positive feelings and came to this conclusion *"I totally think it depends on the people around you".* She is reinforcing what she believes led to her positive stance on *biculturalism.*

I taku tamarikitanga... te rangona
As a child... it sounded like

Waiata (songs) featured as a significant sound for one research participant, (singing)
"Oma rāpeti, oma rāpeti, oma, oma, oma … One day a taniwhā … Kei raro … Motokā Māwhero … It was so cool, it's cool when you're five" [Rāhera].

Another participant heard the sound of two voices, two languages, two worlds, *"I've got a sound, it sounded like whaikōrero, it sounded like English, it sounded like karanga, it sounded like ah whaikōrero, it sounded like um me being told off for being late to school … it sounded like a whole, it sounded like two, now I look back on it, it sounds like different worlds but I was only physically ever in one. That's what it sounded like"* [Kōwhai].

Nicky and Kuini did not comment and Kelly's response was,
"Like I said I really can't comment".

Although the feelings around discursive practices of *biculturalism* appear to be positive and encouraging, the sounds of *biculturalism* in childhood although not quite silenced, were definitely muted. It is interesting to note that Kōwhai's contribution to the conversation is quite lengthy. When conversation around this topic began her first reaction was *"It sounded, no come back to me",* she needed time to think further. I was surprised when she did response at how quickly she was able to give examples of the two languages, voices and worlds she lived in. There was little hesitation as she flowed from one world into the other.

5.2.4 I te Kāreti Kaiako Whakangungu... te āhua
At Teachers' College... it looked like

The Initial Teacher Education programme that research participants engaged in never explicitly referred to *biculturalism* although knowledge of te reo Māori (the Māori language) and tikanga Māori (Māori cultural practices) were seen

as valuable and relevant in an educational context. Comments below reflect this thinking,

"It looked like this room, this was the Māori room (There were two designated rooms on campus where most of the teaching and learning for the bilingual degree took place. They were *Rooms 1 & 2) *"… us making lots of things from tikanga Māori in the past … recreating things, making things to show that we understand from the past "* [Kuini].

"For me it looked like karakia (prayer) at the start of things … but you know the sort of tikanga was in place" [Rāhera].

The significance of whānau and getting together is identified as important,

"T Coll looked like, heaps of gatherings … shared kai … people working together … the whole whānau thing" [Rāhera].

"We were a whānau … no matter if you were first year, second year, third year … you walk out of these doors (*Rooms 1 & 2) *and it's not the same there isn't the same feeling"* [Nicky].

The concept of feeling different in different spaces of the college enters the discourse at the end of Nicky's quote. This is further emphasized,

"I think it was because we were the minority and the minority always sticks together" [Kuini]. Research participants were a minority on two fronts. Firstly their course numbers were fewer and secondly they were mostly of Māori descent.

Any notion of the sharing and caring of two cultures discussed in the first conversation around *biculturalism* are dispelled with the next comment,

"It looked like there was a sign on the top of the doors (*Rooms 1 & 2) *that said "Do Not Enter – Bilingual"* [Kōwhai].

It is pleasing to finally hear a voice that has mostly been silent since conversations began. There is an air of excitement and participation from the girl, who never really knew her own culture,

"I think … it was such a new experience for being immersed in another culture … the drive and hunger to get to know it for me … I wonder what it's about …

that hunger to find the culture and led me on the path to sort of understand my own culture" [Kelly].

The final comment continues to push the agenda of Māori as a part of *biculturalism* and the need for the Māori presence to be sustained after everyone has graduated and moved on,

"I think it looks like us leaving our marks in some way, some bicultural mark in this place … whether it's leaving something behind of us and something Māori, something that will be here longer than we are and will continue on what we felt" [Rāhera].

I te Kāreti Kaiako Whakangungu... **te rongo me te rangona**
At Teachers' College... it felt like and sounded like

The feeling of whanaungatanga that can be created through share kai and gatherings helped create a safe environment. Through further conversation I discovered in this instance Kowhai was meaning the rooms in which classes were regularly taken as opposed to the whole campus.

"Felt like I was coming to another home" [Kōwhai].

Kapa Haka was an integral part of college life for these research participants therefore,

"The inclusion of waiata and karakia and Māori kaupapa" [Rāhera] was a most familiar sound.

There were only two responses recorded here. It appears that it is easier to recall what things 'looked like' rather than what they 'felt like' and 'sounded like'. This is pattern is also seen in earlier responses about *biculturalism* as a child.

5.2.5 I tō mātou Marau ā Kura
In our school curriculum

In order to put conversations into a context the kairangahau will give a very brief background description of the type of schools each research participant

is working in. The description will include how the school is categorised, the decile rating, and the school roll. A decile rating is ascribed to each school and is related to the economic and social factors of the local community. There are ten deciles with 10% increments across each decile band. The more affluent the community are the higher the decile rating (Ministry of Education, 2011). The decile rating has been included to give readers a sense of the kind of community these schools service.

Nicky's school is a Contributing Primary (Years 1-6). It is a designated Decile 3 school with a roll of just over 400 students. Many of the teachers in this school realize the importance of *biculturalism* and believe this can be achieved through the promotion of te reo Māori. There has been an attempt by senior managers to encourage the integration of tikanga Māori and te reo Māori however many of the staff do not have the knowledge or skills to be effective in their implementation. Integration of tikanga Māori is being practised with the introduction of 'waatea' at the beginning and end of each day. Students begin the day with a *"waiata (song) … about getting along with others and treating others with respect".* To finish the school day students talk about their day and *"how we have helped and encouraged others".* Tikanga Māori is being shared at staff meetings to support teachers to feel comfortable about passing this new knowledge on. The establishment of a Te Reo Māori team was prompted by the need for further staff support. The Te Reo Māori team have created teaching units with examples of how the content can be covered in a classroom programme. There has been whole school Professional Development focussed on bringing te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into the classroom. Nicky believes, *"management is the driving force behind the school initiatives that will eventually help us to become a bicultural school"*. She insists *"our Principal is trying really hard"* and that things have *"been handed to them on a platter".* When Nicky refers to *them* in the last statement she is meaning the teaching staff of the school. Nicky struggles with the fact that teachers *"still say it's too hard".*

Kuini's school is a Full Primary (Years 1-8). It is a designated Decile 2 school with a roll of 100 students. It needs to be noticed that in this school 70% of the

students are of Māori descent therefore it was essential to include te reo Māori and tikanga Māori. When Kuini first started teaching at the school *"there were lots of brown faces but that was it, there was nothing"*. (When Kuini talks about nothing she is meaning *biculturalism.* This understanding has established by the question she responded to). After the appointment of a new Principal a local community member was employed to teach te reo Māori lessons in all classes. As in Nicky's case the Principal is seen as the mover and shaker, *"It's coming from the top at our school"*. This worked well until the teacher left. Kuini was looked upon as the person most capable of picking up the te reo Māori mantle. It was her job to support other staff members to integrate te reo Māori into their classroom programmes. Kuini *"just started at staff meetings introducing a new phrase or word teachers can use"*. This happened once a week. She was excited by the response, *"they're all really good … you walk through their room and I can hear them using it … they're on board"*. Another facet of te Āo Māori is Kapa Haka. This activity became a school wide initiative timetabled to happen once a week. This medium has provided opportunities to practise tuakana – teina (older students mentor younger students, based on gender), grow young leaders and develop a common bond amongst the students, staff and wider school community. Tentatively Kuini agreed to be the lead teacher for Kapa Haka as well. With a lot of support from others she was able to prepare students for a local cultural event. Overall Kuini believes her school is making a good effort.

Rāhera's school is a Contributing Primary (Years 1-6). It is a designated Decile 5 school with a roll of nearly 300 students. *"One quick thing off the top of my head, when I first got to the school there was nothing Māori at all".* Rāhera is aware efforts have been made in the past to encourage Māori whānau to engage with the school and wanted to contribute to this is some way. She immediately set about establishing a bicultural presence installing kowhaiwhai patterns created by the children into the office area of the school. The establishment of school Kapa Haka starting with her own class then expanding out into the wider school community has been very successful. Rāhera was also instrumental in supporting the development of a whānau reference group. Formed *"initially so parents could have some input into what*

Māori they wanted in the school" while rewriting the school charter, they are the point of contact should the school require consultation on issues relating to Māori. Working alongside management and whānau new protocols for whānau hui were introduced. Meetings were moved to an earlier time during the day and *"children* [were] *welcome and kai* [was a fixture] *at all meetings.* At the same time Rāhera prompted teachers toward *"achieving a greater understanding … of the importance and benefits of encouraging and supporting a child's culture to benefit their self worth".* Getting te reo Māori into classes is a challenge that Rāhera intends to deal with in the future.

Kelly and Kōwhai both teach at the same school but work in different learning environments. Kelly teaches in mainstream and Kōwhai teaches in the school bilingual unit. Their school is a designated Decile 3 school with a roll approaching 350 students. Although Kelly believes *"that the school does make an effort to integrate a Māori perspective"* she also believes *"that it comes down to the importance that a teacher puts on implementing bilingualism".* To support te reo Māori in the mainstream school teachers are given out units that have been planned for them by the senior teacher in the bilingual unit. There has been no collaboration and teachers are expected to put these units into their planning folders and use them. "*We had a kaiako plan for the Māori lesson as a unit and then [we] put [it] in to our folders but nothing was followed up".* Kōwhai made herself available to support teachers with the implementation of these lessons but also had her own work to do as well. She believed teachers were using basic social managerial (simple greetings and commands) te reo Māori in their classes. Kelly would like to see some collaborative school wide planning put into place so that there is shared understanding and commitment around the promotion of *biculturalism.* Kōwhai presents a different picture insisting, *" in my school we have two cultures … I don't see any one less than the other … two curriculums … one being focussed on Māori and one being focussed in English"*. Te Reo Māori is the medium of instruction in the bilingual unit however *"i te wā ka puta atu ngā tamariki ki te papa tākaro, kei roto [rātou] i ngā āo e rua … when they go into the playground they are in two worlds.* At times students struggle with the move between Te Āo Māori (the Māori world) and Te Āo Pākehā (the Pākehā

world) however they arrive at school as *bicultural* beings who negotiate their way through the school system as best they can.

5.2.6 I roto i to mātou akomanga
In our classrooms

Nicky's personal experiences give her an understanding of *"what it feels like to live biculturally"*. They have her develop as a person and she wants to *"try and reproduce that for the children in my class, because it was inclusive and it was comfortable and it was safe".* Within her classroom practice Nicky ensures that both Māori and European cultures are recognised, valued and taught. She teaches te reo Māori, promotes tikanga Māori and strives to integrate Māori concepts into her teaching and planning. A good example of this is Matariki, a celebration to announce the beginning of the Māori New Year. Part of any good celebration involves sharing kai. Nicky included heating methods used for hāngi as part of her Science curriculum.

Kuini uses te reo Māori in *"greetings, instructions, praise and as attention grabbers".* When she first began teaching her repertoire of phrases was quite small. As her teaching confidence has grown she has felt more comfortable to experiment and add more words and phrases. Kuini has also made an effort to include tikanga Māori links to some of her inquiry planning. She has incorporated tikanga Māori from the past into a unit about change, studied the art of rāranga (weaving) in their 'art attack' programme and used tītītōrea (stick games) as energisers between activities. Kuini is *"still finding that there are many opportunities I am missing to include tikanga Māori and it is a matter of being aware of these opportunities and having a clear vision of what I want to achieve and what direction my teaching is headed in".*

Rāhera describes the use of te reo Māori in the physical and visual classroom environment of her classroom. This is in the form of a "*welcome sign, greetings, Māori design, signs for objects, days of the week, months of the year".* Tikanga Māori is practised where appropriate – *"karakia before kai – grace before eating"* and waiata Māori (Māori songs) used as himene (hymns)

on certain occasions. Rāhera uses a variety of learning activities and assessment methods, *"hands on, physical, group and peer activities and assessment".* As a teacher Rāhera wants to make Māori experiences and Māori kaupapa (topics) available for students*. "I know it sounds one sided as in not bicultural but you always have a Pākehā side, you always have the English side anyway so it's sort of giving it some sort of balance in your class".*

Where possible **Kelly** tries to have a Māori aspect included in the inquiry/topic of the term. She has found this challenging at times because of insufficient te reo Māori resources and what she feels is lack of support from senior managers and other staff members. Kelly is not a fluent speaker of te reo Māori but makes an honest attempt to use social managerial language in the form of greetings and classroom commands. Kelly scaffolds students through a process that allows them to use their first language to support the learning of te reo Māori. To introduce a group of related words e.g. classroom objects Kelly will use a kupu Māori (Māori word) within an English sentence – *"Come to down to the mat – Come down to the whāriki".* Over a period of time she will introduce the kīanga (phrase)*"Haere mai "Come here".* Students become familiar with the kupu 'whāriki' and the kīanga 'haere mai'. Eventually Kelly will use the whole phrase in context, *"Haere mai ki te whāriki*. If used on a daily basis students retain the learning more easily. Kelly is keen to learn and concludes *"I'm excited about it so it rubs off onto the children because they get excited".*

Kōwhai teaches in a bilingual unit but actually teaches through total immersion so we tended to practice code switching (using more than one language in a conversation). The researcher will introduce Kōwhai with some dialogue we had near the beginning of her individual interview.

"Self: Kei te mahi koe ināianei i roto i tētahi akomanga reorua. So, pēhea te āhua o te tikanga-ā-rua i roto i tō akomanga? (You are teaching in a bilingual unit. So where does biculturalism sit in your classroom?)".

"Kōwhai: Ko te mea tuatahi ko te reo, ko te mea Māori i roto i tēnei akomanga (the most important thing in this classroom is the Māori language)".

Kōwhai goes on to explain that although students often arrive in her class with little or no Māori language *"nā te hiahia o rātou mātua ki te whakaako i roto i te reo Māori anake (parents want their children to be taught in a Māori medium environment".* She continues on the conversation, *"it's supposed to be a reo rūmaki (total immersion) class so the influence of one culture takes over the others".* In a reo rūmaki context, te Āo Māori and te reo Māori are the culture of the class. It is at this stage that the researcher realises a misnomer has occurred. The school, the teaching staff, the students and the wider school community all refer to a bilingual unit where in fact the class is total immersion Māori. Kuini sees her students walk in and out of *biculturalism* on a daily basis. As part of the daily classroom practise students are fully immersed in all aspects of Māori, it is normal. For the rest of the time they live in a world that ascribes normal to the English language and a western way of thinking and being.

5.3 Ko ngā Kaupapa Āwangawanga
The tensions encountered

Teachers in **Nicky's** school *"aren't confident, they don't feel they know enough to be able to effectively teach te reo or have a bicultural environment in their classroom.* In an effort to support staff the teacher employed for teacher release (teachers are released at times to work on curriculum related matters) was well skilled in te reo Māori and tikanga Māori. Teachers were quick to abdicate their responsibility, *"I don't have to teach Māori or anything in relation to Māori because my release teacher does it"*. Nicky insists teachers have had more than their fair share of professional development and support and that *"it's been handed to them on a platter"*. Although the Principal has been instrumental in driving *biculturalism* in her school Nicky has been somewhat disheartened by the attitude and effort of classroom teachers. She is hopeful that the future will bode better for everyone involved.

Kuini has accentuated the fact that her school is a supportive environment open to *biculturalism.* There are however still tensions around the effective delivery of a te reo Māori programme. Like Nicky's school Kuini's staff have issues with confidence. Through observation and experience Kuini knows teachers *"are quite excited about it"* but find *"it's either too hard to pronounce or they don't know what to say"*. Teachers are also worried about causing offence and *"not doing it right".* It in all instances referring to te reo Māori.

The biggest tension for **Rāhera** is *"not telling"* teachers that what they are doing is not enough, especially when this message has been *"reinforced through ERO"* when they visited the school last year. The one step at a time approach to change is time consuming and especially draining if you feel *"you're the only person"* shouldering the bulk of the responsibility. Giving support to a big group of people with so many diverse needs has its drawbacks as well. Those who really lack confidence get lost in the crowd. Trying to change a mindset from "I can't do this" to "Yes we can" is a lot to ask of one person. Rāhera will soon give birth to her first child. She intends to take maternity leave and is not sure when or if she will return to school. The pressing question for Rāhera's school is *"Where to next?"*

Kelly doesn't think the staff at her school see *biculturalism* featuring as a high priority. The planning for mainstream and bilingual are totally separate, teachers from each area must stay in their area, there is no cross pollination of ideas. Kelly would like to see a more collegial approach to school wide planning with teachers from mainstream and bilingual collaborating regularly. This time could be spent informing each other about what's happening in their part of the school. Lastly there is no follow through for te reo Māori. Even though planning was provided for teachers there has been no accountability and no responsibility placed on anyone to deliver.

Lack of relevant professional development has created tension for **Kōwhai.** Getting your head around another curriculum written in another language presents different challenges from mainstream *"there's a whole other world, a whole other reo (language), a lot of books that you've gotta read",* the

workload is tremendous. There is not a pool of resources available to draw from and if you need to have a day off school, relievers are even more difficult to find. Kōwhai highlights the lack of common knowledge between mainstream teachers and those in the bilingual unit. Sharing a literacy monitoring strategy with the mainstream Junior Syndicate was restricted by our lack of common knowledge. This supports Kelly's suggestion for school wide meeting and planning.

5.4 Ko ngā Kaupapa Angitū i Whakanuia

Successes celebrated

It seems successes are either not as prevalent as tensions and challenges or they may be more difficult for teachers to discern. The researcher has recorded the successes in their entirety and will provide comment if the intent of the statement is not clear.

"A school policy is being developed to ensure that all staff learn alongside the children in regards to Te Reo and tikanga … we've got more staff on board than we did at this time last year … kids are becoming more confident … there's a few teachers who will go out in the playground and use te reo Māori " [Nicky].

"The majority of my school is from a Māori ethnicity … we've broken it down and tried to make as simple as we can, I think it's working and everybody is keen to do it … I can use the te reo [Māori] part to hook kids into the curriculum" [Kuini].

"I see more opportunities for teachers now … I have amazing support for Kapa Haka … creating that sense of whānau, that close school community … it was a great opportunity to make children more maybe accepting of Māori culture as part of their identity as well even if they aren't Māori" [Rāhera].

"I do feel I've had an influence on the children … they get so excited as well if they learn something in reo [Māori] or learn something about Māori, they're just hungry for it … I can actually put what I have learnt into practice in a contextual meaning environment" [Kelly].

This year the bilingual unit moved from a space at the back of the school closer to the mainstream classrooms. Kōwhai believes this has produced positive results,

"I think it makes us feel a part of the school even though we quite liked being in a block of our own … we have a papa tākaro (playground) right outside our classroom … the whole physical move has definitely been a positive … even parents are saying it feels good being a part of the rest of the school [Kōwhai].

5.5 Ko ngā Karere o ngā Kaiwhakauru

So were and are the voices saying

Te Whānau Rangahau found it difficult to separate *biculturalism* in their mainstream schools from the implementation of effective te reo Māori and tikanga Māori programmes. It seems the schools that Te Whānau Rangahau work in expect they have a responsibility to deliver these programmes. The issues are around the quality of delivery and the number of interrelated factors that can impact on delivery effectiveness. These factors identified in the conversations and interviews have been captured and listed below under five emerging themes, which were:

'Implementation of *biculturalism* over the entire curriculum'; 'Classroom Teachers'; 'The School Environment'; 'Whānau' and 'Kapa Haka (Māori dance group)'.

Implementation of *biculturalism* over the entire curriculum

Biculturalism is not featured as a high priority in mainstream schools therefore the importance of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori as one of the Learning Areas in the curriculum is questionable.

Classroom Teachers

Teachers lack the confidence to deliver te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in their classroom programmes. The teacher's own feelings of self-efficacy in delivering te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in their classroom programmes

are hampered by the fear of mispronouncing names and words correctly and their general lack of knowledge surrounding tikanga and vocabulary.

The School Environment

The inclusion of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in the school culture and the physical school environment. If these are not visible people Māori students will not see themselves reflected in the culture of the school and *biculturalism* is not promoted as being positive.

Whānau

The relationship between the school community and the local Māori community, ensuring this is focussed on collaboration and engagement rather than just consultation.

Kapa Haka (Māori dance group)

Where a Kapa Haka is established they affirm the language, culture and identity of all students with an emphasis on Māori students in the school.

Listening to the voices has been about gathering individual voices to present collective messages for people engaged in *biculturalism* in mainstream schools. The kairangahau has used Te Whānau Rangahau voice as much as possible to give this small study the authenticity it requires. The next chapter will consider the uniformities, contradictions and implications of these collective messages. Comparison will be informed by, data gathered from research participants, relevant research and current initiatives in mainstream education.

When responding to research questions Te Whānau Rangahau said …

Question 1. What shape / form does biculturalism take in Aotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools today?

Responses

Biculturalism was most visibly present in the classroom in the shape of te reo Māori programmes.

These programmes featured the use of social managerial language (greetings and basic classroom instructions); tikanga Māori practised as an integral part of the classroom and school cultures; and the presence of Kapa Haka.

Bilingual signage was evident in schools although not highly prominent. The use of these te reo Māori words and phrases was practised more regularly in some schools than in others.

Engagement with whānau was seen as important for the development of *biculturalism.* However schools difficult found this difficult to implement. One member of Te Whānau Rangahau reported working alongside the school to encourage more whānau presence through the formation of a whānau reference group. When issues surrounding Māori student teaching and learning arose this group guided Board of Trustee Members in their decision-making.

Question 2. What factors contribute to the successful integration of biculturalism in your classroom programmes?

Responses

A number of factors contribute to the successful integration of *biculturalism* into the classroom programme. Though respondents did not prioritise particular factors, they were able to articulate those they felt were the most important as listed below.

An enthusiastic teacher who is willing to share their expertise and knowledge with other teachers is necessary for the full implementation of *biculturalism* in the classroom programme.

Teachers with the appropriate knowledge and skill base are fundamental to the on-going growth and development of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori as positive forms of *biculturalism.*

For implementation of *biculturalism* to succeed, the whole school, that is, the staff, the board and the community must be involved in providing an environment that is supportive.

For those teachers wanting to integrate te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into their classroom programmes resourcing is often a difficulty due to insufficient funding being made available.

Whatever happens in a particular school needs to be planned by the teacher who wishes to implement *biculturalism*, with all teachers contributing if possible. A concern was that when other teachers are not involved in the planning, they struggle to have a sense of ownership with a resultant disinterest in the programme. When that occurs this may lead to a complete cessation of implementation.

A further concern in the discussion around planning was that sufficient time be put aside for that planning process as the amount of time given was seen to add significantly to the value of the work being done.

Question 3. What are some of the challenges you (as teachers) face when trying to integrate biculturalism into your classroom programmes?

Responses

Participants felt one of the challenges was the huge pressure brought about by a feeling of relative inexperience in the teaching profession to deal with having to shoulder the sole responsibility for delivery, planning and implementation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori.

As the only person with a bilingual teaching degree there was an expectation that the teacher was the fount of all knowledge when it comes to things Māori, sometimes an unrealistic expectation.

There is no compulsion in law for *biculturalism* to be nurtured or practiced. This leads in some schools to some teachers continuing to abdicate their professional responsibility because it is too hard or they feel that if others do not make the effort why should they?

Te Reo Māori and tikanga Māori are not seen as a priority in many Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools.

5.6 Whakarāpopoto

Summary

This chapter gives an insight into the influence childhood recollections, familial experiences, interactions while attending Initial Teacher Education and current classroom practise have had on the notions of *biculturalism* Te Whānau Rangahau hold. Their own personal views about the importance of or

lack importance of *biculturalism* in their classroom teaching have been premised on the collective experiences previously discussed. Te Whānau Rangahau have shared their tensions and successes around encounters with *biculturalism, which* have been both positive and negative. They have also passed on what they believe are key messages concerning te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and *biculturalism* and at the same time provided readers with a rare glimpse into their reality of *biculturalism.* Chapter 6 takes up the key messages, provides recommendations and asks questions of the most influential contributors to *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools.

Wāhanga e ono: Chapter 6

Kei hea tātou ināianei?
Where do we go from here?

6.1 If we are getting the messages right, what does this mean?

Implementation of *biculturalism* over the entire curriculum

Biculturalism is not featured as a high priority in mainstream schools therefore the importance of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in the school curriculum continues to be questionable.

Superseded by English as a de facto official language by virtue of widespread use, Te Reo Māori, the indigenous language of Āotearoa New Zealand, was given official language status in 1987. Classified as a tāonga (treasure) Te Reo Māori is also guaranteed protection under The Treaty of Waitangi (Ministry of Education, 2009).

Despite the introduction of Te Aho Arataki Mārau, the comprehensive teaching and learning guideline for te reo Māori, the National Workshops and the introduction of multi-media support resources, Te Whānau Rangahau articulate a clear message that te reo Māori and tikanga Māori programmes are still battling to find a significant place of importance in their schools' curriculum.

Classroom Teachers

Some teachers lack the confidence to deliver te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in their classroom programmes.

Te Whānau Rangahau understand that changes have taken place since the days of *Māoritanga* and *Taha Māori,* however, many teachers' fear of mispronouncing names and words incorrectly continue to restrict their own personal development. Many efforts have been made to grow teacher capability for delivery of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori programmes

particularly through targeted Professional Learning and Teaching Development. Unfortunately these have been hampered by; unrealistic time restrictions, short notice of delivery, poor access to relief teachers and teacher isolation.

> *In 2005, the Ministry of Education funded four te reo Māori professional development (PD) pilot programmes for mainstream primary school teachers. These pilot programmes were run in different areas of the country by four different providers (Murrow, Hammond, Kalafatelis, Fryer and Edwards, 2006:7).*

There were a number of objectives for this professional development. One of them was to strengthen the participating teachers' proficiency in te reo Māori. When the effectiveness of the professional development was evaluated although it was mainly concluded to have been successful, a small number of issues or developments were raised. Teachers made a range of suggestions for improvement the most common ones being that it was not long enough and there needed to be more than one teacher at the course (Murrow, et al, 2006).

The researcher thinks that the new learning being transferred into classroom programmes would be more viable if teachers had active support within the school. Providers on the other hand suggested having more lead in time. They were notified of their successful delivery bid just days before the school year ended. This put them at a disadvantage with teacher recruitment and school commitment.

Until a more coherent strategy to support teachers in the development and implementation of te reo Māori programmes is put in place, teachers will continue to feel they are disadvantaged.

It is the researcher's belief that Government policies around the implementation of *Māoritanga* in the 1970s (Simon, 1986) and *Taha Māori* (Hirsch, 1990; Smith, 1996) in the 1980s, programmes that aimed to promote and encourage *biculturalism* were flawed. Many of the teachers who delivered these programmes were Pākehā who did not have any knowledge of te reo

Māori or tikanga Māori. Māori felt it was difficult for people who viewed the world through a monocultural lense to be considered as the best conduits for developing and implementing *biculturalism* (Walker in Simon, 1996). How could teachers with their cultural deficit implement a culturally based curriculum?

Therefore the most challenging barrier to delivering te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in classroom programmes is that there are insufficient numbers of teachers who have the requisite knowledge. This problem is still to be addressed.

The School Environment

The inclusion of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in the school culture and the physical school environment.

One of the key competencies *The New Zealand Curriculum* expects teachers to deliver as "capabilities for living and lifelong learning" (Ministry Of Education, 2007:12), is "*Using language, symbols, and texts".* This is about "working with and making meaning in the codes in which knowledge is expressed. Languages and symbols are systems for representing and communicating information, experiences and ideas" (Ministry Of Education, 2007:12).

Delivery of this competency is reinforced by the presence of bilingual signage; whakairo (Māori carving) and kowhaiwhai (Māori patterns used to adorn rafters) in the school environment make *biculturalism* visible in the eyes of all school community members. These are a positive way to affirm the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi principle discussed previously and a visible manifestation of cultural identity and acceptance of this identity as being valid and value. Schools create a tapestry of children's lives woven with the fabric of their language, culture, identity and experiences. In Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools *biculturalism* should be an integral feature of these experiences. Many schools display their commitment to *biculturalism* in this way, some inner city schools going further and celebrating multiculturalism.

"… Schools are complex and dynamic organisations. They reflect and are a microcosm of our society. Nowhere else in society do the different dimensions of culture come together in such a small space" (MacFarlane, Glynn, Cavanagh & Bateman, 2007:69). Te Whānau Rangahau members have been proactive in bringing *biculturalism* into their schools through the introduction of te reo Māori signage, Māori cultural patterns and Māori practices based on whanaungatanga. Whether it be a Kia ora greeting on the classroom door, kowhaiwhai patterns displayed in the office foyer, or the whānau who come and cook at the Kapa Haka wānanga it has been a graduated progression that can only move forward with the total support of all members of the school community. The dimensions of Māori culture in Āotearoa New Zealand schools need to be granted the prominence that partnership presumes.

Whānau

The relationship between the school community and the local Māori community, ensuring this is focussed on **collaboration** and **engagement** rather than just **consultation.**

In order to be able to discuss this finding we need to ascertain the meaning of key words in the statement. All definitions have been retrieved from, http://oxforddictionaries.com 09/12/2011.

> collaborate – to work jointly on an activity or project
>
> engage – establish a meaningful contact or connection with [someone]
>
> consultation – a meeting with an expert, such as a medical doctor, in order to seek advice

Communities are essential to the vitality of schools as though schools as isolated institutions can continue to exist they do so without the benefits of community interest and spirit (Dewey in Education Review Office, 2008a). Historically Pākehā parent and community involvement in schools has been by way of parent teacher associations and parent volunteer schemes (Education Review Office, 2008a). Māori whānau on the other hand who have had "negative educational experiences" (Ministry Of Education, 2000) have

struggled to feel the empowerment of engagement or collaboration in any form.

Better Relationships for Learning: Guidelines for Boards of Trustees and Schools on Engaging with Māori Parents, Whānau and Communities (2000) written by the Ministry of Education was a positive step toward schools being more inclusive of the concerns and interests of Māori parents. This publication encourages a partnership between Māori whānau and schools characterised by "a strong respect and valuing of the identity, language and culture " that values a collective approach and explores many ways for schools to engage with whānau in different contexts (Ministry of Education. 2000:4) that if carried out might be efficacious. However the good intentions of the guidelines continue to be challenged by a "resistance to change" (Ministry of Education, 2000:11) and the fact that they are a guide rather than a directive. Even though the heading of the publication includes the term engagement, it appears to have been written by experts in their field who are giving advice rather than Māori who live the situation.

"Partners in Learning: Schools' Engagement with Parents, Whānau and Communities" and "*Partners in Learning: Good Practice"* (Education Review Office, 2008a,b) have succeeded the above publication with good intentions. How the engagement discussed in these will look like in individual schools will be determined by; better communication, a more inclusive school environment and increased opportunities for parents' involvement in children's learning.

Te Whānau Rangahau found Māori parents generally helpful and willing to engage, especially in their support of Kapa Haka.

Kapa Haka

The establishment of Kapa Haka affirms the language, culture and identity of all students with an emphasis on Māori students in the school.

"Kapa haka (Māori dance group) is a culturally responsive learning activity that provides opportunities for Māori students to engage in their language,

culture and traditional practices" (Hindle, 2002; Kaiwai, 2001 in Whitinui, 2008:1). It has been noted that Kapa Haka "is enormously successful in bringing parents into the school" (Ministry of Education, 2000:19) so a benefit would be that parents from all cultures and backgrounds would be enticed into the school environment.

Kapa Haka also "raises the image of the school in the community" (ibid) and brings Māori culture to the forefront. In many places in Āotearoa New Zealand a number of schools come together at one time to celebrate Māori and Pacific Island culture in the form of music and dance. This appears to work extremely well. An example of this was the 2011 Murihiku Polyfest an event that everyone wanted to be part of where Kapa Haka was an integral part. This allowed all members of the community to engage in Māori song and dance as keen spectators, interested observers or as performers.

All members of Te Whānau Rangahau are involved with Kapa Haka in their schools at some level. They found the support of the parents and other staff members in making costumes, dressing students for performance and cooking meals at noho marae (overnight stay at the marae) invaluable. Another positive was the opportunity that Kapa Haka creates for students, Māori and non-Māori, to participate in promoting *biculturalism* as an extra-curricular activity allows students to experience a Māori way of knowing and being first hand.

6.2 Recommendations for the Ministry of Education to consider.

As is borne out by Te Whānau Rangahau implementation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into classroom programmes in New Zealand is dependent upon full buy and support from the entire school community and sufficient funding and resourcing being made available through the Ministry of Education. As schools are self managing unless specific government directives are given through the Ministry of Education to implement te reo Māori and tikanga Māori schools may elect not to do this. Thus what is needed is a specific focus on effective te reo Māori and tikanga Māori implementation in Āotearoa New

Zealand mainstream schools by the Ministry of Education as a positive form of *biculturalism* that is visible and beneficial to all members of the school community.

This work demonstrates that for full implementation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into classroom programmes in New Zealand there needs to be a greater emphasis on second language teaching and learning, correct pronunciation and Levels 1 and 2 in Te Aho Arataki Marau in Professional Learning and Development provided by the Ministry in order to build the te reo Māori capability of teachers.

Further it has been demonstrated that there ought to be an expectation placed on schools to reflect the commitment to partnership and *biculturalism* in the physical environment of the school, for example by the inclusion of cultural artefacts such as kowhaiwhai patterns, whakairo or mauri stones. Whatever form this takes it must be visible on entering the school from the outset.

An essential ingredient in the implementation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into classroom programmes in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools is that the engagement of whānau must be stated as a responsibility rather than an option. Schools should be required to report against this, and their effectiveness should be reviewed in a three yearly cycle.

Kapa Haka as an agent for promoting *biculturalism* should be part of the school curriculum.

The efforts of the Ministry of Education to move *biculturalism* forward in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools needs to be recognised and acknowledged. At the same time a closer inspection of policy implementation accentuates the need for a more robust approach to be taken into consideration especially if “history has shown that State education never seriously considered genuine *biculturalism*” (Ka’ai, Moorfield, Reilly & Mosley, 2004). Is this still the case today or have things changed as much as we like to believe? The kairangahau would encourage movement on the recommendations but is also mindful of the efforts that have been made to promote and enact the tenets of *biculturalism* particularly in the context of education.

6.3 Recommendations for Initial Teacher Education programmes to consider

If there is an expectation that the implementation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into classroom programmes in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools is essential for *biculturalism* then delivery of initial teacher education lectures should model best practice. This will affirm the place of *biculturalism* and also assure students that te reo Māori and tikanga Māori are relevant to all learning areas of the New Zealand curriculum.

In order to support teachers who have struggled with content knowledge relating to te reo Māori and tikanga Māori and to enable student teachers to meet the Graduating Teacher Standards 1 – 6 a robust teaching programme that values the intent of *biculturalism* needs to be in place.

If te reo Māori and tikanga Māori are vital components of *biculturalism* student teachers on practicum should be required to make a contribution to developing the bicultural environment of their school.

As 'partners in learning' the role of parents is integral to the teaching and learning their children receive therefore parents need to have a real presence in the lives of student teachers as they themselves traverse between the spaces of teaching and learning.

For Kapa Haka to be an agent that promotes *biculturalism* it needs to be visible and integral in the lives of student teachers and lecturers.

Institutions who provide Initial Teacher Education are a key mechanism in the lives of future teachers who will ultimately deliver te reo Māori and tikanga as a positive form of *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools. Therefore these institutions are charged with the responsibility to be on the cusp of change and innovation when it comes to promoting *biculturalism.* Requiring lecturers to model best practice when developing and implementing *biculturalism* will allow students to accept te reo Māori and tikanga Māori as normal and natural parts of daily practice and encourage them to make their own contribution.

6.4 Recommendations for classroom teachers to consider

Te Aho Arataki Marau mō te Ako i Te Reo Māori-Kura Auraki: Curriculum Guidelines for Teaching and Learning Te Reo Māori in English-medium Schools: Years 1-13 is the anchor stone for te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools. If these guidelines hold the content knowledge that will help teachers to be informed contributors to *biculturalism* then it is crucial teachers familiarise themselves with this document.

To ensure teachers are able to meet their professional responsibility to promote *biculturalism* through the implementation of robust te reo Māori and tikanga Māori programmes, Professional Learning and Development planned by schools needs to be targeted to grow capability and develop sustainability.

As revealed by Te Whānau Rangahau there are a number of ways classroom teachers can ensure that *biculturalism* is present in their classroom environment both physically and visually. A simple Māori greeting on the door, kowhaiwhai patterns that tell the students stories about their families incorporated into the classroom plan. More importantly the language displayed on classroom walls needs to come alive in the voices of the students

Bringing parents into your classroom to be 'partners in learning' will create a classroom culture where the lines between home and school will not be so divisive. Whānau will become a part of the class culture if they are comfortable, informed and feel valued.

The benefits of Kapa Haka can be seen in the number of students who participate in cultural festivals around the country. These benefits can be shared with teachers who are willing to take time and contribute in any way they can.

What appears to be acceptable practice in the classroom is generally applicable to society, as we know it. Students look upon their teachers as role models and gauge what is relevant, valid and suitable from what they see,

hear and feel. Classroom teachers have the power to enhance *biculturalism* or disenfranchise the process completely.

6.5 General recommendations

If there is an expectation that English is taught in Māori Medium schools it would be feasible that a requirement to teach Te Reo Māori in English Medium schools would be seen as a positive step toward the promotion and acceptance of *biculturalism* as natural and normal. Classrooms teachers should be required to deliver te reo Māori and tikanga Māori as an integral part of their daily classroom programmes.

Te Whānau Rangahau recognised the place Māori artefacts had in promoting *biculturalism* therefore it would be advantageous if funding were made available for the installation of Māori art forms that will enhance the presence and value of *biculturalism* in schools.

If whānau are to be partners in learning, they need to be partners in the decisions around how this is to be done and a concerted effort must be made to make whānau feel included and valued. Therefore whānau need to be as much a part of the activities related to school curriculum delivery as they are in the support of extra curricular activities that take place in a school

To support the delivery of Kapa Haka as an aide to *biculturalism* schools would benefit by ensuring that all students are provided with opportunities to participate on a weekly basis.

These general recommendations are aspirations for the future of *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools and need to be given serious consideration if those responsible for the education of aspiring biculturalists want to change the status quo for *biculturalism* as it stands today.

6.6 Questions for the Ministry to consider

> As the most prominent, positive forms of *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools, when will te reo Māori and tikanga Māori become accepted as essential elements for classroom programmes?

When will the requirement to fulfil professional responsibility toward the growth and development of *biculturalism* in Āotearoa classrooms, schools, and school communities be met by teachers?

If *biculturalism* manifests itself as a form of partnership, when will Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools, be expected to reflect this in building design and school layout?

Engaging with whānau as partners in learning is at the forefront of the Ministry's messages to schools, so who will make sure that this will happen? If it does not then what?

Why can there not be funding targeted especially for Kapa Haka?

Why do schools have to work so hard for something that brings positive outcomes for Māori and non-Māori in schools?

In the big picture of education *biculturalism* as a policy has tended to be delivered more in the form of tokenistic gestures rather than genuine solid movements. Is this the time for change?

6.7 Questions for Initial Teacher Education providers to think about

How much of your teacher training curriculum focuses on te reo Māori and tikanga Māori as vehicles for promoting *biculturalism?*

When students are out on practicum is there an expectation that associates model *biculturalism* as a positive aspect of their teacher delivery?

Do students have an opportunity to reflect on the school environment they teach in and how *biculturalism* is represented in what they see? Is this important? If so, why? If not, why not?

How is the crucial role of whānau discussed? Do students understand the importance of whānau to students learning?

If Kapa Haka is an important part in your institution as one form of *biculturalism* how do you support this?

Initial Teacher Education providers train all of the teachers who will eventually arrive in the classrooms of Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools. How committed are they to the agenda of *biculturalism?*

6.8 Questions for classroom teachers

If integrating te reo Māori and tikanga Māori into your classroom programme became one of the essential parts of your students' learning how well would you be able to deliver?

As the classroom teacher do you feel empowered to make decisions to support *biculturalism* in your classroom programme?

Are Māori students encouraged to make contributions toward the classroom, and school environment that endorse their identity as valid and valued?

How do you ensure your whānau members feel they can become engaged with you as 'a partner in the learning' of their child?

If given the opportunity, how could you best contribute to the growth and development of Kapa Haka in your school?

6.9 He Whakarāpopoto
Summary

If Te Whānau Rangahau are articulating the correct messages then the recommendations and questions that have been formulated with the future of *biculturalism* in mind need to be **heard** by the Ministry of Education, Initial Teacher Educators and classroom teachers. The recommendations are an effort by the kairangahau to forge a pathway that must be developed if those responsible for education are to realise *biculturalism* in the shape and form that values both Māori and Pākehā cultures. Questions about the future of *biculturalism* are a means and way of stimulating further discussion and debate and keeping the agenda of *biculturalism* at the forefront of the minds of those whom the questions have been asked of. If the partnership Māori and Pākehā entered into with the signing of the Treaty is to be upheld then the reins that have been holding *biculturalism* back need to be relinquished.

Without this relinquishment *biculturalism* will continue to be as illusive in the future as it has been in the past.

6.10 He Otinga
Conclusion

This thesis is about *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools.

Whakatakoto i te tūāpapa positioned the thesis in an Āotearoa New Zealand context reinforcing ongoing discourse surrounding *biculturalism* that characterises the exclusive relationship between Māori and Pākehā and laid the foundation for the research. The central role of the Treaty of Waitangi in emphasizing the equal status of cultures and languages served as a reminder of what did not happen in the ensuing years after the signing in 1840. With the poutokomanawa (ridge posts) positioned to support and sustain further exploration readers are given an insight into the motivation behind the thesis.

The three main questions to guide and inform the research are presented along with research participants Te Whānau Rangahau. Finding a space for *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools in an environment historically hostile toward te reo Māori and tikanga Māori continues to challenge Māori, Pākehā and educators as a collective. Endeavouring to maintain space already claimed by Māori academics for indigenous research frameworks in the field of academic research the kairangahau has located the research within a Kaupapa Māori research methodology framework using the cultural preference ‘kanohi ki te kanohi as the forum for gathering thoughts and ideas.

To conclude Chapter 1 questions around the relevancy and indeed the legitimacy of *biculturalism* and whether any progress has been made needed to be asked.

Ngā Kōrero o Nehe takes the reader back into a time and place where Whare Wānanga, charged with being the keepers of 'esoteric knowledge' and knowledge associated with 'the celestial realm' were revered as elite Māori institutions of teaching and learning. Unfortunately the arrival of Christian missionaries with their own teachings focussed mainly on civilising the natives coupled with colonialism, iron tools and muskets, traditional Māori knowledge slowly eroded and Whare Wānanga lost prominence.

The missionaries led by Samuel Marsden and armed with the 'word of God' insinuated themselves into the lives of Māori who became intent on possessing the gift of literacy. This relationship between Māori and missionaries who had became influential over Māori moral development ultimately led to the demise of Māori solidarity and paved the way for the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Representatives of the British Crown William Hobson and James Busby were instrumental in formulating the Treaty of Waitangi. The support they received from prominent chiefs Heke, Waka Nene and Patuone sealed the fate of Māori and Pākehā when it was signed on February 6th, 1840. Sadly the nature of the Treaty of Waitangi and the haste in which it was written plague the intent of partnership and the notion of *biculturalism* to this day.

Nga Kaupapa Mātauranga o te Kāwanatanga has exposed the reader to deliberate acts of subjugation initiated by subsequent Acts of parliament in order to formalise assimilation in state funded schools and institutions from 1844 to 1930. As each Act or Ordinance was introduced the assimilation process gained momentum leaving the assumed partnership forged with the Treaty of Waitangi and *biculturalism* wallowing on the fringes of society.

Despite the circumstances a change in policy and a move in a new direction in 1931 gave rise to the policy of Cultural Adaptation. D.G. Ball Inspector of Native Schools at the time was concerned because in spite of assimilationist policies Māori retained their own language and traditional social skills. Cultural Adaptation as an educational policy contrived to have indirect control

over Māori normalising European practice and thought in their Māori world. Assimilation continued to prosper but under the guise of Cultural Adaptation.

The failure of Cultural Adaptation and the appearance of a number or reports especially the Hunn Report in 1960 paved the way for integration. The intent to combine elements of Māori and Pākehā culture and promote the interaction of two cultures in effect facilitated more confusion. More importantly the delivery of Māoritanga programmes and Taha Māori had parameters placed around them by Pākehā leading Māori to feel disenfranchised and disillusioned.

The final part of this chapter provided the reader with more in-depth discussion around the nature and nurture of *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand. The transformation of *biculturalism* from less radical to more radical announces the emergence of Māori as political entities in an environment that was once totally dominated by Pākehā. As the face of *biculturalism* begins to appear in The New Zealand Curriculum the reader is led to wonder whether *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools has finally arrived.

Tukangatanga informs the reader about the evolution of a framework premised on Māori conceptualisations that emerged as theory in praxis directly from the lived realities of Māori. Kaupapa Māori is unique to the indigenous Māori people of Āotearoa New Zealand, is grounded in a Māori world view and reinstates Māori ways of knowing and being as valid and legitimate. Kaupapa Māori research methodology provides the reader with an indigenous research method in a field of academia that has been traditionally dominated by western ideology.

Readers become more familiar with Te Whānau Rangahau members as they find real voice through focussed conversations, individual interviews, emails, and letters of introduction and establish a valuable presence in the research.

E whakarongo ana ki ngā reo has described Te Whānau Rangahau understandings of *biculturalism* at different stages of life and added a dimension of lived realities to the body of the research that enhance the validity of key messages they convey. Tensions encountered by Te Whānau Rangahau in their efforts to implement te reo Māori and tikanga in their classroom programmes as a mechanism for *biculturalism* identify underlying issues within their schools that have hampered or hindered a growing acceptance of the duality of *biculturalism.* This chapter concluded with a record of Te Whānau Rangahau responses to the research questions, and although not a definitive list of answers, provided the kairangahau with a platform to make recommendations and ask questions for further consideration around *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools.

Kei hea tātou ināianei has clarified the underlying issues for *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools and delivered recommendations for consideration and questions to promote further discussion for the Ministry of Education, Initial Teacher Educators, classroom teachers and anyone else who is committed to *biculturalism.*

This thesis set out to develop a better understanding around the presence of *biculturalism in* Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools and explore whether the implementation of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in classroom programmes are fundamental mechanisms for inclusion and endorsement of *biculturalism*. A concentration at local level analysed explicit classroom practices that contributed to successful integration of *biculturalism* in schools of research participants collectively referred to as Te Whānau Rangahau.

Te Whānau Rangahau agreed to come together to share their thoughts and experiences around successes and challenges encountered as they worked to ensure te reo Māori and tikanga Māori were included in their daily classroom programmes. It was also agreed that *biculturalism* in the form of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori was present in Te Whānau Rangahau schools in varying degrees. However underlying issues such as lack of confidence and

lack of support frustrated teachers who then convinced themselves that they could not or would not deliver te reo Māori or recognise tikanga Māori in their classroom programmes. The fact that *biculturalism* lacked prominence in the school curriculum added to the frustration Te Whānau Rangahau felt but this is a systemic issue that lies beyond their chain of influence.

The invisibility of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in the physical school environment was viewed by Te Whānau Rangahau as another concern that needed to be addressed. Making kōwhaiwhai and whakairo visible in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools was seen as positive affirmation of *biculturalism* and could be viewed as legitimising the partnership formed with the Treaty of Waitangi.

The presence of Kapa Haka as another positive opportunity to promote *biculturalism* allows students to be part of a cultural experience they can share with all members of their families is recognised as an avenue that is worth exploring further.

If the kairangahau has to decide whether or not *biculturalism* has a presence in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools, according to the research carried out the answer is yes. Is te reo Māori and tikanga Māori part of this presence? Again yes. The problem however … just how big this part is … The kairangahau has recognised that educational policies actioned to promote *biculturalism* have been plagued by the absolute dogged persistence of assimilative tendencies entrenched in systemic practice perpetuated by the 'old guard' of colonialism. Has the old guard grip been loosened? Is there a future for *biculturalism?* If so, where and when? And particularly why?

To move forward in the journey of *biculturalism* in Āotearoa New Zealand mainstream schools, we must look back and ask ourselves; Are we there yet?

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Appendix One

Covering Letter to Proposed Participants

Wednesday 07 October, 2009.

Mere Snowden
24 Morton Street
INVERCARGILL

Dear

He mihi maiaoha, he mihi mahana, he mihi aroha ki a koutou katoa

Ki te taha o toku matua
Ko Hikuroa te maunga
Ko Kāririkura te moana
Ko Māmari te waka
Ko Tūmoana te Tangata
Ko Wainui te marae
Ko Te Rarawa te iwi
Ko Ngāti Moetonga te hapū
He uri ahau nō te whānau Kerehoma

Ki te taha o toku whaea
Ko Tokatoka te maunga
Ko Kaipara te awa
Ko Māhūhū-ki-te-Rangi te waka
Ko Haumaiwārangi te tangata
Ko Otamatea te marae
Ko Ngāti Whātua te iwi
Ko Te Uri o Hau te hapū
He uri ahau nō te whānau Toka

Ko Mere Snowden taku ingoa

As partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Education (Adult Teaching) Degree at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand I am completing a research project and wish to invite you to take part as one of the research participants.

A case study of five women and their professional journey through biculturalism in a teaching context, completed through a series of 'focussed conversations' will be the major tool for gathering data. The key question "What have been the influences shaping your development through your journey?" will drive much of the research. It is proposed that the research study will inform readers of the opportunities and difficulties faced by teachers as they move into mainstream classroom environments to practice an inclusive bicultural approach which 'normalises' the use of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori thus validating the position of mātauranga Māori in the bicultural setting of Āotearoa, New Zealand.

Please see the attached information sheets for detailed information about this project.

A copy of the report will be available on request.

Questions about the research may be directed to my supervisors

Dr Marg Gilling 06 3569099 ext 8851 M.Gilling@massey.ac.nz

Dr James Graham 06 845 9390 ext 80724 J.Graham@massey.ac.nz

Kia tau te mauri

Nā

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named above is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Appendix Two

Information Sheet

Title of Thesis- *"A Case Study of Five Women's Stories and Their Professional Journey through Biculturalism in a Teaching Context".*

1. **What is the aim of the project?**

   The aim of this project is to chronicle the journey of five women and their journey through *biculturalism* in a teaching context and the influences that have shaped their development...

2. **What type of participants are being sought?**

   Participants will be women who completed Initial Teacher Education as part of the Te Pōkai Mātauranga (Bachelor of Teaching in Bilingual Education 2005 – 2008) programme through Dunedin College of Education (now known as University of Otago) Southland Campus and are currently teaching in Southland Primary schools.

3. **What will participants be asked to do?**

   These women will be asked to participate in a variety of activities.

   - You will be invited to write an informal letter to the researcher describing their journey through *biculturalism* from the beginning of their training until the present day.
   - You will be invited as a group to a series of hui. 'Close conversations' or 'focussed conversation interviews' will take place. Conversations will be recorded on audiotape and videotape if it can be arranged. Information from these conversations will be transcribed by the researcher and distributed to research participants. Recurring themes or ideas from these conversations will shape the content for the rest of the hui before the next meeting.
   - You will be asked to keep some sort of reflective diary in any shape or form they find like. A photo montage, a poem, a waiata are some suggestions.

   It is critical this be a collaborative research approach. The research will not be done **on** research participants but rather **with** research participants.

4. **Can the participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?**

   Participants are free to withdraw from the project at anytime.

5. **What data or information will be collected and what use will be made of it?**

   The data collected will be used to inform the researcher in her thesis writing. It is proposed that recurring themes and ideas will be extrapolated **with** research participants rather than **by** the researcher. It is hoped that these stories from five women can be used to illustrate examples of opportunities and difficulties faced by teachers as they move into mainstream classroom environments to practice an inclusive bicultural approach which 'normalises' the use of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori thus validating the position of mātauranga Māori in the bicultural setting of Aotearoa, New Zealand.
   Each participant will be given a pseudo name unless otherwise requested.

6. **What if participants have any questions?**

   The participants are free to ask me any questions at anytime.

7. **Anticipated dates for the hui**

   It is the researcher's intention to contact research participants via email when all consent forms have been received so that dates for hui can be put into place.

My contact details are;

Direct Dial: 03 211 6829
Mobile: 021 241 6829
Home: 03 216 1715
Email: mere.snowden@otago.ac.nz

If you have any further questions about this project please feel free to contact my supervisors;

Dr Marg Gilling 06 3569099 ext 8851 M.Gilling@massey.ac.nz

Dr James Graham 06 845 9390 ext 80724 J.Graham@massey.ac.nz

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Appendix Three

Consent form

Title of Thesis- *"A Case Study of Five Women's Stories and Their Professional Journey through Biculturalism in a Teaching Context".*

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this research project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

3. These projects may involve an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. In the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that a participant feels hesitant or uncomfortable he/she may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.

4. Any audiotaped or videotaped information will be destroyed at the conclusion of this project.

5. I will not experience any discomfort or risk.

6. I will not receive any payment for participating in the project.

7. I will not be named in the project report unless otherwise requested.

I agree to participate in this project

……. (Participant's signature)

…… (Date)

Appendix Four

Ethics Approval

Massey University

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT
TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR
(RESEARCH ETHICS)
Private Bag 11 222
Palmerston North 4442
New Zealand
T 64 6 350 5573
64 6 350 5575
F 64 6 350 5622
humanethics@massey.ac.nz
animalethics@massey.ac.nz
gtc@massey.ac.nz
www.massey.ac.nz

17 June 2009

Mary Snowden
24 Morton Street
INVERCARGILL 9812

Dear Mary

Re: A Case Study of Five Women's Stories and their Professional Journey through Biculturalism in a Teaching Context

Thank you for your Low Risk Notification which was received on 12 June 2009.

Your project has been recorded on the Low Risk Database which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committees.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis that it is safe to proceed without approval by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

Please ensure that the following statement is included in all information provided to participants during recruitment (eg, information sheet, preamble to questionnaire, etc):

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely

Sylvia Rumball

Sylvia V Rumball (Professor)
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and
Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Research Ethics)

cc Dr Marg Gilling
School of Educational Studies
PN900

Prof Howard Lee, HoS
School of Educational Studies
PN900

Mr James Graham
Department of Māori and Multicultural Education
Napier

Prof Huia Jahnke, HoD
Department of Māori and Multicultural Education
PN900

Ms Roseanne MacGillivray
Graduate School of Education
PN900

Appendix Five

Author's Background

I was born in Kaitaia, however like a lot of other Māori whānau my family became part of the urban drift, moving to Auckland to seek a different lifestyle and better opportunities. At this stage there were four children in our family. This would grow in the next six years to become eight, four boys and four girls. Being the third of eight children I never had to shoulder the responsibility my older siblings inherited and I wasn't one of the young kids either. I sort of sat in the middle with a couple of other brothers.

We lived a pretty simple life, Dad worked two, sometimes three jobs at a time to support his growing brood. Mum stayed at home make sure all of our other needs were met. We weren't rich financially (it was literally first up, best dressed) but we had a rich upbringing in many other ways. If we had school trips away, the family benefit and any other spare monies were spent on making sure you had the best of everything. Everybody got their turn at being spoiled so no-one seemed to begrudge anyone else their time in the sun. In the area where we lived there seemed to be a number of Māori families. All of these families had between eight to ten children. We literally all went to school together and the most uncanny thing was that we all came from the far north. Our parents knew all the families and their whakapapa.

The down time when Dad wasn't working was spent at the beach, with the neighbours coming along too. However, a trip to the beach was not a relaxing exercise because you went to the beach to get kai not to sunbathe (not that we needed to subathe). I look back on those times with fond memories of time spent with whānau and friends, lovely packed lunches and swimming all day. The not so fond recollections of four c'clock in the morning risings, being on the beach before the sun rose, scrambling over rocks and walking over hot sand at Bethells beach also add to the tapestry of my experiences .

Te reo Māori was Dad's first language and although it wasn't Mum's both of her parents were fluent reo Māori speakers as well. With all of this knowledge

at our fingertips one would assume that we would also become reo Māori speakers. However the effects of colonisation and the banishment of te reo Māori from their own school life continued to affect their lives and consquently impacted on ours. The messge that te reo Māori was detrimental to achievement in the Pākehā world had become firmly entrenched in the psyche of both my parents. They were determined that our lives would be more fruitful academically than they felt theirs had been. School was seen as the place we would all eventually go to get an education so that we would succeed and English was the medium of success.

At Primary school being Māori was rarely celebrated. Te reo Māori, waiata Māori and tikanga Māori did not seem to exist, if they did I have no recollections of it. If the truth be known Māori children spent most of their time wanting to be Pākehā because they seemed to have it all. The best lunches, the flashest clothes and the most opportunity. Despite all of this at the end of my first day of school I told my Mum that when I grew up I was going to be a teacher.

At home although we lived the quintessential urban Pākehā lifestyle, tikanga Māori was an integral part of our lives. We never actually visited the marae until we were in our teens but we never felt out of place. I asked Mum about this she said it all came down to what was most manageable. It was often easier and more cost effective for her and Dad to travel back to the Far North for whānau functions by themselves rather than to try and organise transport and accomodation for ten people. When we eventually did travel back home we needed a van, kai for everyone, a guitar to keep away the boredom of the nearly five hour trip and a dozen lion red for Dad to drink on the way. Those were the days ...

Intermediate School continued to reinforce the dominant ideology. We all joined the schoool choir and sang our hearts out to get into the chorus of the school production. I remember the main characters Tom, Dick and Harry because two of the boys who got these roles were Māori. It was unusual for Māori to be in anything but the chorus. When I reflect back on this I have to

wonder if they won the roles because they were supposed to be scallywags, underclass, characters you could not trust and Māori seemed to fit that description very well. Teachers were all white middle class females with a smattering of males. I enjoyed school, I enjoyed learning but being Māori definitely made teachers consider me to be different.

At the end of my Form 2 year teachers from the local High School came to take us through the initial enrolment procedure. When I voiced a preference for enrolment in an academic course I was told that I really needed to think about the home economics course because that was probably what I would be more suited for. As it happened I was successful in an application for Queen Victoria Māori Girls' School (Queen Vic) in Parnell so never did get to attend the local High School.

Our Principal at Queen Vic was Miss Alice Berridge. She had high expectations of her students and accepted nothing less than our best efforts. Miss Berridge surrounded herself with teachers who were passionate about teaching and learning, had high expectations and were skilled practitioners in the classroom. The point of difference for us was that our language and culture were also an integral part of the everyday school culture. As with the academic aspects of school her high expectations rubbed off on Kapa Haka tutors, the Sports Co-ordinator, the Music teacher, and anyone else who had anything to with her girls. Alongside this, immaculate standard of dress was required especially if we moved outside the school grounds. This set students up for success if that was what they wanted. Like anything, you can lead a horse to water but that doesn't necessarily mean it will drink. After Queen Vic I applied to North Shore Teachers' College and was successful – my journey into the world of teaching and learning began in 1976.

I trained at North Shore Teachers' College from 1976 to 1978. After being at Queen Vic for the last five years this was a very stressful experience at times. The presence of Māori students was practically invisible and students of other ethnic persuasions did not seem to exist. There were two other Queen Vic girls at college with me and we stuck very closely together (safety in

numbers). In a class of nearly forty students there was often one or if you were lucky two Māori students in the class. Māori studies classes were compulsory for Year 1 and 2 students and became optional for Year 3. Lecturers seemed to think that we were the voice of all Māori and it made us feel very uncomfortable. Mum remembers graduation as a momentous occasion with nearly five hundred graduates. The four Māori graduates had been placed strategically in the middle of the programme. Four out of five hundred is 1.25% - not a very high percentage at all.

After graduation I continued to teach in Primary, Intermediate, Secondary and Kura Kaupapa Māori until 2004. The most vivid memories I have of teaching have been around the children. They have long memories and although they grow and move on they keep an image of you in their heads and surprisingly many years later recognise you and ask if you still play the guitar or still teach Kapa Haka. Not surprisingly with the good memories come the not so happy ones.

In 1983 I was teaching in a school in a fairly affluent area of Auckland. It was just before morning tea, the class had gone to the library and I was sitting at my desk marking books. A mother walks in and asks “Excuse me are you the cleaner?” I look at her and say “Well actually I’m the teacher”. She seems a bit taken aback then asks me if I will put sunscreen on her daughters nose before she goes to play so that it won’t burn. I took the sunscreen and gave it to the child to put on her nose herself. More than ten years later and I am starting at a new school. It is a large intermediate school, a Saturday morning and a very hot day in January. I am moving furniture around and bringing in my resources when a teacher somes through and asks if I am the cleaner. At the time I thought, why is it that everyone thinks I am the cleaner? It can’t have affected me that much because I continued to teacher for another ten years.

In 2005 I became a lecturer in Initial teacher Education and two years later moved into Inservice Teacher Professional Development. During this time I have seen many changes that have affected the teaching fraternity, the

students, whānau and the wider school communities. The term *biculturalism* never entered my consciousness but I was acutely aware of the push for the recognition of Māori knowledge and practices in New Zealand schools.

I was a student in the classroom when Māoritanga was being introduced, however I don't remember any of it. Taha Māori was making its debut at the same time that I was moving into the classroom as a young Māori teacher. Tihe Māuriora first appeared in the 1990s although I have no recollection of attending any professional development around the use of the document. By 2009 I had somehow managed to make my way into the team who delivered professional development around Te Aho Arataki Marau the first Māori language curriculum guidelines for New Zealand schools. This thesis is about my realisations of *biculturalism* and the realities of *biculturalism* in the lives of five teachers who are only just beginning their journey into teaching and the complications and intricacies that will present.

Appendix Six

Glossary

Ahuahu te Mātauranga	Māori name given to the University of Otago, Faculty of Education, Southland Campus.
Ahau	Māori term for 'I' or 'me' equivalent to 'au'
Āhua	give shape or appearance
Ako	to teach or learn
Akomanga	classroom
Anake	only
Āotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand
Āta	building respectful relationships (Teina Pohatu, 2004).
Au	Māori term for 'I' or 'me' equivalent to 'ahau'
Assimilation	an ideology which asserts that a particular cultural view of the world, that of the dominant, is the view of the world which all groups ought to adopt (Cameron, 1985:7).
Haere mai	Come or welcome depending on the context
Haere mai ki te …	Come to … (do something)
Hapu	Term used to describe a 'sub-tribe'
He mihi aroha	with lots of love
Hiahia	Desire...want
Himene	English transliteration of the Māori word for hymn
Hokianga	Area surrounding the Hokinga Harbour in the Far North of New Zealand.
Hone Heke	Ngapuhi chief influential in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.
Hui	**1. (verb)** (-a) to gather, congregate, assemble, meet. **2. (noun)** gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference. (Māori Dictionary, 2011).
Ināianei	now
Iwi	term ascribed to a collection of interrelated families from one geographic region in New Zealand
ka noho	To stay
Kai	**1. (verb)** (-ngia,-nga) to eat, consume, feed (oneself), partake, devour. **2. (noun)** food, meal. (Māori Dictionary, 2011).
Kaiako	One of the Māori terms for teacher. Kai used in this context meaning 'to feed' ako meaning 'teaching of learning'.
Kai Tahu	One of the biggest iwi in the South Island of New Zealand

Kairangahau	Kai used in this context meaning 'to feed' rangahau 'research', researcher
Kaitiaki	care giver
kanohi ki te kanohi	Māori term literally meaning 'face to face' discussion
kapa haka	**noun)** concert party, *haka* group, Māori cultural group, Māori performing group (Māori.org.nz, 2012).
Karakia	prayer
Kaupapa Māori	Māori ideology
Kaumātua	respected Māori male elders in whānau, hapū and iwi.
Kawa	Māori protocols
Kāwanatanga	Transliteration of 'Governorship'
kei raro	beneath
kia māhaki	Be humble
Kīanga	**(noun)** act of speaking, saying, formulaic saying, expression, phrase (Māori Dictionary, 2011).
kia ora	Informal greeting
Koe	You
Korero	talk, dialogue, communicate, speech
Kotahi	one
Kowhaiwhai	Māori designs that adorn the rafters in the meeting house
Kupu	Māori term for word
Mahi	work
mainstream schools	term used in New Zealand to describe state funded schools – connotations of hegemonic thought
Māori	indigenous people of Āotearoa
Māori Culture	Groups singing and performing Māori songs, haka and poi
Māoritanga	Māori culture, practices and beliefs
Matariki	The beginning of the Māori New Year
Mā te Ātua	By the grace of god
Mātua	parents
Māwhero	pink
Mihimihi	speech of greeting, acknowledgement, tribute (Māori Dictionary, 2011).
Moe mai	Sleep well
Mokopuna	Māori term for grandchild
Motokā	transliteration for motor car
Murihiku	The bottom of the South Island
National Standards	In New Zealand National Standards support national expectations of student progress an achievement across all areas of *The New Zealand Curriculum).* They are the descriptions of what students should know and be able to do in reading, writing, an mathematics at different points of their schooling from years 1-8 (http://www.minedu.govt.nz).

Oma	run
Pakeha	New Zealander of European descent (Māori Dictionary, 2011).
papa tākaro	**noun)** sports field, playing field, playground, adventure playground, court (Māori Dictionary, 2011).
Papatuānuku	Earth Mother
Patuone Nene	Ngāti Hao chief and brother of Tamati Waka Nene
Pēhea	how?
Rangahau	Māori term for research
Rangihoua	New Zealand's first mission station established in the northern Bay of Islands by Rev Samuel Marsden.
Rāpeti	rabbit
Rāranga	weave
Rātou	them
Reorua	bilingual
Riu	basin
Roto	in
Rumaki	to immerse
Ruatara	Ngāpuhi chief, friend of Samuel Marsden
Taha Māori	literally the 'Māori dimension'
Tamati Waka Nene	Ngāti Hao chief brother of Patuone
Tāne	Caregiver of trees, plants and insects
tangata whenua	indigenous or first peoples (Sissons, 2005) In Aotearoa New Zealand this is even stronger because it involves coming from and identifying with both the entire natural world and the supernatural world.
Tāonga	treasure, something precious
tāonga tuku iho	treasures handed down by ancestors
Tātou	us (all)
Tauiwi	term used to refer to people not indigenous to Āotearoa New Zealand
Te Ara Reo	Māori language courses established by Te Wānanga o Āotearoa.
Teina	Māori term for younger sibling of the same gender
Tēnei	This
Te Kauae Raro	Literally means lower 'jawbone'. Term used to refer to knowledge in the 'celestial realm'.
Te Kauae Runga	Literally means upper 'jawbone'. Term used to refer to 'esoteric knowledge'.
Te Kete Aronui	The basket of all knowledge pertaining to good – all things humane.
Te Kete Tuatea	The basket or repository of evil – the knowledge of all pernicious things.
Te Kete Tuauri	The basket of ritual – the knowledge of ritual acts and formulae.

Te Marautanga o Āotearoa	The New Zealand curriculum
Te Puni Kōkiri	Ministry of Māori Affairs
te reo Māori	Māori language
Tētahi	A
Te Tīrītī o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
Te Wānanga o Āotearoa	Tertiary education provider committed to 'whanau transformation through education'.
Te Whānau Rangahau	The research family
Tihe Mauri Ora	Syllabus for teaching Māori language
Tikanga	**1. (noun)** correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, plan, practice, convention. **2. (noun)** correct, right. See also kei [a koe] te tikanga, (ko) te/tōna tikanga. **3. (noun)** reason, purpose, motive. (Māori Dictionary, 2011).
tikanga ā rua	biculturalism
tikanga Māori	***tikanga*** can be described as general behaviour guidelines for daily life and interaction in ***Māori*** culture.
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
Tītītōrea	stick games
Tohunga	**(noun)** skilled person, chosen expert, priest - a person chosen by the agent of an *atua* and the tribe as a leader in a particular field because of signs indicating talent for a particular vocation. (http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/). tohunga often functioned as doctors
Tuakana	Māori term for older sibling of the same gender
tuakana-teina	The tuakana-teina relationship, an integral part of traditional Māori society, provides a model for buddy systems. An older or more expert tuakana (brother, sister, or cousin) helps and guides a younger or less expert teina (originally a younger sibling or cousin of the same gender). In a learning environment that recognises the value of ako, the tuakana-teina roles may be reversed at any time (Ministry of Education, 2010). http://deliver.tki.org.nz/static/465.html
Tuatahi	first
Tupuna	ancestors
Wātea	a gap in 'space' or 'time'
Waiata	Māori term used to mean 'sing' or 'song'
Whaikōrero	speech
Whakaako	to teach or instruct
Whakamārama	to explain, clarify
Whakapapa	genealogies

Whakatūpato	forewarn or caution
Whakawātea	clear, make way for
Whakawahanaungatanga	The prefix whaka means to perform 'action', 'to make happen'. Action that will sustain, maintain, and strengthen whanaungatanga (Bradman, et, al., 2004).
Whānau	Traditionally seen as the smallest of the common Māori social structures, the whānau was based on kinship ties, a shared common ancestor, and provided an environment within which certain responsibilities and obligations were maintained (Durie, cited in Moeke – Pickering, 1996). In the discussion on page 94 the term whānau refers to Māori parents and their families.
Whanaunga	A relative by blood, kindred (Ryan, 1995).
Whanaungatanga	This reinforces the commitment that whānau members have to each other but is also a reminder of their wider responsibilities to the wider whānau (Metge, cited in Tuuta, Bradman, Hynds, Higgins & Broughton, 2004).
Whare Wānanga	Traditional Māori institute for higher learning
Whāriki	Māori term for mat