"They didn't care about normal kids like me"

Restructuring a school to fit the kids

"Nga Hau e Wha" by Chey Milne

A thesis submitted as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Educational Administration, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

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2004

Declaration

I declare that this thesis, "They didn't care about normal kids like me" - Restructuring a school to fit the kids, represents my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this University or to any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualification.

Signed: 

Ann Milne

Date: 28.01.04

For the kids ...

For my grandchildren, Chey, Blake, Georgia, Kairangi, Koha, Kaya, Zion, Maioha and Mahina, who keep reminding me how important it is to be Maori everywhere in their lives

&

For the kids at Clover Park Middle School who show us the way to our future

Abstract

Towards the end of 2000 a group of young Maori, formerly students in Clover Park Middle School's bilingual unit up to Year 9 or 10, approached the school to ask if they could return to the Maori learning environment where they felt they had been successful. They reported they had been unable to feel this way again in any of their respective senior secondary school settings. In the process of explaining why he felt he hadn't fitted into his school, one young man said, "They didn't care about normal kids like me." For him, being Maori was "normal" and he didn't see anything in his senior secondary schooling experience that valued his reality. This study aimed to answer five questions that arose from this student's statement:

1. Why *don't* schools fit the kids?
2. How *could* schools fit the kids?
3. How *has Clover Park Middle School made changes* to fit the kids?
4. *Does* Clover Park Middle School fit the kids?
5. How *could other schools* fit the kids?

Clover Park Middle School is situated in Otara, in Manukau City, New Zealand. In 2003, 99% of the school's 325 students were of Maori or Pacific heritage. Originally a traditional Years 7 and 8 intermediate school, Clover Park was granted official middle school status in 1995 allowing the extension to a four year span from Years 7 to 10. Hand in hand with this restructuring has been a transformation of the school's internal organisation and philosophy, initially to respond to demands from Maori parents for bilingual and whanau-based education from 1986 to 1992, and then gaining impetus into whole school change since 1994.

The methodology chosen for this study is within the naturalistic paradigm. Specifically the research design is an intrinsic case study informed by kaupapa Maori and critical race theory. These theories put the issues of race and power at the centre of the research and ask important questions about the control and production of knowledge. Questions such as these are crucial in the story of a school that has tried hard to break away from the status quo and challenge racism in our education system. The purpose of intrinsic case study is to tell the story "as is" because "in all its particularity and ordinariness, the case itself is of interest" Stake (2000, p.437). This was the intention of this research.

A wide range of literature presented in Chapter 2 confirms that the alienation of indigenous and ethnic minority students from mainstream school systems is endemic both in New Zealand and internationally. These communities share a history of disempowerment that is perpetuated by the pervasive white lens through which our education systems structure and view learning.

In order to empower indigenous and ethnic minority students to challenge existing school structures to make learning more relevant and accessible it will be necessary for this lens to

change and for interdependent lenses of equal status to be created. Changing the lens and then restructuring the school to fit this new view has resulted in changes to learning contexts and curriculum approach to provide a culturally relevant learning environment.

Clover Park Middle School's *power lenses* connect students' relationships to themselves, to their cultures, to each other, to their wider whanau, their community, the world and to learning in all of those spheres. The key is whanaungatanga - the interdependence of and *connectedness* to a network that will continue to support them and connect them to their futures. They in turn will maintain that connection and continue to contribute to the whanau network. This is empowerment.

Acknowledgements

This story spans a timeframe of 18 years and many people in the whanau that is Clover Park Middle School have contributed to its development and to finally "writing it down."

My thanks firstly to the Clover Park Middle School Board of Trustees for giving your approval so willingly for access to school archives and documents and for your generous support in terms of time to allow the story to grow. Special thanks to chairperson, Tania Robson, for your personal encouragement and never-wavering belief that I would get it finished.

I acknowledge the contribution made by the many teachers and support staff who have been part of the Clover Park whanau over the last 18 years. To our current teaching staff, Clover Park's "dreamkeepers" - my admiration and appreciation for the outstanding work you do, your expertise and your advocacy for culturally relevant learning. I could not have written this story without your ongoing unconditional support and help. Grateful thanks to deputy principals, Eneli Pakau and Haley Milne who gave me so much time out and allowed me to never feel guilty. A special thank you to Emily Singh and Donna Whaiapu, for whom no request from me to find things was too much trouble and who fiercely guarded my space and time to write.

I have been extremely lucky to have been guided through this research by the experience and knowledge of my supervisors, Dr Mollie Neville-Tisdall and Professor Russell Bishop. My very special thanks Mollie for your insight and wisdom and your encouragement to write this thesis in the first place. You have "been there" throughout my own journey towards the completion of this degree and I would never have envisaged I could do it without your unflagging confidence that of course I could! Your advice Russell has been greatly appreciated and, more than once, you helped me clear my thinking and set me off me in the right direction again. Your expertise in Maori education and making "culture count" has been invaluable to this research.

Two friends have kept me focused and "on track." My heartfelt thanks to Sue McLachlan and Heather Jenkins who have known how to advise, when to help and encourage and when to just listen. Your offers of help and those phone calls always came at just the right time. We did it!

Special thanks must go to my father, Doug Webb, who has given me unqualified support throughout my life and has maintained his keen interest in education and enormous pride in the achievements of his family. The strength to persevere, even when things get difficult, is something I get from you Dad, and from Mum, who would also be proud of this accomplishment.

To my family who have all shared so closely, both personally and professionally, in this Clover Park journey, there aren't enough words to say thank you. My daughters, Keri, Derryn, and Haley and my son, Kane are woven into the fabric of Clover Park Middle School. Your own journeys through schooling opened my eyes and forever changed the lens I looked through. You have motivated, inspired, encouraged and supported me in every way possible and this thesis is dedicated to your amazing children who fill me with confidence that their experiences as Maori learners will be different.

Finally, to the students at Clover Park Middle School, both now and in the past, your warmth, laughter and resilience are always an inspiration. You are this story and this story is yours. You are our present and our future and education has to work much harder for you than it has done in the past. Thank you for keeping me focused on what really matters.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Towards the end of 2000 a group of young Maori, formerly students in Clover Park Middle School's bilingual unit up to Year 9 or 10, approached the school to ask if they could return to the Maori learning environment where they felt they had been successful. They reported they had been unable to feel this way again in any of their respective senior secondary school settings. Some had already dropped out of school, some had dropped out of two schools and others were determined to leave in spite of strong family opposition to this premature end to their education.

One of the students was a young man whose educational pathway had been one of total immersion in Maori from Kohanga Reo through to the end of primary schooling. Gifted in kapa haka and the composition of Maori music and choreography, being Maori was the very essence of his identity. In the process of explaining why he felt he wanted to leave school, this young man said, "They didn't care about normal kids like me." For him, being Maori was "normal" and he didn't see anything in his senior secondary schooling experience that valued his reality. Durie (2001) reinforces his viewpoint:

> Being Maori is a Maori reality. Education should be as much about that reality as it is about literacy and numeracy. In short, being able to live as Maori, imposes some responsibilities upon the education system to contribute towards the realisation of that broad goal.

The reason that this group of students and their parents approached Clover Park Middle School as a solution to the problems they were encountering in their different schools is an indication of the journey that Clover Park has undertaken to make learning more relevant to the cultural backgrounds and experiences of its students. These young people were confident that they would feel at home in the learning environment at Clover Park and they had been empowered through their previous experiences in that environment to challenge the status quo and not settle for less (Neville-Tisdall & Milne, 2002). One student described the school as, "like a magnet to a piece of steel" and another said, "walking into school in the mornings is like walking home" (Neville-Tisdall & Milne, 2002).

This thesis describes the restructuring of Clover Park Middle School, a decile one[1] school in Otara, New Zealand, to provide a culturally relevant learning environment; the catalysts, the processes, the reflection and the realities from the beginnings of change in 1985 through to the school's current situation in 2003.

Research Problem

"They didn't care about normal kids like me."

Schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand have traditionally had a 'one size fits all' mindset, geared towards educating only some children who are white and middle class with university as their destination, and sifting out the rest (Hood, 1998, p.14). Hood argues that the belief that many children can't learn has become firmly embedded in the minds of society and teachers and cites Parnell (1995), "to say that all students must experience a classical education is akin to saying all students should wear a size-ten shoe." (Hood, 1998, p.31)

In fact, "one size fits few" (Ohanian, 1999, cited in Neville-Tisdall and Milne, 2002). In particular schools have failed to fit Maori and Pacific students.

> On average, New Zealand students perform similarly to, or better than, international averages across a range of studies. However, within New Zealand there is a wide spread of achievement, with a much larger proportion of students performing at low levels compared with most other countries with similar performance. The pattern of student achievement differs according to the specific learning area. However, in general terms, New Zealand European and Asian students achieve at higher levels than do Maori and Pasifika students. (Minister of Education, 2002a, p.6)

The New Zealand Herald, 10 September, 2002, summarising the above annual report of the Minister of Education to the House of Representatives, states that despite numerous initiatives, "The paper sets out a litany of underachievement and under-participation by Maori and Pacific students in all parts of the education sector, from preschool to tertiary."

Hood (1998, p.138) believes that not just a paradigm shift, but a 'paradigm leap' is required to close the gap between what schools do and what they should do.

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[1] Schools in New Zealand are ranked in deciles 1 to 10 according to socio-economic status, with decile one being the lowest.

> How can you change a system that is trapped in to a delivery filled day, that can't get its head above water for the kind of reflective thinking and learning required, never mind the actual planning and implementation of change?

The premise of this thesis, and the restructuring process undertaken by Clover Park Middle School is that "schools don't fit the kids." Given that the students at this school were almost all from those groups most marginalised by our current system, how could that situation be changed?

Research Questions

The research problem above has generated the following five research questions that have guided this investigation:

1. Why *don't* schools fit the kids?

What does the current literature suggest with regard to the alienation of indigenous and ethnic minority students from mainstream school systems, both internationally and within Aotearoa /New Zealand?

2. How *could* schools fit the kids?

What does research suggest schools could do to empower indigenous and ethnic minority students to challenge existing school structures to make learning more relevant and accessible?

3. How has Clover Park Middle School *made changes* to fit the kids?

How has one school restructured, both externally and internally, to achieve this goal?

4. *Does* Clover Park Middle School fit the kids?

What evidence suggests that these changes have been effective?

5. How *could other schools* fit the kids?

What implications and issues have arisen from this process that could be relevant for other schools seeking solutions to the same issues?

Research Site

Clover Park Middle School is situated in Otara, in Manukau City, New Zealand. In 2003, 99% of the school's 325 students have Maori or Pacific heritage. Originally a traditional Years 7 and 8 intermediate school, Clover Park was granted official middle school status in 1995 allowing the extension to a four year span from Years 7 to 10. The legislation to allow this specific change had not existed prior to this time and Clover Park then became one of the first three middle schools in the country.

New Zealand's education system experienced a major upheaval in 1989 with the advent of Tomorrow's Schools (Department of Education, 1988), a reform that devolved the responsibility for school governance to individual school communities through community elected Boards of Trustees. These reforms with their market-driven approach created two rival agendas right from the start. While promising partnership and equity from an educational point of view, the model for the government Treasury and business interests, was about competition and choice. The tension between 'parents as partners' and 'parents as customers' (Snook, Collins, Harker, O'Neill & Codd, 1999, pp.3,4) was felt nowhere more keenly than in communities such as Otara which were ill-prepared for such responsibility. The plight of schools in low socio-economic communities was exacerbated by the change of government immediately following the reforms and the introduction of dezoning or open enrolment causing an exodus of students from these areas seeking "better" schooling options.

Otara is a community of some 36,000 people, 84% of whom are Maori (21%) or from the Pacific (63%). Otara is a youthful community with 42% of its residents under 20 years of age. (Manukau City Council Ward Statistics, 2003). In spite of the many issues that families in the area face in terms of education, employment, housing and poverty, Otara is a vibrant and proud community that does not deserve or enjoy the negative scrutiny it often suffers in the media. An example of this close attention is the spotlight the community experienced following a damming 1996 report from the Education Review Office on schooling in Otara and Mangere[2] (Education Review Office, 1996). The effect of the reforms and subsequent school improvement initiatives is further discussed in Chapter 4.

Clover Park Middle School was proactive in 1986 in introducing Maori initiatives in the school and these developed into a four class bilingual unit in 1990. Some of the pedagogy introduced in this unit has informed the further development of culturally relevant practice school-wide since 1994 and included the change to middle school status in 1995.

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[2] Another community in Manukau City with a profile to that of Otara

Mission Statement 1994 - 2001

Clover Park Middle School recognises Maori as tangata whenua and acknowledges the right of other cultures to partnership under the Treaty of Waitangi.

We will provide a school where students, whanau and staff feel safe, and are strong and secure in their own cultural base and language. We will foster an environment where staff and students strive together to reach their full potential in all aspects of their lives.

We believe in:

The achievement of each student's full potential in all aspects of the curriculum and their learning, through a strong sense of their own cultural beliefs, background and identity.

A programme which values each student's cultural base as a strength and utilises its importance to foster learning, and an understanding of and respect for the beliefs and rights of others.

> I well remember the debate in the staffroom in 1994 when I, as the newly appointed Pakeha principal, led the staff discussion to reword our mission statement. Most of us had no difficulty with the philosophy. Clover Park Middle School had been discussing the cultural base of its students, staff and community for some time so this was not a new direction. The issue was, was this statement strong enough? Staff considered suggestions such as, 'acknowledges, honours, respects, the Treaty of Waitangi', and rejected them all. It would be easy to say we 'honour' something, then do nothing more about it. A Maori staff member reminded us that Maori are tangata whenua (people of the land/indigenous people) and the issue at stake was not whether we acknowledged it or not - it was the fact which enabled us all to be there. (Milne, 2002)

The mission statement was revised in 2001 to reflect the new strategic planning requirements of the Ministry of Education, but the opening sentence of the original statement has been retained as the first of the school's nine core beliefs. The level of debate however, is little changed and is typical of the scrutiny that the school's practice has experienced during the process of change.

As we were so rightly reminded in that 1994 discussion, the Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of our nation, and yet that staffroom discussion would not be typical of schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand when they are deciding on their school's direction and charter. So how did Clover Park Middle School come to be different? The story of the journey towards whole school change is told in this study.

Research Issues

The methodology chosen for this study is within the naturalistic paradigm. Specifically the research design is an intrinsic case study informed by kaupapa Maori and critical race theory. These choices are further explained in Chapter 3.

In this type of case study the researcher has an intrinsic interest in the case, the research uncovers what is seen to be the case's own issues, contexts and interpretations, its *thick description* (Geertz, 1973; my emphasis). My intrinsic interest in this case is on multiple levels.

My position, as a Pakeha teacher, closely involved, and in a lead role, in shaping the Maori initiatives at Clover Park means I am inextricably linked with the story. My personal journey to the position of school leader had driven the way I felt that learning might look for Maori children and this process was accelerated, both personally and professionally, for me from the time of my arrival at the Clover Park Intermediate School as a Scale A teacher in 1983.

> Prior to this I had taught in the north of New Zealand, and for two years in Australian schools. All of my New Zealand teaching experience was with the young adolescent age group, and with mainly Maori children. I had grown up in a Maori community and attended a sole teacher rural school where there were very few Pakeha students. Emerging from training and entering into my first teaching positions I had no reason to think I was anything other than an effective teacher. This was an illusion I held right up until my own children, who identify strongly as Maori through their father's heritage, entered the secondary system. This coincided with our move to Manukau and my arrival at Clover Park. (Milne, 2002, p.44)

My oldest daughter entered into her second year of secondary schooling with our arrival in Manukau. Her experiences with the inherent racism of the school's organisation, structure and timetabling, of individual students and teachers, were to be mirrored over the next decade by the experiences of her sisters and brother. My maternal instincts were outraged and all of my professional beliefs were shaken by their experiences.

Against this personal backdrop I was forced to re-examine my own teaching practice in my role at Clover Park. Were many of the methods my own children were finding so damaging present in my classroom? I became determined that, if I could do nothing else, I could ensure I did not personally afflict other Maori children in this way. As I moved to more senior positions in the school, this meant trying to influence wider school practice. As a lecturer at a teachers' training college in 1993 it meant trying to impress young teachers with the need to be aware of this issue and ultimately, my return to Clover Park to the principal's position gave me the opportunity to influence a whole school's direction.

My advocacy for the right of Maori children to an educational environment that values them as Maori and empowers them to be Maori at school is long-standing. My subsequent advocacy for the same right for children from other cultures, specifically Pacific students, developed during my time at Clover Park. This personal philosophy is apparent in this research.

The ethical considerations of my role as principal of the school and the researcher describing the school's process of change are further discussed in Chapter 3. There are multiple perspectives possible in the story of Clover Park's journey towards a culturally relevant school. This study is my perspective of that story.

Thesis Outline

Chapter One: Introduction

Schools *don't* fit the kids: "They didn't care about normal kids like me"

This chapter has introduced the research problem and provided an overview of the research questions, focus, site and issues presented by the research design and position of the researcher. An outline of each subsequent chapter follows.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Why *don't* schools fit the kids? How *could* schools fit the kids?

The review of the literature is divided into three sections. Both national and international literature is studied within each of the three sections. The first section explores the research problem, the alienation of indigenous and ethnic minority students from school. The second section examines some of the suggestions in the literature for solutions that could change the educational experiences of these students. The third section looks more specifically at individual schools or approaches that are making schools more relevant to their students and communities.

Chapter Three: Methodology

The specific methodology used in this research is described in this chapter. In particular the need to underpin the research with Kaupapa Maori and critical race theory that both name race and power as issues central to the research, is discussed as is the need for research at Clover Park Middle School to be culturally located. My own positioning and the ethical considerations of that position are explained.

Chapter Four: Clover Park Middle School: The Journey

How *does Clover Park Middle School* fit the kids?

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section describes the community of Otara and educational provision in the community overall. It includes the opening of Clover Park Intermediate School and its first two years of operation. The second section spans from 1983 to 1992 with a specific focus on the development of the Maori bilingual unit, Te Whanau o Tupuranga and the reflection during this period that was later to inform wider school change. The third section encompasses the change of leadership in 1994 through a period of crisis and change and extends to the present day. Finally a snapshot of the school's current practice is provided in the fourth section of this chapter.

Chapter Five: Evidence of Effectiveness

***Does* Clover Park Middle School fit the kids?**

This chapter builds on information in Chapter 4 and examines the main themes emerging from the story of the school's journey and practice and validates the information presented. Data from four sources are used, two of which are independent or generated externally from the school. This includes material from Education Review Office reports as well as a range of independent research conducted within the school. This chapter draws extensively on comment from this material as well as on the voices of Clover Park students, staff and community to enable their voices to be heard.

Taken together, Chapters 4 and 5 present the story of Clover Park Middle School's restructuring, from the perspective of personal narrative (Chapter 4) and through the comment of other participants in the journey (Chapter 5).

Chapter Six: A Shorter Journey

How *could other schools* fit the kids?

Chapter 6 draws the threads of the story together in a more condensed time frame and draws important conclusions. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section describes the new challenge from Clover Park's Maori community and provides evidence of learning outcomes for the small group of Maori students who have asked to return to the school. The story of this small class is presented as a summary of Clover Park's work to change the lenses through which we view learning and the impact of this new view on the students in this senior class is explored. In the final section of this chapter implications arising from this study and possible future research directions are suggested.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter explores both the international and New Zealand literature with regard to the educational realities for indigenous and ethnic minority students. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section explores the research problem, the evidence of and reasons for the alienation of these students from our schools. The second presents some of the solutions and discusses areas for change that could ameliorate the situation for marginalised students. The third section discusses specific schools or approaches that are exploring different methodologies to make them more relevant to their students and communities. Combined, the literature in these three sections provides the conceptual framework for this research and has underpinned the restructuring of Clover Park Middle School.

Why *don't* schools fit the kids?

Most of us fit the experience of schooling into a framework and structure we can recognise, a mental picture from our own school days Yet there is nothing natural or "given" about the way schools are organised. "Schools are the historical product of particular groups with particular interests and values at particular times. They are, in other words, political in origin. Schools were designed for a world that no longer exists, the workplace and economy of yesteryear " (Tyack and Tobin, 1994, cited in Hood, 1998, p.3). It's not surprising then that schools have been a particularly uncomfortable fit for those students who do not share the same interests, values and beliefs as the dominant culture.

Tyack and Tobin (1994, cited in Reid, 2003 p.2) call the familiar and dominant characteristics of schools a "grammar of schooling." Just as the grammar of language frames how we can speak, so certain structures and processes frame the ways that we educate. Each of these grammars is deeply ingrained in our experiences. They have become the taken for granted way we do things in schools and are slow to change.

Reid (2003, p.5) however, describes the challenges dominant institutions and practices, such as schooling, face today as the boundaries between the local, national and global blur; and as

diversity displaces homogeneity. Globalisation, increasing diversity, and changes in information and communication technologies have all brought pressure to bear on the grammars of schooling.

Colonisation and Assimilation

In June of 1744, the commissioners of Maryland and Virginia in the United States of America sought to entice the Six Nations of Iroquois into a Treaty by offering to educate a number of Indian boys at William and Mary College. The next day, Canasatego, a leader speaking for the Iroquois, declined the offer:

> We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges and that the Maintenance of our young Men while with you would be very expensive to you. We are convinced therefore that you mean to do us Good by your Proposal; and we thank you heartily. But you who are so wise must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things and you will, therefore, not take it amiss if our Ideas of this kind of Education happen not to be the same as yours. We have had some Experience of it. (Armstrong, 1971, cited in Clark, 1999)

Clearly the idea that education must be responsive to cultural diversity and cultural priorities is not new. For many centuries the peoples of the world, geographically separated, developed their own unique cultural identities. For indigenous peoples the first major threats to their cultural beliefs came in the form of colonisation. Boutros-Ghali (1995), former Secretary General of the United Nations comments, "In the colonial era, culture was used as a tool of oppression and fragmentation. Colonized cultures were suppressed, disparaged, and some were shattered."

From the late nineteenth century the practice of assimilation was widespread. In America the goal of Indian education from the 1880s through the 1920s was to assimilate Indian people by placing them in institutions where traditional ways could be replaced by those sanctioned by the government. Federal Indian policy called for the removal of children from their families and in many cases enrolment in a government run boarding school. The goal of these schools was to immerse young people in the values and practical knowledge of the dominant American society while also being keeping them, "away from any influences imparted by their traditionally-minded relatives" (Marr, 1998).

In 1857, on behalf of the Canadian Colonies, the British House of Commons passed a law called, "An Act for Gradual Civilization." That law was the first of many seeking to encourage First Nation's People to relinquish their land, language, culture and existing rights in exchange for full British citizenship. The law basically said that if an Indian man learned to read and

signed a pledge to *"live as a white,"* he was allowed to vote, own property, and serve on juries (Materie, 2003, emphasis in original).

Over the next hundred years the Indian Act was amended a number of times but each time was aimed at a more efficient means of assimilating First Nations into white society. An example was the banning of the "Sun Dance," an important ritual among the Lakota and other Plains aboriginal cultures. During the same period, still with an eye to forced assimilation, the Act authorised the forced removal of children to Residential Schools and any Indian who obtained a university education or ordination was stripped of his rights under the Act.

In Australia assimilation meant that under the "White Australia Policy," Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islands' people were forbidden to speak their own languages and to practise their own culture. The White authorities frequently did not consider Aboriginal families capable of parenting their own children (Edmund Rice Centre for Justice and Community Education, 2000). A 1998 report by the Australian Bureau of Statistics directly links the removal of Indigenous children to the Australian national goal of cultural assimilation. The report describes the removal of large numbers of Indigenous children from their families to, "advance the cause of assimilation." The children were placed in institutions or foster homes, or adopted into non-Indigenous families; sometimes a progression of several of these. This practice declined in the 1970s following the establishment of legal representation for Indigenous children and their families in removal applications. However, it was not until the 1980s that the practice of removal and placement was finally reappraised.

In New Zealand the Native Trust Ordinance 1844 aimed to civilise the Maori through a programme of assimilation. Under the guise of protection for Maori it was stated that the objective of this legislation, "may best be obtained by assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the Native to those of the European population" (New Zealand Statutes [NZS], 1841-1853, p.140, cited in Simon, 1998).

The first attempts by the Crown to implement a policy of assimilation were the mission schools, established in 1847. The discourses on 'race' and social class at the time are apparent in the recommendation of a school inspector, recorded in 1862:

> I do not advocate for the Natives under present circumstances a refined education or high mental culture; it would be inconsistent if we take account of the position they are likely to hold for many years to come in the social scale, and inappropriate if we remember that they are better calculated by nature to get their living by manual than by mental labour. (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives [AJHR], 1862, E-4, p.38, cited in Simon, 1998)

After the Land Wars in the 1860s, with these mission schools virtually deserted by Maori, the settler government sought a more effective vehicle for its assimilation policy and, in 1867, the Native Schools system was established.

The primary goal of the Native Schools, enshrined in the Native Schools Code, 1880, was assimilation (Simon 1998). These schools were specifically planned to exist only until the full "Europeanization" of Maori was achieved, the measure of that Europeanization being fluency in English (AJHR, 1880, H-1F, pp.1-7). English was to be the only medium of instruction and, from the beginning of the 1900s, strong sanctions were imposed against the use of the Maori language in the schools.

Pakeha and Maori perspectives on the processes of colonisation, assimilation and integration are markedly different. Shuker (1987), describing the official policy of schooling for assimilation, concludes that Maori disadvantage can be explained by Maori being mainly working class and, due to a Pakeha cultural hegemony, ethnic disadvantages compounded their position in the labour-force. Shuker describes the shift from the policy of assimilation to the policy of integration, the combining of two pre-existing cultures to produce a new culture, but quotes Harker (1980, p.10) that, "as any minority group member can attest, in an unbalanced power situation (as exists in New Zealand) it is the Maori that do all the adapting."

Openshaw, Lee and Lee (1983, p.21) state, "Whether we like it or not, several generations of commentary on pre-European education have been unavoidably based upon the early research of a small group of nineteenth century European scholars and ethnographers." Describing the achievements of this group as remarkable in many ways, they also warn of the dangers in uncritically accepting their findings due to the fact that they restricted their research to specific regions and because the "scholar-informant relationship tended to reflect emerging realities of power and authority between Maori and European" (Openshaw, Lee and Lee (1983, p.21).

These same researchers however, according to King (1994), "grossly misrepresented the complexities of Maori history in order to present a simple, commodified history suitable for consumption within the compartmentalised education system developed by and for the majority culture" (cited in Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p.17).

A Maori perspective is strongly articulated by Linda Smith (1999, p.1) who rejects scientific research as being "implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism." She states, "The nexus between cultural ways of knowing, scientific discoveries, economic impulses, and imperial power enabled the West to make ideological claims to having a superior civilisation." She

believes the major agency for 'imposing this positional superiority over knowledge, language and culture was colonial education" (1999, p.64). The common thread running through these different perspectives is the issue of power and the ideology of cultural superiority.

This is evident in the report of Butcher (1932) on the 'Maori Schools', which gives unstinted credit to the Education Department for successfully bridging the gulf between the Maoridom of fifty years ago and that of today (1932, p.91). The report, acknowledges that Maori are equally educable as Pakeha but discusses the need for the dominance of English to solve the "language problem" and the need for manual and industrial training for Maori pupils.

From 1931 the New Zealand Native Schools adopted a policy of adaptation aimed to bridge the Maori and European cultures but with the view to eventual assimilation within the latter (Simon 1998). This policy developed largely from a perceived need to find new strategies to fulfil assimilation goals that were not working. The idea was to include aspects of Maori "cultural handwork," selected by Pakeha school inspectors, into the curriculum as a phase in the transition to Western ways. By getting prominent Maori leaders to support this direction, potential conflict against the government's adaptationist policy was contained.

The need for adaptation is explained by Douglas Ball (1940), Inspector of Native Schools from 1931 until 1950, who was to significantly influence the direction of the schools during this period:

> The school inasmuch as it ignored the principle of adaptation and realities of Maori thought and custom, became to that extent divorced from the latter and artificial in its application. The child, on leaving school, dropped back into Maori modes of living, met, face to face, Maori 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. (cited in Simon, 1998, p.278)

Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) trace the development of Maori education through the missionary period with its purpose of spreading Christianity, to the demise of the government's official policy of assimilation which was the position from 1844 to 1960. From the 1940s the school situation was transformed both by the rapid growth of the Maori population and the steady migration of many Maoris into urban areas (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974, p.6). Although questions were being raised about cultural identity and the type of education most suitable for Maori, Barrington and Beaglehole saw some potential for benefit for Maori in the system at the time.

Again, this period, viewed through the lens of Maori writers, is given a different slant. Walker (1995) labels the poor English language results of Maori pupils in the Native Schools as

"victim blaming" and cites Freire's contention that for "cultural invasion to succeed those invaded must be convinced of their intrinsic inferiority" (Freire, 1970, cited in Walker, 1985, p.73).

In 1948 the United Nations proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, providing, in Article 22:

> Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality. (General Assembly of the United Nations, 1948)

"Thus the Charter and the Universal Declaration establish culture as a fundamental human right" (Boutros-Ghali, 1995). However the declaration has done little to right the effects of colonisation, assimilation, adaptation, integration and ongoing practices that continue to marginalise indigenous and minority students in our present education systems. May (1999) discusses the effects of this process in terms of education:

> Not surprisingly, education – as a key institution of the (colonising) nation-state – has played a central part historically in the subjugation of indigenous languages and cultures, and the related assimilation of indigenous peoples into the dominant or "common" language and culture of the nation-state.
> ... Closely allied to this assimilative, often coercive, educational process directed at indigenous peoples has been a long-standing disparity between the educational success of indigenous and non-indigenous students. (p.1)

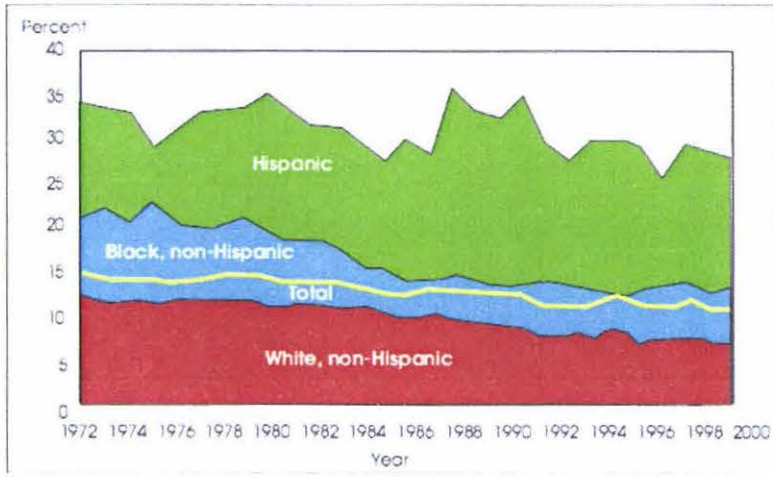
Disparity, Alienation and Marginalisation

The Realities

Educational disparities are ubiquitous. Alienation from school is one such indicator of non-engagement in education. Alienation can be seen in lower outcomes for ethnic minority and indigenous students than for students of the majority culture. This pattern for marginalised groups in the United States of America, Canada and Australia show a strong similarity to the situation for Maori students in New Zealand. Internationally students from indigenous and minority ethnic groups leave school earlier, gain fewer qualifications and are considered "at-risk" in their school systems.

In the United States of America minority groups disadvantaged educationally include Native American, African American and Hispanic students. Over the past three decades, the dropout rates for White young adults have persisted at levels that are lower than the rates observed for either Black or Hispanic young adults. Since 1990, the gap has remained fairly constant (Figure 2.1, Kaufman, Alt, and Chapman, 2000).

Figure 2.1: United States of America Dropout rates of 16 - 24 year-olds by ethnicity: 1972 to 2000. (after Kaufman, Alt, and Chapman, 2000)



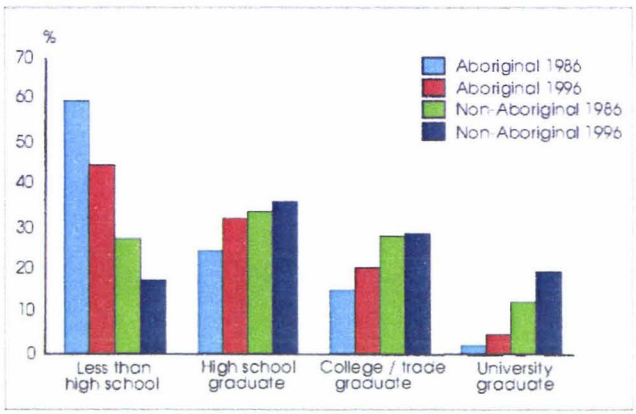
In Canada the definitions of marginalised groups are complex. Canadian official statistics collectively call these groups, "Aboriginal." The Assembly of First Nations, funded by the government of Canada to represent First Nations peoples in Canada, clarifies the terminology as follows:

> The terms "Aboriginal", "Native" and "Indigenous" are used as general terms to collectively describe three distinct cultural groups known as the "Inuit", the "Métis" and "First Nations."
> ... Within the group known as "First Nations" or "Indians," there are 633 First Nations bands, representing 52 nations or cultural groups and more than 50 languages. Each nation has its own spirituality, traditional political structure, and history. As a general rule, most individuals prefer to be referred to by the specific nation to which they belong (Blackfoot, Cree, Dene, etc.). (Assembly of First Nations, 2002)

In 1996 40% of Aboriginal youth aged eighteen to twenty were early school-leavers compared to 16% of the total eighteen to twenty year old population. Wotherspoon and Schissel (1998) state that, "Conventional education indicators highlight pronounced disadvantages experienced by Aboriginal people relative to the general population." In addition to the dropout rate, 53% of Aboriginal people have less than high school education, compared with 23% of the comparable population (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Canada: Highest Level of Attainment by Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal populations, 1986 and 1996.

(after Statistics Canada 1999)

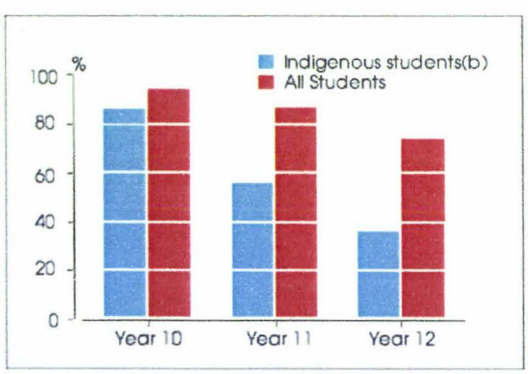


In Australia, Indigenous people are Aborigine or Torres Strait Islanders. There were 115,500 Indigenous students enrolled in Australian schools in 2001 - 78,900 in primary schools and 36,500 in secondary schools. Thirty percent of all students in Australia attend private non-government schools. Only 12% of Indigenous students attend these schools (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002).

One focus of Indigenous education programmes in Australia has been to encourage students to remain at school as long as possible so that educational outcomes and entry rates into tertiary education are improved. While apparent retention rates for Indigenous full-time students have improved since the 1980s, Indigenous students were still less likely than all students in 2001 to stay at school beyond the compulsory years. In 2001 (Figure 2.3), the proportion of Indigenous students continuing to Year 10 was 86%, compared with 94% of all students. For Indigenous students continuing their studies to Year 12, the retention rate was half that of all students (36% compared with 73%).

Figure 2.3: Australia: Retention Rates for Years 10, 11 and 12. 2001

(after Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002)

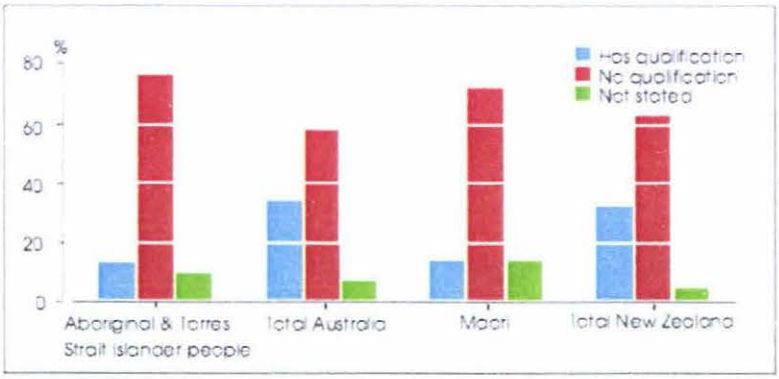


Note: Indigenous retention rates are influenced by the degree to which students identify as Indigenous, which may have increased between 1998 and 2000.

A comparison between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia, and Maori in New Zealand, is made by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (Figure 2.4), showing similar outcomes.

Figure 2.4: Qualifications for Indigenous peoples aged 15 years and over - Australia and New Zealand, 1996

(after Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002)



In Britain however, the outcomes for students from minority ethnic groups are not so clear. Achievement data by ethnicity were not analysed nationally until 2001 (Office for Standards in Education, 1999). Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Black Caribbean and Black African students are those seen as underachieving, with Gypsy Traveller students most at risk. For all of these groups of students the situation gets worse at secondary level with Black Caribbean students, still over four times more likely to be excluded from school than all other pupils nationally (Office for Standards in Education, 2002). Conversely, Indian and other Asian (including Chinese) pupils do very well, outperforming white pupils (Pathak, 2000, p.4).

In New Zealand 96.7% of all Maori students are educated in mainstream schools (Table 2.1),

Table 2.1: Maori involvement in education, July 2000

(Ministry of Education, 2000c)

Percentage of all students enrolled at a school in New Zealand who are Maori	20.1
Percentage of these students who were involved in Maori medium education[3] in mainstream schools	18.0
Percentage of these students who were involved in Kura Kaupapa Maori	3.3

[3] defined as using Maori as the medium for instruction for more than 12% of the time - a minimum of three hours per week.

Although Maori make up only 20.1% of all the students in New Zealand schools, the following statistics (Tables 2.2 and 2.3) show the disproportionate number of Maori students for whom the system is not working. Over a third of all Maori students leave secondary school with no qualifications and both Maori and Pacific students lag significantly behind at each level of the secondary school qualifications framework, with Maori the most disadvantaged (Table 2.3).

Table 2.2: Proportion of 2001 School Leavers by Highest Attainment and Ethnicity
(Ministry of Education, 2001b)

	Maori	Pacific	Asian	European/Pakeha	All Students
University Bursary	4.0	4.7	42.2	21.2	18.4
Entrance Qualification	3.4	5.1	11.3	8.7	7.6
Higher School Certificate	8.4	14.3	11.8	11.1	10.9
Sixth Form Certificate*	24.8	30.6	19.4	27.5	26.7
School Certificate**	25.9	20.6	7.3	19.0	19.4
No Qualification***	33.4	24.8	8.0	12.4	17.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Sixth Form Certificate in one or more subjects irrespective of grade awarded or 12 or more credits at National Certificate Level 2
** School Certificate in one or more subjects irrespective of grade awarded or 12 or more credits at National Certificate Level 1
*** includes those with less than 12 credits at Level 1

The Ministry of Education's Annual Report 2002/2003 reports that statistics collected since July 1999 indicate that Maori are consistently stood down, suspended or excluded from school at a higher rate than non-Maori (Table 2.2). During 2002, as in previous years, Maori students were predominantly stood down or suspended for drug and substance abuse, continual disobedience, and physical assault on other students.

Table 2.3: Alienation of Maori students 1999/2000
(Ministry of Education, 2002c)

2002	
Students enrolled at a school in New Zealand who are Maori	20.1%
Maori as a percentage of ALL students	
Stand downs	41%
Suspensions	47%
Exclusions	45%

The Reasons

The international statistics show a common pattern of the marginalisation and alienation from schooling of indigenous and ethnic minority students. For these students conventional educational practices act as a "critical filter," that blocks hope and self-esteem (Hampton, 1995), and student frustration and alienation increase when, "schooling imposes criteria oriented to success in white society, without regard to Aboriginal people's cultural and community traditions" (Wotherspoon and Schissel, 1998, p.3).

Although the governments in all of the countries above have stated commitment to educational equality over a long period of time in most cases the fundamental reality for these students has changed very little. Beetson (1997) makes a key point that has been largely ignored in this debate:

> There is a most important lesson about indigenous education to be learnt from this. Indigenous education has to mean something different from education FOR indigenous peoples.
>
> If our education is conceived as simply something we can get from the non-indigenous mainstream system, by increasing our "access" and "participation", then education will remain what it has been for us for over 200 years, a continuation of our colonisation (Beetson, 1997).

To date, most interventions and initiatives, "focus on norms set by the majority", which, "retain the focus of policy solutions within Eurocentric views and philosophies", and continue down the cul-de-sac of deficit theorising" (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p.69). Durie (2001) also articulates this view:

> What is the benchmark against which Maori should gauge progress? The tendency has been to compare Maori with non-Maori but that approach presupposes Maori are aiming to be as good as Pakeha - when they might well aspire to be better, or different, or even markedly superior.
>
> ... Disparities are totally unacceptable in a modern society and inequalities between Maori and Pakeha should not be tolerated. But it is misleading to use crude comparisons with non-Maori as a type of shorthand for best outcomes or to assume that Maori - non Maori comparisons always provide useful information about Maori progress.

An example of this Eurocentric and deficit thinking can be found in the 2001 Discussion Paper, "Maori Education: some suggestions from the research literature" (Ministry of Education, 2001, p.3), which begins with the statement, "There is evidence in the literature that increasing numbers of Maori students are doing very well in education." It acknowledges that statistical measures paint a different picture, but aims to "learn from positive initiatives in Maori education which occur in different schools and communities." The report, prepared

originally as background information for the Hui Taumata Matauranga: Maori Education Summit, held in Taupo in February 2001, draws from a small number of research studies and the writers admit that, "There are undoubtedly many other studies whose findings would have added considerably to this review."

Having acknowledged these shortcomings and identified significant gaps in the research available, the Ministry of Education researchers then go on to place Maori education in a positive light. The major conclusion of this review is, "the need for strong partnerships between schools, students, parents, whanau and communities", and what this means is described in more detail. Schools' responsibilities are seen as ensuring parents are:

- well informed about what is happening at school and why
- clear about what their role should be in relation to their children's education
- made to feel welcome
- given support and the 'opportunity to gain new knowledge and skills'

Parents are charged to "demonstrate they believe in the value of education by":

- actively supporting their children's education (e.g. by encouraging effort)
- taking part in the decision-making processes at their children's early childhood centres, schools and kura.

A further sixteen suggestions from the literature as to how parents can support their children's education are listed (p.28). These are all about what parents can do for the school.

The onus on Maori parents and families to improve conditions for their children is also evident in a major report on Maori participation in education, commissioned by the Ministry of Education in 1997. The report by Chapple, Jeffries and Walker (1997, p.xi), places "conservatively" two-thirds of the blame for non-participation on socio-economic status, leaving the remaining third explained by peer pressure and the influence of the school system. Bishop and Glynn (1999) express reservations about the report for the Ministry of Education by Chapple, Jeffries and Walker (1997) which is quoted significantly in the preparation of the 2001 discussion paper above, "We would suggest that Chapple et al. should also acknowledge and address researcher bias in quantitative studies" (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p.69).

A major barrier to the achievement of improved learning outcomes for Maori is the fact that similar reports and Ministry of Education initiated research drive policy-making and resourcing. Bishop and Glynn (1977, p.73) put this concern very clearly:

> Where the dominant policy-makers continue to address the challenge of cultural diversity from a monocultural position, they will fail to understand let alone address the aspirations of all groups. Further, the structural change

> they advocate will continue to be on their terms and will remain irrelevant to Maori people because its focus will, as always, be on the need for Maori to change.

Similarly, Hunkin-Tuiletufuga (2001), challenges New Zealand's education system to acknowledge that its efforts for the last thirty years in educating Pacific people in New Zealand have been based on models that are culturally and linguistically inappropriate and unsuitable. He cites the "serious mismatch between the cultural capital of home and that of the school [as] one of the principle reasons for the high failure rate of Pacific children in the classrooms of New Zealand schools."

Ogbu, (1992) identifies distinguishing beliefs and practices that, "affect the cultural knowledge, attitudes and behaviours that minority parents employ in preparing their children for school," to explain these disparities in educational outcomes for different minority groups. Ogbu describes forces from within communities themselves that interact differently with societal and school factors to produce different educational results. While all minority groups face certain similar barriers in school, some minorities are more able than others to adjust socially and do well academically in school. The major factor in these outcomes appears to be, "the groups' histories and self-perceptions *vis-à-vis* the dominant group" Ogbu, (1992, p.290). Ogbu's work classifies minority groups into three categories:

a. Autonomous
   Minority groups that may be culturally or linguistically distinct, but not subordinated politically, socially or economically.

b. Immigrant or voluntary
   People who have moved more or less voluntarily because they believe they will be economically or politically better off and have better opportunities overall and bring positive expectations with them.

c. Non-immigrant or Involuntary
   Groups that are part of the dominant society because of colonisation, conquest or slavery rather than by choice. They usually have no other 'homeland' to return to.

Voluntary minorities, in order to achieve their immigrant goals, make concerted efforts to overcome the cultural and language barriers they experience in school and mainstream society, often outperforming students from the dominant culture.

Involuntary minorities, which include indigenous cultures such as Maori, are sceptical that they can get ahead merely through mainstream beliefs and strategies. Through their

experiences of institutionalised discrimination they believe hard work and education will not necessarily change their position. They distrust the dominant group and those with power, and see their group's language and cultural differences as symbols of identity to be maintained. According to Ogbu, involuntary minorities are the groups that are likely to demand or need culturally compatible curriculum, teaching and learning styles, communication style and interactional style, rather than accept the school counterparts.

Marks (2003), traces a parallel attitude towards higher education since the 1950s for working-class boys in the United Kingdom. He identifies three stages:

1. Rejection on the grounds of a deference to the higher class, with deferentialism as part of class-culture itself (Hoggart, 1957).
2. Rejection on the grounds of an implied irrelevance to one's future as a working class male (Willis, 1977; Corrigan, 1979).
3. Rejection on the ground of economic and cultural nihilism—since education cannot guarantee a career, then what is the point of it?

Scottish comedian, Billy Connolly (2001)[4], describes this acceptance of one's place and rejection of education more succinctly:

> When they keep telling you you're stupid you think 'well, I must be stupid,' and it kind of saves you. You don't say, 'well, there must be something wrong with my brain,' because no-one's going to help you with it. Because you're working class you're not going to be whipped along to have your brain looked at. So you accept it, and in accepting there's a great jollyness.

May, (1994) discusses thirty years of theories in the sociology of education that, "have become increasingly sophisticated and critical in their attempts to account for the differential performance of disadvantaged groups within education." However the statistics show little gain for most marginalised groups. Rist, (2000), invited to prepare an introduction to a reprint of his 1970 article in the Harvard Educational Review, likens this opportunity for reflection to entering a time-warp:

> So much of what was the reality of the education of Black youth thirty years ago is no different today. Urban schools so often do not do well by their charges then, and in many ways, they still do not do so. Schools are still facing the same issues now as they did then. It would not be misleading, to paraphrase an old cliché, to say that the more time passes, the more things stay the same. (p.258)

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[4] From 'Parkinson', BBC1, 20 October 2001, (cited in Marks 2003)

Globalisation

Governments and school systems may have been reluctant to face the need to rethink their approach to the reality of disparity for marginalised groups, but this entrenched position is facing a new challenge in the shape of globalisation, the impact of the invention and development of new technologies that are changing the way we live and the way we communicate. In tandem with the influence of technology, in the last thirty years great population shifts world-wide have put pressure on educators to examine issues which previously went unnoticed.

In the 1960s it was anticipated that the development and spread of technology would bring us closer together in an even bigger "melting pot" - a common global village, threatening unique cultures and minorities. However, while the world may be shrinking in terms of communications accessibility, not one, but many global villages have emerged as cultures use their access to technology to reassert their identities on the world stage. Saffo, (1990) argues that technology does not drive change, it merely enables change. "It's our collective cultural response to the options and opportunities presented by technology that drives change."

May (1999) describes the colonial underpinnings of the nation-state and how the "hegemony of common culture" has subsumed minority languages and cultures. He too sees the rise of globalisation as a change agent:

> ... the nation-state is also under increasing pressures from both above and below. From above, the inexorable rise of globalisation, along with the burgeoning influence of multinational corporations and supra-national political organisations, have required modern nation-states to re-evaluate the limits of their own political and economic sovereignty. From below, minority groups are increasingly exerting the right to either form their own nation-states – as seen in various secessionist and irredentist movements around the world – or for greater representation within *existing* nation-state structures. This latter concern has been most prominently articulated by indigenous peoples. (pp.42-43)

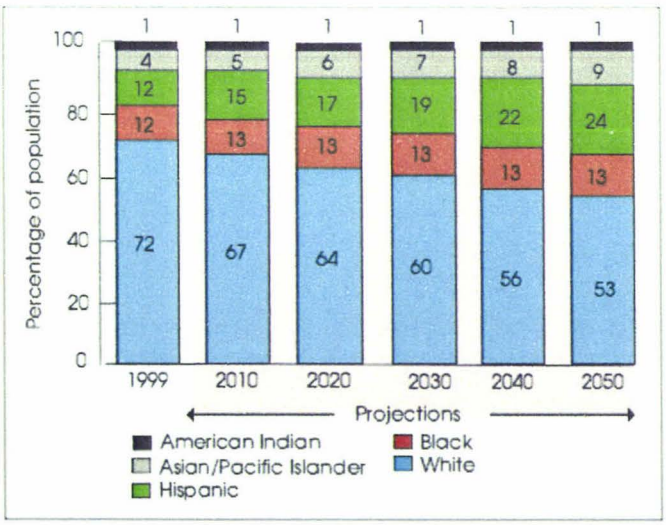
This shift in identification can be seen in Australia where, based on current trends, Australia's Indigenous population is projected to increase from 386,000 in 1996 to 469,000 in 2006 at an annual average rate of 2% per year. However, the growth in the Indigenous population in recent decades cannot be explained by natural increase alone. Much of the unexplained growth can be attributed to an increasing prevalence of persons to be identified as Indigenous on census forms. If the increasing rate of identification, as experienced between 1991 and 1996, is assumed to continue, the Indigenous population is projected to increase at an annual average rate of 5.3% per year, reaching 649,000 in 2006. Under either assumption the

Indigenous population is growing much faster than the total Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1998).

Similarly the American Indian and Alaskan Native population has shown a remarkable increase since the 1960s – it grew over 255% between 1960 and 1990. Pollard and O'Hare (1999) explain that the increase, "reflects a tendency among Americans of partial American Indian ancestry to reclaim their American Indian heritage." Improvements in census coverage, immigration, high birth rates, and reductions in mortality can explain just part of that growth – the remainder occurred because people who previously had identified as white, black, or another race switched their racial identity to American Indian. Nearly 570 000 people were added to the American Indian population between 1980 and 1998 – an increase of 40% (Pollard and O'Hare, 1999). Significantly, in the 2000 Census in the United States, respondents were given the option for the first time of selecting one or more race categories to indicate their racial identities.

Immigration accounts for the increase in the population figures for ethnic minorities. The United States Census Bureau projects that the share of minorities in the population will rise from 28% in 1999 to 47% in 2050 (Figure 2.5). By 2100, non-whites and Hispanics are projected to make up 60% of the U.S. population, with Hispanics alone accounting for 33% (Farnsworth Riche, 2000).

Figure 2.5: United States of America: Projected Population by Ethnicity, 1998 - 2050
(after Farnsworth Riche, 2000)



American schools are changing rapidly. "The public schools of the U.S. foreshadow the dramatic transformation of American society that will occur in the next generation. We are a society in which the school age population is much more diverse than the older population"(Orfield and Yun, 1999).

The estimated size of the minority ethnic population of Great Britain was four million in 2000 - 7% of the total population. Ethnic minorities make up a growing proportion of the population. The last five years has seen the minority ethnic population of Great Britain grow by 15%, compared with an increase of 1% in the White population (Office for National Statistics. [ONS], 1999).

This trend is repeated in New Zealand. In the period from 1986 and 1996 the proportion of:

- Pakeha children decreased from 72.6% to 62.4%;
- Maori children increased from 20.5 to 24.5%;
- Pacific children increased from 5.6 to 7.6%; and
- Asian children increased from 1.7 to 5.0%. (Education Review Office, 2000a)

The pattern is expected to continue. Statistics New Zealand (1999, cited in Education Review Office, 2000a) predict that by 2051:

- approximately a third of all children will be Pakeha
- a third will be Maori
- Pacific children will make up 21.2% of all children
- Asian children will comprise 11.2% of all children

The New Zealand Education Review Office (2000a) defines a multicultural school as one in which students from at least two other ethnic groups together comprise at least 20% of the school's population. Using this definition the Review Office concludes that multicultural schools already make up almost 40% of all New Zealand schools. That figure is higher in urban areas, in the North Island, especially Auckland, and in larger schools in low socio-economic areas.

A report from the 2001 Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2002) states that two-fifths of babies born in 2001 were of Maori or Pacific ethnicity and that an increasing proportion of children are projected to have Maori or Pacific peoples ethnicity in future. As Browne (2000), in an article in The Guardian entitled, "The Last Days of a White World," observes we are nearing a global watershed – a time when white people will not be in the majority in the developed world.

Defining achievement and success

Singham (1998, p.11) notes that an odd characteristic of any discussion of any social problem that is analysed on the basis of how different ethnic groups compare. "Statistics for whites are usually taken as a measure of the 'natural' state of society, and black statistics are used as a measure of the problem."

The solution, when the problem is viewed this way, lies in getting black people to "act white," to adopt the values, behaviour, attitudes, and mannerisms of white people, so that blacks will perform as well as whites. Educational achievement is an example of this type of measurement and descriptions of "gaps" and "disparities" focus on the distance the perceived low-achieving group still has to travel.
Singham (1998) explains it this way:

> It used to be that coal miners took canaries into the mines as detectors of noxious gases. If the canary died, then the miners realized that they were in a region of danger and took the necessary precautions. The educational performance of the black community is like the canary, and the coal mine is the education system. The warning signals are apparent. But treating the problem by trying to make blacks 'like whites' would be like replacing the canary in the coal mine with a bird that is more resistant to poisonous gases. It simply ignores the real problem. (p.15)

There is a body of research world-wide that discusses this issue of school alienation and disparities in achievement in relation to cultural incompatibility. McLaughlin (1994, cited in St Germaine, 1995), summarises various theories developed to explain reasons for these "gaps."

According to McLaughlin, educational psychologists have focused on the individual learner and their "deficits" - dysfunctional homes and lack of experiences. Organisational theorists have focused on schools and school systems which they see as the primary culprits in school failure. Sociologists and anthropologists, the critical theorists, have focused on the issues of power - the wider social issues outside the school, which "create arrangements ... that systematically give voice to some and deny it to others," and are structured, "around successful and unsuccessful competence displays such that winners and losers are inevitable" (McLaughlin, 1994, p.53). Sociolinguists have a narrower focus on teacher-learner interaction; the constant miscommunication between teacher and minority ethnic student. Cultural difference theorists, proponents of "multicultural" education believe solutions lie in teachers becoming knowledgeable about the culture and language of their students and adapting curriculum and teaching methods to students' needs.

Cultural discontinuity theory contains elements of both of the last two theories and has been used to explain many of the difficulties these students face. Cultural discontinuity talks about the mismatch between the home and school cultures, and the choice students have to make between the two. Those who "make it" through the system often do so at the cost of their own culture creating a further conflict as their own people can see this as a cultural "selling out." The result can be that there is a tacit cultural goal to fail in school.

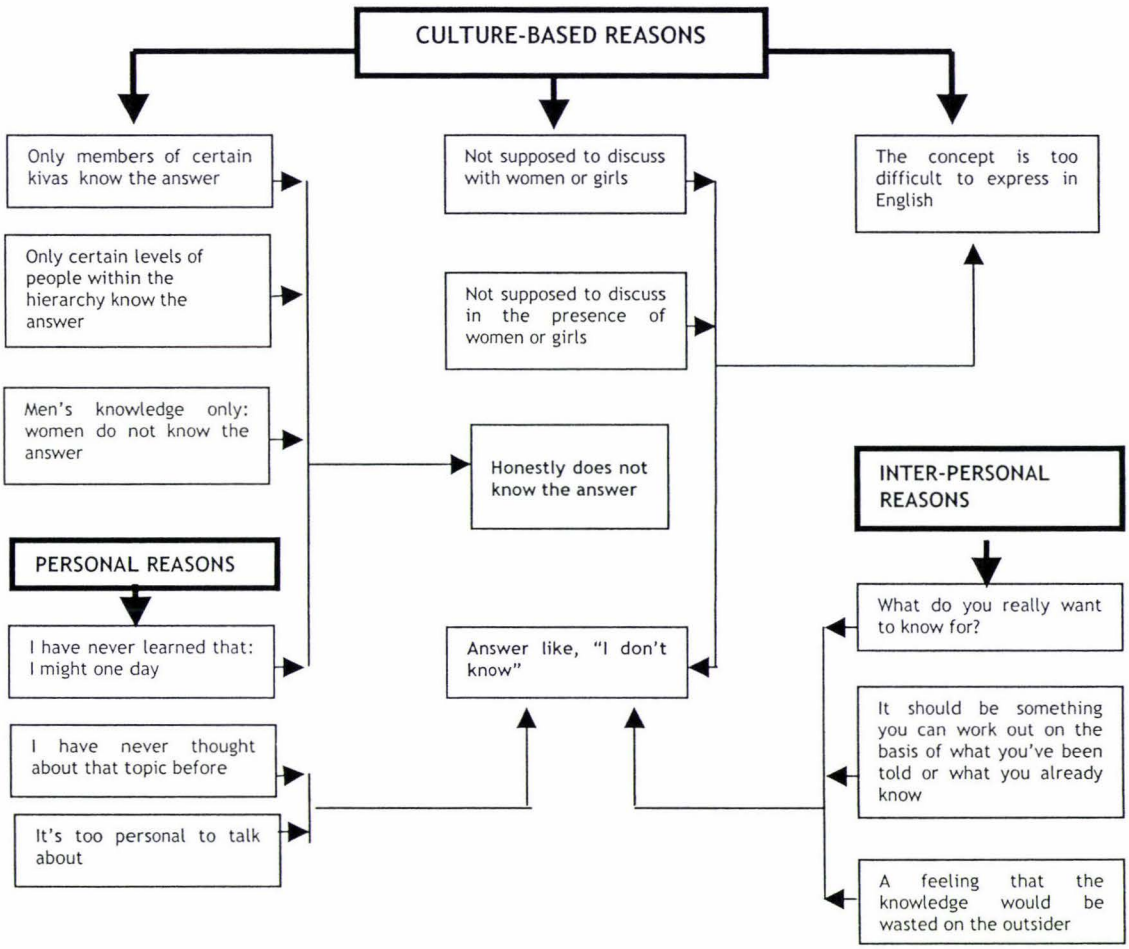
In his research in the Zuni Pueblo in western New Mexico, Osborne (2001a, pp.23-28) found that, "despite my strong attempts to focus simply on what happened in classrooms," that the study became "framed by the notion of outsiders and insiders, which operated at several levels in the school and community," and that it was impossible to ignore the power relationships, between ethnic groups and individuals, that were constraining what happened in classrooms. Significant in these was the reluctance of Zuni teachers to share "Zuni ways" with an Anglo teacher who engaged in teaching behaviours that were inappropriate in Zuni culture and who resisted the Zuni teachers' advice. Increasingly the Zuni teachers simply replied, "I don't know'" to her questions. Osborne (2001a, p.24) further studied the, "I don't know," response and the concept of "insiders" and "outsiders." He classifies reasons for non-response as cultural, personal and inter-personal, which are those based on a lack of trust in the outsider.

His findings (Figure 2.6) are relevant to the methodologies we use in research and to the ways we assess and evaluate students from indigenous and ethnic minorities, whom Osborne (2001a, 37) describes as, "those our societies have marginalized." Osborne (2001b, p.267) critiques our Western education system's emphasis on success and finds four contradictions within schooling; the notion of maximising the success of each student, the acceptance of both the content itself and assessment processes to measure it as neutral, the huge industry built around assessment itself and subsequently those who fall below the "normal" level, and what he calls the "lock step method of schooling," that expects students to progress, one year at a time, through twelve grades of school in the same period of time.

The result of these contradictions is that we have a system that is set up to produce failures and which, in spite of rhetoric to the contrary, "categorizes a variety of students into all manner of mainly failure groups through a huge testing industry, ...receiving renewed power through government responses to calls for increased teacher accountability in Britain, North America and Australia" (Osborne 2001b, p.267). Osborne finds, "substantive and iniquitous weaknesses in the formal testing regimes we employ in Western societies." He believes that not only are the tests flawed, they are weak in the uses to which they can be put other than to sort and sift, and, "they produce major consequences in the lives of students already marginalized by our societies." McDermott (1989, p.20), focusing on school structures that create failure, believes:

> Our schools divide people into halves: those who can and those who cannot. Dropouts are doing what the culture tells those in the losing half to do: they are getting out of the way.

Figure 2.6: A map of possible reasons for not providing answers to outsiders' questions (after Osborne, 2001a, p.24)



Multicultural Education

May, (2002, p.10) describes the early work in multicultural education as "benevolent multiculturalism." The goal of this approach was to include, recognise and value the different cultural heritages of all students within the school or classroom. Based on the well-meaning notion of cultural pluralism, May believes, "Its principal problem was that it didn't work," due to a number of key reasons. The first of these is that benevolent multiculturalism views cultural heritage as historical, rather than, "as a dynamic and ongoing construction of a student's cultural identity in the present" (May 2002, p.11).

In Australia, between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s, the transition of educational and social policy from an assimilationist to a multicultural model was influenced by the development of multiculturalism as an official policy in Canada and by the Civil Rights

movement in the United States (Kalantzis and Cope, 1999, p.250). Schools were officially encouraged to develop and maintain students' self-esteem and identity and to offer the opportunity for students to also, understand and appreciate alternative lifestyles and cultural patterns other than his or her own (Committee on Multicultural Education, 1979).

In New Zealand through the 1970s and 1980s multiculturalism gradually replaced integration as the dominant educational policy (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p.40), with the same intention as overseas models of enhancing self esteem and cultural identity of all students. Bishop and Glynn believe this was largely ineffective due to the monocultural influence of Pakeha teachers and the use of the dominant culture as the main reference point. Maori and minority cultures were reinforced as "Other" and inferior in this process. Simon (1998) agrees:

> Like the adaptation policies, multicultural education policies, in appropriating the cultural 'traditions' of minority groups, on the one hand invoke a humanitarian cultural sensitivity on the part of the dominant group towards minority groups, while, on the other, seek to contain any actions amongst ethnic groups which might challenge the existing power relations. Through multicultural education policies, therefore, the contradictory discourses of nineteenth century colonialism are still being reproduced today.

The second key problem with a benevolent multicultural approach was the belief that recognising and valuing cultural differences could, in itself change not only schools but also the wider society (May 2002, p.11). Kalanztis and Cope (1999, p.250), describe this as a, "pluralist version of the cultural deficit model. If only 'their' cultures were affirmed instead of negated, so the argument seemed to go, all would be well; 'ethnic disadvantage' would be reduced." Kalantzis (cited in May 2002, p.11), sums up this model of benevolent multiculturalism as all about "feeling good about yourself in the dole queue."

A third problem with this type of multiculturalism is its nature as an add-on or a superficial programme. "In short, a kapahaka (Maori cultural group) group, though not unimportant or inconsequential in itself, does not a multicultural programme make" (May 2002, p.11).

Finally, this type of multicultural education policy set culture aside from the issues of language and language education. The effect of this policy often minimalised language to the learning of greetings and phrases (May 2002, p.12). Cummins (1999) believes that educators have the right and ethical responsibility to become proactive advocates for children's linguistic rights, rejecting "overt and covert societal racism directed against the languages

and cultures of marginalized communities." Cummins, (1999) and May (2002), advocate to incorporate bilingual education as a pivotal part of wider multicultural education policy.

Conversely there has also been a backlash against the idea of recognising and validating different cultures and languages. The 'English only' movement in the United States and the removal of bilingual education from California's schools in 1998 with the passage of a referendum on bilingual education entitled Proposition 227[5] Further opposition is seen in the views of the American liberal historian, Schlesinger, (1992, cited in May 1999, pp.15,16), who argues that, "a cult of ethnicity has arisen both among non-Anglo Whites and among non-white minorities to denounce the idea of the melting pot, to challenge the concept of 'one people', and to protect, promote, and perpetuate separate [ethnic] communities." Schlesinger dismisses this practice as "ethnic cheerleading."

Multicultural education's intent was to challenge racism and to transform schools and their contexts. Over time it grew to encompass a wider and wider array of meanings and, ironically, did not come to address power relations critically (Sleeter, in press). Sleeter suggests, "This is probably because the great majority of classroom teachers and school administrators are White and bring a world view that tacitly condones existing race and class relations."

The promise of multiculturalism, to move significantly beyond the widespread earlier policies of assimilation and integration, has not been realised. Indigenous and minority ethnicity students remain marginalised and disadvantaged within and by our mainstream education systems. May (1999) concludes:

> In short, multicultural education has had a largely negligible impact to date on the life *chances* of minority students, the racialized attitudes of majority students, the inherent monoculturalism of school practice, and the wider processes of power relations and inequality which underpin all these. (p.1)

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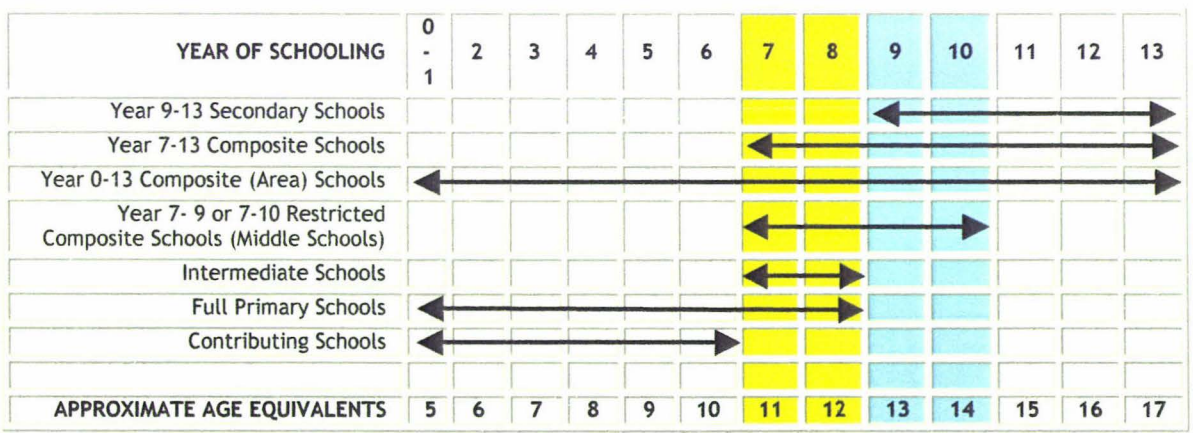
[5] Proposition 227 required all public school instruction in California to be conducted in English. The requirement could be waived if parents or guardian could show that their child already knew English, or had special needs, or would learn English faster through the use of their first language. It provided initial short-term placement, not normally exceeding one year, in intensive sheltered English immersion programs for children not fluent in English and appropriated $50 million per year for ten years to fund English instruction for individuals pledging to provide personal English tutoring to children in their community. The Proposition permits enforcement suits by parents and guardians if schools do not comply. After a major media campaign the Proposition was passed into law on 2 June 1998 by a majority of 61% to 39%.

School Practice in New Zealand

Schooling is compulsory in New Zealand for all students between six and sixteen years of age, however, in practice most children choose the option to begin school at the age of five years. In 2003 New Zealand state schools fall into four broad categories; primary, intermediate, secondary and composite, the last being the official classification for a range of different grade configurations allowed in legislation. A composite school is defined as one that has some year levels from both primary (Year 1- 8) and secondary (Year 9-13) sectors. Since 1922 three-year junior high schools, reduced in 1931 to two-year intermediate schools, have spanned the gap between primary and secondary schooling (Hinchco,1999). The two-year span has changed again with the advent of middle schools in 1995 and a growing range of options for composite school arrangements. Figure 2.7 shows that Year 7 and 8 students can be educated in as many as five different school types and four different options exist for students in Years 9 and 10. Middle schooling is discussed in detail elsewhere in this chapter (see p.75) however, appropriate education for this age level has been long debated and the range of options has more recently been described by some as, "the muddle in the middle" (Sutton, 2000).

Figure 2.7: New Zealand Schools



While most students in New Zealand attend state-funded schools, there is a range of other options. Kura Kaupapa Maori are state schools where the philosophy is total immersion in Maori language, culture and values. Integrated schools are schools that were originally private or independent schools and have now become part of the state system. Independent (or private) schools are governed by their own independent boards but must meet certain standards in order to be registered. Special schools are state schools that provide education for students with special education needs. Designated Character schools are state schools that teach the New Zealand Curriculum but have been allowed to develop their own set of

aims, purposes and objectives to reflect their own particular values. Home-based schooling is available for parents and caregivers who want to educate their children at home and students and students unable to attend a school for a variety of reasons may enrol in the Correspondence School for distance education (Ministry of Education Communications Division, 2001a).

Prior to the mid 1980s New Zealand's 1877 Education Act underpinned an education system that was guided by an "official" ideology of social equity (Adams, Clark, Codd & Waitere-Ang, 2000, cited in Sutherland, Jesson & Peters, 2001, p.75). Free education became a right for all and not just a privilege for the wealthy. However Shuker, 1987, points out that, in spite of its appearance of equality and egalitarianism, the Act educationally disadvantaged working-class, female and Maori students. In 1986, Beeby, the Director of Education noted:

> In our call for equality of opportunity we too readily assumed that nearly everybody who was given the opportunity would take advantage of it. We didn't take proper account of the economic and social conditions of the adolescents who were dropping out ... we did not even realize that an average girl did not have the same opportunities as the average boy simply because less was expected of girls both at schools and at work ... what should have been more obvious was that some of the disadvantages they [Maori] were suffering had their roots deep in our social attitudes and in the economic and social structure of our society. (Beeby, 1986, cited in Sutherland et al., 2001, p.82)

In the 1980s, fuelled by the thinking that became commonly known as Rogernomics (after Roger Douglas, Minister of Finance), education changed from its long-held policy of equality of opportunity for all to, "a commodity in the marketplace, something able to be bought and sold for a price" (Vol 2, Treasury, 1987, cited in Jesson, 2001, p.93). The neo-liberalism of Rogernomics changed all of the state's institutions by assuming all would benefit by being free to operate according to the laws of the free market. Key players in this radical change were Treasury and the State Services Commission, which was determined to bring a managerial environment to the state (Jesson, 2001, p.94). Jesson (2001, p.97) describes the pattern for implementing such structural change as along similar lines to Thatcherism[6] in Britain and Reaganomics[7] in the United States:

1. Create a sense of crisis;
2. Define the underlying problem;
3. Produce the plan to correct it;
4. Implement the plan rapidly;
5. And make sure everyone believes there is no alternative.

---

[6] the system of political thought attributed to the governments of Margaret Thatcher, British Prime Minister during the 1980s.

[7] the economic policies of U.S. President Ronald Reagan during the 1980s.

The plan, according to Wilson, (1991, cited in Jesson, 2001) was applied to education in New Zealand in 1985 by:

1. Creating a sense of crisis focusing on assessment, teaching quality and the teacher unions
2. Identifying the fundamental problem as "provide capture" of the education administration by the teachers
3. Planning a reorganisation of educational administration
4. Implementing this plan within a short timeframe
5. With no alternative allowed

Educational Reforms: Tomorrow's Schools

During 1987 the Prime Minister, David Lange, under pressure from the Minister of Finance, and the New Zealand Treasury, initiated a Taskforce, chaired by a businessman, Brian Picot, to investigate and make recommendations on the administration of education. The proposals resulting from "The Picot Report" heralded some of the most radical changes in our education system for one hundred years. After a very short period of public consultation the government subsequently announced the policy for "Tomorrow's Schools" (Department of Education, 1988), to be formally implemented on 1 October, 1989.

The two main objectives of The Picot Report for the education system were:

- Every learner should gain the maximum individual and social benefit from the money spent on education.
- Education should be fair and just for every learner regardless of their gender, and of their social, cultural and geographic circumstances (Taskforce to Review the Administration of Education in New Zealand, 1988).

Although there would be little argument from New Zealanders on these goals, Snook et al. (1999, pp.3,4) point out that there were two rival agendas right from the start:

> One, favoured by the educators, was for a partnership between parents and the fostering of equity ('parents as partners'); the other, favoured by the Treasury and the business people, was for competition and choice ("parents as customers"). Both these agendas appeared in the reports and the policy documents and, to this day, they are in tension with each other.

Codd (1995) finds, beneath the rhetoric about partnership, collaboration, participation and professional leadership, the "ideology of hierarchical managerialism" (p.107), and the

influences of the Business Round Table[8], Treasury and the State Services Commission so that, "at a deeper level it represented a fundamental shift in the state's mode of control" (Codd, 1995, p.107).

In 1997, David Lange, reflecting on the educational reforms, stressed the goal of community empowerment - the fact that local differences could be accommodated and, "schools could shape themselves in ways which met the distinctive needs of the local community" (Lange, 1997, cited in Fiske & Ladd, 2000 p.95). Fiske and Ladd comment that this local responsibility was the greatest potential for good in the reforms, but also the greatest risk. There were strong signals in the intent of the reforms that community involvement and partnership were priorities. The policy established Community Forums on Education and Charters were to be contracts between community and schools and schools and the state. In addition the Parent Advocacy Council was set up as an independent body to give a voice to parents and community when there was a concern or a conflict.

In 1990 however, the government changed. The National Party came into power under the leadership of James Bolger, with Lockwood Smith as Minister of Education. One of the first actions of this government was to pass the Education Amendment Act of 1991, limiting the powers of community forums, abolishing the Parent Advocacy Council, and most importantly, abolishing enrolment zones and giving parents the right to choose any school. Schools could devise their own "enrolment schemes" and did not have to guarantee places to students from their community. The Labour government's original concept of requiring out-of-zone students to ballot for places was done away with thus allowing schools to select the students they wanted (Fiske & Ladd, 2000). This policy was reintroduced by the current Labour government in 1998, but in many communities the damage had been done and the gap between 'rich' and 'poor' schools has widened significantly.

Equity and Choice

This market-driven approach to education is supposedly based on the notion of choice - often defended on the grounds of equity, i.e. more choice will enable all parents to choose a good school for their child (Snook et al., 1999 p.15). As Peters and Olssen (1999, p.129) point out however:

> Any system of choice must ensure that the resources and opportunities are equally available to, and are of equal educational value, for *all* citizens.
> ... choice schemes ignore the impact of structural social and economic circumstances on an individual's ability to choose (emphasis in original).

---

[8] an organisation comprising primarily chief executives of major business firms active in promoting the downsizing of central and local governments in favour of private enterprise

Hawk and Hill (1996) discuss the effects of this policy on decile one schools, finding that there was a profound and immediate effect on the schools in their study[9], causing immediate roll decline in five of the eight schools. They found the reputation of these schools is inextricably tied to the geographic area and all of the things parents associate with that area and state, "The government's policy of choice does not apply to students of families in the lowest decile schools" (p.95).

This confirms Gordon's finding in a study of 11 boards of trustees in Christchurch schools; "Overall, this small study has shown the development of alarming inequalities between schools in the four years since boards of trustees were first elected" (Gordon, 1993, v). A study from Canterbury University (Education Policy Research Group, 1993 cited in Snook et al. 1999) found that in Christchurch, "choice" was leading to increases in the rolls of schools in higher socio-economic areas and decreases in those in lower socio-economic areas, particularly when these include large numbers of Maori and Pacific Island students. This report confirms Hawke and Hill's conclusion that schools were being seen as "good" or "bad" not in terms of their standards but in terms of the areas they serve. The impact of the educational reforms was felt immediately in Counties/Manukau[10] schools. Middleton and Vester (2003) observe:

> The benign support of the old Department of Education was withdrawn, communities were pitted against each other and very quickly the problems of "South Auckland Schools" were made explicit. They had also become the daily fodder for a national media voracious for stories which portrayed in a poor light schools in the South Auckland / Manukau region. It was as if those schools had become the whipping boys for a nation uneasy about what was happening in education.

Middleton and Vester (2003) make the point clearly that the administrative reforms of education did not cause educational failure and low performance in Counties/Manukau, but they believe they certainly allowed it to become explicit in a way and to a degree that was to that point unprecedented. Middleton (1998, cited in O'Donnell, 2000, p.61) maintains that the reforms failed to take account significant differences between schools and assumed that every school faces the same conditions. Gordon (1994) reiterates this viewpoint:

> If choice inevitably means unequal access to educational opportunities, is it desirable? If competition occurs on a playing field which is distorted and tilted by a range of pre-existing social and cultural judgments, is it fair? (Gordon, 1994, p.124)

---

[9] AIMHI - Achievement in Multicultural High Schools - research in eight decile one secondary schools in New Zealand. Seven of these schools are located in Counties/Manukau.

[10] Counties/Manukau is the official and preferred name for the region often dubbed "South Auckland" and will be used in this text unless it appears in quotes.

The Reforms and Educational Outcomes

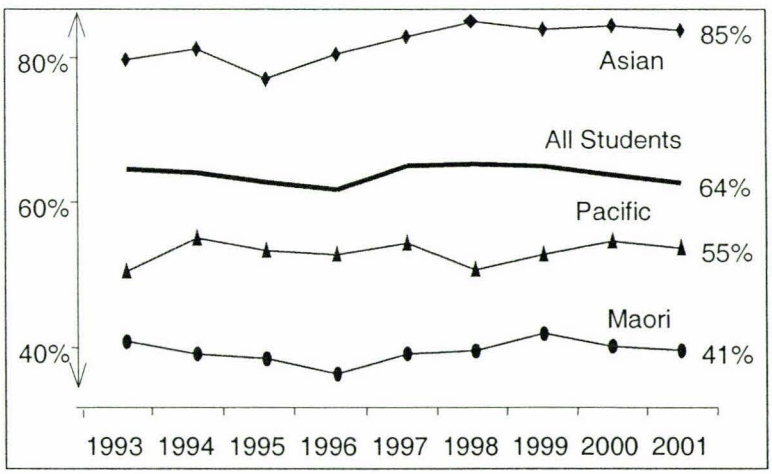
Hattie (2003) believes that our "experiment with self-governing schools whereby the cream is supposed to rise and attract, where parents are invested in running schools, and where schools have had the greater opportunity to choose students, has not reduced but increased disparity."

He finds, "We are producing world-class students. We are also, however, producing the greatest disparity in achievement - not only is the gap between those who do and do not achieve among the greatest when compared to these same countries, we are one of the few Western countries where our bottom 20% are systematically falling behind." The fact is that the majority of students in this "tail" are Maori or Pacific. Although Hattie cautions this should not be interpreted as a "Maori or Pacific Islander problem," the reality is that many schools abrogate their responsibility to address the issue by doing exactly that.

The fact is that little has changed in terms of educational outcomes for any ethnic group over a decade of educational reform (Figure 2.8) with Maori and Pacific students lagging well behind all other students in our secondary school qualifications.

Figure 2.8: School Leavers: Percentage Gaining 6th Form Certificate# or Higher (or NQF Equivalent) 1993 to 2001

Dow (2003)



Figures relate to students gaining one or more subjects, irrespective of grade awarded

The Rhetoric of Multiculturalism and Diversity

The Education Review Office [ERO] report, 'Multi-Cultural Schools in New Zealand' (2000a), points out that the National Education Guidelines, deemed to be part of each school

charter, include the following three National Education Goals with relevant outcomes for all New Zealand schools.

Goal 1

The highest standards of achievement, through programmes which enable all students to realise their full potential as individuals, and to develop the values needed to become full members of New Zealand society.

Goal 2

Equality of educational opportunity for all New Zealanders, by identifying and removing barriers to achievement.

Goal 10

Respect for the diverse ethnic and cultural heritage of New Zealand, with acknowledgment of the unique place of Maori, and New Zealand's role in the Pacific and as a member of the international community of nations.

This is reinforced by Section 63 of the Education Act 1989 that deems every school charter to contain the aim of, "developing for the school concerned policies and practices that reflect New Zealand's cultural diversity." The Education Review Office report concludes:

> ... to participate fully in New Zealand and the increasingly global society is to enter a multi-cultural world. It is vital that students gain multi-cultural understanding and appreciation as part of their educational experience. If any schools are currently ignoring the diversity in the society around them, they can do so no longer. (2000a)

While ERO found that multicultural awareness is a common aspect in most pre-service training, the same is not true for in-service training. In a study of in service training the Review Office found that schools do not make in-service training in aspects of multiculturalism a high priority. When such courses are offered, they are seldom well subscribed. ERO found that responses to their survey of in-service training priorities in three geographical areas were, "silent on the subject of multi-cultural education" (Table 2.4, Education Review Office, 2000b).

Table 2.4: Priorities for In-Service Training 2000
(Education Review Office (2000b)

English/language	36%
Social studies	28%
Health and PE	22%
Technology	14%
Mathematics	11%
Science	5%
Arts	3%
Te Reo	1%

ICT	59%
Assessment	26%
Leadership/Management	20%
Special education	15%
Teaching practice	13%
General curriculum development	10%
Library	6%
Values/Religious education	5%
Behaviour management	5%
Second language teaching	3%
Treaty of Waitangi/Tikanga Maori	3%
First Aid	3%
Special abilities	2%

The New Zealand Ministry of Education was established under Tomorrow's Schools (1988) and charged with the role of policy-making and funding. The Ministry of Education's first Statement of Intent 2003 to 2008 signals a clear change to that direction:

> No longer are we the hands-off Ministry that followed 'Tomorrow's Schools'. We are working to become more skilled about how, when and where we intervene. Direct intervention needs to be early and effective where significant risks to education quality arise. Our influence and impact on the education system tends to be indirect. Increasingly, however, we will take on a more active role in influencing learning outcomes. (Fancy, 2003)

The Ministry of Education see their purpose as "Te Ihi, Te Mana, Te Matauranga - Empowering Education" and their stated mission is to, "raise achievement and reduce disparity" (Ministry of Education, 2002a). Acknowledging that, "there are currently significant differences in the levels of educational achievement between groups in our community," the Ministry states that it is its responsibility to tackle these disparities, as well as to raise the overall level of educational achievement.

A key document in this stated direction is one of a new series of best evidence syntheses commissioned by the Ministry of Education. Quality Teaching for Diverse Students in School: Best Evidence Synthesis, (Alton-Lee, 2003) claims to draw together all of the evidence available about what works for "diverse" learners. With its purpose to "contribute to ongoing, evidence-based and evolving dialogue about pedagogy amongst policy makers, educators and researchers," (p.v) it would be hoped that this dialogue about pedagogy will take place at a deeper level than has happened to date.

The synthesis, "rejects the notion of a 'normal' group and 'other' or minority groups of children and constitutes diversity and difference as central to the classroom endeavour and central to the focus of quality teaching in Aotearoa, New Zealand." Ten characteristics of quality teaching for diverse learners are derived from the synthesis:

1. Quality teaching is focused on student achievement (including social outcomes) and facilitates high standards of student outcomes for heterogeneous groups of students.
2. Pedagogical practices enable classes and other learning groupings to work as caring, inclusive, and cohesive learning communities.
3. Effective links are created between school and other cultural contexts in which students are socialised, to facilitate learning.
4. Quality teaching is responsive to student learning processes
5. Opportunity to learn is effective and sufficient
6. Multiple task contexts support learning cycles.
7. Curriculum goals, resources including ICT usage, task design, teaching and school practices are effectively aligned.
8. Pedagogy scaffolds and provides appropriate feedback on students' task engagement.
9. Pedagogy promotes learning orientations, student self-regulation, metacognitive strategies and thoughtful student discourse
10. Teachers and students engage constructively in goal-oriented assessment.

Each of these characteristics is expanded and supported by research and evidence from both national and international studies and there is a wealth of material to inform teachers' practice. The issue of cultural diversity is further spelled out in the third characteristic:

> Teachers ensure that student experiences of instruction have known relationships to other cultural contexts in which the students have been/are socialised.
>
> - Relevance is made transparent to students.
> - Cultural practices at school are made transparent and taught.
> - Ways of taking meaning from text, discourse, numbers or experience are made explicit.
> - Quality teaching recognises and builds on students' prior experiences and knowledge.
> - New information is linked to student experiences.
> - Student diversity is utilised effectively as a pedagogical resource.

Questions remain to be answered however regarding the extent to which this information will be used. Will the apathy of New Zealand schools to issues of culture, as demonstrated in the Education Review Office reports (2000a, 2000b), be changed significantly by this recent

material? More importantly, does this evidence go far enough? Will the current popular use of the term, "diversity" work in the long term against the need for specific attention to the issues of culture in the same way that the term, "multicultural" has done in the past? A signal that this is likely is found in the response from a senior Ministry official to a similar question. He defends the use of the term as a deliberate choice of label for highlighting difference rather an assimilating it so that we, "try to recognise also the diversity within these diverse groups e.g. the gifted Maori girl with hearing disabilities." [11] While this is undoubtedly an admirable goal, in reality which of these diverse needs is the teacher most likely to attend to? It is inevitable that the "white lens" of the majority of teachers (Adkins & Hytten, 2001) will prevail and culture will be the "diversity" most likely to be ignored:

> It is impossible to examine people who are recognised as different without also examining those who are the recognisers. ...We become different by being recognised as different, just as we are 'normal' by being recognised that way. The term 'different' itself suggests this relationship. We are 'different' from something - an established standard. The relationship between recogniser and recognised is characterised by the power of one group to be the 'recogniser', to have the power to set the standard.
> ... Once again diversity becomes a relationship between the recogniser and the recognised. Teachers are a major force among the recognisers. ...Will the outcome of recognition be the marginalisation and disadvantaging of the group that is different, as happened so frequently in the past? (Rata, O'Brien, Murray, Mara, Gray, & Rawlinson, 2001, pp.189,190.)

Most significantly absent from the dialogue this synthesis is designed to engender are the issues of power relations and the critical, transformative pedagogy deemed crucial for indigenous and minority ethnic students (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Cummins, 2000; Delpit, 1995; May, 1999, , Sleeter & Delgado Bernal, 2001). The Best Evidence Synthesis does little to specifically name the inherent Eurocentrism of our education system and does little to challenge teachers to address power relations in their classrooms. Adkins and Hytten make this point explicit:

> Whiteness must be studied, named and marked so as to uproot it from its position of normativity and centrality. Only then can we conceptualise diversity in ways that are not assimilationist or merely additive, but instead aim to dismantle social practices and structures that perpetuate white privilege and white racism. Thus, within these interpretations of whiteness is our charge as educators (2001, p.439).

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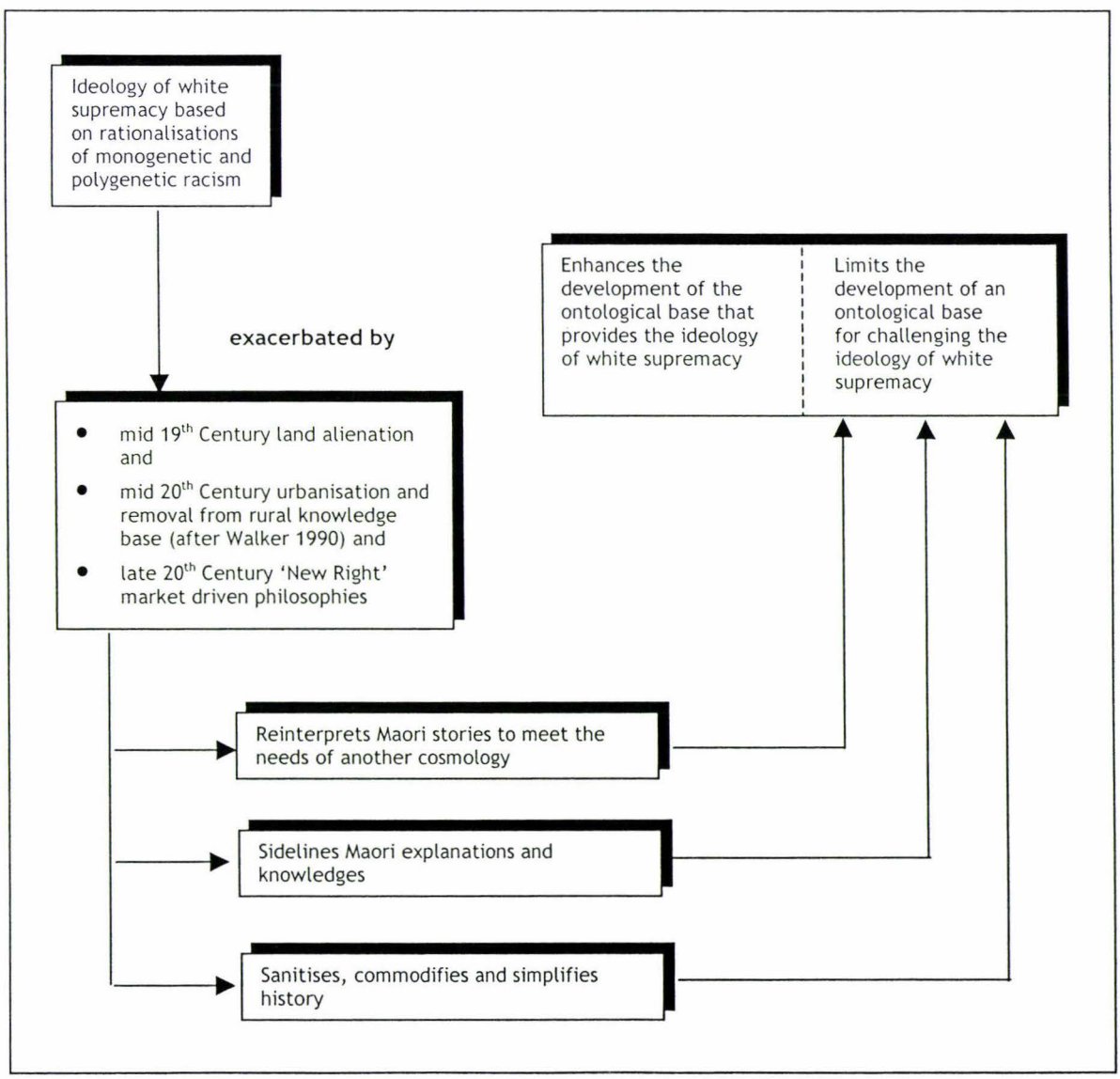
[11] New Zealand Principals' Electronic Network [PEN] Online Conference, Leading Maori Achievement, September, 2003.

Maori Education

Bishop and Glynn (1999, p.30), provide a framework in which to place the history of Maori education (Figure 2.9). They outline the cumulative development of cultural superiority through the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century against a background of land alienation, urbanisation and New Right market philosophies, all of which have, "affected the administrative and curricula reforms within New Zealand education" (1999, p.29). The policies of assimilation, adaptation and integration, the Native Schools, the current alienation of Maori students from our education system and the continuing failure of schools to make a difference for Maori learners are themes that have been introduced and discussed earlier in this chapter.

Figure 2.9: A model of the cumulative development of cultural superiority: the hegemonic cycle (after Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p.30)



As McMurchy-Pilkington (2001, p.163) explains, Maori have not always passively accepted this process and have endeavoured to actively resist. Simon and Smith (2001, p.309) describe how, over the period of the one hundred years' existence of Native Schools, the mission to "civilise" Maori was contested and resisted by many Maori and individual teachers so that, "by the end of its existence the system had been transformed into something entirely different from that which had been initially imagined."

From the mid 1880s to the 1940s Maori language was banned in schools and many students were punished for its use (Smith & Simon, 2001, pp.164-166). While Openshaw, et al. (1993, p.64) contend this situation was more to do with over-zealous native school teachers misinterpreting policy as official regulation, the effects of the practice were nonetheless the same. While Maori were also instrumental in the push for their children to learn English, "there was no evidence that they considered it a replacement for Maori language or culture" (Simon, 1994, cited in McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001, p.164).

The first document to present statistics on the extent of Maori disadvantage in education, health, employment and housing was the Hunn Report (Hunn 1960). The Hunn Report recommended a change in policy from assimilation to integration. "Instead of the culture of the by now numeric minority being destroyed, all minority groups were to be integrated into the culture of the dominant group" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.37). The idea was that the best of both cultures would be integrated into the one culture, thus retaining aspects of Maori culture that had, "stood the test of time" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.37). In effect integration proved to be no better than assimilation, which, according to Simon, (1986, cited in McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001) was still the implicit agenda.

Deficits, deficits and deficits still

In the 1960s explanations for the continuing underachievement of Maori turned to deficiencies in Maori home conditions. The Currie Commission's report on Education in New Zealand (1960) sums up this attitude:

> Too many [Maori children] live in large families in inadequately sized and even primitive houses, lacking privacy, quiet, and even light for study: too often there is a dearth of books, pictures educative material generally to stimulate the growing child (Openshaw, et al. 1993, p.74)

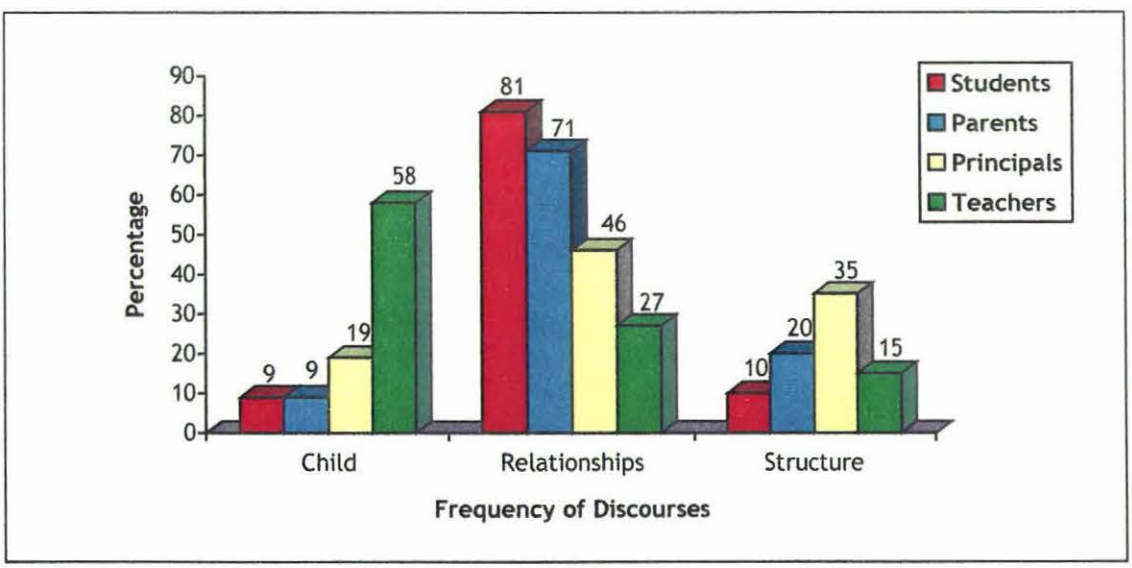
Bishop and Glynn (1999, p.39) see this as an improvement on previous ideas that Maori were actually intellectually inferior but believe that the concept of, "Maori being a 'deficient' culture remains so entrenched in the 'common knowledge' of the dominant culture that these ideas of deficiency continue to be dominant in education publications, school organisation and teachers' attitudes and behaviours." This is confirmed by a comparison of the views of

the Currie Commission with research thirty five years later for the Ministry of Education by Chapple, et al. (1997, summarised by Else, 1997), and still available on the Ministry's website. Attributing two-thirds of the reason for the "gap" between Maori and Pakeha achievement to socio-economic status and a lack of family resources it mentions, large families, inadequate housing, a lack of reading, single parent families and states:

> To put it bluntly, the research shows that Maori students do worse at school than non-Maori students mainly because Maori parents have less money and less education than non-Maori parents. So the gap begins at birth. (Else, 1997, p.3).

Compelling evidence that this deficit thinking is still prevalent in current school practice is found in the research by Bishop, Berryman, Richardson & Tiakiwai. (2003) for the Ministry of Education. Investigating the experiences of Year 9 and 10 Maori students in mainstream classes the researchers gathered narratives from Maori students, identified by their secondary schools as either engaged or non-engaged in learning. The Maori students, their parents and the principals of the four schools involved in this study believed that the most important influence on the students' educational achievement was the quality of the teacher-student relationship. The majority of the teachers however saw that the major influence was the children themselves, and/or the home/family circumstances or systemic/structural issues. The disparity in the opinions of the four groups is clearly shown in Figure 2.10.

Figure 2.10: Influences on Maori achievement as identified in the discourses
(after Bishop et al., 2003)



Bishop et al. (2003, p.190) suggest that:

> It is this deficit theorising by teachers that is the major impediment to Maori students' educational achievement. Further, we suggest that all other influences play a subordinate role, being subsumed within and by the dominant discourse. The main implication of deficit theorising for the quality of teachers' relationships with Maori students and for classroom interactions, is that teachers tend to have low expectations of Maori students' ability. This in turn creates a downward spiralling self-fulfilling prophecy of Maori student achievement and failure.

Taha Maori

The next shifts in Maori education policy came in the 1970s and 1980s with the notions of multiculturalism and biculturalism. The effects of this type of "benevolent" multicultural education have been detailed earlier in this chapter (see Multicultural Education, p.28). With the intent of enhancing self-esteem and valuing the cultural identities of all students this policy sought to eliminate deficit theory. In practice the culture of the teacher prevailed and children still saw their own cultures through the eyes of the dominant culture (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.40; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001, p.166).

Under pressure from Maori in the 1980s to address the Maori-Pakeha relationship first and to recognise the rights of Maori to partnership under the Treaty of Waitangi, the Department of Education was forced to shift policy from multiculturalism to biculturalism. This policy saw the introduction of "Taha Maori" programmes in schools. The Department of Education's 1984 publication, Taha Maori in Schools: Suggestions for Getting Started, defines this programme:

> Taha Maori is the Maori dimension or literally the Maori side. In the education process, taha Maori is the inclusion of Maori language and culture in the philosophy, organisation and content of the school. In the curriculum it is not a separated-out compulsory element. Pupils should not go to a classroom to "do" taha Maori. Aspects of Maori language and culture should be incorporated into the total life of the school, into curriculum, buildings, grounds, attitudes and organisation. It should be a normal part of the school climate with which all pupils and staff feel comfortable and at ease (p.1).

Hirsh (1990, p.37) found that taha Maori drained the energy and resources of Maori teachers in a process destined to serve Pakeha needs. He identified two expectations of taha Maori; the potential to validate Maori culture and language in the minds of Pakeha New Zealanders and the potential to help Maori students to feel a greater sense of identity, self worth and belonging and to possibly enhance achievement as well. He doubted that either would be

realised. While taha Maori did introduce a Maori dimension into mainstream education, Harker and Nash (1990, cited in McMurchy Pilkinton, 2001, p.167) found, "there was little change in the dispositions of the majority."

Bilingual Education

The shift in focus to biculturalism also gave focus to an increasing demand for Maori language in schools fuelled by a demand from Maori for the revival of their language. In 1900 over 90% of Maori children arrived at school with Maori as their first language. By 1960 the figure had fallen to 25%. By 1984 it was probably less than 2% (Ka'ii-Oldman,1988, p.24).

In 1974 the Department of Education established the country's first bilingual school at Ruatoki. This was closely followed by three further bilingual schools, Tawerea, Hiruharama and Omahu, in the next two years. Mainstream schools with bilingual options ranging from single classes to fully bilingual schools, dual medium to total immersion have grown rapidly since this time (Table 2.5), with varying degrees of success. This type of bilingual education, and taha Maori programmes were state-initiated yet most support for these options came from Maori themselves rather than the state (McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001, p.167). The issues relating to power, the dominant-subordinate relationship between Pakeha and Maori (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.53), ensured there was little structural change arising from the establishment of bilingual options. Individual teachers in Maori bilingual classes were required to follow the policies and the 'norms' of the wider school. Little other than the language of instruction was noticeably different.

Table 2.5: Engagement in Maori Language Learning, 1987-9 and 2001
(Sources: Hirsh, 1990, p.45; Ministry of Education, 2002c, p.23; Te Puni Kokiri, 2002, pp.4, 5)

	1987 to 1989	2001
Kohanga Reo	530	562
Bilingual primary schools	20	77
Primary schools with bilingual classes	67	177
Mainstream schools with immersion classes	-	101
Kura Kaupapa Maori	6	59

In spite of the apparent burgeoning of te reo Maori options the fact is that in 2001, less than 4% of Maori children were educated through total immersion in Kura Kaupapa Maori and just 17% were engaged in learning Maori language in bilingual or total immersion mainstream schools. The total number of students, 27,865, accessing Maori language in both Kura Kaupapa and mainstream schools was less than 4% of the total school population (Ministry of Education, 2002c, p.37).

Maori initiatives

The aspirations of Maori to revitalise the language and the dissatisfaction of many with taha Maori and bilingual education that often failed to deliver on its promises led to the birth of Maori-driven education initiatives. In 1982 the first Kohanga Reo was opened in Wellington with the goal of involving elders and extended whanau in the education of their preschool children and the renaissance of Maori language (McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001, p.170):

> The policy of Te Kohanga Reo is comprehensive: it is education for life. It covers cultural, spiritual, social, economic, and educational aspects. Te Kohanga Reo aims to reaffirm Maori culture through whanau development, thus restoring Maori self-determination. In particular, it aims to achieve this goal through the organisation of local Kohanga Reo on a whanau model. (Te Kohanga Reo National Trust, 2003)

Kohanga Reo are now one of the country's major early childhood education providers and from their inception put significant pressure on schools to respond to fluent Maori speaking Kohanga graduates. The response again from Maori was to seek a solution outside the mainstream state system and Kura Kaupapa Maori emerged to become, "an influential and coherent philosophy and practice for Maori conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis to advance Maori cultural capital and learning outcomes within education and schooling" (Smith, 1997, p.423). Kura Kaupapa Maori are discussed further in a later section of this chapter (see p.72).

Pacific Education

There are over 60,000 Pacific students enrolled in schools in New Zealand. Over 40,000 of these students attend decile one to three schools (Table 2.6). Forty three thousand Pacific students are enrolled in schools in the Auckland region.

In 2002, 84 licensed early childhood centres were identified as using a Pacific language as the medium of instruction for at least 12% of the teacher contact time. Of these 84 centres 47 were immersion (81-100%) involving 1230 children. Thirty-one immersion centres used Samoan as the language of communication, eight used Tongan, three used Cook Island, and three used Niuean, one used Tokelauan and another used Tuvaluan. The remaining 37 centres were identified as bilingual (12-80%) involving 1236 children. Nineteen bilingual centres used Samoan language, eleven Cook Island, four Niuean and three Tongan (Ministry of Education, 2002c).

Table 2.6: Number of students attending schools by ethnicity and socio-economic status, July 2002.

(Ministry of Education, 2002c)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DECILE BAND	ETHNIC GROUPS OF DOMESTIC STUDENTS					TOTAL
	European/Pakeha	Maori	Pacific	Asian	Other	
1-3	55891	81415	40836	9411	2296	191529
4-7	199332	52583	14540	16881	4194	293326
8-10	193993	16146	4624	22526	3872	248936
Not available	10483	2412	313	476	420	14293
Total	459699	152556	60313	49294	10782	748084

Twenty schools offered instruction either in total immersion settings or in bilingual programmes in 2001 (Table 2.7). These programmes cater for 2.6% of all Pacific students in school in New Zealand.

Table 2.7: Number of schools and students involved in Pacific-medium Education in 2001

(Ministry of Education, 2002c)

Language	Number of schools	Percentage of time Pacific language is used as the medium of instruction for all curriculum subjects				TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS
		80-100%	51-80%	31-50%	Up to 30%	
Samoan	18	80	319	343	439	1181
Cook Island Maori	5			147	78	225
Tongan	3	30		105	45	180
Niuean	1			27		27
	20*	110	319	622	562	1613

* One school offered four Pacific languages as the medium of instruction and four schools each offered two Pacific languages as the medium of instruction

While the majority of the New Zealand literature reviewed in this chapter has been about the relevance of schools for Maori students there is a smaller, but growing, body of information about the mismatch between schools and Pasifika students. Hunkin-Tuiletufuga (2001, p.66 cited in Coxon et al., 2002, p.87) points out that schooling in New Zealand is Westernised, and the general curriculum is ethnocentric. He argues that the poor achievement rates are a consequence of Palagi[12] or Pakeha culture that is "interwoven within the way schools are organised and run." He finds a "serious mismatch here between the cultural capital of the home and the school." Citing strong research evidence of the benefits of well organised [Samoan] bilingual programme, he states nevertheless, "...whether our languages get taught

[12] European

or not, it is till to a large extent dependent on the whim of gatekeepers within the dominant culture"(2001 p.204).

Lesieli MacIntyre, a Pacific researcher in New Zealand, looked at the positive contributions made by Pacific mothers, specifically a group of Tongan mothers in this study, to their children's education (MacIntyre, 1999). Accustomed to the social structures in Tongan society in their homeland, MacIntyre describes the tensions for these mothers in trying to support their children's learning:

> One would expect the women to be expert in shuttling from one mode to the other spontaneously. However, the trouble is that they can only shuttle from one to the other in Tonga, because they know the 'rules' and roughly understand the culture, or 'habitus' of the opposition to which they don't belong. But in New Zealand, the 'rules' are subtle, the norms are unspoken of and the values can only be learned through practice and for a long time, in fact, it is a lifelong process.

The Tongan mothers have different expectations of the education system than the school and the teachers do, and a further conflict between their aspirations for their children and the children's goals for themselves. Jones, (1991) describes the expectation of the Pacific students in her study that 'learning', 'studying', 'doing homework' means writing, copying and making notes, whereas white secondary school teachers and white students perceive the same terms to mean and require 'thinking', 'discussing', 'questioning the teachers', 'reading' and answering questions in one's own words, or finding the key ideas. The challenge is for teachers and schools to understand these differences and work in partnership with parents and students to explore ways of eliminating mismatches between home and school.

Mara (2001, p.200) makes the point that it is essential for teachers to gather information about the colonial histories of Pacific nations, the reasons for immigration and the linguistic differences between Pacific communities in order to understand the ethnic diversity that exists among Pacific students in their classrooms. Teachers must learn that there are important differences between peoples from Western Samoa, the Kingdom of Tonga, Fiji (indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian), the Cook Islands, Tuvalu and the Tokelau Islands and other small Pacific nations who live in New Zealand. As in the Tongan study, Mara cites Tupuola's (1999) description of the "multiple identities" of Samoan youth in New Zealand; "the daily lived realities of home/family/church" and the tensions between strong family Christian values and the globalised youth culture with its Black American influences:

> Teachers in the present New Zealand education system (whose students now reflect the ethnic diversity present in the wider society) must learn to suspend their tendency to 'blame the victim' as an explanation for academic failure. Teachers must examine the structural and contextual inequalities of

> the education system and, more importantly, analyse their own role in maintaining cultural and academic hegemony. (Mara, 2001, p. 202)

In a comprehensive literature review of Pacific education in New Zealand, prepared for the Ministry of Education, Coxon, Anae, Mara, Wendt-Samu, & Finau (2002), cite Pasikale's (1995) identification of groups or "types" of Pacific young people. Pasikale categorises these identity profiles as; (i) traditional, (ii) New Zealand blend and (iii) New Zealand made. "In other words, these profiles were made on the basis of the extent to which the individual Pacific youth participants could relate to the cultural traditions and practices (including language) of their parents and/or grandparents." Pasikale points out that the issues for New Zealand born Pacific people are critical. In spite of the fact that they represent large numbers of the Pacific population, "the images, information and stereotypes about Pacific Island people are rooted in assumptions based on the images of 'recent island migrants'" (p.5). The Pasifika Education Plan (2001d) of the Ministry of Education has the aim of increasing achievement in early literacy and numeracy, the attainment of school qualifications and reducing at-risk factors for Pacific students at school.

In 2002 the Education Review Office collated the findings of their reviews in 114 schools where Pacific students were enrolled, during the first two terms of 2002. The total number of Pacific students enrolled at these schools was 5,765 and the rolls in individual schools ranged from one to 454. The report found that schools, "do not yet have a clear focus on reducing disparities in achievement between Pacific and non-Pacific students. In particular, most schools do not know how the educational achievement of Pacific students compares with that of the other students." While there was:

> ... a wide range of different initiatives aimed at improving educational outcomes for Pacific students in the 114 schools included in this study. The most common initiative was inclusion of a focus on Pacific cultures in classrooms for some elements of curriculum delivery. However even this low-level intervention was found in only a small proportion of schools.

How *could* schools fit the kids?

Emerging from research both internationally and in New Zealand with indigenous and minority ethnic students is the crucial importance of the relationship between teacher and student (Bishop, et al. 2001; Bishop, et al. 2002; Delpit, 1995; Hattie, 2003; Hawk, et al., 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1994). However, there is ample evidence that the majority of teachers bring to these relationships a "pedagogy of whiteness" (Adkins & Hytten, 2001, Levine-Raskey, 2000) that maintains the teacher's knowledge as the point of reference and the lens through which the relationship is perceived and developed. This unwritten and often unwitting agenda must be challenged and changed if schools are to really "fit the kids."

> We must attempt to create learning relationships within classrooms wherein learners' culturally generated sense-making processes are used and developed in order that they may successfully participate in classroom interactions. Such relationships must promote the knowledges, learning styles and sense-making processes of the learners as 'acceptable' or 'legitimate'. Teachers should interact with students in such a way that new knowledge is co-created (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.165).

To date any challenge to the cultural capital of the dominant group in our education system has been minimal. Hulmes (1989, p.20, in May, 1994, p.43) suggests that effective multiculturalism requires *organic* and structural change rather than *incremental* or additive changes in schools (emphasis in original). This would include "a thorough reassessment of curriculum content, of teaching methods and of the dominant [western] philosophy of education."

Beyond Multicultural Education: Power and Pedagogy

Approaches based on using students' cultures and languages as an important and central source of their education have emerged from the ashes of benevolent multicultural education. Variously these approaches have been called, culturally compatible, culturally congruent, culturally appropriate, bicultural, culturally responsive, or culturally relevant (Ladson Billings, 1994; Nieto, 1998; Osborne, 2001; Osborne and Cooper, 2001; Osborne and Singh 2001).

However May (2001, p.31) points out that these labels and practices can still imply the need to accommodate *to* mainstream culture. He cites Ladson Billings' (1995) observation that, "cultural 'compatibility', 'appropriateness', and 'congruence' all suggest a process of one

way accommodation," and singles out cultural responsiveness as potentially a "more dynamic process of mutual accommodation between the home and the school."

At the root of the failure of multicultural education to deliver what it promised is its non-critical orientation. The acceptance of schools as culturally neutral, the celebration and marking of difference, the focus on self-esteem and tolerance, the learning about other cultures all failed to address explicitly, social and racial injustice and the issues of power relations.

The term "symbolic violence" is used by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) to describe the "subtle process whereby subordinate classes come to take as natural or 'common sense' ideas and practices that are actually against their own best interests." They contest that children in these circumstances find their home culture devalued, but come to accept that rejection as legitimate. They contrast economic capital with "cultural capital," language, meanings, thought, behavioural styles, values and dispositions. What education does, argue Bourdieu and Passeron, is to favour the capital of the dominant culture, thus confirming, legitimising and reproducing it and disadvantaging those who don't have it.

Reflecting on seven years of advocacy for minority groups in bilingual education, Cummins, (1996) observes the "demonization of bilingual education," and the fact that cultural diversity is still seen as the "enemy within." He believes there are alternatives to the current directions and these, "require educators to recognize that relations of power are at the core of schooling and also to recognize that, as educators, we have the choices regarding how power is negotiated in our classrooms" (Cummins, 1996, p.vi).

The reluctance of educators to address the issues of race and power in education is aptly described by (Pollock, 2001). While we habitually link achievement, and more particularly "achievement gaps" to ethnicity and stereotypical characteristics of racial groups, "the question Americans ask most about race in education – *how and why do different 'race groups' achieve differently?* – is the very question we most suppress" (emphasis in original). In Pollock's research teachers comfortably and matter-of-factly attributed labels and behaviours ethnically, literature was described as, "black" literature, people said easily that, "Samoans beat up Latinos," yet, when it came to discuss academic achievement people avoided racial labels. Describing this behaviour as "colourmuteness," Pollock observes that this reluctance to discuss the question of how race may matter, actively deletes race terms from our talk. Silence about these patterns allows them to remain intact and, "they become, most dangerously, acceptable – a taken-for-granted part of what school is about." Pollock concludes that both our silence and our routine answers about race-group achievement play a "devious role in naturalizing such patterns as national 'common sense'."

While it seems clear that internationally we have recognised the disparity of outcomes in our schooling systems for students on the margins, our reluctance to frame the causes in terms other than those that "blame the victim" has resulted in little change over the last thirty years. In all countries there are individual schools that can relate some progress, and some make a significant difference, however there is a pervasive "pedagogy of whiteness," (Adkins and Hytten, 2001) which prevents our school systems from viewing education for marginalised groups through any other than a white lens:

> When whiteness remains invisible, all of our efforts to support the achievement of minority students are focused on what we can do "for them and we ignore what we, as white teachers, need to do for ourselves.
>
> ... Whiteness, or white culture, is a crucial gap in our understanding of cultural relations because it 'makes itself invisible precisely by asserting its normalcy, its transparency.' (p.433)

Critical Multiculturalism

Three key principles to be incorporated in what he terms "critical multicultural education" are identified by May, (2001, pp.30-33). Firstly the unmasking and deconstructing, "the apparent neutrality of civism – that is the supposedly universal, neutral set of cultural values and practices that underpin the public sphere of the nation state." May argues that civism has never been neutral and is reflective of the dominant ethnic group, with the consequence for minority groups of the enforced loss of ethnicity, culture and language. This is particularly the case in education.

Efforts to integrate language and culture into classroom practice is however, insufficient in itself. May's second key principle is that these cultural differences must be situated, "within the wider nexus of power relations of which they form a part."

> To this end, a critical multiculturalism needs to both recognise and incorporate the differing cultural knowledges that children bring with them to school, *while at the same time,* address and contest the differential cultural capital attributed to them as a result of wider hegemonic power relations. (2001, p.32, emphasis in original)

However, this too is still not enough. May argues that emphasising cultural boundaries in this way can result in groups being *contained* within their cultures. The third key aspect of Critical multiculturalism then is that it must foster, "above all, students who can engage critically with all ethnic and cultural backgrounds, including their own." Students must see their cultures, not as static and located in the past, but as dynamic and able to move fluidly with the modern world.

The potential and limitations of three further approaches to counter a benevolent approach to multicultural education are described by Sleeter and Delgado Bernal (in press). These are; critical pedagogy, critical race theory and antiracist education.

Critical Pedagogy

The origins of critical pedagogy can be traced to the work of Paulo Freire (1996) and to critical theory. Critical theory originated in the work of the Frankfurt School, a group of writers associated with the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt in 1923. These writers, inspired by Marx, rejected all theories that took existing social conditions as given and differentiated between what *is* and what *should be*. In the last twenty years a second generation of Frankfurt philosophers such as Habermas (1971) have further developed the idea of critical theory. Habermas further differentiates understanding and knowledge into three 'cognitive interests': technical, historical-hermeneutic, and emancipatory, which are grounded in different aspects of social existence; work, communication and power.

Critical pedagogy has four main implications for multicultural education (Sleeter and Delgado Bernal, in press). Firstly it offers tools for examining the concept of "culture", including critically investigating the dominant culture in depth and reaching greater understanding of colonisation and power relations. The challenging of power relations is central to critical pedagogy (Freire 1970). In benevolent approaches to multiculturalism, "power is often displaced by more comfortable concepts such as tolerance. Critical pedagogy offers an important critique of that displacement and continues to ask the question: comfortable for whom?" (Sleeter and Delgado Bernal, 2001).

Secondly, critical pedagogy grew out of class struggle, rather than education, primarily. When this background is applied in educational contexts the issues can be clearly connected to the wider social and political issues, "as connected structures of oppression, lenses of analysis and sites of struggle." (Sleeter and Delgado Bernal, 2001). Thirdly, critical pedagogy allows us to examine the connection between empowerment and school practice - the power relations in classrooms. Freire (1970) viewed what he called a "banking" form of pedagogy, where teachers impart knowledge to students, as a further instrument of control. A critical pedagogy starts with the students' lived experiences, connects their lives with their learning and involves students in the active creation of understanding and knowledge. The fourth implication of critical pedagogy is the reconnection of culture and language - linking multicultural education with bilingual education and children's linguistic rights.

Sleeter and Delgado Bernal (in press) suggest two limitations of critical pedagogy however; the fact that it has been developed mainly at a theoretical level, leaving teachers unclear about what to do and, as the literature about the approach does not directly address race, ethnicity or gender, it has a White bias. "White theorists taking on race and racism does not resolve the problem of whites having the power to define how race and racism are theorized" (Sleeter and Delgado Bernal, in press).

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory emerged as a response, predominantly by legal scholars of colour, to social justice and oppression in the United States. Since the early 1990s critical race theory has been used as a framework to examine racism in education.

One of the main tenets of critical race theory is that it puts race at the centre; seeing racism as a "permanent fixture" (Ladson-Billings, 1999), illustrating the fact that despite laws and policies reportedly intended to provide equal opportunity, people of colour still face racism at individual, structural, and institutional levels. Bringing race and racism to the centre of the discussion means not having to explain that racism persists. Merit is another concept challenged by critical race theory. The United States is a meritocratic society, in which it is argued that anyone who works hard enough can achieve success. Because merit is highly valued, it is difficult to convince whites that people of colour are systematically excluded from opportunities to succeed, through individual racism as well as racist structures and institutions.

Critical race theory challenges Eurocentric epistemology. Ladson Billings, (2000, p.258, cited in Sleeter and Delgado Bernal, 2001), argues that, "there are well developed systems of knowledge, or epistemologies, that stand in contrast to the dominant Euro-American epistemology." Parker, Deyhle and Vilenas (1999, cited in Sleeter and Delgado Bernal, 2001), find that by its grounding in systems of knowledge that counter the dominant Eurocentric view, critical race theory offers a tool for, "dismantling prevailing notions of fairness, meritocracy, colorblindness and neutrality."

The significant difference that sets critical race theory apart however is the concept of storytelling. Counterstorytelling is a tool that allows those on the margins of society to tell their own stories and to analyse and challenge the stories of those in power. These powerful personal stories, family histories, biographies, testimonials, journals, diaries and narratives put a human face on the practice of racism in society and challenge the accepted status quo.

Antiracist Education

Antiracist education emerged initially in Britain in opposition to multicultural education. The movement grew mainly in urban areas out of community activism against racism. Antiracism declined as a movement due to limitations that marginalised culture and focused essentially on race. It has subsequently re-emerged (Sleeter and Delgado, in press) by making connections with critical multiculturalism. The implications and limitations of antiracist education are outlined in Table 2.8.

Sleeter and Delgado Bernal conclude that the way forward is to expand the dialogue between all four approaches and, rather than suggesting a grand theory, they suggest it is more useful to ask what insights each perspective can offer and how these insights might overlap and complement each other.

Table 2.8: Antiracist Education
(Adapted from Sleeter and Delgado Bernal, in press)

Implications for multicultural education	Features	References (cited in Sleeter and Delgado, in press)	Limitations of antiracist education
1. directs attention specifically to challenging racism in education	► challenges systemic racism ► focuses on the racist underpinnings and operation of white dominated institutions ... rather than ethnic minorities and lifestyle ► directs attention to White supremacy and to the needs articulated by communities who are oppressed on the basis of race ► gives tools to not only talk about racism, but also to do something about it	Troyna (1987) Dei (1996) Thompson (1997) James (2001) Lee, et al. (1998)	1. the term itself, suggests two opposing agendas, antiracism and multicultural education. In fact a fair amount of the literature in both is virtually interchangeable 2. has been criticised for giving too much attention to race and too little to culture, language, religion ... paints the world in black and white leaving too little space for diverse ethnic minorities 3. it can end up subsuming multiple forms of oppression (e.g. gender and class) under racism -
4. critiques the supposed neutrality of institutions such as schools	► ► Example: Tracking ► examine race and class biases in tracking systems ► examine race and class biases in standardised testing	Levine, et al (1995)	
5. situates culture within relations of power	► does not assume culture is fixed and bounded, homogenous or separate from its relational contexts ► allows for complex cultural identities, overlapping histories	Dei (1996) May (1999b)	

Implications for multicultural education	Features	References (cited in Sleeter and Delgado, in press)	Limitations of antiracist education
6. situates schooling in the broader community, viewing parents and community members as necessary parts of the education process.	► Directs attention toward relationships between historically oppressed communities and professionals who are complicit in perpetuating racism ► Includes communities that are usually excluded from decision-making	Perry and Fraser (1993) Dei (1996) Lee (1995)	and therefore can alienate many. White working-class youth find it difficult to relate with oppressed people when the only identity they can see for themselves is as the oppressor (Bonnet and Carrington, 1996)
7. problemises Whiteness and White dominance	► names and critiques dominance ► helps students make significant political shifts in their thinking around racism and privilege	Stanley (1998) Thompson (2002)	

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Osborne too (Osborne and Cooper, 2001, pp.58,59) describes his struggle with the terminology to describe classroom practice, when he began to explore the literature in 1991. He analysed five common descriptors; cultural congruence, culturally appropriate teaching, mitigating cultural discontinuity, culturally compatible and culturally responsive and decided:

> Accordingly my preference is toward the term, 'culturally responsive pedagogy', which might be defined as adjusting and readjusting teacher practices and the content of the curriculum in such a way as to assist students to develop appropriate classroom behaviour and hence improved levels of academic achievement, because they are built from existing skills and knowledge in ways with which they are at least partly familiar (Osborne (2001, 61)

Osborne searched for classroom practices that were likely to be effective across cultures. He drew together ninety-one ethnographies conducted in more than eighty cross-cultural and multi-ethnic settings in Australia, North America and New Zealand, spanning a period of thirty years of research. He offered his findings initially as "assertions" (Osborne, 1991, 1996), then later (2001), as "signposts," inviting teachers to test these in their own contexts. Each signpost was offered, with studies to support it, both confirming evidence and disconfirming evidence. In this work Osborne, (2001, 62-135) provided evidence of six understandings:

Signpost 1 Culturally relevant teachers do not need to come from the same ethnic group as the students.

Signpost 2 Socio-historico-political factors from outside the classroom impinge on what happens within the classroom and we need to be aware of these factors and to adjust to them.

Signpost 3 It is desirable to teach content that is culturally relevant to students' prior experiences.

Signpost 4 Culturally responsive teachers are warm, respectful towards, as well as academically demanding, of students

Signpost 5 Teachers must spell out the cultural assumptions on which the classroom (schooling) operates.

Signpost 6 There are five components of culturally relevant classroom management: using group work, avoiding 'spotlighting'[13], controlling indirectly, using an unhurried pace and using home communication structures, particularly in the lower grades.

Osborne then tested these practices in his own subsequent teaching in Torres Strait and felt that they were successful within the confines of his classroom and within their specific curriculum focus. However, subsequent thinking and reflection moved beyond his earlier priority of improving academic achievement, to the implications of the wider issues of power and politics that impacted on his students. This caused him to extend and revise his signposts to link them to critical theory and emancipatory social justice. As before Osborne found evidence that supports these signposts from a variety of studies and was influenced particularly by the work of Ladson Billings and her definition of culturally *relevant* pedagogy. Osborne's new and revised signposts (Osborne and Cooper, 2001b, pp.178-200) were:

Signpost 7 (new) It is desirable to involve the parents and families of students from groups we have marginalized.

Signpost 8 (new) It is desirable to include students' first languages in the school programme and classroom interactions

Signpost 9 (new) Racism is prevalent in schools, and needs to be addressed

Signpost 3 (revised and extended) Culturally relevant approaches to curriculum involve analysing students' life experiences in historically located contexts and critiquing the status quo as a collective enterprise to construct equitable and just social

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[13] Publicly singling out an individual student for correction of misbehaviour or mistakes - or for drawing attention to achievement or success

> relations. This means accepting knowledge as socially constructed and open to challenge.

Gloria Ladson Billings (1992, p.110, cited in Osborne and Cooper, 2001b, p.177), defines culturally relevant pedagogy as:

> ...empower[ing] students to the point where they will be able to examine critically educational content and process and ask what its role is in creating a truly democratic and multicultural society. It uses the children's culture to help them create meaning and understand the world. Thus, not only academic success but also social and cultural success are emphasized by the culturally relevant teacher.

According to Ladson-Billings (1994), a culturally relevant pedagogy is structured on three main principles:

1. students must experience success by working up to teacher expectations,
2. students must develop and or maintain cultural competence through the integration of cultural issues
3. students must develop a critical consciousness to challenge the status quo through collaborative teaching strategies in with the teacher and student play and active role and equal role in education.

Ladson Billings (2001) refers to teachers who can work in this way as, "dreamkeepers," and laments the fact that their ranks are decreasing. Her current work is with teacher development and she believes the fault lies with the education that teachers receive. With the best of intentions, "'helping the less fortunate,' can become the lens through which teachers see their role." Such an approach to teaching marginalised students renders their culture irrelevant. Ladson Billings observes that even cultural heroes such as Martin Luther King become sanitised so that students see them as role models because they were 'good Americans,' rather than because they stood up to America, "and demanded that the country live up to its own democratic rhetoric."

A major issue identified (Adkins and Hytten, 2001; Ladson Billings, 2001; McLaren and Torres, 1999, Sleeter and Delgado Bernal, 2001) is the "pervasiveness of whiteness," that makes the experience of most teachers the accepted norm.

> White teachers don't understand what it is to be 'ashy' or to be willing to fail a physical education class because of what swimming will do to your hair. (Ladson Billings, 2001)

In order that teachers can help students become culturally competent, they first must become aware of their own culture and its role in their lives and become culturally

competent themselves. Ladson Billings (2001) states that being white is not merely about biology, it is about choosing a system of privilege and power. When people choose whiteness as their primary identity, one's ethnic and cultural history disappears so that when asked about their culture, "they're likely to say, 'Well, you know, I don't have a culture. I'm just an American.'"(Ladson Billings interviewed by Ingram Willis and Lewis, 1998).

Culture Counts: Ways forward in New Zealand classrooms

In New Zealand there is a similar body of research and evidence that suggests the crucial component of an effective teacher/student relationship is the need to address power imbalances in the classroom (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, Bishop, et al., 2003; May, 1994, 1999; Durie, 2001). Bishop and Glynn (1999, p.106) propose a model based on Kaupapa Maori theory that addresses, "Maori cultural aspirations for power and control over the issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability" (Figure 2.11). There is a growing resource available to New Zealand teachers, based on New Zealand practice, that moves beyond the compelling and powerful evidence identifying the problem to strategies for change and professional development.

Table 2.9: Evaluating Power Imbalances in the Classroom.
(after Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.162)

Addressing Power Imbalances in the Classroom	**INITIATION**	▸ Who initiates classroom interactions? ▸ How are relationships established? ▸ Whose interest/agendas/prior experiences are paramount in the classroom?
	BENEFITS	▸ Who will benefit from the interactions within the classroom? ▸ In what ways will Maori students benefit from these interactions?
	REPRESENTATION	▸ Whose cultural reality is current in the classroom? ▸ In what way do pedagogic practices facilitate students' voice?
	LEGITIMATION	▸ Whose realities/prior experiences are legitimate in the classroom? ▸ What authority does the relationship have? ▸ How do we know?
	ACCOUNTABILITY	▸ Who are we accountable to? ▸ How is our accountability demonstrated? ▸ How would we know?

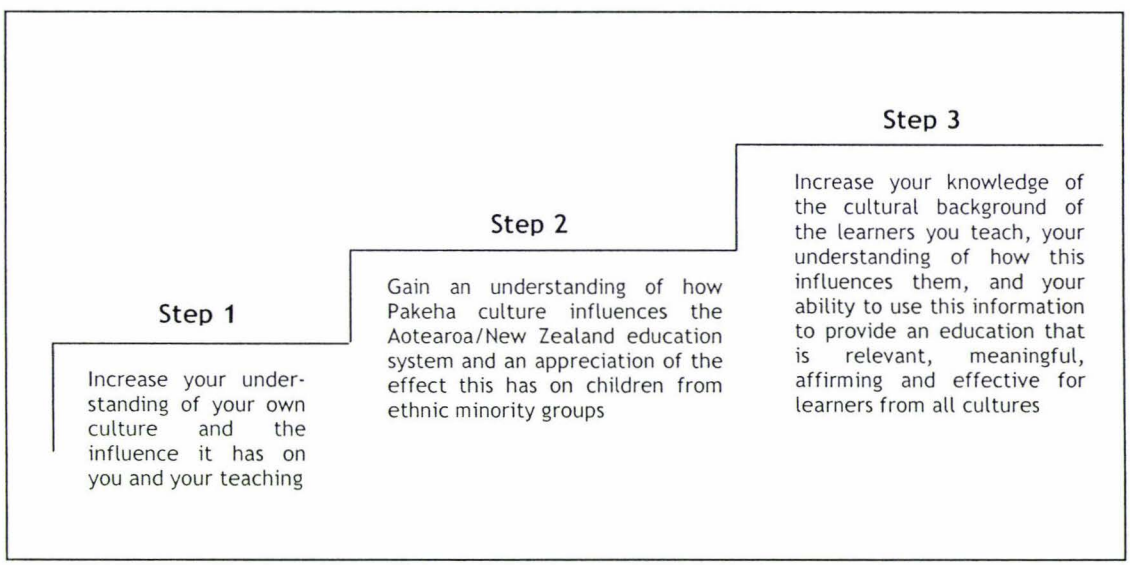
Durie (2001) proposes a framework for considering Maori educational advancement and introduces the concept of "Maori-centred" education. He identifies three broad goals for Maori in our education system; to live as Maori, to participate as citizens of the world and to enjoy good health and a high standard of living. Durie states:

> It is unacceptable for Maori students to leave kohanga, or primary school, or high school without achieving the best possible outcome. Unless all students

> have made significant and measurable progress towards reaching the three identified broad goals, then the system has failed them (2000).

Jill Bevan-Brown (2003, p.4) suggests a three step process for teachers to increase their cross-cultural competence (Figure 2.12). She constructs a framework for the self-review of schools and learning institutions based on eight guiding principles; partnership, participation, the active protection of a child's cultural development and knowledge, empowerment, tino rangatiratanga[14], equality, accessibility and integration. Bevan-Brown's framework calls for the inclusion of the eight principles in eight components of school programmes; the environment, personnel, policy, teaching process and practice, content, resources, assessment and administration.

Figure 2.11: Three steps for teachers to increase cross-cultural competence (after Bevan-Brown, 2003)



Bishop et al., (2003) categorically place the greatest need for change on teachers in their face to face interactions with Maori learners:

> Most non-Maori teachers do not experience the impact of mono-cultural dominance on their lives; and until they can (albeit vicariously) experience how such factors manifest themselves in classroom relationships and interactions in the form of cultural deficit theorising and the cultural processes within traditional classrooms, they will not understand the need to challenge how they themselves may perpetuate, albeit unwittingly, these patterns and their consequences within their own classroom. From the classroom experiences of the students themselves it was clear that teachers firstly needed a means of addressing their own deficit theorising about Maori students and their families and that this needed to precede all other change

[14] literally, chiefly control, self-determination

> elements. From the researchers experience these teachers are just as likely to be Maori as non-Maori (p.202).

They advocate for change from traditional classrooms typified by teacher dominance and "control" relationships where transmission is the aim, to discursive classrooms, based on a kaupapa Maori approach. Bishop et al's research and subsequent professional development with teachers in four mainstream secondary schools identifies an "Effective Teaching Profile" (2003, p.190-191) to describe the understandings effective teachers use to create "culturally appropriate and responsive contexts for learning in their classrooms." Two understandings are crucial:

1. they positively and vehemently reject deficit theorising as a means of explaining Maori students' educational achievement levels

2. they know and understand how to bring about change in Maori students' educational achievement and are professionally committed to doing so

Clearly observable in the effective teacher's practice are the concepts of:

- Manaakitanga: They care for the students as culturally-located human beings above all else.
- Mana motuhake: They care for the performance of their students
- Nga turango takitahi me nga mana wharehaere: They are able to create a secure, well-managed learning environment.
- Wananga: They are able to engage in effective teaching interactions with Maori students as Maori.
- Ako: They can use strategies that promote effective teaching interactions and relationships with their learners.
- Te Kotahitanga: They promote, monitor and reflect on outcomes that in turn lead to improvements in educational achievement for Maori students. (Bishop, et al. 2003, pp.190, 191)

In his book, Kia Hiwa Ra! Listen to culture: Maori students' plea to educators (2004, p.97), Angus Macfarlane, introduces the *educultural wheel* to show the cultural concepts and strategies likely to have a positive effect on both students' and teachers' learning. The educultural wheel uses the Maori cultural concepts of whanaungatanga (building relationships), manaakitanga (the ethic of caring), rangatiratanga (teacher effectiveness), and kotahitanga (the ethic on bonding) around a hub based on pumanawatanga (the "beating heart" - morale, tone and pulse). The spokes of the wheel use four Maori whakatauaki (proverbs) to denote the values of affection, encouragement, perseverance and collaboration. Macfarlane suggests that these cultural referents form the basis of a culturally relevant pedagogy and signal to Maori children that their culture matters.

There is consensus in this range of literature that it is necessary to eliminate the mismatches that exist for Maori learners - between home and school, between teachers' and learners' perceptions of what works and why, between what is taught and what is learned in teacher-

student interactions. Bishop, et al., (2003, pp.32,33) discuss two types of culture necessary in classroom learning; culture (with a small "c") that incorporates, builds on and enhances young people's sense-making processes, prior knowledge and experiences, and Culture (with a capital "C") where Maori students can see themselves present and accurately represented in the curriculum.

> In such a context where what students know, who they are, where they come from and how they know what they know, forms the foundations of interaction patterns in the classroom learning can occur effectively. In short, where *culture counts*. Such a position stands in contrast to traditional positions where knowledge is determined by the teacher and children are required to leave who they are at the door of the classroom or at the school gate (Bishop et al., 2003, p.33).

Curriculum

If content and context are both so vitally important to the educational outcomes of marginalised students, what is mandated in the New Zealand school curriculum? In our schools the New Zealand Curriculum Framework shapes the learning of all students up to the age of eighteen. Carpenter (2001, p.110) describes this as the intended or overt curriculum, the "publicly advertised fare for schools." Two other types of curriculum also operate in schools, the hidden and the null curriculum (Figure 2.13).

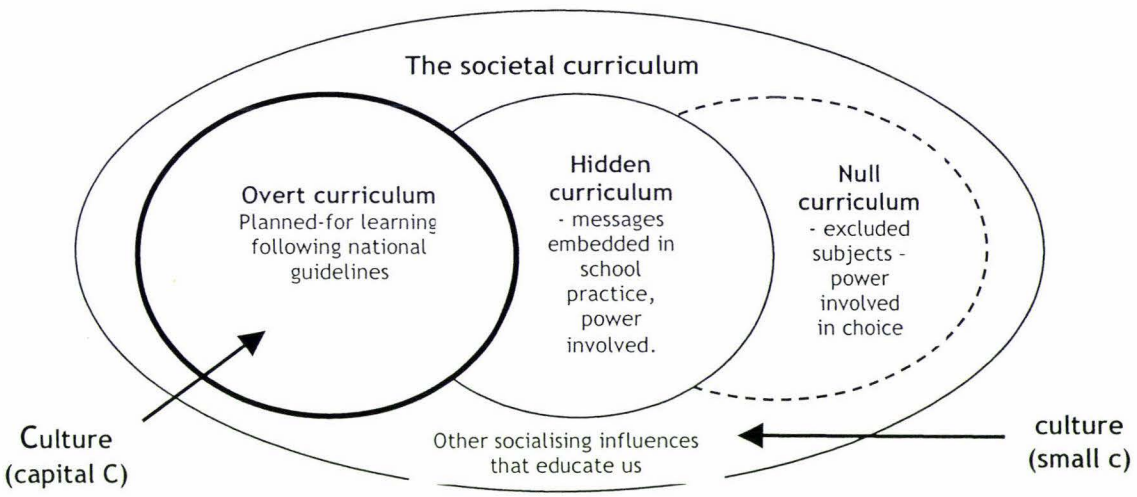
A powerful example of the hidden curriculum can be found in Jones' (1991) work with two streamed classes in a New Zealand girls' secondary school. Students in the top stream class were predominantly Pakeha, belonging to "the professional middle class" (p.2), students in the other class, a middle to low stream were mostly from the Pacific. Jones found that the school, actively distributed valuable knowledge and the tools to understand it and use it to the top class, while withholding those things from the Pacific girls. This process was hidden from the students by the school's implicit neutrality. The two groups of students lived up to the hidden messages and the expectations of the teachers and the Pacific girls inevitably blamed themselves for their failure because, they didn't "work hard enough" (p.15). Other examples of the hidden curriculum might include messages schools give through policy, organisation or timetabling.

The null curriculum consists of excluded subjects. Carpenter (p.111) cites the example of knowledge about sexual orientation. Implicit in the concept of the null curriculum is the question of who has the power to choose what is to be taught and whose knowledge is considered to be important:

> It is my thesis that what schools do not teach may be as important as what they do teach. I argue this position because ignorance is not simply a neutral void; it has important effects on the kinds of options one is able to consider, the alternatives that one can examine, and the perspectives from which one can view a situation or problems (Eisner, 1994, p.97)

A further curriculum type proposed by Cortes is the societal curriculum, those experiences and knowledges children bring with them to school; the "massive, ongoing, informal curriculum of family, peer groups, neighborhoods, churches organizations, occupations, mass, media and other socializing forces that 'educate' all of us throughout our lives" (1981, p. 24). Carpenter (2001, p.112) sums up curriculum as, "what is taught, and what is not taught but is nonetheless learned, within the early childhood, primary and secondary school contexts."

Figure 2.12: Defining Curriculum
(sources: Bishop, et al., 2003; Carpenter, 2001; Cortes, 1981; Eisner, 1994)



The Ministry of Education's Best Evidence Synthesis found a "substantial research literature that documents the way the structuring of content in the traditional curriculum can influence student learning through making visible the perspectives and knowledges of some groups and not others," and found New Zealand evidence of student alienation from curriculum content due to excluding by ethnicity or cultural perspective (Alton-Lee, 2003, p.57).

The current New Zealand curriculum was published in 1993 as the result of a wide-ranging review that began in 1987. The curriculum review, "ostensibly gave every person in New Zealand the opportunity to be involved in the selection of knowledge." (Carpenter, 2001, p.117). Carpenter deliberately chooses the word, "ostensibly ... when we reflect on who actually had the power, who thought they had the power and how power was ultimately

manifested." Perhaps this is best articulated by Pauline Waiti discussing the Maori curriculum documents:

> We (Maori) did not have a say in what was included. We had the opportunity to translate the achievement objectives, which is what the kids have to know, and we had the chance to put our own learning experience and assessment examples in, but we didn't have the chance to negotiate what the kids actually had to learn (Tapine & Waiti, 1997, p.15)

An important point about the Maori language curricula is made by Durie, "A generic curriculum written in Maori - or any other language - is not the same as a Maori curriculum or a curriculum drawn from Maori values" (2003, p.17). Graeme Smith (1997. p.143 describes three key considerations with respect to the schooling of Maori; the notion of unequal power relations, the notion of a specific context or site and the notion of struggle and suggests an examination of the school curriculum as a site of struggle between dominant Pakeha and subordinate Maori interests.

There is no doubt that power is a central issue in the decisions about what is knowledge, whose knowledge is valued and what is taught in schools. Durie 2003, p.17 states, "The framing of knowledge for inclusion in school curricula is an exclusive use of power, of the prioritising of knowledge."

Bishop and Glynn (1999, p.19) use the example of the "drift theory", the dismissal by Pakeha educators that Maori could possibly have had the complex skills and knowledge to navigate across the Pacific Ocean to populate Aotearoa. The drift theory proposed they must have arrived here by accident, probably swept away on a fishing expedition. Bishop and Glynn describe this process as "belittling" and point to its continued practice in text books through to the 1990s and to the ongoing "commodification and redefinition" of Maori knowledge to fit Pakeha frameworks by institutions such as the New Zealand Qualifications Authority.

A clear example of this treatment of indigenous knowledge is found in the analysis by Ninnes and Burnett (2001, pp.25-39) of the New Zealand Science curriculum document and six sets of secondary school science text-books produced in response to that curriculum statement. Their detailed content and discourse analysis concluded that although there is evidence of substantial efforts to represent diverse knowledge in these texts, "this is primarily a means of appropriating these diverse perspectives for the cause of promoting and teaching western science, which in turn acts to control and subjugate these knowledges." The science texts located these knowledges in the past and relegated them to a lower status than western science.

Similarly Sue McLachlan's (1996) analysis of 12,526 illustrations used in New Zealand state-produced beginning reader publications[15] over a span of 89 years showed that, "Maori presence has been largely relegated to the past and with few exceptions unacknowledged in the present" (p.128). The tendency in recent years has been the increasing use of colour as the single determining ethnic characteristic. This use of "dubious brown" p.103) without any other distinguishing features fails to differentiate Maori from any other ethnic group, thus making Maori identity largely invisible in texts that are widely used in schools and sent home with young children. Arohia Durie (2003) observes that:

> The framing of knowledge for inclusion initially depends of the views of the framers about the role of education and its worth to society at large, but it does not end there. When the curriculum meets the classroom it is mediated by teachers who may or may not have been through a teacher education programme that provided them with the opportunity to reflect critically on their personal ideological orientation. Synchronicity of cultural orientation between teacher and dictums of existing frames can mean that teachers do not ever have to critique their own ideological orientations, nor do they see through the opaque assumption that curriculum and teaching are somehow politically and culturally neutral (p.17).

Kalantzis and Cope (1999, p.273) summarise the need to rethink pedagogy and curriculum to meet the demands of diversity that has become a central reality of our times through the processes of globalization and localisation. They propose pedagogical strategies (Table 2.9), for a "critical, postpluralist, postprogressivist multicultural education," [that] can reconstitute the mainstream."

Table 2.10: Pedagogical Strategies
(Kalantzis and Cope, 1999, 274)

Pedagogy			
Issue	**Paradigm**		
	Traditional curriculum; cultural assimilation	*Progressive curriculum; cultural pluralist variant of multiculturalism*	*A critical, post-progressivist curriculum and a multiculturalism oriented to social equity*
Focus of curriculum	Singular, universalist, monolithic curriculum, aimed at all students in an undifferentiated way	Multicultural education aimed at students from minority cultural/linguistic groups	Education for social access and cultural and linguistic pluralism - for all students; variant pedagogies but singular ends
Structure of curriculum	Comprehensive	Diversified	Reconstituted core curriculum plus openness to diversity
Syllabus source	Centralized education authorities; teachers as transmitters of received, official singular knowledge	School-based curriculum; teachers as facilitators; contents of curriculum based in community, students local	Core linguistic-cognitive requirements for access; epistemological and social skills to live with cultural and

[15] The beginning readers analysed from 1907 to 1905 included Part 1 School Journals and the original and revised Ready to Read series.

	and values	experience, cultural backgrounds of student, rhetoric of choice, relevance, needs	linguistic diversity, cultural and linguistic difference as a resource for social access
Cultural/social agenda	Benevolent transmission; social discipline; inflexible standards; pass/fail according to 'ability'	Self esteem; cultural maintenance; relativism according to 'needs' and relevance	Esteem through enhancing life chances; definite contents to skills and socially powerful knowledge; antiracism
Epistemology	Monocultural, monolingual	Cultural relativism	Multiculturalism as a critical dialogue; renegotiated common social principles
Pedagogical modes	Rote learning	Inquiry learning; 'naturalism'	Authoritative contents; openness to diversity; active learning and developing essential structures of knowledge
Media	The textbook	Community, experience	Exemplary curriculum materials and professional development
Teaching/learning styles	Relationship of teaching and learning styles not regarded as an issue	Despite rhetoric of openness, frequent mismatch of the culture of schooling and student cultures	Need to negotiate teaching/learning styles to maintain a productive dialogue between the teachers/curriculum and students
Assessment	Knowledge/ability is fixed and quantifiable	No universal knowledge - just meanings to individuals according to their peculiar experiences	Comparability instead of 'standards'; measurement impacts productively back on curriculum and not on individual students

In 2002 the Ministry of Education embarked on a stocktake of the current National Curriculum Framework. The report that resulted from this consultation and information acknowledges that, in the period since the introduction of the curricula in 1993, significant changes have occurred in New Zealand. They specify:

- wider consultation with Maori on their aspirations of education
- research now links certain pedagogy to improved student outcomes
- New Zealand society has continued to diversify
- the Internet is increasingly available, resulting in international recognition of the importance of digital literacy and the value of aligning curriculum goals, ICT usage and teaching
- increasing globalisation has resulted in greater recognition of social connectedness and the need to acknowledge the uniqueness of indigenous culture, language and traditions
- recognition of the importance of balancing the social outcomes of education with a focus on academic achievement, triggering an international resurgence in citizenship and values education. (Ministry of Education, 2002b)

One of the recommendations is that schools should be able to use either the Curriculum Framework documents or Te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa, the curriculum documents followed by Kura Kaupapa Maori, or a combination of both. Given that most Maori students

are in schools that use The New Zealand Curriculum Framework and curriculum statements (in English), the underlying philosophy of both frameworks should reflect their status as tangata whenua and expectations of "best outcomes" for all students. The report recommends that the existing sections of the curriculum be retained, "with modification to content to reflect Maori social and academic aspirations" (Ministry of Education, 2002b).

Schools that *do* fit the kids

Can schools be restructured to "fit the kids" given the power of dominant groups to control and shape school organisation, pre and in-service teacher training, curriculum and majority community expectations? A range of schools and approaches that have pushed at those constraints to deliver a different type of education is outlined in this section. Four models are discussed; bilingual Navajo/English schools in Arizona, Kura Kaupapa Maori, Richmond Road School in Auckland and the philosophy that drives the middle schooling movement in New Zealand.

Navajo

In contrast to the outcomes considered to be success in Western society, McCarty and Watahomigie, (1999, p.79) quote an elder from the Navajo community of Rough Rock, Arizona, "If a child learns only the non-Indian way of life, you have lost your child."

Described as, the first United States aboriginal school with its own locally elected board, and the first to incorporate a systematic use of the aboriginal language and culture, the community of the Rough Rock Navajo demonstration school decided on these broad indicators of success:

- Higher retention rates
- Higher levels of cultural maintenance
- Promotion of bicultural competence
- More community involvement in the educational effort.

Prior to Rough Rock the Navaho word for school, shaped by the experience of enforced boarding schooling, was *ólta'* which implied "a learning place associated with the white man's world." Rough Rock however is known as *Diné Bi'ólta'*, The People's School. Two overriding principles have guided the school from the beginning: firstly, that the community has the right and the responsibility to control its own schooling and secondly, Navajo language and culture should be at the heart of all school programmes (Dick & McCarty, 1997, cited in McCarty and Watahomigie, 1999, p.82)

In the neighbouring Rock Point community the empowerment of the Navajo School Board, staff, parents and students is described by Holm and Holm (1990 p.184):

> ...the board convinced its doubters of the soundness of a bilingual/bicultural educational alternative. Navajo staff members, none of whom had had a teacher who used Navajo as the medium of instruction, validated the power of their own bilingual and bicultural pedagogy. And parents gained access to and control over an historically alien institution. Perhaps, most importantly, Rock Point graduates, 'came to value their Navajo-ness and to see themselves as succeeding because of, not despite, that Navajo-ness'. (cited in McCarty and Watahomigie, 1999 p.85)

In 1972 the Rock Point community elected a school board which contracted with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior, to operate it as a K-6 elementary school so they could have more control over hiring and curriculum to provide "quality Navajo education through local community control." In 1976, one grade a year was added so that in 1982 the first high school seniors were graduated. Today the community continues to contract to operate the school under Public Law 638, the Indian Self-determination and Assistance Act. Rock Point's commitment to ensuring that teachers were well prepared and knowledgeable about Navajo language and culture included the training of Navajo speaking teachers on-site (Reyhner, 1990).

Richmond Road

Richmond Road School is now a decile seven inner city contributing primary school situated in Ponsonby, Auckland, New Zealand. The school gained international recognition for its innovative work in literacy and multicultural education under the leadership, from 1972 to 1988, of the principal, Jim Laughton, described by May (1994, p.64) as an "educational visionary."

Stephen May's critical ethnography, Making Multicultural Education Work, (1994) is a seminal account of Richmond Road's restructuring to develop a critically conceived approach to multiculturalism. May (1994, p.61) describes Jim Laughton's goals of developing both "*cultural maintenance* - the fostering of identity and self-esteem through the affirmation of cultural difference, and *access to power* - equipping minority children with the skills necessary to live in the wider society" (emphasis in the original). Drawing on Bourdieu's (1991) notion of the 'cultural arbitrary' – the dominant forms of knowledge most recognised by schools as cultural capital, May (1999, p.32) argues that these, through restructuring, can be aligned alongside the "cultural necessary" – the overt curriculum, to ensure the delivery of school knowledge that is, "inclusive of the values and practices of both the majority and minority cultures but [is] non-hierarchically construed." May likens this approach to Ladson-Billings' model of a "culturally relevant pedagogy" (see p.58) and believes the practice of Richmond Road School achieved that balance.

The process of change at Richmond Road was gradual and carefully managed. During this period some staff left and others became fully involved in the ownership of the changes to structures, curriculum and pedagogy (May, 1994, p.72). Some of these changes included developing family/whanau vertically-grouped classes school-wide, creating variable teaching spaces or open-plan shared learning areas. In 1985 the Maori bilingual unit was established, followed in 1987 by the Samoan bilingual unit and in 1991, a Cook Islands unit. Richmond Road recapitated to include Forms 1 and 2 in 1994, thus extending the range of ages in the family groups from five to approximately twelve years old. These developments were complemented by the establishment of Maori, Samoan and Cook Islands pre-schools on the school site. By 1993 there were 5 roopu or family groups - the three bilingual units, a solely English medium unit and the Inner-City Language and Reception Unit that had been previously been established in 1976 (May, 1994).

Underpinning the restructuring at Richmond Road was Jim Laughton's belief that schools could more closely replicate the families of students and provide children with all of the support and relationships that family structures encompass. Laughton believed that family groupings gave more power and choices to everyone. An important concept was developing the ethos of cooperation rather than competitiveness. The establishment of family groupings was a key characteristic of the school, but it wasn't an easy process. May quotes a parent with long-standing involvement in the school:

> You've got to change staff. To organise this [school] from a single cell organisation to what it is now must have been a difficult task when individual teachers believed that should be autonomous within the classroom. You're actually changing these people's concepts. It wouldn't have been an easy feat. Obviously every time you do those things you're going to have dropouts. A lot of people see cooperative [arrangements] as interference, because they know better. Yet we all know that [traditional] systems never work for minority groups (May, 1994, p.78).

Another key strategy at Richmond Road was the theoretical foundation of the professional development of staff. May (1994, p.82) describes the systems set in place, particularly the weekly curriculum-focused staff meetings, that aimed to foster within teachers an understanding of the processes of both teaching and learning as, "central to establishing an approach to education which meets the needs of its ethnically diverse school population." Teachers at Richmond Road were challenged at an advanced level to become "reflective practitioners" and to formulate "critically informed" classroom practice (p.83).

This theoretical literacy was coupled with an up to date knowledge of the current educational legislation that allowed the school to develop what May calls, "resistance strategies" (p.83). The ability to access power for the benefit of the school itself enabled Richmond Road to accomplish many "firsts' – one of the first inner-city Maori bilingual units in the country, one of the first to employ Maori-speaking kaiarahi reo[16] for example. This deliberate strategy of learning the legislation then playing, "right up to the edge of the rules" didn't make the school popular - "that's actually going up against the machinery of the state. It's up against all the conventional wisdom... I think the school got a hard time from all the powers that be over a long [period of] time" (Wally Penetito interviewed by May, 1994, p.84). This scenario of national and international research interest and recognition while facing opposition and lack of acknowledgement from within education officialdom is further discussed in Chapter 4 with regard to Clover Park Middle School's experience.

Richmond Road's collaborative non-hierarchical relationships were characterised by the school's organisation into family groupings and the approach to staff ownership and professional development. These principles carried over into the way the school interacted with its community. By empowering parents whose own experiences of school had been largely alienating Richmond Road established genuine reciprocal partnerships between school and home (May, 1994, pp.86-95).

Jim Laughton passed away in 1988. His philosophies have endured in the school albeit with some changes in leadership and organisation and significant changes in the ethnic make up of the school's roll and the school's decile rating. The school has returned to contributing school (Years 0 to 6) status. There are three Maori bilingual classes, two Samoan bilingual classes and two French (introduced in 1996) bilingual classes. Bilingual pre-school opportunities for children in te reo Maori and Samoan are still available. The 2003 Education Review Office report on Richmond Road School states, "The board and staff share a research-based vision of bilingual education that takes into account the New Zealand context. Trustees, parents and staff have a shared understanding that learners will secure and maintain their heritage language and culture in order to give them a strong sense of identity" (Education Review Office, 2003b).

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[16] Language assistants

Kura Kaupapa Maori

The Matawaia Declaration, signed in 1988 as an outcome of Te Hui Reo Rua o Aotearoa ki Matawaia[17] is seen as a landmark in the history of Maori education. It states:

> Our children's needs cannot be met through a continuation of the present system of Pakeha control and veto of Maori aspirations for our children. It is time to change. Time for us to take control of our own destinies. We believe this development is both necessary and timely. (May, 1999b, p.60)

This drive for change was fuelled by a number of factors including; the success of Te Kohanga Reo - Maori language pre-schools, and the need for continuity of total immersion options once Kohanga graduates reached primary school, the politicisation of parents who had become involved in Kohanga Reo, and a precedent in the establishment of an entirely privately funded Kura Kaupapa Maori at the Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland in 1985. The demand for autonomy and structural change also coincided with the school reforms in New Zealand that promised to give parents greater choice (see p.33). As a result of prolonged and effective lobbying by Maori, the 1990 Education Amendment Act recognised Kura Kaupapa Maori as a state-funded schooling option within the New Zealand Education system (May, 1999b, p.61). As of July 2002 there were 61 Kura Kaupapa Maori in New Zealand, catering for 5,228 students, 3.4% of the total number of Maori students in school (Ministry of Education, 2002c).

The difference between Kura Kaupapa Maori and mainstream schools in New Zealand, is the adoption of Te Aho Matua as the guiding philosophy. The key principles of Te Aho Matua characterise Kura Kaupapa Maori education in New Zealand. May (1999, 61), and Bishop & Glynn, (1999, 81-82) describe these as:

• Tino Rangatiratanga	*Relative autonomy principle:* Greater autonomy over key decision-making - the fundamental issue associated with the whole Kura Kaupapa Maori movement. The right to self-determine and to define, control and pursue one's destiny. In a classroom context gives students participation in decision-making re curriculum content and planning.
• Taonga Tuku Iho	*Cultural aspirations principle:* In Kura Kaupapa Maori to be Maori is normal, Maori knowledges are normal, valid and legitimate and guide classroom interactions and learning
• Ako Maori	*Reciprocal learning principle:* Ako means both to teach and to learn. Metaphor for reciprocal, non-hierarchical learning. Culturally preferred pedagogy - students can participate in the sense-making process.

[17] Conference for Maori bilingual educators at Matawaia in the Far North of New Zealand

• Kia Piki Ai I Nga Raruraru o te Kainga	*Mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties principle:* This principle addresses the fact that "while school cannot redress the socio-economic circumstances facing Maori the collective support of the whanau can ameliorate some of its debilitating effects" (May 1999b, p.61). Involves parents and wider whanau in the education of their children, deals with problems in culturally familiar ways, changes power relations.
• Whanau	*Extended family principle:* A primary concept of Kura Kaupapa Maori - both in involving the wider whanau in the child's education but encouraging active participation in and contribution to the operation of the kura. Provides a support network for children and families. Extends to school and class organisation and structure and classroom practice.
• Kaupapa	*Philosophy principle:* Te Aho Matua - the guiding philosophy of Kura Kaupapa Maori "is concerned to teach a modern, up-to-date, relevant curriculum (within the guidelines set by the state)" (Smith, G. 1990, p.94). so the aim is not the forced choice of one culture or language over the other but to provide a distinctly Maori educational environment that effectively promotes biculturalism and bilingualism.

Bishop & Glynn (1999, pp.168, 169) suggest that these principles provide metaphors for a new awareness of theorising and addressing educational relationships.

In 2001 a working party of representatives from the Education Review Office, the Ministry of Education and Te Runanganui o Nga Kura Kaupapa Maori (Te Runanganui)[18] agreed that the principles of Te Aho Matua would be reviewed using the evaluation criteria listed below which encapsulate the broad aims of Kura Kaupapa Maori (Education Review Office, 2001):

Te Ira Tangata

- The whanau practises an holistic approach to children's development based on Maori cultural and spiritual values and beliefs.
- The whanau honours all people and respects the uniqueness of the individual.
- and discourage physical or psychological harm against oneself and others.

Te Reo

- The whanau ensures the language of the kura will be, for the most part, exclusively Maori.
- The whanau achieves full competency in Maori and English.
- The whanau respects all languages.

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[18] the national co-ordinating body for Kura Kaupapa Maori

Nga Iwi

- The whanau nurtures children to be secure in the knowledge of themselves and their own people.
- The whanau ensures that children acknowledge and learn about others and their societies.
- The whanau ensures all members play an integral part in children's learning and in the learning of the wider whanau.
- The whanau affirms collective ownership and responsibility for the kura.

Te Ao

- The whanau ensures that children will be secure in their knowledge about the Maori world and enable them to participate in the wider world.
- The whanau ensures that children will explore the physical and natural world while maintaining their link to ancestral knowledge.

Ahuatanga Ako

- The whanau operates a warm, loving and intellectually stimulating learning environment.
- The whanau ensures that the importance of the learning environment will be emphasised.
- The whanau includes strong education leadership and capable teachers.

Nga Tino Uaratanga

- The whanau ensures that each child's abilities are successfully nurtured including their academic skills, bilingualism, natural talents, creativity, enthusiasm for learning and life, ability to retain knowledge, leadership qualities, independence, joy, spirituality balanced with physical pursuits, their links to ancestral domains and their pride of place within their iwi.

The involvement of the government education evaluative agency, the Education Review Office, in the assessment of practice in Kura Kaupapa Maori brings up the obvious contradiction inherent in the incorporation of Kura Kaupapa Maori (and Te Kohanga Reo) into the state system, against the principle of relative autonomy. May (1999, p.62) discusses the dichotomy of the benefits of state funding to facilitate the expansion of the movement, to provide critically needed resources and to gain legitimacy for kura from the incorporation within the national curriculum and assessment framework, against the possibility of state encroachment into a Maori initiative. He concludes that the benefits outweigh the disadvantages.

Janet Pereira, (2001) has a different perspective however, in her study of the inclusion of Kura Kaupapa Maori since 1999 in assessment by the government funded National Education Monitoring Project (NEMP). Her paper questions both the validity of the results of assessment of immersion students and the fairness of their inclusion in the project. Pereira acknowledges NEMP's willingness to listen and to include Maori educators in the design of the assessment and their "low stakes approach to assessment." However, Pereira believes the inclusion of Maori immersion students in NEMP introduces high stakes elements:

> For the first time in NEMP, an explicit comparison is made between the performance of students from two alternative models of education, namely Maori students learning in Maori in immersion contexts, and Maori students learning in English, in general education (p.4)

Pereira states that assessment is a socially embedded activity and, "... assessment practices simultaneously reflect social realities (are social products) and in turn construct new social realities," creating in turn the potential for a site of unease, conflict and resistance. "This may be passive (opting not to do something) or active (choosing to do something differently). In the first year of assessing Maori immersion students, there were a number of instances of unease, conflict and resistance." Pereira (p.32) suggests that we need to approach cross-culture and cross-language assessment with great caution and advises a code of practice that would "provide guidelines, help establish 'best' practice and alert educators to potential sources of bias" (p.32).

Other obvious issues exist. The availability of fluent Maori-speaking teachers is one of these constraints. However, Kura Kaupapa Maori provide an authentic alternative educational option for Maori learners, a "counter-hegemony" to the dominant discourse that, "identifies ways of moving toward and defining transformative action within alternative institutions and highlights teaching and learning issues that have major implications for mainstream educational institutions" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.101).

Middle Schooling

Across the world, middle schooling issues gained momentum in the 1980s and 1990s. In addition to the phenomenal growth in the United States of America there are responses to the provision for the educational needs of the 10 to 15 year old emerging adolescent in Canada, Australia, China, Hong Kong, Japan and New Zealand, as well as other countries. In the United States widespread dissatisfaction with the capability of existing schooling structures to provide for the needs of emerging adolescents was the key driver behind the middle school movement (Nolan, et al. 2000). Rather than take traditional "grammars of schooling" (see p.9 and conventional school structures as a starting point for possible revision or restructuring, middle schooling philosophy is grounded in the needs of the students.

The seminal statement on the philosophy of middle schooling in the United States is the position paper of the National Middle School Association [NMSA], This We Believe: Developmentally Responsive Middle Level Schools (original publication,1982, revised, 1992, re-visioned,1995). The 1995 paper (p.5) states, "In order to be developmentally responsive, middle level schools must be grounded in the diverse characteristics and needs of these young

people." The paper acknowledges the changing nature of contemporary society and the challenges this presents for educators and traditional schooling and agrees that many practices of the past may no longer be valid for the present. The summary of this position paper (Figure 2.14) is the philosophy that underpins the middle schooling movement in the United States, Australia and New Zealand through the wide-ranging research and educational network the NMSA umbrella organisation provides access to. The New Zealand Association of Intermediate and Middle Schools [NZAIMS] became an affiliate member of NMSA in 2002.

Figure 2.13: National Middle School Association: Core Beliefs
(NMSA, 1995, p.11)

National Middle School Association believes:

DEVELOPMENTALLY RESPONSIVE MIDDLE LEVEL SCHOOLS ARE CHARACTERIZED BY:

Educators committed to young adolescents
A shared vision
High expectations for all
An adult advocate for every student
Family and community partnerships
A positive school climate

THEREFORE, DEVELOPMENTALLY RESPONSIVE MIDDLE LEVEL SCHOOLS PROVIDE:

Curriculum that is challenging, integrative and exploratory
Varied teaching and learning approaches
Assessment and evaluation that promote learning
Flexible organizational structures
Programs and policies that foster health, wellness and safety
Comprehensive guidance and support services

The 1995 position paper expands on the key developmental needs of this age group and categorises them into intellectual, moral, physical, emotional/psychological and social characteristics (NMSA, 1995, pp.35-40). While there is debate about whether emerging adolescence is a period with a distinct separate identity or one of continuing transitional development, there is no doubt that it is a time marked by significant physical, social, emotional and intellectual change. These changes result in a demand for increasing conformity to societal rules and adult roles from family, friends and social institutions. Elliot and Feldman (1990), point out that, "whatever the biological imperatives driving adolescence, society shapes and directs these in powerful ways."

There is no doubt that this period is characterised by the potential for alienation and dysfunctional behaviour. Conflict between parents and adolescents is common and acceptance by the peer group becomes central to the emerging adolescent's social development and self esteem.

The effect of society's group norms, expectations and socialisation patterns affect the development of gender roles. Major socialisation agents are family, peers, school and television. Huston & Alvarez (1990), describe characteristics of the sex-typing which occurs from these influences which include; parents allowing boys more independence than girls, gender differentiated expectations in terms of school achievement, career choice (for example, maths and science choices for boys), shifts in parental power relative to their children, lowered expectations for girls, less tolerance from peers for deviations from sex-typed norms, cross gender interactions, intensified pressures for dating and sexual attractiveness, the importance of peer approval and the absorption of sexist messages and stereotypes through television, media and technology.

Emotional characteristics and changes are discussed by Erikson (1950), who considers identity to be the focal point of the adolescent experience. He believes the development of *industry*, the sense that they must *do* or *accomplish* something to gain recognition and become a productive individual, is an important behavioural outcome in early adolescence, the resolution of a sense of identity versus role confusion (emphasis in original). Previous experiences are important in this development as young people prepare themselves to discover, who they are and what they can be. Without answers to these questions emerging adolescents risk developing a negative identity thus locking themselves into confrontation and alienation. Spencer and Dornbush (1990) point out that this stage of developing an identity can be a particular problem for adolescents from ethnic or racial minorities and give the example of the young African-American who may in this process, "learn as a child that black is beautiful, but conclude as an adolescent that white is powerful." This is certainly true for Maori emerging adolescents and ethnic minority students in New Zealand and adds to the identity crisis and alienation many of this group experience both in society generally and in our education system.

Intellectually this age group is characterised by an increased capability for abstract and reflective thinking. Collins (1991, p.4) links adolescents' cognitive development with their 'moral' development implying that development in thinking allows adolescents to grapple with the complexities of moral issues.

Keating (1990, pp.59-74), notes that the development of abstract thinking does not always lead to higher order thinking, while adolescents do increase their ability to consider a range

of factors they do not always bring those factors together to form an integrated view. He considers that the findings about adolescent thinking reveal *potential* and argues that both content knowledge and procedural knowledge should be 'embedded within each other', rather than taught in isolation (emphasis in original).

What are the implications then for teachers and schools in determining and meeting the most important needs of the emerging adolescent? The following seven *core* developmental needs have been identified by Lipsitz (1980), Dorman, McKay (1995), and Lipsitz, Mizell, Jackson and Austin (1997) as those which distinguish emerging adolescents from other developmental stages:

1. a sense of competence and achievement
2. self exploration and definition
3. supportive social interaction with peers and adults
4. challenging and rewarding physical activity
5. meaningful participation in school and community
6. routine limits and structure
7. diversity of experience

Stewart and Nolan (1992) point out that each need has an academic and a social aspect. Firstly, the academic aspect refers to the educational abilities, knowledge and skills that adolescents are expected to acquire and develop at school, the overt curriculum (see p.62). Tarter, Sabo and Hoy (1995), identify key processes important in this development:

- shifting the locus of control over learning from teacher to students
- active participation of students in determining the content, pace and method of learning
- the use of inquiry methods and learning by doing

Secondly, the social aspect, the societal curriculum (see p.63), which refers to educational attitudes, beliefs and values - the development of self-concept, self-efficacy and personal identity and the ways in which people interact with each other and conduct themselves and develop a personal identity (Beane 1991).

Nolan, Brown, Stewart and Beane (2000) cite school-based research by Beane, 1990, Lipsitz, 1997, Wood and Jones, 1997 and Raebeck, 1998 which shows that "school learning environments for emerging adolescents, but especially the curriculum component of them, must promote both academic and social development together if they are to be educationally effective".

Middle Schooling in New Zealand

The early proponents of middle schooling in New Zealand advocated the specific educational needs of emerging adolescents at the earliest stages of New Zealand's public education system. Following the Education Act 1877 there were many proposals to reorganise the schooling of eleven to fourteen year olds. Drawing from experience in North America and Europe, a national conference of inspectors and teachers in 1904 recommended the example of junior high schools. Nelson Central School had already opened, in 1894, separate boys and girls schools catering for standards 3 - 7 (11-15 years). In September 1922 regulations, providing for three year junior high schools with slightly more liberal staffing, a separate scale, a core curriculum and course pattern based on the educational considerations of the needs of this age group, were gazetted. Kowhai Junior High School opened in Auckland in October 1922, but in the following ten years only ten more schools of this type came into existence, only one of which operated as a fully autonomous three year school (Nolan & Brown, 2002, p.36).

While the case for such a school, based the on educational needs of emerging adolescents had been made and won on educational grounds (Stewart & Nolan, 1992), thereafter economic and political considerations; a shortage of funds, professional rivalry between primary and secondary teachers and competition for resources, seem to have been the key factor limiting the proliferation of this type of institution.

The result was the establishment of the two-year intermediate school, officially gazetted in 1932, changing the period of instruction from three years to two, changing the name from junior high school to intermediate and introducing less generous staffing and salary scales (Nolan & Brown, 2002, p.36). Since this time intermediate schools have been established throughout New Zealand, and by 1994, 60% of all Form 1 and 2 students (now known as Years 7 and 8) were enrolled at the 147 intermediate schools, which remained staffed by primary trained teachers.

In 1989, with the advent of Tomorrow's Schools and the opportunity for parental choice, the incoming Minister of Education, David Lange advocated the demise of intermediate schools, but a survey commissioned to research public opinion to counter this view confirmed strong parental confidence in intermediate schooling.

In 1992 NZISPA (then the New Zealand Intermediate Schools Principals' Association - now the New Zealand Association of Intermediate and Middle Schools) commissioned David Stewart and Pat Nolan to write the monograph, The Middle School: Essential Education for Emerging Adolescents. This review of the literature from North America and the United Kingdom,

became the rationale for NZISPA to push forward the concept of middle schooling as a natural extension of intermediate schools.

A landmark decision was the agreement of the Schools' Consultative Group, representing all education sectors, in 1994, that four developmental stages, junior childhood, middle childhood, early (emerging) adolescence (Years 7-10) and adolescence, each requiring different pedagogical approaches, should influence educational provision in New Zealand (Thwaites & Davison, 1995).

In 1995 the first three middle schools were gazetted in New Zealand. Clover Park Middle School was one of these. Once again there was widespread opposition from secondary schools and the secondary teachers' union and misunderstanding from those not involved in the schools. Kay Potter, 1999, (cited in Neville-Tisdall, 2002, p.46) states, "those who apply for change to middle school face anger, resentment, ridicule, and invariably a political "dirty tricks campaign."

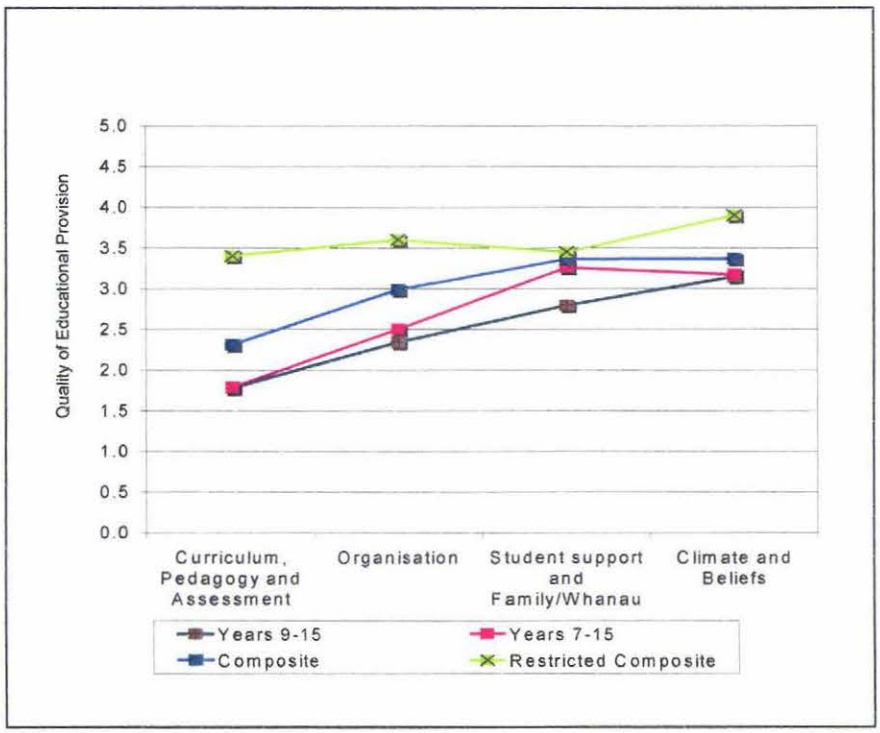
In 2003 there are 130 state intermediate schools in New Zealand and six stand-alone state middle schools. Officially described as "restricted composite" schools two of the six use the title of junior high school and the other four are named middle schools. One of these schools has students from Years 7 to 9, the other five schools have Years 7 to 10. In addition to the six established middle schools a significant and growing number of two-year intermediate schools now espouse a philosophy that is aligned with the described developmentally responsive approach.

Richard Ward, (2000, p.371), in his research in a New Zealand middle school, located 18 parents who had the experience of having had a child start in Year 9 at a conventional secondary school and a second child remain at the middle school and begin secondary schooling in Year 11. These parents were unanimous that delaying the transfer would be their preference if given the opportunity again. The main reasons offered by the parents were the home-room based, integrated learning climate of the middle school that allowed for more teacher-student interaction, the knowledge the teachers had about the students, the added maturity of their children to cope with secondary school, the opportunities for leadership the children had experienced at middle school, and the easy access to teachers they had experienced in this setting. Similarly all of the students in the study, despite the need for some social adjustment and a "remarkably brief" (p.369) initial reaction stage, were confident that given the opportunity to delay the transition to secondary school again they would make the same choice.

In 2003 the Education Review Office utilised the findings from 257 ERO review reports of individual schools carried out between the years 2000 and 2002 to report on the overall

quality of education for Years 9 and 10 students in the three most common school types: composite schools, Years 7 to 13 secondary schools and Years 9 to 13 secondary schools. Their findings are shown in Figure 2.15. Although the number of middle schools (restricted composites) is obviously too small to provide an accurate comparison ERO found a consistent pattern of high quality education in these schools.

Figure 2.14: Overall Quality of Education of Years 9 and 10
(Education Review Office, 2003a, p.43)



As is true in all other sector groups in education, there are many variables across individual schools. Middle schooling and its developmentally responsive philosophy is not a panacea or a substitute for a culturally responsive approach, nor should it be mistaken for one. However, there was a definite "fit" between middle schooling and the culturally relevant environment that Clover Park Middle School set out to develop in 1994 (see Table 4.6, p.143) that has formed the backbone of the school's current practice. The middle schooling philosophy underpinned the school's external restructuring to provide a framework for culturally relevant practice.

Conclusion

The literature reviewed, both nationally and internationally, makes an urgent case for the need to attend to the alienation of students from indigenous and ethnic minority groups from our school systems. The dire situation for these students is exacerbated by the fact that, although their numbers are increasing and will continue to do so, schools have been slow to respond to the changes necessary to allow these students to incorporate their cultural norms into their learning environment. Inherent in this unwillingness to act are racist and deficit theories that allow teachers and education policy makers to continue to locate the need to change with the children and/or their families. In spite of rhetoric to the contrary, current education or curriculum policy in New Zealand has not specifically named and addressed the pervasiveness of "whiteness" in our classrooms. The market-driven approach to education has not provided students of colour with either equity or choice and our Maori and Pacific students are those most disadvantaged by this situation. As they progress through our school systems to secondary school level the increasing dislocation felt by many makes their decision to drop out inevitable.

There is a significant body of research and experience that can provide a way forward to critical practice that unpacks the issues of power and the pattern of dominant/subordinate relationships that currently prevent these young people from reaching their full potential in their communities and our society. Teachers will need to consider their capacity to become cross-culturally competent if this is to change. Some schools and approaches, both in New Zealand and internationally provide us with a rich resource for this reflection. The greatest need of all is the ability to admit we have a great deal to learn and to "un-learn" as educators before we can say our schools "fit all the kids."

Chapter 3

Methodology

Research site

Situated in Otara, Manukau City, New Zealand, Clover Park Intermediate School, opened in 1981. In 1995 Clover Park officially changed its status to become Clover Park Middle School, providing education for students between the ages of eleven to fifteen in Years 7 to 10. Hand in hand with this restructuring has been a transformation of the school's internal organisation and philosophy, initially to respond to demands from Maori parents for bilingual and whanau-based education, and later to expand these practices to provide a culturally relevant (after Ladson-Billings, 1995) learning environment for all students. The story of this journey is the focus of this research.

Research design

Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p.2) describe qualitative research as multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. Their examples of the materials collected and studied in this type of research include case studies, personal experiences, life stories, interviews, and observational, historical, interactional and visual texts.

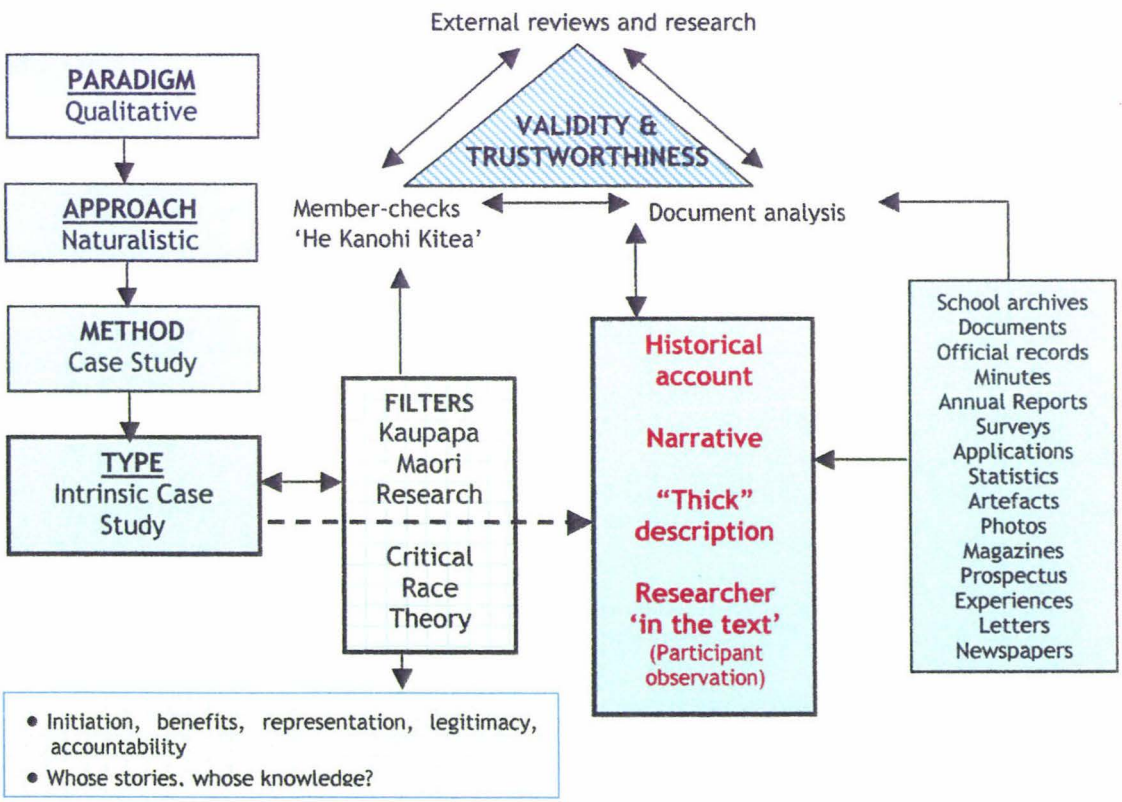
There is general agreement that a naturalistic approach aims to study a social situation in its context or "natural state," in the natural setting of the participants, over a period of time. Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2000, p.144; Lincoln and Guba, 1985) suggest that an important difference between conventional and naturalistic research is that whereas the intent of conventional research is to focus on similarities and to make generalisations, naturalistic research aims to inform, to provide such a wealth of detail that the uniqueness and individuality of each case can be represented. They state, "To the charge that naturalistic inquiry, thereby cannot yield generalizations because of sampling flaws the writers argue that this is necessarily though trivially true. In a word, it is unimportant" (p.144)

In their discussion of the elements of naturalistic inquiry Lincoln and Guba (1985, p.39-43) find the following implications that are relevant to this study:

- studies must be set in their natural settings as context is heavily implicated in meaning
- utilization of tacit knowledge is inescapable
- data analysis is inductive rather than a priori and deductive
- theory emerges rather than is pre-ordinate
- the natural mode of reporting is the case study
- trustworthiness and its components replace more conventional views of reliability and validity.

Figure 3.1 provides an overview of the research design for this study; an intrinsic case study informed by kaupapa Maori and critical race theory. These choices are further explained below:

Figure 3.1: Research Overview



Intrinsic Case Study

Yin (1994, p.13) defines a case study as, "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomena within its real life context especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident."

The intention of case study research is generally proposed as to gain an in-depth understanding of the concerned phenomena in a real-life setting. Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p.181) describe a case study as the study of a single instance in action where the single instance is of a bounded system. Stake (2000, p.437) describes three types of case study - intrinsic, instrumental and collective. An intrinsic case study is:

> ...not undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but because in all its particularity and ordinariness, [the] case itself is of interest ....The purpose is not to come to understand some abstract concept or generic phenomena ...The researcher temporarily subordinates other curiosities so that the case may reveal its story (p.437).

In this type of case study the researcher has an intrinsic interest in the case, the research uncovers what is seen to be the case's own issues, contexts and interpretations, its *thick description* (Stake, 2000, p.439, emphasis in the original). This description fits the case that is the focus of this research, the study of the transformation of Clover Park Middle School from a traditional intermediate school to a middle school that has been, "successfully restructured along cultural/language lines" (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p.66).

Kaupapa Maori and Critical Race Theory

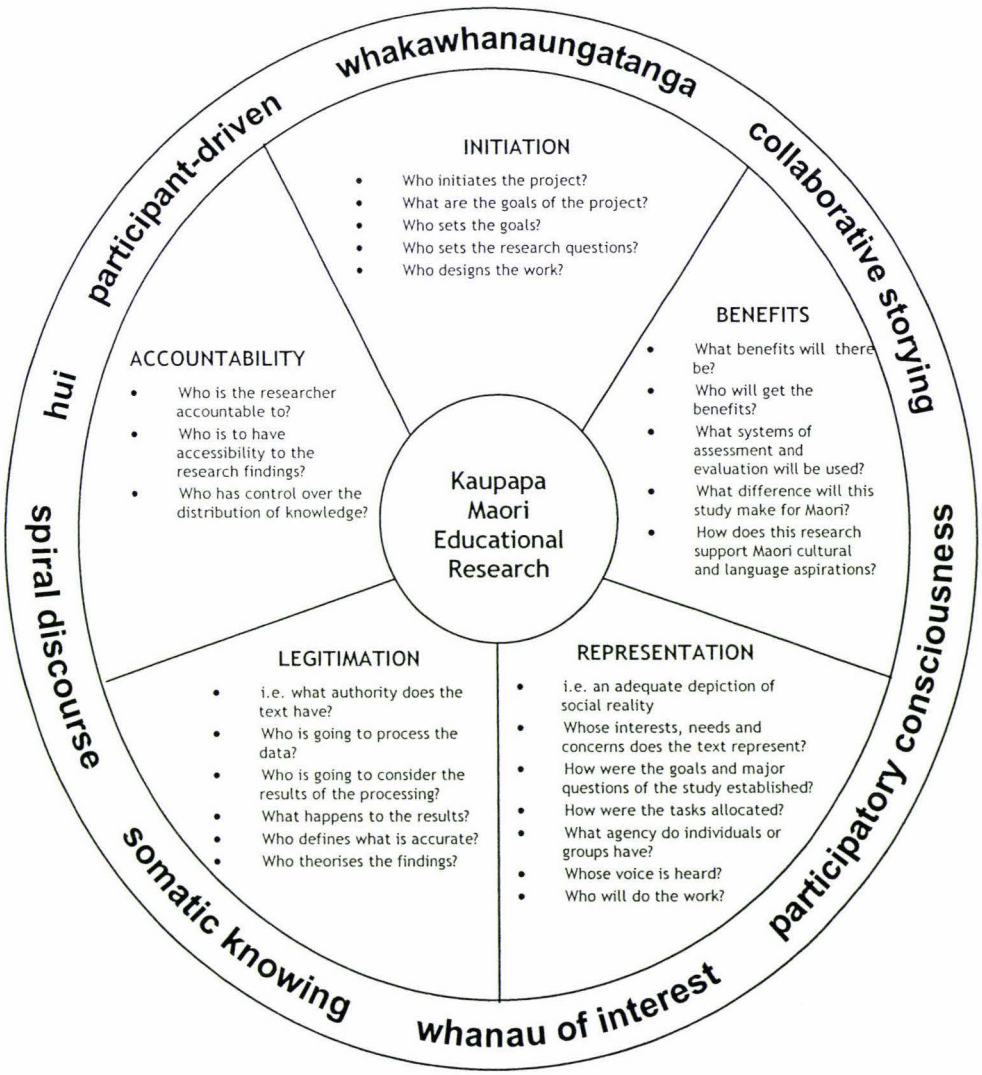
In the case of Clover Park Middle School, this study is also informed by a Kaupapa Maori research framework (Bishop, 1996; Smith, 1999), in recognition of the central position of Maori whanau in Clover Park's journey. Smith (1999) powerfully articulates the challenge from indigenous people worldwide to traditional Western research traditions. Clark (1997, p.135) calls this challenge, "widespread and particularly forceful, so much so that it cannot be ignored by those engaged in investigating people from other cultures." Clark (1997) also discusses the colonisation of Maori knowledge and the objection of Maori to 'researcher capture'. Bishop and Glynn (1999, p.103) explain the same feeling:

> Researchers in the past have taken the stories of research participants and have submerged them with their own stories, and re-told these reconstituted stories in a language and culture determined by the researcher.

> ... Maori people strongly reject the continuance of researcher hegemony over Maori people's lives through the methods, methodologies and the very projects being controlled by the researcher.

(Bishop and Glynn 1999, p.106) believe that Kaupapa Maori theory addresses, 'Maori cultural aspirations for power and control over the issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability' in educational research. They illustrate how these five issues of power and control could be addressed by a researcher positioned at the centre of the diagram (Figure 3.2), from a monocultural impositional stance, but the addition of the outer circle of Maori cultural processes requires the researcher to reposition themselves within a very different framework which demands an entirely different approach and outcomes.

Figure 3.2: Evaluation Model: Research in Maori contexts.
(after Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.129)



Bishop and Glynn (1999), Smith (1997), Smith (1999) and Pihama (1993) suggest Kaupapa Maori theory as an approach which acknowledges the "different epistemological tradition which frames the way we see the world, the way we organize ourselves in it, the questions we ask and the solutions which we seek" (Smith 1999, p.187). Gloria Ladson-Billings challenges the mainstream academic orthodoxy, finding critical race theory (see p.54) a "form of opposition scholarship" (Calmore, 1992) to the dominant Euro-American epistemology. Ladson Billings has deliberately chosen to use a critical race theoretical paradigm in her research because it links intimately to her understanding of the political and personal stake she has in the education of Black children; "All of my 'selves' are invested in this work – the self that is a researcher, the self that is a parent, the self that is a community member, the self that is a Black woman" (2000, p.272). Ladson-Billings sees critical race theory as a gift that, "unapologetically challenges the scholarship that would dehumanise and depersonalise us."

While some proponents of qualitative research itself (Lather 1991, cited in Bishop and Glynn 1999), suggest that qualitative approaches lend themselves more readily to addressing researcher imposition, researchers positioned within Kaupapa Maori and critical race theory (Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Ladson-Billings, 2000) disagree, believing it is a question of the positioning of the researcher in relation to those being researched that is of more importance. They believe that paradigm-shifting, simply replacing quantitative with qualitative research, "need not result in any change in the relationship between researcher and those they research" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.106). For Ladson-Billings it is not simply a choice between qualitative and qualitative paradigms:

> There is no magic in employing participant observation, narrative inquiry or interviews. Indeed, the qualitative researcher must guard against the connotation that qualitative work represents some more 'authentic' form of voice. As we consider various examples of qualitative research we must be mindful of the ways 'the research' may render the researcher invisible. (2000, p.272)

In this way critical race theory and Kaupapa Maori research offer the researcher an opportunity to stand in a different relationship to the research and the researched. The researcher "makes a deliberate appearance in his or her work," and names race and power as issues central to the research. Both critical race theory and kaupapa Maori theory raise important questions about the control and production of knowledge that are crucial in the story of a school that has tried hard to break away from the status quo and challenge racism in our education system. They raise the same questions in terms of my positioning in this research - as the principal of the school, telling my story of the school's development.

As a Pakeha principal, writing the story of Clover Park Middle School, I am firstly, keenly aware that it is not my story alone and that my story is but part of multiple stories that have contributed to the school's development. The processes and contexts in the outer circle of the diagram (Figure 3.2, Bishop and Glynn, 1999) will allow me to maintain a participatory position and to ensure the research is empowering for the school. Consistent with this position the questions posed in Figure 3.2 will be addressed as follows:

Initiation

The catalyst for this research has been the continued demand from students and whanau of Clover Park Middle School for a learning environment that is relevant to the young people of this community. In the process of responding to that demand school whanau have become politically aware and empowered to make ongoing change. It is fitting therefore that the story of this journey be told from within the whanau and I have had many requests to "tell the story." The specific comment that is the title of this thesis, "They didn't care about normal kids like me" has come from a Maori student in the school who is my grandson.

Benefits

There would be no reason to undertake this research if it did not benefit Clover Park Middle School. The intention is to tell the story of the school's journey to affirm the collective work of all who have been involved in the process and, in doing so, to enhance and inform understanding of culturally relevant pedagogy for Maori and Pacific learners. It is hoped that Clover Park Middle School's story will encourage other schools to reflect on the restructuring that is required to achieve a better 'fit' for indigenous and ethnic minority students.

Representation

This study represents the aspirations of the community of Clover Park Middle School and the school's attempts to respond to those dreams within the framework of a mainstream school in New Zealand's state education system. First and foremost this story represents the challenge to our system from the young people in this school, predominantly and proudly Maori and Pacific, to "listen" to their cultures (Macfarlane, in press).

Legitimation

This study has originated from within the school and all members of the school whanau have been participants in the journey. The story has been shared with them in the writing and will be presented back to them for keeping within the school. In the process many adjustments have been made to the text as a result of whanau input and the collective sharing of memories.

Accountability

As a member of the Clover Park Middle School whanau I am involved somatically with this whanau. I acknowledge my accountability and responsibility in this regard (see below).

Fundamental to research that is empowering are relationships of shared control and reciprocity. This has implications for the gathering of information, the methods used, attitudes towards time, the participation of the researcher with the researched in contexts outside the area of research, the presentation of the research back to the people in appropriate forms and forums. Implicit in the kind of cross-cultural competence Maori researchers believe necessary is the understanding of the obligations of "he kanohi kitea" - the "seen face":

> ... the 'seen face', which conveys the sense that being seen by the people, 'showing your face, turning up at important cultural events' cements your membership within a community in an ongoing way and is part of how one's credibility is continually developed and maintained (Smith 1999, p.15).

Clover Park Middle School philosophy is well articulated in school practice and policy as one that is based in whanaungatanga (relationships). My obligations to this whanau are long standing. As 'he kanohi kitea,' I will certainly be held to account by its members. It is this close ongoing connection with the researched that underpins appropriate methodologies for Kaupapa Maori research. These can be seen clearly in the concept of whakawhanaungatanga (building relationships) and the establishment of a "whanau of interest" as espoused by Bishop and Glynn (1999, pp.174, 175) in Figure 3.3:

Figure 3.3. The use of whanau metaphors in education contexts.
(After Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p.175)

Whanau metaphors in research
• establishing relationships is fundamental and ongoing o whanau of interest o spiral discourse
• researchers are involved somatically i.e. ethically, spiritually, morally as well as methodologically • accountability issues are addressed because researchers are whanau members
• power and control issues are addressed through participatory research
• hui as a metaphor for collaborative storying

In describing Clover Park, how it is organised and why and exploring how culture underpins the school's philosophy, I am placing this research clearly in a cultural context. To ensure all processes are appropriate a Maori supervisor, with particular expertise in Maori research methodologies (Professor Russell Bishop, University of Waikato), has agreed to be one of the two supervisors of this thesis. Cultural ways of knowing and cultural protocols will be respected at all times. Maori teaching and support staff will advise where it may be necessary to consult with, or get feedback from, kaumatua (Maori elders) and community elders, both tangata whenua (indigenous - people of the land) and mana whenua (people with ancestral ties to that specific area) who have an ongoing relationship with the school.

Advice has also been sought from current Pacific staff at Clover Park Middle School to identify appropriate processes for member checks and feedback. The school is fortunate in having current employees who are fluent speakers of Maori, Samoan, Tongan and Cook Island Maori whom I will consult wherever necessary to ensure effective communication, verification and/or feedback of information.

Ethical considerations

There are important ethical considerations for this research where I will be writing about a situation in which I have been closely involved and a process where I have had a lead role. I was the Scale A teacher invited to offer a programme from a Taha Maori perspective at Clover Park Intermediate School in 1986, the senior teacher leading the drive for bilingual education and the establishment of Te Whanau o Tupuranga in 1989 and an advocate for Maori parents in their initiative to retain their children in the school for longer than the traditional two year span in the early 1990s. The official approval for a change of status from intermediate to middle school followed within six months of my appointment as the principal of the school in 1994, and I currently still hold that position. It is also during the period since 1994 that major internal restructuring has taken place in terms of philosophy and practice.

My experiences are therefore inextricably woven into the journey of the school and my knowledge of the school's development can be seen as being too close to be impartial or as a position of strength due to my long term knowledge of the process and practice. Carpenter (1999) states, "Researchers take their biases (which can be reframed as resources) into the research process, and these historical and contemporary resources colour the individual 'framed pictures' which finally emerge in published form."

Although this case study is a narrative from my perspective as a long-term participant in the development and practice of the school, I would be unable to write the story without the

approval and support of other participants. The position I have taken in writing this thesis is aptly described by Carpenter, (1999):

> My thesis is about what happened in Takiwa School from 1993 through to 1996, with emphasis on the conditions and motivations which enabled the process of innovation. The thesis encompasses my interpretation of the phenomenon. Thus the thesis is not an historical description as communicated by the *Kiwi* parents who started the initiative, or the account of the Chairperson of the Takiwa Board of Trustees. If these people had written the thesis then undoubtedly it would have been written differently - they each would have brought their own resources to the undertaking, they would each have written a different account. Their purposes for writing would have been different to my own. Selected theoretically-based constructions - my selections - of the discourse of the interviewees, analysis of archival data, and the political context and processes are evident in the thesis. The constructions have passed through a filter which is my frame of reference. Consequently my voice tells the story. My partiality and positioning are evident throughout the thesis in the theory and research I refer to, and in the standpoints I take. I am in the text.

I acknowledge my position as definitely, 'in the text' of Clover Park Middle School. As Ladson-Billings (2000, p.272) so powerfully describes, all of my 'selves' are also invested in this work – the professional self that is an educator, a researcher and a school principal and member of the Clover Park whanau as well as the personal self that is a mother and grandmother of Maori children whose own school experiences have led to my personal stake in the education of indigenous and ethnic minority students. These same family members have been active participants in the Maori initiatives that developed over time at Clover Park Middle School as students, as teachers and staff members, as parents and whanau of students and latterly two daughters have held deputy principal roles. Again, Gloria Ladson-Billings puts it best, "My research is my life and my life is a part of my research" (2000, p.268).

As a result of this central position there are many school events or procedures pre 1994 that are known to me in Clover Park's story but documentation may not always exist. In fact a significant section of official archival documentation for the period between 1982 and 1993 was discarded at the end of 1993 so many records no longer exist. I also hold knowledge of background circumstances to events that could only be known through experience of the situation at the time but would not have been recorded. In this research my knowledge of these circumstances is referred to as tacit knowledge and is acknowledged as such in the footnotes.

Data collection and analysis

This study is my story of my involvement with the development of Clover Park Middle School as a culturally relevant educational site. This positioning presents some dilemmas in terms of data collection as well as the ethical considerations already discussed. Initially I intended to conduct interviews with previous and current staff and former students however on reflection I felt that, due to the power relations inherent in my status as principal of the school, this would be inappropriate.

There exists a wealth of archival information and a growing body of external research data from reviewers and independent researchers who have chosen to study the school. Interviews and comment from this published research as well as those from surveys in school documentation will give voice to participants from Clover Park Middle School in a way that will enhance my comment without it being subject to power imbalances between myself and staff.

This external material will also be used to triangulate school-based data. Triangulation ensures consistency and validity through the use of multiple sources (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 1994). At least six sources of evidence in case studies; documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation and physical artefacts are identified by Stake (1995), and Yin (1994).

Hatch (2002, p.116-125) discusses the use of "unobtrusive" data as a primary data collection source. Unobtrusive data provides "insight into the phenomenon under investigation without interfering with the enactment of that social phenomenon." Unobtrusive data are gathered without interference into the ongoing life of the school. Examples of unobtrusive data include artefacts, documents, personal communications, records, photographs, and archives. My primary source of data, apart from tacit knowledge, which will be checked as far as possible against the knowledge of other participants, is unobtrusive data. The use of unobtrusive data will also enable me to tell this story in a way that addresses potential power imbalances.

Availability

A wide range of data gathered throughout the period of Clover Park Middle School's history have been available (Table 3.2). Some of this has been in the form of printed and photographic materials from school archives and some, particularly post 1994 is stored electronically. The Board of Trustees has given approval for the use of the data that are not already available in public documents. Anonymity of any persons named in the school-based

data and records will be protected unless there is specific approval from the person concerned to use their name. This may be a preference of Maori and Pacific participants and if such a request is made it will be respected.

Table 3.1: Data available for this research

Archived Print Data	Electronic Data	External Reviews/Research
School Committee Minutes	Annual Reports	Neville - research, papers
Annual Reports	Principal's Reports to BOT (Milne)	Jenkins - Masters thesis
Charters (2)	ERO Reports 1999, 2003	Potter - Masters thesis
ERO Reports 1991 - 1997	ERO evaluations (SEMO project)	Lipson - report to United Nations conference against racism
Board of Trustees Minutes	Newspaper articles online	ERO Reviews 1991 - 2003
Principal's Reports pre 1994	Senior class documents rationale	Wearmouth/Glynn - Video, course material prepared for joint University of Waikato & Open University, UK, Masters paper in managing challenging behaviour
Middle school application with supporting evidence	Strategic Plans	Interviews (re middle schooling) Palmer
Newspaper articles	School Newsletters	Awards
Staff meeting minutes	School website	Madison survey
Strategic Plans	Photographs	**Community Data**
School newsletters - pre 1994	BOT Minutes	
School policies - pre 1994	Annual Reports	Community survey re bilingual education
Ceremonies	ERO Reports	Case to MOE - Parent Advocacy Council
School Magazines	ERO evaluations (SEMO[19] project)	Community surveys - charter consultation
School Prospectuses	Newspaper articles online	Parent letters
Photographs	Senior class documents - rationale	Te Poho interviews (parents)
Demographic profiles	Strategic Plans	Senior class documentation - parent letters/hui
Artefacts: logo, motto, uniform, trophies, ceremonies, 'honours' boards	School Newsletters	Newsletters
Personnel	School policies post 1994	Past students' letters
Awards / Achievements	School Charter	
School Marae	Photographs	

Collection and collation of data

Data were gathered from a range of sources within the school, both current, electronically stored documents as well as archived school records and documents. This produced a wide range of information that needed to be sorted into manageable groups. The qualitative computer software programme, NVivo (QSR International, 2003) has been used to sort and

[19] Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara - a government funded initiative in these two low socio-economic of Counties/Manukau, New Zealand.

classify data into categories (nodes). Nodes have been added as they became apparent in the data. Initially two main categories, internal and external data, were established as data "trees" or families of related data (Figures 3.4 & 3.5). Each node was assigned sub categories (yellow) and coded to the parent category. Further coding allocated documents at additional sub-categories of the tree (green, blue).

Figure 3.4: Example of External Data Tree

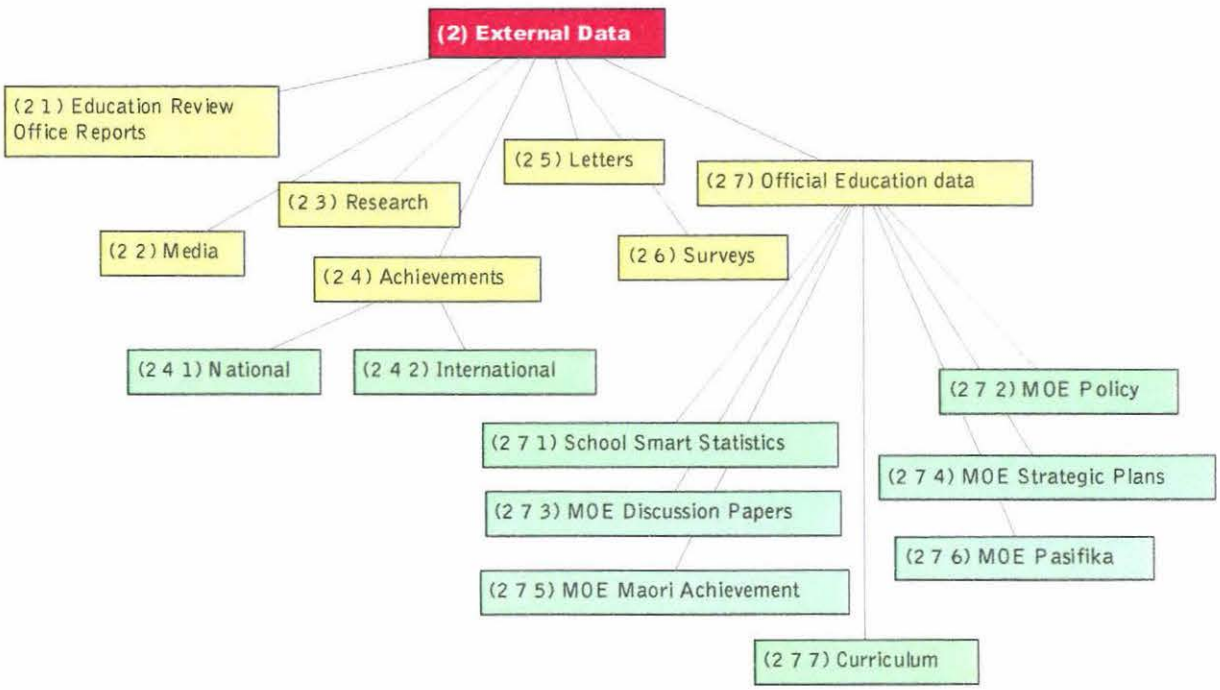
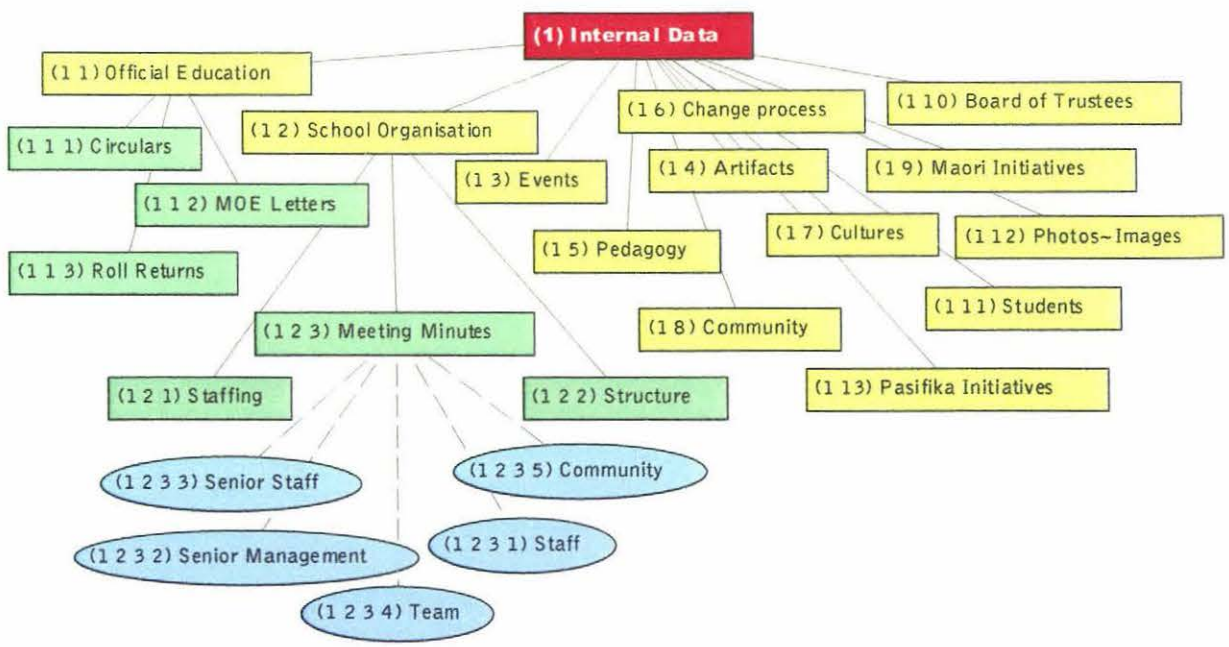
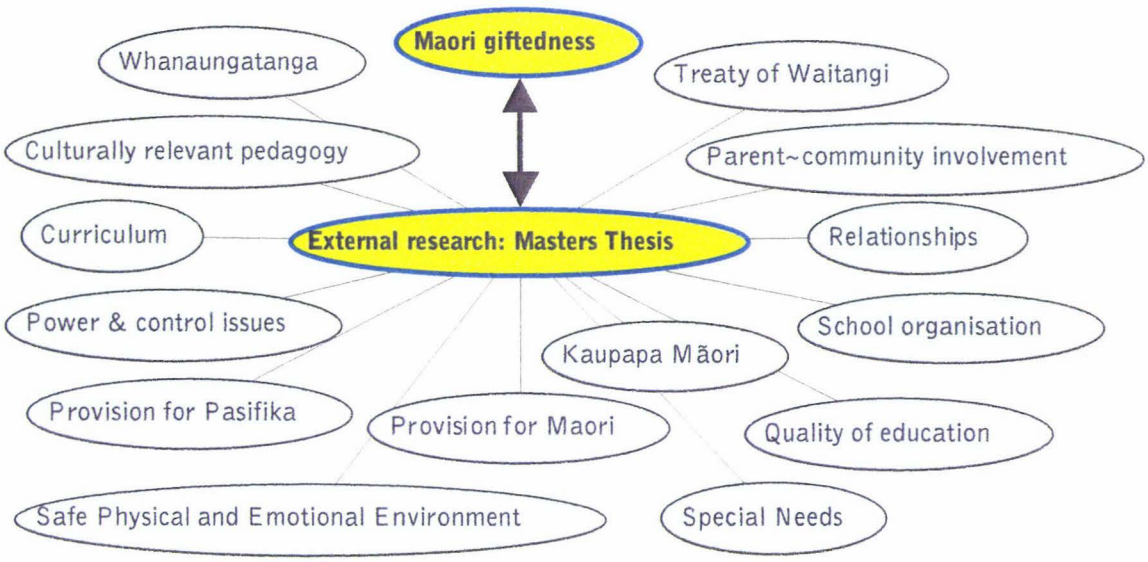


Figure 3.5: Example of Internal Data Tree



After each relevant document was assigned a category or sub-category it was then possible to browse the documents to find themes or key concepts. The process for this was open-ended allowing a wide range of ideas and themes to be allocated codes. This was done for individual documents creating initially "free" or unconnected themes or nodes. Figure 3.6 shows a typical analysis and theme creation from a Master of Education thesis (Jenkins, 2002) which was a case study of Clover Park Middle School's provision for Maori giftedness:

Figure 3.6: Example of theme creation



Data generated independently of the school included:

- Education Review Office reports, both from general cyclical reviews as well as evaluative reports from the school's involvement in Ministry of Education initiatives
- Academic research conducted by researchers who were not employed by the school and were impartial observers
- Official Ministry of Education records, reports and statistics
- Media articles, television programmes, images
- Letters

The creation of themes or categories for coding came from four main sources. First and foremost a knowledge of school practice and input from some staff allowed for co-construction of likely key ideas and themes. Themes created from independent material made it possible to test these key ideas against concepts derived from the work of impartial observers. From further browsing of internal documents, additional themes were added as

"free nodes." A final source of themes was the literature review that formed the conceptual framework for this research. This process was methodical and ensured all documentation was allocated a place in the data system and was assigned a code. Where documents were not electronically stored the computer software allowed the creation of proxy documents for non-file data. Audio and visual media were included in this process. All of these texts could then be allocated codes in the same way as file documents.

Hatch, (2002, p.208) describes the advantages of computer-assisted analysis as the ability to handle large amounts of textual data, the time saved in coding, retrieving, displaying, counting and sorting and the creation of graphic displays. They can force the researcher to be organised to take a systematic approach and ensure a more careful reading of the data due to the need to read the data line by line when coding. These advantages were all found to be accurate in terms of the processes in this study.

Disadvantages of computer-assisted analysis include the complexity of the programmes and the time taken to learn their use, the potential to lose sight of the contexts of the study, inflexibility when categories are set by the computer and cannot be changed and the possible loss of data and completed analyses due to technical failure and human error (Hatch, 2002, p.208). The complexity of the programme and the time to become familiar with it was certainly an issue, however the time saved in analysis and coding compensated for this. NVivo is extremely flexible and all decisions are made by the researcher. This ability to customise the analysis and produce a wide range of reports was an extremely useful feature. Hatch also cautions however that using a computer programme to help with sorting and organising data is not "and never can be a satisfactory alternative to doing the mindwork associated with analysing and interpreting data" (p.207).

A full list of documents, codes and themes generated and used is provided as Appendix A.

Analysis and Trustworthiness

The process described to sort and classify data according to themes and then looking for connections is typical of inductive analysis. Inductive thinking moves from the specific to the general. Understandings are generated by starting with specific elements then finding connections among them. Hatch, (2000, p.161) states:

> To argue inductively is to begin with particular pieces of evidence, then pull them together into a meaningful whole. Inductive data analysis is a search for patterns of meaning in data so that general statements about phenomena under investigation can be made.

Susan O'Donnell (2000, p.97) likens this process to confronting a 5000 piece jigsaw without the picture on the box! The nature of the process is one of discovery, rather than the proving of a preconceived hypothesis. In inductive analysis one looks for commonalities and differences firstly within categories and then across the whole of the data.

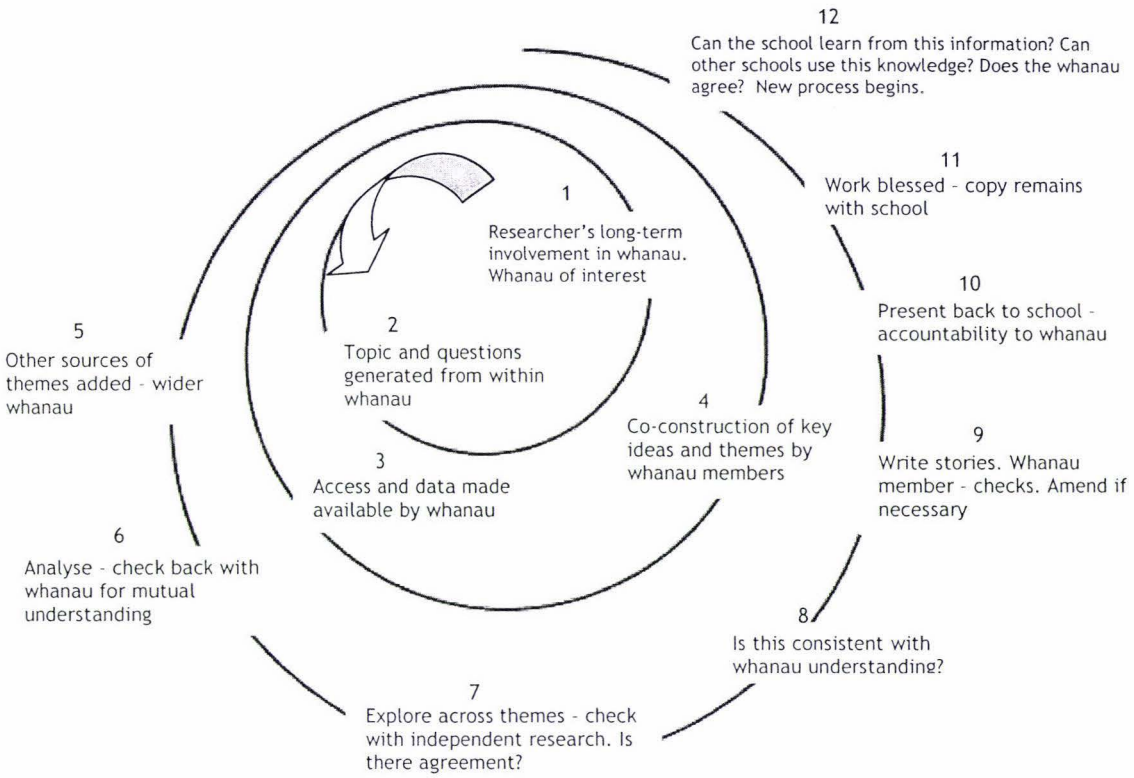
However Kaupapa Maori researchers argue that an inductive process alone does not mean that researcher hegemony will not still prevail. Bishop (1996, p.24) defines this as, "seen in researchers' beliefs that their interpretation and assumptions are more 'common sensical' or more 'natural' than those of the participants." The process of the researcher deciding on themes and categories independently of the participants and then interpreting the data in accordance with those themes is no less impositional than other forms of research and analysis that strive to achieve "distance" between researcher and researched. Kaupapa Maori and critical race theorists agree on collaborative storytelling that co-constructs meaning right from the start of the process and involves participants in what Bishop (1996, p.28; 1999, p.119) describes as "spiral discourse" and Heshusius (1994, cited in Bishop, 1996, p.28) calls a reality that is "mutually evolving" rather than a truth to be interpreted. This challenge to western-based research constructs is powerfully presented by Su'a-Huirua and Peteru (1993, p.7):

> Central to the issue of research is the basic assumption that ethnocentric researchers can freely enter into communities of different cultures. Defining by 'others' of cultural communities becomes an act of violence through the predominantly white, male research constructs which are held up to be universal. There appears to be the assumption that western-based theory is equally applicable to non-white community value base. Fundamentally there is a silencing of the other (non-white) research partner. In this way there is no opportunity to redefine the research question by the silent partner. (cited in Spoonley, 2003, p.52)

In this study I have tried to be ever mindful of my position as a Pakeha researcher, struggling to shed the expectations of Eurocentric research tradition, to tell the story of a journey where the participants are predominantly Maori or from the Pacific. This thesis is but part of the development of the Clover Park story in that it is my story of the school's development. I hope that the process depicted (Figure 3.7) and the example described below will address the concerns of both partners in this research.

Figure 3.7: Research spiral

(Milne, 2003, after the concept of spiral discourse, Bishop, 1996; Bishop & Glynn, 1999)



One example of this process is:

In the internal school documents of Clover Park Middle School there is consistent reference to *culturally relevant pedagogy* as a basic belief of school practice. This belief is articulated as integral to the school's shared vision, developed in consultation with the school community, and was the first theme suggested in the process of co-construction of key concepts. A close examination of a small sample of internal school documents and a computer analysis of the text show this as a regular pattern with 23 references embedded in school policy alone. Is this belief confirmed by independent reviews and research conducted within the school? A search for the category of *culturally relevant pedagogy* across 12 documents generated externally from the school finds 102 pieces of relevant text. By assigning the attributes of "confirming" or "disconfirming" to these texts it is clear that there is a high degree of agreement that culturally relevant pedagogy is a feature of Clover Park Middle School - both in internal and external documentation and in practice. More important however, is the question, is this belief shared by the school community? Searching further across a wider range of documents finds students' comments from independently published research and

comments made by parents and family in school surveys showing that there is clear understanding of this concept and strong support and advocacy for this philosophy. Further investigation of other key themes could tease out if in fact this close correlation between school philosophy and family expectations is a feature that carries over into other areas?

In addressing issues of validity and reliability, qualitative researchers sometimes use terms such as trustworthiness, credibility, dependability, and consistency. Merriam (1988) suggests that these are enhanced through member checks, triangulation of data and methods, an audit trail, and stating researcher biases. These practices have all been described in the processes of data collection and analysis and in the ethical considerations for this thesis. Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988, suggest alternative terms, e.g. "truth value" to address internal validity, "transferability" to discuss external validity, and "consistency" as a substitute for reliability.

LeCompte and Preissle, (1993 pp.323-324, cited in Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2000 p.108) identify several overriding kinds of internal validity or truth value in qualitative research; confidence in the data, the authenticity, credibility , auditability, dependability and the confirmability of the data and the soundness of the research design.

Through the process described in Figure 3.7 however it is clear that, while other processes for validity were used, the reliability and trustworthiness of the data in this study lies primarily in my accountability to the whanau. The next chapter explores in detail the whanau that is Clover Park Middle School.

Chapter 4

Clover Park Middle School
Te Kura Takawaenga o Te Papa Rautoru

The Journey

How has Clover Park Middle School made changes to fit the kids?

Clover Park Middle School is situated in Otara, a suburb of Manukau City in New Zealand. Built in 1980 as a traditional two-year (Years 7 and 8[20]) intermediate school, the school's status was changed to a four-year (Years 7 to 10) middle school in 1995. The catalyst for this change was the desire of Maori parents in 1990 to retain their children in the school's Maori bilingual unit, Te Whanau o Tupuranga for longer than two years. The process for this change saw the school pitted against official policy and legislation as parents, supposedly empowered by New Zealand's education reforms in 1989, struggled to realise their goal. Over a period of time the school moved firstly to retain Maori students in Te Whanau o Tupuranga, then to achieve this change for all students as an official middle school. Following this restructuring came a period of internal reflection and change to make Clover Park Middle School a more relevant learning environment for its 98% Maori and Pacific roll. In 2000 the school was presented with a further challenge from its Maori community to support a group of former students who were seeking continuity of a Maori learning environment at senior level in their secondary schooling. The story of this small senior class over a period of two years is, in many ways, a microcosm of the larger story of Clover Park Middle School's journey towards a relevant learning environment for Maori and Pacific students and this is further described in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 looks at the community that provided the impetus for these changes and provides an insight into the process and the reflection involved. There are four sections in this chapter. The first section describes the community of Otara, the provision for education,

[20] Formerly known in the New Zealand Education system as Forms 1 & 2.

particularly provision for Maori and Pacific students in this area and the school's first two years. The second section discusses the period from 1983 to 1992, with a focus on the development of the Maori bilingual unit, Te Whanau o Tupuranga and the foundation it provided for future direction in the school. The third section takes the journey from the change of leadership and a period of crisis in 1994 through to the present day, examining areas of difficulty as well as achievements and the process of change. Fourthly the chapter provides a snapshot of the school now, describing organisation, the delivery of the curriculum and the relationship with the community.

My positioning in this study has been described in Chapter 3 and my reasons for not using interviews with staff and community, due to potential power imbalances inherent in my role as school principal have been outlined. The school sections in this chapter therefore have drawn extensively on my personal recollection and my own subjectivity is apparent in the narrative. These memories however, have been validated against a wide range of school documents which are referenced in the footnotes and in Appendix A. Two staff members who were present in the school during the period covered in this chapter, and a long-term member of the Board of Trustees have also read and validated this material. Amendments were made as a result of their input. In Chapter 5, the themes emerging from the school's practice described in this chapter will be further discussed and evidence of effectiveness will be provided through triangulation using a range of independently sourced data.

Otara

The community of Otara is located in Manukau City, New Zealand's third largest city. Just under half of Manukau residents identify their ethnic grouping as Pakeha/European, with 17% as Maori, 27% as Pacific and 15% as Asian. The balance is made up of a mix of other ethnic groups. 30% of Manukau residents speak two or more languages, with Samoan the most widely spoken language after English. Forty-two percent of Manukau residents are under 25 years of age (Manukau City Council, 2003).

The origin of the name "Otara" is open to many different interpretations. The Manukau City Council (2003) offers three of these. One theory refers to the existence of a mythological figure known as Tara, who earned his name after getting caught up in a fishing net and pricking his hand on the spine of a fish (tara) in his struggles to free himself. In the second, similar story, Otara means 'bent hand', relating to Tara's hand being poisoned by the fish spine and the bending of it due to the pain and swelling. The third explanation lies with the name of a famous chief of the area, O-Tara-mai-nuku. Riki (1997, p.18) links Otara's origin to the same local Maori chief, also known as Tara Te Irirangi whose name is perpetuated in the

major highway, Te Irirangi Drive that now bisects the Clover Park community. Riki lists Otara's tribes as Ngati Paoa and Ngai Tai. The City Council information defines the main people of the area as Aki Tai and Ngati Kahu.

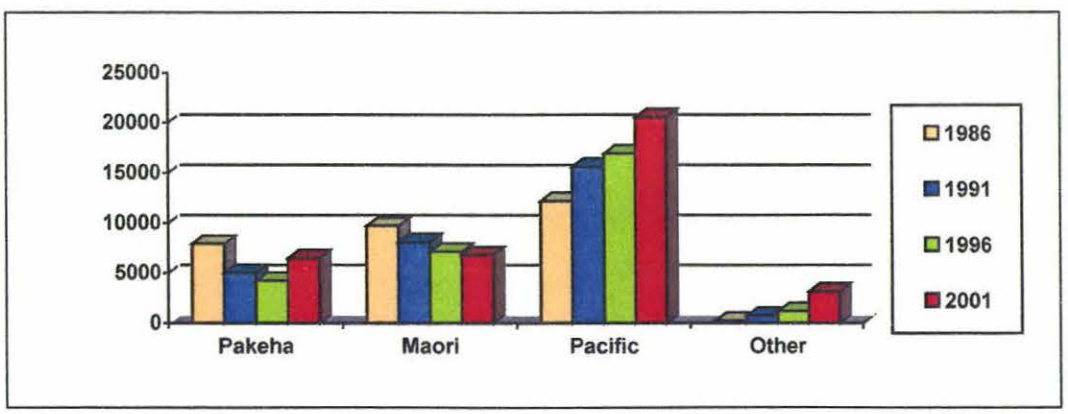
Maori experienced the most rapid urbanisation transition of any indigenous population in the world (Pool, 1991, cited in Bedford, 1997). In 1951, when 73% of all New Zealanders were living in towns and cities, 71% of Maori were living in rural communities. Twenty years later in 1971, 70% of Maori were in urban areas (Bedford, 1997). Otara was developed during this period in the 1950s when a state housing project was initiated with the aim of constructing 4,500 houses for 20,000 residents within a ten-year time frame. These houses were aimed at the low income market and, coupled with a pro-immigration campaign, experienced a boom, as predominantly Maori and Pacific Island people moved to live in the subsidised housing estates, and work in the surrounding industrial areas (Manukau City Council, 2003). According to Riki (1997, p.21) the residential area's rapid growth always exceeded the provision of the many social services the community required.

The continuing immigration of large numbers of Pacific people into Otara caused a shift out of the community by Maori in the 1980s and 1990s. Some of this movement was to other suburbs but many moved away from the city. The late twentieth century censuses show this pattern of reversal of the rural-urban drift with almost all main urban areas showing net losses of Maori to rural centres and areas (Bedford 1997).

Otara today therefore is very different in ethnic makeup from those early days, however the "polarisation of ethnic kinship" (Riki, 1997 p.21), the predominance of a Pacific and Maori population remains, albeit in different ratios (Figure 4.1):

Figure 4.1:Otara Population Change by Ethnicity 1986 - 2001

Sources: Manukau City Council Economic Development Activity (1986, 1991, 1996) cited in Riki (1997, p.33) and Manukau City Council Otara Ward Statistics, 2001)



Forty-two percent of Otara residents are under 20 years of age and the median age is 25 years. The median household income is $43,248 and the median personal income is $15,334. Over 30% of the working age population have either no source of income (9%) or are beneficiaries. Twenty nine percent of Otara's total population are aged between five and nineteen years old, making up a potential school population of 10,431 students. Almost 3,500 of these students are aged from ten to fourteen (Manukau City Council, 2003), the age group that could be expected to attend schools catering for students in Years 6 to 10. There are 17 schools in the Otara community, made up as shown in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1: Otara School Types

School Type	Year Levels	Number of Schools
Contributing Primary (includes one public Catholic school)	0 - 6	11
Intermediate	7 - 8	1
Middle School	7 - 10	1
Secondary School	9 - 13	1
Composite School (three schools on a common campus)	0 - 6 7 - 8 9 - 13	1
Kura Kaupapa Maori[21]	0 - 8	1
Private Christian School	0 - 12	1

Riki (1997 p.25) states, "at an Otara Principals' Association meeting in March of 1996 participants agreed that two thirds of the 3,000 secondary-aged students were attending 27 secondary schools outside of Otara." [22] That this practice continued is confirmed in the report to the Ministry of Education, Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara Evaluation: Second Evaluation Report (Robinson, Timperley & Bullard, 2000, p.22) that finds approximately 70% of high school age students bypass local state schools to enrol in schools in neighbouring suburbs. Similarly the Ministry of Education pamphlet[23] to launch the Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara [SEMO] school improvement initiatives describes the overall decrease in roll size of intermediate and secondary schools in Otara over the period 1991 to 1995, irrespective of location or decile rating, as higher than anywhere else in New Zealand, against significant roll growth in most other schools in Auckland.

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[21] State schools in New Zealand that have Maori as the sole medium of instruction and follow a curriculum, aligned to the National Curriculum Framework for all schools, but with the inclusion of Maori values, custom and beliefs.

[22] I was in attendance at this meeting as a member of the Otara Principals' Association.

[23] Ministry of Education pamphlet, (May 1997). Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara

A major factor in the acceleration of this practice was the policy of dezoning or open enrolment, introduced in New Zealand schools by the National Government in 1991. Hawk and Hill (1996) discuss the effects of this policy on decile one schools, finding that there was a profound and immediate effect on the schools in their study[24], causing immediate roll decline in five of the eight schools. They state:

> The reputation of these schools is inextricably tied to the geographic area and all of the things parents associate with that area. The students often said their parents wanted a *better future* for them than the parents had. This includes enabling them to be upwardly mobile and move out of an area that has a reputation of poverty, violence, ethnic conflict, crime, drugs, gangs, unemployment and hopelessness. (p.95; emphasis in the original)

As one teacher in the AIMHI study comments:

> The theory is that if you go to a rich school that somehow the wealth will rub off. We are a poor brown school and some parents want their kids as close to a fat-cat white school as they can get them. It's more that than any educational decision. (Hawk & Hill, 1996, p.95)

This exodus of students seriously affects all of the state Otara schools catering for students from Year 7 and above (Robinson, Timperley & Bullard, 2000, p.22). The situation is exacerbated by the practice of schools in more affluent areas providing bus transport from Otara and communities beyond to the eastern suburbs of Manukau City[25].

Riki (1997), a long term resident of and educator in Otara, attributes the restricted skill base that is present in Otara (Table 4.2) to the loss of higher achieving students from schools in the community. During this period, from 1991 to 1999, students who applied to attend schools outside of Otara were selected by those schools if they were academically successful, had no behavioural problems or showed talent in specific areas such as sport or music. (Hawk & Hill, 1996, p.95). This resulted in the loss from Otara schools of the students who could be role models, limited the subject choices schools could offer and helped create an image of failure (Hawk & Hill, 1996, pp.95, 96; Riki, 1997 p.25).

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[24] Achievement in Multicultural High Schools [AIMHI], research carried out in eight decile one schools in New Zealand. Seven of these schools were in South Auckland. Both Otara secondary schools at the time (1996) were participants in this research.

[25] Letter from Robson, T., Chairperson, Clover Park Middle School Board of Trustees, to Chairperson, Howick Intermediate School Board of Trustees, 27 August, 2001.

Table 4.2: Otara Education Qualifications
(Manukau City Council, 2003)

Highest Qualification Gained	Number	%
No Qualification	7,125	31
Year 11 Qualification	2,562	11
Year 12 Qualification	1,563	7
Higher School Qualification	963	4
Other NZ Secondary School Qualification	45	0
Overseas Secondary School Qualification	2,439	10
Basic Vocational Qualification	735	3
Skilled Vocational Qualification	396	2
Intermediate Vocational Qualification	423	2
Advanced Vocational Qualification	762	3
Bachelor Degree	555	2
Higher Degree	165	1
Highest Qualification Unidentifiable	2,241	10
Not Stated	3,345	14

In 1999 the Labour government introduced a policy of enrolment schemes designed to address the issue of overcrowding in schools with growing roll numbers. This scheme requires those schools to designate a home school zone and gives students who live within that zone the right to attend that school. Schools with enrolment schemes have to ensure they reserve sufficient places for enrolments from within their zone and then publicise the number of places they will have available for students out-of-zone. To avoid the selection of these applicants according to their skills and abilities schools are now required to choose out-of-zone students strictly by ballot (Ministry of Education, 2003b). While this policy has the potential to help schools in Otara retain students, the reality is that parents determined to seek enrolment outside the community continue to do so and the perception of Otara schools, in spite of significant changes in the last ten years, remains difficult to change.

Religion plays a very important role in the lives of Pacific families in Otara. Riki, (1997, p.34) identifies 55 church groups, and 33 church buildings with an estimated value exceeding $30 million. The practice of tithing one-tenth of household incomes to the church is common in families and the pressure on families to raise funds for both family and church occasions is significant. Riki (1997, p.34) states, "Church ministers and leaders have considerable influence upon many Otara people, particularly in the areas of parenting issues, communication with the younger members of their church and the finances of the homes of parishioners."

In 2000 local police reported that there were currently 35 liquor outlets in Otara, for a population of 30,000, 38% of whom were under 18 (Greenaway et al., 2002). The Counties Manukau Police District Annual Business Plan, July 2003 to June 2004, reports that alcohol is a significant problem for youth in the district and the principal cause of disorder and violence in public places. Another significant problem highlighted in the police plan is graffiti and its use to mark the turf of young ethnic gangs such as the Bloods and the Crips. Youth gangs and graffiti present problems for schools in the community.

While there is no escaping the problems faced by families in terms of education, employment, housing and poverty and the multiple issues they present for schools, Otara is nonetheless a rich, diverse, vibrant and proud community. The essence of the community's vitality and multicultural richness is captured in the weekly Otara Flea Market, aptly described by de Bruin (2000):

> The Otara Flea Market, which operates every Saturday morning, exudes the atmosphere of a colorful, open air, Polynesian market. In one corner of the flea market a young Pacific Island man fervently preaches to bystanders of the changes that have taken place in his life since he found Jesus Christ. In another corner the sounds of urban Pacific music pulsate through the air as a Pacific Island band performs, almost appearing to bring to life the wall mural which forms their backdrop. An elderly woman buys her supply of freshly baked *rewana* or Maori bread; a child pesters his mother for a cheap, battery driven, musical toy; a German tourist purchases a New Zealand souvenir T-shirt with sheep on it; and a young visitor to the market carefully selects a carved bone pendant. These images form only a small part of the kaleidoscope of sight, sound and smell that makes up the Otara Flea Market.

Education in Otara

The education statistics for Otara have been mentioned earlier in this chapter (see p.105). The initiatives introduced to the Otara community in 1999 designed to counter these are discussed at a later point in this chapter (see p.153) as they form part of the change process. It is useful however to paint a background picture of the education provision for Maori and Pacific children in the community, particularly in terms of language education. The desire of Maori parents for bilingual education options for their children was the spark that initiated the changes at Clover Park and there has been strong support for Samoan and Tongan language programmes in the school. Is this something unique to Clover Park or is it an aspiration of the wider Otara community?

Maori Language

In 2003 the Ministry of Education concluded an analysis of Maori schooling needs in Auckland and presented their findings in a report entitled, Maori Network Strategy Analysis of Maori Schooling Needs in Auckland (2003e)[26]. This analysis included a case study and in-depth analysis of the needs of the Otara community.

The analysis found widespread access to Maori-medium schooling at primary/intermediate level throughout Auckland, with a slight increase in participation over the past few years. However, the report states there is a notable lack of access to Maori-medium schooling at secondary level. According to the report, "anecdotal evidence supports the view that there is unmet demand for Maori-medium education at Secondary level" with only five secondary schools in the Auckland area offering bilingual programmes.

Schools in New Zealand are resourced for the provision of Maori language on four different levels according to the percentage of time spent using Maori as the medium of instruction (Table 4.3). Level 1 is classified as "total immersion" although strictly speaking it can vary from 81 to 100% of the time and Levels 2 to 3 are called "bilingual." Level 4 is typically the kind of programme that might be found at secondary level where students learn Maori language as a separate subject.

Table 4.3: Maori Language Funding for 2004
(source: Ministry of Education 2003f)

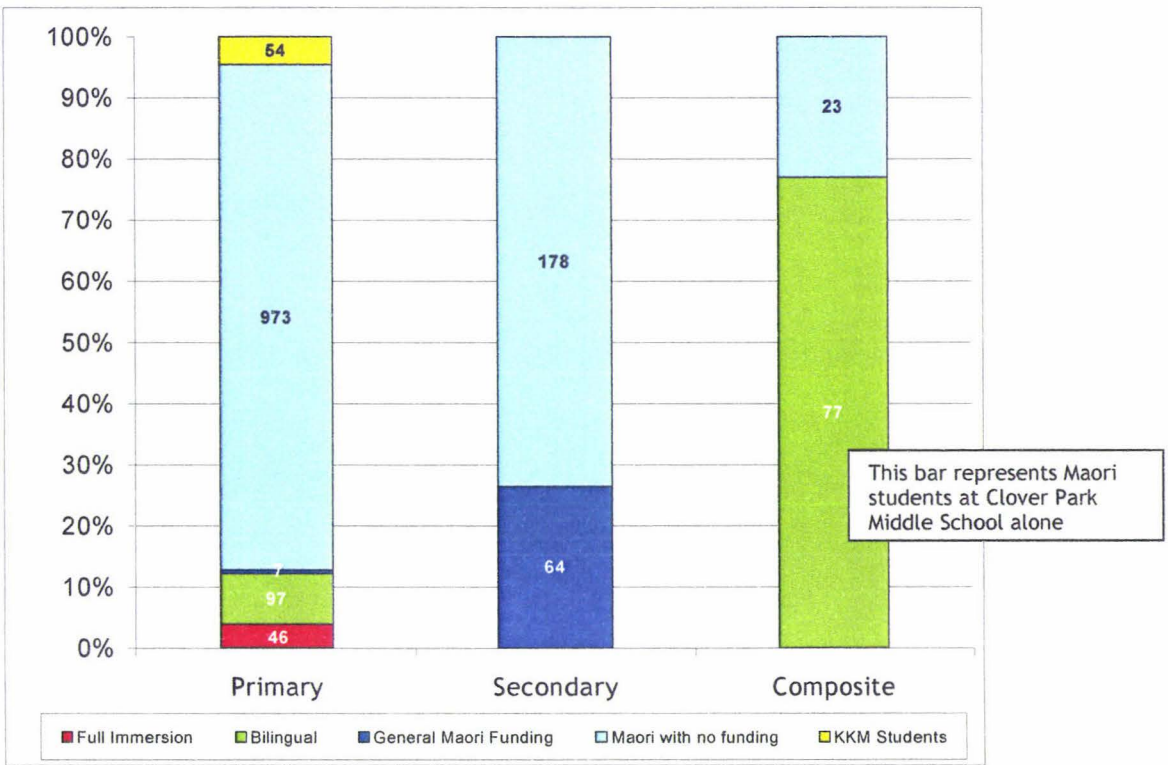
Immersion Level	Immersion Level	Funding per pupil
Level 1	(81% to 100% immersion)	$902.65
Level 2	(51% to 80% immersion)	$451.32
Level 3	(30% to 50% immersion)	$225.66
Level 4	(less than 30% immersion but at least 3 hrs per week)	$54.78

In Otara the analysis found that approximately 20% of Maori primary students are participating in some form of bilingual or full immersion education, however there is no participation in either of these forms of Maori language education at secondary school level. In Figure 4.2, which shows the involvement of Maori students in Otara in all types of Maori

[26] Presented to schools and Boards of Trustees at a meeting at Mayfield School on 5 February 2003 and subsequently distributed to Otara schools on CD.

language education, it can be seen that the majority of Maori students (Maori with no funding) do not participate in Maori language education at all.

Figure 4.2: Analysis of the total Maori school student roll in Otara: 2002
(after Ministry of Education, 2003e)



A further breakdown into specific schools (Figure 4.3) shows that 6 of the 15 primary, intermediate or middle schools in Otara received funding in 2002 for Levels 1 and 2 Maori language, although in 2003 Rongomai School no longer offers either a bilingual or total immersion programme. The two secondary schools, while receiving some Maori language resourcing at Level 4, do not offer bilingual options.

This means that none of the contributing schools which circle Clover Park Middle School offer bilingual or any significant Maori language programmes and at the secondary level there is no continuity of Maori language beyond a separate subject approach at the local secondary schools. Does this indicate that there is no demand for Maori language in this community?

In fact the opposite is true. Otara is one of the areas in Auckland with a relatively high proportion of Maori speakers (Figure 4.4) and the Ministry of Education's analysis concludes:

> Otara is an area that has a high proportion of Maori speakers, which indicates that there may be high demand for Maori-medium education. Analysis of the MLF [Maori Language Funded] students at primary and intermediate levels in Otara indicates that there is in fact a relatively high demand for bilingual and full immersion Maori education in the area. Comparing the level of MLF provision at primary/intermediate levels with the level of provision at secondary level indicates that there is a notable lack of opportunity for students to continue their bi-lingual and full immersion Maori education through their entire schooling. (Ministry of Education, 2003e)

The Ministry of Education analysis is based purely on the action of schools accessing the Maori Language Funding. While this may be a reliable criterion to assess the number of Maori language or bilingual programmes, the provision of language alone does not necessarily ensure that schools or individual programmes will be culturally relevant in terms of the definitions in Chapter 3 of this study. Using a single criterion such as funding does not mean that schools are addressing, "Maori cultural aspirations for power and control over the issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability" (see p.59), Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p.106), in either classroom practice or in the wider philosophy of the school.

Figure 4.3: Otara Schools, Primary, Intermediate and Middle: Maori Language Funding 2002 (after Ministry of Education 2003e)

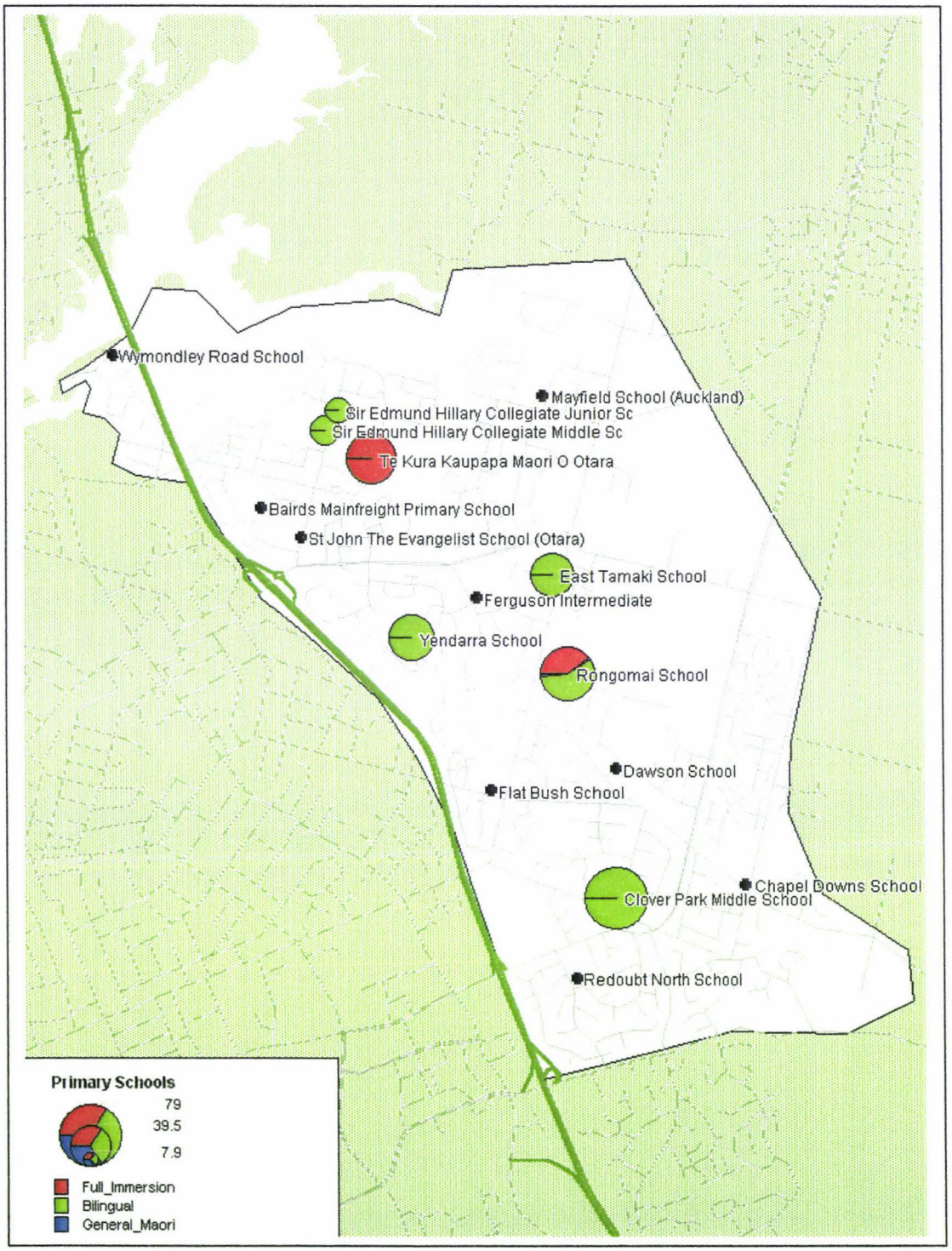
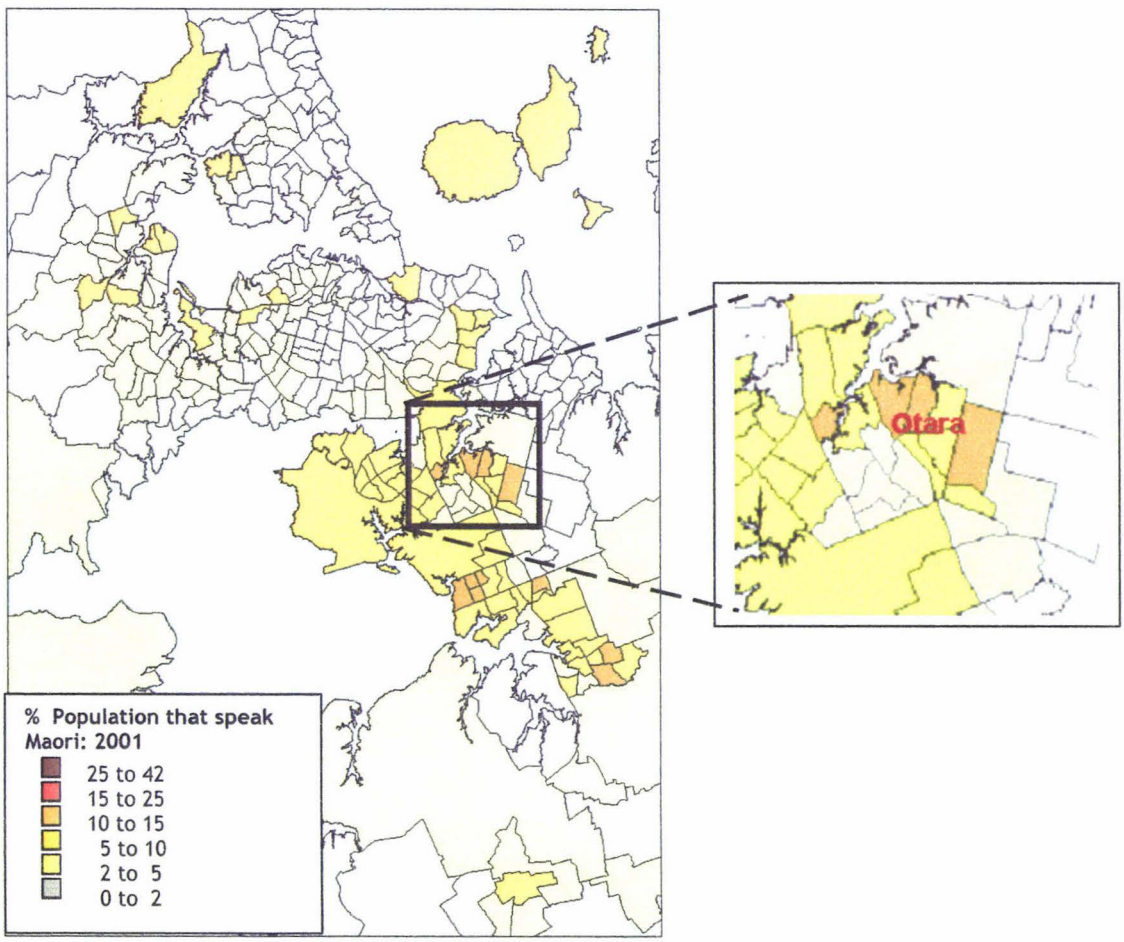


Figure 4.4: Maori Language speaking distribution - Auckland-wide and in Otara: 2001
(after Ministry of Education 2003e)



Pacific Languages

In 1999 the Woolf Fisher Research Foundation of the University of Auckland funded research into the status of community languages[27], Maori and Pacific, in the Manukau area. The project analysed the 1996 Census data, interviewed speakers from the different languages and language educators and compiled data on existing language maintenance programmes in the city. Schools were included in these data and interviews were carried out in a number of schools, including Clover Park Middle School. The different patterns of language fluency across five different ethnic groups in the community are shown starkly in Figure 4.5 (Bell, Davis & Starks, 2000, p.17).

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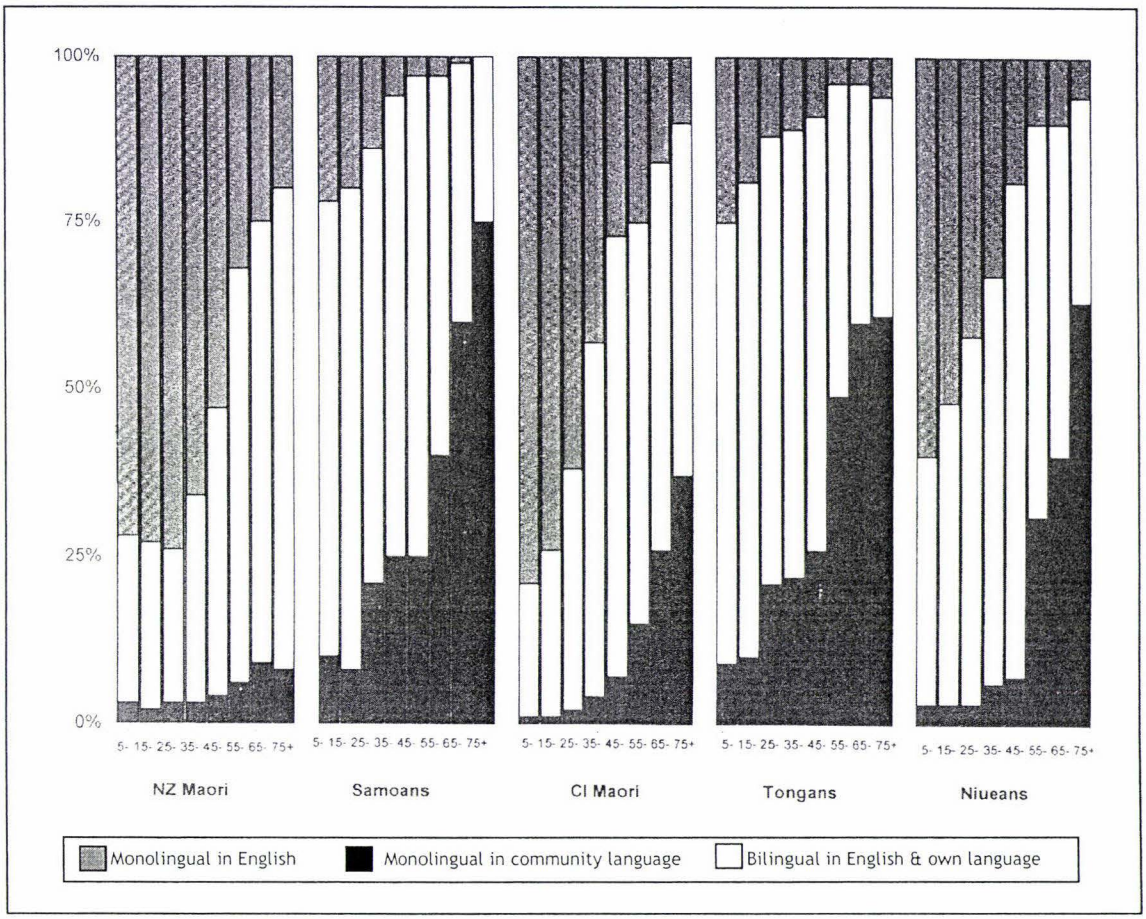
[27] The term 'community language' is used in the study as a collective alternative label for one or more of the 'Polynesian languages' (used for Pacific languages and Maori), usually in contrast to English

Figure 4.5: Proportion of ethnic groups in Manukau City (1996 Census) who can converse only in English (top), and only in community language (bottom), by 10-year age groups

(Bell et al. 2000)



Speakers who are monolingual[28] in English are shown at the top of the graph, those monolingual in their own (community) language are shown at the bottom. Most of the middle band of speakers are bilingual in English and their community language or bilingual in other language combinations. As the graph shows, monolingualism in English decreases with age and the opposite is true for the community languages. After Maori, monolingualism in English is most advanced in the Cook Islands community, followed next by Niuean, then Tongan, then Samoan. The report warns that although the Samoan and Tongan languages are currently very robust they are still in danger of declining in the same way that Cook Islands Maori and the Niuean languages are doing in the Manukau area.

In Otara only two schools were found to be providing bilingual programmes, Yendarra and Clover Park Middle School, both offering Samoan language. Ferguson Intermediate was quoted as having offered Samoan and Cook Island Maori as a 'one off' elective programme in

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[28] In this study "monolingual" meant that a person claimed to be conversationally fluent in only one language

1998. In the two secondary schools Pacific languages were taught as elective subjects for between two and three hours per week (p.30,31). This situation is unchanged in the secondary schools for 2003. Sir Edmund Hillary Collegiate Junior School is the only primary school offering Samoan bilingual classes and Clover Park Middle School has Samoan and Tongan bilingual programmes (Ministry of Education, 2003g).

Clover Park Intermediate School, 1981 – 1982: The Journey Begins

Officially named Otara East Intermediate through the planning and building stage the school changed its name to Clover Park Intermediate School effective from 29 January 1980, the date the school opened to receive its first intake of Form 1 students. On 11 February 1980, 174 students were enrolled in Form 1. There were 17 staff. Three of the variable teaching spaces, Areas 2, 3 and 4 were in operation[29].

One year later, in February 1981, the school had received its second Form 1 intake, making a total of 365 students, 189 in Form 1 and 176 in Form 2. All four teaching Areas were now completed and occupied. Staff had increased to 19.[30]

On Saturday 11 April 1981 at 2.00 p.m. the school was officially opened (Figure 4.6) by The Most Reverend Paul Reeves, Archbishop of New Zealand. This important occasion was attended by a number of dignitaries including Mr T. Foley, the Regional Superintendent of Education, the General Manager of the Auckland Education Board, Mr Winston Peters, then Member of Parliament for Hunua, Mr D. Campbell, District Senior Inspector of Primary Schools and representatives from Manukau City Council.[31] Parents were invited to attend and were also given the opportunity to make a donation towards the purchase of library books.[32] The Governor-General, Sir David Beattie, the Minister of Education, Mr M. Wellington the Minister of Maori Affairs, Mr Ben Couch and Mr Lloyd Ellsmore, Mayor of Manukau City sent their apologies and good wishes.[33]

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[29] Organisation Schedule E8/18. Clover Park Intermediate.11 February 1980

[30] Organisation Schedule E8/18. Clover Park Intermediate. February 1981

[31] School documents, Letters of Invitation and replies

[32] School Newsletter, 19 March 1981

[33] School documents, Letters of reply

Figure 4.6: Programme for the Official Opening of Clover Park Intermediate School

Clover Park Intermediate School

Programme for Official Opening on Saturday 11 April, 1981 at 2.00 p.m.

Traditional welcome of Official Guests by Pukekiwiriki Maori Culture Group.

SPEECH:	Mr R Pullen, Chairman of School Committee
SPEECH:	Mr P. Knox, Principal
SCHOOL MASSED SINGING:	Hine E Hine
SCHOOL CHOIR:	Touch the Wind
SPEECH:	Pupils' Representative
SPEECH:	Mr P. Foley, Auckland Regional Superintendent of Education
OFFICIAL OPENING:	The Most Reverend P A Reeves, Archbishop of New Zealand
PRAYER OF DEDICATION:	Reverend Canon M R Newman
SCHOOL MASSED SINGING:	Pania of the Reef You Light Up My Life
NEW ZEALAND NATIONAL ANTHEM	
SCHOOL ORCHESTRA:	Popular selection

(Official guests leave hall to view the school and join for afternoon tea)

The school was soon to mount its first protest to Members of Parliament about injustice. In June, 1981[34] parents were advised of an issue of concern. Other Otara schools, built before 1976, had been granted "notional roll" status, a special category for schools facing rapidly rising rolls and pupils designated as having special language needs. Not only did notional roll status mean schools could boost their actual roll numbers by a nominal additional 15%, thus generating extra staffing entitlement, in 1981 teachers in notional roll schools were granted an incentive salary payment of $529.00. Clover Park Intermediate and Dawson Primary, built after 1976, did not have this status and felt they were being disadvantaged. The School Committee spelled out the effects of this for the future of the school in their letter to parents[35]:

a. Fewer class teachers to cope with the rising numbers of pupils
b. Fewer Senior Teachers will be appointed
c. Less financial assistance will be received to run each school compared to neighbouring Otara schools

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34 School Committee letter to Parents, 24 June, 1981

35 School Committee letter to Parents, 24 June, 1981

d. Fewer teachers will want to apply for positions at Clover Park Intermediate or Dawson, that are paid less than those of neighbouring Otara schools
e. The education of over 1000 pupils attending either the Intermediate or Dawson Primary will be seriously affected by loss of additional staffing under Notional Roll Status

Parents were provided with a form "letter of petition" to complete and return to the school for forwarding to the Minister of Education and a similar message was translated into Samoan, Cook Island Maori, Tongan and Niuean to be broadcast on Pacific radio stations. This message concluded, "Parents are urged to contact their Members of Parliament expressing their concern at this shocking situation and continued unfairness to their children."[36] One hundred and seventy-seven parents returned their petition letters to the school within a week and the petition was circulated in the Otara Town Centre, "with similar success."[37] All petition letters were then pasted into a large scrap book, taken first to the Courier Newspaper, then presented to Winston Peters, Member of Parliament for Hunua. Dawson Primary and two Mangere schools similarly affected also lobbied the Ombudsman, petitioned Members of Parliament, and utilised newspapers and television. The campaign had the desired effect and the school learned in October 1981 that the Minister of Education would approved notional roll status, pending the agreement of Cabinet, to be effective from 1 February 1982.[38]

There was to be an almost immediate backlash for Clover Park Intermediate however from this alignment with other Otara schools. At this time government legislation required that schools adhere strictly to designated zones. To be accepted by an out-of-zone school parents had to apply to the Education Board, who made the final decision. As part of the process however, the home-zone principal was asked for a response to the application.

On 20 October, 1981, the Clover Park principal received a copy of a letter sent to the General Manager of the Auckland Education Board from the principal and School Committee of Redoubt North Primary School, less than a kilometre away.[39] The letter asked that the Education Board consider their "exceptional situation" and allow Redoubt North parents to have the choice of enrolling at either Papatoetoe Intermediate, over five kilometres distant, or Clover Park Intermediate School. Almost half of their parents had indicated preference for a transfer. Citing Clover Park's newly won notional roll status as evidence of "greater numbers of children with learning and language difficulties," they considered they were "the

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36 School documents: Suggested text for translation into Pacific Island Languages for radio publicity

37 School Newsletter, 7 July 1981

38 School Newsletter, 19 October 1981

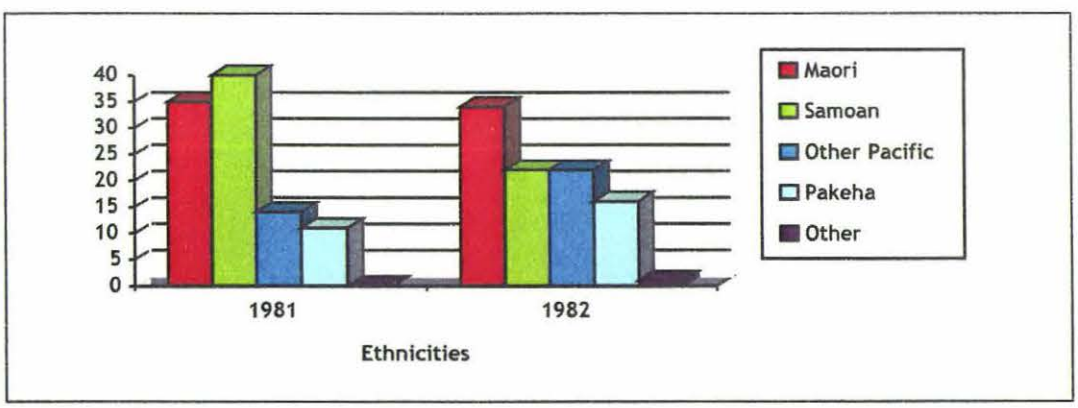
39 Letter from T. Boyes to The General Manager, Auckland Education Board, copied to Clover Park Intermediate School principal, 20 October 1981.

a-typical [sic] school contributing to Clover Park Intermediate," as they were the only one of five contributing schools that were not "predominantly Polynesian." As they only had 38% Polynesian children they did not have a "Polynesian emphasis." The Committee and the principal acknowledged that the "creative talents of the Polynesian children in art and craft, music and drama and the closeness and warmth of their relationships are a fine example and experience for all our children," but they felt some of their children would not be challenged to extend their language in an environment of language disadvantage and would not adjust to the very different school environment at Clover Park. They felt that while both schools would have an emphasis in learning based on the needs and strengths of its children, "Clover Park would emphasise its Polynesian nature, Papatoetoe its New Zealand nature."

Given that Clover Park had only been officially opened six months previously these judgements, as the letter indicates, were based on the grounds of race. To the Education Department's credit this request was denied. Applications for transfer out-of-zone continued annually, and were opposed by Clover Park,[40] until the school zoning processes passed out of Education Board hands with the advent of Tomorrow's Schools in 1989. However, the origins of the ongoing exodus of students from the community at the end of their primary schooling, described in the first part of this chapter, can be traced back to this time.

In 1982 the roll of Clover Park Intermediate was 83% Maori or Pacific students. 16% of the students were Pakeha (Figure 4.7)

Figure 4.7: Clover Park Intermediate School Roll by Ethnicity, June 1981 and 1982



[40] Researcher's tacit knowledge

School Design

The school was constructed using the "variable teaching space" more commonly known as "open-plan" design currently in vogue at the time. This structure has played a significant role in the organisation of the school.

Open-plan schools originated in the United States in the late 1950s, from the work of the Educational Facilities Laboratories [EFL], funded by the Ford Foundation to conduct school facilities research. The open plan concept influenced the basic design of thousands of schools in America from the late 1950s through the early 1970s. Instead of schools with dozens of identical, boxy, and rigid classrooms (which EFL's director, Harold Gores, referred to as the "egg-crate plan" serving a programme based on "cells and bells"), schools were planned with large, open, flexible spaces that could adapt to changing educational needs. Walls were eliminated to accommodate a new approach to education referred to as "open education" or "open classroom," a system developed in the British primary schools and brought to the United States in the 1960s (Marks, 2001).

The open plan was an attempt to get people to think more in terms of flexibility, in terms of facilities that would enhance the notion of team teaching, of differentiated staffing, of providing individual attention to each child, of using what were then known as "audio-visual" tools. In other words, it was a way to facilitate a change in the relationships among teachers, other staff and children.

Carroll (2000) uses the concept of open plan schooling as an example of resistance to change. He suggests that, "A lot of people feel like open space schools were a fad that has failed," and asks:

> Did the open space concept fail, or did we fail to prepare teachers who could teach in an open space model? We changed the physical space in those buildings, but because we continued to prepare most teachers as if the only way to teach is using the solo, stand alone, self-contained, isolated classroom model—the open space concept could not work.

The open plan concept spread to Australia and New Zealand where it was used as a school design in the 1970s and early 1980s. Where some schools made the most of the flexibility the concept offered, in many others, "teachers were beginning to pull in bookcases and blackboards on wheels to make these little impromptu walls around their space" (Carroll, 2000). Many open plan schools in later years put significant funds into rebuilding walls and recreating single cell classrooms. Carroll draws an analogy between the open plan experience and teachers' preparedness for teaching with new technologies:

> We do not know whether the open space design of those schools failed, but we do know that we failed to make the changes in the roles, rules, and relationships that would be necessary for it to succeed. Any organization that adopts a new technology without significant organizational change is doomed to failure. You have to change the organization. You cannot just add the technology. You have to actively work on changing the roles of the teachers, the roles of the students, the roles of the parents, and the roles of the administrators, and start to work toward building new relationships and new structures, or you will be disappointed with the results.

This is an extremely relevant point in terms of the restructuring that was to follow at Clover Park Middle School.

1983: Recollections

I arrived at Clover Park Intermediate School as a Scale A teacher in 1983, when the school was beginning its third year of operation. All four open-plan blocks were in full operation and named Areas 1, 2, 3 and 4. Already each Area had a mix of Years 7 and 8 pupils although for the main part the year levels were working separately within the Area organisation.

My personal teaching background up to this time had been predominantly in Whangarei, a town in the north of New Zealand, with a two year teaching stint in South Australia. All of my teaching had been with intermediate age children and, in Whangarei, predominantly in communities where there were significant numbers of Maori students. Prior to moving from Whangarei to Auckland I had embarked on a search of Auckland secondary schools that were offering Maori language as a subject through to senior level – a key consideration for our oldest daughter who was about to enter Year 10 (Form 4). This proved to be a difficult task and my decision to apply for a position at Clover Park came after we had finally found a Maori language option at a Manurewa secondary school. This almost fruitless search for a Maori programme that went beyond the junior level at secondary school was possibly one of the first personal "reshaping" experiences of my career. A second daughter joined me as a student at Clover Park, to be followed in subsequent years by a third daughter and a son.

This was my first experience of teaching in Auckland and the first time I had taught Pacific children. An early memory is my surprise that the only language heard in classrooms or the playground was English. Another recollection is being asked, along with two Pacific teachers, if we could establish a "Poly Club" to give students an opportunity to perform at school fund-raising concerts. Almost immediately we three found this difficult although we tried to comply. Each of us had experience in working with one culture and we had many discussions before we were finally able to get approval to transform the "Poly Club" into three groups; Maori, Samoan and Cook Island. Even then, among Pacific staff, was a strong desire to maintain distinct cultural identities. There were no Maori teachers at Clover Park during this period.

In 1983 I was a Scale A teacher in Area 3. In 1984 I moved to work in the Area 4 team where I was invited by the senior teacher, and deputy principal at that stage, to establish a "Maori Studies" programme. This coincided with national Maori Education policy and the shift from multiculturalism to biculturalism at the time (see p.44) but was very "new" and not well received school-wide. In Area 4 we went ahead with very token attempts to add a Maori dimension. This had almost no impact in the wider school but there were small and significant changes within the Area. One that is vivid in my memory is the dramatic change in

a previously surly, mostly silent and often angry, Maori boy in Year 8. Unbeknown to anyone in the school his parents were fluent Maori speakers and he had a strong background of Maori language and belief. His attitude to school was transformed as he became a lead person in our Maori programme. Just a month ago, in 2003, this same young man, now in his thirties, walked into my office. He was visiting home from Australia where he is currently completing a degree in media studies and just wanted to see the school, particularly his old Area and any staff he might know. He was amazed at the school marae and the addition of older students and spoke at length about his experiences at Clover Park.

While this student's change seemed a minor miracle at the time and was certainly significant for him, there is no doubt that this attempt to provide more Maori input had minimal impact on school philosophy or on Maori students. What more could be expected of a programme which really meant that for a period of 45 minutes in every seven day timetable cycle students in Area 4 were treated to what we called, "Maori Studies"? As Vicki Carpenter (2000) explains:

> The situation for Maori children at Takiwa School, prior to the 1980s, undoubtedly mirrored the national situation. This means that Maori students were taught a curriculum in English, that little or no acknowledgement was made in Takiwa School of 'Maoriness' or Maori language, and that Maori children most likely 'failed' in comparison to their Pakeha peer group. It is also probable that Maori children participated in Taha Maori programmes with enthusiasm. (p.141)

Maori Studies was possibly marginally better than what had happened previously and it was well-received by students but we knew it wasn't enough even then.

1986 - 1993: Te Whanau o Tupuranga

Taha Maori Unit 1986 - 1987

The chance to move beyond Maori Studies came with the opportunity to become the senior teacher in Area 4 in 1986. By this time "Taha Maori" was the newest development in Maori education policy. The Department of Education had launched its publication, Taha Maori in Schools: Suggestions for Getting Started (1984) and schools were being urged to have a Maori dimension, "permeate" their classroom practice. During 1985, with the help now of a Maori teacher in the school, but not in Area 4, we began to lobby for the development of Taha Maori programmes in the school and the establishment of the whole of Area 4 as a designated

"Taha Maori Unit." In a submission prepared in October 1985, for staff and the school committee, I quoted Peter Ranby's (1979) research:

> The results of this research suggest that adding a bit of Maoritanga here and there to school programmes is of little worth. If Maoritanga is something that you live and not something that you teach, then schools at which learning and teaching are done in a Maori way – active Maoritanga – could help bypass the low self-concept problem.
> ... Teaching Maoritanga, taken in isolation, helps self-concept and academic success little at all.[41]

The submission outlined the benefits, designed to appeal to staff who had just identified, through a curriculum review process, that they felt ill-equipped to deal with this new, "Taha Maori" school-wide. These benefits included providing a model for other teachers in the school to observe, supporting Taha Maori planning school-wide, enabling inter-Area visits and interaction and establishing links with Maori resources in the community. As a counter to accusations of "separatism" and "elitism"[42] the submission stated, "There is no intention for the programme to be exclusively Maori. We hope to have children from all ethnic backgrounds participating." In one of the few references in the document as to how this proposal could benefit Maori students, the submission pointed to the fact that there were ten Kohanga Reo in the Otara community and a bilingual unit at Clydemore Primary School with further units planned. In three to four years we needed to be prepared for these children to enter intermediate. Students were to be enrolled in the Taha Maori Unit from parental choice.

The school committee accepted the proposal and Area 4 opened its doors as a Taha Maori Unit at the beginning of the 1986 school year. It may have had moral support, some interest in high places and a new focus, but resourcing was another matter (Figure 4.8).

Throughout 1986 school archives there are repeated requests for financial support and resourcing, to official Department of Education personnel for both funds and staffing, to local businesses and service clubs - all to no avail. All of the letters in this file are annotated in my handwriting with the same comment, "No help! No funding!" Finally, after 18 months we must have worn down the inspectorate and in April and June 1987[43] files show a one-off grant of $650 and approval to appoint .5 additional staffing. This was a hard won victory.

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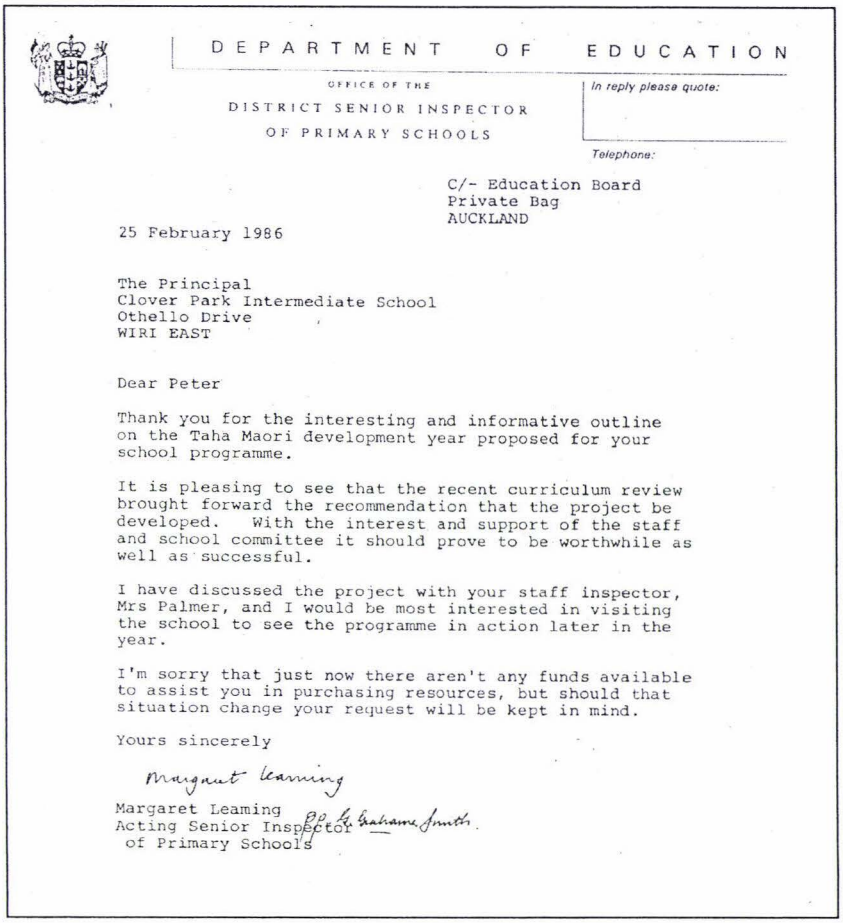
[41] In submission prepared for Clover Park Intermediate School Committee and staff, "The Situation in Our School" October, 1985, A Milne.

[42] Tacit knowledge - comments made by a school inspector at the time the proposal was discussed in a staff meeting in 1985.

[43] Letter: 25 April 1987 granting $650. Letter: 9 June 1987, approving employment of a .5 teacher under Regulation 31d

Figure 4.8: Letter from District Senior Inspector of Primary Schools, Department of Education, 25 February, 1986



DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

OFFICE OF THE
DISTRICT SENIOR INSPECTOR
OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS

In reply please quote:

Telephone:

C/- Education Board
Private Bag
AUCKLAND

25 February 1986

The Principal
Clover Park Intermediate School
Othello Drive
WIRI EAST

Dear Peter

Thank you for the interesting and informative outline on the Taha Maori development year proposed for your school programme.

It is pleasing to see that the recent curriculum review brought forward the recommendation that the project be developed. With the interest and support of the staff and school committee it should prove to be worthwhile as well as successful.

I have discussed the project with your staff inspector, Mrs Palmer, and I would be most interested in visiting the school to see the programme in action later in the year.

I'm sorry that just now there aren't any funds available to assist you in purchasing resources, but should that situation change your request will be kept in mind.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Leaming

Margaret Leaming
Acting Senior Inspector
of Primary Schools

pp G Graham Smith

In the meantime however there were significant changes happening in Area 4. Firstly the Area now had a name. From an original suggestion by our Maori Adviser[44], Dave Para, Area 4 was named *Tupuranga*. The name came from the whakatauaki (proverb):

> *Ka ruia te kakano kei te rangatahi, kia tipu ai nga hua, whangaia ki* ***nga tupuranga***. (Plant the seed in the young. It will flourish and bear fruit to nourish future generations).

Tupuranga means "future generations" and is used to signify growth - from the word *tupu* meaning to grow. Later, also from Dave Para, the name was extended to *Te Whanau o Tupuranga* - the family of Tupuranga to encompass all who were involved. The name, the symbol (Figure 4.9) and the motto also adopted at the time, "*Pai rawa atu I nga mea katoa*" (the very best in all things) became important in establishing an identity and raising

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44 Positions within the Department of Education to support Maori education in schools

expectations. All of these are still used in Tupuranga in 2003 with older students passing on this knowledge to the new intake of Year 7 students each year. Other Areas in the school had followed suit so in 1986 each Area had its own name for the first time and each reflected an ethnic group within the school. Area 1 became *Fonuamalu* (Tongan - a safe shelter), Area 2 became *Kimiora* (Maori - seeking life or well-being) and Area 3 was named *Lumanai* (Samoan - future). In 1986 buildings had been transported into the school and developed into a fifth teaching block (Area 5) and named *Amataga* (Samoan - beginning)

Figure 4.9: Tupuranga symbol

Symbol adopted by Te Whanau o Tupuranga in 1986 depicts the child at the centre with both school and home whanau wrapped around and providing nourishment.

The symbol is also used to denote the 3 age groups in Tupuranga - the Yr.7 child *(teina)* at the centre supported by the Yr.8 *(tuakana)* and Yrs. 9/10 *(pakeke)* students

In Te Whanau o Tupuranga there was a team of four teachers, one of whom was Maori, and 110 students in 1986. It was a busy year. Tupuranga initiated a Maori speech and cultural festival for intermediate schools and organised interaction with a local Kohanga Reo. True to our word both staff and students supported other staff with their Taha Maori programmes and ran weekly Maori language classes for teachers. The "Maori Club" grew to 120 members. During the first of many successful and annual "Marae Weeks" carvings and kowhaiwhai and tukutuku[45] panels were created by students, parents and a local Maori crafts course. These were blessed and Tupuranga was officially opened at the same time by the Reverend Hone Kaa. We raised our own funds and purchased our very first computer.

However, pedagogical change was one of the highest priorities. Major influences at this time came from a visit to Richmond Road School (see p.69) and several courses where I was a participant with people like Jim Laughton, Richmond Road's visionary principal, Wally Penetito, at that time the Education Officer, Maori, in the Department of Education's Northern regional Office and Charmaine Pountney, principal of Auckland Girls' Grammar. A key support person in the shaping of ideas was Dave Para who by this time had children in Tupuranga. These meetings were seminal in shaping Tupuranga's pedagogical thinking as I brought back the ideas and debate to our team. Typically the discussion and debate in these courses and meetings centred around Taha Maori and what that meant for schools, particularly how to prevent this being yet another "add-on." Wally Penetito (1984, p.38, 39) captures some of this reflection in these excerpts:

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[45] Kowhaiwhai - a distinctively Maori art form, most often seen on meeting house ridgepole and rafters. Tukutuku are panels made of dark and light strips of natural fibre (flax, pingao) woven in a criss cross pattern. A number of traditional designs are used and these panels are usually placed between carvings in the meeting house

> We will have an education which is multicultural when we no longer have the need to talk about 'multicultural education.
>
> In education, as an example, there is no part of the formal curriculum that should not feel the additional weight of taha Maori being 'blended in' and becoming fully integrated. Three fundamental questions would need to be addressed:
>
> What is to count as knowledge?
> - what taha Maori is necessary in the content of the curriculum?
> - Who decides when and for whom that content is appropriate for varied levels of the school?
>
> What is to count as a valid teaching and learning of that knowledge?
> - should taha Maori be taught according to the conventional teaching pattern? If not, then how?
> - Who should teach it and in what context? How are teachers to be prepared? How should the marae complex be utilized?
>
> How should the teaching and learning be assessed?
>
> The contribution of taha Maori in education, as in all other institutions, hinges on the issues of power sharing.

If Taha Maori is the solution, asked Penetito (1986), what is the problem? He identified three priority areas for change; the central place of tangata whenua knowledge, norms and values; an equitable representation of Maori interests right across the board; and an end to Maori underachievement by focusing on the necessary structural changes at the levels of curriculum, pedagogy, administration and organisation and forms of evaluation (Penetito, 1986).

In Tupuranga we rose to the challenges these ideas presented. A key change was a move away from directive teaching to the teacher in a facilitative role. Activity-based learning, adapted to suit our situation from models seen at Richmond Road, was introduced in the form of differentiated activity-kits where students were required to work in groups using storytelling, and cooperative, collaborative and independent learning strategies[46] (May, 1996, p.111, 112) The activities were differentiated and colour-coded according to students' reading levels at first but this later included other criteria. Students knew their own level and worked at that level or higher within the group. This system of differentiation is still used school-wide at Clover Park and is a key to supporting students to experience success. Students worked at their ability level, not their Year level. In Te Kaupapa o Tupuranga the stated philosophy of Tupuranga, established at a Tupuranga staff hui on 18 March, 1991 after consultation with parents, is this (undated) quote from Wally Penetito:

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[46] Tupuranga, Term 3, 1986, Rationale for the use of Activity-based Learning.

> Maori children appear to flourish in classrooms where what could be called "ordered flexibility" is the climate. Teachers and children relate as a fraternity of equals where each has a say and is respected for what she/he can offer the collectivity. Emphasis is on learning rather than teaching, the focus is on the process rather than the product. This is power sharing. (Penetito)

Many of the changes we made to our teaching practice have endured, not only in Tupuranga, but school-wide at Clover Park Middle School to this day. This is indicative perhaps of the depth and breadth of our reflection at that time and our determination to make long-lasting rather than cosmetic change. In a letter to the Inspectorate in support of our application for a Language Assistant a Maori and Pacific Island Adviser who had spent a great deal of time observing in the unit wrote:

> The unit ... models and values the basic concepts of Taha Maori in a teaching and learning situation. A positive supportive feeling pervades the whole unit which epitomises the whanaungatanga concept to a degree I have not yet seen elsewhere in a school. The teachers are keen, enthusiastic, and are continually adapting and changing the organisation, methodology, curriculum and resources to best suit this pervading philosophy.[47]

Whanau was and still is the key concept in Tupuranga. This is confirmed in the 1991 Education Review Office report which states, "The concepts of whanaungatanga, aroha (love), manaakitanga (caring) and turangawaewae (home ground) are fundamental to the philosophy of the bilingual Maori/English whanau Tupuranga." Having adopted this as an overriding philosophy many decisions about organisation and structure were guided by this principle. An example is the decision not to send students out of the whanau to participate in the school policy of withdrawal for special needs in the school's well-established Special Needs Unit. The school's 1991 Education Review Office Report comments that, "In Tupuranga a conscious effort has been made to meet special needs within the whanau itself and a structure has been established in order to undertake this appropriately." (ERO, 1991, p.12).

> No children are withdrawn. All ranges of ability are catered for within the whanau. The more capable children know they have a responsibility for the less able. Peer tutoring is used often and is very successful. (Milne, 1988, p.114)

This did not mean that Tupuranga thought of itself as an island or separate from the rest of the school. In fact there were many opportunities for interaction and staff were supportive of the unit in many ways:

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[47] Letter to Margaret Leaming, Inspector of Primary Schools, 12 August, 1986

> Integration with the rest of the school is very important with links being maintained in a variety of ways. Whole school assemblies, cross school house organisation for sport, visits to and from the unit, participation in cultural events, a series of staff meetings on taha Maori, Maori language lessons for staff and helping other areas with their Maori programmes are some of the examples of interaction which have occurred. (Milne, 1988, p.115)

Bilingual Unit 1988

At the beginning of 1987 we had surveyed families already involved in Tupuranga and of all Maori families at our five contributing schools to gauge interest in moving beyond Taha Maori to make Tupuranga a bilingual unit. Forty-four percent of all families (170 families) responded to the survey and their replies covered a total of 313 children. Of these children 91% indicated they would seek enrolment in Tupuranga when they reached Intermediate level and 86% were in favour of Tupuranga becoming bilingual (Milne 1988, p.115,116). On 28 April, 1987, a case was put to the School Committee to have Tupuranga's four classes designated as bilingual from 1988. This was approved, making Te Whanau o Tupuranga the first bilingual unit at a state intermediate school in the country.

Also in 1987 Te Whanau o Tupuranga began to seek funding to have either a school prefabricated building or a building from outside the school relocated near Tupuranga to act as a Wharenui meeting house). With significant parent support no stone was left unturned. A parent committee began fundraising and even found a building. However again, funding was the barrier. In what can only be described as a wearied tone, a letter from the Auckland Education Board's Executive Officer, Buildings, 12 June 1987, states, "I refer to *considerable* documentation we have received setting out the aims and proposals of the [sic] Tupuranga" (my emphasis). The Board could offer no funds but did offer technical help if we were able to find and finance a building ourselves. It was almost 12 more years before this dream was finally realised in 1998. A few days after the official opening of our marae complex two parents from the original committee, who no longer had any family at the school, arrived at the school office to give us the $3000 they had kept in a bank account all that time.

By now the increased demand for Tupuranga's programme meant that those who could not be accommodated had to be placed elsewhere in the school. We had decided criteria for selection would be firstly children with whanau members already in Tupuranga and secondly Maori children. This first criterion meant that Pacific families who had been in Area 4 prior to the establishment of Tupuranga were not put under any pressure to leave but their numbers gradually reduced over time. In the fist year of the Taha Maori Unit, when given the option to move to other Areas of the school only three Pacific students had been withdrawn.

In 1987 there were 120 students, 74% of whom were Maori. A decision was made to support the development of a Taha Maori programme in Area 5/Amataga an a non-Maori Tupuranga teacher, moved to lead the Amataga team. Three of Tupuranga's four teachers were now Maori but none were fluent speakers.

Now our professional development turned to improving our own Maori language fluency and learning as much as we could about bilingual education. Again Richmond Road was a resource and we looked at their dual-medium approach of separating the languages into time and place (May, 1994, pp.115-116). This was difficult to implement without fluent speakers. We considered a range of approaches through study in papers in Bilingual Education offered by the Auckland College of Education in 1989 and tried different options. Always the range of what we could offer was limited by two factors, the levels of fluency of staff and a reluctance from parents to go "too far" into immersion, even if we did have the ability to provide it. That attitude from whanau has changed little over the years. In spite of some students having gone to Kohanga Reo and a smaller number still having been in immersion programmes at primary school, the majority of Tupuranga students still present at Year 7 with little or no Maori language and don't want immersion in Maori. Those who are fluent consider it is time, by age 11 or 12, to focus more on English. Our current programme of 50 to 80% of the time spent in the delivery of the curriculum using Maori language is the highest level of Maori our bilingual programme has offered. Simply changing the language of instruction, although important, has never been Tupuranga's primary objective. It was always believed that addressing power relations and structures was what was needed to make a difference:

> In our early work in our bilingual programme, we had soon learned that simply changing the language of instruction had little positive effect on the achievement outcomes or self esteem of our Maori students and were fairly sure this was because the school's overriding philosophy, organisation and structure still followed the monocultural norm. (Milne, 2002)

By the time of New Zealand's educational reforms in 1989 (see p.33) we had given a great deal of thought to the challenge they posed to schools to, "fulfil the intent of the Treaty of Waitangi by valuing New Zealand's dual heritage" and had developed an evaluative tool to determine how we could plan for improvement at Clover Park. Tupuranga's checklist (Table 4.4) was in demand from other schools that hadn't given the Treaty of Waitangi any previous thought but were now having to develop Charters that said they would do so.

Table 4.4: Te Whanau o Tupuranga Treaty of Waitangi Checklist

(Milne, 1989) [48]

	ALREADY OPERATES	COULD ACTION	LONGER TERM
Is your school entrance welcoming to both Maori and Pakeha parents? How?			
How are the seats in the Principal's office arranged?			
How do you greet visitors?			
Do you make provision for food and drink for visitors?			
How do your office staff greet people - in person/on phone?			
Is Maori language ever used			
- by office staff			
- by teachers			
- by the principal			
- in assemblies			
- in classrooms			
- in newsletters			
- in school reports			
- at meetings			
- signs around school			
Do you insist on correct pronunciation of children's names and place names?			
Have you as a staff, an official policy for formally welcoming visitors?			
Does this include Maori custom?			
Does everyone participate in this?			
Is food a part of this policy?			
How is it funded?			
Are there role models for Maori students "			
- on the staff			
- as guest speakers			
- -on your Board of Trustees			
What is the format of your school meetings			
- staff and parent?			
Do you ever use a Maori structure for meetings - karakia/kai etc.?			
Do you ever use community venues e.g. the marae?			
Do you consult with your Maori community?			
In what way? (majority rule/consensus)			
Who makes the decisions?			
What is the proportion of Maori children on your roll?			
Does your Board of Trustees reflect this same proportion?			
Does your Mission Statement reflect partnership goals?			
Are Maori parents being given the right to be informed about what is going on as well as the right to influence decisions?			
Do Maori parents actively support your school now?			
Do you make provision for and encourage extended family representation when there is a problem affecting a Maori child?			
Programme			
What kinds of skills and knowledge are valued?			
How is this assessed?			
Are special Maori abilities valued - oratory, manaakitanga, leadership etc?			
Do programmes encourage these to emerge and develop?			

[48] This checklist was used as part of a presentation I delivered at a workshop for principals, "Charters and Programmes: Meeting Treaty of Waitangi obligations through programmes and communicating with the community" School of Advanced Studies, Auckland College of Education, 1989

What expectations do you have for your Maori students? How is the timetable organised? Is it flexible?			
Can an holistic, integrated learning programme be implemented within this timetable?			
Have you provided in service training for your staff in such programmes?			
Are classes streamed?			
Is group learning actively encouraged?			
Can younger and less able children interact with older and more able? (tuakana/teina - peer tutoring)			
Do you offer any vertical or whanau group options?			
Does class seating allow for group interaction?			
How is individual success handled?			
How do your Maori children cope with this?			
How competitive are your students?			
Do staff foster competitiveness?			
What motivation is there for children to actively support each other?			
Is Maori content spread throughout the curriculum - in all classrooms?			
Is Maori language heard in every class? !			
Is N.Z. and Pacific history taught from both Maori and Pakeha perspectives?			
Does your resource material reflect Maori and Pakeha perspectives and Maori language			
– Library			
– Curriculum areas			
Do you reimburse or pay the resource people you use?			
How will you cater for children whose parents ask for bilingual programmes?			
What is your BOT's policy on staffing/ in-service/staff development - to support all of these issues?			

With hindsight there are items now that would be adapted and others to add but for the time, in the early 1990s, this type of reflection in terms of empowerment for Maori learners and community was new thinking and it underpinned much of the policy development that occurred in the school after 1994.

1990: Forms Three and Four

In 1989 several parents approached the Principal and Tupuranga staff individually about the possibility of retaining students past Form 2 (Year 8). The reasons they gave are outlined in two separate letters with attached documentation to two Ministers of Education, Phil Goff in the Labour government on 20 October, 1990, and Lockwood Smith in the newly elected National government on 15 August 1991 that provided the Ministry with the two-year timeline of events[49] leading up to this request. The submission talked of the success of the programme in Tupuranga outlining its main components as the inclusive, Maori perspective,

[49] School Documents: "Information supplied by staff and principal in consultation with community" attached to these letters

an holistic integrated timetable, the quality of the relationships between students and adults, the warmth and interaction between whanau members that was often commented on by visitors to the unit, the close relationships between the different student age levels, high student motivation, high self-esteem, confidence and pride in being Maori and improved academic outcomes. It also described the alienation of students once they left this environment for secondary school where being Maori lost its value, the students encountered teachers who had little knowledge of tikanga (Maori custom and belief) and they reacted badly to this and the fact that families felt they could not establish relationships. Parents had felt that by retaining their children in Tupuranga for two further years they had a better chance of keeping them in school to senior levels. The submission cited the main problems children encountered at secondary school as:

- They are in advance of other third form students in Te Reo Maori but receive no extension.
- the damage to their self esteem when being Maori suddenly loses its importance.
- because we have actively encouraged responsibility and empowerment of our children, they are used to taking an active part in whanau decisions. We have confident articulate students who respect each other and their elders. Often this is misinterpreted and found threatening by teachers who have no background in tikanga Maori.
- they are faced with typically low expectations for Maori students. A common complaint from our ex-students is that they are bored.

These requests from Maori parents were subsequently made known to other parents in Parent Support group hui (meetings) and general school-wide parent meetings. There was general dissatisfaction with the lack of programmes offered in local secondary schools which could provide bilingual continuity for children who had spent two years in Tupuranga. This had expressed at many meetings since Tupuranga's inception in 1986.

The submission had considered the implications for other local schools. There was only one local contributing school with a bilingual programme, but students were coming to Tupuranga from a wide range of areas including schools in north Otara, Papatoetoe, Manurewa and Mangere. At secondary level there were no schools offering bilingual programmes through to senior level. Of the 230 Form 2 students at Clover Park Int. in 1990, only 80 had enrolled at the local secondary school for 1991. Of the 19 students whose families had initially expressed an interest in staying in Tupuranga none were prepared to enrol locally and all sought continuity of bilingual education. This is interesting in light of later assumptions (Hawk & Hill, 1996, pp.344) that retaining students in Years 9 and 10 had a serious impact on local secondary schools.

Three community hui were held where parents were invited to discuss the proposal. All parents at these meetings were in favour of the proposal. At one of these meetings (held

after a Parent Report Evening in 1989) 74 parents from across the school signed a petition in support of the proposal. The Board of Trustees and school staff were also strongly supportive.

Events moved more quickly in 1990 when an urgent request was received from one parent whose son (a former high achiever with strong self esteem and strength in tikanga Maori in Years 7 and 8) was suspended from his secondary school. A meeting was held with the principal of the college who agreed to the boy attending Tupuranga but remaining on the college's roll as this would effectively remove the "problem" for the college.[50]

A second parent whose son, although he had some special needs had made steady progress in Tupuranga, asked that he return from his secondary school as he was receiving no support and was unable to continue with Maori language. This was arranged, again with the knowledge of the third form deans at the secondary school.

Two more requests from parents with students at two other schools were received. The Board of Trustees sought to formalise the situation and wrote to the Minister of Education, then Mr Phil Goff, asking for his "urgent consideration for our proposal to extend Tupuranga's programme to include a small number of F3/4 students." In the Development Plan attached to this letter the first mention is made of requesting "formal approval of redesignation as a composite school." Further contact through the Minister's Office and the local Ministry of Education had indicated to the Board that the correct procedure to follow was through a process of Community Forums and the best approach was to apply for this redesignation as a Form 1-4 school. This was without precedent in New Zealand at the time and Form 1 to 4 (Years 7 to 10) middle schools had not yet been mooted publicly. The 22 October 1990 letter and supporting documentation formed the Board's formal application for this reclassification.

Further letters were exchanged, and meetings held. A meeting with the local college's Board of Trustees was in favour of our proposal but this was later to be negated by the principal. Negotiations were initiated with another secondary school outside the area.

While formal approval was yet to be given, parent pressure increased as parents were asked to make decisions about high schools for 1991. In response to numerous requests the position was outlined to parents in a newsletter on 27 June 1990, simply repeating what had been discussed at several parent meetings with Board of Trustees members. Responses showing interest were received from the families of 25 students. Under legislation in the new

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[50] Specific information regarding these first students was documented in the material accompanying the 22 October 1990 letter from the Board of Trustees to the Minister of Education, Phil Goff - applying for Form 1-4 status

educational reforms these were sufficient numbers to support an application to establish a "school within a school" or a "Designated Character" status school.[51]

Parents made contact with the Parent Advocacy Council[52] and two parent representatives met formally with the Council who supported their proposal. However this support was short-lived when the Council was disbanded in 1991. This was part of the process of a change of government and a subsequent amendment of the Education Act. We were left with the end of the year approaching, a process under way, no reply to our many requests for urgency, and parents adamant about their children remaining in Tupuranga. The Board made the decision to go ahead with or without official approval and parents were notified of this on 19 December 1990.

There had been no response to our August 1991 submission in spite of our having had to get it to the Ministry of Education urgently to meet a September deadline for redesignation applicants. The Board was courageous in making a decision to ignore bureaucracy and listen to parents but the frustration of all concerned is evident in the submission I wrote on their behalf in February 1992 when we were faced with 15 students (including the original 4 boys from 1991), no staffing, no funding and parents who were prepared to go to the media if necessary to fight for this cause:

> It is not good enough to continually tell us the Ministry is in support of this move, when the Ministry continually obstructs its progress. ...The final frustration was to have your fax arrive on Friday, at the same time as the 14 February Education Gazette which devoted its first three pages to the three key policy issues critical to Maori Education and the Ten Point Plan.
> ... We are aware of, and do appreciate, the time you and others have taken in support of our proposal, but we are heartily sick of the procrastination which appears to be happening within the Ministry. It is time they proved that their Ten Point Plan doesn't have hidden 11th and 12th points - namely:
>
> 11. Knock back and prevent at all costs, any Maori education initiative communities and schools take at their own expense, especially when they prove to be highly successful
> 12. Don't spend any money! (Milne, 1992)[53]

This frustration was to continue. Throughout 1992 and 1993 Clover Park Intermediate School retained students in Years 9 and 10 in Te Whanau o Tupuranga under a variety of arrangements. Initially in 1992 the school covered the cost of this additional class. In 1992 I

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[51] This option remains in law under Section 156 of the Education Act 1989

[52] The Parent Advocacy Council was established under the legislation for Tomorrow's Schools in 1989 to give parents a voice. The council was disbanded when the national Government came into power in 1991. This approach by parents to the Council is confirmed in the 22 October 1990 letter from the Board of Trustees to the Minister of Education, Phil Goff

[53] Second submission to the Ministry of Education, February 1992

moved from the Tupuranga Area, which was bursting at the seams, into a nearby classroom with the older students, who now numbered 24.

Later in 1992 we won official Ministry of Education approval to be an attached unit to a local secondary school and funding and staffing were directed to that school. By September 1993 however, nothing formal had been signed and no money had been passed on to Clover Park.[54] With Ministry of Education help a similar arrangement was made with a second local high school.[55] These were arrangements that were doomed to be tense in spite of the goodwill of everyone in the initial stages. Under Section 158 of the Education Act at that time, the secondary school principals were responsible for the Year 9 and 10 Tupuranga programme and brought to this responsibility a secondary mindset that was anathema to the integrated, holistic, whanau philosophy we had developed - the very reason the students wanted to stay within the whanau. The secondary principal was also responsible for the staff appointed to the unit who were on the payroll of the secondary school. Students in Tupuranga's Year 9 and 10 class were on the roll of the secondary school, not Clover Park. In return the secondary school was able to retain some of the staffing entitlement for their own use and use some of the funding for their administration of the unit.

1991: Lumanai - Samoan Bilingual Unit

One of the strongest support groups for the establishment of our Maori bilingual initiatives had been the school's Samoan staff and community. Many had attended the school meetings, signed the parent petition and had offered strong support to raise funds for the Wharenui. The Samoan senior teacher in Area 3/Lumanai at the time was a foundation staff member of the school and he had formed a very strong parent and community network. He regularly repeated his belief to staff and parents that the school should make sure its Maori programmes were strong first before any Pacific initiatives were undertaken. By 1990, with Tupuranga operating successfully, he raised the idea of Lumanai becoming a bilingual unit. At this stage, 31% (139 students) of the school roll were Samoan. Lumanai celebrated its new bilingual status in 1991 with an *ava* ceremony and a grand opening celebration where the Consul-General for Samoa was the guest of honour and officially opened the unit.

The needs of Lumanai students were different from Tupuranga in that a significant number of students were already fluent in Samoan and many were monolingual in Samoan. The aim according to the 1991 Education Review Office report, was to "first acknowledge this ability

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54 Letter dated 17 September, 1993

55 Agreement between Hillary College and Clover Park Intermediate dated 27 October, 1993

with the language and to build on it as a support for learning in all aspects of the curriculum" (p.11). Three years later the 1994 Education Review Office report shows:

> Opportunities for the use and development of the Samoan language and culture are provided and pupils demonstrated ease and confidence in a bilingual setting. ... The parents and families of Lumanai play a very important role in decision making and overall support for students' learning. (1994, p.4)

1994 - Leadership

Clover Park has only had two principals in its 22 year history. The founding principal was to hold the position until his retirement in 1993. Under his leadership staff had had considerable freedom and leeway to develop initiatives that were innovative for their time and the two bilingual units had flourished under this supportive but largely "hands-off" approach. However this innovation was not seen school-wide and some of the developing issues were signalled in the 1991 Education Review Office report:

> Although this school is made up of five whanau which have been given autonomy by the principal to develop in ways that meet the needs of the children involved, there are issues that are school-wide that need to be addressed by the whole school if all children are to make good progress.
>
> It is important that there is a process for addressing school-wide issues so that the considerable expertise that has been developed in individual whanau can be shared so that teachers can learn from each other. (1991, p.21)

In 1988 I had won the position of second deputy principal in the school, after two short periods of acting in this position previously. There were several first deputy principals during this time. At the end of 1992 I decided to seek horizons beyond Clover Park and accepted a position lecturing in Reading and Language at the Auckland College of Education. It would be dishonest to hide that there was some acrimony involved in my decision to leave and my non-appointment to the first deputy principal's position on the incumbent's retirement at the end of 1992 was a part of this, as were the issues highlighted by the ERO report. At the end of 1992 then the school faced significant staff changes. Both deputy principals had left and a new appointment had been made. The other three teachers in the Maori Unit had also left the school and 1993 was to be a year of turmoil for the whanau. Towards the end of 1993 the principal signalled his intention to retire and the position was advertised in the Education Gazette, 1 October, 1993. I applied and won the principal's position effective from the beginning of the 1994 school year.

It is difficult to describe impartially the changes that had taken place during 1993. These cannot be attributed to any one specific reason but were due to a combination of factors, one of which was a definite diminishing of the role of culture within the school and with that a loss of the empowerment of those cultural groups. In order to accurately describe the change process from 1994 onwards however it is important to paint a picture of the school at the beginning of 1994. Excerpts from the Education Review Office report in June 1994, six months into my first year in the role, are provided as a precursor to my descriptions to provide validity to this 1994 snapshot (Table 4.5):

Table 4.5: The situation in 1994

Comment from Education Review Office Report (June 1994)	Personal description (early 1994)
Need for increasing the representation on the board, and restating the school's policy on the prohibition of the use of force as a corrective measure for pupils.	• Parent support had diminished noticeably • There were complaints about use of force from an individual staff member
The need for unified approaches as the school moves forward into the next stages of its development.	• There were serious divisions among staff that were barriers to moving forward
The board needs to give further consideration to the National Education Guidelines. In conjunction with this work, the board should review the school's local goals which were established at the time of the original charter	• Policies and charter were untouched from 1989 when they were first developed. Staff and community had no knowledge of their existence or content. • There was no strategic planning.
Following recent periods of disruption and significant changes in school staffing, the need to provide further staff development and to strengthen positive interaction between the board and its employees is recognised as a management and governance priority.	• Rifts had developed between board and staff and within the board.
The quality of curriculum delivery is uneven at present. The board and school management are aware of the need for improvement in a number of essential learning areas. Actions recently taken, and a school development plan compiled in Term I of this year, are providing a sound basis for progress.	• Staff had responded to previous turmoil by withdrawing and isolating themselves and/or their teams. There was little direction and very little motivation. Staff seemed to be in 'survival' mode. • There was no curriculum plan or curriculum leadership
The board is aware of the need to support the management and teaching staff of the school so that the whanau Tupuranga is restored and functioning at strength in a manner consistent with the advancement of Maori initiatives and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.	The most significant changes could be seen in Tupuranga: • Behaviour was a serious issue, particularly bullying, with the Year 9 & 10 class. • Resources had been lost or thrown away. • The whanaungatanga of previous years was gone • None of the pedagogical changes had been retained.
After recent culling of teaching and learning resources, the staff and board have commenced a programme of reorganising learning and teaching resources and have completed the necessary financial planning for further expenditure.	• Teaching resources had been lost or were not organised. Many were out of date and gave the impression that old and/or damaged material was appropriate to use. Yet the school was in reasonable financial shape.
As well as these measures, the board is revising systems for maintenance of the school's asset register and is planning for replacement or refurbishment of school property and equipment identified as requiring attention. Procedures for budget preparation are also under review.	• Learning environments and equipment needed urgent attention. Vandalism and graffiti were rife.
A complete exterior repaint, the provision of a security fence, improvements to the court and garden areas, and the provision of improved facilities to safeguard the health of students and staff are some examples of recent progress made by the board and school management.	• An exterior repaint had commenced in 1993 and had been abandoned due to the continual need to remove graffiti from newly painted surfaces. • In one memorable weekend all eight windows in the Art room had been smashed - twice, in another 40 windows in the school were broken. This type of destruction was common after hours. • I was informed by the Ministry of Education that Clover Park had the highest vandalism bill in the whole Auckland region. • A serious gang initiation incident had made

	national headlines in April. Student safety was a high priority yet staff seemed unable to take any action. • Unacceptable behaviour and bullying were issues school-wide and generally staff had a high tolerance to this • On the day before the school opened for 1994 I had to have walls water-blasted to remove the worst graffiti before students arrived

There were positives in the report that pointed out the significant progress made during the first part of the year but the need for change was overwhelming. Although every effort was made to manage the change process systematically, knowing that teachers were understandably resistant to any further tension or conflict, it wasn't possible. Scratching the surface of one issue exposed a whole raft of other issues that were linked, or had to be dealt with first. The situation wasn't helped by the fact that some of the dissent within staff and board had been caused by my appointment, which was opposed by a faction of the staff. This meant that there was an environment of hostility that had to be negotiated with care and sensitivity. It couldn't have been a more difficult way to start a process of change.

Restructuring: External and Internal Change

This section examines the major changes undertaken by Clover Park Middle School from 1994 to the present day to continually reflect on and adapt school philosophy and practice to suit the needs of Maori and Pacific students.

Change is never an easy process and Clover Park staff were already in a situation of stress. Bush (1995, p.134) states that, "Each school and college has its own distinctive culture, dependent on the mix of values, beliefs and norms prevalent in the organization." Within a period of approximately two years Clover Park had experienced a significant cultural change in terms of its organisation and values. Staff were at different stages in their reactions to what was, in its simplest form, a return to a monocultural approach, ranging from total rejection of it and a very real sense of loss, to an enthusiastic welcoming of it and agitation for it to continue. The opposition to my appointment had come from the faction of staff at this latter end of the scale. Mostly the positions taken by staff were sharply polarised along ethnic lines although this was not always the case. The early stages of this change had been gradual, although signs were there in the 1991 ERO Report. During 1993 the process had escalated. Part of this could possibly be attributed to the loss of the Tupuranga staff who had not only initiated much of the change in the early 1990s, but had acted as the kaitiaki (guardians), or keepers of the vision of empowerment and culturally relevant practice. It was

a bonus for me that some of the previous experienced Tupuranga staff chose to return to the school in 1993 as well.

Miles and Fullan (1992) say:

> Change is a journey, not a blueprint. If change involved implementing single, well-developed, proven innovations one at a time, perhaps we could make blueprints for change. ...The message is not the traditional 'Plan, then do,' but 'Do, then plan . . . and do and plan some more.' Even the development of a shared vision that is central to reform is better thought of as a journey in which people's sense of purpose is identified, considered, and continuously shaped and reshaped.

We certainly didn't have time for blueprints and the vision I thought had been shared in 1992 was in crisis. Worst of all, students were unsafe. The process we went through was one of continuous shaping and reshaping in the long term, but in 1994 I wanted to change everything at once! This wasn't comfortable for many people. May (1996, p,79) describes a similar reaction in the early days of change at Richmond Road and quotes Jim Laughton's words to staff during this period (from an interview with Wally Penetito, 1991), "this is what's here – it's yours, you're welcome to it. If you don't want it, go to wherever it is – whatever it is you [do] want." I would have had a great deal of empathy with that sentiment over the next two years. In 1995, nine permanent staff had left the school during the year. The Clover Park Intermediate School Annual Report for the 1995 school year states, "One of the main reasons for this is the acute teacher shortage in Auckland gave these staff members new opportunities to seek employment closer to homes or in areas of strength and interest." That was true. It was also true that some staff chose not to move outside their monocultural comfort zones and the teacher shortage gave them the chance to move on.

The following sections address firstly the restructuring of the school from an intermediate to a middle school and secondly, retrace some of that time and beyond, to describe the changes that were happening internally at the same time in school reflection and classroom practice. At the forefront of all the change at the school were the needs of the students as the next sections will describe.

1995: Clover Park Middle School – Change of Status

At the beginning of the 1994 year the Form 3 and 4 (Year 9 and 10) Maori class that Tupuranga parents had fought so hard to establish was in crisis. During 1993 all of the guidelines for behaviour were changed and students became separated from the rest of the Tupuranga whanau to a large extent. In addition, the new arrangement with the second

college had been signed and sealed. New staff had been appointed with significant input from the college and some of these staff had no experience in integrated learning. Documents from joint management meetings during the first few months describe clearly the jockeying for position and the power struggles that were inherent in this complex relationship.

On 12 April 1994 our Board of Trustees Chairperson and I sent a joint letter to the Manager, Northern Operations, of the Ministry of Education signalling our dissatisfaction with the attached unit arrangement. The letter said,

> The Board of Trustees feel strongly that this arrangement is not in the best interests of our students, staff and community. This Form 3/4 programme was established as an innovative alternative to conventional secondary situations which often fail to meet the needs of our Maori students. Although [the college] have been supportive, it is our belief that the dual management structure which imposes an expectation of a secondary model over our Form 3/4 programme is fraught with areas of potential conflict. Some of these have already become evident.

We asked that the Ministry notify us immediately should there be any change to legislation regarding composite or middle school status or any other alternatives to the existing situation.

On Friday 29 April 1994 I received a phone call from the Auckland Ministry of Education office. Did I realise, the official asked, that applications for change of status had to be in Wellington by the end of the day? I didn't even know what applications for change of status were, let alone that they had a deadline! The first three months of my principalship had passed in a blur of crisis management and high staff and student need and coming to grips with the paperwork had a low priority. This didn't matter I was assured by the Ministry official. She had notified Wellington that there would be an application from Clover Park Intermediate and that verbal notification was sufficient to meet the deadline. All I had to do now was to get an application couriered to Wellington on Monday. She would fax me an application form.

My diary note on Monday 2 May, 1994, "F3/4 Composite Application" gives no hint of the frantic weekend that preceded it! As stated in Chapter 3, many of the school's documents had been culled during 1993 and no longer existed. The board chairperson and I spent Friday afternoon searching the archives for anything that related to the consultation process over the preceding five years. The faxed application form required evidence of:

- Consultation with the community and that parents were given sufficient options and information to make an informed choice

- Consultation with staff
- Implications for education provision in the wider community
- Consultation with other schools
- Meeting the requirements of the curriculum
- Any transport requirements
- Implications for school organisation
- Property and resource implications

It was lucky that, as I had prepared most of the 1990, 1991 documentation on behalf of the board and parents, I had kept copies of my own. We included every item we could find, the previous letters and submissions, the parents' petition, the community survey about Tupuranga and bilingual education but we had no recent evidence of consultation with schools other than letters regarding attached unit status between Clover Park and the local secondary schools. We were aware however that most of our evidence was now three to four years old. In the supporting documentation I included information from research on middle schools, quoting from the 1992 research of the literature by David Stewart Pat Nolan, published as The Middle School: Essential Education for Emerging Adolescents. The application spoke of the unique nature of the programme:

> The philosophy is based on empowerment - of students and whanau to make decisions regarding their own education. It is an integrated student centred, activity and group based approach which emphasises responsibility for their own learning and actively encourages peer support in a multi level whanau framework. There are extremely high expectations from teachers who relate to students and parents as part of an extended whanau.

It stated it was of no surprise to find that these same concepts are common features of effective middle school programmes overseas and provided the Minister with a list of those features related to curriculum, student-centred inquiry, higher order thinking, quality relationships with teachers who needed to be, "demanding yet personable and who encourage student participation in planning the content, pace and direction of learning."

This application was the first time any reference had been made in any of the documentation to the term, "middle schooling." It had not been widely discussed with staff as a philosophy and it had never been mentioned to the community, although they had consistently asked to retain Forms 3 and 4. As with many of the initiatives undertaken by Clover Park over the years our change processes have closely followed Elmore's (1980) description of "backward mapping." This model puts the focus on student outcomes first and asks the key question, 'How do students best learn?' For our 98% Maori and Pacific students the answer has been very different from the norm in New Zealand schools and exploring those answers lead us to adopt middle schooling, a philosophy of whanau, an activity based, learner centred pedagogy

and the use of multi-aged, group-based, non-competitive practices. These initiatives have in turn driven our school organisation and structure, and finally our management and leadership decision-making.

With our hurried application sent we basically put it out of our minds. We had little expectation of success, given our five years of attempts to seek reclassification and legitimacy for our older students, and that we had so little time to do the application justice. We were not concerned that there was no word from the Ministry of Education. We were completely surprised therefore to receive a letter, dated 10 August, 1994, from Lockwood Smith, Minister of Education, that said he had been informed that the school had shown a real commitment to the provision of bilingual education for Forms 3 and 4 and that the application was made to ensure bilingual classes continued. Our application was complete and all requirements had been met! The Minister stated, "I am prepared to approve for Clover Park Intermediate School a change of class to a Form 1 to 4 composite school." The offer was subject to the Board of Trustees agreeing to the resourcing arrangements outlined in the letter. The basic thrust of these was that the change was to be "fiscally neutral" and the school would be staffed and resourced as if it was in effect two schools, with secondary funding and staffing ratios applying to the students in Forms 3 and 4.

The board accepted the offer immediately and on 25 August 1994 the following notice appeared in the New Zealand Gazette:

> "Pursuant to section 153(1)(b) of the Education Act 1989, I hereby declare that Clover Park Intermediate School will become a composite school (Form 1-4) on the 28th day of January 1995, and cease to be an intermediate school on that day."

On 21 November 1994 the school received a letter from the Ministry giving the board formal notification of the approval of a change of name to Clover Park Middle School.

In the meantime we had faced significant negative reaction from local schools. It was acknowledged by the board that we had not prepared our surrounding schools with formal notice of intent to apply for change of class, however we felt we had by action and deed, over a period of five years, given plenty of notice we wanted to retain Forms 3 and 4. We had expected some opposition from secondary schools but we were ill prepared for the vilification I received personally from some Otara principal colleagues. It was a traumatic time and it did little good to repeat the sequence of events that led up to the unexpected application, that we were as surprised as everyone else at the approval and it hadn't been premeditated or intentionally secretive.

Kay Potter (1999) in her research on four New Zealand middle school principals during these years shows this reaction was not unique to Clover Park. She comments that rival groups saw these principals as deliberately altering the status quo for their own self-aggrandizement, or perhaps what is worse, encouraging students away from the "traditional" schools:

> These principals have been in the middle of professional conflict for at least five years. They have been in conflict with their neighbouring schools, and in some cases the Ministry of Education. There has been conflict between some members of their staff and themselves, and also with some sections of their community. The very nature of the change they have undertaken has brought about this conflict as it crosses demarcation lines between, primary and secondary schools, generalist and specialist teaching, NZEI and PPTA[56], and Ministry funded areas.

Potter found the four principals wearied by the conflict and the frustrations of trying to convince people that they were only giving the community further choices as set out in Tomorrow's Schools. Her use of Fullan's (1998) advertisement, which Potter believes could have been written with these principals in mind, certainly sums up the nature of the role at that time:

> Wanted: A miracle worker who can do more with less, pacify rival groups, endure chronic second-guessing, tolerate low-levels of support, process large volumes of paper and work double shifts (75 nights a year out). He or she will have carte blanche to innovate, but cannot spend much money, replace any personnel, or upset any constituency. (Fullan, 1998 cited in Potter, 1999)

Now that Clover Park was officially a middle school the most urgent task was to develop a shared understanding among staff, students and community about what that meant. Two other schools had been granted a change of class at the same time as Clover Park, St. Andrews Middle School in Hamilton and Raumanga Middle School in Whangarei. It was a bonus for us that we already had Form 3 and 4 students and, in Tupuranga, staff had thought through many of the issues the other schools were about to face. In Clover Park other staff and students were well used to the presence of older students in the school. There was little apprehension from most staff about taking this concept school-wide and most staff were excited by the prospect. Over the next four months teachers met to share ideas and experiences, met with parent groups and discussed the concept with students. There was a clear fit between what our Maori parents had been asking for, for so long, and what middle school philosophy saw as the developmental needs of emerging adolescents (Table 4.6). On 28 January, 1995 we opened as an official middle school with 42 students in Form 3 right across all Areas of the school and 7 students from the previous year, now in Form 4 in the

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[56] NZEI - New Zealand Education Institute. PPTA - Post Primary Teachers' Association. The two teacher unions in New Zealand.

Maori bilingual unit. Having achieved the external framework the task ahead, to restructure the school's practice internally, was an even greater undertaking.

Table 4.6: Fit between Middle School philosophy and Maori parents' aspirations

The developmental needs of emerging adolescents (Dorman 1980; Lipsitz, Mizell, Jackson and Austin 1997; McKay, 1995)	**What Te Whanau o Tupuranga parents were seeking**
1. A sense of competence and achievement	• High standards of achievement & behaviour
2. Self exploration and definition	• Continuity of bilingual education • Validation of language & culture
3. Supportive social interaction with peers and adults	• Teachers who knew their children well
4. Challenging and rewarding physical activity	
5. Meaningful participation in school and community	• Teachers who were accessible & had established a relationship with parents
6. Routine limits and structure	• A safe environment
7. Diversity of experience	

Restructuring for cultural relevance

Achieving middle school status was a major achievement and one that brought staff together in the intensive professional development that followed. However there were two other major events during 1994 that preceded the middle school success. They gave us no cause for celebration, but did force us to reflect and work together. At the time they were traumatic and highly stressful, in hindsight events like these, albeit less devastating, were probably necessary before change could happen. Staff and board factions had reached such a low point in the first few months of the year that working together seemed unlikely. This had to change before any other progress could be made.

The gang incident

On Saturday 9 April, 1994 this headline appeared in the Otago Daily Times, "Boy knocked out at school gang initiation." The story began, "A 12 year old boy was punched unconscious during a gang initiation rite at a South Auckland intermediate school yesterday." The story reached all over the country as that headline from Otago, in the far south of New Zealand, shows. It was in daily newspapers, on television and radio and it wasn't long before the words, 'South Auckland intermediate' changed and Clover Park was named. I had been out of the school attending a meeting at the Ministry of Education when the incident happened. On my return to school after most students had left for the day staff gave me the details. It seemed two older youths had walked in off the street and attacked a student with a bat. The

boy went to hospital via ambulance and was later discharged. The police were called and they searched in vain for the youths who had run off after the attack.

We were appalled at this behaviour and the threat to the safety of our students, I said to the television news reporter who was on the phone almost immediately after I arrived back at school. Within a few minutes of completing that interview however, other staff came to say that they had now been able to speak further with some of the students involved. The 'youths with a bat' was a story the students had invented to cover up the fact that a group of them had given the beating to the victim who had asked them to initiate him into their gang. It is difficult to describe the feelings of the school staff. We were devastated. How had our students come to this? How had we allowed it to happen? Staff were so upset I decided we could not wait until Monday and called an emergency meeting on Saturday to give staff an opportunity to discuss what had happened. All staff came to the weekend meeting and were united in trying to find urgent solutions to the escalating bullying and violent behaviour that they were now prepared to admit existed in the school.

Eliminating Violence: Professional Development[57]

It was one thing to have staff agreed on the need for change. We didn't expect that the solution would prove to be almost as traumatic as the event itself. Over the next few weeks we looked at a wide variety of *Eliminating Violence* and anti-bullying programmes and held meetings with community workers and police. From the outset we insisted that a key criteria was that the programme could be changed and adapted to suit our school situation. We finally chose the Special Education Service's [SES] "Eliminating Violence" programme because it included intensive staff training, in school observation by trained personnel and the facilitation of meetings with the community. The programme facilitators were happy to allow us to customise the programme as it was still in its pilot stage and they wanted to trial it in a range of schools.

The staff training took place over a week in July with sessions from 2.30 to 6.30 p.m. each day. Initial surveys in the school of staff and students and playground observations by programme personnel had revealed high levels of bullying and violence and a high tolerance and acceptance to this. When we came to discuss reasons and solutions there was a great deal of finger pointing and blaming. Staff who were looking for an instant prescription to deal with violent behaviour didn't get it and many Maori and Pacific staff felt the course was inappropriate and monocultural - the fear we had had in the first place. If it didn't suit our multicultural staff, how was it going to suit our community and our children? Some Pakeha staff held deficit views of Maori and Pacific families and their child-rearing practices. Maori

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[57] This section has utilised information contained in the evaluation report on the Eliminating Violence professional development programme at Clover Park Middle School "Towards A Non Violent School: Building a safe learning environment," February 1995

staff reacted strongly to this. Some Samoan staff defended strongly the right to physically punish students in the "Samoan way" - and the facilitators continually reiterated their belief that "non-violence was more important than culture".

All of these polarised positions were brought sharply to a head during an activity where staff had been asked to write down their suggestions to improve behaviour in the school. The facilitator had cut up their comments and displayed them on the walls of the room as starters for discussion. There was no discussion possible however, after Maori staff viewed the suggestion, "Get rid of the Maori unit"! After a week of the after-school intensive training sessions we had barely completed a quarter of the planned activities but had reached a stage where people had said what they thought - often causing hurt - and had agreed to try to find a way forward. The facilitator had found the process difficult and was happy to leave us to work the rest out on our own! Again this forced us to work together and to find solutions ourselves.

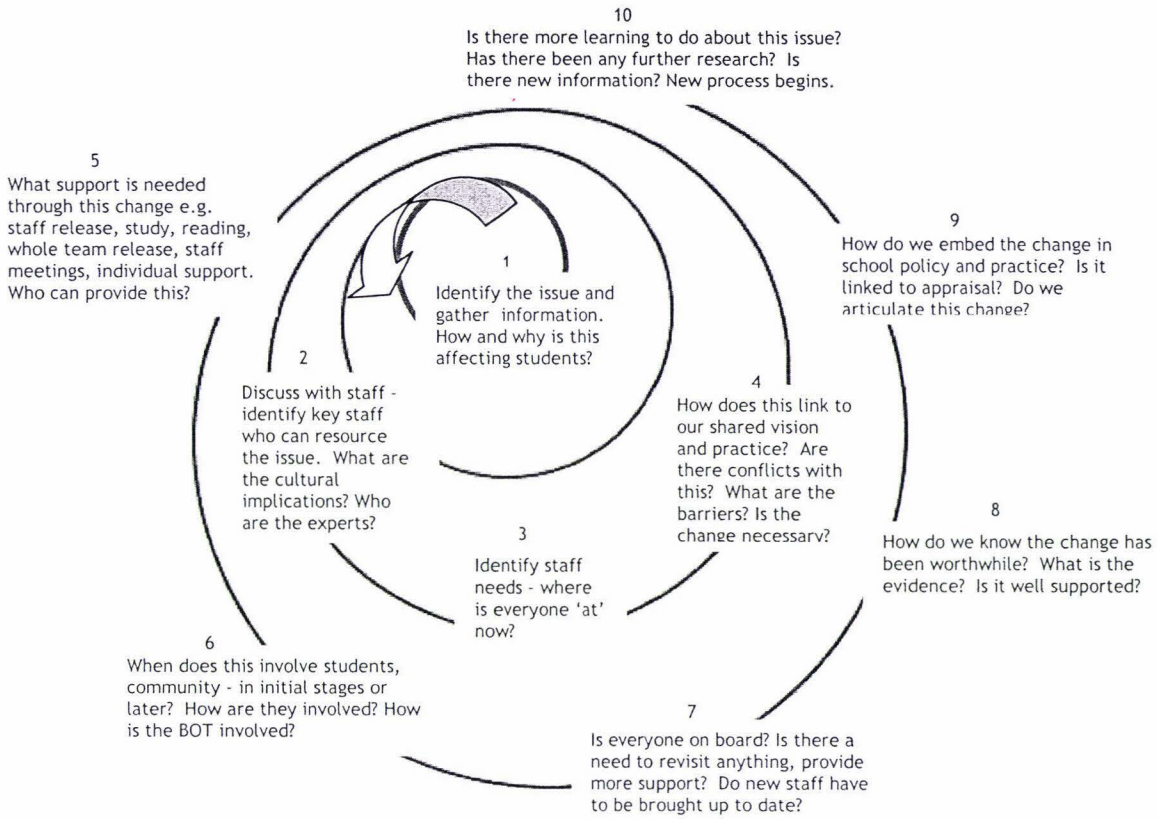
Reculturing

The process we eventually used to challenge our thinking about violent behaviour in the school is worth describing in that it is a pattern has often been used since to initiate and support change. Again Bishop and Glynn's (1999) notion of spiral discourse is an appropriate framework for this professional development and change process (Figure 4.10).

This process might seem typical of the majority of schools and their management of change. Schools are required to link change to strategic planning and self-review and this is further mandated from 2004 with new requirements for annual planning and reporting. The Education Standards Act, 2001 (Section 61) requires, "an annually updated section that establishes for the relevant year the Board's aims, directions, objectives, priorities, and targets relating to intended student outcomes, the school's performance, and use of resources; and sets targets for the key activities and achievement of objectives for the year." However change at Clover Park has always seemed more related to "heart" than to "head" and is driven by need rather than by timeliness or strategy. How would we respond to the gang incident if student behaviour was on a schedule for review in three years time?

Figure 4.10: Professional development and change spiral

(Milne, 2003)



Sergiovanni speaks of "recapturing the head [of leadership] from the managerial mystique" (1992, p.8) - rethinking our management mindscapes to reconnect decision-making with values and beliefs. In his discussion of leadership as culture building Sergiovanni believes:

> Excellent schools have central zones composed of values and beliefs that take on sacred or cultural characteristics. Indeed it might be useful to think of them as having an official 'religion,' which gives meaning and guides appropriate actions. ... ... The focus of leadership, then, is on developing and nurturing these central zone patterns so that they provide a normative basis for action within the school. (Sergiovanni, 1984)

Having worked hard on establishing "central zones" at Clover Park that do not neatly fit into usual school patterns these are too important to fit into positivist language and timeframes. The Ministry of Education's schooling "improvement" initiatives in Otara in 1998 were to bring this issue into sharp focus (see p.153). This is not to say that change at Clover Park is not a planned process or that the school is not prepared to be accountable. Our priority in terms of accountability however, is to our students and families first. The spiral process depicted in Figure 4.9 is shown in Table 4.7 with two examples of change in the period from 1994 to 2002 to show the application of this approach:

Table 4.7: Practical examples of the change spiral

The Change Spiral	The Eliminating Violence Programme 1994	The Introduction of a computerised assessment process 1997 - 2000
	► (Information from Evaluation report dated 5.2.1995)	► (Information from material prepared for ERO review 2002 and from staff meeting minutes 1997 - 1998)
1. Identify the issue and gather information. How and why is this affecting students?	► Problem identified with violent incident ► High levels of bullying & violent behaviour ► Scoped all available programmes	► Assessment practice disjointed, no cohesive approach, poor quality ► Staff practice widely different - assessment kept in "marks books" - up to individual teachers
2. Discuss with staff - identify key staff who can resource the issue. What are the cultural implications? Who are the experts?	► Staff training ► "Experts" unsuitable - no cultural input ► Talked with staff about need to tailor programme for cultural relevance ► Staff were the "experts" in cultural norms	► Computer assessment programme (TAP) trialled by one teacher with her class, then by that whole teaching team ► TAP became an online programme (eTAP) ► Whole staff demonstrations from trial team - who became the resource people ► What was learned from trial? ► eTAP customised by staff to suit school programme ► Programmer and technical help to ensure programme suits school needs
3. Identify staff needs - where is everyone 'at' now?	► Staff meetings to define what each group meant by the term "violence" ► Very wide range of understanding ► Decision by staff, that no form of violence was acceptable ► Violence in all forms clearly defined	► Very wide range of computer capability ► Some staff apprehensive about computer use ► Some staff needed help with assessment practice ► Assessment process needed to be standardised so data were valid and consistent
4. How does this link to our shared vision and practice? Are there conflicts with this? What are the barriers? Is the change necessary?	► Staff meeting to explore staff knowledges of their own culture, Maori, a third culture. Staff placed themselves on continua and discussed freely ► What issues did this raise in terms of "talking past each other" and misunderstanding different viewpoints? ► Did we now have consensus on need for change and type of change?	► What are we assessing and why? The school paid for a tertiary level paper to be delivered to all staff on-site during 1996 (Advanced Qualifications for Teachers, Auckland College of Education. C-level paper) This action research helped staff see assessment school-wide and make joint decisions about policy ► Computer skills a barrier
5. What support is needed through this change e.g. staff release, study, reading, whole team release, staff meetings, individual support. Who can provide this?	► After second staff meeting staff wrote down what they needed in order to move ahead ► Further meetings with individuals, teams, whole staff ► Decision that working together was better than brining in outside resource people	► Whole staff received tertiary-level paper - action research in assessment ► Staff developed an 'assessment book' - to standardise how achievement would be recorded on paper first ► School employed a data-entry person for a year to transcribe teacher assessment from these books to computer - to ensure the barrier of computer skills did not prevent progress ► Individual and group tuition in computer use and the assessment programme ► More staff became skilled users and helped others

6. When does this involve students, community - in initial stages or later? How are they involved? How is the BOT involved?	► In October whole school ran a week of high enjoyment activities, the planning of which had been an exercise in staff development, with each team having to plan a day for the whole school - with certain set criteria; mixed ability groups, aimed at success for all students, multi- levelled in terms of age, a responsibility for each other ..... and then explain and talk through that day with the rest of the staff.	► Reports generated from computer programme trialled with parents and parents surveyed (during report interviews) about what they wanted to know and which formats they preferred ► Explanations included on reports showing curriculum levels ► Students involved in discussions re reports and in student-led conferences with parents and whanau members ► BOT supportive with funding for professional development and computer networking
7. Is everyone on board? Is there a need to revisit anything, provide more support? Do new staff have to be brought up to date?	► Staff decided to acknowledge that it was difficult for all staff to be culturally aware, and accept we could all be at different points in our understanding of other cultures - but we would not accept a refusal to move forward.	► ETAP now online so teachers can access from homes but few staff have computers. ► School provides a loan computer and a modem to all staff who need one ► School pays a monthly internet account for all staff so access from home is a school expense ► Data-entry person is phased out as staff become skilled ► eTAP further customised with the programmer to include planning - this makes the programme even more useful and teachers are enthusiastic - new training is needed
8. How do we know the change has been worthwhile? What is the evidence? Is it well supported?	► Introduced the no violence rule with its four parts - no physical violence, no verbal violence, no violence to yourself and no violence to property - based on Tikipunga High School model. ► Students related to this message immediately.	► All staff are advanced users of eTAP and use it extensively ► eTAP a focus (school-chosen priority) in 2002 ERO review ► eTAP used for all planning, assessment, guidance and tracking of behaviour, analysis of achievement, reporting ► staff are advocates for the programme and its usefulness and demonstrate to other schools
9. How do we embed the change in school policy and practice? Is it linked to appraisal? Do we articulate this change?	► The activity week was followed with suggestions for making the rule an integral part of all planning, programmes, playground interaction, and highly visible in messages to parents in the school Prospectus, magazine, letters to new parents and at assemblies ► Policies revised and non-violence embedded as an expectation ► Modelling of appropriate behaviour, non-violent conflict resolution, behaviour management all built in to staff appraisal through job descriptions and, where necessary in appraisal goals	► Assessment policy and practice revised to include all eTAP capability ► Team leaders monitor data entry by their teams ► Curriculum Director oversees whole assessment process
10. Is there more learning to do about this issue? Has there been any further research? Is there new data? New process begins.	► Revisited whenever there is a need - new incidents, new staff, new students ► In 2002 introduced Bully-Free website and to enable confidential reporting of bullying to teachers and senior staff. Widely used by students. ► Need to get newer staff up to date with this process	► eTAP is continually being reviewed and more modules added. Many of these have been developed by Clover Park. In 2004 it will become our main pupil database - to be used for pupil administration in the school office ► New staff need to have training - this is mainly done now within their team

These processes show an incremental and managed change spiral in a process that has been a regular pattern at Clover Park. These changes have always been supported by the professional development of staff. The practice, described in the assessment example above,

of contracting tertiary providers to deliver papers to the whole staff on-site was repeated with papers in "Teaching in Bilingual Classrooms" (Auckland College of Education) and two papers in "The Middle School" delivered by distance through the Christchurch College of Education in later years. Currently six staff members are studying towards Masters degrees in Educational Leadership and two staff have completed diplomas in teaching English as a second language. When it is necessary relief teachers provide release days for a whole teaching team to give intensive time for discussion of a new concept or an opportunity to plan together. There is an expectation that change is underpinned by theory, knowledge and reflection. The change is always embedded in policy and subsequently forms part of the school's performance management cycle.

However in the 1994, 1995 period much change had to be managed quickly and some of it needed to be cosmetic. The school's image was deteriorating and some visible messages were needed that things were going to change. In 1994 we developed a new logo, introduced a new uniform, erected a security fence, upgraded the environment and opened in 1995 with a new name as well. These were strong signals.

To counter the negative publicity of 1994 the school featured in several positive headlines in 1995. The most impressive of these was the winning of the inaugural national Ken Gray Healthy School Award and $5000 from the Health Sponsorship Council for the initiatives we had taken to improve the school environment. This time the headline, in the New Zealand Herald, 11 March 1995, said, "School rewarded for taking charge".

Having "taken charge" of some of the major issues and crises the school faced in 1994 it was now time to look more deeply at the school's culture and philosophy. We had a framework that said, "middle school." We had an open plan environment that lent itself to a flexible whanau-based teaching approach and some staff had been involved in developing just such an approach in earlier years. We had, in the reorganisation of classes and teaching teams for the beginning of 1995, returned to placing students in Areas according to their ethnic groups. This decision was driven mainly by the two large bilingual units, Tupuranga and Lumanai, and because we had teachers who were Cook Island and Tongan in the other Areas of the school who identified with the students from their cultures.

Whanaungatanga

Bishop (1996, pp.215-218) discusses the range of uses of the word "whanau" from its literal meaning of extended family, people linked by blood to a common ancestor, to Metge's (1990) concept of metaphoric whanau to refer to "collectives of people working for a common end, who are not connected by kinship, let alone descent." (Bishop, 1996, p.217):

> These metaphoric whanau attempt to develop relationships and organisations based on similar principles to those which order a traditional whanau. Metge explains that to use the term is to identify a series of rights and responsibilities, commitments and obligations and supports that are fundamental to the collectivity. These are the tikanga of the whanau; warm interpersonal interactions, group solidarity, shared responsibility for one another, cheerful co-operation for group ends, corporate responsibility for group property, material or non-material (e.g. knowledge) items and issues. These attributes can be summed up in the words aroha (love in the broadest sense), awhi (helpfulness), manaaki (hospitality), tiaki (guidance)(Bishop 1996, p.218).

Other features described by Bishop include the responsibility to nurture and care for other members of the group, group rather than individual achievement, group decision-making and the involvement and support of kaumatua (elders). The word whanaungatanga encompasses the relationships that derive from the whanau.

In the professional development that followed the announcement of our middle school status much of the discussion had been about maintaining a whanau approach. In practice this had meant keeping the students of all ages together and with their own ethnic group. But what did we really mean by whanau? Firstly we had to reach a common understanding of whanaungatanga as a concept. Simply plucking a traditional concept out of the air and trying to implement it in a modern educational setting didn't seem appropriate. Nor could we expect that the home whanau and school whanau would be exactly the same. Our whanau had more people in it in the one place to begin with. Most students, arriving in the school at Year 7, after six years of primary schooling had no expectation of a whanau at school. They were used to monocultural school cultures and we needed to think about how we would change that expectation. Some of the reflection and the questions we debated are evident in this paragraph:

> We asked ourselves, does a whanau have young people grouped according to age, or does it include all ages? If a member of the whanau experiences difficulty, do we remove that person from the whanau or do we support them within it? Do the adults in the whanau change each year, or do they stay with the whanau? Do whanau members operate cooperatively and collaboratively, or independently in competition with each other? What are the responsibilities of the older siblings in a whanau? What are parental expectations? Who are the extended whanau? What is their role? How do the school whanau and home whanau interact and support each other. Where are the role models? How do we celebrate success and achievement? Whose achievement is this? Is it the individual's or does the whanau contribute? Conversely, how are discipline and behaviour issues handled in a whanau? Do we share this responsibility also? Is a whanau governed by a strict compartmentalised, fragmented timetable, or do activities overlap and interweave? How do whanau members interact with each other? What is the

> role of teachers in this setting? How does learning happen? What are the core values of this whanau? (Milne, 2002)

The answers often brought up further issues. What about power? Who makes the decisions? Samoan staff reminded us that in their families children would have no part in decision-making. What did all this mean for teachers?

May (1994 p.74) comments, "The establishment of family groupings required a radical reconceptualising of the teaching process for teachers at Richmond Road, and that necessarily did not come easily." The same applied to Clover Park. As with Richmond Road, there were no easy answers other than patience and support, professional development, then more patience and more support until finally resistance to change would become an issue of accountability. That stage was rarely reached. Over the years a strategy we came to use was one I called, "watchful waiting." Sometimes there was little other choice but often it worked in providing space for people to gradually make the necessary change or, failing that, move on. Earlier in this chapter (p.117) I commented on Carroll's (2000) analogy between the open plan experience and teachers' preparedness for teaching with new technologies. If this change was unsuccessful, would we find the design at fault or would we have failed to make the changes in the roles, rules, and relationships that would be necessary for it to succeed? Carroll's words are worth repeating as they apply equally to pedagogical change:

> Any organization that adopts a new technology without significant organizational change is doomed to failure. You have to change the organization. You cannot just add the technology. You have to actively work on changing the roles of the teachers, the roles of the students, the roles of the parents, and the roles of the administrators, and start to work toward building new relationships and new structures, or you will be disappointed with the results.

Teachers were not the only ones who found this type of change difficult. Parents needed time to reflect on how the school was different from their own school experience. This was particularly difficult for parents whose experiences with education had been largely negative. They didn't want that experience repeated for their children but they wanted the school to be "better" whilst perpetuating the familiar "grammar of schooling" (Tyack & Tobin, 1994) that had caused them to be alienated in the first place. Schools in the community had little patience for our difference, which they didn't understand. A common description to parents, from teachers in contributing schools, that is still heard in spite of our ongoing articulation of a culturally relevant pedagogy, is that at Clover Park they do "that culture stuff." This is always said in the context that this must therefore impinge on "academic" achievement as if the two were mutually exclusive. Some of the greatest barriers are put in place by the Ministry of Education and an education system that not only continues to frame Maori and Pacific achievement in terms of deficits, and perpetuates Eurocentric solutions for the

"problem." Clover Park's responses to each of these barriers and the potential positive and negative outcomes of each response are described in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Barriers to change
(Milne 2002)

	BARRIER	CLOVER PARK RESPONSE	POSITIVE & NEGATIVE OUTCOMES
Teachers	• want to maintain a monocultural status quo	Heighten awareness through professional development	• prepared to make change. Need support but become advocates for working this way • not prepared to make change - leave the school
Parents	• school is different from their school experience - want better for their children but only know about what they had	Continually inform, involve, 'market' our difference	• parents choose the school specifically for what it offers • parents choose another school which meets their needs
Other schools	• criticise the school by telling parents we do, 'that culture stuff' • promote their 'academic' focus as if learning and culture are mutually exclusive	Invite, inform, include, involve to the best of our ability	• become prepared to understand, support and promote • not prepared to make any shifts in thinking and continue to contribute negatively
The school 'system'	• marginalises indigenous and minority ethnic groups	Try to change what happens in our school and continually prod at the status quo	• we may have a model that works and can be shared • the status quo is maintained. Maori and minority ethnic groups don't achieve their aspirations. We perpetuate inequity.

Initially we tried to justify our difference, explaining with great care why we felt what we were doing was necessary and worthwhile. In later years we gave up and satisfied ourselves that we knew it was effective, the majority of our parent community were supportive and that was what mattered. We didn't leave this judgement about our community to chance. In 1997 the school commissioned an independent survey of the community to gauge the impact of the changes the school had implemented and the image the school had in the community. The report found that "87% of parents are satisfied with the education of their children at Clover Park Middle School,"[58] The research also helped identify a communications strategy

[58] Clover Park Middle School: Community Research Report 1997. Madison Consulting (NZ) Ltd.

that the school subsequently adopted to increase community awareness of initiatives. The same positive message has come through in other community consultation.[59]

May (1994) quotes Jim Laughton (in Cazden 1989, p.145), "I don't know what is right in education, but over the years, these things have proved to me that at least for minority people, they haven't been successful. So what is the point of pursuing those same things"? At Clover Park our mantra has been:

- Achievement outcomes for Maori and Pacific students are unacceptable (this statement is always qualified with discussion on achievement, what counts as knowledge, whose knowledge?)
- 98% of our students are from these ethnic groups.
- What we are doing now isn't working
- Why would we want to do more of the same?

1996: Ministry of Education Initiatives

Having worked hard as a staff for over two years, identifying the school's specific needs and unifying staff in a common purpose to respond to those, it was demoralising for all Otara schools to find themselves in the country's media spotlight in August 1996, with the release of the Education Review Office report entitled, Improving Schooling in Mangere and Otara. The introduction to this report states:

> Tomorrow May be Too Late, the "Ramsay" report of 1981, highlighted the educational disadvantage suffered by most school-aged students in Mangere and Otara. Former inspectors of schools recall projects aimed at addressing ineffective schooling in these areas through the provision of additional resources mainly in the form of extra staffing or advisory support during the 70s and 80s. It is clear that neither these strategies nor current arrangements for the delivery of education have resulted in sustainable high quality education for all students in Mangere and Otara. (Education Review Office 1996, p.2)

The report found that, out of the 45 schools in Mangere and Otara:

- 42% were performing very poorly or were under-performing;
- 27% were in the highest category of risk of non-performance - that is, they had been subject to at least one follow-up Office review;

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[59] School Charter Consultation, March 2000, Community Consultation, June, 2002.

- 15% were under-performing, although the level of risk had not been considered sufficient to justify a follow-up review.

In Otara, the non-performance rate was 35% of the eighteen schools. The Education Review Office acknowledged that all 45 schools in the two communities are located in, "disadvantaged socio-economic settings; thirty-seven are classified as having the highest level of socio-economic disadvantage nationally. Accordingly these schools operate in the social context of low incomes, high rates of unemployment, crowded housing and poor child health"

While the report recognised a strong link between school failure and the degree of disadvantage in a socio-economic setting (p.3), it also pointed out that some 20% of the schools in these two districts provide an effective education for their students. Findings in this report laid the blame for this "failure" squarely at the feet of school leadership, governance and incompetent teaching.

There was widespread reaction, including strong rejection of many of the reports' claims from both the schools and communities. The Education Review Office report, 'Multi-Cultural Schools in New Zealand' (2000a) four years later states:

> The primary purpose of schools is to provide all children with a high-quality education that equips them with the knowledge and skills they need to participate fully in society. This purpose cannot be divorced from issues of culture. Educational opportunities must be equally accessible to all, but unacknowledged cultural dissonance can create disparity of opportunity. (Education Review Office 2000a)

It is interesting to note, in light of this strong statement from the architects of the Otara and Mangere report that the idea of "cultural dissonance" was never mentioned in this damning 1996 assessment of Otara and Mangere schools. Nor was this ever mooted as a possible causal factor in the two year, Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara (SEMO) process, implemented to solve the problem of these communities' "failing" schools. The issues pertaining to Maori education, in spite of Clover Park Middle School's early and ongoing protests, were completely ignored and only added as an afterthought and an "add-on" towards the end of the intervention process.

As the secretary and then chairperson of the Otara Principals' Association in 1997 and 1998, the principals' representative on the appointment panel to select the co-ordinator of the initiatives and the liaison principal between the initiatives team and the principals in 1997, I felt I had a good understanding of the purpose of the project designed to strengthen education in these two communities. In spite of rejecting the findings of the ERO report in 1996, and preparing our own document to the Ministry of Education outlining our own

solutions,[60] by 1997 most Otara principals were prepared to implement the Ministry initiatives. In May of 1996 17 Otara schools had paid $250 each to take out a joint advertisement in the local newspaper to promote the good things that were happening in our schools and to counter the "misinformation"[61] in ERO reports on schools in the community. Schools were battered by the negative publicity but were prepared to work with the team, now named SEMO (Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara). We had been assured that the project's intent was to empower schools and communities to make decisions about their own needs. Far too often in the past researchers and education officials had prescribed for Otara what they decided the community needed. The fear that this was more of the same was expressed by community at initial meetings, and an ignoring of Maori aspirations had already prolonged the appointments process. However, Clover Park was to find that empowerment was definitely not a priority of the SEMO initiatives, despite rhetoric to the contrary. Timperley and Robinson (2002, pp.24, 25), contracted by the Ministry of Education to evaluate the interventions, observe:

> Those who focus on outcomes help to keep task demands to the forefront. Power issues are important, however, and to ignore them is to ignore an essential element of the relationship. ... Although power is likely to be unequal in relation to specific task decisions, we propose that equality is important when negotiating how the power is to be shared. Achieving such equality, however, is often a complex process.

These evaluators cite the visible and subtle strategies identified by Malen (1999) that are used to acquire power and influence decisions in these circumstances. The less obvious of these strategies include, "prestructuring the scope and content of participation, and controlling who is permitted to participate and what partners get to deliberate" (Timperley & Robinson 2002, p.25). The intervention team's perspective was that the community was powerless, the schools' view - particularly Clover Park's view, was that so were we.

Clover Park Middle School prepared, as did all other schools, the requested needs analysis based on our own knowledge of our school and community. No-one was denying needs existed. We had been through a three-year process to identify ours and implement a process of change as has been described. A major part of that process had been a close liaison with the school's community. We had settled on two areas to support the initiatives already under way in the school, the continued employment of a school social worker to support our safe learning environment programmes and the upgrading of our computer infrastructure to assist with our assessment programme and to give students access to technology they didn't have. After a long drawn out process where our needs analyses were largely shelved and principals

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[60] Otara Principals' Association Position Statement presented to Ministry of Education on 1 November, 1996 at a meeting at Clover Park Middle School.

[61] "Otara schools go public to counter image" The New Zealand Herald, 30 May, 1996.

had been subjected to a series of community forums where they were the scapegoats, we were advised by the project team that our projects were all to be called, "Communities in Schools via Literacy."

Clover Park's response, after many tense and non-productive meetings with the SEMO team, was to form a proposal to support our application for funding for Communities in Schools via "Emotional Literacy" (the social worker and continued safe learning environment programmes) and "Techno-Literacy" (the computer infrastructure for assessment and student access). This scenario of "resistance strategies" was exactly as described by May (1994, p.83; see p.71) and the result was the same as the experience of Richmond Road, that of "a hard time from all the powers that be over a long [period of] time" (Wally Penetito interviewed by May, 1994, p.84). The final report on the SEMO outcomes (Annan, Fa'amoe-Timoteo, Carpenter & Hucker, 2003) politely summarises the situation with Clover Park:

> This school's overall performance is well above adequate in most areas. The board received $136,600 from 1998-2000 for information and Communications Technology support, a social worker, and to complete an analysis of 'at risk' student intervention. SEMO's impact on school development was minimal because the funding supported well-established developments. SEMO questioned the match between school philosophy and the community aspirations, with which the board, senior managers and staff disagreed. The school chose to retain its philosophy and continued its preferred development pathway. The school is now a member of the Otara Boards Forum and is otherwise self-managing.

The intervention team never did understand Clover Park's philosophy and struggled to frame it within the Eurocentric solutions they had devised. On 19 April 1999 I wrote to the Ministry of Education in Wellington:

> Clover Park Middle School has now received our first SEMO payment. Our project's shape is still much as we identified right at the beginning. That should bring us satisfaction. Of course we appreciate the injection of funding and the intent of the process. Like all Decile 1 schools we can't afford not to. However there is little joy in the achievement of our goal. It feels as if we have simply survived a battle. I am left with huge disappointment in this process.

Clover Park subsequently chose to disengage from the initiatives and did not participate in the further interventions or receive further funding. The SEMO process ruled the life of the school during 1998 and much of 1999 and the time consumed in justifying the school's perspective and fighting the bureaucracy of the process was draining on all concerned. A question we often asked was, would a school in a more affluent community be subjected to a process such as SEMO? Clover Park had no reason to be classified as a "failing" school. None

of our ERO reports had identified major problems, the school had initiated a process, affirmed by ERO as well-managed and effective (Education Review Office 1994, 1998, 1999), to address the issues we had identified ourselves. The "one-size-fits-all" SEMO solution negated that journey.

Martin Thrupp (1997) presents a different perspective on the Mangere and Otara report. Thrupp was a member of the external reference group for the report but eventually refused to be named as such in the document. He therefore has first hand knowledge of the process and describes a range of difficulties including; the fact that many in the ERO-chosen group were far removed from the situation (ERO 1996, Appendix 2), there was a focus on accountability mechanisms, 400 pages of documentation were received only three days in advance with critical perspectives from non-ERO research buried towards the bottom, many members were only present for part of the two day meeting and they were finally given just a week to comment on the draft. Thrupp states that the report largely confirmed ERO's own definition of the situation.

Thrupp (pp.58, 59) criticises the findings in the report on two main counts. Firstly he questions the "weak" methodology and is not surprised this is not discussed in the report. Thrupp claims that the report's statement (p.3), "Through external evaluations of all schools over the past seven years, ERO has gained an overview of relative school performance nationally," equates to no more than a self-referential assertion that, "we have looked at lots of schools so we know what we are doing." Secondly the report's identification of the problem as one of poor performance dismisses what Thrupp sees as the "major competing claim, the effects of poverty." In fact the report dismisses this issue by pointing to some 20% of schools in the communities which "show [the] others up" (Thrupp 1997, p.59). Describing Mangere and (especially) Otara as "two of New Zealand's most entrenched areas or urban socio-economic disadvantage and white/middle class flight," Thrupp likens the multitude of problems faced by the two communities' schools to "ghetto" schools elsewhere. The experience of these schools is that, "while some schools might perform a little better, it is unlikely they will be performing *much* better" (p.60). Drawing further on his doctoral research in Wellington secondary schools Thrupp argues that school processes are much less independent of their social context than ERO allows and concludes that "Mangere and Otara schools are primarily overwhelmed rather than ineffective" (p.65).

While I agree with Thrupp's description of being "overwhelmed" at times, and certainly during the SEMO process, I agree more with Bishop et al's (2003) conclusion that while socio-economic status, along with a raft of other suggestions put forward as causal factors, could well influence the achievement of Maori students, "most of them are subsumed by the quality of the face-to-face, in-class relationships and interactions between the teachers and Maori students as major influences on Maori students' educational achievement." (Bishop et

al. 2003, p.190). I have no argument however, with Thrupp's summary that the cost of ERO's "blinkered New Right ideology," at the time of the 1996 report, was "considerable in terms of weakened school reputations, increased segregation, wasted efforts at compliance and foregone policies which could have made a difference" (Thrupp, 1997, p.66).

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy at Clover Park Middle School

Previous sections of this chapter have discussed some of the difficulties the school faced in the change processes undertaken since 1994. The intention is not to paint a negative picture, but to describe the reality of school change and to provide an authentic backdrop to the school's current situation. It is not possible to describe every facet of the change as there was a multitude of events, processes, high and low points. Although some staff initially had the impression we would somehow emerge at some mythical "end" of the process and be "finished" most eventually accepted change as the ongoing process the spiral metaphor (Figure 4.9) describes.

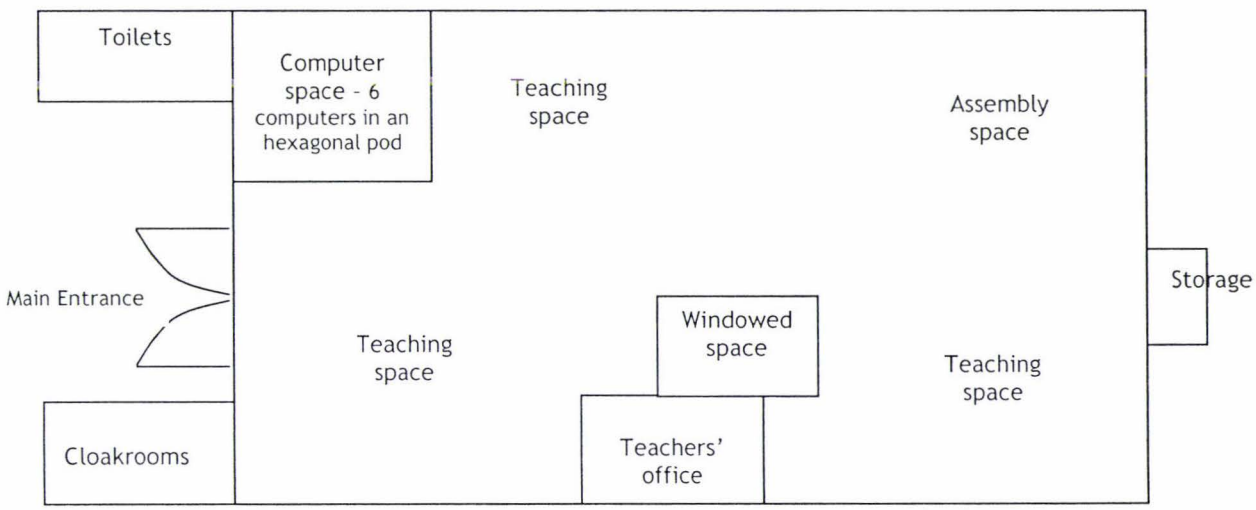
During the ten-year period from 1994 to 2003 there have been more positives than negatives. Some of the most notable are included in the timeline (Figure 4.15). They include gaining middle school status (1995); winning the Ken Gray Award (1995) and being placed in the top 5 in the same award the following year; the trip of a group of students, parents and staff to Samoa to compete in the 7th South Pacific Festival of Arts (1996); the opening of the School Marae, *Kia Aroha* (1998); many cultural performances and school-wide events; being the focus of a documentary on television in the programme, *60 Minutes* (1998); the 15 year reunion of Te Whanau o Tupuranga, many visitors both national and international, establishing a Tongan Bilingual class in 2003 and the recent accolade of being named as New Zealand's 2002 Composite School of the Year in June, 2003.

This section provides a current snapshot of the journey at this stage, in 2003. What does culturally relevant pedagogy at Clover Park Middle School look like now? In Chapter 5 the evidence of the school's effectiveness is examined in more detail.

Photograph 4.1: Clover Park Middle School 2002

Clover Park Middle School occupies 4.114 hectares of land in the south of Otara, just two kilometres away from Manukau City's busy city administrative and shopping centre. The school is physically laid out around a large central Hall and Library/Information centre. The school's administration block and offices and the school staff room are at opposite ends of the school. The four open plan teaching Areas, Fonuamalu, Kimiora, Lumanai and Tupuranga form a semicircle around this central hub with Kia Aroha, the school marae complex and the nearby senior students' classroom completing the arc (Photograph 4.1).

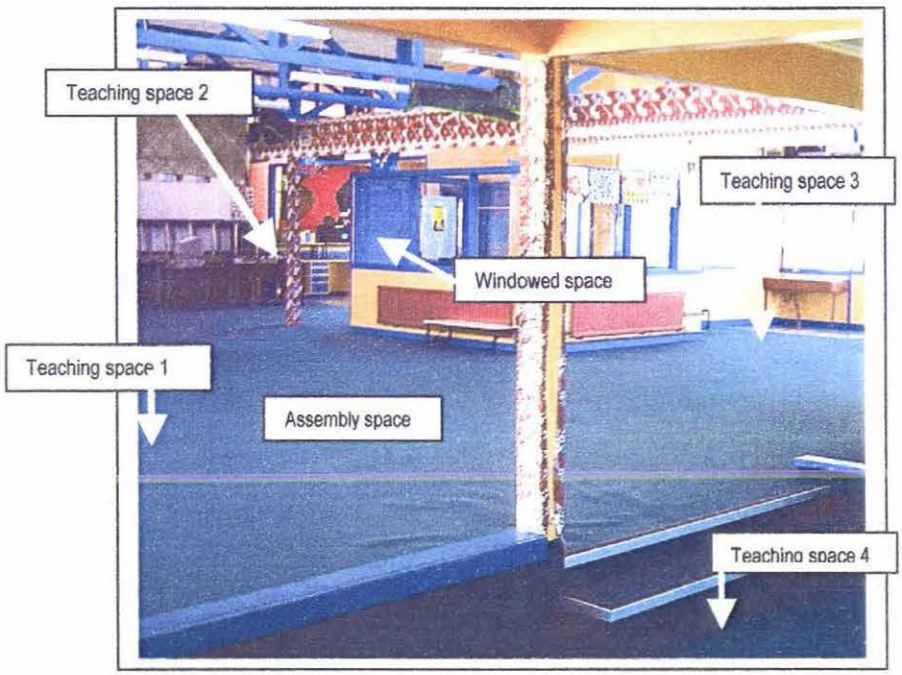
Figure 4.11: Open Plan Teaching Areas



The internal layout of each teaching Area is very similar (Figure 4.7), with Lumanai having one extra teaching space and Tupuranga, because of the slope of the land, being on two levels. Otherwise each Area is made up of three large teaching spaces, a smaller room, now used to house a pod of 6 computers, a teacher office, a small central space with windows on two or three sides and a smaller storeroom. Typically one teaching space is large allowing the whole whanau to assemble together. Additional computers are located in the windowed offices and in each class teaching space making a total of 10 to 12 computers in each Area. These are all networked and have free internet access.

Photograph 4.2 shows the internal layout of the teaching areas, particularly the use of vibrant colours and cultural icons (in this case Pacific motifs and patterns but these vary from Area to Area.

Photograph 4.2: Open Plan Teaching Area: Lumanai



Team Teaching

As Figure 4.7 and Photograph 4.2 show, there are no walls between teaching spaces. The high ceilings help minimise noise levels but open plan teaching takes some time to get used to. At Clover Park in the mid 1990s there was a tendency for teachers to build walls of lockers, cupboards or even hang curtains up to fence off their own space. This no longer happens. Much of this is due to a change to team-teaching and the expectation that teams will work cooperatively together in terms of planning, with flexible grouping of students, in programme evaluation and within a common whanau philosophy. It is relatively simple to isolate yourself if you are using a single cell, individual, one teacher-one class approach. It is almost impossible if you are working within the concept of whanaungatanga - creating and maintaining relationships across the whole group of three classes and three teachers.

The open plan design already existed at Clover Park but it has supported rather than driven the teaching philosophy. There are always staff who would prefer the confines of their own classroom and there are sometimes (rarely) students who find the large numbers and movement distracting, but working as a team of teachers across a group of students provides staff with support systems they would not get in a single cell classroom. Inexperienced teachers see first hand modelling of good practice daily. Release time is provided using arrangements within the team. Teachers can utilise their areas of strength to help others and

be supported in their areas of need. Behaviour issues can be shared and discussed and students moved to other staff within the team for time out or change. The planning load is shared as are all administrative tasks.

Team teaching is a recognised middle school practice and one most New Zealand primary level teachers would relate to. Schools are often organised in syndicates or teams for organisational and administrative purposes and often linked with a senior supervising staff member. Many schools have adopted vertical grouping and multi-age arrangements, often called whanau, and this is usually the preferred organisation for Kura Kaupapa Maori and many Maori bilingual classes. This type of teaching is uncommon in secondary schools although there is some movement towards homeroom situations for junior classes and some schools have a short period of the day or during the week when the age levels might mix for pastoral care or support. However, few of these are the same as working together in the same space every day, on the same tasks at the same time with students who span four year levels, and it is particularly unusual for the year levels at Clover Park Middle School. In New Zealand students in Years 7 and 8 are classified as primary school students, those in Years 9 and 10 are secondary. Schools that span both primary and secondary class levels are called composite schools and most composite schools separate the two age groups. Working in this way across these age levels has required a high level of commitment and professional development for teachers.

Neil Potter (2001), researched and trialled a team teaching approach in a secondary school and a middle school in New Zealand and published his findings through a Beeby Fellowship[62] in 2000/2001. Potter (p.41) summarises the benefits for teachers in this approach as greater support, more professional/collegial discussion, greater confidence which means both teachers and students can take risks in teaching and learning, less stress and more direct communication between teaching teams and parents. Because teachers know the students so well any member of the team can speak confidently about any student. Students in Potter's study (p.42) spoke of the benefits of a feeling of family/whanau, positive relationships with teachers, being talked *with* rather than *at*, being treated as individuals, having more access to help, more opportunities to take on responsibilities and enjoying coming to school (emphasis in original).

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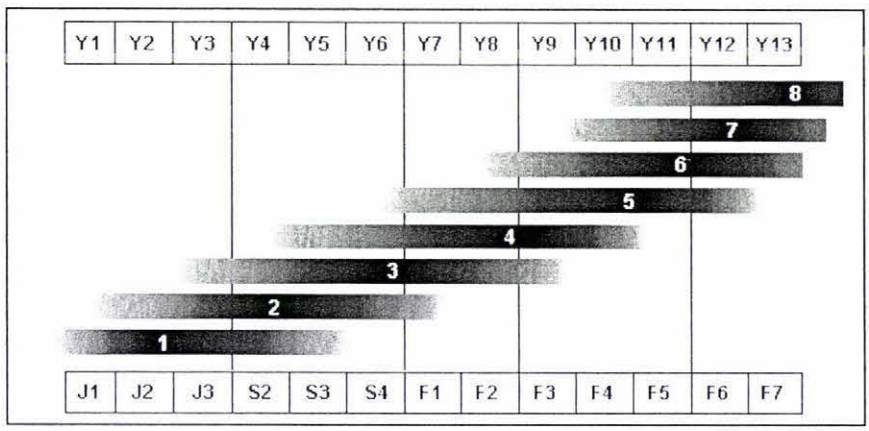
[62] Dr Clarence Beeby was the inaugural director of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research in 1934 and the Assistant Director-General of the United Nations from 1948-1949. The Fellowship awarded in his name enables an educator actively involved in an innovative programme to write a resource with the purpose of enhancing classroom practice and students' learning

Organisation

The New Zealand Curriculum Framework, introduced in 1993, is a seamless approach with content spanning eight levels of difficulty and complexity. It is expected that each of these levels will be studied by a broad band of age and year levels (Figure 4.12). This means that students in Years 7 to 10 can work across a range of levels in different subjects from Level 2 to Level 7 or 8.

Figure 4.12: New Zealand Curriculum Levels
(Ministry of Education, 1993)



In practice at Clover Park this means that Years 7 to 10 students can work together in heterogeneous groups at their ability levels rather than their year level. Because this is the way the whole school works there is no stigma attached to working with older/younger students. In fact, tuakana/teina pairing where older and younger or able and less able students work together in a peer tutoring approach is both an expectation and a deliberate learning strategy that mirrors family practice.

The school organisation and changes undertaken at Clover Park are described by Neville (1999) who has conducted ongoing research in the school:

> These are changes which are reflected in every aspect of culture: from the visible artefacts such as the buildings, mottoes and songs; the tangible values expressed daily in to reinforce key beliefs such as the powerful and non negotiable non violence rules; and the taken-for-granted norms.
>
> The changes include dividing the school into four areas or units which are multi levelled, multi aged and vertically grouped from years 7 to 10. There is an integrated and holistic curriculum, an emphasis on the importance of adult, student interaction with every student having a significant adult, co-operative learning and most important, whanaungatanga as the basis for administration, for assessment, pedagogy and curriculum development and

> implementation. To the non-New Zealander this means that the concept of culture in the traditional Polynesian sense of extended family is woven into every aspect of school life. Of the four areas one is rooted in Maori values, one in Samoan beliefs, one takes in predominantly Tongan and the other is labelled general but includes the Asian and Cook Island students. Students elect which area they will join. The whole purpose is one of cultural validation: to build self- confidence, self esteem and a positive identity within students grossly disadvantaged within New Zealand society. (Neville, 1999)

In 2003 the student roll at Clover Park Middle School was 323, made up of the following ethnic groups (Table 4.9):

Table 4.9: Clover Park Middle School Roll, 2003: by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Number	%
Maori	112	35
Samoan	108	33
Cook Island	55	17
Tongan	29	9
Indian	8	2
Khmer/Kampuchean/Cambodian	4	1
Niuean	3	1
Pakeha	2	1
Middle Eastern	1	0
Kiribati	1	0

Classroom organisations are very flexible. Teachers do not have their own "class," but rather the three or four whanau teachers work with different groups of students from within the whanau throughout the day. These groupings are decided at the planning stage of each learning unit. Occasionally, for a specific unit or reason, it may be decided to work in ability groups, or age groups, or separate boys and girls. All of these arrangements are possible. Whatever the large group arrangement is however, the basic learning unit is usually the same - students work in small groups, usually made up of four members. They work cooperatively, collaboratively or independently on tasks that are usually inquiry-based, and which give them a wide range of choices and options. Timetabling is also flexible and teachers typically allow time to work intensively on the current study. This might mean students work on their current investigation for half or full days, or several days at a time. Students with learning and behavioural difficulties are catered for within this organisation. They are not withdrawn at any time. Support staff work alongside them and their group enabling them to participate in the programme with the rest of the whanau. Teachers act as facilitators. There is minimal whole-class, teacher directed instruction.

Staffing

Because our whanau are ethnically based as far as is possible, most students have staff from their own culture. This means Maori students in Tupuranga can be taught primarily by Maori teachers, The staff of Lumanai can all be Samoan, students in Kimiora have a long term teacher who is Cook Island and in 2003 a Tongan bilingual class has been established in Fonuamalu with a Tongan teacher. Other non-Pacific teachers in Kimiora and Fonuamalu welcome the access to a cultural resource person within their team. If teachers are not available, the school prioritises funding for language assistants, fluent speakers of students' languages, who work in support of the learning programme under teacher supervision in the same way as the Kaiarahi Reo does in the Maori bilingual whanau. Most often, government employment schemes are accessed to make this possible. Where there are very small numbers of an ethnic group teachers give those students every opportunity to work together using language resources within the group in tuakana/teina learning arrangements.

The staff at Clover Park has always reflected the ethnicity of our students (Table 4.10). This is deliberate. If you are trying to integrate cultural beliefs and values into your daily programme and to encourage effective interaction with students and families it makes sense that staff understand the languages and cultural norms of the students and community.

Table 4.10: Ethnicity of Clover Park Middle School staff: January, 2004

	Maori	Pacific	Pakeha	South African (Indian)	Total
Teachers	5	7	3	3	18
Support Staff	2	3	-	-	5
TOTAL	7	10	3	3	23
	Maori	Pacific	Pakeha	Other	Total
Senior Positions	2	3	1	2	8

The knowledge such staff bring to the policies and practices of the school is crucial:

> As a Pakeha principal I have developed a high sense of trust that my staff members will give me good advice. They are the school's most important and valuable resource and I respect their networks in the community to elders and parents. Although I may like to think I have learned a lot, I will always have to rely on their knowledge and understanding and it is imperative that I listen to and advocate for their aspirations. If the school is serious about empowerment, leaders have to be prepared to share and give up power. Often we will arrive at a decision that would not have been my first choice if I had worn a Pakeha 'hat', but hindsight usually proves the decision to be the best one. (Milne, 2002)

One example already mentioned is the derailment of the monocultural non-violence professional development when different cultural perspectives surfaced. The facilitator told me often that the training had worked in a previous Decile 1 trial school and that the few Maori and Pacific teachers there had never raised an objection and in fact had kept a very low profile throughout. When I shared the experience of our staff with the principal of that school some time later he was surprised that his Maori or Pacific teachers might have had a different perspective. A further example was the objection from Maori staff that our early performance management process did not allow for staff cultural preferences. Maori staff did not like the self-appraisal component of the cycle and did not want to work alone. Our revised model gives staff the opportunity to work together as a group, to have another staff member speak about their achievements, rather than having to do this about themselves, and gives staff a wide range of choices and support. Culturally relevant practice cannot be confined to the classroom. It has to be modelled in all aspects of the school's operation and staff modelling is a key component.

Learning

May (1994, p.71) describes the twin emphases of "cultural maintenance" and "access to power" which characterised the practice of Richmond Road as:

> Providing an approach to education which is culturally pluralist but not academically isolationist. That is, an approach which achieves both cultural and language diversity *and* academic excellence through structural change at school level. (emphasis in original)

This has always been the purpose of restructuring at Clover Park Middle School. In reshaping the school's practice and programme with the concept of whanaungatanga as our guiding principle, we needed to not only critically examine the environment we created, but question how and what we taught. What messages did our classroom practice give young people that conflicted with their sense of who they were? These were not hard to find and, once we had raised staff awareness of them, we discovered how prevalent and insidious these messages are. The types of questions we confronted were wide-ranging. These are a typical example of those we discussed:

- How do teachers pronounce children's names?
- Can children use their own language at any time in all curriculum areas during the day?
- Do you ask them then to translate that effort into English?
- Whose stories do children listen to?
- What do the books in the library say about what is valued?

- Whose knowledge is valued?
- How is this knowledge assessed?
- What do children think when the computer beeps every time they type a Maori or Samoan word - to tell them it is wrong?
- Who holds the senior positions and power?
- How do we welcome visitors?

The debates were lively, and often painful as teachers either realised and acknowledged, or denied the impact of their practice. Most times however, Maori and Pacific and other ethnic minority staff could instantly relate the practices to their own personal experience of schooling and the effects they had on their learning. Some of the questions, as for the Treaty of Waitangi checklist so many years before, could be answered and practice changed immediately, some took longer and some needed long debate and policy change.

The basic school day is structured into three, one and a half hour blocks. This eliminates the fragmented timetable and allows for the intensive use of time. Teachers in each whanau plan cooperatively so all the students are working on similar activities at the same time. The programme is based on modules or units of study around a core inquiry. In 2000 we moved to adopt as whole school practice the Curriculum Integration model proposed by James Beane.[63]

Curriculum Integration

> This kind of curriculum is significantly different from the abstract, fragmented, separate subject fare historically offered to young adolescents. It provides a meaningful context for knowledge. It responds to their curiosity about self, now and in the future. It connects young adolescents with significant issues in the larger world. It provides a coherent and unified sense of purpose and activity. And it provides authentic and purposeful activity.(Beane, 1997)

The diagram below (Figure 4.13) was adapted to introduce the concept to staff at whole team professional development workshops in 2001. Two years earlier we had invited Dr Deborah Fraser from the University of Waikato to facilitate a professional development day on this approach. After that input, teams had trialled the approach and some staff had regularly used curriculum integration with their groups. The idea of a continuum served to demonstrate to staff that this was different from the model New Zealand teachers have

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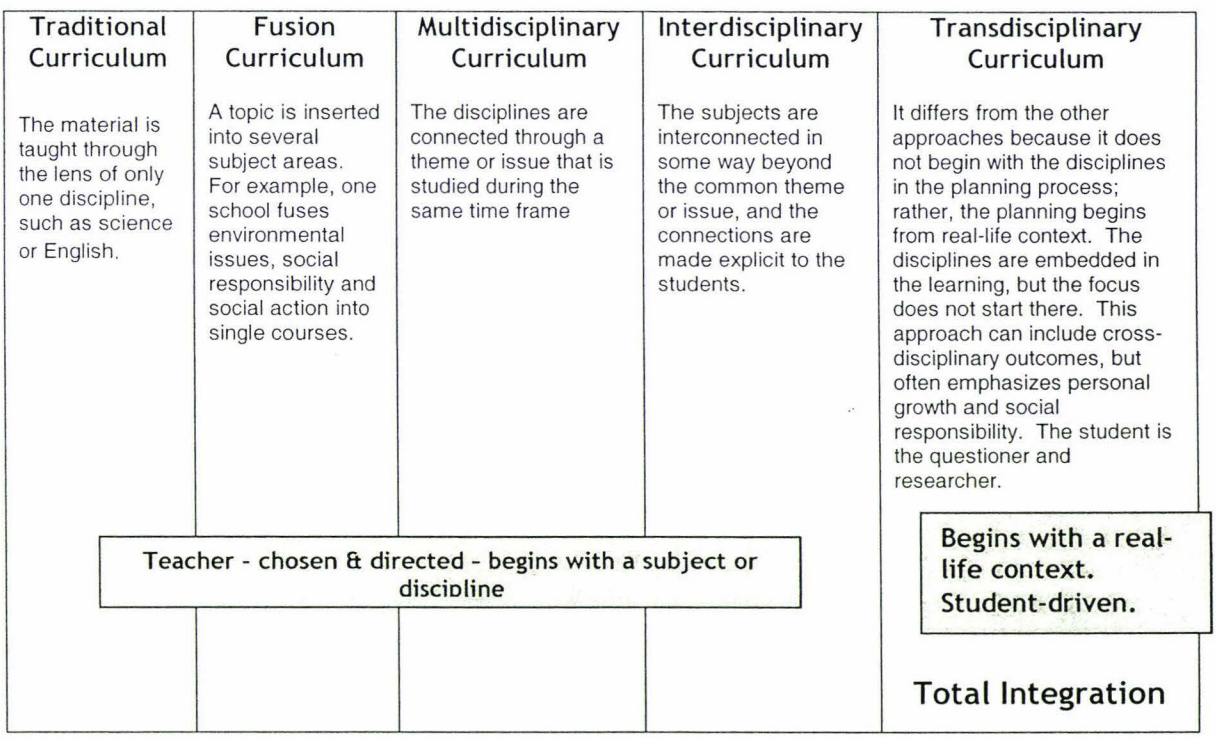
63 Professor James Beane from National-Louis University in Illinois, USA, is an internationally renowned educationalist in the fields of curriculum development and middle school learning.

traditionally called curriculum integration or thematic learning - the organisation of a unit of study around a central theme and also gave them space to move towards transdisciplinary practice at their own pace.

However, there have been criticisms of the idea of curriculum as a continuum with the implication that the more integration the better. Hargreaves, Earl and Ryan (1996) suggest the process is more complex and the continuum does not capture these complexities. They prefer Case's (1991) typology of four curriculum types; fusion of formerly separately taught elements; insertion of one element into a larger set; correlation between elements that remain separately taught and harmonisation of different skills, concepts, attitudes, across separately taught elements (Case, 1991, cited in Venville, Wallace, Rennie, & Malone. 2001).

Figure 4.13 : Curriculum Integration Continuum
(after Drake, 1991, 1998)



The model proposed by Beane, however, is the approach that has worked best for students at Clover Park. Deborah Fraser (2002, p.63) explains that the concept of a culturally relevant pedagogy "articulates smoothly" with this model of curriculum integration:

> When teachers take the personal concerns of students seriously and examine social issues with them that are drawn from the students' cultural positionings, they are acknowledging who the students are, what they bring to the classroom, and how their interactions with others influence their thinking.

In this model, students pose questions they have about themselves, their communities and country and the world. For our students this includes questions relevant to their own people. This gives teachers issues of social concern which are of significance to our students as our starting point for learning. Maori students can pose questions about themselves, their iwi, cultural traditions, land, colonisation, politics or the implications of the Treaty of Waitangi for example and compare those with the experiences of indigenous people world-wide. Beane also talks about the fourth question that teachers have in their "back pocket" (2003) - the questions the students might not know to ask. This might include questions about prejudice or racism for example.

Beane (2003) asks, what is the purpose of schooling if not to extend democracy (in a democratic society) and make a connection between self -interest and the common good? He sees this approach as a way to move "beyond the separate subject approach" to a curriculum where:

- Young people are involved in planning and assessing their own learning
- Emphasis is on a collaborative community
- Social problems are used as sources of themes to organise the curriculum (democracy needs a curriculum with a social conscience)
- Knowledge is integrated and applied
- Diversity is prized (a signifier of democracy)
- Knowledge and assessment are enhanced for all young people

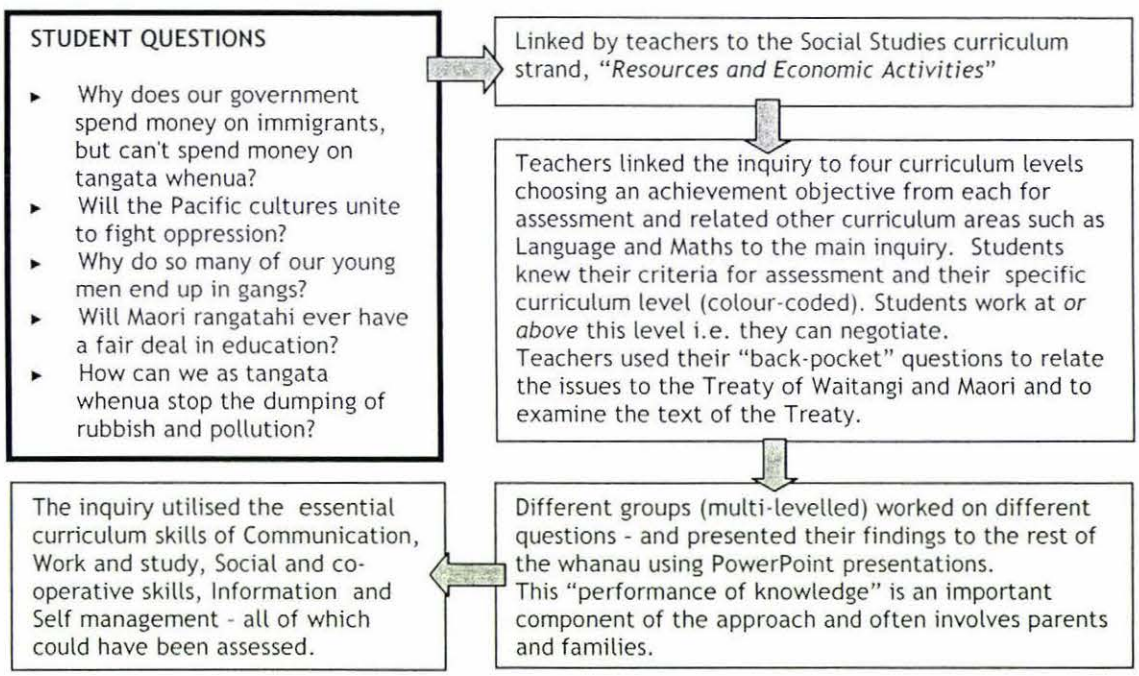
Initially curriculum integration called for a steep learning curve from teachers, not the least in the development of their questioning skills. Students in the first few units invariably posed the questions they thought the teachers wanted them to ask. Now that has changed completely. Typically students and teachers will spend several days at the beginning of the year, or just before the end of a term, brainstorming their questions. These are sorted into groups of questions that might be similar and students choose a question to cover that group, gradually reducing the total number of questions. Every question from the final outcome of the brainstorming is displayed in the Area.

Students can see they will be using their question/s during the year. Students are also involved in the discussion about order. It is the teachers' role as a team to then take the broad groups of student issues and link them to the national curriculum framework. It is also the teachers' role to ensure that there is coverage of the mandated curriculum. In the example in Figure 4.14 questions from students in Tupuranga about immigration, oppression, gangs, inequity in education and pollution were linked to a range of inquiries about issues of power:

According to Beane (1997) curriculum integration is "about integrating learning with students' life experiences and realities. It is about problem solving and developing critical thinking. It is about developing social awareness and citizenship. It is 'high pedagogy'."

> In curriculum integration, organizing themes are drawn from life as it is being lived and experienced. By using such themes, the way is opened for young people to inquire critically into real issues and to pursue social action where they see the need. That inquiry and action add depth to the meaning of democracy in schools, which curriculum integration further emphasises through its emphasis on collaborative teacher-student curriculum planning. Such collaboration also opens the way to redefining power relations in the classroom and to challenge the idea that important knowledge is only that named and endorsed by academicians and bureaucrats outside the classroom. (Beane, 1997)

Figure 4.14: Example of Curriculum Integration Inquiry using student questions: Tupuranga 2003



Reciprocal relationships with the community

A high priority goal of Clover Park Middle School's Strategic Plan 2000 - 2004 is, "To establish a strategy that reaches out to the community develops reciprocal relationships which support children's learning."

Parent support groups in the school operate in different ways according to their cultural preferences. As the parent groups are linked to an Area where students are grouped

ethnically it follows that the parent groups are predominantly of the same culture. This relates to the extended whanau concept. The ability of staff to speak parents' languages eliminates a common barrier which often prevents parents from school involvement. Teachers communicate with parents regularly. Newsletters are posted home, regular parent support group meetings are held. Formal reporting to parents has taken the form of student-led conferences where students explain their learning to parents through the contents of their self-chosen portfolios and their teacher written reports. At an early interview in Term 1 students, parents and teachers set learning goals together.

Parents are welcome in the school and often sit in with their children in classes, particularly in support of teachers in changing behaviour, but often too for more positive reasons. One Maori mother has come to school almost every day for the last four years. She helps in Tupuranga, supports students with special needs, advises staff about tikanga Maori, acts as our school kuia (respected female elder) and is not averse to correcting students' behaviour if it is necessary. She is treated as a valued member of staff yet her work in the school is purely voluntary. Parents are extremely supportive of school functions and help in a variety of ways.

Te Poho

In 2001 the school accessed funding to trial a project to review the way we were relating to our Maori community. The aim of the project, named "Te Poho"[64] was to build capacity in Maori parents to support students, and conversely, in the staff of the bilingual whanau and the school to support Maori parents and students. Maori staff expressed strongly that the key to social, emotional cultural and learning development of Maori students is the active involvement of *both* the community of Maori home whanau and school whanau working together with common understandings and goals.

This idea of *reciprocal* relationships is very different from the common school practice which develops relationships with the community characterised by school needs and demands. We ask parents to help, expect them to attend school functions, support the school in ensuring their children follow our rules, behave in ways we decide, complete school tasks and assignments and ensure they attend every day. We may be required by legislation to 'consult' with our communities but consultation merely implies that we will receive input - not necessarily act on it. How then can we expect dialogue and interaction with families to have a positive impact on young people when the Eurocentric "rules of the game" are set by the school? Ghuman (1999), emphasises the importance of a two-way process in the development of identity for young adolescents from ethnic minorities:

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[64] Te Poho was a taniwha of the local, Ngai Tai, people who nurtured and fed the people.

> The development of coherent identity is likely to be facilitated only if there is a symbiotic relationship between home and school. On the other hand, if young people receive conflicting messages from these institutions and diverse emotional and social demands and commitments are expected, they are likely to be confused in their identity.
>
> (Ghuman, 1999)

The concept of symbiotic and reciprocal relationships carries an expectation that this interaction will be *mutually advantageous*. Te Poho was designed to facilitate that process.

In the initial scoping of the project with Maori staff the need to significantly change the basic philosophy of how we interact with parents was a major debate. There was general agreement with the aims of the project which included:

1. To establish a forum for ongoing discussion with Maori parents about educational, developmental, social growth of young Maori adolescents
2. To provide the school marae as the central location for interaction between Maori parents and school
3. To establish and maintain regular contact through home visits, bringing Maori parents into school
4. To identify the additional risk factors for specific Maori students and families e.g. attendance
5. To establish authentic consultation processes which are relevant to Maori whanau
6. To break down barriers between Maori whanau and school
7. To raise achievement levels of Maori students through ongoing support and active involvement with parents and extended whanau
8. To coordinate all interactions and interventions concerning Maori students

The raising of achievement levels was deliberately placed lower in the list because it was felt that other conditions had to be strengthened first in order to impact on student learning. The question was how could we do that?

At the beginning of the process, Maori staff, key parents and Maori Board of Trustees' members held 'live-ins' on the marae and several hui to encourage thorough reflection and debate. As part of this process the Project Director and Co-ordinator visited a Maori community leader who had first-hand experience and knowledge of indigenous community initiatives in other countries. His work in the Otara community is well known and he has extensive international networks and support. This proved to be a seminal meeting and the whanau was introduced to the theory of Appreciative Inquiry.

Appreciative Inquiry

Bushe (1998) describes Appreciative Inquiry as, "a form of action research that attempts to create new theories/ideas/images that aid in the developmental change of a system. The key data collection innovation of appreciative inquiry is the collection of people's stories of *something at it's best*" (emphasis in original).

Developed by David Cooperrider and Suresh Srivastva at Case Western Reserve University's (Cleveland, Ohio) Department of Organizational Behaviour, Appreciative Inquiry believes that,

> ... social systems evolve toward the most positive images they hold of themselves. These images are not necessarily conscious in that they may not be discussible by the members of that social system, but nevertheless such images exist and the more they "affirm" the group the more firmly they hold the group to a pattern of being prescribed by the theory/idea/image the group has of itself at its very best. When these images are out of step with the requirements the social system faces the group will experience itself as dysfunctional and rational attempts to fix itself will not work until the underlying "affirmative image" of the group is changed. Appreciative inquiry, therefore, attempts to create a new and better affirmative image for the social system. (Bushe, 1998)

Although Appreciative Inquiry was developed as a theory for changing organisations it has since been used effectively in community driven initiatives. The difference between traditional approaches to organisational change and Appreciative Inquiry can be seen in Table 4.11:

Table 4.11: Traditional Process vs. Appreciative Inquiry
(Hammond 1998)

TRADITIONAL PROCESSES	APPRECIATIVE INQUIRY
Define the problem Fix what's broken Focus on decay	Search for solutions that already exist Amplify what's working Focus on life-giving forces
What problem are you having?	**What is working well around here?**

Following the meeting with the community leader we invited him to run a seminar with Maori staff and released staff to attend this all day workshop. Staff were so enthused and motivated by this approach that the Board of Trustees approved a full staff seminar and all school staff, with Maori Board of Trustees' members attended this second full day workshop.

Staff were introduced to the key assumptions of Appreciative Inquiry:

1. In every society, organisation or group, something works.
2. What we focus on becomes our reality.
3. Reality is created in the moment and there are multiple realities.
4. The act of asking questions of an organisation or group influences the group in some way.
5. People have more confidence and comfort to journey to the future (the unknown) when they carry forward parts of the past (the known).
6. If we carry parts of the past forward, they should be what is best about the past.
7. It is important to value differences.
8. The language we use creates our reality.

For teachers, worn down by the day to day crisis situations and the difficulties many of our students presented, the idea that what we focus on becomes our reality was a real wake up call. It made such immediate impact and sense we could all clearly see how crisis and the negative deficit language we used to frame our problems and concerns was becoming a prime focus.

The workshops involved staff in looking to the past in their respective teams - what programmes stood out from the rest in terms of student motivation and outcomes? What were the reasons this happened? How could we replicate those conditions in future planning? When were our parents most involved and enthused? An obvious answer from all of us was, at our annual Celebration Day (see p.179). Why was this? How could we use that model? School-wide the impact was a renewed focus on student learning, as opposed to student attitudes and behaviour.

For the Te Poho participants, Appreciative Inquiry drove their approach to dialogue with parents. Working from a perspective that valued parents' views and promised to act on these was very different from the deficit assumptions most Maori parents experience.

> Appreciative inquiry starts from a fundamentally different - and more positive point. It is designed to help local people identify their achievements. This process can be very empowering for people who have always considered themselves poor and disadvantaged. When they look for their strengths, they are often amazed to discover how resilient, adaptive and innovative they are. They have to be - poverty is a cruel and unforgiving circumstance. By focusing on their strengths they can use the "positive present" to build a shared vision of a better future, one that is grounded in reality. Appreciative inquiry creates a development pathway based on what is right rather than what is wrong. (Elliott 1999)

Every home of the eighty three pupils was visited by the Project Co-ordinator and a small group of helpers who were past-pupils in the bilingual whanau. They asked the following questions:

1. Name three positive things that have happened in your child's time in Te Whanau o Tupuranga?
2. Name three things you would like to see change about your child's education?
3. What system of communication with a school has worked best for you?
4. How can we improve the ways we communicate with your whanau?
5. Tell us about an activity in your child's education, that **you** have participated in as a parent, that **you** have enjoyed the most.
6. What services that the school provides have been most useful to you as a parent?
7. What improvements or other services would you like to see?

Parents spoke powerfully about their preferences and aspirations. Why should we be surprised to learn that 'one size does not fit all'? Some parents, for example, wanted written, posted communication. Some could rely on their children to bring home newsletters. Others preferred to speak face to face. Why could we not accommodate those preferences? Responses to the survey included:[65]

Three positive things that have happened in your child's time in Te Whanau o Tupuranga?

- *Kapa Haka, live-ins on the marae, Te Reo Maori, being in the whanau.*
- *My son drew a cool picture describing his older brother going fishing, showing the clouds, the sea and the fish. Everything about it was Maori. I am so proud if my son.*
- *Kapa Haka has really enhanced my children in their personal appearance and their cultural understanding.*
- *The biggest achievement from my girls is that they enjoy going to school. This alone is good.*

An activity in your child's education, that *you* have participated in as a parent, that *you* have enjoyed the most.

- *Watching him in Kapa Haka.*
- *Helping him at night with his homework. Some of the work he shows me I do not understand, but we both do our best to complete the work.*

What improvements or other services would you like to see?

- *Courses - this included parents' courses and more for students after school*
- *Weekend classes, other 'catch-up' sessions for students having trouble*

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[65] All material quoted in relation to Te Poho is found in Te Whanau o Tupuranga Capacity Building Report, May 2001, in the applications for funding 2000, 2001.

The full scope of the initiative and the changes that followed at that stage are detailed in Table 4.12:

Table 4.12: Outcomes of Te Poho (first stage)
(Source: Te Poho Evaluation)

1. Desired outcome	2. Measurement	3. Change
A forum for Maori whanau to put forward aspirations	The level of feedback from whanau The number of parents/whanau contributing	All parents have been visited once and telephoned twice as a follow up. 50% of parents responded in writing to parent survey. Parent preferences re type of communication have been collated for future action
Increased parent/whanau understanding of educational issues which relate to their children	The number of parents/whanau involved in the school programme - either in offering their services or attending hui/wananga	There has been a 13% increase in the number of parents attending regular meetings and hui as a result of their involvement in Te Poho initiatives
Enhanced communication between parents, whanau and school	Improved parent/whanau knowledge of activities Improved staff understanding of parent/whanau needs and aspirations	Staff have been able to collate and act in response to parent requests and feedback - in turn enhancing home/school credibility and support
Support for Maori students and their learning needs	Increased participation of parents/whanau Improved support systems for Maori staff	- see participation data above Te Poho has accessed personnel and agencies prepared to act as facilitators and support people (e.g. for the variety of wananga, past student network etc)
Common purpose and understanding / shared goals between Maori homes and school	Feedback from parent/whanau home visits and consultation process Improved communication between home and school	The feedback from the home visits has been collated and staff are able now to formulate a planned, structured response to this. This means they are now 'dealing with data' - instead of guesswork. Specific changes include a homework centre, posting written communication, mentoring by older siblings, providing courses for parents e.g. helping my child with Maths, Te Reo Maori etc.
A support network for Maori staff	Feedback from Maori staff - Maori staff see benefits of Te Poho and parent/whanau involvement	Maori staff have benefited from professional development in community consultation (Appreciative Inquiry) methods.
An opportunity for Maori parents/whanau to form policy direction for Maori learners in the school	Commitment from Board of Trustees and senior management of school to act on Maori parent/whanau input from this process	Regular reports have been made to the BOT on Maori parents' feedback and input. BOT Chairperson has been involved.

A major development, quite unplanned for in the original project design, was to hold a reunion of students who had belonged to the bilingual whanau over the last fifteen years. Past-pupils heard about the project and demanded they be involved in Te Poho. By targeting parents and caregivers we had overlooked this very important resource - and they were not going to allow us to leave them out.

The reunion was held on the marae over two days and a large number of students came at different times to different parts of the programme. Some still lived locally, others came from other parts of the country. Some brought their children and told us they would be

enrolling in Tupuranga soon. Families of six students who had passed away during this time, through illness, accidents and one in violent circumstances, brought their photos and planted trees on the marae in their memory. The trees are now cared for by students, a song has been written about them that commemorates the young people who have passed away and families bring tokens to leave under the trees.

The young adults at the reunion all spoke of the importance the whanau played in their education and their outlook on life. They sang the old songs, and wrote a new one to commemorate the occasion, they reminisced and renewed friendships. It was uplifting for teachers and a valuable lesson for current students. Few were aware of the historical context of Te Whanau o Tupuranga - the group that fought hard to establish bilingual education in this community and to break the ground to establish middle schooling. This rich background and pride has been ideal from the appreciative inquiry approach, for looking to our past to inform and enhance our future direction. These past-students are now very involved with the whanau's activities and are offering their services as helpers and mentors.

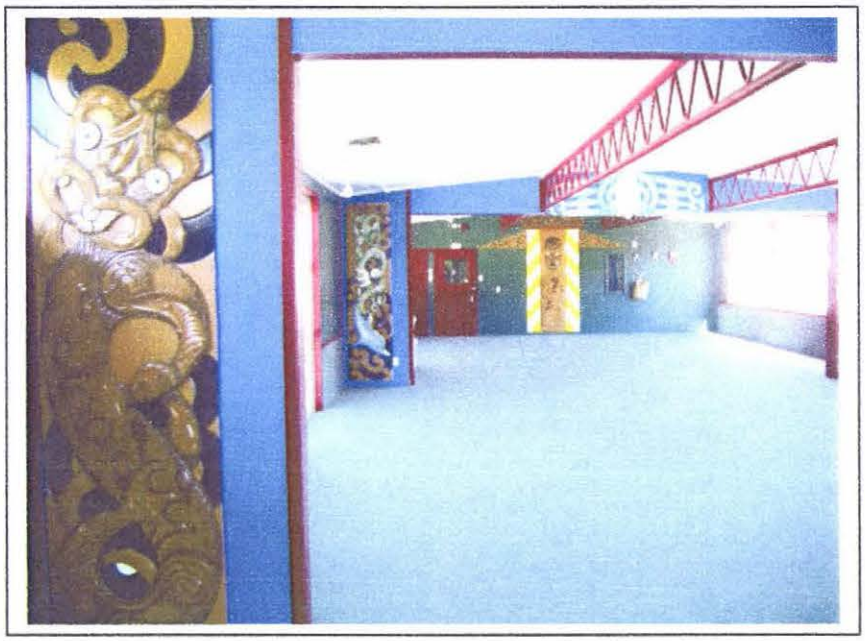
Te Poho was funded a second time in 2001 but could not be continued beyond 2002. Although the project in its original shape had to be disbanded, the learning for the school was valuable for all ethnic groups and underpins the way we continue to build reciprocal relationships with the community to support the learning of our children.

Kia Aroha Marae

The marae complex is central to Tupuranga's function and is used by all other Areas in the school. The complex is named *Kia Aroha* after the motto of the school and consists of a carved wharenui, a wharekai (dining room), an ablution block, mattress storage room, laundry and two office areas. The wharenui and wharekai were built by refurbishing the existing unused classroom space, formerly known as Amataga through a variety of funding grants and opened in 1998. The ablution block was added in 2000 and carvings completed and blessed also in this year.

The building of the marae was a twelve year dream for those parents who were involved in the initiative to retain their sons and daughters in the school all those years ago. Many of them were at the opening ceremony and wept when they saw what we had achieved. The impact of the marae on the school in terms of providing an authentic context for students to grow and learn in a relevant cultural setting is invaluable.

Photograph 4.3: Inside the Wharenui, Kia Aroha Marae



Since the opening of *Kia Aroha* the complex has been used extensively by school and community for a wide range of reasons, including:

- The tangi of the son of a staff member
- The wedding of a former student
- The 15 year Reunion of Te Whanau o Tupuranga
- Kawe Mate - whanau have brought photos of former students who have passed away to remain in the whare - memorial trees have been planted for six former students and family members and students visit to pay their respects regularly
- Hosting the 2001 Te Ahurea Maori Secondary Schools Kapa Haka Festival
- Hosting the Inaugural NZ Middle Schools' Conference - principals and teachers from all over NZ (three days & nights)
- Wananga for students and parents/whanau - for many different activities including Mau Rakau, Maori Arts and Crafts, Kapa Haka, Noho Marae
- Maori community interaction/liaison project, Te Poho, (2 years) with Te Puni Kokiri Capacity Building funding
- A two year programme for students at-risk which was based on the marae - facilities were used extensively for hui, wananga, parents' evenings and meals all related to this programme
- The school's full-time social worker is based in an office on the marae and provides resourcing and information for students, parents/whanau
- School's Bully-Free programme is run on the marae - visiting speakers and ongoing group activities, coordinated by the social worker
- Extensive use by visiting groups, local, national (from as far south as Invercargill), and international

- Extensive community use by groups; Maori Touch Team Live-ins, Samoan Parents' Fiafia[66], Work and Income New Zealand Maori Employees' wananga (courses)
- Hui - National Resource Teachers of Learning and Behaviour Courses, Ministry of Education meetings and courses, Otara Principals' meetings, South Auckland Intermediate/Middle School Principals' meetings
- All Maori parent/whanau hui
- Regular Noho Marae/Live-Ins for the bilingual whanau and for Kapa Haka practice and preparation
- Live-ins for other ethnic groups in the school who learn about tikanga Maori and marae protocol.

Whanaungatanga is also obviously about support, and this is a very high need in our wider Clover Park whanau. We employ a part-time Maori social worker. We have eliminated school fees, provide basic stationery, provide school lunches for students who need them, run a breakfast club in the winter months and operate a homework centre four afternoons a week. Our school budget has an account called "manaakitanga," to enable us to fulfil cultural obligations such as the provision of food for visitors, koha (traditional Maori gifting) for a wide range of reasons and support for individual students.

In May 2000 the school was the venue for the inaugural Middle Schools conference. On his return home the principal of Tweedsmuir Junior High School sent the board this comment prepared for a weekly radio programme in Invercargill:

> Last week I travelled, with five of my staff, to a Middle School Conference at Clover Park Middle School in Auckland. We stayed at the school for three days and two nights and were hosted like royalty, polite students, happy faces and tidy surroundings. Students aged between 11 and 14 entertained us, catered meals and confidently spoke to us about their fears, frustrations, hopes and plans for the future. ... This school is an oasis of hope, that proved to me that, in spite of significant hardships, today's multi-ethnic youth are OK. Clover Park's dream must be New Zealand's dream if we don't wish to face the consequences. (Dennis, 2000)

Cultural Performance / Celebration Day

> *That's who our students are. That's what makes them who they are, the singing and dancing. I mean there's nowhere you go without singing in the Samoan community, same with the Tongan or any other community in the Pacific. You go to church, they sing. You go to a birthday, they sing. You go to a wedding, they sing, they all sing and dance. You go to a birthday, a*

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[66] Celebration

> *funeral - after the burial, it's singing. You can't separate that from the child. (Pakau, in Wearmouth, Glynn, Berryman and Rickmond, 2004)*[67]

This comment made by our Samoan deputy principal encapsulates Clover Park's approach to cultural performance across all cultural groups in the school. It's a celebration of who our students are! Cultural performance is an art from and a highly advanced skill at Clover Park and both community and teacher expectations are extremely high. There is no other activity that involves families in the same way. In cultural performance our community are experts and they not only come to watch, they get up and join in! This excerpt from Tupuranga's Kapa Haka[68] philosophy describes the impact of this high level performance on all aspects of student learning:

> Kaiako (teachers) have always maintained that it is 'the journey' students embark on, in preparation for a performance, the skills they develop, whanaungatanga and leadership opportunities, that have more of an impact on student achievement, as opposed to the actual performance itself. ...We have found that Kapa Haka improves attendance, as well as students' general attitude towards school. It encourages parent participation, which flows on to other aspects of school life. Kapa Haka also modifies behaviour, gives our students a sense of pride and history to build their own achievements on, while offering opportunities for collaborative and group learning situations. Kapa Haka is a unique medium for learning and developing relationships, between students, between kaiako and students, between whanau and kaiako, as well as introducing and developing a range of leadership skills.

Far from being "that culture stuff" cultural performance is an advanced achievement in its own right. The performance the whole school works towards is the annual Celebration Day, held in the last week of the school year. Celebration Day came about in 1994 as an explicit rejection of the school's previous very traditional and monocultural prize-giving function. The day that has developed in its place starts with a powhiri at 9.30 a.m. for families and guests. In the first half of the morning the more "traditional" acknowledgements are made, of achievement in learning, sports and service to the school. However the receiving of these awards is far from traditional in the expected school sense, yet very traditional in terms of our school's cultures. On the announcement of the winner (and there are as many "winners" as possible) that student's whole Area acknowledges the award with a haka or a traditional chant or Cook Island drumming, depending on the cultural group. Parents run from the crowd to bestow a lei or garland of sweets around the neck of their child - and often the neck of the person presenting the award and the principal! Mothers, aunts or older sisters dance with their child in front of the school. Guests are invariably astonished and captured by the

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[67] Spoken comments made in interviews with independent researchers or on video are italicised to differentiate from written quotes from print sources

[68] Maori cultural performance

atmosphere of the day. The purpose of these displays is to reinforce an important and commonly held belief in Maori and Pacific cultures that is explained in this comment:

> *Giftedness is not seen as just fantastic individual achievement ... but rather as an achievement or quality brought about by the contributions and support of others. The philosophy is that if you're good at something lots of people have helped you get there, and it's not about being 'show offy' so that your candle burns brighter by blowing someone else's out. (Clover Park Middle School, Maori Director of Learning in Jenkins, 2002, p.53)*

Therefore when someone is acknowledged as having achieved an honour, everyone connected with that child celebrates, and the child acknowledges the support they have received. Every child who is either nominated for or who receives an award in this section of the day goes immediately outside to pose proudly with their certificate or award and have their photo taken by a professional photographer. The school provides a free mounted photo to every child and we know these have pride of place in homes for many years.

> *For Maori it's about acknowledging you're good at something in a respectful way. It's about humility and enabling students to have opportunities to demonstrate and indicate their qualities/abilities in culturally respectful ways ... Whakahihi is about arrogance and that isn't appropriate, but whakaiti (modesty) doesn't mean you have to feel stink about everything either, you can be humble about being the best at something, that's fantastic. (Clover Park Middle School, Maori Director of Learning in Jenkins, 2002, p.57)*

Once this "formal" part of Celebration Day is over the entire community move to the wharekai for a large morning tea, while students change into cultural costumes. In the second half of the celebration, which lasts until about 1.30 p.m. each Area is allocated 20 minutes for cultural performance and, during this time, further recognition for a very wide range of achievements is given in the form of certificates. Again parents come from the crowd to participate in the dancing. In 2003, following the announcement of the school's winning of the Goodman Fielder Composite School of the Year Award the school could think of not better way to mark the occasion than with a Celebration Day. As the announcement was made in June, 2003 was marked with two Celebration Days, one in June and one in December. In Neville-Tisdall's (2000) research she comments that, "Nearly every questionnaire mentions the importance of the Day to teachers and students."

Conclusion

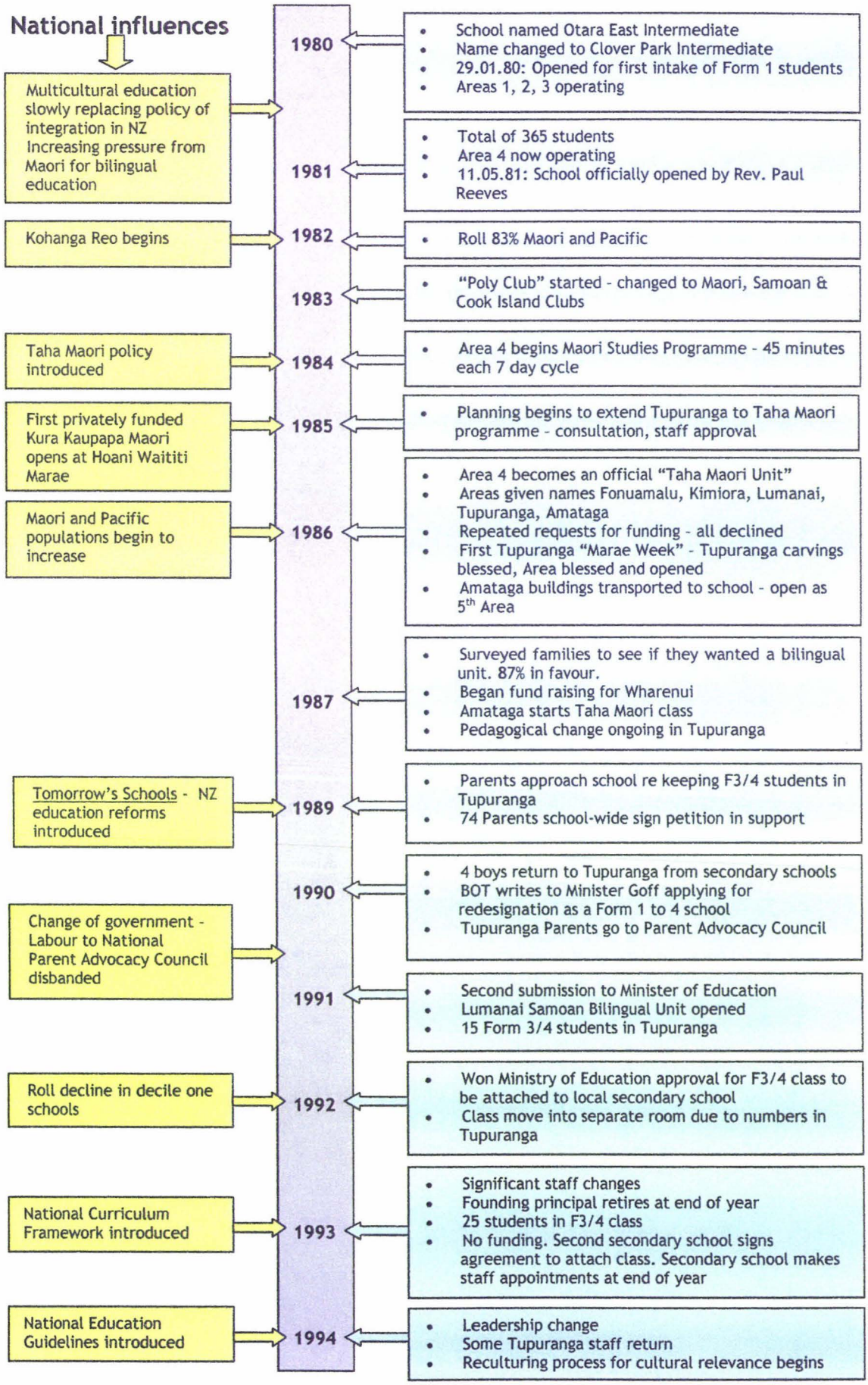
The many changes made to Clover Park Middle School's philosophy and practice have spanned a period of eighteen years, beginning for the first eight of those years in the Maori bilingual

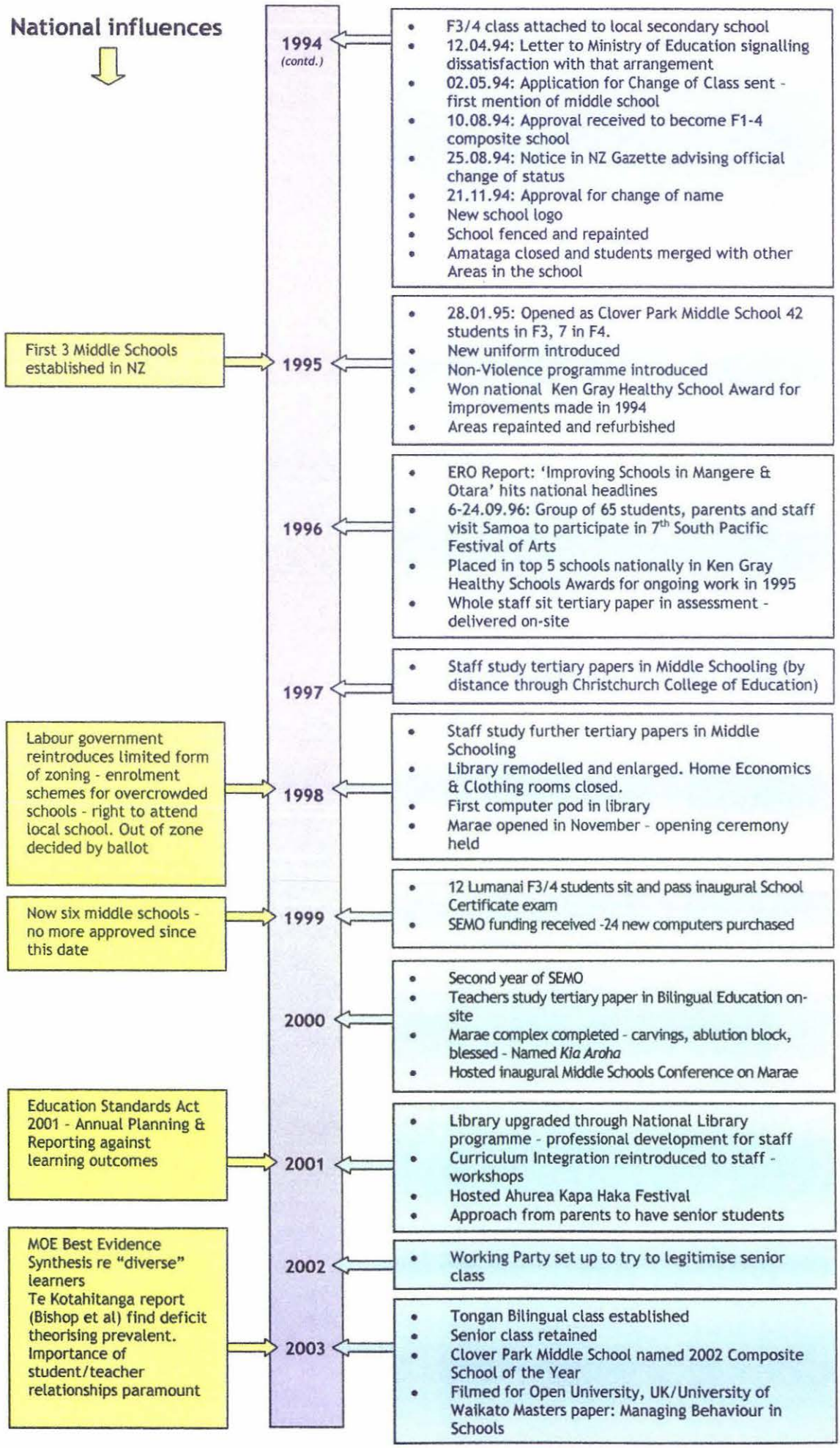
whanau then spreading school-wide since 1994. All of these initiatives are too important to be left to chance. School policy has to support them to ensure they are built in to each year's decision making. If change is to be effective it must have the full support of the Board of Trustees and senior management of the school. At Clover Park these initiatives are embedded in and woven through all of our policies, our curriculum content and delivery requirements, our assessment and appraisal processes.

The timeline (Figure 4.15) that concludes this chapter revisits the main events that have been milestones in the school's journey to date and aligns them with the national policies and influences introduced in the review of literature in Chapter 2.

Chapter 5 builds on four themes introduced in this chapter as central to Clover Park Middle School's philosophy. Evidence that validates the importance of those themes in the school's pedagogy and practice is presented.

Figure 4.15: Timeline, Clover Park Middle School: 1981 to 2003




National influences
1994 (contd.)
F3/4 class attached to local secondary school
12.04.94: Letter to Ministry of Education signalling dissatisfaction with that arrangement
02.05.94: Application for Change of Class sent - first mention of middle school
10.08.94: Approval received to become F1-4 composite school
25.08.94: Notice in NZ Gazette advising official change of status
21.11.94: Approval for change of name
New school logo
School fenced and repainted
Amataga closed and students merged with other Areas in the school
First 3 Middle Schools established in NZ
1995
28.01.95: Opened as Clover Park Middle School 42 students in F3, 7 in F4.
New uniform introduced
Non-Violence programme introduced
Won national Ken Gray Healthy School Award for improvements made in 1994
Areas repainted and refurbished
1996
ERO Report: 'Improving Schools in Mangere & Otara' hits national headlines
6-24.09.96: Group of 65 students, parents and staff visit Samoa to participate in 7th South Pacific Festival of Arts
Placed in top 5 schools nationally in Ken Gray Healthy Schools Awards for ongoing work in 1995
Whole staff sit tertiary paper in assessment - delivered on-site
1997
Staff study tertiary papers in Middle Schooling (by distance through Christchurch College of Education)
Labour government reintroduces limited form of zoning - enrolment schemes for overcrowded schools - right to attend local school. Out of zone decided by ballot
1998
Staff study further tertiary papers in Middle Schooling
Library remodelled and enlarged. Home Economics & Clothing rooms closed.
First computer pod in library
Marae opened in November - opening ceremony held
Now six middle schools - no more approved since this date
1999
12 Lumanai F3/4 students sit and pass inaugural School Certificate exam
SEMO funding received -24 new computers purchased
2000
Second year of SEMO
Teachers study tertiary paper in Bilingual Education on-site
Marae complex completed - carvings, ablution block, blessed - Named Kia Aroha
Hosted inaugural Middle Schools Conference on Marae
Education Standards Act 2001 - Annual Planning & Reporting against learning outcomes
2001
Library upgraded through National Library programme - professional development for staff
Curriculum Integration reintroduced to staff - workshops
Hosted Ahurea Kapa Haka Festival
Approach from parents to have senior students
2002
Working Party set up to try to legitimise senior class
MOE Best Evidence Synthesis re "diverse" learners
Te Kotahitanga report (Bishop et al) find deficit theorising prevalent. Importance of student/teacher relationships paramount
2003
Tongan Bilingual class established
Senior class retained
Clover Park Middle School named 2002 Composite School of the Year
Filmed for Open University, UK/University of Waikato Masters paper: Managing Behaviour in Schools

Chapter 5

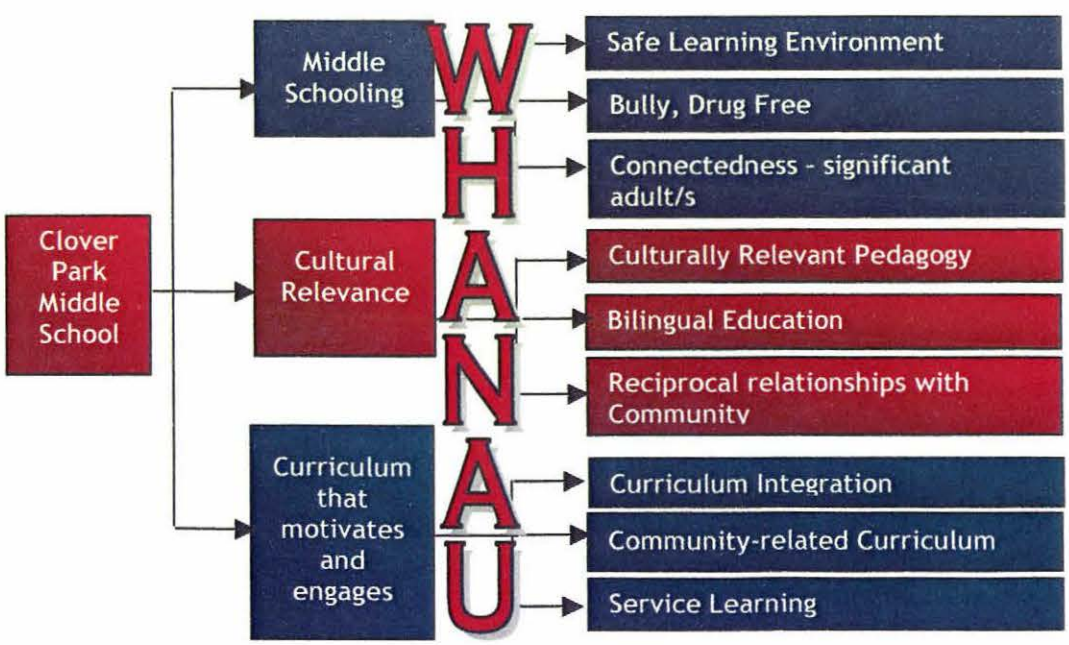
Evidence of Effectiveness

Does Clover Park Middle School fit the kids?

This chapter examines the main themes emerging from the narrative in Chapter 4, that described the current practice of Clover Park Middle School and the historical events and reflection that contributed to the changes in the school. A range of independent data will be used to validate the information presented in the previous chapter.

Figure 5.1 presents a diagram used extensively in Clover Park's documentation to describe the school's philosophy and practice. The four central themes of whanaungatanga, middle schooling, culturally relevant pedagogy and curriculum approach have been introduced and explained in detail in previous chapters and appear consistently through all the data in this study. Evidence of the centrality of those four themes in the school's practice are presented and validated in this chapter.

Figure 5.1: Clover Park Middle School philosophy and practice
(Milne, 2002)



Data used to triangulate the four themes are from four sources, two of which are independent of and external to the school. These independent sources include Education Review Office reports from the cycle of scheduled effectiveness or assurance reviews in 1997 and 2002. In addition the Education Review Office evaluated the school's SEMO project in 1998 and conducted a comparative review of the provision for Years 9 and 10 across five Otara schools, including Clover Park Middle School, in 1999.

Dr Mollie Neville-Tisdall from Massey University in Albany has conducted ongoing research in the school since 1998 in terms of middle school philosophy, culturally relevant practice and the senior class, which has included interviews with students, staff, parents and board members. The findings from this research has been presented in papers nationally and internationally and published in academic journals. Dr Morris Lipson of the United Nations in Geneva wrote about Clover Park Middle School as one of 12 examples of anti-racism education world-wide, in a report for the United Nations World Conference Against Racism held in Durban, South Africa at the end of August 2001. In 2002 Heather Jenkins, a Senior Lecturer in Education from the Auckland College of Education, used the school as a case study of Maori giftedness for a Master of Education dissertation through the University of Waikato. In 2003, the school was approached by Professor Ted Glynn and Dr Janice Wearmouth to participate as a resource school for a Masters level paper in Managing Behaviour in Schools. This paper will be offered jointly online in 2004 by the University of Waikato and the Open University in the United Kingdom. The material includes interviews with parents, teachers and students and is produced in video and CD format with a supporting a Study Guide. All of these data are either available publicly or have been made available by the researchers. The interview material will give voice to members of the Clover Park Middle School whanau. Spoken comment used from these interviews will be italicised to differentiate from quotations taken from written material.

The school also has the results from community surveys, one conducted with independent consultants in 1997, the consultation with the community regarding the school's Charter revision in 2000, a further survey in 2002 and the interviews with parents during the Te Poho project. These contain anonymous comment from members of students' families and the wider community.

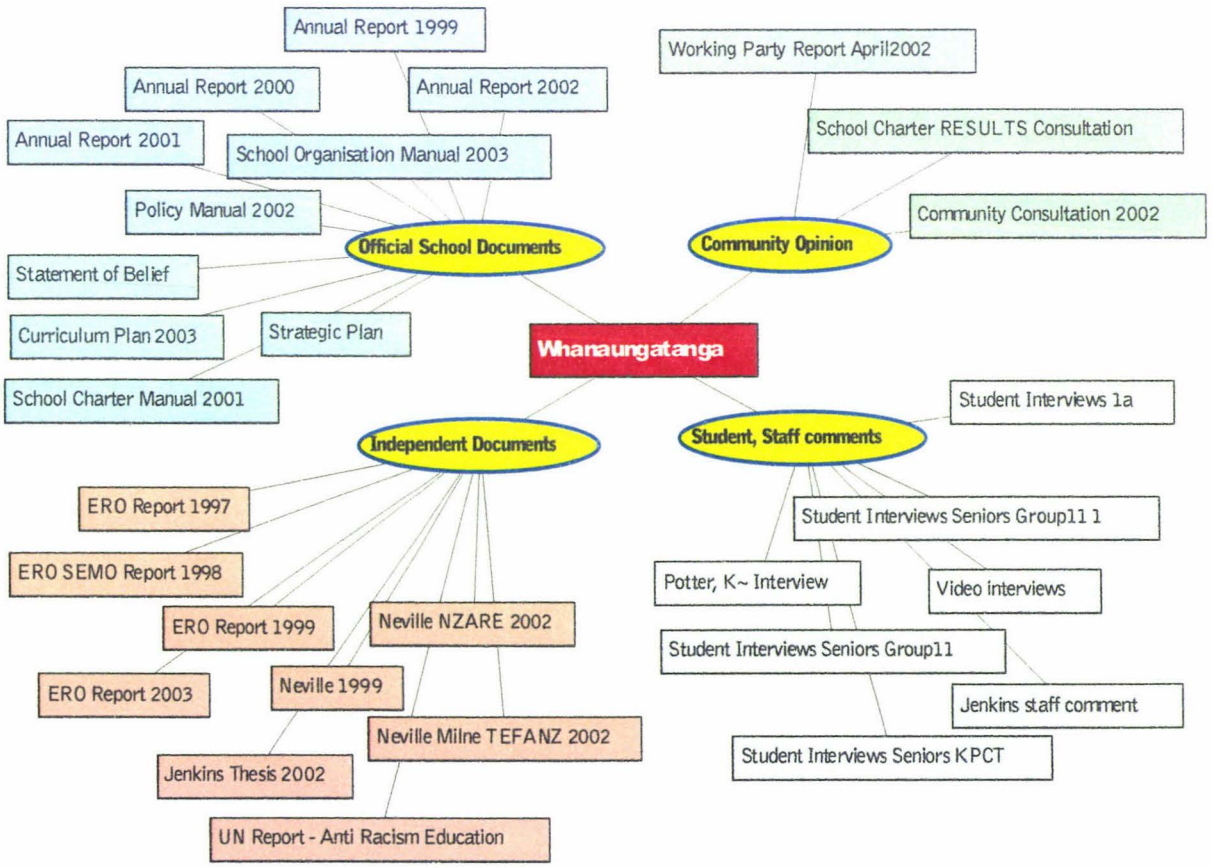
The spiral process used to examine these external data is described in Chapter 3 (see p.98, Figure 3.7). NVivo computer software will be used to support coding and searching. Firstly official school documents will be examined to determine the extent the theme is embedded in school policy and practice. The documents used to determine this include, Clover Park Middle School policies and procedures, the school Charter, the Strategic Plan 2000-2004, Annual Reports, and the school's Statement of Belief. Secondly the independent and external data will be searched for confirming or disconfirming evidence on each of the four themes.

Comment and student, staff and community voices will be included in these sections. Finally the responses from the school community will provide evidence that the theme meets student, family and community expectations. As community comment is not limited to specific themes and tends to be more generic in nature the community's perceptions will be considered collectively at the end of the section.

Themes

Chapter 3 described the sorting and categorising of school documents into external and internal data and the use of the wide range of documentation to assist with the development of themes. The documents that are relevant to the triangulation process described above have been further grouped into four sets using the NVivo computer programme. The sets are official school documents, independent documents, student/staff comment and community opinion. This process has narrowed down the range of documentation. The documents used in the analysis of the four themes are shown in Figure 5.2:

Figure 5.2: Documentation involved in evidential searches



Theme One: Whanaungatanga

School documentation

Whanaungatanga, the relationships that derive from a whanau, is stated as the philosophy that underpins all school organisation and practice. The ten official school documents searched for this philosophy are the major planning and reporting documents of the school; the School Charter and Statement of Belief (Vision Statement), the Strategic Plan, the Curriculum Plan, the school's policies and procedures and Annual Reports to the community since 1999. In these ten documents there are 83 text references to the concept of whanaungatanga. There are sections of data coded to this philosophy embedded consistently across all of these documents as the assay table (Figure 5.3) shows:

Table 5.1: Consistency of all four themes in official school documents

Scope Items	Middle Schooling	Whanaungatanga	Culturally relevant pedagogy	Curriculum	Totals	Percent
Annual Report 1999	1*	1	1	1	4	100.00
Annual Report 2000	1	1	1	1	4	100.00
Annual Report 2001	0	1	1	0	2	50.00
Annual Report 2002	1	1	1	1	4	100.00
Curriculum Plan 2003	1	0	1	1	3	75.00
Policy Manual 2002	1	1	1	1	4	100.00
School Charter Manual 2001	1	1	1	1	4	100.00
School Organisation Manual 2003	1	1	1	0	3	75.00
Statement of Belief	1	1	1	1	4	100.00
Strategic Plan	1	1	1	1	4	100.00
Totals	9	8	10	8	36	
Percent	90.00	90.00	100.00	80.00		

* 1 denotes that there are one or more sections in this document coded as whanaungatanga

Independent documentation

The concept of whanaungatanga is recognised and affirmed by all independent reviews and research in the school. There are 95 references in the range of documents searched in this section (see Figure 5.2). Excerpts from these documents include:

> Maori values such as whanaungatanga and aroha are strongly embedded in the school ethos and reflected in its structure, organisation and philosophy. (ERO, 1999)

> The school's culture and tone reflects the values of whanaungatanga. The school honours the Treaty of Waitangi and the place of Maori as tangata whenua. Trustees and staff aim to create a sense of community through which the diverse cultures and languages of students and whanau are valued.

> Student learning opportunities are enriched as a result of close relationships with extended families and the wider community. (ERO, 2003c)

> By far the strongest theme to emerge from the data from all stakeholders was the importance of the recognition and celebration of diverse cultures as a base for personal self-esteem of the students from those cultures.
> . . . What is more the whanau theme could not be isolated from other aspects of the self or school. They were inextricably woven. The process of coding and seeing the patterns emerge was an exciting one. (Neville-Tisdall, 1999)

> Teachers do not have their own 'class'; rather the three or four whanau teachers work with different groups of students from within the whanau throughout the day. Students work in mixed ability, mixed age groups, where the older and/or more able students are expected to support the younger and/or less able. This tuakana-teina relationship is fundamental to whanau and manifests itself in both formal and informal peer tutoring/mentoring and learning support arrangements as well as in expectations for role modelling and social interactions. (Jenkins, 2002)

Students / Staff perceptions

The range of data that includes student and staff comment is not as wide as the independent documentation. Some of the research conducted in the school however has used student and staff interviews and their voices can be heard in these extracts from that research. References by staff and students to whanau, family, whanaungatanga appear 29 times in these nine documents.

Teachers

> *We know our students inside out and they know us inside out and that's neat, so they know everything about me, how I function and what my expectations are, and how I work as a teacher . . . and I know their families really well. As a Maori teacher I am 24/7, so if I'm at the flea market on the weekend and I'm stopped by someone's auntie or mother over the watercress line, that's perfectly appropriate, you know I don't have the ability to say, 'sorry, this isn't school time, if you'd like to talk to me about your child's maths, see me between 9 and 3, Monday to Friday.'* (Maori Director of Learning, in Jenkins, 2002)

> *Nothing is mine, nothing is ours, it's everyone's . . . There's no them and us thing. We don't have any hierarchy issues here . . . we're happy just being whanau.* (Kaiako o Te Whanau o Tupuranga, in Jenkins, 2002)

> *One of the neat things about here is that we all know each other really well. For the four years that the students are here, they'll have the same teachers and they'll stay in the same whanau grouping for the whole time. There are students and their families that I have known for years and years. So in terms of their learning, you're able to identify a much wider spectrum of what students are good at, or not good at, because you know them so well. It's that holistic thing.* (Maori Director of Learning, in Jenkins, 2002)

Whanau is more important than anything else is. When the whanau is gone - in terms of the school, then [the student's] self-esteem is gone and their identity starts to crumble.(Whanau member in Jenkins, 2002)

Students

Student (M2): *I just reckon everyone's a family*
Interviewer: *It seems to me if there was one word I'd use about this place its whanau and that is the most misused word in the whole of New Zealand. People talk about it so lightly. But here to me it has meaning, okay?*
Students: *Yeah* (Senior students interviewed by Neville-Tisdall, 2002)

Student: *You see Miss cause we're all brothers and sisters here.*
Interviewer: *Oh* [Laughter]
Student: *All as one. Mahi Tahi.*
Interviewer: *What's that?*
Student: *Work as one.*
Interviewer: *How do you spell that?*
Student: Mahi Tahi
Interviewer: *Work as one. That might be a good title for my paper.* (Senior students interviewed by Neville-Tisdall, 2002)

Theme Two: Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

School documentation

In the internal school documents of Clover Park Middle School there is consistent reference to *culturally relevant pedagogy* as a basic belief of school practice. This belief is articulated as integral to the school's shared vision, developed in consultation with the school community, and was the first theme suggested in the process of co-construction of key concepts. A close examination of a small sample of internal school documents and a computer analysis of the text show this as a regular pattern with 23 references embedded in school policy alone. Across all ten of the official school documents used in this analysis there are 60 references to culturally relevant learning and teaching.

Independent documentation

This belief is confirmed by independent reviews and research conducted within the school. A search for the category of *culturally relevant pedagogy* across 12 documents generated externally from the school finds 102 pieces of relevant text (see Node Coding Report, Appendix B). Extracts from these references include:

> Culturally appropriate staffing. The board appoints staff who are either from Maori and Pacific backgrounds or have the capacity to understand and work

within cultures other than their own. Many of the staff are bilingual and are able to support Maori, Samoan, Tongan and Cook Island students to become proficient in both their own language and English. The cultural knowledge, skills and understanding of these staff members is a key element in the provision of culturally relevant teaching and learning contexts. (ERO, 2003c)

The school aims to achieve bilingualism for all students in their home language and in English. Pacific students may learn in a Samoan bilingual area, in an area that has many Tongan students and optional Tongan bilingual learning, or in a unit with many Cook Island students. Curriculum integration acknowledges the prior learning of students and thus incorporates their Pacific cultures. The Year 7 to 10 class groups reflect the home life of Pacific students. (ERO, 2003c)

The school's philosophy and pedagogy is purposefully embedded within a discourse of cultural validation in order to foster and enhance students' self-confidence, self esteem, and identity, and in so doing, create greater opportunities for students' success: culturally, socially, emotionally, and cognitively. (Jenkins, 2002)

Importantly however, the diversity of 'being Maori' is also acknowledged and embraced. Students are not seen as homogenously 'Maori', rather there is an appreciation of the multi faceted and multi generative nature of Maori identity which has emerged as a result of the diverse realities within which these Maori children live, for example, tribal/non-tribal, moderate/limited income, abusive/safe relationships, culturally secure/insecure, nuclear family/extended whanau. (Jenkins, 2002)

Every respondent in the Clover Park questionnaires the bulk of the data mentioned their passionate belief in the validation of each culture represented in the school. (Neville-Tisdall, 1999)

All loved coming back to the family or whanau, to the many celebrations and rituals whether for grieving, leaving, arriving or success. All loved the many opportunities to celebrate their cultures, every culture, and most of all the Kapa Haka. Home and school are now a single entity. When they walk out of the school grounds they go to one of their homes where they talk and listen to music. They confirm the research finding that successful schools for minorities are schools that reflect the culture of the students' home. (Neville-Tisdall, 2003)

Students / Staff perceptions

In the videotaped interviews with Janice Wearmouth a staff member explains the understanding staff at Clover Park bring to their role:

You've got to learn his culture. You've got to understand him. Why is he not able to look in your eyes? We tend to say, "Look in my eyes. Look at me! If you don't look in my eyes you're being dishonest," and all that. In actual fact

> that means he's showing you respect by not looking in your eyes. Little simple things like that are very, very important. (Wearmouth et al, 2004)

This importance that staff and students place on a culturally relevant environment is reflected in the 29 references they make to this practice across the nine documents in this section. A common theme is the way the teachers provide authentic contexts to relate students' background experiences to their learning:

> Food Technology happens in the wharekai, in an authentic context and our kids are wonderful. They can just host hundreds of people without batting an eyelid really and that is far more relevant to our kids than how to make a toasted sandwich or whatever . . . And within a special abilities context, if you don't provide opportunities for students in those sorts of areas, how are you ever going to recognise that talent or ability. We have students who you just need to say, 'there is a group of people coming, go and get ready for that' and they've got the jugs on, the cups out, 40 people could walk in the door and its just not a problem That's a huge ability, the knowledge of how you look after people. (Maori Director of Learning in Jenkins, 2002)

Mollie Neville-Tisdall's interview with a member of the small senior class at Clover Park captures the importance of a culturally relevant context for students:

> It affected them so deeply that as one young man who chose the pseudonym Tawhiri said 'I turned to dope and just turned to the dark side early. Disrespected everybody. Got into about three fights a day. All because I was missing the Whanau back here at Clover Park'. When asked what he missed he answered, 'You see, here at Clover Park my culture was put first'. (Neville-Tisdall, 2003)

The video interviews by Janice Wearmouth with students also bring out the importance the students place on their culture and the relationships that develop from that context. In this interview again the senior students describe this relevance:

> Student 1: *Kapa Haka is just life. I grew up around Kapa Haka so like, coming to help out with the Kapa Haka is just what I like doing, that's just me.*
> Student 2: *It keeps us as one. We learn about each other, we learn off each other.*
> Student 3: *It's our culture, you know. That's what we learn on. We're Maori. Maoris learn Maori.* (Wearmouth et al., 2004)

> *I'm more comfortable in a Samoan bilingual unit because it feels like we're at home. ... My primary school, we never spoke Samoan and I never knew anything about Samoa. I didn't even know anything about my island or my Mum's island or where my parents are from. ... but when I came to Clover Park, things started to turn around.* (Wearmouth et al., 2004)

Theme Three: Middle Schooling

The previous two themes were searched firstly for text references to the theme. In the analysis of the next two themes the words "middle school," in the school's name, and "curriculum" in almost all school documents, occur very frequently. The search results for example show 184 text references in official school documents to "middle school," but, as this count includes every time the name "Clover Park Middle School" appears in a document searching by text pattern in this case is an invalid result. The process in the computer software for coding text against a node (category) has been used instead. In these next two themes the references are those that have been coded against the nodes, "middle schooling" and "curriculum." The number of references will be lower than the previous sections due to the different type of coding.

School documentation

One of the school's Strategic Plan goals is "To provide an environment which encourages the fostering and development of the school's special character within the middle school context and which takes into account culturally responsive practices." The philosophy of *middle schooling* and the developmental needs of emerging adolescents is referred to consistently across all official school documents, with 36 passages coded to this concept (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Coded references to Middle Schooling in official school documents

Document	Middle Schooling	Totals
Annual Report 1999	5	5
Annual Report 2000	5	5
Annual Report 2001	5	5
Annual Report 2002	3	3
Curriculum Plan 2003	2	2
Policy Manual 2002	2	2
School Charter Manual 2001	1	1
School Organisation Manual 2003	4	4
Statement of Belief	6	6
Strategic Plan	3	3
Totals	36	36

References include evidence of professional development of staff, the understanding of middle schooling in appraisal goals and the theoretical underpinning of the school's practice:

> Catering effectively for these developmental needs of our Years 7 to 10 students is fundamental to middle school philosophy and the needs of our students drive all of our thinking and programmes at Clover Park Middle School. (Annual Report, 2000)

> The Principal attended the National Middle Schools Association Conference, in Orlando, USA where she presented a paper on the importance of identity to young adolescents within a case study of Clover Park Middle School and brought back new information and research about middle schools. It was pleasing again to find that many of the practices at Clover Park Middle School, such as multi-age learning, integrated curriculum and keeping students with the same teachers for more than one year, are backed by significant research in the USA which prove their effectiveness. An emphasis on cultures and identity such as we practice at Clover Park Middle School is becoming an area of intense scrutiny in US Middle Schools. (Annual Report, 1999)

Independent documentation

A search of data coded to the category of middle schooling in independently written reviews and research found 18 references to this concept. At the end of 2002 Clover Park chose the middle school philosophy as one of the aspects of the school for review by the Education Review Office. These excerpts are from that report:

> In 1995, Clover Park Intermediate School became a middle school offering a curriculum designed to serve emerging adolescents in years 7-10. The curriculum became more culturally relevant and whanau inclusive. Initially the bilingual learning area, Te Whanau o Tupuranga, was formed to serve the needs of Mäori students. This development was followed by the formation of Lumanai, the Samoan bilingual area, Kimiora that has many Cook Island students and Fonuamalu that has predominantly Tongan students. (ERO, 2003c)

> The principal successfully promotes the school as a model of effective, culturally inclusive education for emerging adolescents both nationally and internationally. Through sound research and thoughtful change management she has assisted staff to implement an increasingly culturally relevant middle school curriculum. This curriculum development is a strength of the school and a major focus of this report. (ERO, 2003c)

Students / Staff perceptions

A search of student and staff comments in interviews (Jenkins, 2002; Neville-Tisdall, 1999, 2003; Wearmouth et al., 2004) yields 11 references, but these are predominantly from one interview. It is possible that the terminology might not be used as often because "middle schooling" is considered to be the norm now by Clover Park staff and students and is the accepted "natural" state of things. This is confirmed by the many references to school practice that is derived from the developmental needs of emerging adolescents that, at Clover Park, have been subsumed into the philosophies of whanaungatanga and subsequently, culturally relevant pedagogy. In the minds of the staff and students it seems these philosophies have become one. The comments below attest to the middle school concept of meeting the needs of emerging adolescents, the need for relationships with significant adults,

the need for intellectual challenge and to experience success, the need for boundaries and high expectations and the changing moods and behaviours of this age group:

> *The teachers here are just too much. if you have problems with them, you can go talk to them, they won't mind, just as long as you say your part and then they'll just sort everything out, even if you've got problems at home, they'll help you sort that out.* (senior student in Wearmouth et al., 2004)

> *We should all be challenged at the level that we're at and if that means that in Form One I can work at Level 5 that's great, but it also works the other way, that if I'm Fourth form and struggling at Level 3 that's okay too, its about fostering that whanau environment. We all have talents and we all have weaknesses, and for us, it's about helping each other to make sure that those talents and weaknesses are recognised and then supported or extended.* (Kaiako o Te Whanau o Tupuranga, in Jenkins, 2002)

> Students demonstrate accepting and caring behaviour as a result of clear behavioural boundaries and good quality pastoral care and learning support. (ERO, 2003c)

> *The other students, they understand what _ goes though so instead of trying to be tough and almighty and jump in there to make thing worse, they actually back off and give him space. They allow him to express his feelings and I think ... _ says this is a family.* (Aunt of this student, in Wearmouth, 2004)

> They're expected to look after the younger students in our school and in fact, I think possibly we expect more of our small senior class than what would be expected of them if they were in a traditional secondary school and we make no apologies for that because we want them to have very high expectations of themselves. (Maori Director of Learning, in Wearmouth, 2004)

Theme Four: Curriculum Approach

References to curriculum could be expected to abound in all school documentation and in all school reviews. In this section the node, *curriculum* has been coded to refer to the following aspects of learning at Clover Park Middle School:

- the trialling and implementation of the specific Curriculum Integration model used in the school
- evidence of effective strategies for special needs and abilities
- engagement and/or motivation

School documentation

References to *Curriculum Integration* appear 18 times in the ten official school documents in this set, but they also appear across a much wider range of school documentation, including planning guidelines, teachers' job description and appraisal requirements and in the many presentations to visitors to the school or in locations outside the school. The specific approach has become more prevalent in documentation since 2001 when the model was implemented school-wide.

Independent documentation

Nine specific references to Curriculum Integration are found in two of the independent documents (see Appendix C: Node Coding Report). Some of the documents in this set predate the implementation of the approach. In 2003 the Education Review Office made Curriculum Integration one of its main areas of focus in the school's review. They found that:

> There is a strong base of school documentation on curriculum integration. It is referred to in the school's policy on curriculum delivery, in annual planning and annual reporting, and in the school organisation handbook. This reinforces the direction of curriculum development and assists understanding at times of staff change. (ERO, 2003c)

> Senior staff have introduced curriculum integration in a thoughtful, well managed way. The process has included research to establish a sound theory base, professional development for all staff, a trial implementation, further evaluation and initial school-wide implementation incorporating at least two essential learning areas of the national curriculum. Teachers have become more committed to the practice of curriculum integration because of this incremental process. (ERO, 2003c)

> Curriculum integration is strongly student centred. Through curriculum integration, students' prior knowledge is valued and developed. Student questions are displayed in class areas and form the basis for planning units of work. This contributes to high levels of student engagement in learning. (ERO, 2003c)

> The school aims to achieve bilingualism for all students in their home language and in English. Pacific students may learn in a Samoan bilingual area, in an area that has many Tongan students and optional Tongan bilingual learning, or in a unit with many Cook Island students. Curriculum integration acknowledges the prior learning of students and thus incorporates their Pacific cultures. The Year 7 to 10 class groups reflect the home life of Pacific students. (ERO, 2003c)

Students / Staff perceptions

The information in this section links back to the independent research that is specifically related to curriculum delivery. From this research there is rich comment from participant students and their families and teachers. The comments are specifically about two aspects of the learning programme, the school's support for behavioural needs and for special abilities.

In 2003 students, senior managers, teachers, support staff and some family members were interviewed as a resource for a Masters level paper in Managing Behaviour in Schools, offered jointly online by the Open University (UK) and the University of Waikato. Staff were asked to choose a group of students whose behaviour was a concern. As the paper targeted secondary level teachers students in Years 9 and above were required. Seven students were selected. Three members of the small senior class who were interviewed together were able to draw comparisons between their previous secondary schools and Clover Park. The other four students had exhibited extreme behaviour on their arrival at Clover Park, in fact two had been expelled from their previous school (one from several schools) and one had not attended school for almost two years before enrolment at Clover Park. All of these three students had been refused enrolment in several schools before they were accepted at Clover Park. The fourth student had been involved in serious bullying and violent behaviour in her primary school and during her first year at Clover Park.

In the Study Guide prepared for this course, Janice Wearmouth draws on Bruner's (1996) notion of "culturalism," which suggests that, "the cultural context in which a child is reared shapes his/her thinking and provides tools, a 'cultural toolkit' (Bruner, 1996) for organising meaning in ways that can be communicated to others. In Bruner's view, meaning-making is situated in a cultural context as well as in the prior conceptions that learners bring with them into new situations as a result of previous learning in other contexts. New learning is a product of the 'interplay' between them (Wearmouth et al., 2004). Bruner makes an important point about the ways schools perceive success and failure:

> Schooling plays a critical part in shaping a student's sense of 'self', that is his/her confidence in his/her ability to initiate and complete actions. The way in which schools mediate success and failure are crucial to the development of a sense of self efficacy. (Bruner, 1996, cited in Wearmouth et al., 2004)

The Study Guide states, as a lead in to the interviews:

> Clearly there are important challenges for schools who seek to address issues of the under-achievement of groups of students who experience alienation from the education system as a result of cultural difference. There are examples in some parts of the world of schools that have addressed issues of identity and belonging amongst school students. One of these schools is Clover Park Middle School in New Zealand. (Wearmouth et al., 2004)

The following excerpts from these interviews allow students, staff and family members to give voice to their feelings about learning at Clover Park Middle School:

> Interviewer: What was your last school like?
> Student: *I don't know, I was out of control, yeah, I was out of control. I didn't listen to anyone. Other schools - no chance. They would have kicked you straight out. This school has had me for ages. They've helped me since Day One. They've been here for me and everything.* (Year 9 student with severe behavioural needs)

> *My behaviour, it changed totally. Here I used to sit down, do my work, respect my elders and everything. Once I left I didn't really care about anything. The teachers, I didn't know them. They didn't know me. They didn't respect me or anything, so I just disrespected them all the time.* (Year 13 student in senior class)

> *Curriculum Integration is a way of allowing the kids to ask the questions they might not otherwise ask, but it's also a way of identifying the issues and then looking for ways forward - for them as young people, as young Maori people in New Zealand.* (Tupuranga teacher)

> *This school is special. This school is something else. Our school is based on a whanau atmosphere and we take kids that other schools won't take and we do not want to give up on our kids. We never give up on our kids. That's all we believe at Clover Park.* (Teacher-Aide)

The other significant piece of research, in terms of learning at Clover Park Middle School, was conducted by Heather Jenkins, a Senior Lecturer in Education, at the Auckland College of Education. Heather's work was a dissertation, for a Masters degree in Education, in giftedness in Maori children. The original intention of this research was to "examine the ways in which a culturally relevant construct of giftedness and educational practice for Maori" (Jenkins, 2002), could be supported in mainstream practice to enable Maori special abilities to thrive. However, after initial conversations with Clover Park participants, the direction of the research moved from this focus to examining the "broader issues of power and control within mainstream education and their relationship to Maori achievement and actualisation" (Jenkins, 2002). Some of the findings from Jenkins' research showed:

> The participants within this research regarded Maori giftedness as naturally expressed, and inherently embraced within the intersecting and interrelated constructs of whanau and culturally relevant pedagogy, and the principles of power-sharing and determination underpinning these. (p.61)

> The research suggests that the nature of power-sharing and cultural relevance within the educational context significantly determines not only the visibility of Maori giftedness, but also, the range and types of gifts/abilities possible, the avenues available for acknowledging or identifying Maori giftedness, and the ways in which Maori giftedness can appropriately be nurtured. (pp.63, 64)

While Jenkins' research was about Maori giftedness, parallels could with drawn with other cultural groups in the school. The voices of staff and students in these and other school documents continually refer to learning as a community, a whanau of learners, learning with and from each other, co-constructing knowledge that is connected to their lives and beyond. Perhaps these themes are best summed up by the aunt of one of the students in Janice Wearmouth's interviews. Her son is also a student in the school:

> *Oh, my boys brag about Clover Park. They tell their other brothers and sisters, their cousins about their school. 'Oh, our school's the winner of this' - they brag and brag. It's shown us that the way we were brought up in the one setting of the schooling system, we missed out on all this, we missed out on it. But it's good because my boy's coming home and he's teaching me and that's good. _* [nephew] is *teaching his Mum stuff and, yeah, we're learning quite a bit too from the fact that they attend at this school. I give them full marks. I want to be a teacher here!* (Wearmouth et al., 2004)

All themes: Community perceptions

In 2000, in the process of consultation regarding the school's Charter, and again in 2002 Clover Park Middle School surveyed parents to determine if they were supportive of the school's direction and vision. There were no specific questions about these four themes, rather families were asked to rate statements about school practice and direction as *not important*, *important* or *very important*, and invited to make comment on any aspect of the school in a general section at the end of the survey. To the statement in 2000 about the need to develop relationships with each other and to adults, 72% (111 responses) felt this was very important and 24% (38 responses) felt it was important.

In these surveys there are occasional comments against the focus on culture in the school's programmes. These are very few in number. The following are examples:

- Especially the first two [academic and social aspects], I feel the third one (cultural) is mainly up to the family.
- It is the responsibility of parents from other countries to keep the language alive.
- The cultural development of the students should not interfere with academic development

These are far outweighed by comments made by parents and community about the cultural relevance of the school's programme. These include:

> ... our child should know how to respect others and have good education and also know who they are and where they come from.
>
> This is the most important in a multi-culture [sic] society, just as we have in our Manukau society. Showing respect for others can make good leaders.
>
> I am just glad _ has a chance to learn his Maori and enjoys Kapa Haka. _ made me feel really proud he was my son at two tangi (funerals) last year. I regret I never had the devotion and privileges _ gets from his teachers for Maori and Kapa Haka. I feel sad inside, I can't carry the Maori on at home, for him but feel glad and proud and thankful to his teachers, that _ had the choice and chance to be able to stand up on our little whanau's behalf. Thank you again to School and his teachers and be able to sing or say something in Maori and understand that's our kaha (strength), pride, truehearted.
>
> I feel _ has achieved a lot since she started here, the values that have been set are strong. The culture side of things has really helped her, as I feel she had no idea of it, before, now it's like something she's always needed and was always missing, her self esteem, confidence, and sense of knowing the other half of her is really great. I would like to give credit to all the teachers for the excellent job and the great school and thank you.

Conclusion

Clover Park Middle School's philosophy and direction in these four themes are strongly articulated across official school documents and embedded in school policy and process. There is strong confirmation of this in Education Review Office reports and in research conducted independently in the school. Staff and students advocate strongly for the school's practice and promote the school's vision and beliefs. Community surveys show a high level of support for the school's philosophy and this is also evident in the regular presence of parents and families in the school in many different roles.

Taken together the previous two chapters have presented the story of Clover Park Middle School's restructuring, from the perspective of personal narrative (Chapter 4) and through the voices of staff, students and community present in independent research in the school (Chapter 5). Chapter 6 draws the threads of the story together in a more condensed time frame to discuss outcomes and draw conclusions.

Chapter 6

A Shorter Journey

This thesis has told the story of the 17 year journey of Clover Park Middle School, from the inception of the Taha Maori unit in 1986, through a period of struggle and then a process of change to adopt a culturally relevant pedagogy school-wide.

This final chapter is divided into two sections. Since 2001 Clover Park Middle School has faced a second challenge from its Maori community. The story of this challenge is the first section in this chapter and provides evidence of learning outcomes for a small group of students. In the final section the threads from both journeys are drawn together to draw conclusions and discuss implications arising from this study. Future research directions are suggested.

The Senior Class

The story of the senior class at Clover Park Middle School is a microcosm of the school's greater journey. It is fitting to use this story to conclude this research in that it shows, in a short period of time, the issues the whole school has faced; a community-driven demand for a relevant Maori learning environment, the expectation that the school will respond, the school's obligation to whanau, the rejection of monocultural practice, the crucial importance of relationships, resistance strategising to navigate multiple barriers and, for this group of young people, tangible results and empowerment.

Towards the end of 2001 Clover Park Middle School hosted the prestigious secondary schools' Maori cultural festival, *Te Ahurea Tino Rangatiratanga o Nga Kura Tuarua o Tamaki Makaurau*. This was a major undertaking and planning and preparation spanned many months. In addition to hosting the festival the school's Kapa Haka group were entered in the competitive section. In the weeks leading up to the event the marae was a hive of activity. The performing group lived-in over many weeks perfecting their performance, parents helped out with making costumes, food was needed by all and the logistics of hosting a crowd of many thousands on the big day involved the collective input of as many whanau members as possible.

Over the weeks Maori staff began to gradually notice the ongoing presence of a group of former students in these preparations. Many adult ex-students were involved, but this group was younger and would be expected to be still attending school, yet they were often there during the day. Why weren't they at their own schools? As parents talked over the weeks several of them found they had something in common - their children were either no longer attending school, some had dropped out of more than one, or were determined to leave. All had fared badly in School Certificate examinations, if they had lasted that long at school. These same students had been among Clover Park Middle School's highest achievers during their four years at the school. After the festival day a deputation of Maori parents asked the board could Clover Park take their children back?

Clover Park is obviously a middle school, legally entitled to take students from Years 7 to 10. These students were older than this, some were still supposedly attending their secondary schools in Year 11 but were truanting, others hadn't been in school for up to two years. The challenge for staff and the board was how to meet the expectations of its Maori whanau, empowered by their success in changing the school's status in the past for the very same reasons, and support these young whanau members in a way that was legal and would get the agreement of the Ministry and Minister of Education?

Senior managers of the school and board representatives first met with the students themselves, without their parents, to determine if this was something they were serious about. It didn't seem likely that a group of students between the ages of 16 and 18 would really want to return to a school where everyone else was aged between 11 and 15. If they had become used to truanting or not attending school at all, why would that not continue? We took a hard line; was it their attitude perhaps? Were they being lazy or expecting too much? Did they think coming back to Clover Park was a soft option? What if we said we would have extremely high expectations of them, both in their learning and as role models for the younger students? We looked pretty carefully at ourselves. Was it us? Was our preparation for the transition to secondary school inadequate? Parents and students didn't think so. We held further meetings with the students and asked them to be honest. They all said the same things; no-one cared, there was no incentive to work, they were just a number, teachers didn't know their names, there was nothing which valued their Maori knowledge and ability in the school, when they started to fall behind no-one noticed them struggling, they felt stupid, there was no-one to talk to. The students' stories are captured in Mollie Neville-Tisdall's interviews:

- *They marked me present when I was absent*
- *One girl has not been back to school since February but no one has rung or checked*

- *I was put in a class for bad people in a house across the road - they looked after us like children*
- *Like I got kicked out of my real class and got moved to this class across the road from the school. In that funky class across the road.* (What was that for?) *Bad people. That's where you got to choose if you wanted to go to class and what class you want to go to. They just treat you like you were an 'it'. Buy your lunch, take you home, buy your uniform for you.*
- *The seventh formers threatened us they didn't help us*
- *It was hard to learn with the whole class disrupted.*
- *The teachers don't know what you're like*
- *The teachers didn't want you there*
- *They concentrated on the good kids and chucked everything down on us*
- *No one listened*
- *They ignored what we said*
- *Nothing the whole day, the whole year*
- *I smoked in class*
- *We were allowed to slack off except in the Maori unit where there was discipline*
- *Last year I was just going to school, sit down, do nothing for the whole day, the whole year. Yeah, I just started coming down here all the time instead of going to school.* (Neville-Tisdall & Milne, 2002)

The students had been involved in a number of secondary schools and the responses were similar from all of them. These comments bear striking similarity to the narratives from Year 9 and 10 Maori students in the research by Bishop et al. (2003, p.44; see this thesis, p.42) that found deficit thinking common in the teachers in their study. Some 81% of the comments from students in Bishop et al's research identified the relationships with their teachers as being the major influence on their educational achievement. The comment from this Maori student in that research resonates with those of the Clover Park senior students:

> They tell Pakeha kids that their work is not up to standard and they'll need to see their parents if it doesn't improve. They don't say that to us! They just don't think Maori have the brains to do better... They're scared of the whanau or think it will be a waste of time! (Non-engaged students, School 2, Bishop et al. 2003, p.47)

To refuse to try to help and support these young people was to negate the whole concept of whanaungatanga and the philosophy of Clover Park. There followed further meetings and discussions about the practical implementation of such a proposal. A crucial deciding factor at this stage was the knowledge that there was no continuity for Maori language or a whanau learning environment anywhere in a secondary school locally (see p.107).

Section 158 of New Zealand's Education Act 1989 provides for:

> Provision by one Board of tuition for students enrolled at school administered by another
> (1) By agreement between the Boards concerned, -
> (a) Students enrolled at one state school may receive tuition at or from another; and

> (b) Notwithstanding section 79 of this Act, the Board of the school at which the students are enrolled may pay the Board of the school giving that tuition for that tuition.

It seemed to the board that it was within their autonomy to make such an arrangement with the board of a secondary school that was legally allowed to enrol students in this age group. The board had good reason to believe this. In 1997 and 1998 Clover Park Middle School had acted in this capacity as the host board for the two local intermediate schools in Otara who were hoping to achieve change of class to middle schools. The schools had not achieved this goal but the board was also aware of existing arrangements for boards to come to such an agreement (Working Party Report, 2002).

Approaches were made to several secondary schools, initially to those in the Otara community and, when they were reluctant to help, an agreement was reached with a school outside Manukau City. Both boards duly advised the Ministry of their agreement to work together. Both boards and principals perceived mutual benefits in this arrangement. Clover Park would be able to retain the small number of senior students and the secondary school was keen to improve their provision for their Maori students and felt Clover Park staff might be able to help. There was an instant negative reaction from the Ministry of Education.

The long and drawn out process of barriers and bureaucracy is still not fully resolved and full details will not be included here. Some defining stages in the process however, provide a glimpse of the tensions and are a backdrop to the achievements of the class. It would be difficult in most circumstances for young people to make progress in the environment of uncertainty these barriers created. More difficult still for young people who had been through some difficult times in their recent school experience.

Key events included a visit to the Minister of Education in Wellington, threat of legal action and many tense meetings with local Ministry officials, directives to place the students elsewhere, intimation to parents by officials that Clover Park would disadvantage their children's academic progress (missing the point that that had already been achieved elsewhere). The Clover Park Board of Trustees sought an independent legal opinion to counter the Ministry's ruling. The education law experts consulted found that, "Subject to finalising its precise terms, the proposed agreement appears to fall squarely within the terms of section 158(1) of the Act," and found the Ministry's analysis of the act a "possible interpretation, albeit an extremely strict one."[69]

The first secondary school subsequently and reluctantly withdrew from the agreement and agreement was reached with a distant school with which many of the students had tribal

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[69] Letter to Board of Trustees dated 28 November, 2001

affiliations. The Minister of Education having firstly agreed to an arrangement for one year, changed his mind and a memorable meeting between Ministry, students, whanau and school was held on the school marae. Neville-Tisdall comments on the students' recollection of this meeting and the dismissal of their needs:

> In their eyes it '*was just stink, like they were taking our education away from us. Like they wanted it their way and not our way. They didn't want to hear us, they just wanted their way and no one else's way*'.
> Quite rightly they believed: *It was stupid really; Its only 14 kids, its not like its destroying anything, its only 14 kids. They tried to exaggerate it and say that we might want to start a high school and stuff like that. (Student M2 in Neville-Tisdall, 2002)*

A Working Party was established as an outcome of this meeting when parents and students made it quite clear they had no intention of going "elsewhere." Members of the Working Party included representatives of the Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kokiri[70] (who facilitated the group), school principal, a Board of Trustees representative, two parents and two students from the senior class. The Working Party report[71] to the Ministers of Education and Maori Affairs states:

> Forty whanau members of the fifteen students attended the meeting as did many members of the local Maori community including two senior Mana Whenua representatives, . . . who spoke strongly in support of the initiative. The OBF [Otara Boards Forum] was also represented. Of the fifteen seats on the OBF, ten are filled by Maori who support this initiative.

In the section of the Working Party report written by parent representatives in the group they stated that the majority of parents of the students had actively sought kaupapa Maori[72] education in Otara. They strongly argued that local secondary schools did not have a whanau-based kaupapa Maori programme. Further they argued that when their children were enrolled at either of the secondary schools were not supported or challenged by their teachers towards achieving their goals. They also reported that they had not been presented with the opportunity to have any input into the development of any programmes that the secondary schools have offered.

Parents reported that the benefits for their children staying in Clover Park Middle School included that the identity of the students would remain intact and that teachers and other members of their whanau supported them. They stated that this supportive environment

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[70] The Ministry of Maori Development - the government's principal adviser on Maori issues

[71] Working Party Report, 9 April, 2002

[72] This is not to be confused with *Kura* Kaupapa Maori, the total immersion Maori schools. Parents wanted a Maori kaupapa or a pervading Maori philosophy. They described it as a "wrap-around" supportive environment. The Ministry later started to label what the parents were seeking *Matauranga Maori*.

allowed the students to have high self-expectations. It also encouraged them to form opinions and speak their minds. Finally the parents reported on the high level of trust developed between students and staff which enabled the students to be comfortable at school. The same sentiments are expressed by the students in their interviews with Mollie Neville-Tisdall (Neville-Tisdall & Milne, 2002):

> Words, which frequently came through the data for Clover Park, were 'peaceful', 'safe' and 'warm'. They say they don't misbehave in Clover Park as it is a family and as the older ones in the family they are mentors for the rest of the school. Bullies stopped bullying, truants stopped truanting and the lazy worked hard.

- *Walking into school in the mornings is like walking home*
- *Like a magnet to a piece of steel*
- *Like coming home*
- *Awesome to be back*
- *Nothing could hurt me*
- *Teachers put in an effort. They are in the same culture and situation as us*
- *Teachers expected everyone to pass and do well*
- *We had an open plan classroom and all ages worked together like a family*
- *We help each other and work together*
- *We're asked not told'*
- *Teachers can be teachers and whanau at the same time.*

Although Clover Park had finally won approval to retain the students for 2002 the Ministry had refused to approve an arrangement under Section 158 of the Act. The best arrangement they could offer was to classify the students as "alienated," thus allowing them to access three subjects through a Correspondence School policy for alienated students. The aim of this policy is to reintegrate students into mainstream schooling. Throughout the long process Ministry officials, and in particular the Minister, have continued to believe that, with some support, which they suggested Clover Park could provide, the local "network" of secondary schools would be able to establish programmes and a whanau environment that parents would then simply redirect their children into. The length of time the Clover Park has spent building reciprocal relationships with its Maori community based on empowerment and mutual trust is negated in this argument. Parents emphatically made this point with the Ministry on many occasions:

> We continue however to voice our lack of confidence in the capacity of the 'network' of secondary schools to deliver what these students are asking for and wish to make clear that, after 2002, we have no authority to insist that these parents send their children to a school the Ministry may deem is suitable if it does not match the educational pathway the parents prefer.[73]

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[73] Letter from Clover Park Middle School Board of Trustees to the Minister of Education, 31 January, 2002.

Parents had repeatedly asked the question, to which they feel there has never been a satisfactory answer, "Where else are these young people supposed to go"?
In order to be accepted as "alienated" the Ministry requires a secondary school to agree to be named as the school the students are alienated from. Neither Clover Park Middle School, nor the two secondary schools outside the community that have helped the class, have received any staffing or funding in this arrangement. Clover Park has managed to retain the students for two years and will be able to continue in 2004 when a new process to try to achieve permanency is to be initiated. The students receive their three subjects via distance learning through the Correspondence School, with all of the difficulties that can only be expected without face to face relationships and relevant content. Two other subjects, Maori Language and Maori Performing Arts are taught by Clover Park Middle School staff and in 2003, moderated and accredited with the help of the secondary school that agreed to nominally "alienate" these students. Clover Park staff across the school have agreed to work with a higher teacher: pupil ratio in order to free up one staff member to supervise the senior class. It's not an ideal arrangement and, if the staffing and resourcing were available, Clover Park Middle School staff feel strongly that they could improve programme delivery and relevance.

In 2002 the original class was made up of the following 15 students:

- Four ex Clover Park students (Years 11 & 13) who had already dropped out of school. Two of these had tried two different secondary schools and dropped out of both;
  - one had not attended school for 18 months since leaving Clover Park in Year 10;
  - one had left a Maori boarding school as soon as she knew it was going to close so had not attended school since Aug 2001;
- Two who completed their Year 11 year in 2001 but had made their intention not to return to school clear to families;
- One who had attended another school for Year 10 only but was also unhappy there;
- Three siblings of the four who had already dropped out of high school whose parents wanted to avoid a similar result.
- Four who were at high risk of not enrolling at secondary school at all once they left Clover Park;
- One who had already moved out of the community and enrolled in a secondary school in Year 10, had been suspended and returned to Clover Park to complete his Year 10 year. Parents feared similar result for Year 11; and
- Two Year 10 students at high risk of not enrolling at secondary school at all once they left Clover Park. (Working Party Report, 2002)

The option of offering the class to Maori students graduating from Clover Park's Year 10 has been maintained. Parents have argued that their children should not have to experience alienation first before they are entitled to be in the class. Allowing students into move straight into the class has been seen as a proactive move to pre-empt the alienation that has been the common experience for families.

Correspondence School work did not begin for these students until June 2002 leaving them effectively with less that two terms to try to catch up. In 2003 the class opened with 17 students. All of the previous year's students had returned except for two students in Year 13.

The 2003 Education Review Office report explains that "the board sought an independent evaluation of its recent innovation of providing a senior class for Maori students," and describes the class as being formed in response to requests from Maori parents who were concerned that their own and other children had dropped out of secondary schools because they were unhappy, culturally isolated and not succeeding. "In the spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi and guided by the values of whanaungatanga, the school chose to establish a class for senior Mäori students. This class falls outside the school's restricted composite Year 7 to 10 official classification":

> This class provides for a small group of Year 11 to 13 students, most of whom have returned to Clover Park Middle School having not experienced success in secondary schools or who were school refusers. The senior students have excelled in the supportive whanau environment and become effective school leaders, tutors, mentors and role models. Their leadership and service to others is especially evident in the school's success in kapa haka and the way in which they help younger students and assist in the prevention of bullying. The senior students attend school regularly and express a wish to continue their education at Clover Park Middle School before pursuing tertiary qualifications. The board, through the principal, has provided additional staffing to support these senior students in their learning. The senior class at Clover Park Middle School is enhancing the provision for both the Maori students attending and other Maori and non-Maori students in the school. (ERO 2003c)

The senior class has met and spoken with a wide range of visitors throughout 2003. These include Members of Parliament, academic researchers, visiting principals and teachers, business people and students from overseas. These visitors are universally impressed with the poise, confidence and the maturity of the students. They are seen, by staff and students, as role models and their interaction with younger students is exemplary. They provide a dimension to the school whanau that demonstrates the concept of whanaungatanga daily. They interact as a whanau during the day and, more often than not, socially as well and naturally describe each other as "brothers" and "sisters." They work together, helping each other with their work and providing motivation. This close relationship is exemplified in the

comments of students interviewed for the joint Open University/University of Waikato programme:

> Student 1: *We're just like brothers and sisters you know. I could walk into his house any day of the week and just go straight to his fridge and no-one would care.*
> Student 2: *You don't knock on the door, you just walk straight on in.*
> Student 1: *That's just the way we are. We're all pretty much family.*
> (Wearmouth et al. 2004)

Senior Class Achievement

In 2003 the class opened with 17 members. During the year six students left; one moved away from the community early in the year, one entered a tertiary bridging course in aeronautical engineering and one, for family reasons, chose to continue with correspondence schooling at home. This is a retention rate of 65%. The minimum NCEA[74] Level 1 credits for the three students who left schooling altogether is 38. One of these students has completed Level 1 and has 56 Level 2 credits.

At the stage of writing, comparative data from 2003 secondary school qualifications are not yet available so it is not possible to compare the results of students in the senior class with results nationally. The only basis for some comparison are Ministry of Education data for 2001 of the highest level of attainment of school leavers. As the majority of the senior class students are not leaving school these cannot be considered as final results for the class members (Figure 5.2). In addition to this, the 2001 data are for the country's previous qualifications system which has now been replaced by the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA). However, the difference in attainment is significant given that some 33% of Maori students leave school with no secondary level qualifications at all. All students have met the numeracy and literacy requirements of NCEA Level 1.

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74 NCEA is New Zealand's national qualification. NCEA level 1 replaced School Certificate in 2002. Level 2 was introduced in 2003 and level 3 in 2004, replacing University Bursaries.

Table 6.1: 2003 Clover Park Senior Class results against School Leavers by Highest Attainment and Ethnicity :2001

(Sources: NZ Qualifications Framework website - Clover Park NCEA results and Ministry of Education, 2002c)

	Maori	Clover Park Senior Class	Pacific	Asian	Pakeha
University Bursary	4.0	One student with an A Bursary Maori result	4.7	42.2	21.2
Entrance Qualification	3.4	Both Year 13 students have gained entry into Teacher training for 2004	5.1	11.3	8.7
Sixth Form Certificate*	24.8	50% of those studying at NCEA Level 2 (equivalent to 6th FC) have completed all credits required. Other 50% have a minimum of half the 80 required credits and most of this 50% will complete early in 2004	30.6	19.4	27.5
School Certificate**	25.9	100% of students have completed all credits required (80 credits) to complete NCEA Level 1 (equivalent to School Certificate) with a class average of 94 credits	20.6	7.3	19.0
No Qualification***	33.4	NIL	24.8	8.0	12.4

* Sixth Form Certificate in one or more subjects irrespective of grade awarded or 12 or more credits at National Certificate Level 2
** School Certificate in one or more subjects irrespective of grade awarded or 12 or more credits at National Certificate Level 1
*** includes those with less than 12 credits at Level 1

In 2003 there were three students in Year 13. One of these left during the year. The two students who completed the year chose to enter teacher training with the Auckland College of Education. One was accepted directly into the Huarahi Maori, Bachelor of Education degree course where he will study for the degree and teacher qualifications through the Maori language. He has also been awarded a TeachNZ[75] $10,000 Maori medium scholarship for teacher trainees who are fluent in te reo Maori. The second student gained sufficient credits to apply for the mainstream Bachelor of Education degree course but has chosen instead to spend a year strengthening his fluency in Maori language in a feeder course to enter the Bachelor of Education Maori pathway in 2005. The whole school celebrated their success at the 2003 Celebration Day.

In September 2003 I sent a preliminary version of these results to Ministry of Education officials in Auckland, at their request, and wrote in the accompanying email: [76]

> In addition students have participated in three top level kapa haka competitions each year (placed in top 5 in all but one - in very large fields of competitive groups) - with material composed and choreographed entirely by two of our students, entered Manu Korero[77] speech contests, hosted, and participated in, TCS [Correspondence School] speech achievement standards Auckland-wide, composed items for, coached and tutored our Year 7/8

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[75] TeachNZ is a unit of the Ministry of Education with a focus on teacher supply initiatives

[76] Email from A Milne to T Bates, 19 September, 2003

[77] Maori secondary schools speech competitions. In the past Clover Park students have been national winners of this prestigious contest 4 times and finalists many times.

students' kapa haka, initiate and run sports (Touch) tournaments school-wide, and assist staff with duty and other responsibilities. The students also basically run our school marae taking full responsibility for catering for large numbers of visitors, support Manukau City Council powhiri and regularly 'live-in' on the school marae to care for visitors both from within NZ and overseas. The Yr 13 students have been filmed (interviewed) for a joint Waikato University/Open University, UK, resource for Masters level degree students in both countries on the significance of culture in managing challenging behaviour and have spoken to MEd.Admin. classes from Massey University. The majority of our senior students also hold down part-time jobs to help family resources.

Altogether not too bad for a group of 'disengaged' students!

Conclusion / Discussion: How *could other schools* fit the kids?

Academic hegemony

What is the real significance of the "academic" results of the senior class? Chapter 2 (see p.9) discussed Tyack & Tobin's (1994) concept of the "grammar of schooling," the structures and processes that are the taken-for-granted Eurocentric rules that frame the ways that we educate. Hargreaves and Earl (1990) point out the same fundamental issue:

> Secondary schools are deeply entrenched in an academic orientation that is perpetuated by a large number of beliefs and traditions that make this academic orientation among the most powerful of the 'sacred' norms of secondary schooling. This pervasive academic orientation creates a curriculum that is unbalanced, is content-driven, has limited relevance for many students, and results in fragmentation of student experience and balkanisation of secondary schools and their departments. (p. 209)

Clover Park Middle School students' experiences certainly spoke of this fragmentation and dislocation from the "norms of schooling" - and this was not confined to the experiences of the senior students as the interviews with family and students in Chapter 5 confirm (Wearmouth et al., 2004). Students in these interviews had been expelled from previous schools and regularly, as the examples of two of the interviews show, this is often due to cultural mismatch. As the father of one student explains in his interview:

> *One of the other reasons is that, well in our culture we have, like, our own way of playing and joking around. We might think in our culture it's appropriate, but in the Palagi (European) culture, it's inappropriate.* (Wearmouth et al, 2004)

Is the current schooling environment in New Zealand becoming more enlightened about the impact of this academic hegemony?

The Ministry of Education's Quality Teaching for Diverse Students in School: Best Evidence Synthesis (Alton-Lee 2003) describes achievement as encompassing, "achievement in the essential learning areas, the essential skills, including social and co-operative skills, the commonly held values including the development of respect for others, tolerance (rangimarie), non-racist behaviour, fairness, caring or compassion (aroha), diligence and

hospitality or generosity (manaakitanga)" and goes still further to define educational outcomes:

> Educational outcomes include attitudes to learning, and behaviours and other outcomes demonstrating the shared values. Educational outcomes include cultural identity, well being, whanau spirit and preparation for democratic and global citizenship. Desired outcomes reflect the New Zealand Curriculum Framework and the philosophy of Kura Kaupapa Mäori. Along with an accompanying synthesis, this work includes where possible, evidence relating to the outcome goals for Maori students advanced by Mason Durie (2001) at the Hui Taumata Matauranga. These are listed below.
>
> Goal 1: to live as Maori.
>
> Goal 2: to actively participate as citizens of the world.
>
> Goal 3: to enjoy good health and a high standard of living.
>
> (Alton-Lee 2003, p.7)

A visual image of this definition (Figure 6.1) was used in a presentation of the synthesis to Manukau principals on 20 October, 2003:

Figure 6.1: Achievement
(after Dow, 2003)

In the ensuing discussion that followed the presentation I congratulated the presenter on this diagram. Here, at last, was something that fitted with Clover Park Middle School's philosophy. However other parts of the same presentation jarred. This quote, from the Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara: Second Evaluation Report (2001) is an example:

> If the Ministry of Education communicates either through its words or deeds that the task is to fill empty schools, to win community confidence, to improve relationships, to increase parent participation or to empower local groups, it risks doing so in ways that do not also improve student achievement. (Robinson, Timperley & Bullard, 2001, p.134)

These evaluators of the SEMO project state their belief that it is too easy for "sustained improvement in academic achievement" to be subverted by these other tasks. They acknowledge their importance but their position is that, "given the weak causal links between student achievement and these other goals, it is crucial that improved achievement be the goal against which all the rest are aligned" (Robinson et al., 2001). So much for the rhetoric of "communities in school via literacy."

Where is the place of whanaungatanga in this statement? How can "student achievement" be divorced from parent participation, empowerment, and particularly from relationships? There is no mention in this SEMO evaluation of any achievement other than "academic" knowledge, in fact a prime reason given for the poor performance of low decile students is that they cannot access school knowledge at home and are therefore, "dependent on their teachers for access to school related knowledge and skills" (p.135). Isn't this what the Currie Commission said in 1960? Yet again achievement, in spite of the wider description in the Best Evidence Synthesis, is seen through a white lens that perpetuates a western academic hegemony and disempowers Maori and Pacific learners.

Changing the lens

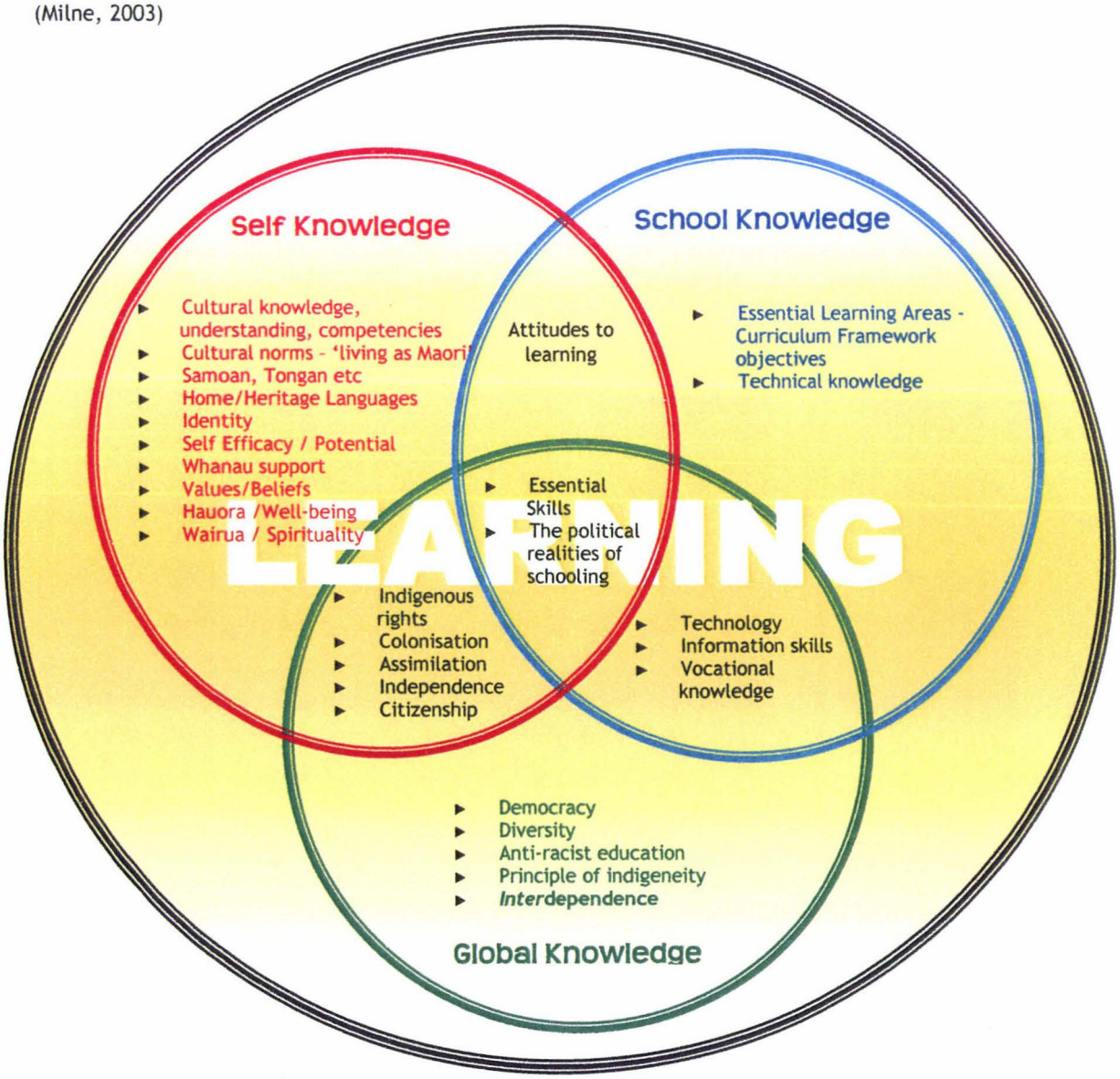
I looked again at the achievement diagram (Figure 6.1) and reconsidered my original opinion. While the diagram introduces culture, identity, whanau and well-being, these are still peripheral to the main "target" in the centre of the diagram, the "bulls eye," that is school knowledge as defined by the New Zealand Curriculum. The students in the senior class had not achieved what is accepted to be "academic" results by making that their prime focus and leaving their culture peripheral to their endeavour. In fact their culture was central to all of the activities of the class. Changing our vision of the "norms of schooling" by changing the lens we use to view learning, in all its dimensions, connected the senior students to many different experiences of success, and that in turn, made them powerful. Macfarlane (2004,

p.92) refers to the choice of the senior students at Clover Park to work and socialise together, often staying after school to access the school's resources, as "an effective kotahitanga (unity/togetherness/bonding) strategy that is an extension of the genuine cultural ecology that permeates their environment":

> In the school's small senior class, these practices have supported the students in their endeavours to pass their respective levels of the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) qualification. So, for these Clover Park students, this aspect of kotahitanga supports their school learning, their knowledge of themselves, and their sense of place, as Maori, within the broader context of their lives.

It is this kotahitanga or connectedness that is the crucial factor. Figure 6.2 summarises the three interconnected lenses that Clover Park's philosophy uses to view learning:

Figure 6.2: Power Lenses: Clover Park Middle School 2003
(Milne, 2003)



Our current model of schooling is hierarchical and "school knowledge," the blue or school lens in Figure 5.4, has primacy. The blue lens, and measuring the content of the blue lens is the prime focus for educators, policy makers and education officialdom. Arising from this focus a huge assessment industry describes achievement, or lack of it, children's success or failure, in terms of the blue lens. The blue lens is what counts as knowledge, therefore everything else, in the red and green or self and global lenses, either by intention or default, is relegated to a lower or, as in Figure 5.3, peripheral place. If they do feature at all they are seen as "stepping stones," or add-ons, a means to an end – that end being "academic" (blue lens) outcomes, rather than legitimate knowledge and achievement in their own right. Excellence in Kapa Haka for example is squeezed into a "box" schools can understand – the Dance and Physical Education achievement objectives, thus minimising the cultural knowledge involved, for which there are no measurements. Schools can feel better however, because now they have a "Maori pathway," albeit with monocultural Pakeha labels.

In the same vein, bilingualism is promoted as worthwhile because there are cognitive benefits across the board, rather than fluency in Maori, or Samoan, being the legitimate goal in itself. In Learning Languages. A Guide for New Zealand Schools (Ministry of Education, 2002d). second language learning's key benefits include:

- intellectual challenge
- exploration of different social and cultural environments
- increased understanding of one's own culture and tolerance for others
- improvement of first language skills
- facilitation of the learning of additional languages
- promotion of intercultural communication
- improvement of student self-esteem
- enhancement of cognitive and social development (including complex problem solving)
- deepening of students' understanding of human experience
- facilitation of students' participation in other cultures and societies
- increasing students' employability (especially in tourism and international business), and
- the general enrichment of New Zealand by enabling it to engage better internationally in commerce, industry and diplomacy (2002d, pp.8-13).

Using blue/school lens criteria, schools promote their "academic rigour" and excellence as if that and anything from the red and green/self and global lenses are mutually exclusive. This practice also negates cultural constructs of knowledge and giftedness (Bevan-Brown, 1993; Jenkins, 2002; Milne, 1993).

If, in an "increasingly managerialist and performative model of education" (Thrupp, in process), anything has to be dropped it certainly won't something be from the school lens. So we see a focus on literacy and numeracy for example or Tamaki College, a decile one school

in Auckland, refusing to allow its Maori and Pacific students to participate in the secondary schools' cultural festival in 2004 so they "can focus more on academic achievement."[78] (NZ Herald, 2003). The decision was widely condemned by Maori and Pacific leaders:

> Professor Pita Sharples, a Maori educationist and kapa haka expert, found it hard to believe such a decision was being made in the 21st century. That decision is a reflection of racial and cultural arrogance, it is cultural genocide. What they are saying is it's either our way or no way and it goes back to that attitude which resulted in Maori being punished for speaking their language. (Kiriona, NZ Herald, 2003)

In the three interconnected lenses used by Clover Park, and in other models such as Kura Kaupapa Maori, far from the homes of students being seen as deficient in terms of their ability to resource children's learning, the home and family are viewed as rich sources of knowledge that connect children to who they are. This belief remains with young children, until they enter the school system. Progressively, as they move to higher levels of schooling, that self-efficacy is diminished by a pervasive white lens and an academic hegemony that not only negates the non-white child's heritage – it damages it, sometimes beyond repair.

The school's role in this model is to connect school learning to that foundation so that "culture counts: classrooms are places where learners can bring to who they are to the learning interactions in complete safety, and their knowledges are acceptable and legitimate" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.163). The relationship between students' and teachers is a crucial factor in this interaction as the research by Bishop et al. (2003) has clearly demonstrated. This excerpt from an interview with senior students at Clover Park about their experiences in secondary schools, speaks of the invisibility non-white students experience in schools:

> Interviewer: *Do you think the ones* [teachers] *at your school . . . knew about you?*
> Student (M2): *Yeah, oh no, not about me, just knew my name. Tall Maori boy.*
> Interviewer: *They didn't know anything about you?*
> Student (M): *And me, here's the short Maori boy. He's got attitude and a big mouth.* (Neville-Tisdall, 2002)

Another senior student recalling, two years after he left, how he felt in his secondary school hasn't forgotten the experience:

> *Well, if you can imagine, like, yourself standing in a crowd of say a million people, just you, and you didn't know any of them, well, that's how you would feel.* (Wearmouth et al. 2004).

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[78] "School's cultural festival ban condemned" NZ Herald, 5 November, 2003

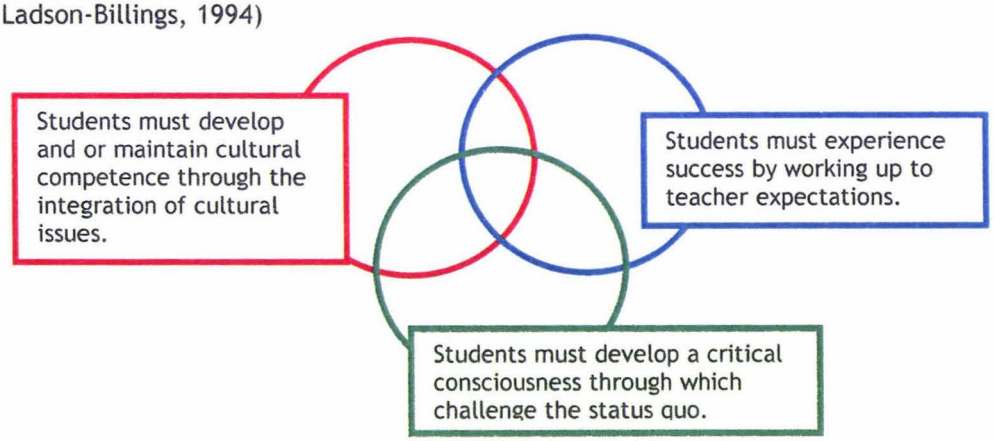
The effect of this disconnection is aptly described by Rich (1986):

> When someone with authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing. (Rich, 1986; cited in Bohn and Sleeter, 2000)

Students' connectedness however, needs to go beyond a fundamental positive learner-teacher relationship. Again as Bishop & Glynn (1999, p.168, 169; see this thesis, Chapter 2, p.72) suggest, the principles of Kura Kaupapa Maori and Te Aho Matua provide these "metaphors for a new awareness of theorising and addressing educational relationships." To achieve this culturally located learning model however, Kura Kaupapa Maori had to withdraw from the state system. *Within* the system, where 96% of Maori learners and almost 63,000 Pacific students receive their education, few enjoy a culturally connected environment.

Clover Park's three power lenses link smoothly with Gloria Ladson-Billings' (1994), definition of a culturally relevant pedagogy structured on three main principles:

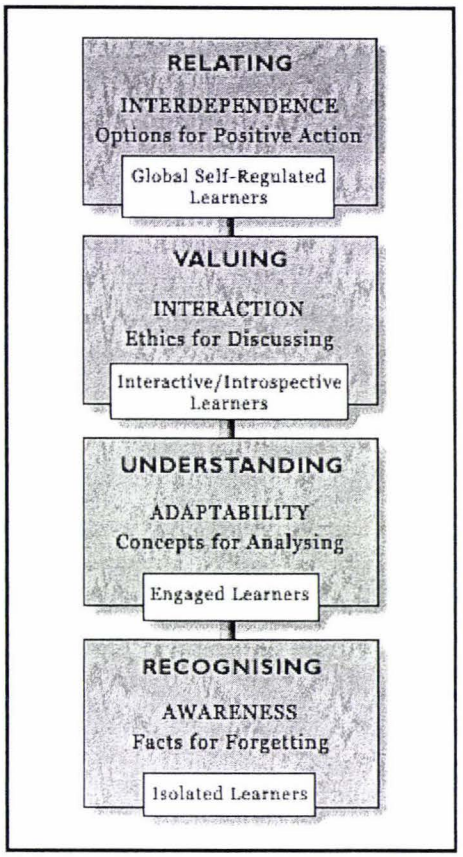
Figure 6.3: Power Lenses: Linked to culturally relevant pedagogy
(after Ladson-Billings, 1994)



The work of Dr George Otero, founder and director of Las Palomas, a non-profit educational centre devoted to innovative educational programs for the 21st century, is relevant to thinking differently about relationships in schools. Clover Park Middle School staff considered this thinking in 2002, after I had listened to Dr Otero speak in Australia. and we compared it with our own practice. Otero believes that schools could see a different result in engagement if five relationships were addressed. These relationships are:

- The student's relationship to self
- The student's relationship to the subject
- The student's relationship to the teacher
- The student's relationship to other students
- The student's relationship to the wider world

Figure 6.4: Levels of Relationship
(Otero & Chambers-Otero, 2002)



Otero introduces four levels of relationship, each one adding more power to the learner, and believes that it is necessary to move beyond the simplistic evaluation of relationships as good or bad. The RelationaLearning™ model outlined in Figure 5.6 suggests that all learning progresses through four levels of relationship. We are always in a relationship but the quality of that relationship and therefore the quality of learning varies greatly.

In Otero's suggested five relationships, relationships to self, to other students and to the wider world fit into Clover Park's self and global lenses and into the concept of whanaungatanga. Students need to not only to be connected to who they are, but need to see where they fit in the world. Otero advises, "drop curriculum, drop subjects, teach connectedness, our survival depends on it," and comments:

> For schools to be effective with today's young people, it will be crucial to have a sense of self and a sense of how to relate to 12 billion other selves. Ironically, to succeed in a global society, the personal and local must become the focus. The major challenge will be an examination and redefinition of the relationship between the individual and the collective. (Otero & Chambers-Otero, 2002)

In 2002, through a partnership with the Kevin Roberts, World CEO of Saatchi & Saatchi, connected a group of Tupuranga students to the international company, Putumayo World Music, established to introduce people to the music of other cultures and based in New York. The students' task was to advise Putumayo about what they might include on a CD of Maori music. Students designed various CD covers reflecting Maori art and contemporary designs. They also suggested that the CD include a translation book to give listeners a better understanding of the music and that it include music for different age levels. They provided examples of music, and performed some of these for Kevin Roberts who visited the school to see the students present their ideas, which he found, "fantastic and very professional" (COMET, 2002). In the process of their inquiry students researched indigenous music from other cultures and the countries themselves. Soon after the students' ideas were received by Putumayo, a package was delivered to the school office. It contained 350 CDs with a range of

Brazilian, Caribbean, Latin, African and Celtic music - a CD for each child in the school. In a second project students advised the multinational company Nike that they should remember the importance of whanau in their products and promotions. A key message from the students to Nike was that their products were too expensive for families to afford and that they could not relate to the thin, athletic, single, white, independent women in the Nike advertisements. Kevin Roberts took the students' ideas to the world CEO of Nike Woman.™ When no products arrived from Nike, the students learned from that too!

In Kimiora students asked questions about how Cook Island culture was changing and what made it change? Their questions led to studying the traditional Cook Island art of *tivaevae*.[79] The school had employed a Cook Island language assistant, a retired and respected elder. He brought his wife to school almost every day and together they became the honorary Cook Island *Mama* and *Papa* to the students in Kimiora. They, together with other Cook Island community members, were an invaluable resource during the weeks of this study, connecting students to authentic traditional practices. Students were shown how the art form originated, how the patterns were formed and the stories behind them. Students used computers to design contemporary patterns and examined the differences between free-form and computer-generated designs. They experimented with traditional and modern methods to make colour and explored how colours had changed with modern technology. Students and elders together made a tivaevae and presented it with appropriate ceremony to the school. Teachers linked the study to the soft materials technology curriculum with links to the Arts and Maths. Traditional Cook Island food was also studied, linked to the food technology curriculum, utilising the facilities of the marae, again with input from the Cook Islands community. This culminated in a traditional meal for the whole Area and helpers.

Connections such as these are integral to the curriculum integration process and are a natural part of whanaungatanga. Students learn daily through the practice of whanaungatanga about each other, their responsibility to the whole and about their role in manaaki tangata (caring for people). The contexts for learning are directly linked to students' lives and to their cultures in both traditional and modern settings. This connectedness between self and the group and self and authentic cultural norms is aptly described by a Maori teacher at Clover Park in a video interview (Wearmouth et al, 2004):

> *We have developed a whole philosophy around Kapa Haka, which is Maori cultural dance. Because it's a group effort we are able to look at things like discipline within the group, leadership within the group, caring for each other within the group. One of our korero, one of our sayings, is that the group is only as good as the weakest person in it, so it's up to the members of the group to build that person up.*

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79 Cook Island traditional hand stitched appliquéd bedspreads

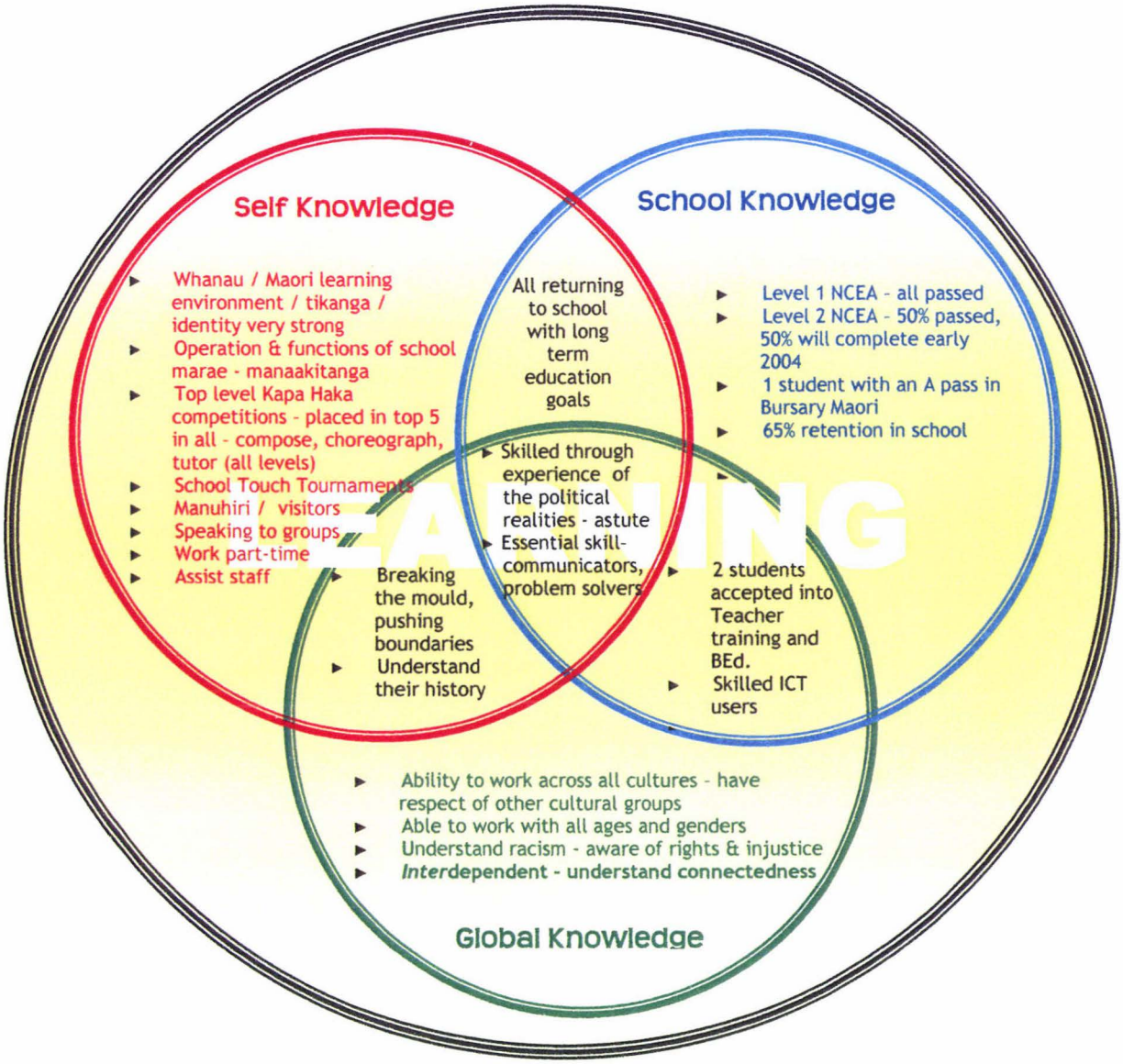
The importance of the senior students' NCEA results actually lies in the fact that, while we celebrate the achievement, these are seen as *no more important* than the other learning the students have done in the short time the class has existed. This might be seen as heresy by teachers and academics who are still looking solely through the blue lens. However, the fact remains that, if the students had achieved the school lens results, *without* the learning they achieved through other two lenses, they would be no more empowered than they were in the secondary schools they left.

David Hood (1998), in his critique of New Zealand's secondary school system makes a strong case for significant restructuring and innovative change. He also points out that there would be many educators who consider schools have been through a period of significant change and would argue vehemently against his claim that "schools sit in a time warp while the rest of the world moves on":

> And their arguments would have some justification except that change has taken place within the boundaries of the traditional school characterised by a subject based curriculum and placing students by age, in classroom boxes, with rigid and inflexible timetables and fixed hours and days of operating. All of these characteristics have become the components of what people see as the 'real' school. Yet it is these characteristics which need to be challenged and changed dramatically if secondary schools are to be geared to the needs of students and society – 'fit for purpose' – for the 21st century. (p.115)

In the senior students' learning results (Figure 6.5) the achievements of the students in each lens are worthy of credit. This was a group of students who had lost direction and some had given up on education already. Each student has grown in their knowledge of themselves and their culture. They have confidence and can interact with a wide range of people of all ages and ethnic backgrounds. They know about manaakitanga, how to care about people, and how to support and look after each other. They also have school qualifications they can be proud of. The two young men who will enter teacher training have set a high benchmark. There is every indication that the rest of the class will continue to look to them as role models - and that they will continue to give back to the whanau. This is an expectation from the whanau, and one that will be well noticed by younger students in Years 7 to 10.

Figure 6.5: Power Lenses of the senior students, 2003
(Milne, 2003)



Peter Ellyard (2001, p.35), an Australian futurist and strategist who has been a senior adviser to the United Nations for over 20 years makes the point emphatically that the twenty-first century will be the century of *interdependence* (my emphasis). In the example of the senior class (Figure 6.2), it is in the *intersection* of the three lenses that we start to see the magic potential of these young people. It is the school and self lenses working together and complementing each other that empowers young people to look beyond their home and community to the wider world. In the overlapping of self and school, whanau have been empowered to think about tertiary education options and staying in school, which is no longer an alienating place. For most families there have been no former examples of tertiary level learning or aspirations in their whanau background. It's hard to set goals when you have no experience of what is possible. Empowerment of these young people has a long term impact on whanau. Through the joint experience of having to stand up for what they believe both

students and families have learned that they do have power. They make strong connections to other injustices and prejudices. They have shown they can be role models, not just for Tupuranga but for all cultures in the school.

These are young people who are *connected* – to themselves, to their culture, to each other, to their wider whanau and community. That network will continue to support them and connect them to their futures. They in turn will maintain that connection and continue to contribute to the whanau network.

Western "academic" hegemony has no right to assume superiority over or obliterate growth and development in the other areas of a child's life. To continue to perpetuate and recreate systems that do so is not only patronising and arrogant, it is blatantly racist. The work of each of the three lenses is all *learning*, of equal importance, and none of it will happen powerfully unless the relationships within and between the three lenses are connected.

Ehara taku toa I te toa takitahi
Engari I te toa takitini.

For the strength of my hand is not in the strength of the individual fingers
But in the strength of all my fingers, working in unison.

Implications / Future research

This study aimed to answer five questions:

Why *don't* schools fit the kids?
How *could* schools fit the kids?
How *has Clover Park Middle School made changes* to fit the kids?
Does Clover Park Middle School fit the kids?
How *could other schools* fit the kids?

A wide range of current literature presented in Chapter 2 confirms that the alienation of indigenous and ethnic minority students from mainstream school systems is endemic in New Zealand and internationally. These communities share a history of disempowerment that is perpetuated by the pervasive white lens through which our education systems structure and view learning.

In order to empower indigenous and ethnic minority students to challenge existing school structures to make learning more relevant and accessible it will be necessary for this lens to

change and for interdependent lenses of equal status to be created. Not only do the lenses have to change, but there is much work to be done to review the content of the blue or school lens so that there is room for "opposition scholarship" (Calmore, 1992), that challenges Western academic school learning and has a legitimate and equal place, not *alongside* the lens, but *centred within it*. That concept in turn gives rise to the need for new methods of measuring and assessing school-lens learning. In this picture the word, "academic" is irrelevant until it comes to mean more than is currently derived from the Eurocentric discourse that shapes our mainstream schools. Clover Park prefers to use the word, "learning" - for *all* learning that happens in the school. Very high expectations in all lenses is the norm. Changing the lenses and then restructuring the school to fit this new view has been the work of Clover Park Middle School, initially in the Maori whanau from 1986 to 1992, and then gaining impetus into whole school change since 1994. This journey was described in Chapter 4.

The purpose of intrinsic case study is to tell the story "as is" because "in all its particularity and ordinariness, [the] case itself is of interest" Stake (2000, p.437). This was the intention of this research. Could this process be replicated by other schools seeking solutions to the same issues? The journey towards a culturally relevant pedagogy is already replicated in New Zealand in Kura Kaupapa Maori and in individual classrooms such as that of Bev Anaru, the teacher in Angus Macfarlane's study of the Ngati-Whakaue Enrichment class at Ngongotaha School (Macfarlane, 2004). What is uncommon however, is for a whole mainstream school to work in this way, not just for Maori students but for students who are Samoan, Tongan, Cook Island Maori and from smaller ethnic minorities. Replication of Clover Park's model is only possible if a whole school, the students, the leadership, the teachers, the support staff, the Board of Trustees and the community are prepared to change the lenses and work together with a shared vision and commitment. Changing the lenses requires genuine soul searching and sensitive antennae that, with time and support, become attuned to the mixed messages we give our children about themselves and their potential. The greatest and most difficult step in the entire journey is the first one, the decision to give up a Eurocentric lens and take on a different view. After that the vision becomes much clearer. It's important too to note that a white lens is not just the prerogative of Pakeha people. Many Maori and Pacific families view learning through the lens that was used in their days in school. Colonisation casts a long shadow.

Future Research

There is still much work to be done at Clover Park. Future research could look at other cohorts of students and follow their learning through their four years in the school and possibly beyond. This research would need to consider how to map learning through self and

global lenses so that all learning was measured as equal. The students in the senior class as they move beyond the school would be a further investigation. Has the experience of learning at Clover Park prepared them for their future choices? The impact of these students' expanded horizons on their wider whanau is also of interest.

This study has focused predominantly on the changes for Maori students. This is appropriate in that the power lenses originated in Te Whanau o Tupuranga, have sustained and spread into other areas of the school and the new challenges are being presented from within the whanau. Clover Park has had a history of Maori, as tangata whenua, leading the way, with the support of the other ethnic groups in the school. Future studies might consider the experiences of students in Lumanai, Kimiora or Fonuamalu to explore the impact of culture in connecting their pasts and futures. Changing mainstream schools, in cooperation with their communities, to respond to culture is an area for further study in itself.

The journey of Clover Park could not have been possible without the commitment of its outstanding teachers and their willingness to take those major steps. How has this experience impacted on their professional practice and their own personal lenses? Many of Clover Park's staff would have stories to tell that would inform the journey of other teachers towards culturally relevant teaching and learning.

Does Clover Park Middle School fit the kids?

Perhaps the last words are best left to a 15 year old student, a young man in Year 10 who, apart from a brief encounter with alternative education, which he had also left, had dropped out of school for almost two years before enrolling at Clover Park in 2003. (video, Wearmouth et al., 2004):

Student: *My last school didn't have different Areas like Cook Island, Maori, Samoan and Tongan, it had mixed groups.*

Interviewer: Did you get on well in your last school?

Student: *No*

Interviewer: What were you like in your last school?

Student: *I had a very bad temper and a bad attitude. ... Everybody was mean and they were always mocking everyone else because of the different races. This school, I don't get angry any more. I don't know why. I think it's because it's got more of a - It's got more -* [he pauses, searches for words, smiles]

There's more joyfulness in this school.

Glossary

Maori

ako	to learn and to teach
Aotearoa	the name Maori gave to New Zealand when they first arrived here
aroha	love
hui	a gathering, meeting, assembly
iwi	tribe
kaiarahi reo	language assistant
kaitiaki	caretaker or guardian
kapa haka	Maori cultural performance
kaumatua	respected Maori elder(s)
kaupapa Maori	Maori philosophy and principles
kaupapa	philosophy
kia hiwa ra	be alert
Kimiora	seeking life/well-being
koha	traditional Maori gifting
Kohanga Reo	Maori language pre school learning programmes - immersion in Maori language
kotahitanga	unity / togetherness / bonding
kuia	respected female Maori elder(s)
kura	school
Kura Kaupapa Maori	primary schools which use immersion in Maori language and custom to deliver the curriculum.
manaaki tangata	caring for people
manaakitanga	the ethic of caring
Maoritanga	the way of life that encapsulates 'being Maori'
marae	Maori meeting/gathering place
noho marae	staying on the marae - 'live-ins'
Pakeha	white, Caucasian, European
pumanawatanga	pulsation/beating
rangatiratanga	chiefly control / self determination
taha maori	Maori dimension
tangata whenua	'people of the land' - the original or indigenous inhabitants
Te Aho Matua	ancient philosophies - the guiding principles of Kura Kaupapa Maori
Te Anga Marautanga o Aotearoa	NZ Curriculum Framework - the curriculum documents followed by Kura Kaupapa Maori
Te Ihi, Te Mana, Te Matauranga	Literally, the assertiveness (ihi), the prestige (mana), the knowledge (matauranga). Phrase adopted by the Ministry of Education to mean "empowering education"
Te Ira Tangata	Humankind
te reo	the language (Maori language)
Te Whanau o Tupuranga	The Family of Tupuranga (Maori Bilingual Unit at Clover Park Middle School
tuakana/teina	older/younger - these are the terms for older or younger siblings but is used in this sense to describe a learning arrangement - peer tutoring where an older or more able peer will support and help a younger or less able. The use of older siblings to care for younger is a cultural norm for Maori

Tupuranga	Future generations / growth
turangawaewae	literally, a place to stand - home ground
wananga	traditional Maori learning setting
whakahihi	arrogance, boastfulness
whakaiti	modesty
whakatauaki	proverb
whakawhanaungatanga	building relationships
whanau	the extended family
whanaungatanga	relationships - family kinship - the extended family obligations and networks
wharekai	the kitchen and dining hall on the marae
wharenui	the meeting house on the marae

Other Languages

tivaevae	Cook Island Maori	traditional hand-appliquéd bedcovers
ava	Samoan	drink made from the root of the ava plant and used on ceremonial occasions
Amataga	Samoan	beginning
fiafia	Samoan	celebration
Lumanai	Samoan	future
Palagi	Samoan / Tongan	white, Caucasian, European
Fonuamalu	Tongan	safe shelter

List of Appendices

Appendix A

Project: Thesis **User:** Ann Milne **Date:** 12/01/2004.

DOCUMENT LISTING

Documents in Set: All Documents

Created: 30/09/2003
Modified: 12/01/2004 .

Number of Documents: 97

1 Otara schools go public to counter
2 Annual Report 1999
3 Annual Report 2000
4 Annual Report 2001
5 Annual Report 2002
6 At Risk June 00 Report
7 Background Information Marae
8 Background senior class
9 Bates letter 231002
10 Capacity Building Report, May 2001
11 Chapel D letter 2
12 Community Consultation 2002
13 Community Report - Madison
14 Curriculum Plan 2003
15 Email from A Milne to T Bates, 19 Sept 2002
16 ERO Report 1991
17 ERO Report 1997
18 ERO Report 1999
19 ERO Report 2003
20 ERO SEMO Report 1998
21 Finding the Fit
22 Gazette Notice Change of Class
23 Goodman Fielder Entry
24 Hillary agreement 1993
25 How a school addresses the Treaty
26 Indicative Report - Bishop
27 Interview Maori online conference
28 Jenkins staff comment
29 Jenkins Thesis 2002
30 Knight & Assoc~ - 28 Nov
31 Letter from BOT to Howick 27~08~01
32 Letter from BOT to Phil Goff 22 Oct
33 Letter from MOE 21 Nov 1994 re name
34 Letter from MOE approving ~5 teacher
35 Letter to Margaret Leaming 12 August
36 Letter to MOE 12 April 1994
37 Letter~ 25 April 1987 granting $650~
38 Letter~ Principal to Lockwood Smith
39 Letters of Invitation - school opening
40 Mallard reply
41 Maori Learners - School & Community

42 Middle School application
43 MOE ~May 1997~ SEMO pamphlet
44 MOE Maori Network Strategy Analysis
45 Neville 1999
46 Neville Milne TEFANZ 2002
47 Neville NZARE 2002
48 Neville student staff comment 1999
49 NMSA Position Statement on Curriculu
50 Non Violence Evaluation
51 Non Violence Evaluation Report
52 OPA Position Statement
53 Organisation Schedule E8~18 1980
54 Organisation Schedule E8~18 1981
55 Otara Principals AGM 98
56 Pasifika Initiatives 2000-2002
57 PEN Leading Maori Achievement
58 Policy Manual 2002
59 Potter, K~ Conclusion
60 Potter, K~ Interview
61 Potter, K~ Results and Discussions
62 Principals Rept BOT Feb 2003
63 Principals Rpt Apr 2003
64 Principals Rpt August 2003
65 Principals Rpt July 2003
66 Principals Rpt June 2003
67 Principals Rpt May 2003
68 Principals Rpt Sept 2003
69 Principals_Rpt_Mar
70 Redoubt North Letter 1981
71 Results and Discussions Potter
72 School Charter Manual 2001
73 School Charter RESULTS Consultation
74 School Committee letter to Parents,
75 School Documents~ Info to back F1-4
76 School documents~Pacific Language
77 School Newsletter, 19 March 1981
78 School Newsletter, 19 October 1981
79 School Newsletter, 7 July 1981
80 School Organisation Manual 2003
81 SEMO story 98
82 Situation - rationale for Taha Maori
83 Statement of Belief
84 Strategic Plan
85 Student Interviews 1a
86 Student Interviews Seniors Group11
87 Student Interviews Seniors Group11 1
88 Student Interviews Seniors Groupb1
89 Student Interviews Seniors KPCT
90 Taha Maori submission October 1985
91 Teacher's Job Description
92 TUPURANGA - Kapa Haka statement
93 Tupuranga Kaupapa
94 Tupuranga, Term 3, 1986, Rationale
95 UN Report - Anti Racism Education
96 Video interviews
97 Working Party Report April2002

Appendix B

Project: Thesis **User:** Ann Milne **Date:** 12/01/2004 .

NODE LISTING

Nodes in Set: All Tree Nodes

Created: 30/09/2003
Modified: 12/01/2004

Number of Nodes: 117

1 (1) /Internal Data
2 (1 1) /Internal Data/Official Education
3 (1 1 1) /Internal Data/Official Education/Circulars
4 (1 1 2) /Internal Data/Official Education/MOE Letters
5 (1 1 3) /Internal Data/Official Education/Roll Returns
6 (1 2) /Internal Data/School Organisation
7 (1 2 1) /Internal Data/School Organisation/Staffing
8 (1 2 2) /Internal Data/School Organisation/Structure
9 (1 2 3) /Internal Data/School Organisation/Meeting Minutes
10 (1 2 3 1) /Internal Data/School Organisation/Meeting Minutes/Staff
11 (1 2 3 2) /Internal Data/School Organisation/Meeting Minutes/Senior Management
12 (1 2 3 3) /Internal Data/School Organisation/Meeting Minutes/Senior Staff
13 (1 2 3 4) /Internal Data/School Organisation/Meeting Minutes/Team
14 (1 2 3 5) /Internal Data/School Organisation/Meeting Minutes/Community
15 (1 3) /Internal Data/Events
16 (1 3 1) /Internal Data/Events/Official Opening
17 (1 3 2) /Internal Data/Events/Prizegivings
18 (1 3 3) /Internal Data/Events/10 Year Anniversary
19 (1 3 4) /Internal Data/Events/Celebration Days
20 (1 3 5) /Internal Data/Events/Building
21 (1 4) /Internal Data/Artifacts
22 (1 4 1) /Internal Data/Artifacts/Uniform
23 (1 4 2) /Internal Data/Artifacts/Logos
24 (1 4 3) /Internal Data/Artifacts/Motto
25 (1 5) /Internal Data/Pedagogy
26 (1 5 1) /Internal Data/Pedagogy/Pedagogy
27 (1 5 2) /Internal Data/Pedagogy/Bilingual Education
28 (1 5 3) /Internal Data/Pedagogy/Curriculum Planning
29 (1 5 4) /Internal Data/Pedagogy/Culturally Relevant Pedagogy
30 (1 5 5) /Internal Data/Pedagogy/Curriculum Integration
31 (1 5 6) /Internal Data/Pedagogy/Professional Development
32 (1 6) /Internal Data/Change process
33 (1 6 1) /Internal Data/Change process/Need for change
34 (1 6 2) /Internal Data/Change process/Timeline
35 (1 6 3) /Internal Data/Change process/Barriers
36 (1 7) /Internal Data/Cultures
37 (1 7 1) /Internal Data/Cultures/Samoan
38 (1 7 2) /Internal Data/Cultures/Cook Island
39 (1 7 3) /Internal Data/Cultures/Tongan
40 (1 7 4) /Internal Data/Cultures/Other Pacific

41 (1 7 5) /Internal Data/Cultures/Asian
42 (1 8) /Internal Data/Community
43 (1 8 1) /Internal Data/Community/Consultation
44 (1 8 2) /Internal Data/Community/Initiatives
45 (1 8 3) /Internal Data/Community/Demographics
46 (1 8 4) /Internal Data/Community/Surveys
47 (1 9) /Internal Data/Maori Initiatives
48 (1 9 1) /Internal Data/Maori Initiatives/Te Whanau o Tupuranga
49 (1 9 2) /Internal Data/Maori Initiatives/Kia Aroha Marae
50 (1 9 3) /Internal Data/Maori Initiatives/Te Poho
51 (1 9 4) /Internal Data/Maori Initiatives/Kapa Haka
52 (1 9 5) /Internal Data/Maori Initiatives/Senior Class
53 (1 10) /Internal Data/Board of Trustees
54 (1 10 1) /Internal Data/Board of Trustees/Annual Reports
55 (1 10 2) /Internal Data/Board of Trustees/Policies
56 (1 10 3) /Internal Data/Board of Trustees/Decisions
57 (1 10 4) /Internal Data/Board of Trustees/Strategic Planning
58 (1 10 5) /Internal Data/Board of Trustees/Meeting Minutes
59 (1 11) /Internal Data/Students
60 (1 11 1) /Internal Data/Students/Achievements
61 (1 11 2) /Internal Data/Students/Attitudes
62 (1 11 3) /Internal Data/Students/Behaviour
63 (1 12) /Internal Data/Photos~Images
64 (1 13) /Internal Data/Pasifika Initiatives
65 (2) /External Data
66 (2 1) /External Data/Education Review Office Reports
67 (2 1 1) /External Data/Education Review Office Reports/ERO Review October 1991
68 (2 1 2) /External Data/Education Review Office Reports/Assurance Audit Report June 1994
69 (2 1 3) /External Data/Education Review Office Reports/Effectiveness Review June 1997
70 (2 1 4) /External Data/Education Review Office Reports/SEMO Report October 2000
71 (2 1 5) /External Data/Education Review Office Reports/ERO Report February 2003
72 (2 2) /External Data/Media
73 (2 2 1) /External Data/Media/Newspaper
74 (2 2 2) /External Data/Media/Television
75 (2 3) /External Data/Research
76 (2 3 1) /External Data/Research/Dr Mollie Neville
77 (2 3 2) /External Data/Research/Heather Jenkins
78 (2 4) /External Data/Achievements
79 (2 4 1) /External Data/Achievements/National
80 (2 4 2) /External Data/Achievements/International
81 (2 5) /External Data/Letters
82 (2 5 1) /External Data/Letters/Parents
83 (2 5 2) /External Data/Letters/Education
84 (2 5 3) /External Data/Letters/Other
85 (2 6) /External Data/Surveys
86 (2 6 1) /External Data/Surveys/Madison Consulting
87 (2 6 2) /External Data/Surveys/Otara Boards Forum
88 (2 6 3) /External Data/Surveys/Ministry of Education
89 (2 7) /External Data/Official Education data
90 (2 7 1) /External Data/Official Education data/School Smart Statistics
91 (2 7 2) /External Data/Official Education data/MOE Policy
92 (2 7 3) /External Data/Official Education data/MOE Discussion Papers
93 (2 7 4) /External Data/Official Education data/MOE Strategic Plans
94 (2 7 5) /External Data/Official Education data/MOE Maori Achievement
95 (2 7 6) /External Data/Official Education data/MOE Pasifika

96 (2 7 7) /External Data/Official Education data/Curriculum
97 (3) /Education Review Office Reports
98 (4) /Search Results
99 (4 17) /Search Results/Single T Culturally Relevant Pedagogy
100 (4 21) /Search Results/Single Node Lookup 2
101 (4 22) /Search Results/Single Text Lookup 19
102 (4 28) /Search Results/Single Node Lookup 3
103 (4 29) /Search Results/Single Text Lookup 20
104 (4 30) /Search Results/Single Node Lookup 4
105 (4 32) /Search Results/Single Text Lookup 22
106 (4 33) /Search Results/Single Text Lookup 23
107 (4 34) /Search Results/Single Text Lookup 24
108 (5) /Policies
109 (7) /Student Voices
110 (7 1) /Student Voices/Pedagogy
111 (7 2) /Student Voices/Discipline
112 (7 2 1) /Student Voices/Discipline/excluded
113 (7 2 1 1) /Student Voices/Discipline/excluded/Tree Node
114 (7 2 2) /Student Voices/Discipline/ignored
115 (7 3) /Student Voices/Attitude of the schools to the students
116 (7 4) /Student Voices/Returning Home
117 (7 5) /Student Voices/Parents

Appendix C

Project: Thesis **User:** Ann Milne **Date:** 12/01/2004

NODE LISTING

Nodes in Set: All Free Nodes

Created: 30/09/2003.
Modified: 30/09/2003

Number of Nodes: 31

1 Alienation from education
2 Assessment
3 Bilingual education
4 Board of Trustees
5 Culturally relevant pedagogy
6 Curriculum
7 developmental needs of emerging adolescents
8 Kaupapa Māori
9 Leadership
10 Maori giftedness
11 Middle Schooling
12 Otara
13 Parent/Community involvement
14 Performance Management
15 Power & control issues
16 Provision for Maori
17 Provision for Pasifika
18 Quality of education
19 Racism
20 Relationships
21 Resources & Facilities
22 Roll
23 Safe Physical and Emotional Environment
24 School organisation
25 Special Needs
26 Student attitudes
27 Taha Maori
28 Te Poho comments
29 The senior class~
30 Treaty of Waitangi
31 Whanaungatanga

Appendix D

Project: Thesis **User:** Ann Milne **Date:** 9/01/2004

NODE CODING REPORT

Node: /Search Results/Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

Treenode address: (4 17)

Created: 9/01/2004
Modified: 9/01/2004
Description: Text Search: text matching the pattern 'cultural'

Scope: { ERO Report 1991, ERO Report 1997, ERO Report 1999, ERO Report 2003, Indicative Report - Bishop, Jenkins Thesis 2002, Neville 1999, Neville Milne TEFANZ 2002, Neville NZARE 2002, Potter, K- Interview, Results and Discussions Potter, UN Report-Anti Racism Education}

Result is a node coding all the finds: (4 1) /Search Results/Culturally Relevant pedagogy Document finds are spread to enclosing paragraphs. Node finds are spread to enclosing paragraphs.

Documents in Set: Independent Documents

Document 1 of 12	**ERO Report 1997**
Passage 1 of 9	Section 4.1, Para 11, 271 chars.
Passage 2 of 9	Section 5, Para 25, 353 chars.
Passage 3 of 9	Section 5, Para 27, 422 chars.
Passage 4 of 9	Section 5, Paras 29 to 30, 876 chars.
Passage 5 of 9	Section 5, Para 48, 292 chars.
Passage 6 of 9	Section 5, Para 61, 342 chars.
Passage 7 of 9	Section 5, Para 70, 536 chars.
Passage 8 of 9	Section 5, Para 85, 408 chars.
Passage 9 of 9	Section 5, Para 100, 225 chars.
Document 2 of 12	**ERO Report 1999**
Passage 1 of 1	Section 6.5, Para 97, 449 chars.
Document 3 of 12	**ERO Report 2003**
Passage 1 of 26	Section 2, Para 71, 428 chars.
Passage 2 of 26	Section 2, Para 73, 424 chars.
Passage 3 of 26	Section 2, Para 75, 411 chars.
Passage 4 of 26	Section 2, Para 77, 479 chars.
Passage 5 of 26	Section 2, Para 80, 239 chars.
Passage 6 of 26	Section 3, Para 95, 103 chars.
Passage 7 of 26	Section 4.1, Para 109, 437 chars.
Passage 8 of 26	Section 4.1, Para 113, 440 chars.
Passage 9 of 26	Section 4.1, Para 117, 668 chars.
Passage 10 of 26	Section 5, Para 136, 506 chars.
Passage 11 of 26	Section 5, Para 138, 398 chars.
Passage 12 of 26	Section 5.1, Para 142, 263 chars.
Passage 13 of 26	Section 5.1, Para 146, 496 chars.
Passage 14 of 26	Section 5.1, Para 148, 394 chars.

Passage 15 of 26	Section 5.1, Para 150, 413 chars.
Passage 16 of 26	Section 5.1, Para 154, 518 chars.
Passage 17 of 26	Section 6, Paras 166 to 167, 753 chars.
Passage 18 of 26	Section 6.1, Para 179, 337 chars.
Passage 19 of 26	Section 7.1, Para 214, 647 chars.
Passage 20 of 26	Section 9, Para 242, 357 chars.
Passage 21 of 26	Section 9, Para 244, 421 chars.
Passage 22 of 26	Section 9, Para 248, 489 chars.
Passage 23 of 26	Section 10, Para 261, 346 chars.
Passage 24 of 26	Section 10, Para 263, 468 chars.
Passage 25 of 26	Section 10, Para 267, 426 chars.
Passage 26 of 26	Section 10, Paras 269 to 270, 768 chars.
Document 4 of 12	**Indicative Report - Bishop**
Passage 1 of 1	Section 0, Para 7, 487 chars.
Document 5 of 12	**Jenkins Thesis 2002**
Passage 1 of 27	Section 1, Para 15, 369 chars.
Passage 2 of 27	Section 1, Para 29, 382 chars.
Passage 3 of 27	Section 2, Para 387, 277 chars.
Passage 4 of 27	Section 2, Para 396, 690 chars.
Passage 5 of 27	Section 3, Para 472, 948 chars.
Passage 6 of 27	Section 3, Para 494, 554 chars.
Passage 7 of 27	Section 3, Para 499, 287 chars.
Passage 8 of 27	Section 3, Para 504, 477 chars.
Passage 9 of 27	Section 3, Para 514, 316 chars.
Passage 10 of 27	Section 3, Para 518, 822 chars.
Passage 11 of 27	Section 3, Para 520, 468 chars.
Passage 12 of 27	Section 3, Para 543, 767 chars.
Passage 13 of 27	Section 3, Para 552, 474 chars.
Passage 14 of 27	Section 3, Para 554, 748 chars.
Passage 15 of 27	Section 3, Para 568, 556 chars.
Passage 16 of 27	Section 3, Para 572, 837 chars.
Passage 17 of 27	Section 3, Para 590, 207 chars.
Passage 18 of 27	Section 3, Para 599, 771 chars.
Passage 19 of 27	Section 3, Para 606, 747 chars.
Passage 20 of 27	Section 3, Para 610, 208 chars.
Passage 21 of 27	Section 3, Para 627, 433 chars.
Passage 22 of 27	Section 3, Para 633, 782 chars.
Passage 23 of 27	Section 3, Para 638, 793 chars.
Passage 24 of 27	Section 3, Para 643, 420 chars.
Passage 25 of 27	Section 3, Para 645, 446 chars.
Passage 26 of 27	Section 3, Para 652, 443 chars.
Passage 27 of 27	Section 3, Para 672, 291 chars.
Document 6 of 12	**Neville 1999**
Passage 1 of 8	Section 1.1.1, Para 7, 261 chars.
Passage 2 of 8	Section 1.1.1, Para 10, 138 chars.
Passage 3 of 8	Section 2, Paras 91 to 92, 1770 chars.
Passage 4 of 8	Section 3, Para 108, 211 chars.
Passage 5 of 8	Section 3, Para 115, 196 chars.
Passage 6 of 8	Section 3, Para 124, 254 chars.
Passage 7 of 8	Section 3, Para 145, 500 chars.
Passage 8 of 8	Section 4, Para 177, 88 chars.
Document 7 of 12	**Neville Milne TEFANZ 2002**
Passage 1 of 12	Section 4, Para 41, 169 chars.
Passage 2 of 12	Section 4.1.8, Para 166, 123 chars.
Passage 3 of 12	Section 4.1.8, Para 168, 292 chars.
Passage 4 of 12	Section 4.1.8, Para 170, 371 chars.

Passage 5 of 12	Section 4.1.8, Para 178, 170 chars.
Passage 6 of 12	Section 4.1.8, Para 182, 345 chars.
Passage 7 of 12	Section 4.1.8, Para 184, 371 chars.
Passage 8 of 12	Section 4.1.8, Para 186, 258 chars.
Passage 9 of 12	Section 4.1.9, Para 201, 469 chars.
Passage 10 of 12	Section 4.1.11, Para 280, 490 chars.
Passage 11 of 12	Section 4.1.12, Para 301, 777 chars.
Passage 12 of 12	Section 4.1.16.1.1, Para 392, 531 chars.
Document 8 of 12	Neville NZARE 2002
Passage 1 of 11	Section 4, Para 57, 350 chars.
Passage 2 of 11	Section 4, Para 69, 257 chars.
Passage 3 of 11	Section 4.1.3, Para 104, 292 chars.
Passage 4 of 11	Section 4.1.3, Para 191, 227 chars.
Passage 5 of 11	Section 4.1.3, Para 195, 286 chars.
Passage 6 of 11	Section 4.1.3, Para 197, 471 chars.
Passage 7 of 11	Section 4.1.3, Para 221, 351 chars.
Passage 8 of 11	Section 4.1.3, Para 239, 299 chars.
Passage 9 of 11	Section 4.1.3, Para 241, 366 chars.
Passage 10 of 11	Section 4.1.3, Para 262, 482 chars.
Passage 11 of 11	Section 4.1.3, Para 295, 985 chars.
Document 9 of 12	Potter, K- Interview
Passage 1 of 3	Section 0, Para 86, 449 chars.
Passage 2 of 3	Section 0, Para 108, 549 chars.
Passage 3 of 3	Section 0, Para 225, 211 chars.
Document 10 of 12	UN Report - Anti Racism Education
Passage 1 of 4	Section 17, Paras 136 to 137, 1058 chars.
Passage 2 of 4	Section 17, Para 141, 485 chars.
Passage 3 of 4	Section 17, Para 142, 572 chars.
Passage 4 of 4	Section 17, Paras 144 to 145, 1316 chars.

Appendix E

Project: Thesis **User:** Ann Milne **Date:** 9/01/2004

NODE CODING REPORT

Node: Search Results/Curriculum Integration

Treenode address: (4 34)
Created: 9/01/2004 - 3:17:50 p.m.
Modified: 9/01/2004 - 3:17:50 p.m.
Description: Text Search: text matching the pattern 'curriculum integration'

Scope: { ERO Report 1999, ERO Report 2003, Indicative Report - Bishop, Jenkins Thesis 2002, Neville Milne TEFANZ 2002, UN Report - Anti Racism Education }

Result is a node coding all the finds: (4 1) /Search Results/Curriculum Integration

Document finds are spread to enclosing paragraphs. Node finds are spread to enclosing paragraphs.

Documents in Set: Independent Documents

Document 1 of 12 **ERO Report 2003**

Passage 1 of 8 Section 2, Para 77, 479 chars.

Teachers design relevant and meaningful learning programmes. Programmes are designed to value cultural identity, are carefully documented and are closely tied to national curriculum statements. Lessons are well planned for the range of student abilities. Teachers are using curriculum integration effectively to provide a culturally inclusive education. Further planned refinements to teaching approaches should contribute to enhancing the quality of education for students.

Passage 2 of 8 Section 6, Paras 166 to 167, 753 chars.

Curriculum integration is a specific approach to curriculum design not constrained by subject area boundaries, that links student learning with their background experiences. The approach is student centred, derived from students' questions about their own lives, communities and global issues, and validates students' cultures and life stories. From the questions students raise, teachers develop relevant contexts for learning that include national curriculum achievement objectives.

Curriculum integration was first trialed in term 4, 2001 in Te Whanau o Tupuranga. This year teachers are designing programmes incorporating students' cultural knowledge and skills in English and social studies in the other areas of Lumanai, Kimiora and Fonuamalu.

Passage 3 of 8 Section 6.1, Para 171, 502 chars.

Well-managed introduction. Senior staff have introduced curriculum integration in a thoughtful, well managed way. The process has included research to establish a sound theory base, professional development for all staff, a trial implementation, further evaluation and initial school-wide implementation incorporating at least two essential learning areas of the national curriculum. Teachers have become more committed to the practice of curriculum integration because of this incremental process.

Passage 4 of 8 Section 6.1, Para 173, 356 chars.

School documentation. There is a strong base of school documentation on curriculum integration. It is referred to in the school's policy on curriculum delivery, in annual planning and annual reporting, and in the school organisation handbook. This reinforces the direction of curriculum development and assists understanding at times of staff change.

Passage 5 of 8 Section 6.1, Para 175, 328 chars.

Central role of students. Curriculum integration is strongly student centred. Through curriculum integration, students' prior knowledge is valued and developed. Student questions are displayed in class areas and form the basis for planning units of work. This contributes to high levels of student engagement in learning.

Passage 6 of 8 Section 6.1, Para 179, 337 chars.

Rich learning environment. The visual learning environment is a rich one. It is distinctive for different areas of the school and celebrates the culture of each. Displays are changed regularly to reflect the current area of study under curriculum integration. As a result, students experience their learning area as a cultural home.

Passage 7 of 8 Section 10, Para 263, 468 chars.

The school aims to achieve bilingualism for all students in their home language and in English. Pacific students may learn in a Samoan bilingual area, in an area that has many Tongan students and optional Tongan bilingual learning, or in a unit with many Cook Island students. Curriculum integration acknowledges the prior learning of students and thus incorporates their Pacific cultures. The Year 7 to 10 class groups reflect the home life of Pacific students.

Passage 8 of 8 Section 16, Para 360, 479 chars.

Teachers design relevant and meaningful learning programmes. Programmes are designed to value cultural identity, are carefully documented and are closely tied to national curriculum statements. Lessons are well planned for the range of student abilities. Teachers are using curriculum integration effectively to provide a culturally inclusive education. Further planned refinements to teaching approaches should contribute to enhancing the quality of education for students.

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Passage 1 of 1 Section 3, Para 518, 822 chars.

In line with the school's philosophy of working with students' cultural and social subjectivities, Clover Park is committed to the development of the Curriculum Integration model proposed by Beane (1997). Curriculum Integration is defined as a curriculum design concerned with enhancing possibilities for personal and social integration by organising the curriculum (free of subject boundaries) around personal and social issues which have been collaboratively identified by educators and students (Beane, 1997). Moreover, as Milne (2001) suggests, Curriculum Integration is about integrating learning with students' life experiences and realities; it is about problem solving and developing critical thinking; it is about developing social awareness and citizenship; it is as Beane (1997) puts it . . . 'high pedagogy':

Appendix F

9 June 2002

The Chairperson
Board of Trustees
Clover Park Middle School
51 Othello Drive
Otara

Dear Ms Robson

Re: Thesis: ' They didn't care about normal kids like me' - Restructuring a school to fit the kids.

I am currently studying for a Masters degree in Education Administration at Massey University. I seek the approval of the Board of Trustees to carry out research within the school.

The purpose of my study is to examine the idea that students may have more success at school if the school acknowledges and values their cultural heritage and background and structures programmes which take this idea into account. I intend to use international and national research and theory and look at the practice of Clover Park Middle School in light of this knowledge.

The objectives of the thesis are:

i. To examine the issues of culturally relevant pedagogy - in both national and international contexts and in the context of other relevant theory and research

ii. To describe the practice and process, of cultural validation at Clover Park Middle School and to tell the story of the journey of staff, students and community.

iii. To determine if Clover Park's difference contributes towards creating parity of opportunity for Maori and Pacific learners in New Zealand.

I hope this thesis will:

i. contribute to raising awareness of the complex causal factors which underpin disparity of outcomes for indigenous and ethnic minority students through the exploration of international and national research.
ii. provide a platform for discussing and further exploring best practice in multi-cultural schools.
iii. give Maori and Pacific former and current students of Clover Park Middle School, and their families, a voice which will add to our understanding of the impact of our current education system on learners who are not from the majority group.

Data

I am seeking approval from the board to use archival data and documentation to construct the story of Clover Park's journey towards culturally relevant practice. Much of this documentation is already available to the public in Annual Reports, Board minutes, Education Review Office reports, the school Charter and strategic planning. In addition many staff, students and community members have had comments published in previous publications by independent researchers. My intention is to draw all this information together to write my perspective of the school's journey.

Confidentiality

No names of students, staff or community members will be used in this thesis and no interviews will be conducted in the research process. Although every effort will be made to protect the anonymity of those who have held roles in the school, it is possible that the specific nature of the research may result in participants and/or comments attributed to them being identifiable within the final work.

Findings

Findings will be submitted to Massey University as a thesis and may be subsequently submitted to journals for publication or as papers for conference presentations. Findings will be shared with the community of Clover Park Middle School and a copy of the thesis will be presented to the school.

I expect to complete the thesis by the end of 2003.

Yours sincerely

Ann Milne

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