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The Tensions Facing a Board of Trustee Model Within
the Cultural Framework of *Kura Kaupapa Maaori*

Kanewa Stokes

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ABSTRACT

The Tensions Facing a Board of Trustee Model Within the Cultural Framework of *Kura* *Kaupapa Maaori*

This study originated from personal experience, as a member of a Board of Trustee (BOT) within *Kura Kaupapa Maaori (KKM)*. The workload required for *Kura* compliance with government regulation and legislation, was phenomenal. The BOT model seemed to be structured on a corporate model of governance with accountability to the Ministry of Education. This contradicted with the needs of *Kura whaanau* to be involved in *Kura* decision-making. The BOT model unintentionally created a separation and tension between *whaanau* and BOT members.

This research set out to explore the BOT model of governance within our *Kura*, from a cultural perspective, rather, than researching problems identified by ERO. The research undertook a review of the literature that placed the BOT model within the 1984 -1990 Economic Reforms. It highlighted the impact of past government policies, and administration, on the *Maaori* language and culture to illuminate the cultural, economic, political and social context of the establishment of *Kura Kaupapa Maaori* and the doctrine of *Te Aho Matua (TAM)*.

The BOT model, and *KKM/TAM*, are founded on differing values. The study was approached from a *Kaupapa Maaori* perspective; not wishing to reaffirm the negative stigma of past research undertaken of *Maaori*. The objectives of the study were to gain an understanding of *whaanau* cultural capacity, perceptions and understanding of *KKM* and *TAM*; and also, *whaanau* understanding of the BOT model. The research design consisted of a case study. This involved a questionnaire to all *whaanau*; and in-depth discussions with a sample of twelve *whaanau*. Appropriate ethical considerations were given to the process, which addressed both academic and cultural needs.

Findings clearly identify the structure, and nature of the BOT model, being problematic within the cultural framework of a *KKM* underpinned by *Te Aho Matua*. The values and principles between the model and *TAM* fundamentally conflict. Findings also identify key factors, that both government and *Kura whaanau* can utilise, in advancing *whaanau* governance.

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“ E tipu e rea moo ngaa ra oo to’u ao

Ko ou ringaringa ki ngaa raakau a te Paakehaa hei oranga moo too tinana

Ko too ngaakau ki ngaa taonga a oo tipuna hei tikitiki moo too maahunga

Ko too wairua ki te Atua naana nei ngaa mea katoa”.

“Grow tender shoot for the days of your world

Turn your hands to the tools of the Paakehaa

for the well-being of your body

Turn your heart to the treasures of your ancestors

as a crown for your head

Give your soul unto God the author of all things”

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CONTENTS

	Page
1.0 Introduction.....	1
2.0 1984 Labour's Shift to the Right.....	3
2.1 The Shift to the Right: Economic Reform 1984 – 1991	3
2.2 The Corporation of the Public Sector.....	4
2.3 The New Public Sector Management.....	5
2.4 Reforming Social Policy	6
2.5 The Need for Education Administration Reforms	8
2.6 The 1989 Education Act.....	11
2.7 The School Board of Trustees.....	11
2.8 Summary	15
3.0 <i>Kura Kaupapa Maaori</i>	16
3.1 Introduction.....	16
3.2 The Decline of the <i>Maaori</i> Language	16
3.3 <i>Maaori</i> Respond	19
3.4 <i>Te Aho Matua</i> and the State	20
3.5 <i>Whaanau</i> Governance from a Traditional Perspective.....	23
3.6 Decision-making involved the Collective.....	25
3.7 The Colonisation of <i>Maaori</i>	26
3.8 Summary	28
4.0 The Treaty of <i>Waitangi</i>	28
4.1 Devolution, 'Autonomy' of 'Self-Management'	29
4.2 The Price of State Funding.....	31
4.3 The BOT and Capacity of Cultural Fragmentation	32
4.4 Summary	35
5.0 Research Methodology.....	36
5.1 <i>Kura</i> Autonomy (A Case Study).....	38
5.2 <i>Kaupapa Maaori</i> Research.....	40
5.3 Focus on Cultural Capacity	42
5.4 Multiple Techniques and Flexibility	44
5.5 A Qualitative Approach.....	45
5.6 <i>Whaanau</i> as a Sample Framework.....	47
5.7 Ethical Considerations.....	49
5.8 Summary	52
6.0 Findings Introduction to <i>Whaanau</i> and <i>Kura</i>	53
6.1 <i>Whaanau</i> upbringing and access to <i>Te Reo Me oona Tikanga</i>	53
6.2 From Past Experiences to Future Generations.....	56
6.3 <i>Whaanau</i> Involvement in <i>Kura</i>	57
6.4 Expectations of <i>Kura Kaupapa Maaori</i>	59
6.5 Expectations of <i>Whaanau</i>	61
6.6 Perceptions of <i>Te Aho Matua</i>	63
6.7 <i>Whaanau</i> Roles and Responsibilities.....	63
6.8 The Importance of <i>Whaanau</i> Participation in <i>Kura</i> Decision-making	64
6.9 Summary	66
7.0 Findings: Understanding the Board of Trustees	68

7.1 <i>Whaanau</i> Perceptions of a Board of Trustees.....	68
7.2 Expectations of a BOT	70
7.3 The Operations of a BOT	73
7.4 The Challenges Facing a BOT Model in <i>Kura</i>	74
7.5 <i>Whaanau</i> Participation in <i>Kura</i> Decision-making.....	78
7.6 Improvements or an Alternative to the BOT Model	81
7.7 Summary	85
8.0 Discussion.....	87
8.1 Brief Overview	87
8.2 Cultural Deprivation	87
8.3 A Right to <i>Te Reo Me oona Tikanga</i>	89
8.4 <i>Whaanau</i> Participation Essential.....	90
8.5 ERO and <i>Whaanau</i> Expectations	92
8.6 The BOT: A Model of Dependency.....	95
8.7 Reform or Dismantle the BOT	96
8.8 <i>Whaanau</i> Governance is ' <i>Tino Rangatiratanga</i> '	101
8.9 Conclusion	105
9.0 Bibliography	106
10.0 Appendices	117
Appendix A – Information Sheet	117
Appendix B – Consent Form.....	120
Appendix C – <i>Whaanau</i> Base Line Questionnaire.....	121
Appendix D – <i>Whaanau</i> in-depth Topic Guide.....	123
11.0 Glossary	125

TABLES

Table 1: Native Schools and School Attendance of <i>Maaori</i> Children.....	18
Table 2: The Growth of <i>Kura Kaupapa Maaori</i>	21
Table 3: <i>Kura</i> Decile Rating	22
Table 4: <i>Kura</i> Student Numbers	22

DIAGRAMS

Diagram 5: The BOT Model	99
Diagram 6: <i>Whaanau</i> Governance Model	100
Diagram 7: Key Factors Towards Positive Outcomes	104

1. Introduction

Since contact with European cultures, *Maaori*, have struggled to retain their autonomous structures and organisations. Only the *Marae* remains a bastion of *Maaori* cultural values and structures. Past government policies of colonisation, assimilation and integration have contributed to this demise; however the *Maaori* spirit, and quest for '*tino rangatiratanga*', and equal citizenship rights, remain strong. This is recognised in the renaissance, of the *Maaori* arts, language, economic and social structures. The scope of this thesis is a *Maaori* education initiative, established for the purpose of the revival of, *te reo me oona tikanga* (*Kura Kaupapa Maaori*). The shifting of *KKM* from its autonomous structure, into the State education infrastructure, and the tensions created by this, are explored within this thesis. The main focus, is the Board of Trustee (BOT) model of governance, within the cultural framework of *Kura Kaupapa Maaori* (*KKM*).

Kura Kaupapa Maaori is central to this thesis. The researcher believes that research can contribute valuable information towards positive future advancement of *KKM* and other Maori initiatives. In order to achieve such outcomes, requires an approach to research that moves beyond reaffirmation of the negative statistics. This research has explored 'poor governance' from both a cultural and policy perspective; and was, initiated by the personal experience of tension between BOT members, and *whaanau*, within *KKM*. This prompted the researcher into; further investigation of ERO Audits, and reports, on BOT governance within other *KKM*. These reports highlighted a problem of 'poor governance' in many *KKM*, tending to blame the individual and their lack of skills and/or educational qualifications. This research moves beyond looking at the issue of 'poor governance', as identified by ERO Audits and reports.

Chapter Two in this thesis, undertakes a literature review which places the BOT model firmly within the Economic Reforms initiated by the 1984 Labour Government. It illuminates the values which underpin the model and the logic from which it was structured. A *kaupapa Maaori* approach to this study was utilised; the literature review includes a historical review of the impact, of past government policies on the decline of *Maaori* institutions and culture. This occurs in Chapter Three and extends into the establishment of *KKM*. The Chapter ends with an overview of the traditional concepts of governance, and impact of European contact. This leads into Chapter Four and the final chapter of the literature review, which introduces the

Treaty of *Waitangi* as the founding document of New Zealand and its importance to *Maaori* in their quest for 'tino rangatiratanga' and equal citizenship rights. The literature informed the research methodology and contributed to developing appropriate questions for the study. The objectives of the research turned to exploring *whaanau* cultural capital

Chapter Five outlines the methodology and tensions that arose as a *Maaori* researcher in an academic institution, and the variances of *kaupapa Maaori* research by being a *whaanau* member within the case study of our *Kura*. Inclusive of a *kaupapa Maaori* methodology was ensuring the reporting of findings from *whaanau* in-depth *koorero* reflected what they said. Due to the research being undertaken within *KKM*, and being written predominantly in the English language all *Maaori* words inclusive, of surnames, placenames and titles, have been italicised. This is in recognition of my own limitations to have written this thesis entirely in the *Maaori* language; and also not wishing to further add to the decline or fragmentation of *te reo*. Findings are reported in two chapters, Chapter Six and Seven. Six, reports on the cultural capacity of *whaanau*, identifies the reasons for *whaanau* participation in *KKM*, and their expectations, and understanding of *TAM*. Chapter Seven reports on the responses of *whaanau* understanding of the BOT model of governance, and their expectations. Findings extend to *whaanau* preferred options, of governance within *KKM*.

The final chapter (Eight) of this thesis draws on both the literature and *whaanau* findings, to provide an analytical discussion, on the BOT model of governance within the cultural framework of *KKM*. Tensions are identified, conclusions are reached; and key factors identified by the research are incorporated in potential solutions, for the positive advancement of *Kura* and *Maaori*.

This thesis now turns to the literature review, which locates the BOT model within the Economic Reforms, initiated by the 1984 Labour Government.

2. 1984 Labours Shift to the Right

2.1 The Shift to the Right: Economic Reform 1984 – 1991

This study aims to analyse the governance structure and function of the School Board of Trustee model within a *Kura Kaupapa Māori* setting. This chapter will focus on locating, the school governance model firmly within the public sector, and, economic reforms founded by New Right ideologies, initiated by the Fourth Labour government elected in 1984. New Right philosophies, encompass traditional liberal values of respect for the individual, limited government intervention and a belief in the efficiency of the free market, as well as, more organic conservative notions of community and family (King 1993, Lunt et al. 1993).

As well as politicians taking up the call, Labour's shift to the right, was influenced by prominent Treasury officials. Treasury Briefing Papers to the incoming government, indicated the need, for more free market economic reforms, due to the poor performance of the New Zealand economy; and emphasised the removal of impediments, including government supported ones to the smoother functioning of markets (Treasury 1984). Treasury economists favored a more private driven model, with a particular emphasis on principles of individual choice and free play of market forces. Equity, efficiency and accountability were the objectives which captured Ministerial attention; with these being tackled through contestable contracts, and, an emphasis on outputs and performance monitoring (Boston et al. 1988). The reforms during the late 1980s were dominated by, public choice theory, agency theory, managerialism, corporatisation, privatisation and free market ideologies.

Devolution and decentralisation were perceived, as being, consistent with neo-liberal economic theories. Local, and in many cases non-governmental agencies, were considered to be, better placed to respond effectively and efficiently to local consumer demands. The provision of choice was perceived as a solution to consumer dissatisfaction. Dissatisfied consumers could shift their allegiances to those services which could meet their needs (Boston et al. 1997). These were influential factors; in the devolution and decentralisation of government responsibilities and accountability, for, the provision and delivery of services. The shape of economic policy became; that of less government intervention, increased deregulation of the private economic sector, and competition for government service contracts, most of which had previously been undertaken by the public sector. Government trading agencies assimilated the structure and functions of private corporations, to compete against the private sector for

government service contracts. In the 'Brave New Economic World', the role of the State would decrease and the market would determine the channels through which individuals and business needs would be met (Boston et al. 1988, Sharp 1994).

2.2 The Corporatisation of the Public Sector

The 1986 State Owned Enterprises Act (SOE) was the legislative instrument for the corporatisation of government agencies into commercial market-driven businesses (e.g. Housing Corporation and New Zealand Post), and in some cases, the prerequisite of privatisation (e.g. Telecom Corporation and Post Bank). Under corporatisation Government agencies were transformed into businesses with commercial objectives and private sector management techniques, although ownership remained in public hands. The SOE Act clearly outlined the commercial intent and priority of the newly structured SOEs. Their Principal objectives were to operate as a successful business and to be as profitable and efficient as privately owned businesses. However, unlike private businesses, SOE's were required to function and exhibit a sense of social responsibility by having regard to the interests of the community within which they operated by endeavoring to accommodate or encourage when able to do so (SOE Act 1986).

While SOEs remained a State asset they were run by Boards of Directors who functioned under the precepts of private sector management practices. Governments wishing to purchase services from a SOE were required to pay market rates for their services. The autonomous nature of SOEs prevented Ministerial interference in the management of the agencies trading activities, however they remained accountable to Ministers via their contractual reporting requirements.

The separation of Minister responsibility, State Service Commission employer responsibility and the SOE day-to-day management responsibility functioned in accordance with a market management model. When issues of public concern arose, the question of ultimate responsibility was put to the test. This was highlighted in the *Maniatoto* Irrigation Scheme affair when the responsibility for departmental administration was divided between Ministers, Departmental Head and the State Services Commission, with none of the parties accepting responsibility for cost overruns. The Minister publicly criticised the over-run and denied responsibility, the State Services Commissioner transferred staff but Stated it was not a

disciplinary action, and both the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of Works denied responsibility and perceived themselves as scapegoats and subject to political pressure. The 1987 Treasury Briefing Papers responded to these management issues expressing the need for shorter job tenure and to allow the heads of departments to be the employing authority for their departments (Treasury 1987).

The SOE Act 1986 developed a framework and structure which changed both the physical and the Principal objectives of the public sector. The structure enabled Government to retain ownership of public assets, whilst relinquishing their employer responsibilities and management of the daily operations of their Government agencies. This had the consequence as Martin notes:

“The symbiotic relationship between Ministers and the agencies within their portfolio of responsibilities has been severed. Ministers have been decoupled by the State-Owned Enterprises Act (1986) from the day-to-day management of State-Owned Enterprises and the number of SOEs is increasing ...the lack of clarity in the respective responsibilities of Ministers and Boards has been amply demonstrated” (1994:46).

SOEs adopted a corporate model which subsumed both economic and political agendas, enrolling dual functions of a business and of contractual reporting to the relevant Minister/s.

2.3 The New Public Sector Management

The Labour Government set about introducing private sector management techniques into the public sector. Driving these reforms was the perception that bureaucrats did not directly bear the consequences of their performance and therefore did not necessarily ensure that management acted in the best interest of cost effectiveness and efficiency. A proposed solution was the monitoring of management decisions and the provision of incentives to ensure greater output efficiency. Management would be rewarded for achieving the desired outputs.

Private sector employment practices and contracts are based upon agency theory, an agreed contractual relationship between two parties. One party is obligated to perform the tasks designated by the other for an agreed and mutually acceptable exchange. In many instances this exchange is remuneration (Palmer & Palmer 1997). Agency theory was very influential in

developing the State Sector Act 1988 which altered employment terms and conditions within the public sector.

Under the public sector reorganisation, policy advice, regulation, monitoring and service delivery were separated within departments. Managers were replaced with Chief Executive Officers (CEOs), who adopted and implemented private sector management techniques. CEOs were employed under individual employment contracts by the State Services Commissioner and given greater autonomy to employ and manage their agency resources, to achieve the agreed objectives stated in their performance and purchase agreements with the relevant Minister. The State predominantly became the purchaser/funder and regulator, shifting their focus from inputs to outputs. Sharp States:

“In the new language and practice of administration Ministers are not deemed to be 'responsible' for the activities for Government agencies. They are held responsible only for the outputs. Ministers now purchase outputs, which are goods and services including policy advice” (1994:46).

Policy advice was separated from those delivering the services to protect the policy process from capture by self-seeking, career orientated bureaucrats. In many cases Government departments became public firms, dependent on government support and bound by accountability measures.

2.4 Reforming Social Policy

The previous Labour reforms radically altered the structure, operation, management and accountability of the public sector. The public sector model was strongly influenced by New Right ideologies which called for free market, less government intervention, tighter monetary control and accountability, and freedom of choice with a focus on individualism rather than collectivism. Although the Labour Government was not willing to continue their economic reform as aggressively into their labour or social policies (Dalziel & Lattimore 1997), from 1990 the newly elected National Government showed no such reticence. National utilised the new public sector model as a template for social policy, implementing it into the non-trading government sectors. Sectors such as education and health experienced the development of quasi-markets, a feature of which was the creation of competition amongst service providers.

This was based on the assumption that competition would stimulate providers to be both more efficient and more responsive to customers needs (Cheyne et al. 1998). Quasi-markets are considered markets because they replace monopolistic State providers with competitive independent ones and are quasi because they differ from conventional markets in a number of key ways. In contrast to conventional markets, quasi-market organisations are not necessarily privately owned and do not seek to maximise their profits. Consumer purchasing power is not expressed in money terms in a quasi-market but takes the form of an earmarked budget or voucher confined to the purchase of a specific service allocated to users or centralised in a single State purchasing agency. In most cases it is not the direct user who exercises the choices concerning purchasing decisions; instead those choices are often delegated to a third party (Le Grand & Bartlett 1993).

The Health Reforms introduced by the 1990 National Government illuminate the role of quasi-markets within the New Zealand context. Under the Health and Disability Act 1993, the health sector experienced the application of greater market rigor with the creation of a quasi-market. The health reforms were based on managed competition, health service provision being organised through processes of competition among and between private and public funder and providers of health care (Fougere 1994). The 1993 health reforms separated the purchaser and provider roles of the Area Health Boards and established a competitive, quasi-market approach for the provision of health services (Blank 1999). Area Health Boards were replaced by four Regional Health Authorities (RHA's), responsible for purchasing health and disability services on behalf of their communities and devolving the previous responsibilities of the Department of Health. RHA's were structured on a similar model to SOE's, reflecting the Crown Entity corporate model management structure. Board members were Ministerial appointments, replacing the previous model of locally elected Boards.

In line with public sector reforms, the notion of devolution and decentralisation transferred to the health sector. Government devolved their responsibility and accountability for the delivery of health care, while retaining central control of funding and policy development. RHA's were expected to undertake a dual role as both funder and purchaser of health services, becoming responsible for determining the health needs of their regional communities and contracting appropriate service providers to deliver effective and efficient health services to meet those needs. There was a hope that new and innovative services would arise and increase the

consumers' choice. RHAs were required to reflect Government social objectives such as meeting the special needs of *Maaori* and other community groups (Durie 1993).

The Health reforms provided an opportunity for *Maaori* organisations to participate in the business of health delivery. There are currently 240 *Maaori* health providers delivering a wide range of health services to *Maaori* and non-*Maaori*. Services include health promotion, referrals to secondary services, counselling for abuse, cervical screening, immunization for infants and more (Ministry of Health 2002). *Maaori* health providers competed in the quasi-market for funding against Crown Health Enterprises, and private and community organisations (Cheyne et al. 1998).

Public hospitals were developed into Crown Health Enterprises (CHE's) and their principle objective was to improve efficiency and compete against private sector and other suppliers for RHA contracts. The Health and Disability Service Act Stated an expectation that they be as successful as non Crown owned businesses (1993). CHE's effectively became Crown Entities, governed by a Ministerial appointed Board and managed by a Chief Executive. Irrespective of Government ownership, funding of CHE's was dependent on how competitive they were against private hospitals, voluntary and private health providers. CHE's like SOE's and other public sector agencies, were required to compete for funding contracts to survive as an entity service provider. The intention of a competitive health market was that users would receive more of what they wanted from health services, whilst incentives and consumer demand would ensure health services provided the best-value service to their clients.

2.5 The Need for Education Administration Reforms

The previous reform was implemented under a National Government who continued the introduction of competition into housing and employment services during the 1990s. It seemed Labour were less willing to develop their earlier public sector and economic reforms within the welfare sector. Only in education did Labour undertake such a development. As we shall see, these reforms were the result of multiple premises and cannot be seen solely as a market issue. By April 1995, the biggest category of Crown Entities were the 2,703 educational agencies, of which 2,561 were the Boards of Trustees of New Zealand's primary and secondary schools (Boston et al. 1997). We can use the quasi-market model to make sense of some of the educational reforms of the period.

A number of general Treasury critiques were targeted at the education sector with Treasury arguing that in common with all 'bureaucrats', education too was prone to producer capture (Holland & Boston 1992). The notion of the self interested, unaccountable and therefore inefficient and inflationary bureaucrat extended to teachers (Dale 1994). Educational professionals were perceived to be in a similar position as the self serving bureaucrat of the public sector, with the potential to protect their own interests. This alleged capture of the curriculum, assessment and pedagogy was seen to generate education failure (Wilson 1990). A schooling 'crisis' discourse emerged, in part driven by the economic crisis which New Zealand experienced from the 1970s onwards. From the 1980s particularly, rising unemployment and a depressed economy were directly linked in debates to the inadequacies of the education system (Wilson 1992). Students were under achieving and the curriculum was not delivering appropriate skills which would be required for future employment and economic growth. Parents and communities were perceived to have little or no input into the decision-making of the education of their children and greater input would produce better educational outcomes. Moreover, the State controlled education sector prevented freedom of choice for parents/families because the sector was perceived to be controlled by educational professionals and State bureaucrats as opposed to the direct school communities (Administering For Excellence 1988).

Treasury sought to bring the education sector in line with free market principles. Education was perceived to share similar characteristics as other tradable commodities in the market place. The conditions which the education sector functioned under, were perceived as being inhibited by both government control and bureaucratic red tape, and administrative overload. These conditions resulted in provision that was paternalistic, monolithic and costly, all of which contributed to a system which was inefficient, ineffective and constrained freedom of choice (Jones et al. 1990).

In response to these concerns around the education system a Commission was established to review Educational Administration in New Zealand. It reported directly to the Ministers of Education, Finance and State Services and consisted of two businessmen, two academics, one statistician from *Maaori* Affairs and the Chairman, Brian Picot an Auckland businessman. Their terms of reference included exploring:

- the functions of the Head Office of the Department of Education with a view to focusing them more sharply and delegating responsibilities as far as practicable;
- the Department's role in relation to other educational services;
- changes in the territorial organisation of public education with reference to the future roles of education Boards, other education authorities and the regional offices of the Department of Education;
- any other aspects that warrant review.

The Commission was requested to ensure that their proposed recommendations considered systems and structures which were flexible and responsive to communities and government objectives. Efficiency was the directive for any proposals for a new education administration (The Administering For Excellence Report 1988:IX). The Commission's Report, Administering for Excellence (commonly referred to as the Picot Report), criticised the existing administrative system, echoing the previous criticisms of the education system. Judging it to be a highly centralised system of education administration where communities were not involved in the real decision-making and bureaucracy created barriers to progress, the Commission Stated:

“The core of education's administrative structure in the department is weak” (The Administering For Excellence Report 1988:29).

Their recommendations erred towards devolution, seen as the transfer of power, authority and responsibility from a national to a sub-national level, and decentralisation in terms of the delegation of power and authority to lower levels with ultimate responsibility remaining at the national level (Boston et al. 1997). Picot supported the notion of devolving State responsibility for the delivery of education to individual learning institutions. The State was acknowledged as having a responsibility to fund education and retain control by setting national objectives and compliances. The responsibility for determining how education would be delivered, and who should govern the educational institutions were considered to rest with the individual institutions and those who had a direct interest in their children's education. Thus it was seen that families and communities were the most appropriate to be making education decisions, as they were directly affected by them.

2.6 The 1989 Education Act

The Picot Report was reflective of the Education Administration reforms and many of the ideas from the report were expressed in 'Tomorrow Schools', which aimed to remove bureaucracy and empower parents and communities. The changes to the education administration and related areas were enacted into law by the 1989 Education Act, introduced by the Fourth Labour Government. The Act devolved power and authority to schools and shifted responsibility from the Department of Education Head Office, Department of Regional Education offices and Education Boards, placing it squarely on individual schools and their communities. Government would no longer be responsible for delivering educational services but would retain ultimate power and control of the national curriculum, policy development, school property and central teacher's fund.

Schools became a managed competitive quasi-market, with students/families personifying the 'customer' within the market. A school's funding would be determined by the number of students/customers they could attract and enroll. The theory of choice and exit would provide parents with a greater educational choice. If parents were not satisfied with a school, they would have the choice of exit and opportunity to choose or start-up another school. It was considered desirable that such groups be permitted to exit from the system rather than being held against their will and attacking it from within (Butterworth & Butterworth 1998). A family not satisfied with the quality of education being provided had the choice of leaving and finding another school. As a result, schools, it was believed, would become more responsive to their students/families needs.

2.7 The School Board of Trustees

A key point of the Education Act 1989 was the introduction under section 93 of the School Boards of Trustees (BOT's) model. The Act gave School BOT's complete control of the management of schools and BOTs inherited the governance responsibilities of the previous Department of Education and Education Boards. This inheritance was inclusive of the schools legislative and regulatory obligations which covered responsibility for property, personnel, and the proper management of school finances, reporting to the Ministry of Education (MOE) and school community, and completion of Charter (NZSTA 1997). The

governance model applied to all State schools regardless of size, locality, ethnic makeup or the SES status of a school's community.

Under earlier public service downsizing, the number of public servants was reduced and the theory of school self-management promoted. Self-management required schools to develop a range of management and governance systems to fill the gaps left by the departure of the Department of Education and the education Boards (Kilmister 1990). Under the 1989 Act the ten Regional Education Boards responsible for primary education were abolished and replaced by School Board of Trustees. Many of those previously employed by the Department of Education and Boards became contractors and/or consultants within the newly structured education system.

Under the Public Finance Act 1989, School Boards of Trustees are a legal independent Crown Entity and are accountable to the Minister of Education, who has the power to dismiss a Board. The government has limited influence on the make-up of a BOT and there are no prerequisite skill requirements of Trustees. BOT membership is primarily electoral in nature and has similarities to local body elections. Elections are held every three years and membership favors majority parental representation (School Trustees Act 1989). Nominations are requested by the school community and voting undertaken via a secret ballot. The Trustee model devolves responsibility to democratically elected Board members who are expected to represent the interests of those who elected them.

The rationale for a democratically elected Board was it provides greater administrative efficiency and responsiveness. But there is an assumption that individuals are willing and able to take up responsibilities and possess the skills required to undertake the tasks. In giving parents choice and voice, there is an expectation of sufficiently skilled and experienced parents able to exercise a useful influence on schools.

BOT governance primarily focuses on consultation with the community to develop the school goals, objectives and Charter within the national education and administration guidelines. This process is then followed by the development of appropriate policies, to achieve the desired outcomes set down in the school's Charter. The BOT members are representatives and work on behalf of all the key stakeholders involved in the school's environment.

The Charter goals and objectives are perceived as the outcome of consultation between the school and their community and also as the contract agreement between the BOT and the Minister of Education (MOE 1999).

Principals of schools are required to undertake dual roles as both an employer and employee, acting as a CEO in managing the school and then again as a Board member in a governance role. Although management and governance roles have been devolved to individual schools, the government has retained control of funding, teacher staff contracts, property ownership and the national curriculum. Central Government also determines education policy and Boards are required to implement and comply with government legislation and regulations. The Education Review Office was established by the Crown to undertake the monitoring of school Boards of Trustees to ensure Government compliances and standards are met. Central tasks include monitoring the performance of educational institutions, informing the public and Minister of Education of the outcomes and undertaking accountability reviews including those of BOTs (ERO 1998, Smelt 1998).

The implementation of BOT roles was initially met with a deluge of administrative and management problems. A 1994 ERO report identified the complex and diverse relationships and needs among various school groups which had to be addressed by the BOT. Teachers, administration staff, students, parents and members of the wider community all had varying needs and demands on a school which have the potential to create tensions. Boards are tasked with managing and developing strategies to address ramifications caused by tensions between various interests.

The leadership role of BOT's has been identified by ERO as a key determinant of achieving positive educational outcomes. Their leadership role is believed to be integral to the successful operation and function of a school's performance. In 1996 poor Board performance was highlighted as a contributing factor to the poor performance of many schools in *Otara* and *Mangere*. Of the 45 South Auckland primary schools identified, all were located in areas of low SES, 42 percent were perceived as performing very poorly or under-performing, and 27 percent were in the highest risk category of non-performance (ERO 1996). BOTs were seen to contribute to school failure because of their inability to understand and undertake their governance roles effectively and efficiently.

ERO identified six symptoms and causes of governance failure:

- Trustees who do not exercise their governance role;
- Trustees who have a limited understanding of the governance role;
- Trustees who lack the necessary technical knowledge and management skills;
- Trustees who have no sense of the need for management systems as a necessary precondition for proper accountability and informed decision-making;
- Trustees whose English language skills adversely affect their operational capacity; and
- Trustees who defer instinctively to the professional authority of their Principal (ERO 1996).

Many BOT lacked understanding of their responsibilities for controlling and managing a school, with governance failure placed firmly on Trustees (ERO 1996). Recommendations to assist and improve the circumstances of schools in South Auckland included tighter performance requirements and obligations, a monitor to evaluate and report on the BOT's actions, and the dissolution of one BOT which was replaced by a commissioner.

The Education Review Office saw poor governance as a reflection of the low level of education qualifications and the lack of management experience of individual BOT members. Their view was Trustees with limited expertise were less likely to understand the nature of their governance role or appreciate the need for management systems as a prerequisite for informed decision-making (ERO 1998).

In 1998 ERO reported that Decile 10 schools (those drawing students from areas of least socio-economic disadvantage) performed more strongly in all aspects of governance, management and curriculum delivery compared to Decile 1 schools who draw their students from areas of greatest socio-economic need (ERO 1998). Small schools were identified as having a high probability of poor governance, with a high proportion of low decile schools being small and not performing well (ERO 1998). The BOT model was viewed as unsuccessful in low decile and small schools and it is worth stating that a high proportion of *Kura Kaupapa Māori (KKM)* are between decile 1-3 and have fewer than 100 students (MOE 2001 March rolls *KKM*).

2.8 Summary

The economic reforms initiated by the 1984 Labour Government were influential in developing quasi-markets in both education and health sectors. Underpinning these developments was the restructuring of the public service in line with private sector management structures and techniques. Government as funder and provider was displaced by a government role as both funder and purchaser of services, contracting services from a range of organisations. This regime was perceived as an appropriate route to ensuring provision was more responsive to the demands of the customer/client. The notion of choice assumes the market can supply the appropriate services to suit the individual's needs and demands and organisations within the competitive model are deemed to be inherently more efficient.

Under the 1989 Education Act, the State devolved its responsibility for delivering education but retained responsibility for funding education under contractual conditions and legislative compliances. School's funding became based on enrolments. Central control of teachers salaries, national curriculum, policy development and administrative and education guidelines was retained.

School BOTs are a legal entity, accountable to the Minister of Education, but elected by the school community and have overall responsibility and accountability for running the school. Parents and/or other community members are expected to take up BOT roles and responsibilities of implementing government policy: delivery of the national curriculum, ensuring student achievement, financial accountability and under-taking employment matters. It is within these fundamental changes to the Education Sector that opportunities and challenges emerged for alternative type primary schools such as *KKM* to which we will now turn our focus.

3. *Kura Kaupapa Maaori*

3.1 Introduction

The 1989 Education Act provided the point of entry for *Kura Kaupapa Maaori (KKM)* to State funding and therefore State regulation. *KKM* is a *Maaori* education initiative, strongly driven by the lack of existing institutions offering education in *te reo Maaori*. It provides a primary level education in *te reo me oona tikanga*, an education set within a *Maaori* paradigm reaffirming *Maaori* culture and values. Prior to 1989, *KKM* had been operated as private schools and reliant on both *whaanau* financial contributions and community support. The Act provided the opportunity for *KKM* to gain financial and operational assistance, however, in return *KKM* became accountable to State legislative and regulatory compliance. This Chapter seeks to provide a brief historical background of the emergence of *KKM*, highlighting the cultural framework on which it was founded.

3.2 The Decline of the *Maaori* Language

KKM is one of many mediums developed to assist in the promotion and survival of the *Maaori* language (Reedy 1992, *Te Ruunanga Nui O Ngaa Kura Kaupapa Maaori O Aotearoa* 1998). *Maaori* have historically recognised and responded to the needs of a formal education for their people since European settlement. *Maaori* response has also been impeded by the cultural differences between European and *Maaori* cultural values and Government legislation introduced from 1852.

Since a formal western education system was introduced by Missionaries in the 1830's, *Maaori* exemplified a keen interest to participate and learn. During this period, Missionaries translated their bibles into *te reo Maaori* and there was great interest by *Maaori* to learn how to read and write in *te reo*, with many setting up their own schools. This is reflected in a comment by Brown:

“If one native in a tribe can read and write, he will not be long in teaching the others. The desire to obtain this information engrosses their whole thoughts and they will continue for days with their slates in their hands” (cited in Simon 1998:4).

The Education Ordinance initiated by Sir George Grey in 1847, introduced compliance requirements for Missionary schools as a part of receiving remuneration. The central

requirement was that instruction be in the English language. The introduction of the Native Schools Act in 1867 required *Maaori* communities to submit formal requests to Government if they wished to establish a school. These requests ensured *Maaori* community support and commitment to the establishment of schools by way of gifting land, covering the costs for school buildings and part payment of teacher salaries. Although schools were based on European traditions and values, *Maaori* contributions towards the establishment of the schools provided a strong sense of ownership by *Maaori*. Under the 1867 Act the English language became the medium of instruction under a Native Schools Code established by Government. The Code was explicit in the quest to eliminate and deter the use of the *Maaori* language within the education system stating:

“In all cases English is to be used by the teacher when he is instructing the senior classes. In the junior classes the *Maaori* language may be used for the purpose of making the children acquainted with the meanings of the English words and sentences. The aim of the teacher however, should be to dispense with the use of *Maaori* as soon as possible” (Department of Education 1897:15).

Although Native Schools were aimed at eliminating the *Maaori* language, compulsory schooling for *Maaori* did not come into effect until 1894. Despite the voluntary and non *te reo* aspects, *Maaori* remained supportive of the need for *tamariki* to learn the skills of the Europeans which they perceived as necessary to ensure their culture evolved and survived amongst the European settlers. A *Maaori* Chief from the Bay of Islands for example supported the need for education to progress to children beyond their teen years and extend the curriculum beyond the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic (*Te Matenga* 1998). Schools became a focal point for the community, bringing *whaanau*, teachers and the community together. Parents and *whaanau* became involved with their schools, integrating their cultural beliefs and practices into the school environment although this was not the intention or the result Government policy was attempting to achieve.

The growth of Native schools is outlined in Table 1, which highlights the increasing numbers of Native Schools and attendance of *Maaori* children up until February 1969 when all Native schools were closed or transferred to the control of the Education Board under the 1877 Education Act.

Table 1: Native Schools and School Attendance of *Maaori* Children

Year	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1969
Tahi	57	72	89	99	119	138	146	159	156	105 **
Rua	1,397	2,010	2,762	4,280	4,781	7,070	10,370	11,905	12,098	
Toru				221	267	520	659	1898*	2,990	2,628
Wha				4,462	5,086	12,430	18,139	30,513	30,513	66,600 ***

Tahi = Number of Native Schools

Rua = Attendance in Native Schools

Toru = Attendance in Mission and Private Schools

Wha = Attendance in Public Schools

* Private Primary School figures commence

** Transferred to Education Boards on February 1st 1969

*** Includes Correspondence School and Department Special School figures

(AJHR in Simon 1998:134)

Although education was directed at the assimilation of *Maaori* to European cultural values, *Maaori* were resilient in their quest to hold fast to their *reo me oona tikanga*. However, the impact of the previous (1847, 1867, 1877, 1969) education policies was becoming increasingly apparent by the mid seventies. The historical participation of *Maaori* in the formal western education system had partially achieved the government policy objectives of colonisation and assimilation. The seventies witnessed a period of *Maaori* up-rising in response to land losses (ie; Bastion Point, *Maaori* Land March 1975). The demise of the *Maaori* language was also confirmed after the first *Maaori* language survey, undertaken between 1973 and 1978. The 1976 Census figures suggested 12% of a *Maaori* population of 405,000 were native speakers of *Maaori*. More worryingly, the survey findings suggested that the majority of native *Maaori* speakers were aged 45 years or older (Benton 1981 in *Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Maaori* 1993). The decline of the *Maaori* language sent alarm bells out to *Maaori*. In 1977 the Department of *Maaori* Affairs adopted the '*Tuu Tangaata*' philosophy which aimed at establishing *Maaori* cultural values, a cornerstone being *te reo me oona tikanga* (Walker 1996). Various *Maaori* organisations and national hui (eg. *Hui Whakatauiria Maaori*, Educational Development Conference 1984) highlighted the importance and the need for total immersion education.

3.3 Maaori Respond

In response to the decline of the *Maaori* language, *Maaori* preschool were established with the first *Kohanga Reo* opening in April 1982. *Te reo Maaori me oona tikanga* were the medium of instruction; *whaanau* management and decision-making were integral to the function and operation of *Kohanga Reo*:

“*Kohanga Reo* aims to reaffirm *Maaori* culture through *whaanau* development, restoring *Maaori rangatiratanga*...through the organisation of local *Kohanga Reo* on a *whaanau* model” (Review Of *Te Kohanga Reo* 1988:20).

Kohanga Reo translated into English means ‘language nests’, they provide learning environments for *tamariki* between birth and 5 years. Between 1982 and 1988, *Kohanga Reo* numbers had increased from 50 to 521 and by 1985, approximately 8000 *tamariki* were attending *Kohanga Reo* (Ka Awatea 1991).

Beyond *Kohanga Reo* the public education system was unable to provide suitable primary level education. *Kohanga Reo* graduates were unable to further their education in *te reo me oona tikanga*. The concern by *whaanau*/parents in regards to their *tamariki* not being able to continue their education within a *Maaori* paradigm was a major drive in the development and establishment of *Kura Kaupapa Maaori*. *KKM* was an initiative developed by *Maaori* to deliver an education within a cultural framework which continued the promotion of *Maaori* values and customs as valid and legitimate knowledge beyond solely instructing in the *Maaori* language.

In 1985 the first *Kura*, *Te Kura o Hooani Waititi* opened and *Ruamataa* followed in the same year. *Kura* were initially located on *Marae* and functioned outside the parameters and structures of State schools. In many cases *KKM* teachers were volunteers with limited access to teaching resources and funding. Operationally, *Kura* relied heavily on parent contributions and community support. *Whaanau* were the decision-making body in all aspects for the provision of education for their *tamariki* (Smith 1991). Management and governance roles were the responsibility of the *whaanau* and all, were perceived to have various means of contributing to the operation of a *Kura*. Active participation was an expectation and fundamental to the success and strength of *KKM* and *TKR* (Government Review Of *Te Kohanga Reo* 1988).

These expectations sit within the cultural context, framework, and social organisation which underpin *KKM*.

3.4 *Te Aho Matua* and the State

Fundamental to *KKM* is the underlying philosophy of *Te Aho Matua*. It is a philosophy which provides a holistic approach to education and sets out the guiding principles as a base for all those participating within *KKM* education. Central to this philosophy are six tenets, which integrate to form the essence of *Te Aho Matua*:

1. *Te Ira Tangata*, the focus being on the child and their spiritual and physical development.
2. *Te Reo* focuses on full competency in *te reo* and English and also a respect for all other languages.
3. *Ngaa Iwi* focuses on ensuring *tamariki* establish their *whaanau*, *hapuu*, *iwi* and other genealogical links. The *whaanau* concept is central to *Ngaa Iwi*, a collective responsibility to contribute to both *tamariki* and *whaanau* education. This includes developing and exposing *tamariki* to social, management and governance structures to achieve the desired outcomes of a holistic learning approach.
4. *Te Ao* legitimises *Maaori* knowledge and extends learning beyond *Maaori* culture to the wider world and outer universe.
5. *Aaahuatanga Ako* considers best teaching practices which accommodate the diversity of the needs of *tamariki* and ensuring encouragement and motivation create the desire to learn and want to learn.
6. *Te Tino Uaratanga* provides an insight to the various desired outcomes *KKM* is seeking to achieve (*Mataira* 1997).

The principles of *Te Aho Matua* encompass a learning environment which reflects a child's learning within a broader setting than a school environment. It places the child within a social organisation which reaffirms *Maaori* values, *tikanga* and *tino rangatiratanga*/autonomy, an environment controlled and governed by *whaanau* (*Te Ruunanga Nui o ngaa Kura Kaupapa Maaori o Aotearoa* 1998).

From 1987 *KKM* proponents sought to have *Te Aho Matua* enshrined in the 1989 Education Act, something not achieved until 1999 when the *Te Aho Matua* Amendment Act was enacted

(Mataira 1997). Prior to this, Section 155 of the Education Act distinguished the special character of *KKM* as, “a school in which *Te Reo Maaori* is the Principal language of instruction” (1989), a description not reflective of the true character of *KKM*. A major amendment of the *Te Aho Matua* Amendment Act is the requirement of a school to operate in accordance with *Te Aho Matua* (1999). The Act requires all *Kura* established after 1999 to operate in accordance with *TAM*. For those *Kura* established prior to 1999 adherence to *TAM* is at the discretion and agreement of the *Kura*. Emphasis on the third tenet of *TAM*, *Ngaai Iwi* is of particular importance as it pertains to *whaanau* collective management and governance. Under the 1989 Act a *Kura* was only required to have *Maaori* as the Principal language of instruction. Ten years later *KKM* are now legally required to operate in accordance with *TAM*.

In 1990 a Government trial allowed State funding for six *KKM*, provided a minimum of 21 students enrolled. By 1997, 57 *KKM* had been established. The Labour Government initially committed to fund five *KKM* in 1990 and a further five in the following year and each year there after. Table 2 illustrates the growth of *KKM* from 1990 to 2000.

Table 2. The Growth of *KURA KAUPAPA MAAORI*

Year	1990	1992	1997	2000
NO: <i>KKM</i>	5	13	57	59
Enrolments	Small	510	3700	4956

Initially enrolments were small and increased slowly for the first two years. Rapid growth took place between 1992 and 1997 and there was a larger number of *tamariki* attending these *Kura* by 2000 (MOE 2001, Education Statistics of New Zealand for 2000).

Due to smallness of *KKM* the Ministry of Education, *Te Puni Kokiri*, ERO and New Zealand School Trustee’s Association have little formal research beyond ERO audits and statistical information on *KKM* numbers and enrolments. Almost all *KKM* are classified as small schools in low SES areas. Table 3 highlights the majority of *Kura* have a decile rating of 3 or lower, while Table 4 indicates most *Kura* are relatively small, the majority under 100 students.

Table 3. *Kura* Decile Rating

Decile Rating	No: <i>Kura</i>
1	26
2	20
3	10
4	1
5	2
Total No: of <i>Kura</i>	59

(Source: ERO 2002)

Note: Fifty nine *KKM* as at July 2001 had been designated under section 155 of the Education Act 1989.

Table 4. *Kura* Student Numbers

No: Students	No: <i>Kura</i>
< 100	43
> 100 < 150	9
>150	7
Total No: <i>Kura</i>	59

(Source: ERO 2002)

ERO is the sole outlet of *KKM* research. In the 55 publicly available ERO Accountability Review Reports on *KKM* (2001), only 23 *KKM* were categorized as adhering sufficiently to requirements so that they could be regularly reviewed every two years. For the remaining *KKM*, five had been reviewed more than once within a twelve-month period. Nine *KKM* were advised to seek assistance from MOE and five others referred to the Secretary of Education to have a facilitator or commissioner assist or replace the BOT. The remaining *KKM* were required to undertake further reviews in six, twelve and for a few, 18 months.

In June 2002, ERO aggregated and analysed 52 *KKM* accountability review reports. Their findings highlighted that 37 *KKM* were classified as urban and 22 as rural. Most *Kura* in the smaller areas were founded by respective *hapuu* and *Iwi*, others were pan-tribal.

Positive characteristics of an effective *Kura* identified by ERO were:

- those *Kura* with strong leadership
- *whaanau* were actively involved in ensuring effective leadership
- strong parental involvement with the *Kura*

ERO cited:

“the major strengths of the *Kura* include their ability to involve *whaanau* and the community in their operations and decision-making, and their ability to make links to *whaanau*, *hapuu* and *iwi* backgrounds of students” (ERO 2002).

Governance issues were also highlighted; 67 percent of *Kura* were being challenged to improve their quality of governance, particularly in the areas of personnel management, 33 percent required effective financial and asset management systems. Another area of concern expressed was the inability of *Kura* to meet their legal requirement for the Board of Trustees (ERO 2002). Despite the positive involvement by *whaanau* within the *Kura* environment, some had insufficient parent electives to make up a legally constituted Board of Trustees. The Performance of *Kura Kaupapa* Report, highlights strong participation by *whaanau* within *Kura*, however the question remains whether this strong involvement means *whaanau* governance is being achieved given some *Kura* are not achieving a legally constituted Board of Trustees.

3.5 *Whaanau* Governance from a Traditional Perspective

The concept of *whaanau* governance is integral within *Te Aho Matua*, fundamental to the infrastructure of *KKM* and is also a key focus of this study. This section undertakes a historical review of pre-European *Maaori* social structures and organisation, in order to highlight key contributing factors of the *whaanau* governance concept.

A note of caution is required when reading this section given that much of the documented material is inevitably in English and reflects the thinking of European writers. We must take

cognisance of the innumerable difficulties associated with European writers describing *Maaori* society. These difficulties principally arise from their limited use of the *Maaori* language and idiom, potentially distorting their views of *Maaori* and their society (Firth 1972, Hiroa 1977, Kawharu 1977, Smith 1999, Ward 1983).

The term *Maaori* was itself not utilised prior to European contact (King 1983). *Maaori* society was developed within a framework structured by basic social units determined by *whakapapa*. The smallest social unit, the *whaanau* or biological family, increased over three or four generations, at which point a *whaanau* would extend into a *hapuu*. An increase in numbers was usual cause for a junior *whaanau* to relocate to a nearby land settlement, taking up their own *hapuu* identity. Regardless of relocation, *hapuu* remained and retained their links with each other through their *tipuna*, shared blood ties to a common ancestor. *Whakapapa* to common ancestors and land united *whaanau* and *hapuu*, serving as a purpose and cause, to work co-operatively and collectively to create their own autonomy and existence within the broader context of the *iwi*. In times of war, all *hapuu* descending from common ancestors came together as an *iwi* to fight against other *iwi* or non-descendants (Kawharu 1977). *Maaori*, pre-European contact were collectively recognised under their respective *hapuu* and *Iwi* affiliations, not as a collective ethnic group or race.

Kinship bonds united *whaanau/hapuu* members and were seen as very influential in determining acceptable individual behavior appropriate to the well-being of the group. In an examination of the principles of *Maaori* society Best noted:

“The pride of the family and tribal pride that were so characteristic of the *Maaori* assuredly had a good effect...such feelings made for loyalty to *whaanau*,...a sense of responsibility and duty to the community” (1924).

Whaanau and *hapuu* functioned under the principle of reciprocity, a sense of interdependence for their basic needs of life, each member of society having a role to play to ensure positive outcomes for the collective. In *Maaori* society the individual was absorbed into the *whaanau* and *hapuu* and perceived to act in the overall interest of the collective group. A characteristic of *Maaori* life was the communal nature of social life and organisation (Best 1924). *Maaori* communal participation and collective work ethics were driven by social motives, influenced

by tradition, religious sanctions, emulation and the desire for prestige, pride in achievement and pleasure in work, public recognition of useful achievement and the fear of public condemnation of idleness. Participation was intensified by the social ritual surrounding it and by the emotions which that ritual evoked (Firth 1972). Understanding past motivations and incentives of *Maaori* to the collective well-being has potential in future solutions for advancing *Maaori*.

Maaori culture and belief systems stem from the cosmogony myths where the spiritual order constantly interacts with the material order and extends into the physical/human world. This is reflected in *whakapapa* which was passed down orally from generation to generation through *waiata*, *puuraakau* and *pakiwaitara* (Best 1924). All were means of retaining and teaching the younger generations their history, *tapu* (rules), the respect for nature, the universe and humankind of each *hapuu* and *Iwi*.

3.6 Decision-making Involved the Collective

Leadership of *whaanau/hapuu* devolved onto *Rangatira*, normally ascribed to primogeniture in the male line of the senior *whaanau* with the most direct line of descent from the ancestral gods. Rank and prestige were given to those who inherited the *mana* and knowledge of rituals, to effectively and successfully defend the resources and *taonga* for the well-being of the *whaanau/hapuu* members. A leader with great *mana* was perceived as an efficient leader who could ensure the well-being of *whaanau/hapuu* (Ward 1983).

The *mana* of *Rangatira* empowered them with a source of control which could be used to make sacred property or person (*tapu*). *Mana* and *tapu* were the source of both order and dispute in *Maaori* society. *Maaori* believed that all living and material beings and bodies were imbued with a spiritual essence that could protect them against abuse. *Tapu* provided sanctions and enforced rules which if broken invoked penalties and was influential in maintaining law and order. *Tapu* also expressed the social values of *Maaori* society:

“*Tapu* restrictions were imposed for religious, social and political reasons, so they varied greatly. Basically such a restriction marked the importance of a person or other entity by setting them apart from indiscriminate contact with others; it might also serve to protect a resource or property, or focus attention on important undertakings” (Orbell 1995).

Leadership seen as lacking *mana* was cause for replacement with a younger brother or close relation who had proved more resourceful. The replaced *Rangatira* would still be recognised however his roles would diminish to only undertaking rituals in certain ceremonies. *Rangatira* were not likely to make independent decisions or dictate to their *whaanau/hapuu*, they were unlikely to treat people in an arrogant manner or persistently flout public opinion without risk of repudiation. Decision-making tended to involve open discussions with *whaanau/hapuu* members (Salmon 1976).

The *Marae* was the institution which provided a forum for *Maaori* to openly discuss the topics and issues of importance (Salmond 1976). The *Marae* was an open forum after ritual and ceremony were completed. Although *Maaori* society was fundamentally structured on *whakapapa*, their principles of societal organisation were made resilient by ensuring all members were well educated in the social etiquette of their society. This education commenced at home with parents/grandparents and other *whaanau* members providing instruction in the early childhood years. As *tamariki* moved into their teen years they became involved with, and exposed to, the oratory of the *Marae* and assisted with the manual work of the *whaanau/hapuu*, and those with identified skills were trained by various *tohunga*. Outside of ritual and ceremony, *Maaori* institutions, particularly that of child-raising, were predominantly informal. *Maaori* learnt through the oral traditions passed down through generations. *Whanau/hapuu* learnt the rules and expectations of their societal organisation by experience, a fundamental factor to the efficient functioning of the collective. Metge States:

“Child-raising was not formalised, discussed and taught as an articulated set of *tikanga* but was learnt mainly by example and role modeling...it was passed on from generation to generation but adapted in each to meet its circumstances and needs” (1995:200).

3.7 The Colonisation of *Maaori*

As *Maaori* contact with Europeans increased, their institutions of *whakapapa*, *whaanau/hapuu*, leadership, *tapu* and *mana* were to be severely tested, particularly when European and *Maaori* society began to interact and eventually integrate post 1840. The introduction of economic trade was initially accepted and *Maaori* willingly learnt agricultural techniques, trading skills and musket warfare. *Maaori* adapted and capitalised on this new found knowledge and trade,

by extending and integrating this new found knowledge into their existing knowledge base. Although *Maaori* were exposed to a new culture and their tools and techniques, during this period they were not adversely affected by this initial European introduction (Firth 1973, *Kawharu* 1977). The social structure remained intact (*Kawharu* 1977).

The signing of the Treaty of *Waitangi* brought together two distinctly different cultures: a European culture which functioned on individual property rights and particularly abstract political, social and economic institutions: and, *Maaori* culture centered on collective property rights and institutions structured on *whakapapa*, which nurtured *Maaori* values, kinship bonds and an affinity to nature and the universe. Within *Maaori* society, roles, responsibilities and obligations stemmed from the oral history passed down from one generation to the next, for the benefit of future generations.

Article One of the Treaty of *Waitangi* cedes '*kawanatanga*', Article Two, retains '*tino rangatiratanga*', while Article Three extends equal citizenship rights to *Maaori* (Orange 1989). In signing the Treaty, *Maaori* assumed their right to retain *te reo me oona tikanga* and the retention of their social infra-structures, all considered fundamental to their social, economic, political and spiritual well-being. The Treaty of *Waitangi* was perceived by *Maaori* as a partnership that would provide for both cultures to coexist in a society which accepted and acknowledged each others cultural values and customs. History has showed this not to be the case for *Maaori*. The introduction of English Law into *Aotearoa* and the Westminster Parliamentary system under the 1852 Constitution Act, excluded *Maaori* from participating in the development and administration of the State. The *Maaori* Representation Act 1867 provided the first opportunity for *Maaori* representation in Parliament with four temporary *Maaori* seats, becoming permanent in 1876 (Conference of Churches In *Aotearoa* New Zealand 1999). All adult *Maaori* males became eligible to vote at this time, extended from those males over 21 with individual property ownership. This had excluded *Maaori* because their land was owned by the collective *whaanau/hapuu* and *Iwi* and not individually. Up until 1967 *Maaori* were unable to contest the European electorates.

The lack of *Maaori* participation and representation in policy making and administration subjected *Maaori* to policies that were alien to their cultural values and aspirations. This played a major role in the decline and colonisation of *Maaori* social organisations and

structures. The 1862 Native Lands Act removed the Crown's right to pre-emption of buying *Māori* land and the 1865 Native Land Act established a land court system which introduced individual titles of *Māori* land, to be owned by at least 10 people. The 1863 New Zealand Settlement Act provided the Government with the ability to confiscate *Māori* land as did the Public Works Act 1876 (Conference of Churches In Aotearoa New Zealand 1999). The loss of *Māori* land has been identified as a root cause of the fragmentation and extensive changes in the cultural, economic, political and social life of the *Māori* people.

During this evolutionary period of change, *Māori* have held on to the guarantees, which were guaranteed in the second article of the Treaty of *Waitangi*:

“Ko te Kuini oo Ingaarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki ngaa Rangatira, ki ngaa Hapuu ki ngaa Tangaata katoa o Niu-Tirani, te tino Rangatiratanga o raatou wenua, o raatou kainga, me oo raatou taonga katoa” (Orange 1989:26).

3.8 Summary

KKM is a *Māori* education initiative in response to the lack of State affirmation of *te reo me oona tikanga*. Successive State policies were influential in undermining the *Māori* language. During the late seventies and early eighties a renaissance of the *Māori* language occurred and the first *TKR* was established. By 1985, *TKR* enrolments had soared and parents of pre-school aged *tamariki* had no primary education follow on in *te reo*. *Māori* responded by developing *KKM*, a *Māori* education initiative set within a cultural framework and underpinned by *TAM* which legitimises *Māori* knowledge, culture and values.

The Education Act 1989 allowed *KKM* access to State funding and required each *KKM* to function under a BOT. Most existing *KKM* are relatively small with decile ratings of 3 or lower. ERO reviews and audits have consistently highlighted poor governance issues within *KKM*. This study seeks to explore poor governance issues from a cultural perspective. Historically the collective participation of *whānau* in decision-making and contribution to the overall well-being of the collective were fundamental. Learning was predominantly undertaken in an informal environment governed by these cultural concepts. The fragmentation of these institutions as a result of the colonisation process has had ongoing consequences.

4.0 The Treaty of *Waitangi*

The Treaty of *Waitangi* (TOW) is considered the founding document of New Zealand. As previously mentioned, it was the document which formalised the relationship between *Maaori* and European cultures, and was the basis for the development of New Zealand society. The previous two chapters focused on outlining and highlighting the views of, both the State and *Maaori* in regards to *KKM*, and the development of the Education Act 1989. Chapter Two began with a State focus on the economic reforms and restructuring of the public sector, all strongly influenced by New Right ideologies which continued to the early 1990's. The thrust of the reforms was about creating competitive markets premised on values of individualism and freedom of choice. The transfer of the reforms into education created certain responses. This chapter explores the relationship of the TOW to *Kura Kaupapa Maaori* cultural philosophies and values identified in the previous chapter.

The Treaty of *Waitangi* has been and remains fundamental and integral to *Maaori* advancement. The Treaty gave *Maaori* equal citizenship rights, including the right to an education inclusive of '*tino rangatiratanga*' and one, which reflects, acknowledges and validates *Maaori* knowledge, values and culture. This chapter identifies the tensions between this and the placement of *Kura Kaupapa Maaori* within the State structured primary education framework.

4.1 Devolution, 'Autonomy' or 'Self-Management'

For many *Maaori* the devolution of education promised a form of '*tino rangatiratanga*'. *Maaori* assumed they would become better placed to control decision-making regarding the provision and type of education they required. *Maaori* assumed *hapuu/iwi* would have opportunities to regain 'autonomy', by determining an appropriate education system for their *tamariki*. *Maaori* had historically advocated for the recognition of *Iwi* governance and many supported what they thought would lead to '*tino rangatiratanga*' (Kelsey 1993).

One model of *Iwi* governance is reflected in a Statement made by *Tipene O 'Reagan* during the *Ngai Tahu* Treaty claim to the *Waitangi* Tribunal (1987-1989). It reflects the need and desire of *Iwi* to have an equal and active partnership with the Crown, a partnership which provides *Iwi* with an equal power relationship and empowers *Iwi* to control their own resources for the benefit of their people. Prior to the *Ngai Tahu* Treaty settlement, O 'Reagan highlighted the

desire to ensure *Ngai Tahu* were directly involved in the future administration of the South Island National Parks which had significant historical value to the *Iwi*. He Stated:

“If *Ngai Tahu* find themselves in a bargaining position...they (Crown) can be expected to focus on a share in the employment, training, and commercial opportunity which the national parks represent” (In *Kawharu* 1995:257).

Ngai Tahu negotiated a settlement with the Crown (1996) that went beyond monetary and land compensation. They negotiated for the return of their historical sites, and co-management of sites, as well as the return of their traditional right to take mutton bird, management rights of reefs, title to the use of 32 customary fishing areas and the exclusive right to mine greenstone (Durie 1998).

Prior to their Treaty settlement, O ‘Reagan acknowledged that *Ngai Tahu* faced a challenge to develop a new *Iwi* framework to administer their affairs. The *Ngai Tahu Maaori* Trust Board operating at the time was perceived as an inappropriate infrastructure due to its being subject to the Crown audit and control. O ‘Reagan argued:

“*Ngai Tahu* have long rejected this view and argued that the tribe’s money is the tribe’s property and its elected representatives should be accountable to the tribe itself, in the form of the traditional *Ruunanga* or local tribal communities” (In *Kawharu* 1995:260).

In 1987, prior to the devolution of the *Maaori* Affairs Department, the Labour government claimed that devolution would empower *Iwi*. The notion of *Iwi* authorities giving *Iwi* greater control and tribal autonomy proved to be a limited version of autonomy. The *Ruunanga Iwi* Act 1989 established *Iwi* Authorities who gained the responsibility of self- management and became the purchasers of government funding for the provision of social services to their people (Kelsey 1993, Sharp 1992). *Ruunanga* were structured similar to corporate businesses and the contractual agreements and conditions of their funding were parallel with the provider/purchaser processes and systems.

For many, devolution was perceived as no different to past government policies and would serve to reproduce the poor educational outcomes for *Maaori*. The introduction of self-

management into schools through the Board of Trustee model was perceived as diversionary, providing an illusion of some form of '*tino rangatiratanga*'. For example, Graeme Smith writes:

“Many *Maaori* and *Paakehaa* operating with Boards of Trustee structures have mistakenly assumed that these structures give them some form of autonomy or *tino rangatiratanga* with respect to being able to exercise control on behalf of *Maaori* interests within the education institutions. The realities have exposed the strong influence and control maintained by the State” (1996:229).

A common thread linking *Iwi* and *KKM* is '*tino rangatiratanga*'. Both seek autonomy that legitimises *Maaori* cultural values and structures for the benefit of future generations. An integral component of *KKM* prior to State funding was *whaanau* governance. The founding of *KKM* required all *whaanau* to work together collectively and collaboratively, sharing and implementing the collective vision. Reciprocity and social motives were vital features in the development and continuity of *KKM*. Leadership included consensual decision-making, as all *whaanau* were responsible, accountable and committed to the operational success of *KKM*. Although *KKM* struggled financially prior to State funding, each *whaanau* determined the type of education, environment and infra-structure. *Whaanau* retained and practiced '*tino rangatiratanga*' under such a system:

“*Maaori* parents assumed greater control over the powerful and meaningful decision-making related to their children...*Maaori* ability to manage and administer education has already been proven through the *whaanau* management of *Kura Kaupapa Maaori*, long before it became popular to devolve responsibility to the community” (Jones et al. 1995:189).

4.2 The Price of State Funding

The introduction and acceptance of State funding by *KKM* under the 1989 Education Act placed a *Maaori* driven initiative founded on *Te Aho Matua* into a State legislated framework. By accepting State funding, *KKM* were subject to conditions and compliance, most of which are unproblematic. The State as funder and purchaser, controls property, central policy making, teacher's collective employment contracts, the national curriculum and the power to close schools. *KKM* as an education provider are required to accept and implement government

regulations, legislation, and undertake accountability and audit reviews as outlined by government policy.

There are however, some requirements which potentially compromise the cultural integrity of *KKM*. A fundamental requirement by the State is the legal requirement of a *Kura* to establish a Board of Trustees. A Board is designated the responsible and legal governing body of a *Kura*, and are democratically elected by *Kura whaanau*. The democratic process requires Board elections be held every 3 years and the Board make-up requires more elected representatives than non-elected appointees. A Board member cannot be employed as a member of the teaching staff in any capacity and any parent employed full time as a teacher at a *Kura* is ineligible to be an elected parent BOT member.

The BOT model has been devised on the belief that individuals are available to undertake the roles and responsibilities of a BOT member. There is also an assumption that those who volunteer will represent the views of the constituents who elected them, based on a notion that those who are eligible will vote. The BOT model has several splinters of tension with *TAM* and *whaanau* governance. It devolves the collective responsibility of *whaanau* for decision-making to elected individuals who are assumed to be available and willing to take-up the position of a Board of Trustee. According to the theory of choice and exit, if a *whaanau* are not happy with a *Kura*, they can choose to leave and enroll in another *Kura* or they can express their dissatisfaction at the next BOT election.

4.3 The BOT and Capacity of Cultural Fragmentation

The BOT governance model has the potential to fragment the concept of *whaanau* governance. The need for all *whaanau* to take responsibility is exemplified in a discussion by *Tawhiwhirangi*:

“our experience was if you appoint someone else to address my needs, then you take away my responsibility for meeting those needs. And the absence of responsibility means my dignity has also gone. Thus my potential is inhibited, thus my dependency is preserved” (Mobil News 1995:18).

Devolving responsibilities to a few can potentially create a form of dependency and disempower the collective group. The ERO has consistently reported causes of poor governance as:

- Trustees who do not exercise their governance role;
- Trustees who have a limited understanding of the governance role;
- Trustees who lack the necessary technical knowledge and management skills;
- Trustees who have no sense of the need for management systems as a necessary precondition for proper accountability and informed decision-making;
- Trustees whose English language skills adversely affect their operational capacity; and
- Trustees who defer instinctively to the professional authority of their Principal.

Given what we know about the size of most *Kura* (See Chapter Two), it is likely that most *Kura* draw support from small communities. Furthermore, most *KKM* are low decile schools reflecting the low socio-economic status of *whaanau*. The capacity to fulfill BOT positions from within communities is thus limited but is also potentially impeded by the legislative constraints on who may be elected. For example, if a parent is a teaching staff member of a *Kura*, they are ineligible for election as a parent representative on the BOT.

ERO's identified causes of poor governance do not consider the realities BOT members are required to work under. Trustees must work many hours for a small fee of \$55.00 and \$75.00 (Chairperson) per monthly meeting. According to 1993 research, the mean number of hours each Trustee works weekly was 3.5 hours and Trustees in schools with high *Maaori* enrolment were more likely to put in more than 10 hours a week (Wylie 1994).

The BOT model devolves *whaanau* responsibility to the BOT. As these individual Trustees necessarily extend their own roles, they limit to some extent the roles and responsibilities of other *whaanau* members who previously participated in some form or another. The model has the capability of limiting 'whaanau governance' which is an integral function of *KKM* under the *Te Aho Matua* philosophy of *Ngaa Iwi*, which emphasises:

- that *whaanau* ties are fundamental in the socialisation of children and is established and reinforced in a caring, supportive environment where *aroha* is evident;

- that the association and interaction of the *whaanau* with the children, where *whaanau* approval or disapproval is felt by the children, is also where their sense of appropriate and acceptable behavior begins;
- the value and participation of *whaanau* as administrators, ancillary staff and teacher support as a means of reinforcing the cohesion of *whaanau* and *Kura*;
- and affirms that the *Kura* belongs to the *whaanau* and is available for the learning activities of all the *whaanau* members (Mataira 1997:16).

Prior to State funding, *KKM* functioned under *whaanau* governance which was inclusive of all *whaanau* members of the *Kura whaanau*. Under *Te Aho Matua* Amendment Act 1999, *Kura* operate in accordance with *Te Aho Matua*, which emphasises collective responsibility. In this context, *whaanau* are all those people associated with the *Kura* and its children, they are established as a fully functioning socialising agency, where each member of the *whaanau* contribute to the education of all of the children (Mataira 1997).

The concept of the *whaanau* model is based on collectivism. *Whaanau* members are the decision makers by *whakapapa* or association to the collective group, rather than through election. *Whaanau* were required to work collectively to achieve the goals and outcomes for their *tamariki*. No one person had sole responsibility or accountability for the success or failure of the provision of education to the *tamariki*. Collective responsibility is a fundamental cultural requirement for the sustainability and continuity of *KKM*. In contrast, the theoretical under-pinning of individualism has the potential to undermine essential elements of a *Maaori* worldview.

The function, structure and accountability system of a BOT does not take into account *whaanau* decision-making and accountability. Some have suggested the current BOT model requires adaptation and restructuring to become compatible with the philosophy of *KKM*. The model has the potential to further fragment *tikanga Maaori* as it does not support the concept of *whaanau* governance:

“The suggestion that *whaanau* can have access to the school through individuals being eligible as members to the local School Board of Trustees, completely reinterprets the concept of *whaanau*” (Johnston 1992:11).

Given that each *Kura* holds its own '*tino rangatiratanga*' within the cultural framework of *Te Aho Matua*, *KKM* face the challenge of determining how *whaanau* decision-making can be achieved whilst adhering and complying to government legislative requirements. In accordance with the philosophy of *TAM*, the *Kura* environment should provide a learning environment reflecting *Maaori* social organisations, values and culture. The *Kura* environment and infrastructure is integral to the provision of education to *tamariki* attending *KKM*. *Whakawhaanaungaataangaa*, *whakapapa*, leadership, reciprocity, *whaanau* obligation and commitment, open forums and the well-being of the collective group are identified as fundamental factors of *whaanau* decision-making. The Board of Trustee model has the potential to create tensions within *KKM*.

4.4 Summary

Despite *Maaori* and Europeans entering into a partnership under the TOW, there has been a subsequent failure of the dominant culture to recognize *Maaori* values or culture within the ongoing development of Society and State. Yet, the TOW remains integral to *Maaori* advancement because it reaffirms the rights of *Maaori* to retain their '*tino rangatiratanga*' and guarantees equal citizenship rights. Education reform devolved government responsibilities to *whaanau* and made them accountable to the Ministry of Education. Previously, accountability rested with and was to, *whaanau*. *KKM* are required to operate under the BOT model which may compromise *TAM* as it espouses *whaanau* governance and management and seeks to provide a social organisation which can nurture and foster the education and cultural values of *Maaori*. There are obvious tensions between the two concepts of governance models and *KKM* face a challenge of creating an environmental setting which achieves both requirements.

5. Research Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of how the research methodology was chosen and shaped for this study. The study explores the placement of a *Maaori* education initiative, *Kura Kaupapa Maaori* within a State infrastructure (MOE), the focus being the Board of Trustee governance model. Further research is required to test the potential tensions between the BOT model and philosophical underpinnings of *TAM*. Exploration of the *KKM* environment and an understanding of *whaanau* perceptions of *KKM* and *TAM* are required. There is also a need to gain an insight into the importance or non-importance of *whaanau* participation in *Kura* decision-making and ascertaining their perceptions of the function and operations of a BOT. The research outcomes should identify any cultural tensions and conflict with the cultural framework (*TAM*) being placed within a State infra-structure (BOT model). Identifying the cause of tensions will assist in creating understanding of the issues of governance within *KKM* which can contribute to greater awareness, possible options and/or creative solutions towards a positive outcome for *KKM* governance. This study is concerned with exploring the experiences of twelve *Kura Kaupapa Maaori whaanau* and identifying issues that emerge from their collective interpretations, understandings and perceptions of participation and shared decision-making within *Kura Kaupapa Maaori*.

The research topic and my own position as a *Maaori* researcher and academic student have created challenges in the development and design of an appropriate research framework and methodology. Three factors have contributed to the methodology of this research study: my personal *whaanau* involvement with the *whaanau* of *Te KKM o Te Raki Paewhenua*; my work experience as a *Maaori* researcher; and, the requirements of being a thesis student. These have intertwined at various points during this research, all contributing to the development of my realities, initiating the study topic, shaping and reshaping the approach to the research and the research methodology.

Research methodology is a theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed (Harding, 1998). Fiona Cram explains methodology as the philosophical approach a researcher adopts which influences the process of enquiry and determines the method(s) used (cited in Tunks 2003). My personal involvement in the *Kura* as a *whaanau* member and Board of Trustee provided an insight to the issues a BOT created within the *Kura*. These insights were ample enough reason to enquire into how other *Kura* were situated within the BOT model.

Whaanau membership placed an obligation on the researcher to ensure the research addressed issues that would further advance our *KKM* towards positive development. As a *Maaori* Researcher, I wanted my thesis to be purposeful, useful and beneficial for *Maaori*. I did not want to undertake a research study which was solely about achieving an academic outcome or result. If I was going to ask people to give up their time and share their experiences with me, I needed to ensure that their participation and information would be purposeful and utilised in a positive outcome for *Maaori*.

My interests in the development of *KKM* were reflected in my progress through my first full-time postgraduate year; where possible, I utilised assignment topics relevant to BOT governance within *KKM*. This approach assisted in my capacity to continue voluntary work within the *Kura*, whilst continuing with studies and work commitments. This assignment information, containing predominantly Education Review Reports and Audits, revealed many *KKM* faced BOT governance issues within their *Kura*. The Education Review Reports and Audits predominantly focused on the inabilities and lack of skills or training of individuals to undertake the roles and responsibilities required of a BOT. The lack of human capacity to fulfill the roles and responsibilities of a BOT was also reported (ERO, 1994, 1999, 2000). ERO's language, concepts and assumptions initially permeated my own approach to this research study. Thus, the initial scoping of my study mirrored the deficit approach highlighted within ERO reports and reflected an 'us and them' discourse which permeated relationships between *whaanau* and BOT members.

The negative experiences of *Maaori* as the 'other' within research, has been commented on by many *Maaori* writers. Tomlins-Jahnke (1996) highlights the experiences of *Maaori* within the research field and describes *Maaori* as being among the most researched people in the world. Historically, the lack of *Maaori* participation within the social research field marginalised *Maaori* within the research process, leading to the predisposition of a dominant culture's world view. Graham Smith suggests that research is 'coloured' by prioritising the interests of the dominant *Paakehaa* culture whereby *Paakehaa* have controlled the prescription and definition of what is to count as valid research (cited in Tunks 2003). The dominant research tradition has shown a preference towards a quantitative methodology which has tended to stigmatise *Maaori*. As the *Ka Awatea* report suggests:

“Empirical analysis would indicate that *Maaori* have been marginalised and currently occupy a peripheral place in society. Numerous studies confirm that *Maaori* continue to experience: poor educational outcomes; high levels of unemployment; low income levels; ill-health and thus lower life expectancy; high rates of imprisonment; low rates of home ownership; and high rates of State dependency” (1991).

Quantitative information continues to stigmatise *Maaori* with the ‘Closing the Gaps’ publications paying testimony to the negative status of *Maaori* (TPK 1998, 2000). Research of *Maaori*, both quantitative and qualitative has continued to ignore cultural appropriateness, social impact and structural frameworks which could assist in identifying plausible solutions to address *Maaori* deprivation and disadvantage. Tomlins-Jahnke (1996) cites a range of *Maaori* authors (Linda Smith, Evelyn Stokes, Mason Durie and Russell Bishop) who echo the view that research of *Maaori* has historically produced negative outcomes for *Maaori*. For example, much of the existing research on *Maaori* offers few opportunities for structural analysis or change and has tended to merely describe what many already know (TPK, 1998, 2000). Given such criticisms, my personal commitment to *Maaori* research is to ensure a positive outcome for *Maaori*.

Having identified *Kura* governance as an important issue with potential to make positive contributions to *Kura whaanau* and the education of our *tamariki*, the next step was to validate my own presupposition that the research could be useful to *whaanau* and *Maaori*. *Te Ruunanga O Ngaa Kura Kaupapa Maaori o Aotearoa (Ruunanga)* is the National Body of *KKM* and I felt it appropriate to inform the *Ruunanga* of my intent and provide them with a brief overview of the topic. The *Ruunanga* were supportive of the proposed topic. They also advised that each *Kura Kaupapa* held their own autonomy and permission to undertake research in a *KKM* required the consent of each *Kura whaanau*. The validation process with the *Ruunanga* was integral to the study, their support was an important step towards initiating the research.

5.1 *Kura* Autonomy (A Case Study)

The advice from the *Ruunanga* and my own personal *whaanau* involvement were key considerations in deciding to undertake a case study of a *Kura*. Stake (1994) notes a case study is not a methodological choice but a choice of an object to be studied (in Campoy, 2000). A

case study was undertaken because it provided an opportunity to explore the specific and unique qualities which were relevant and pertinent to *Te Kura Kaupapa Maaori O Te Raki Paewhenua*. It provided an opportunity to develop a framework which acknowledged the ‘autonomy’ of the *Kura* and focused specifically on the *Kura* environment. A case study was perceived as appropriate because of the diversity and autonomy of *Kura*. *KKM* are sited in rural and urban areas and are *Iwi* based and non-*Iwi* based, each being autonomous and diverse. *Iwi* based *Kura*, promote and teach their *iwitangaa*, (ie *Ngaati Poroutanga*, *Tuhoetanga*), the *reo* and *tikanga* are specific to their *Iwi*. Urban *Kura* are more likely to enrol students and employ *Kaiako* from various *Iwi* and less likely to have as many close *whakapapa* connections between *Kura whaanau* as rural *Iwi* based *Kura*.

A case study has the potential to encapsulate the social organisation and make-up of the *Kura* within a *Maaori* paradigm by having the *Kura* as the focal point for the research. In terms of data collation, multiple methods of data collection can be utilised to gain the perceptions and experiences of *whaanau* and, provide evidence of their realities. Understanding all these views will assist in developing appropriate solutions for *Kura*. The case study is also an established research approach which could provide insights for the project, albeit ensuring the approach was continuously useful for *Maaori*.

Te Kura Kaupapa Maaori O Te Raki Paewhenua was born in 1992. *Whaanau* from the seven *Kohanga Reo* on the North Shore got together to establish a *Kura Kaupapa Maaori* for the purpose of the continued education for the graduates of *Te Kohanga Reo*. A classroom at the College of *Hato Petera* became available in 1993 and the *Kura* was initially established on these premises as a Private School. It later became attached to *TKKM O Maungaawhau*, now known as *TKKM O Maungaarongo*. In 1996, the *Kura* relocated to its current premises at *Awataha Marae* where it became a designated State school. After the 1999 *TAM* Amendment Act, the *Kura* committed to acting in accordance with *TAM*.

In 1998, the *Kura* roll was 56, increased to 68 in 2002, and currently stands at 55 students who extend from 38 *whaanau*. The *Kura* currently has four *Kaiako*, three of whom are parents and one who has the role of Acting Principal. At the last Board of Trustee election in April 2001, a BOT consisting of the Principal, Teacher Rep and two parent elected representatives were

replaced by eight newly elected representatives, by the end of 2002 the number of elected representatives had dropped to three.

5.2 *Kaupapa Maaori* Research

Following the selection of the case approach an appropriate methodology/methods were needed to address the questions within the case study framework. Given both criticisms of mainstream research of *Maaori* and the chosen research environment, a methodology was required to ensure *whaanau* experiences and knowledge were accepted as legitimate, valid and utilised positively. The methodology needed to ensure transparency, open communication with *whaanau* and an opportunity for *Kura whaanau* input into the research concepts and design. A crucial consideration was to ensure *whaanau* did not feel obligated to actively contribute and/or participate in development and design of the research study. Many *whaanau* were already over-burdened with other duties and responsibilities in their lives and it was important to recognise this. Therefore just as we should not ignore the importance of participation, neither should we assume it. Linda Smith defines *kaupapa Maaori* research as, research over which *Maaori* maintain conceptual design, methodological and interpretative control. In other words, it is research for *Maaori* by *Maaori* with *Maaori* (1995). In my project, the interpretation of 'control' does not imply *whaanau* determined or decided the development of the design of the research. My sense of *whaanau* responsibility was a conscious influence on all decisions on research topic and all design phases. The research approach therefore was based on principles of achievable participation which were developed from being a part of the realities and capacity of the *whaanau*.

The model utilised in this project was based on assumptions derived from personal involvement and experiences with the *whaanau*, decisions that can only be made as an active member within the *Kura whaanau*. Exposure to membership of the *whaanau* demands obligation and responsibility by the researcher to utilise this inside knowledge with care and consideration when developing a research framework. A framework should not compromise the 'trust' *whaanau* have in the researcher, or compromise the integrity and *mana* of the individual, *whaanau* and *Kura*. To date my research has been informed by the integrity of who I am, a *Maaori*, a mother, a researcher, a *whaanau* member and more. I have a responsibility and obligation to ensure this research study is of benefit, not only to the collective *Kura whaanau*,

but also my immediate *whaanau*, for their tireless support and acceptance of the many hours I have dedicated to studying. *Kaupapa Maaori* methodology describes this as:

“the philosophy and practice of being and acting *Maaori*” (Smith 1996:146).

As a *Kura* member my natural response was to undertake the research within *Te Kura Kaupapa Maaori o Te Raki Paewhenua*. I felt a sense of obligation and responsibility to the *Kura* and did not feel I could undertake the research elsewhere. As the issue of governance was initiated from within our *Kura*, I felt it was inappropriate to approach other *Kura*. I thus set out to seek support in principle and validation of the research study topic from the *Kura whaanau*. This was a prerequisite to proceeding with the academic thesis. A brief verbal overview of the proposed research topic was presented at a *Kura whaanau hui*, in the bid to gain support in principle from the *Kura whaanau* for the research to be conducted with the *Kura whaanau*.

Our *whaanau* involvement with *Te KKM o Te Raki Paewhenua* over the years had provided the time and opportunity to develop *whaanau* relationships through our shared commitment to the education of our *tamariki* and to the *KKM kaupapa*. Our realities of living in Urban North Shore Auckland meant our *whaanau* links and relationships tended to be nurtured through a common commitment to the *kaupapa* as opposed to kinship links through our *whakapapa*. These existing relationships have been integral to how this research has been initiated and progressed. According to Bishop, *whakawhaanaungaataangaa* (establishing relationships in a *Maaori* context) as a research process uses methods and principles similar to those used to establish relationships among *Maaori* people (1998). These principles are invoked around research initiation, establishing research questions, facilitating participation in the project, addressing issues of representation and accountability, and so legitimating the ownership of knowledge defined and created. This approach emphasises the need to develop and maintain relationships as an ongoing process. The relationships are considered necessary in developing active participation, which assists in addressing power and control issues within the research. Researchers need to understand their position within the research process and should position themselves as a part of the research and not separate from the process (Bishop 1998). Mainstream research writings would classify my position within this study as an insider.

Although both *whaanau* and *Ruunanga* had given their support for this study, they had not actively participated in the development of the methodology or actual set up of this research study. They were asked to contribute by asking questions and making suggestions but this study did not set out to commit *whaanau* into active participation. As previously mentioned, *whaanau* have many roles and responsibilities and this research was wary of creating an extra burden for *whaanau*. *Whaanau* had been informed through *hui* and letters to inform them about the research and requesting any feedback. As *Moewaka Barnes* notes, partnership and participation are not always appropriate or possible due to work commitments and stretched human resources. *Maaori* communities will not necessarily prioritise their involvement in the research. Yet this does not mean that research cannot be informed by *Maaori* realities. The challenge researcher's face is developing appropriate methods which provide a choice of various means of informing research (2003).

5.3 Focus on Cultural Capacity

The research methodology emerged as the study progressed. Prior to undertaking the literature review, the 'problem' identified was the BOT governance within *KKM*. At that time, my literature consisted predominantly of ERO reports and audits which reported stereotyped negative outcomes such as poor skills and lack of human resources, which could be interpreted as blaming *Maaori* for their inadequacies. Linda Smith States:

"Governments and social agencies have failed to see many indigenous social problems as being related to any sort of history. They have framed indigenous issues in 'the indigenous problem' basket to be handled in the usual cynical and paternalistic manner" (1998:26).

Within the context of mainstream social research, this research could have reaffirmed the failure of *Maaori* if measured against particular benchmarks. The study could have looked at the occupation, income, education, skill levels, BOT experience of *whaanau members* and explored the deficits within the ERO framework. A quantitative data collection approach in a survey format and corresponding analysis of information would not have contributed to assisting the *Kura*. The information gained in such a process could have continued to negatively stereotype *Maaori*. As a *Maaori* researcher, I was uncomfortable with pursuing a research project which would only reaffirm a negative image of *Maaori*. Against this backdrop, the literature review sought instead to analyse governance issues within *KKM* from a

State policy perspective and *Māori* worldview. The literature review therefore extended beyond ERO and Government reports and audits into cultural and historical literature of *KKM*, *Māori* education and *Māori* governance. It had to avoid simply adding *Māori* into an existing policy framework, one that was saturated with particular starting assumptions. The central tenet of the research study became *Māori* focused, identifying *Māori* values, beliefs, experiences, seeking to identify the fundamental differences of governance between *KKM* and the State.

A *Māori* focus to the literature review was pivotal for establishing the project. It identified BOT governance problems and issues within *KKM* from a *Māori* perspective, which in turn permeated the whole research and assisted in development of a culturally appropriate framework and approach. The problem had been ‘reframed’ so *Māori* concepts and perspectives controlled the way in which the research was to proceed. The ‘problem’ was no longer about *Māori* inadequacies according to benchmarks such as education, qualifications, income and occupation. The ‘issue’ shifted and the focus became cultural capacity and understanding of participation in shared decision-making by *whānau*. Reframing the literature review encouraged the search for tensions between the BOT governance model and *KKM* reflecting a *Māori* worldview. Reframing according to Linda Smith:

“Occurs in other contexts where indigenous people resist being boxed and labeled according to categories which do not fit” (1998:26).

Reframing not only redefines the research issues from a *Māori* perspective but is also influential in determining an appropriate research methodology and methods. Previously, participation, participation criteria, interview approach and specific questions were all focused on the individual. The process of ‘reframing’ focused beyond individuals and SES status as the unit of research, to the *whānau* unit and their cultural capacity. *Whānau* and their cultural and historical experiences became the key for providing useful information to assist in addressing the issues and problems facing *Kura* governance.

The research developed an appropriate base questionnaire to give a sample framework which encompassed a culturally appropriate selection criteria (i.e. language ability, *TAM* understanding). A representative sample of 12 *whānau* were selected to participate in in-

depth *koorero* to explore the BOT model of governance within *KKM*. The objectives of the in-depths were to explore issues of governance from a cultural perspective, these included:

- the cultural capacity of *whaanau*
- *whaanau* perceptions of *KKM* and their understanding of *TAM*
- *whaanau* roles and responsibilities within *KKM*
- *whaanau* perceptions of the Board of Trustee model
- *whaanau* understanding of the roles and responsibilities of Trustees
- what would deter *whaanau* from participating as a BOT member
- a *whaanau* preferred model for decision-making in *KKM*

5.4 Multiple Techniques and Flexibility

The *whaanau* unit has evolved overtime. Traditionally the *whaanau* was inclusive of the wider *whaanau*, aunts, uncles and grandparents. *Kaumaatua* were influential in the decisions about the working of family land, the control of property and the education of the *tamariki*. Once *whaanau* numbers increased, *hapuu* were established (Walker 1993). The experiences of colonisation, urbanisation, and the evolution of *Maaori* culture and way of life, have created a diverse *Maaori* population, living diverse realities. *Maaori* are culturally, socially and economically diverse and there is varying access and exposure to things *Maaori*. We must be wary of imposing a construct which assumes homogeneity amongst all *Maaori*. Research of *Maaori* must acknowledge this diversity, one size does not fit all and not all *Maaori* share the same view. In some instances, *Maaori* are not aware of their *whakapapa*, a situation which has been central to the *Iwi*, urban/pan-*iwi* debate. Pan-*iwi* *Maaori* have contested their right in the NZ High Court and the Privy Council to be recognised as an *Iwi* and their right to represent those *Maaori* who claim no knowledge of their *whakapapa*. Evelyn Stokes States:

“It cannot be assumed that there is a uniform *Maaori* view on things. Opinions and attitudes are just as varied and contradictory in the *Maaori* world as they are in *Paakehaa* society. One function of *Maaori* research is to identify these issues” (1998:235).

Maaori diversity encourages the researcher to utilise multiple techniques within a research study to ensure participation is maximised and reflective of the diverse groups. All *Maaori* researchers face this challenge when undertaking research within such environments. Although *Te Kura Kaupapa Maaori o Te Raki Paewhenua* sits within a *Kaupapa Maaori* framework,

promoting *te reo me oona tikanga*, the realities of *whaanau* are diverse. Some *whaanau* speak *te reo* with greater fluency, others not at all and proficiency being at various points in between. Given these realities, the research needed to ensure *whaanau* felt that they could participate without feeling inadequate or threatened.

As the research sought to capture *whaanau* diversity, issues were raised as to how sampling could be achieved within a *kaupapa Maaori* approach of participation and control.

Working within an academic environment and governed by a time frame, interviewing all *whaanau* was unrealistic. A question therefore arose about the appropriateness or inappropriateness of interviewing all *Kura whaanau*. A potential tension exists between the demands of ‘participation’ and ‘control’ versus the demand of quality and representation of the group. A research approach that ignores the latter has the potential to produce biased or skewed findings. Participation is thus controlled to ensure research is not compromised in terms of design and validity or detrimental to the positive outcome for *Maaori*.

A further consideration in this study was the use of *te reo* when conducting in depth *koorero* with *whaanau*. *Kaupapa Maaori* research supports the notion of the use of *te reo* and bilingualism (Stokes, 1985). A lack of *te reo* is recognised as a potential deterrent and/or barrier for research being conducted within environments such as *KKM*. However, due to the diverse realities of *whaanau*, the use of the English language was a necessary means of communication. For those *whaanau* with limited *te reo*, the use of *te reo* would have excluded or deterred them from participation. Therefore there will inevitably be instances where research of *Maaori*, by *Maaori* for *Maaori* will be exclusively in the English language and this should not imply research is outside of ‘*Kaupapa Maaori*’.

5.5 A Qualitative Approach

There is a tradition of qualitative work being used within education research (Jefferies et al. 1998). According to Siedman (1991), if a researcher’s goal is to understand the meaning people involved in education make of their experience, then interviewing provides a necessary, if not always completely sufficient avenue of inquiry. A qualitative approach provides a method of inquiry which enables the researcher and *whaanau* to meet face to face and can provide greater understanding of *whaanau* experiences and realities. A qualitative approach

also allows some flexibility during the development of the research. In summary, the approach provides:

- an in depth understanding of the motivations and beliefs of *whaanau* participants
- the opportunity to fully discuss individual experiences and perceptions
- an indication of scope to assess the full range of key influences on *whaanau* participants.

In-depth *koorero* with a broad cross selection of *whaanau* enables a diverse view of *whaanau* perceptions, sufficient enough to develop a hypothesis which can be presented to the *whaanau* for further exploration. The objectives of the in-depth *koorero* are to provide an understanding of:

- the cultural capacity of *whaanau*
- *whaanau* expectations of *KKM*
- perceived differences between mainstream and *KKM* (*whaanau* roles and responsibilities)
- *whaanau* understanding of the roles and responsibility of BOT
- *whaanau* understanding of the concept of shared decision-making
- how active *whaanau* are in decision-making and the appropriateness of this

A semi-structured topic guide (Appendix B) was utilised, this approach ensured *koorero* was comprehensive and flexible to ensure issues were fully explored and additional issues could be identified. With participant consent, in-depth *koorero* were audio-taped. This ensured the researcher had quality and accurate data. Tapes were utilised for analysis purposes only.

The inductive, open-ended nature of this particular approach also has cultural strengths such as:

- *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) is considered a more culturally appropriate method
- the ability to develop relationships
- an acknowledgement that participants stories are their truth and have value

Whaanau Participation in Developing Solutions

- the opportunity to gain participant views and ideas about possible solutions
- an approach which will help to identify and shape appropriate questions and approaches for further exploration

Maaori are traditionally recognised as an oral people, retaining their history and learning through the medium of *waiata*, *moteatea* and *pakiwaitara* (Hemara 2000). *Maaori* have traditionally also used the *Marae* as a focal point for discussions which provide a forum for face to face and open discussion on various issues. Because of the traditional context which was fundamental to *Maaori* society, a qualitative approach to this research study was considered an appropriate methodology. A qualitative focus also fitted the design issues and case study approach.

5.6 *Whaanau* as a Sample Framework

Participant selection for the in-depth *koorero* was achieved by using a base line questionnaire (Appendix C) to identify the range of cultural capacity within the *Kura whaanau*. *Maaori* diversity demands a cross selection of participants within the *Kura whaanau* to ensure the information captured was reflective and representative of these diversities. Age and gender were initially suggested as criteria selection but with the process of reframing this criteria shifted to:

- identifying *whaanau* capacity as opposed to an individuals capacity
- *whaanau* and *whakapapa* links
- level of cultural capacity/exposure
- BOT membership/non membership or consideration of becoming a BOT

A self return questionnaire was presented at a *whaanau hui* for feedback from *whaanau*. Once feedback was secured this questionnaire was re-drafted and hand delivered to *whaanau* members. A total of 38 questionnaires were distributed to *whaanau* by hand or post. *Whaanau* were provided with several options to return their questionnaire:

1. Return via the post in the self addressed envelope provided
2. Return in the self addressed envelope to a designated box in the *Kura* office
3. Return the questionnaire directly to the researcher

From the 38 survey questionnaires distributed, 30 were completed and returned, eight were not returned. Of the 30 returned questionnaires, 27 *whaanau* agreed to participate further in the in-depth *koorero*. The data from the 30 questionnaires was aggregated and constituted a sampling frame to ensure those selected for the in-depth *koorero* were representative of the broader *whaanau*. The questionnaire suggested a sampling frame of four *whaanau* group categories determined by the number of year's *whaanau* had been involved with the *Kura*. These four groups were: *whaanau* involved under a year; between 1 and 3 years; between 3 and 5 years; over 5 years.

Two considerations in determining appropriate participant numbers are first ensuring sufficient numbers reflect the range of participants that make up the population so others outside the sample might have a chance to connect to the experience of those interviewed. The second consideration is saturation of information, the point when a researcher continues to interview but is not learning anything new or different (Siedman 1991).

Twelve *whaanau* members were selected to participate in the in-depth *koorero*, three in each *whaanau* group. This was perceived as a sufficient number to gain representation of the broad diversities of *whaanau*. Selection within each group consisted of a cross selection of *whaanau* with *te reo* ability, four interviews (reflecting 12 *whaanau*) with learned *reo*, six *whaanau* (reflecting 13 *whaanau*) still learning and two *whaanau* (reflecting five *whaanau*) with very little *reo* were selected. *Hui* attendance selection consisted of, four *whaanau* (reflecting eight *whaanau*) who attended *hui* very often, three *whaanau* (reflecting 11 *whaanau*) who attended often, two *whaanau* (reflecting five *whaanau*) who did not often attend and three *whaanau* (reflecting six *whaanau*) who had yet to attend a *hui*. The other category considered in selection was *whaanau* understanding of *Te Aho Matua*. Two *whaanau* (reflecting six *whaanau*) had a very good understanding, three *whaanau* (reflecting 10 *whaanau*) had a not bad understanding, six *whaanau* (reflecting 11 *whaanau*) had very little understanding and one *whaanau* (reflecting three *whaanau*) had no understanding at all. The twelve *whaanau* selected consisted of four out of the 10 *whaanau* who had BOT experience and eight out of the 20 who did not. Most *whaanau* had experienced *Kohanga Reo* although some who had not were also represented in the sample.

Within the in-depth *koorero*, *whaanau* were predominantly represented by an individual. In one instance both parents and in another, the broader *whaanau* participated, giving a total of 15 people involved in the in-depth *koorero*. The twelve in-depth *koorero* were expected to produce a range of experiences from *whaanau*, however, prior to completing the in-depth discussions the saturation of information had become apparent.

Whaanau Iwi affiliations were inclusive of both parents with 30 *Iwi/hapuu* being identified, the most common being *Ngaa Puhi* (15). Prior to undertaking the in-depth *koorero*, there was an assumption that the *whaanau* group categories would have had diverse views because of their length of time and experience in *Kura Kaupapa Maaori*. The findings do not, however, support this assumption. As a consequence, the report is presented in a framework reflective of the topic guide format (Appendix D) rather than responses being organised around *whaanau* group categories.

5.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical concerns within a University research environment are typically focused on protection from harm, truthfulness, informed consent, social sensitivity and confidentiality (Durie 1998). The ethics approval procedures within Universities can also be perceived as a monitoring and accountability system, ensuring institution's reputations are protected against potentially poor research projects. The Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC) undertakes the role and of reviewing and approving students ethics applications for their proposed research.

Ethical concerns from a *Maaori* view point are about respect, dignity, comfort, confidentiality for the individual and *whaanau/hapuu* and *Iwi* (TPK 1999). According to Aroha Durie, there are three *Maaori* ethical factors: *Mana Tangata* (dignity, safety and mutuality); *Mana Whakahaere* (collaboration and control); and, *Mana Motuhake* (outcomes and evidence of benefit to *Maaori*) (1998).

Much ethical procedure focuses upon a researcher's awareness of and ability to follow appropriate behavior when conducting research. Personal experience in the MUHEC ethical application process has raised a concern by the researcher as a *Maaori* student and researcher enrolled in an institution. Although the institution acknowledges the Treaty of *Waitangi* in the University Charter, the application form and the limited representation of *Maaori* on the

MUHEC appeared inconsistent, particularly in regards to *mana tangaata*. The process reflected the values and beliefs of dominant Western knowledge creation and does not reflect a *Maaori* epistemology. As I completed the ethics application form I felt that *Maaori* were ‘otherised’ by the process and not seen as ‘norm’. The application form design is formatted in three parts, which subjects *Maaori* to constant repetition. The first part of the form requires information relevant to the research, in this case *Maaori* research. The second part requires Treaty of *Waitangi* information relevant to the research and the third part seeks clarification on addressing cultural sensitivity. From a *Maaori* perspective, a form which recognizes *Maaori* as the ‘norm’ would be a starting point. These are all challenges to MUHEC and the institution as a whole to further develop their commitment and effectively implement the principles of the Treaty of *Waitangi*.

Aside from the MUHEC, there is an obligation on *Maaori* researchers as members of the *whaanau* to ensure that the research process is inclusive of *whaanau* and *whaanau* are informed at all stages of the research through *hui*, *paanui* and other appropriate forms of communications.

Gaining Consent

Two principles of consent have been practiced in this research. The first was gaining consent in principle from *Te Ruunanga o Ngaa KKM o Aotearoa* and the *Kura whaanau* for the research. This consent was an important stepping stone in initiating the research. The second principle of informed consent is a requirement of MUHEC and was obtained from all *whaanau* participants. Initial consent for selection to participate in the in-depth *koorero* was gained from the *whaanau* questionnaire. For *whaanau* chosen to participate in the in-depth *koorero*, the process further included:

- fully informing *whaanau* participants about the nature of their potential involvement
- explaining confidentiality, anonymity and any possible impacts
- reiterating that participation is voluntary
- the right of withdrawal at the beginning of all in-depth *koorero*
- the signing of a consent form to participate (Appendix B)

Audio taping of interviews was done with the consent of *whaanau* participants. Full information was given on why and how audio tapes were to be used, who had access to them and how they would be stored.

Whaanau participants were offered a choice of venues to undertake the in-depth *koorero*. During the interview itself their right to decline was reconfirmed along with the assurance of no consequences should they decide not to participate. Researcher contact details were provided on an information sheet (Appendix A) which all *whaanau* participants received should they wish to ask further questions or need to make contact for any other reason. During the course of the data collection and report writing, no information was reported on or used in a way which would identify individuals involved in the research study. *Whaanau* participants were informed that should they not wish quotes to be utilised in the report that these could be struck out. In any case where anonymity could not be guaranteed, *whaanau* would be informed and given the right to withdraw. This did not occur.

Not Causing Harm

General strategies adopted throughout the study to minimise potential harm to *whaanau* participants included:

- obtaining support from *Te Ruunanga O Ngaa KKM O Aotearoa*
- obtaining consent from *whaanau* participants prior to undertaking research
- developing appropriate methodologies and approaches which were conducive to adhering to both cultural and academic requirements
- clear briefings to all *whaanau* so that the purpose and process of the research study was clearly understood
- ensuring all *whaanau* understood that there would be no implications should they choose not to participate in the research study
- encouraging *whaanau* members to attend, in-depth *koorero*
- ensure all in-depths were undertaken at venues that were non-threatening and protected confidentiality
- ensure culturally appropriate processes were utilised

Consent

Prior *whaanau* agreement to participate in the in-depth *koorero* influenced the researcher to approach *whaanau* personally to request their participation. This was felt to be a more appropriate approach than sending a letter or phoning. Prompt follow-up of potential interviewees after the questionnaire cut off date kept the study current in the minds of *whaanau*. *Whaanau* also commented on how straight-forward the base questionnaire was to complete and these factors assisted the process of recruitment for the in-depths. A choice of times and venues were offered to *whaanau* which included *Kura* premises, *whaanau* home or the researchers home. All three venues were utilised during the field-work. Options and flexibility in terms of timing and location possibly contributed to the positive response by *whaanau*.

The discussions were predominantly carried out in the English language. For a few *whaanau*, the use of *te reo* would have discouraged them from participation. *Whaanau* were initially unaware that the in-depth was an open ended type of *koorero*, however, the initial *koorero* about their upbringing helped them to relax and talk more freely.

Data Analysis

The interviews were organised around themes and these helped shape the subsequent analysis. Each section was analysed and colour coded for common themes and also variance. The researcher has attempted to ensure as many *whaanau* perspectives have been acknowledged and reported accordingly. An ethical consideration when writing the report was to ensure *whaanau* findings were presented in a way which did not change their intended content or context. Findings have been organised in two chapters. The first reports the findings of *whaanau* upbringing and how they became involved in *KKM*. The second reports on *whaanau* understanding and expectations of the BOT.

5.8 Summary

This research was undertaken to identify the issues of BOT governance facing a *KKM* from a cultural perspective. This has permeated through-out this study and this Chapter highlights the issues of accountability, responsibility and accountability the researcher faced by being a thesis student within an academic institution, and being a *whaanau* member of the *Kura* where the case study was undertaken. A sense of obligation and responsibility has continued into the reporting of the research findings, which are presented in the next two Chapters.

6. Findings: Introduction to *Whaanau* and *Kura*

6.1 *Whaanau* Upbringing and Access to *Te Reo Me oona Tikanga*

Exploring *whaanau* upbringing helps us understand the cultural environment which may influence current perceptions of *whaanau* and shape their view of potential solutions. The type of setting and environment of *whaanau* upbringing and their access, opportunity or exposure to *te reo*, *Marae*, and *tikanga Maaori* were potentially fundamental to understanding *whaanau* participation in *Kura Kaupapa Maaori*. These considerations would also be influential in clarifying their perceptions and understanding of the functioning and operations of a *KKM*.

Findings from *whaanau* response to their upbringing identify two distinct groups, a small group who had access to *te reo me oona tikanga* and a majority with limited or no exposure. Members of the first group had a rural upbringing and greater exposure to the activities of the *Marae*, culture and language. These few *whaanau* perceived their exposure within their environments as the ‘norm’, a taken for granted part of their daily lives.

“We had a rural upbringing but we didn’t formally learn *Maaori*, had access to *Marae*, *kawa*, etc...the type of work you do at the back of the *Marae*, making sure people have got a meal and make sure everything is tidy and ready for them, to me that was just normal, it doesn’t matter what *Marae* it is you just go down and help. Took a lot of that everyday life for granted” (July)

“Nana use to go to *Marae* all the time to hui and stuff and I use to tag along with her and learning all the *Marae* things before she died I was learning to do the *karangaa*...but once my grandmother died so did everything else that I was learning” (Septemberx3)¹

Although *whaanau* had access to the culture and could speak *Maaori* at a young age, they were deterred from their attempts to *koorero Maaori* by the negative responses they experienced during that period (1960s, 1970s)

“I got shy to talk *Maaori*...I got laughed at because it was uncool, so that’s where the *reo* dropped off” (September x 3)

¹ Septemberx1, Septemberx2 and Septemberx3 represent individuals from within the one *whaanau*

“It wasn’t cool to pass on the *reo*...it just wasn’t promoted” (Septemberx2)

The common feature of all *whaanau* upbringing was their acknowledgement and recognition of being *Maaori* although access to *te reo me oona tikanga* varied considerably. The majority of *whaanau* participating in the study were born and raised in urban Auckland, some *whaanau* had limited and others no access to *te reo me oona tikanga*. Most *whaanau* felt limited and non-access were a result of their parent’s upbringing and stereotypical views of being *Maaori* at that time.

“My mum once told me that my grandmother said that we weren’t allowed to learn *Maaori*, my mum and grandmother were hit at school for having *koorero*” (Septemberx3)

“Dad was in one of the last Native Schools to close, lots of smacking for speaking *te reo Maaori*, so he thought okay I’m not going to do that to my kids. So he grew up in that era when it wasn’t good so therefore he thought, I’m not going to do that to my kids, so he carried a bit of a stigma due from that era” (January)

“I think in that period it was a change over for them... they came from their culture and tossed into a *Paakehaa tikanga*...they didn’t know what was happening and my parents probably thought that this was the way” (August)

Many *whaanau* had *Maaori* speaking parents and/or grandparents residing in their home although the *Maaori* language was not widely used between *tamariki* and adults nor was it encouraged. *Whaanau* recollection of the use of *te reo* was predominantly when Aunts, Uncles or Grandparents visited the home. In most instances these *whaanau* refer to *te reo* being around with no formal teaching or encouragement to take-up *te reo*. The use of *te reo* was perceived as a language of the past and was not an important feature in *whaanau* upbringing and learning.

“My grandfather lived with us up until I was 14, he was a fluent speaker in *Maaori*. Dad use to try and talk to us in *Maaori* but we’d go, “oh don’t be silly talk properly” (April)

“Our parents could *koorero Maaori* but didn’t, I think they spoke it more so in their time, more than in our time” (Septemberx2)

“*Maaori* wise dad spoke *Maaori* but we barely knew that, we knew when my granddad came to town him and dad would sit in the kitchen and we would watch them go on and on and on. When these old people came to town they would speak *Maaori*, we had no idea what they were saying” (January)

For others, however, *te reo me oona tikanga* was experienced during the occasions when *whaanau* returned to their *Iwi* areas for *tangihanga* at *Marae*.

“I remember going back to the *pa* and when we would go back to the *pa* it was generally for *tangi*” (April)

“I don’t recall any *Maaori* or any visits to *Marae* unless there were *tangi* up north” (October)

Whaanau did not view these occasional opportunities as formal learning environments and they did not lead to the increased take up of *te reo*. *Whaanau* felt that passage of time led to missed opportunities and regret.

“Now I am older I really look back and wish my grandfather was alive, I didn’t realise that I had such a *taonga* at that time” (April)

There were *whaanau* who described their upbringing as devoid of exposure to *Maaori* or things *Maaori*. This group felt their upbringing was dominated by the *Paakehaa* culture and in most instances their exposure to things *Maaori* only occurred at primary and secondary school and was limited to *kapahaka* and some *te reo*.

“No *reo* in my upbringing, nothing *Maaori*, I don’t remember having anything *Maaori* in early childhood right through to college, from 13 was brought up with *Paakehaa* grandparents” (Septemberx1)

“I was brought up by very racist *Paakehaa* in a very urban area...regards to culture, *tikanga Maaori* – nothing, - regards to *te ao Maaori* – nothing, only the *Me he manu rere waiata* back in the fifties” (June)

“I was brought up with total *Paakehaa* in every single form of the word...the *Paakehaa* way is the way, I didn’t even realise growing up that I was *Maaori*” (March)

Taking the discussions as a whole, a dominant feature of *whaanau* upbringing was the lack of access and opportunity to living and experiencing life within a *Maaori* paradigm. Most *whaanau* members were raised in urban Auckland at a time when *Maaori* were distanced from their tribal areas and *Maaori* were negatively stereotyped. During this period there was a lack of encouragement to teach or take up *te reo me oona tikanga*. Those who did have opportunities of accessing *te reo me oona tikanga* were also influenced by the prevailing social and cultural environment which did not recognize or promote the importance of things *Maaori*.

“It was always predominantly *Paakehaa*, that was a sign of the times too I think” (April)

“My parents had you know, a rural upbringing and they were a part of what was known commonly as the urban drift late 40’s early 50’s” (January)

“We weren’t allowed to learn *te reo or tikanga Maaori* my mother told me to leave it alone” (August)

6.2 From Past Experiences to Future Generations

To gain some understanding of how *whaanau* perceived *Kura Kaupapa Maaori* and their own position within it, *whaanau* were asked what it was from their upbringing they would like most to pass on to their *tamariki* and *mokopuna*. Most *whaanau* were adamant they did not want their *tamariki* or *mokopuna* to experience the void of *te reo me oona tikanga* in their upbringing.

The experiences of limited access or opportunity to take up *te reo me oona tikanga* were very influential in *whaanau* wanting to ensure their future generations were given the opportunity to learn who they are, where they came from and where they can go as *Maaori*.

“I want them to have their *Maaoritangaa* they know who they are and know where they’re from, (which is what I thought was what was wrong with me) and go anywhere in the world and do anything and have that grounding of who they are” (March)

“I want them to have what we missed out on” (Septemberx1)

“I felt I missed out on a lot...I really really want him to learn about his *whakapapa* and about himself” (May)

All *whaanau* felt very strongly that they had missed an important component of learning during their upbringing and were determined that their *tamariki* would not follow the same path. Their *tamariki/mokopuna* would learn the concepts of *whaanau, te reo me oona tikanga*.

“I still got the concept of *whaanau* and how important *whaanau* is and how important culture is no matter what the culture is...it’s about identity” (June)

“Want *tamariki* to learn about the *Marae* and what it’s about and how it works” (July)

“I want my child to know, to experience something that I would of loved to... I want my child to be totally aware of the culture” (April)

6.3 *Whaanau* Involvement in *Kura*

Given their upbringing, most *whaanau* began their journey of providing an education for their *tamariki* within a *Maaori* paradigm by participating in *Te Kohanga Reo*. *Kohanga Reo* was perceived as an appropriate environment and a first step in achieving access to *te reo me oona tikanga* for both *tamariki* and *whaanau*. *Kohanga Reo* provided a learning environment for the whole *whaanau*, where both parents and *tamariki* began or were encouraged to learn *Te reo*.

“I’m glad I put my kids into *Kohanga* because I’ve now given them that right to know who they really are...I want *Maaori* right through, it’s their right I missed out on something that I wish I had” (December)

“I’ve always wanted to learn *Maaori*, I pushed my kids into *Kohanga* so they could learn and not just everything about the *Marae*, everything about *Maaori*, the culture, *tikanga*” (July)

“I wanted them to learn *te reo*, the whole culture and be immersed in it. I really wanted them to be fluent in *te reo* and just have something that I didn’t have” (June)

For most *whaanau*, the progression from *Kohanga Reo* to *Kura* was perceived as a natural choice and the move also provided a continuity of education within a *Maaori* paradigm.

“When I stuck him in *Kohanga*, this was always my goal to get him to *Kura Kaupapa*, this was always how I felt” (May)

“When I made up my mind I wanted him to know his *taha Maaori*, I wanted him to be very sure of who he was, I put him into *Kohanga*...It seemed pointless to put a child through *Kohanga* without following it up” (April)

Kura was perceived to provide a more holistic learning environment than mainstream schooling for both the *tamariki* and *whaanau*. Previous experiences within the mainstream primary system had left some *whaanau* sceptical about the ability of mainstream to provide a culturally appropriate learning environment. *Whaanau* felt *Kura* provided a greater understanding of the behavior and characteristics of *Maaori* tamariki. The small student numbers in *Kura* contributed to a close *whaanau* environment which also facilitated better relationships.

“The holistic variance, I believe mainstream schools don’t holistically teach as much as *KKM*” (January)

“I feel you get *whaanaungaata* and bonding in *KKM*, more than you’d get in mainstream” (July)

“The differences are the *whaanau* concept plus the *Kura* is smaller” (May)

Some *whaanau* felt mainstream commitment to *Maaori* education was tokenistic because schools were perceived as not providing socially and culturally appropriate environments conducive to *Maaori* learning and improving self identity.

“The *Kura* environment compared to mainstream is you’re with your own, the children don’t feel different because they’re all one. In mainstream, *Maaori* children are a bit out of place” (April)

“Mainstream kind of give lip service to *tikanga Maaori*...some schools you go to they’ll have toilet and have *wharepaku* and that’s about the extent they’ll go to” (June)

“I wanted more than the tokenism that’s provided or the artificial stuff that’s provided at mainstream. It’s [*Maaori*] kind of put to the side and not even taught properly.

“In a mainstream school, it’s so difficult to get the staff and school to acknowledge *tikanga Maaori*... they don’t have the expertise” (October).

Whaanau felt *Kura* offered an environment which celebrated being *Maaori* and promoted the concepts of *whakawhaanaungaataangaa*, *kotahitangaa*, *aroha*, *tiaki* and *whaanau*, all of which *whaanau* considered fundamental to *tikanga Maaori*.

“What I love about *Kura* is *kotahitanga*, *whaanaungatanga*...*tuakana* really *tiaki* the *pepi*...it’s an everyday natural occurrence” (March)

“Respect, good values, respect our elders, be humble, the *tikanga* the right way to do things the *Maaori* way, not the *hiianga* way” (Septemberx1)

6.4 Expectations of *Kura Kaupapa Maaori*

All *whaanau* expected *KKM* to provide an environment which would provide their *tamariki* with the experiences they had not experienced during their upbringing.

“I expected our *tamariki* to basically learn things *Maaori*, learn things we didn’t know...I’m still upset that those things weren’t in place when we were younger ... that’s why we’re here (*Kura*)”(Septemberx1)

“I really wanted them to be fluent in *te reo* and just have something that I didn’t have” (June)

“I think it’s hard being a mother, and you’ve learnt just how much we’ve lost in just being *Maaori*. That’s why I kind of want to put my child in *Kura* but they don’t understand why they’re here...they’re my wishes” (August)

A major attraction of *KKM* was the delivery of an education in *te reo*, this was perceived as the major draw card to *Kura*. *Whaanau* felt learning *te reo* was inclusive of *tikanga Maaori*.

“I wanted them to learn their own first, then the *Paakehaa*/English side later, because once you learn *Maaori* you won’t forget it” (July)

“to learn the *reo*...just the kids being brought up in *te ao Maaori*...making sure they grasp their *Maaori* side of things” (December)

“I expected the *Kura* to teach my *tamaiti* the *reo* and *tikanga/Maaori* culture” (June)

Kura was expected by *whaanau* to be an environment which allowed *tamariki* to be one, to be *Maaori* and to speak *Maaori* without being mocked or ridiculed. *Whaanau* expected *Kura* to nurture and develop a sense of *Maaori* identity through a more formal learning process so *tamariki* could learn to stand tall and be proud of being *Maaori*.

“Expectations of *Kura* are to provide the opportunities to experience *tikanga*, to explain/teach the protocols/*kawa*, why we do this, why we have these things in place” (April)

“I think the learning in *te reo*, upholding the *kaupapa*, getting the kids to feel comfortable speaking *te reo*, going out there and doing it to...my *whakaaro* is just the *te reo*, I wanted him to come here and I wanted to learn to about the processes the curriculum, the *Maaori* the *tikanga* it's all together” (May)

“Initially I thought it was to teach them the curriculum in the *Maaori* language, now it's about to teach them all about themselves, about being *Maaori*...to allow them to be *Maaori* and be confident in their own identity...I don't want them to feel uncomfortable and inadequate in both worlds” (October)

Another group of *whaanau* had high expectations of *Kura* to deliver excellence in both a *Maaori* paradigm and an academic equivalent to mainstream. The physical features and resources of the *Kura* were also expected to be on par with mainstream schools. These *whaanau* expected *Kura* to provide the best of both worlds both *Paakehaa* and *Maaori* and did not expect any disparities between *Kura* and mainstream.

“When I came in I had high expectations, I assumed that the level of delivery, academically, would be high because I didn't know that much about education. I thought, it's going to be national curriculum and all that offers and more plus more” (January).

“*Kura* should provide every type of resource for learning, from tables to chairs nice rooms and good teachers, teachers that are there for the kids not for themselves.

Computers...[the *Kura*]should be physically appealing” (July)

“I believe it will make them better people, take the best of the *Paakehaa* world and the best of the *Maaori* world combine them and that will make them better people” (Septemberx1)

A few *whaanau* expected *Kaumaatua* to be involved with *Kura*, perceiving them as an important human resource in teaching *whaanau* and *tamariki* through their life time experiences.

“I think they just bring some serenity into things, they make people calmer, they don’t get so up tight about things, that’s what *Kaumaatua* and *Kuia* manage to do. They have so much to offer, so many experiences that they can share with kids because a lot of things in books and what they’re learning is from traditional stuff and history and they [*Kaumaatua*] would be able to talk about that” (October)

6.5 Expectations of *Whaanau*

Almost all *whaanau* expected to be involved in the *Kura* in some way or another. A lot of this expectation was shaped by their previous experiences as *whaanau* members of *Kohanga Reo*. For those very few who hadn’t attended *Kohanga*, *whaanau* involvement was perceived as a natural response.

“I expected *whaanau* support, you really need it aye” (July)

“I felt I needed to comply after coming from a *Kohanga* who demanded compliances, I came trained up in those sort of things, I came to do what I had to do” (January)

“I expected to be involved and I wanted to be involved to *whakapakari toku reo* and to support my *tamaiti*” (October)

The expectations of the type of *whaanau* involvement varied between the sharing of thoughts to develop a common goal and vision for the *Kura* to physically participating in *Kura* trips and classroom activities with the *tamariki*. Most *whaanau* felt it was important that *whaanau* were informed and aware of what was happening within the *Kura*, which generally meant attending *whaanau hui*.

“I did have the expectation that as a *whaanau* that we could share each others *whakaaro* and come to a general consensus of what is right not for us but for our children” (April)

“I expect *whaanau* to be really involved, on trips, at the *hui*, everybody needs to know what’s going on, you’ve got to keep informed” (June)

“You have to know what’s going on you have to be involved and it helps knowing what your children are learning too” (May)

Although *whaanau* considered their involvement in *Kura* an important component of *KKM*, the experiences of some over the years, meant expectations of all *whaanau* being involved had diminished. Experience had revealed the realities of *whaanau* involvement and they no longer expected all *whaanau* to be involved, nor did they think it possible to enforce compulsory involvement.

“I totally thought they’d be 100% mad things like me...it wasn’t quite like that I was disappointed...I couldn’t figure it out, people would just come and drop their kids off like it’s a normal school, if you want normal go mainstream” (January)

“I thought we’d see more *whaanau* involvement...big school big pool of *kaimah*, i smaller school smaller pool of *kaimahi*...I’d like to see more *whaanau* helping in the class room and more *whaanau* putting their hands up saying, yes, we can do that work” (June)

“I use to think *tautoko* but you just burn out at the end of the day, the same people will do the *mahi*...no more expectations on others” (March)

6.6 Perceptions of *Te Aho Matua*

Te Aho Matua is the philosophical underpinning of *KKM*. Under the *Te Aho Matua* Amendment Act 1999, all *KKM* designated and registered as *KKM* are required to adhere to *TAM*. *TAM* provides the guiding principles for all those who participate in *KKM*. Few *whaanau* mentioned *Te Aho Matua* prior to being asked about their understanding of it directly. In most instances, *whaanau* had very little understanding of *Te Aho Matua*. Nearly half the *whaanau* had not heard of *TAM* and were unaware of what it was. *Whaanau* who were aware of *TAM* as the philosophy of *KKM* were unfamiliar with *TAM* content.

6.7 *Whaanau* Roles and Responsibilities

Whaanau perceived their roles and responsibilities in the *Kura* as supporting their *tamariki* and the *Kura* to undertake whatever tasks were required. Most *whaanau* expected that they would be involved with the *Kura* in some way or other but were unsure in what capacity they would or could contribute. Most felt they would do whatever was asked or needed to be done and were prepared to provide support when and where required or directed rather than identifying an explicit function.

“My role was to fit in where ever I could...do whatever you can do to help... there’s a *whakatauki*, it takes a whole village to raise a child, that’s what the *Kura* is, a little village and we’re all responsible” (June)

“Wait and see what happened, happy to go along to meetings and wait and see what happened and if I could help I would help” (October)

“To help anyway we could, anything the *Kura* needed” (April)

A few *whaanau* felt their ability to be involved in the *Kura* was restricted by their lack of *te reo*. Some doubted their own capacity to contribute to the *Kura* because they did not have *te reo*. Work commitments were also considered to restrict *whaanau* ability to be involved to undertake their roles within the *Kura*.

6.8 The Importance of *Whaanau* Participation in *Kura* Decision-making

This section explores *whaanau* perceptions of the importance of *whaanau* involvement in the decision-making process. It includes their views on roles and areas of responsibility in *Kura*. Most *whaanau* felt *whaanau* participation in *Kura* decision-making was an essential component of the education of their *tamariki*.

“I think that it’s very important for *whaanau* to be involved with the *Kura*, it’s different for *Maaori* compared to mainstream...a *Kura* like this, especially a little *Kura*, I think it’s really important that we all be involved, all know what’s happening especially for our kids...to make sure everything here is running right for them” (May)

“It’s very important because those decisions are going to affect their children, but you’ve got to participate otherwise you can’t moan, it is important for *whaanau* to participate” (June)

Some *whaanau* felt participation was reciprocal, *whaanau* were obligated to participate as part of their contribution to the *kaupapa* of *Kura*, the return being *tamariki* and *whaanau* gaining access and opportunity to an education within a *Maaori* paradigm.

“I believe in the *kaupapa* therefore I have to support the *kaupapa*” (April)

“It is important because we’ve got to create something that makes people think that *Maaori* is important to us and that *Paakehaa* will still be there” (May)

“If they [*whaanau*] make a choice to send their kids to a *Kura* I think they have to educate themselves, you can’t send your kid to a *Kura* and be ignorant to the goings on” (March)

Although *whaanau* participation in decision-making was perceived as important, *whaanau* felt appropriate systems and structures needed to be in place to cope with the dynamics involved in *whaanau* decision-making. *Whaanau* were fully aware that *whaanau* decision-making was not an easy task and mindful of the long and at times problematic process.

“To be a part of it is alright, it’s just as long as it’s the right decision...you don’t want to go flying off on tangents with some idea only to see it fall short or get shot down or get kicked back. So provided it’s done properly from the very start so it progresses in the proper stages, set your foundations first before you put the roof on” (Septemberx1)

“*Whaanau* should be a part of decision-making, it is important but it is so difficult. Just the different *whakaaro* that people have from their different backgrounds and different priorities and I guess they make their choices on what their priorities are on the day and they may change from month to month and year to year” (October)

“We need to be a part of most of the decision-making process which makes it kind of slow, probably the best people or the most passionate people on certain areas would be best to collate and put the ideas together, those who have the passion for it go for it” (January)

Some *whaanau* felt *whaanau* should be involved in all areas of decision-making and not limited to a particular area but across all areas of the *Kura*.

“The *whaanau* should have a say in financial decisions, the curriculum as well about how things run in a classroom, I just think *whaanau* should be informed about what’s going on” (May)

For another group of *whaanau*, participation in decision-making was specific to *whaanau* areas of skill and expertise. Participation in decision-making was considered to extend from making cups of tea to participating on a BOT. All these tasks and roles were considered of equal importance.

“You’ve got to find out what the *whaanau* can do and what they’re confident in doing and put that idea and initiative in a way that appeals to them and that they feel “oh yeah I can help out and *awhi* with that”, and it’s not something they can’t understand” (October)

“Any level of participation is important, any level, whatever you can offer, some of us might be able to help by picking up the kids to take them to an outing, coming into a room for an hour once a week, once a month, some of them [*whaanau*] might be able to be a BOT member, make cups of tea, at all levels” (April)

Although most *whaanau* agreed in the importance of *whaanau* participating in decision-making, this did not necessarily equate or translate into actually ‘making’ the decision. For some, it was more about being a part of the ‘process’ and being informed, these *whaanau* felt being a part of the ‘process’ was just as important as the decision itself.

“Basically, the decisions the *whaanau* make basically drive the *mahi* the Board should be doing but at the same time, the Board should be the ones reminding the *whaanau*, this is

what we're here for this is what we're aiming for so don't get lost in the small picture, make sure the kids are in the centre" (July)

"Participation is by attending the *whaanau* hui, I sit there and I listen...I wouldn't say anything, I guess to be a part of it you need to have your say and not hold it back... if you have a problem you need to say it at that *hui*" (Septemberx3)

6.9 Summary

A major finding from *whaanau* response to their upbringing was the negative stereotype of *Maaori* during that period. Parents and their generations reflected a negative view of being *Maaori*, limiting and in some instances not promoting the access of *te reo me oona tikanga* to *whaanau*. The impact of the 'urban drift' of *Maaori* also contributed to a sense of *Maaori* having no place in their future. These experiences have been influential in *whaanau* decisions to send their *tamariki* to *Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maaori*.

Past experiences left *whaanau* adamant that their *tamariki* would have access to *te reo me oona tikanga*, and their past would not be repeated in the upbringing of their *tamariki*. *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maaori* were expected to teach *te reo me oona tikanga*, the latter was considered a natural progression of *TKR*. Mainstream was considered ill equipped in the provision of *Maaori* education and although *whaanau* had not lived or experienced an upbringing in *te reo me oona tikanga*, they expected *KKM* would. Although *whaanau* had expectations of *KKM* in delivering an education in *te reo me oona tikanga*, understanding of *Te Aho Matua* was limited. Many were unaware that *TAM* was the underpinning philosophy of *KKM*. *Whaanau* had a broad expectation of their involvement in *Kura* and could not identify specific areas of involvement. They did feel that *whaanau* participation in *Kura* was an integral component of *Kura* and the education of their *tamariki* but the precise shape and form of *whaanau* participation in the decision-making process was less clear.

7.0 Findings: Understanding the Board of Trustees

Central to the overall study was the place of the BOT within the overall *KKM* environment given this was considered a potential issue of tension. This section examines *whaanau* understanding of the roles and responsibilities of a BOT. It also seeks to explore *whaanau* expectations of a BOT, and perceived weaknesses and strengths. The current process of *whaanau* participation in *Kura* decision-making is also explored and the section concludes with *whaanau* preferred models of governance.

7.1 *Whaanau* Perceptions of a Board of Trustees

Whaanau understanding of the BOT varied considerably. Those with no BOT experience had very little understanding about a BOT and were unsure of their roles and responsibilities. *Whaanau* with past BOT experience defined the BOT as a group of people who governed and managed the running of the *Kura*. These *whaanau* recognised that a BOT was a legal entity with legislative requirements and accountable to the Ministry of Education. Its roles were recognised as inclusive of policy development, finance, budgeting and implementation of the NEGS and NAGS.

“The Board is a legal requirement, legal entity point of reference governing body, they are the holder of the macro picture, the vision casters and protectors of the NAGS and the NEGS” (January)

“My understanding is they are the hirers and firers of the staff and the Principal...they are accountable to MOE for ensuring staff do their job and the *tamariki* are achieving curriculum standards” (October)

“They have a responsibility to the functioning of our *Kura*, the *Kura* functions only as well as the BOT do” (April)

The management responsibilities of the BOT were perceived to be the day to day running of the *Kura*. According to some *whaanau*, they made all decisions concerning the operation of *Kura*.

“Making the right decisions for the *Kura*, they’re kind of important the BOT because if there are any issues about the Principal they have to come to the right decision” (July)

“The Board are the people who actually run the school, *whaanau* members and chairperson everything should go to them and it goes through them, decisions are made, things are made up and then it goes on to other *whaanau* who aren’t involved, they’re the brain of the school really” (May)

Three distinct understandings of an appropriate BOT participatory style were described by *whaanau* including those with BOT experience. First, some accepted the BOT as being the decision-making body within *Kura*, however, their process was expected to take into account prior *whaanau* consultation and *whaanau* decisions. *Whaanau* felt their thoughts would be considered in the BOT decision-making process, an inclusive process which held the BOT accountable for their final decisions.

“They’re overseers, making decisions you put forward, whatever it is they’ll discuss it and they should put it back to the *whaanau* and they decide what they want and go back, like negotiating” (July)

“Make all the decisions in running a *Kura*, like they have a *whaanau hui* and then they make the decisions and they’re accountable *tamariki*, *whaanau* and then MOE” (June)

The second distinct understanding of a BOT was the perception that a BOT would make a decision if *whaanau* were unable to come to an agreement or consensus.

“Just like Trustees on a *Marae*, you have your *whaanau* meeting and you go to the Trustees of your *Marae* if it can’t be resolved, they decide something, they use to come back to us and we would have another meeting, look at their ideas and try and sort it then, if we couldn’t decide we just left it for the Trustees to decide” (July)

The third distinct understanding of the BOT was the expectation by many *whaanau* that the BOT would take all *whaanau* decisions into consideration in their decision-making process. The BOT was expected to listen to *whaanau* and their decisions to reflect those of *whaanau*.

“You’re [*whaanau*] not just there to listen and listen to what the BOT says, you’re there to argue with anything that you don’t agree with or you do agree with and say we could try it this way, the BOT’s have to listen to us” (December)

“They are there as spokespeople for all of us [*whaanau*], their job is to be a good cross section of the *whaanau* and their job is to install the beliefs that we have as a *whaanau*...to include *whaanau* in decisions and discussions” (October)

“I would expect them to know everything about running a school...when we have a *hui* we delegate our jobs to the BOT members, we give them our demands to fix up, they go away and do it then they come back and feedback to *whaanau*” (August)

7.2 Expectations of a BOT

The interviews explored *whaanau* perceptions and expectations of a BOT. *Whaanau* participants highlighted four key characteristics, these being that a BOT should be visionary, accountable, have good communication and show strong leadership for the benefit of the *Kura* and *tamariki*.

The first characteristic, leadership, was perceived by most *whaanau* as a fundamental component of a BOT. Without leadership a BOT would not function effectively or efficiently. Good leadership and appropriate skills were perceived by many *whaanau* as a core characteristic for a BOT to successfully undertake and achieve *whaanau* goals and visions.

“We’ve got to have a leader, when everyone says we’ve got to be at the same level, no it doesn’t work, that’s why *Maaori* had to have a chief” (January)

“You expect them to be a step above the *whaanau* in their knowledge and *pukenga* and leadership” (October)

“You have to have it (leadership), it’s very important because one would hope that we’re being lead down the right pathway” (April)

The notion of effective leadership was not limited to an individual. Some *whaanau* felt that a group of people could also have the capacity for effective leadership.

“Leadership; doesn’t have to come from one person for the leadership” (April)

“*Whaanau* receive it and buy into the vision which is only as strong as the leadership which is the governance, Board and Manager” (June)

The process of appointing a Chairperson for the Board was seen as delegating the role and responsibility of leadership. This was perceived by some *whaanau* as an inappropriate and ineffective process in determining a leader for *Kura*. The position of leader was considered a *whaanau* decision, not a BOT appointment.

“A chairperson is seen as a leader but a very good leader is one that leads from the back but gently puts out ideas and others go with it” (June)

“It’s not really an appointment somebody either is or they aren’t [a leader], whatever role they hold wouldn’t be an issue [for a leader], it would just have to be the right person”(January)

For a leader to be effective, some *whaanau* felt trust needed to be established with *whaanau*. Some *whaanau* felt good leadership would raise the skills of *whaanau* by sharing information and knowledge to produce successful outcomes for the *Kura*.

“Be a visionary, not necessarily a strategist, somebody with the ability to raise leaders, duplicate themselves, somebody who isn’t going to hang on to everything in a *matapiko* way” (January)

“I expect them to take on everyones point of view, we trust them” (December)

“If you have no trust and communication you have nothing, trust, you have to have trust that they’re going to do the job” (July)

Good leadership qualities were considered central to effective leadership. Some *whaanau* felt effective leadership must include having knowledge in both *kaupapa Maaori* and *Paakehaa* as well as having the personality and qualities of experience to produce successful outcomes. These qualities were deemed important and integral because a leader/s was expected to inform, educate, communicate, be accountable and implement the *whaanau* vision.

“Knowing about the *kaupapa*- knowledge, ability not to be bias, having a very objective and not subjective point of view, being able to stand back and not personalise things (to be able to externalise things)” (April)

Second, *whaanau* expectations of a BOT were that they demonstrate accountability. A common *whaanau* response was that BOT should be accountable to *tamariki* and *whaanau*.

“I expect the Board to do their utmost best for the *tamariki*, to provide a safe place for our *tamariki* to come to and provide the best quality staff and education resources and provide a safe working place for staff” (June)

“As well as employers, they’re (BOT) working for *whaanau* at the same time” (October)

“That they should have the overall well-being of the *Kura/whaanau* and *tamariki* in it (and themselves)” (April)

Third, BOT were expected to be visionary. A *Kura* vision was felt to be an important prerequisite in the development and advancement of *Kura*. Some *whaanau* expected a BOT to have a macro picture of the *Kura* and work towards achieving the long term goals and vision developed by *whaanau*. Implementation of the *Kura* vision was perceived as an integral and fundamental task of the BOT.

“To govern, to keep monitoring and cast the vision of the *Kura* is part of that governing. You’ve got to constantly feed the people, help uplift them, which is the ‘vision casting’, it’s a big responsibility” (January)

“You expect them to have a vision for the school and that vision to come from the *whaanau*” (October)

“BOT need to have a long term vision and have the bigger picture” (April)

Fourth, the successful implementation of the *Kura* vision and accountability to *whaanau* was perceived to require good communication skills and strategies. Communication was seen as an essential element in keeping *whaanau* informed and ensuring all *whaanau* were motivated and understood what was happening within the *Kura* environment.

“That communication is always utmost, especially with *whaanau*” (April)

“The Board to communicate...have all lines of communication with the *tumuaki*, other staff, *whaanau*” (June)

“Expect regular minutes, sounds really boring but maybe every six months some sort of update, maybe a report from the Chairperson saying “this is what we’ve achieved”” (October)

7.3 The Operations of a BOT

The BOT was perceived as a voluntary group who had the time to commit and undertake the tasks required of a BOT on behalf of the *whaanau*. *Whaanau* acknowledged the voluntary nature of the Trustee position and the reliance of the BOT model on volunteers possessing knowledge and skills to undertake the roles and responsibilities of a BOT. The restricted range of volunteers within *Kura* was considered a limitation.

The strength of a BOT model was perceived to be the provision of accountability and security. A BOT was seen as a group of people providing guidance to the *whaanau*, managing the *Kura* and accountable to *whaanau*. For those *whaanau* with a greater awareness of BOT accountability to MOE, the BOT was considered as the mediator between *Kura* and MOE. The strength of the BOT was personified as the *Upoko* of the *Kura*.

“BOT are like the *upoko* for the *Kura*, a BOT, it’s all accounted for, you know where it’s at, people have a role, they’re designated to that role and accountable to the role”

(April)

“You need to have people who are willing to stand up and be accountable when things go wrong or if they go wrong” (Septemberx1)

“I think security, knowing that there are people there that are keeping an eye on things”

(May)

Whaanau felt a strength of a BOT was Trustees being equipped with the appropriate skills and knowledge.

“Accountability if they’re trained and educated and know what they’re doing, the strength is accountability” (April)

“Not all *whaanau* are going to be able to do the BOT job, where as if you have this set group of BOT, they’re always going to be there”(December)

7.4 The Challenges Facing a BOT Model in *Kura*

This section looks at the challenges facing a BOT model within the *Kura*. *Whaanau* identified several dimensions of the election system which had the capacity to produce an inadequate outcome. The model had the potential to create a division between *whaanau* and possibly result in communication breakdowns and, potentially poor outcomes for the *Kura*.

Few Trustees fulfilled their 3 year term on the BOT and even fewer sought re-election after their tenure. This was because of the heavy workload and time commitment required of Trustees. When a new Board was elected, the task of training had to begin all over again. Trustee burn out from work overload resulted in new Boards with inexperienced Trustees, as there was no renewal of Trusteeship.

“It’s a *Paakehaa* system...maybe if you could do it another way, ask those people on the BOT if they would like to stay on as opposed to turning people around...by the time their

(BOT) terms finished, they've had enough, it's been a long battle...what we're doing administratively is we're holding up the works and we set our kids back because we spend a lot of time trying to develop a BOT" (April)

Whaanau doubted whether elections provided a real choice of representatives as the small size of the *Kura* and voluntary nature of BOT representatives meant a limited pool of candidates. A few *whaanau* felt that nominees did not always understand the roles and responsibilities of a BOT member. Some also felt if *whaanau* were unfamiliar with a nominee because they were new to the *Kura*, this could further restrict the pool of candidates that *whaanau* felt they could reasonably cast a vote for.

"Provided everybody voted, maybe it would be the best way to elect a Board, provided everybody voted and provided there was a choice. So maybe it doesn't work because you're only getting the people who volunteer and you have to have a choice" (October)

"People have the best intentions, it's very hard to get *whaanau* on Board in the first place, let alone get people to come and elect members onto the BOT" (April)

"There is closure, if you're brand new in a school and nobody knows you... who's going to vote for somebody they don't know?" (June)

The notion of a BOT being representative for all *whaanau* was considered unachievable by a few *whaanau*. Of particular concern was the diversity of *whaanau* within the *Kura* which created difficulties in achieving representation.

"Well it's unsafe [BOT], if you represent *whaanau* and they all have different *whakaaro*, how can I represent all their different *whakaaro*? You're never going to please everybody" (July)

"It [BOT] splits the *Kura* community because some *whaanau* have representation but some don't, then you're back in the car park" (July)

“Don’t really like that it’s kind of leaving it up to one person to decide for all of us and we need to have an input because we need to understand things too...they might do something I don’t like” (August)

Many *whaanau* felt that the BOT model created a division between Trustees and the *Kura whaanau*. This was considered an unintended consequence of the *Kura* vision and the BOTs legal requirements which created a division between *whaanau* and Trustees. The BOT model was an inheritance from the Ministry of Education which individualised and segregated Trustees from the *whaanau* group, leaving them vulnerable to being excluded from the *whaanau* collective. The expectation of individual Trustees to take on the responsibility of the *Kura* was also perceived as unfair as they too had *whaanau* to care for.

“It’s the legal definition of BOT that has the problem... one can say we’re *whaanau* too, but you’re not because at the end of the day it’s a legal entity....it excludes you from being *whaanau*... These people [*whaanau*] aren’t actually having an ongoing say in the decision-making so it has a perceived division there” (January)

“Some of them are expected to come in and know what happens...it’s *taumaha*, they’ve got families too, it makes us *mangere*, why shouldn’t we learn about those things”(August)

“It can make that *roopu* [BOT] unsafe, open for attack, that’s not healthy for the *Kura*, it’s not healthy for individuals, not healthy for the attacker or the one being attacked” (June)

Whaanau expected a BOT to communicate and any communication breakdowns were as potentially impacting at all levels of the *Kura*. Poor communication was considered to have grave consequences on the *Kura*, potentially creating disunity and disharmony within the *Kura*.

“The impact on weak communications is disunity at the *whaanau* level, staff level and the fruits of that you see in the education and *rurururu*, petty little things that come up between *whaanau*” (January)

“When we’re dealing with *whaanau* and I believe this is for *Maaori* in general...we like to know what is happening and that we’re important and we’re contacted throughout the process and not at the end” (April)

“Communication is important for support, it’s important for people to see what work the BOT is doing and it’s important to get *whaanau* on Board”(July)

A further challenge facing the BOT model was to ensure effective working relationships between Trustees and Principal as well as relationships among Trustees. Poor relationships between *whaanau* and BOT were frequently triggered by misinformation and poor communications.

“The Board needs to have a good relationship between each other, if they don’t have good relationships between themselves then...fragmentation. Good relationships require good communications, appreciation of each other, verbal dialogue, some praise” (January)

“They need to have a good relationship with the *whaanau*, staff, Principal, all the people on the Board need to know their roles and work together and to have the over-riding philosophy of the school” (October)

“If you have a small Board and you have a brand new Board and you have a Principal who is domineering, they’re [Board] going to be trampled on” (June)

Poor relationships were potentially destructive in the *Kura* environment and the BOT model was felt to exacerbate relationship problems through segregating Trustees and *whaanau*.

“People [BOT] feel really bad that they haven’t lived up to the expectations of *whaanau*...there’s always a segregation between *whaanau* and BOT...*Maaori* people in particular, we have this ability of downing our own people” (March)

“Only, in *te ao Maaori*, that closure, it’s not a safe place because *Maaori* are a very open people. They’re very *whaanau tatou tatou*, you know everybody. If there is a little group...seen having a secret meeting it can be dangerous for the group because of the way the *kumara* vine works out in the car park” (June)

7.5 *Whaanau* Participation in *Kura* Decision-Making

How *whaanau* currently participate within *Kura*, and factors preventing or deterring their participation in decision-making are explored in this section. All *whaanau* considered *hui* as an appropriate forum for decision-making and that there was an obligation upon *whaanau* to attend. There were differences of opinion, however, about the effectiveness and efficiency of *hui* to produce positive outcomes. Some *whaanau* felt there was ample opportunity for *whaanau* to participate in *Kura* decision-making, by attending *whaanau hui* and/or reading *paanui*.

“*Whaanau* get plenty of chances to participate in decision-making” (May)

“The option is there for *whaanau* to participate, we see the *paanui*” (October)

“It’s up to the *whaanau* to come to the meetings, strategic *hui*. The *whaanau* have to make an effort to come to these sort of things, if *whaanau* want to know and they want a say, then they should be there” (July)

A few *whaanau* felt *whaanau hui* were not being utilised by *whaanau* to express their concerns nor were *hui* achieving a result of consensus by *whaanau*. These concerns were felt to impact on *whaanau* emotions, which were perceived to be contributing to negative reactions by *whaanau* and negative outcomes for the *Kura*.

“I think that there is resentment at *Kura*...people have this little bit of resentment... *whaanau hui* are not compulsory, I don’t go to them, I’ve stopped. They use to do my head in...unless it’s about something I’m passionate about, I just think, leave that politics” (March)

“Some times when you leave a hui you still walk out and everybody has still got their separate *whakaaro*... we need someone to facilitate it so that at the end of the *hui* everybody is feeling three-quarters on Board. If it’s not all of them, we have another *hui* and try and bring the rest of them on Board” (April)

A range of factors explained the lack of participation in *hui*. These included *whanau* realities, *whaanau* dynamics and *whaanau* capacity. First, *whaanau* realities included the *Kura* being the only one on the North Shore and *whaanau* not living in close proximity.

Most *tamariki* required access to private transport to attend *Kura*. Some *whaanau* felt these geographical logistics acted as a possible deterrent for *whaanau* participation in *hui*. Dropping and picking up *tamariki*, then having to attend *hui* either after *Kura* or later, was perceived as problematic. Because of the urban setting of the *Kura*, the environment is one of diverse *Iwi* affiliations and sense of placement and location. These factors were felt to work against *whaanau* participation.

“For urban *Maaori*, we’re *ngaa hau e wha*...when you’re in an urban area you have people from all different *waka* living in one point of North Shore and others living at another point in North Shore, they’re all over the place” (April)

“Just the different *whakaaro* that people have from their different backgrounds and different priorities and I guess they make their choices on what their priorities are on the day and they may change from month to month and year to year” (October)

Some *whaanau* felt the timing and length of *hui* deterred both non-working and working *whaanau*. Working *whaanau* faced the problem of trying to attend *hui* after *Kura* which conflicted with work schedules. *Hui* held later meant *whaanau* were required to return to *Kura*. Other *whaanau* commitments to *Kohanga Reo*, mainstream primary and secondary schools, amongst others, were also perceived as contributory factors to deterring *whaanau* from participation.

“Work and you can’t have weekends because they’re for your kids” (December)

“Meetings are on days which are not suitable and I have other *whaanau* commitments with other *tamariki*” (July)

“When my daughter first started *Kura* I wasn’t really one of the workers because I was still doing my studies” (January)

Second, *whaanau* dynamics in *hui* were a deterrent for some *whaanau*, particularly those who were uncomfortable in an open discussion forum. Some suggested *hui* may intimidate those who lacked the confidence to speak in such a forum. A forum for open discussion and rigorous debate had the potential to unintentionally hurt or offend participants. A few *whaanau* felt there was a need for *whaanau* to understand *hui* dynamics and learn not to take conflict/criticism personally.

“Intimidation, aggravation, they think their thoughts aren’t good enough but they’ve got to learn to say it” (July)

“Sometimes *whaanau* who don’t participate a lot, they see different dynamics between people and that puts them off, they can’t be bothered” (April)

“People get offended, if somebody is offended or they get hurt by somebody, it’s a pride thing ...there’s an inability to let things go” (January)

Third, in respect of *whaanau* capacity, the limitation of *te reo* was felt by some to be a deterrent to *whaanau* participation. Some *whaanau* felt they could not actively participate because of their inability to *koorero* and a few also felt intimidated because of the many *whaanau* who could *koorero Maaori*.

“Sometimes I feel like with my *te reo*, it’s not that great...it’s amazing to me how many *whaanau* can speak *Maaori* and it really blows me away... I think that would be the only thing holding me back” (May)

The importance of following up on decisions made in *hui* was stressed. A failure to fulfill tasks initiated from *hui* was considered by a few *whaanau* as possible reasons which could deter *whaanau* from participation. Some *whaanau* felt lack of follow up could result in *whaanau* losing interest in participation and deterring continued involvement in decision-making.

“It would be nice to walk away from a *hui* and you’ve got a general consensus, maybe not the *katoa* but a general consensus that most *whaanau* are on the same wave length” (April)

“Not a lot of action seems to put people off, past experiences or fatalistic attitudes, negative perspectives, I’m never going to get what I want anyway” (January)

7.6 Improvements or an Alternative to the BOT Model

The consensus across all *whaanau* was the need to improve *whaanau* involvement within the decision-making process. Two themes emerge in this section: first, developing and improving the BOT model with increased *whaanau* participation in decision-making. Second, some *whaanau* felt the BOT model was inappropriate for *Kura* and suggested it be replaced with a *whaanau* decision-making model.

Suggested changes to improve the BOT model was dominated by improvements to the election system. The three year election system was felt to be disadvantageous because Trustees had become fatigued by election time and therefore deterring them from remaining for another term. *Whaanau* felt that the election process needed to be a system which retained experienced Trustees whilst new Trustees were trained and up skilled. This type of system would provide an opportunity for new members to join the BOT whilst experienced members were available.

“We need to rotate the election so we have stability, the BOT always never has experienced members, ask those people on the BOT if they would like to stay on as opposed to turning people around” (April)

Due to the small numbers of *Kura whaanau*, some *whaanau* felt BOT nominations should extend beyond the *Kura whaanau* to the broader community. People from other educational organisations were suggested such as *Maaori* secondary and/or primary teachers, the CEO of the *Marae* and other organisations. These *whaanau* felt that greater diversity in BOT makeup

could improve operation and functioning through broadening the eligibility for prospective Trustees. Opening up elections to the broader community provided an opportunity to bring in more people with specialised knowledge and networks.

“Bringing people outside of our *whaanau*, increasing the skill range, other people’s perspectives, new ideas. Look for *Maaori* teachers in secondary and primary schools etcetera... broaden the election” (April)

“Get the CEO of the *Marae* on the Board because he runs the *Marae* and he must have access to a lot of knowledge” (July)

Another suggestion for improvement to the election system was a forum to meet nominees and give the nominees an opportunity to *koorero* to the *whaanau*. A few *whaanau* felt prospective Trustees needed to be informed and needed to understand their roles, responsibilities and expectations prior to elections.

“The most important thing is that whoever comes on to the Board needs to know what’s expected of them” (June)

“We’ve had such a big turnover and the thing is, people go in there and they absolutely know nothing about being a BOT member... too many people do it because no one else will do it...and they have no idea what they’re doing”
(March)

A communication strategy was perceived as an important step to improving BOT functioning and operations. Keeping *whaanau* informed about up and coming events, decisions being made and the general goings on at the *Kura* needed to be communicated. A communication strategy was perceived as positive and important in achieving an informed and supportive *whaanau* environment.

“A communication line should be linked up whether you have at the *Kura*, a BOT/*paanui* Board and everybody knows that’s where you go if you want to know something.

Everyone knows where the Board is and religiously I think posters, minutes, notes whatever, people know it's there" (April)

The role of a Board was perceived as involving *whaanau* and consideration of their issues or recommendations when making decisions. Including *whaanau* in decision-making was considered by *whaanau* as important. It involved a Board acting as a mediator/negotiator bringing ideas forward to the *whaanau* and negotiating with them as to what they thought was appropriate. BOT decision-making included *whaanau* decisions.

"BOT present their case with, is this the right *huarahi*, it would be best to go this way, The *whaanau* might be able to present a good enough reason why we shouldn't take that track and the Board can come on Board with that. Both have to come to a compromise for the best interest of the *Kura*" (April)

"I think they (*whaanau*) should be a part of the decision-making but not the ones to make the final decision" (Septemberx2)

"I prefer the BOT and the *whaanau*, if there is an issue just come and discuss it with the BOT and then have a *whaanau hui* and discuss it there" (December)

Some *whaanau* supported the retention of a BOT or a similar type of body, with *whaanau* consultation. This group had concerns about *whaanau* decision-making, particularly decisions being based on individual needs as opposed to the needs of all *tamariki* and future benefit to the *Kura*. They also felt gaining consensus from *whaanau* and accountability was potentially problematic.

"I don't like that idea [*whaanau* decision-making] because you'll have some *whaanau* running one way and some running the other way and they'll be passing the buck too much. None of them will want to be accountable for what's gone down, they'll all be running in all different directions" (Septemberx3)

"Some of the *whaanau* aren't focusing on the *tamariki*, just their own child and not the majority, not the whole of them" (Septemberx1)

“I foresee a lot of disagreement, a lot of fighting I think the structure would collapse because of people wanting this, wanting that, a lot of strong minded people in this *Kura*...I don't see a proper structure if all *whaanau* were running it” (May)

The second major perspective was the replacement of the BOT model. Some *whaanau* felt the BOT model was an inappropriate structure for *Kura* because *Maaori* needed to participate in rigorous discussions and debates for successful decisions and outcomes to result. These *whaanau* did not feel changes could be made to the BOT system, suggesting the BOT model be removed or changed to reflect both *whaanau* and BOT needs.

“Chuck it [BOT] out and put *whaanau whakahaere* in there... the whole *whaanau* take and accept responsibility” (January)

“It's a system that was inherited and I support *whaanau whakahaere*...*whaanau* can determine the *tikanga* on how we operate and what the proper practices are” (August)

“*Maaori* people work differently and we think differently and I think that's why BOT's don't work in *Kura* ...the structures are all wrong, when you look at *Kohanga* and it seems to work and you go back a hundred, two hundred years, that's how our *tipuna* did it” (March)

Replacing a BOT and expanding the base of control was perceived by some as an opportunity for *whaanau* to volunteer their services according to their skills and interests. For example, small groups could be formed to take responsibility for various portfolios.

“*Whaanau* would have to decide the portfolios, put down all the areas, property finance etc.. who has got expertise in these areas, they can volunteer and they have to stick to their guns...we'd have committees and they'd come back to the *whaanau*” (June)

“I think the committee style is good where you’ve got people of like passion and skill operating in their areas of skill where they can best be used...People of like getting together handling things, even hotspot committees dealing to that and bringing it back with a couple of options”(January)

The smallness of the *Kura* was also considered reason enough to remove the BOT model. *Whaanau* felt *whaanau* decision-making would provide opportunities for *whaanau* to express their ideas and learn about *Kura Kaupapa*.

“The good thing is if the *whaanau* did it, maybe we’d get a better idea of what people want...and I think that people have so many different ideas of what *Kura* should be, you don’t get that at mainstream because they know what it is” (November)

Although some *whaanau* preferred the retention of the BOT model, they were prepared to support *whaanau* governance should it be decided by the *Kura*. A few *whaanau* accepted that the BOT model was prescribed for *Kura* and not developed from a *Maaori* perspective for *Maaori*. *Kura* autonomy was considered to be situated in *whaanau* decision-making.

“Then again, if we want to make a break away from the *tauiwi* culture that’s making us do it (BOT) their way instead of us doing it our way, then it becomes a *whaanau* decision for *whaanau* to run a school/*Kura* and be accountable”(Septemberx1)

Certain conditions were seen as a prerequisite for *whaanau* decision-making. Gaining *whaanau* commitment and accountability were considered integral and an enrolment policy was considered a means of achieving these.

“I suppose *whaanau whakahaere* could work if you were a lot more strict on the enrolment process, you can’t come here unless you’re really staunch or your *whaanau* is staunch to the *kaupapa*” (October)

“That’s fine because you want the commitment of the *whaanau* because from enrolment everyone will become responsible and then it will go from strength to strength” (June)

Due to the perceived difficulties of implementing a *whaanau* model of governance, a few *whaanau* felt a trial period was necessary. The need to monitor and measure the effectiveness of a *whaanau* model was considered important.

“If this was to go through, well, give it a certain period and review it and if it’s not working, change it, not even six months, a short time frame” (July)

7.7 Summary

Three distinct understandings of the BOT were identified by *whaanau*. First, the BOT was considered the decision-making body of *Kura*, with prior *whaanau* consultation. Second, the BOT made decisions when *whaanau* could not come to a consensus, while the third understanding was a BOT made decisions which reflected *whaanau* decisions and the BOT worked for the *whaanau*. Characteristics identified as integral to the efficiency and effectiveness of a BOT were vision, strong leadership, good communication, and accountability to *whaanau* and *tamariki*.

The function and operations of a BOT provided a sense of security and accountability to MOE and *whaanau*. The general consensus of *whaanau* was the BOT model faced challenges within the *Kura* environment. Two distinct groups of *whaanau* were identified. The first felt changes could be made to improve the model which meant including *whaanau* in the decision-making process. The second *whaanau* group felt the model was inappropriate for *Kura* and preferred a model of *whaanau* decision-making.

Further support for *whaanau* decision-making extended to those who had initially wanted to retain the BOT model. They felt if the *whaanau* decision-making model was the preferred option by most *whaanau*, they too would reconsider their choice. This support was conditional on appropriate structures and policies being implemented to ensure *whaanau* accountability, responsibility and the well-being of the *tamariki* and *Kura*.

8. Discussion

8.1 Brief Overview

The aim of this study is to analyse the governance structure and function of the school Board of Trustee model within the setting of *Kura Kaupapa Maaori*. This final chapter reflects on the *whaanau* findings in light of the literature review. *Whaanau* experiences and understandings are contextualised within a historical context to explore the cultural capacity and capital of *whaanau*. This assists in developing a framework to analyse the BOT governance model from a *Maaori* perspective and highlights the tensions of a State-centred model underpinned by a rhetoric of choice and control.

The in-depth *koorero* began by exploring the environmental setting and cultural exposure of *whaanau* to *te reo me oona tikanga*. Questions sought to ascertain the integral features of *whaanau* upbringing, which *whaanau* considered important for future generations. Two major themes were identified, first, the period of *whaanau* upbringing placed little value on the *Maaori* language, values and customs reflecting a negative stereotype of *Maaori* in society. Second was the limited or absence of opportunity to live within a *Maaori* paradigm.

The study sought to understand the reasons behind *KKM* as an education choice by *whaanau*, exploring *whaanau* expectations of *KKM*, as well as their own roles and responsibilities. Past *whaanau* experiences were found to be fundamental to participation in *KKM*, not wanting to repeat their upbringing of cultural deprivation within their children's generation. Despite this intention, there was a lack of awareness by *whaanau* of *Te Aho Matua* or the relationship between *TAM* and *KKM*. A consistent finding of *whaanau* was the need for *whaanau* involvement in the decision-making process. Although *whaanau* expected to participate in *Kura*, they had no clear understanding on what this meant in practice. Expectations of a BOT included accountability to *whaanau* and *tamariki* and also a clear vision, good communications, leadership and accountability.

8.2 Cultural Deprivation

Exploring *whaanau* upbringing provided an insight into the social, cultural and political environment of *whaanau* and their access to *te reo me oona tikanga*. An understanding of the environmental setting suggested *whaanau* participants had an appreciation of the cause and impact of the loss of *te reo me oona tikanga*. The literature review explored

historical issues in relation to *Maaori*: pre-European *Maaori* institutions, the impact of colonisation in loss of land and disadvantage and marginalisation within the Western State apparatus. The 1867 Native Schools Act did not support *matauranga Maaori* as transmitted through *te reo*, indeed it's aim was to dispense with the *Maaori* language (in Simon 1998). The outcome was the demise of the *Maaori* language and culture.

Revisiting these debates within the literature review is not purely a historical exercise. The past is carried into the present and was seen as part of the lived reality of *whaanau* participants within the study. Parents of *Kura whaanau* and their generation experienced an impoverished social and cultural environment which contributed to a sense of *Maaori* culture and language being of the past, while English and Western values were considered important for future generations. The in-depth *koorero* provided rich evidence that a succession of policies left this generation/s of *Maaori* with a sense of cultural inferiority.

The lack of *te reo me oona tikanga* experienced in *whaanau* upbringing was a result of past policies of assimilation that undermined the importance of *Maaori* values. Erosion of *Maaori* culture created a negative perception of *Maaori* and a belief in the need to adopt *Paakehaa* culture in a changed world. *Kura whaanau* cultural experiences were confined to rare close family circumstances such as *tangihanga* and occasions to learn the essence of culture were few. Given Metge (1995) suggests *Maaori* learn mainly by example and role modelling, there was a break in *tikanga* and *reo* being passed from generation to generation. A clear finding is the limited opportunity for a generation of *Maaori* of living within a *Maaori* paradigm, something considered an essential component of their cultural existence.

The experience of urbanisation was reflected in the responses by *whaanau* and shaped their views of *KKM*. Most *whaanau* spoke of their grandparents, parents, aunts and uncles speaking *te reo*, and parents upbringing being in a more traditional environment. However, the experiences of the urban drift left *whaanau* units distanced from their *hapuu* and *Iwi* links. This distance from tribal areas contributed to the fragmentation and weakening of the *whaanau* unit and their capacity to retain and maintain cultural practices. The placement of *whaanau* within the urban setting increased their exposure to

a *Paakehaa* way of life whilst reducing their children's access to being nurtured within a traditional communal, social organisational structure (Best 1924).

The *Kura whaanau* is unique to the traditional *whaanau* unit, they hail from various *Iwi* and *waka* and thus traditional blood ties are not the dominant feature of the *whaanau*. Lack of *whaanau* exposure to *te reo me oona tikanga* was an influential factor in their decision to educate their *tamaiti/tamariki* in *KKM*. Past experiences of cultural deprivation have created a determination to ensure their *tamariki* have the access and opportunity they missed out on. The historical experience of *Maaori* is therefore crucial to making sense of the rationale for *KKM* and provides an insight into potential obstacles in its successful development.

The research findings suggest that the past continues to be mirrored in the present. Most of the *whaanau* participants were not taught *te reo me oona tikanga* during their upbringing. This historical legacy is fundamental to understanding contemporary economic, political and cultural issues. The challenge of current State policy and *Maaori*-driven initiatives is to move beyond this legacy, whilst being aware that, in the short term at least, it may pose some challenges for *Maaori* development and advancement.

8.3 A Right to *Te Reo Me oona Tikanga*

The rights of *Maaori* are fundamental to grasping the bicultural role of the Treaty of *Waitangi*. Chapter 3.7 discussed these rights with a particular emphasis upon the importance of Articles Two and Three (Orange 1989). *Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa* were initiated by *Maaori* determined to retain their right to '*tino rangatiratanga*' and in response to the inadequate public education provided for *Maaori*. The initiatives were developed from cultural foundations that recognised *Maaori* values within the education system (Puketapu 1982). Most *Kura whaanau* began their journey of addressing their past experiences of cultural deprivation by sending their *tamaiti/tamariki* to *Kohanga Reo*. The move to *KKM* was perceived as a natural progression because of the continued learning in *te reo*, whilst mainstream schools were perceived as incapable of catering for the needs of *Maaori*. Despite the recognition of the TOW as the foundation document of

Aotearoa, *Maaori* continue to struggle in establishing a partnership with the Crown that acknowledges and exemplifies cultural values within State policy and provision.

The education reforms provided an opportunity for *KKM* to compete in the quasi-market of education (Education Act 1989). In accepting State funding, *KKM* became accountable to the Minister of Education through the *Kura* Charter, financial audits and education reviews. The cultural framework and philosophy of *KKM* became juxtaposed with a State system underpinned by liberal values of individualism, choice, parental control and a series of organisational/managerial considerations (King 1993). Such was the situation facing *whaanau* within *KKM*, unsurprisingly some tensions were created. *KKM* face the challenge of maintaining and asserting their cultural framework within a State infrastructure that is not necessarily in synchronicity with the principles of *Te Aho Matua* or the vision of *KKM*.

A part of the rationale behind the education reforms (1989) was parental choice of the type of education preferred for their children. Choice and exit underpinned the policy as did an assumption that if people had choices the market would become more responsive, thereby reducing exit (Boston et al 1997). A poignant note from the findings is that some fourteen years later, *whaanau* continue to leave mainstream schools because of their dissatisfaction with the *Maaori* education provided. *Whaanau* suggested very clearly that mainstream was still limited in its provision for *Maaori*. Mainstream schools were perceived as ill-equipped to provide the type of education *Kura whaanau* were seeking. For many, *KKM* was not a choice amongst options, it was the only choice if *te reo me oona tikanga* was to be embraced and preserved.

8.4 *Whaanau* Participation Essential

The literature clearly highlights the significance and importance of *Maaori* participation and involvement within their social organisations. During the period of Native Schools, the gifting of *Maaori* land for the purposes of the education of their *tamariki* created a sense of ownership, which obligated *Maaori* and encouraged their involvement in schools (Simon 1998). *Kohanga Reo* and *KKM* were both developed on the cultural foundation of *whaanau* participation and involvement (*Mataira* 1997, *TKR Review* 1988). A central question of the research was about the importance of *whaanau*

participation in decision-making. Writers that have sought to explore traditional *Maaori* values suggest communal participation, collective work ethics and the intensification of participation through social rituals are fundamental to the wellbeing of the collective (Best 1924, Firth 1972). From a historical perspective, these were important characteristics of *Maaori* society which Firth (1972) suggested created a dependency on all members to work together for economic, social and military strength. Their existence relied on working collectively and was reinforced by their societal organisation and values, ensuring all members were educated in the social mores of their society. According to the tenet of *TAM*, *Ngaa Iwi*, the social organisation of a *KKM*, is considered integral to its operation (Maitaira 1997). *KKM* face a challenge of developing an environment that is reflective of legitimising cultural values and which creates strategies to reclaim communal participation and collective work ethic for the collective wellbeing. Although *whaanau* had chosen *Kura* with a broad expectation of involvement and participation, there was less surity around what this might involve and how involvement maybe shaped or formed.

A key question concerned the understanding of the relationship between *TAM* and *KKM* by *whaanau*. *TAM* is the underpinning of *KKM* and reflected in the *TAM* Amendment Act (1999), which requires *KKM* to recognize and operate in accordance with *TAM*. What has emerged from the findings is the uncertainty and the lack of clear understanding of the fundamental relationship between *Te Aho Matua* and *Kura Kaupapa Maaori* by *whaanau*. In a traditional *Maaori* society, these understandings would have been passed down from generation to generation, providing clarity and expectations. The renaissance of *te reo me oona tikanga* coupled with a generation deprived of their culture means a philosophical vision based on traditional cultural components and concepts unfamiliar to *whaanau*. An integral feature of *Te Aho Matua* is the collective responsibility of *whaanau* to contribute to the education of *tamariki* and *whaanau*. This is inclusive of developing and exposing *tamariki* to social, management and governance structures to achieve the desired outcomes of a holistic learning approach (Mataira 1997).

Whaanau participant's lack of clarity of *TAM* has clear implications for the operation of *Kura*. It limits the cultural capital and capacity to contribute to the *Kura Kaupapa Maaori* cultural framework operating under *TAM*. The expectation of *whaanau* involvement in *KKM* may not be realised given *whaanau* are unfamiliar with the relationship between *KKM* and *TAM*. The danger of failing to develop this strong support and infrastructure are evident. It may lead to an assimilation model with the delivery of instruction in *te reo*. This deviates from the vision of *Kura* legitimising *Maaori* knowledge which requires all those involved having an understanding and knowledge base. This includes knowledge of all tenets of *TAM*, which fundamentally places the child within a social organisation which reaffirms *Maaori* values, *tikanga* and *tino rangatiratanga*, an environment controlled and governed by *whaanau* (*Te Ruunanga O Ngaa KKM O Aotearoa* 1998).

8.5 ERO and *Whaanau* Expectations of a BOT

The literature noted that ERO had reported a number of failings with the performance of BOT's, particularly in *KKM* and small schools (ERO 1996, 1998). ERO identified several symptoms of governance failure, blaming BOT's for not understanding their responsibility for controlling and managing a school. The literature clearly defined the legal role and responsibility of a BOT in legislation (Education Act 1989, Public Finance Act 1989, Schools Trustees Act 1989). This study, however, sought to explore the BOT model from a cultural perspective, seeking to identify the tensions of a BOT model within the cultural framework of *KKM*.

The research questions endeavored to ascertain *whaanau* perceptions of the BOT model inclusive of the roles, responsibilities and *whaanau* expectations of a BOT. Four key characteristics emerged as fundamental to the effective and efficient operation of a BOT. The first characteristic, 'leadership' is a consistent theme which has been identified in the literature as an integral component of successful decision-making within a historical (Ward 1983) and contemporary context (ERO 2002). Historically, leadership was a birth right based on primogeniture although inefficient leaders could be replaced if they did not function in the best interest of the *whaanau/hapuu* or *Iwi* (Ward 1983). Leadership within the *Kura* environment is not inclusive of birth rights, however, there were similarities to past leadership qualities, such as the expectation that a leader would

promote collective well-being. *Kura whaanau* felt leadership was an integral factor in *Kura* decision-making and good leadership was seen as that which considered the overall interest and well-being of the *Kura* and education of the *tamariki* as a priority.

Leadership was also something that was seen as potentially invested in a group of people rather than limited to an individual. The likelihood of one person providing all the leadership qualities required within a *Kura* was considered small. Leadership considered the macro picture of the *Kura* and implemented the *whaanau* vision whilst maintaining communication and participation of *whaanau* in the process. Leadership provided guidance, empowerment and accountability to *whaanau*. Leadership was also considered paramount and fundamental to the function and operation of *Kura* and determined by *whaanau*.

A very different notion of leadership was identified in the literature (ERO 1986, 1988) as an integral component of good governance within the BOT model. Good leadership according to ERO exuded from the BOT and was based on their ability to comply with their contractual reporting requirements. This is in line with the State restructuring (1989), leadership is measured on the ability of a BOT to produce outcomes in line with government policy. It omits important cultural components of leadership deemed essential by *whaanau*. A challenge facing *Kura* is to create an appropriate model of leadership which addresses the contemporary challenges of legislative governance whilst gaining and/or retaining the essential cultural elements of good leadership.

Second, a BOT were expected to be 'visionary'. This has parallels with the historical concept of *tapu* discussed in Chapter 3.6. Orbell suggested *tapu* focused attention on important undertakings and expressed the social values of *Maaori* society (1995). Historically, *Maaori* society functioned on the premise of the collective well-being enforced by the concept of *tapu*. *Maaori* worked collectively for the common goal determined by a shared vision. There is a common thread between the historical concept of *tapu* and the *whaanau* concept of vision as setting a common goal for *whaanau* which achieves *whaanau* support and commitment. A vision provides the focal point for strategy and rules for *whaanau* because it reflects the long term collective vision and well-being of the *tamariki* and *Kura*. Findings suggest the need for *whaanau*-determined

vision/s for the *Kura* and these are essential to the operation and function of both BOT and *whaanau*.

The third key characteristic, 'good communication', reflects the importance of transparency and the sharing of information. Findings suggested an effective communication system kept *whaanau* informed of short and long term goals. Good communication was considered essential in providing clear and consistent messages and fundamental to developing a sense of unity amongst *whaanau*. *Hui* was considered an appropriate forum for communicating with *whaanau*. Salmond (1976) noted that historically, the *Marae* provided the forum for open discussions on topics and issues of importance to the collective. Further work could be done at the *Kura* level to ascertain what good communication is for *whaanau* and to identify appropriate forums and means of communication. This may include encouraging greater *hui* participation by identifying appropriate timeframes, looking at alternative sources of communication and ongoing learning by *whaanau* of *TAM* which encourages *whaanau* involvement in the governance and management of the *Kura*.

The fourth key characteristic, 'accountability', concerned 'accountability to *whaanau*' rather than to MOE. As discussed in Chapter 3, *KKM* are subject to the same regulatory requirements as other designated State schools (Education Act 1989, ERO 2002). *Whaanau* were less aware of the legal responsibilities and accountability of a BOT to the Ministry of Education. *Kura* should be encouraged to raise awareness of their legal responsibilities and accountability to the MOE in accordance with legislation. *Whaanau* has few detailed understandings of BOT and overall the BOT was considered responsible for the day to day running of the *Kura*.

An overarching theme of these four characteristics of an effective BOT is the different expectations of *whaanau* and ERO. ERO expectations are laden with those prescribed by the quasi-market model of contractual agreements, whilst *whaanau* expectations essentially demand *whaanau* accountability. These are important considerations in the future development of a cultural framework for *Kura* governance. How these are promoted within the *Kura* requires an integrated approach of a *whaanau*-determined vision inclusive of *whaanau* communication, strategies and leader/s. The *Kura*

environment requires an extension of *whaanau* education into *Kura* legislative compliances to ensure both *whaanau* and MOE accountability is achieved.

8.6 The BOT: A Model of Dependency

The literature outlined several issues facing a BOT model in *KKM*. ERO literature also suggested small schools being most likely to confront governance issues arising from having smaller communities (ERO 1998, MOE 2001). These included the declining *whaanau* numbers of BOT nominations, unavailability of Trustees for re-election and premature resignations of Trustees attributed to work overload (ERO 2002). The small pool of human resources available in *Kura* is problematic for an electoral based BOT model reliant on drawing nominees from within it.

The intention of the education reforms was to recommend systems and structures which were efficient, flexible and responsive to communities and Government objectives (The Administering For Excellence Report 1988). The resulting decentralisation of government involvement from the management of educational institutions created information needs on the ground. Under the changes, communities needed to become familiar with legislative and regulative requirements and more involved in running their schools. The BOT model included an electoral system influenced by the old SOE management model which was transferred to the Crown Entity corporate model management structure (Boston et al. 1997) [The electoral nature of a BOT is structurally flawed within the *Kura* environment due to its smallness and raises concern about the assumed effectiveness of the corporate model prescribed by Government.]

The BOT approach does not pay enough attention to the variances of school sizes or the ability of a BOT model to function effectively in small communities. Two major issues facing a BOT model within *Kura* are whether it is a sustainable model given the identified issues of work overload, burn out and limited human resource. Second, the model potentially creates an environment of dependency and reliance by devolving the responsibility of the function and operation of a *Kura* to a BOT. *Tawhiwhirangi* supports the need for all *whaanau* to take responsibility or risk their potential being inhibited or dependency preserved (1995). The BOT model potentially replaces the concept and responsibilities of the *whaanau* unit which is integral to *KKM*. The BOT model risks

repeating the results of past paternalistic policies which have created *Maaori* dependency on the State and inhibited *Maaori* advancement.

There is friction between the BOT model and *TAM* philosophy because the model does not recognise the importance of *whaanau* participation in decision-making. The literature supports the importance of *whaanau* participation within *Maaori* organisations. All are consistent with research findings which identify the need for *whaanau* to participate for successful outcomes for *Maaori*. Johnstone (1992) suggested a BOT reinterprets the concept of *whaanau*. *Tawhiwhirangi* (1995) exemplified the importance of not appointing someone else to take on your responsibilities and *TAM* reaffirms the ownership of *whaanau* and their responsibility of participating and managing *Kura* (*Mataira* 1997).

Findings suggested the BOT model had the potential to fragment and divide *whaanau*. The legal structure and definition of a BOT was also felt to be too removed to be viewed as part of the *whaanau* concept. The BOT model was therefore alien to the cultural framework of *KKM*, creating segregation and separation between BOT and *whaanau*. Although government reforms (1989) proposed community opportunity to develop different philosophical approaches to education (such as *TAM*), the imposition of a government infrastructure retained control without the operational responsibilities.

The model weakens *KKM* because it is disempowering and conflicts with *Maaori* ambition to retain '*tino rangatiratanga*'. An appropriate model needs to reflect inclusiveness, retain collective responsibility and foster the concept of *whaanau* and cultural integrity of *TAM*. *Whaanau* are seeking institutional changes which can foster appropriate models to confront the contemporary challenges and reflect the dynamic nature of their environment.

8.7 Reform or Dismantle the BOT

Previous discussion has focused upon the history and background to *KKM* and *whaanau* involvement within it. But as suggested earlier, the purpose of this research, as with *KKM* more broadly, is to look forward and develop a vision which embraces and nurtures

te reo me ona tikanga advancing *Māori*. The past may be reflected in the present but the future is being built. How this should be built is the final point of discussion. Two alternative models of governance were identified by *whānau*; a reformed version of the current BOT model and, alternatively, dismantling the BOT model altogether, replacing it with collective *whānau* decision-making.

A group of *whānau* supported a reformed BOT model as their preferred model of governance in *Kura*. Several reasons were given for supporting the model including the security and surity of knowing a committed group of people were responsible and accountable for the operation and function of the *Kura*. The BOT was considered accountable to *whānau* first and likened to guardians of the *Kura*, providing the leadership to bring the *Kura* vision to fruition. The challenge arising from this reformed model was developing a system which makes BOT more accountable to *whānau*. Under the Education Act 1989, a BOT is accountable to the Minister and the issue of accountability to *whānau* is addressed in the three year election cycle. The tensions between *TAM* and a BOT model need to be raised with *whānau* to develop solutions that address accountability issues and meet the expectations of *whānau* and MOE. Innovation requires an analysis of *TAM* and the vision of *KKM* prior to further acceptance of a BOT model within the *Kura* environment.

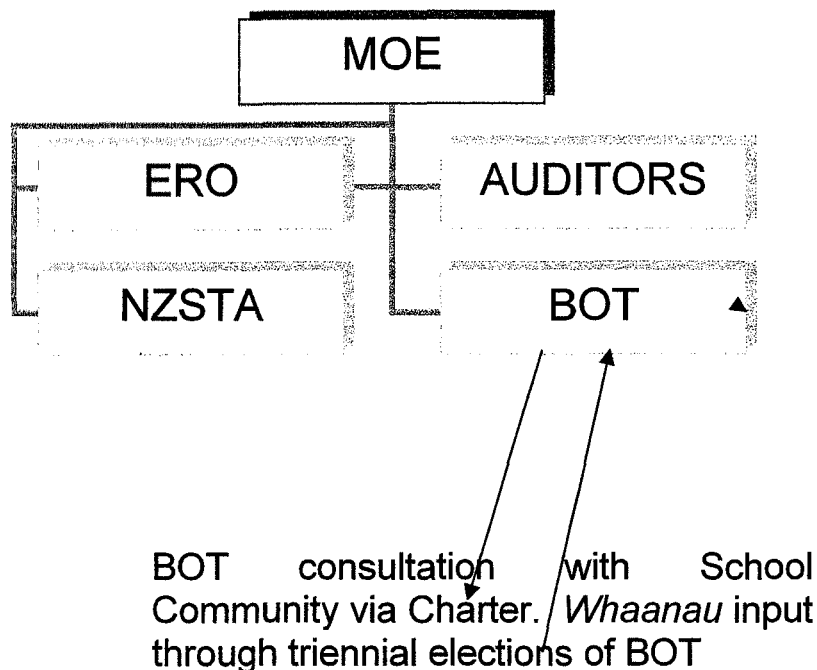
The electoral system of the BOT model was considered the most problematic, requiring a number of changes including extending BOT elections out into the broader community to address the small pool of resources and increasing the opportunity of skill range (ie, *Marae* CEO, *Te Puna Hauora* Manager, secondary school teachers). This suggestion can be considered in line with the corporate management model which targets appropriate and/or Ministerially appointed Directors to undertake designated governance tasks. Given the smallness of the *Kura whānau* unit the suggestion would increase the human capacity the *Kura* BOT can draw from. However, such a reform has the potential to create further tension between *TAM* and BOT by extending beyond the *Kura whānau*. It also does not resolve the other tensions raised in previous discussions regarding *whānau* participation in decision-making, nor does it address the need to raise *whānau* awareness of the legal requirements of a BOT or the philosophical underpinnings of *TAM*.

Another proposed change to the electoral system was that of rotation. This type of system was felt to provide an environment more conducive to encouraging participation in BOT elections. The proposal provides newly elected Trustees an opportunity to become familiar with Board business before experienced Trustees retire. Given that historically *Maaori* learnt in informal environments, this proposal has the potential to provide an informal training environment for prospective Trustees, which allows experience to be passed down (Metge 1995).

A familiarisation period for *whaanau* and prospective Trustees was also proposed and considered important. This period provided prospective Trustees with an opportunity to share their ideas with *whaanau* and also provided *whaanau* an opportunity to meet and question prospective Trustees. This type of solution provides an opportunity for *whaanau* to critique prospective Trustees and also initiates an accountability process of Trustee to *whaanau*. Further, it creates an environment of democratic contestability where candidates promote and validate their skills and knowledge in their bid for votes.

Whaanau found solace in the BOT model because it guaranteed an accountability framework and identified persons responsible and accountable. The suggested reforms sought to work within the BOT framework and fit with policy intentions but do not necessarily assert *Maaori* values or philosophies identified within *TAM* or *KKM*. Diagram Five below depicts the hierarchical structure of the BOT model highlighting the position of MOE and the distance that emerges between the BOT and *whaanau*/school communities. Reforms to the model will not change the structure or hierarchical nature of the model.

Diagram Five. The BOT Model

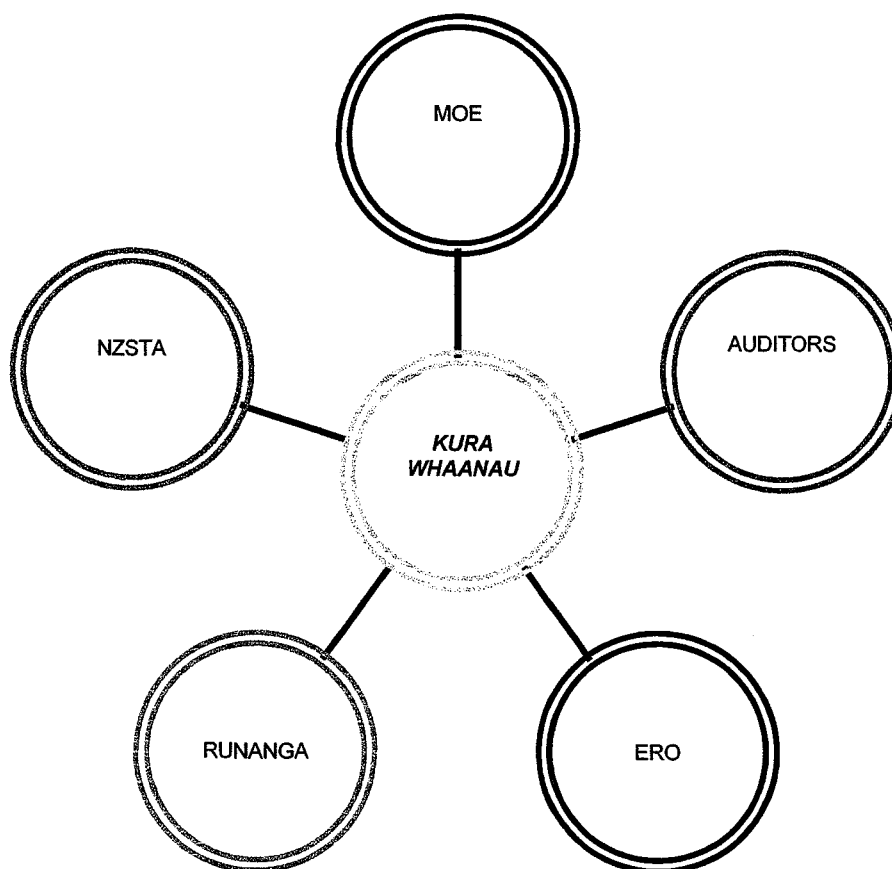


In contrast, the second model proposed by *whaanau* dismantled the BOT and replaced it with collective *whaanau* decision-making. This stance reflects their desire to imprint the cultural values of collectivism into the *Kura* environment. It is also more consistent with *whaanau* expectation of participation and involvement in *Kura* decision-making. The expectation that a BOT can represent the views of all *whaanau* was considered unachievable and relying on a few to undertake the role of running the *Kura* diminished the responsibility of all *whaanau*. The BOT model was considered contentious in the *Kura* environment, creating a division between *whaanau* and Trustees.

The second model reflected the view that there was a need for *whaanau* to participate in the decision-making process. Although *whaanau* were unaware of how *whaanau* decision-making might be structured, it was considered paramount to fulfilling their needs and expectations as *whaanau*. This was reaffirmed when some *whaanau* agreed to support *whaanau* governance if that was what *whaanau* decided on. There was concern for how *whaanau* governance would achieve *whaanau* accountability and *whaanau* support was conditional on appropriate structures and enrolment policies being put in

place to ensure a system of accountability and the efficient function and operation of *Kura*. This proposal is consistent with the cultural values of *TAM* and has the potential to contribute to the development of a social organisation and cultural framework, deemed integral to the education of *tamariki* within *KKM*. If *KKM* is to achieve its goals and aspirations, the *Kura* environment needs to reflect the cultural organisation which is fundamental in the learning process of *Maaori*. Diagram Six illustrates a governance structure based on *whaanau* governance. It suggests the *Kura whaanau* as being the core of the structure and all others extending from the centre. The *whaanau* are the central feature of the structure.

Diagram Six. *Whaanau* Governance Model



8.8 *Whaanau* Governance is '*Tino Rangatiratanga*'

This research set out to identify the issues underlying 'poor governance' in *KKM* from a cultural perspective. A common saying within *Maaoridom* is 'you need to know where you have come from, to know who you are, in order to know where you are going'. History has played an important role within this research by providing an insight of how past government policies impacted on *Maaori* and their culture. Evidence has highlighted how the past has influenced the present, resulting in a generation experiencing cultural deprivation. It has illuminated integral concepts and features relevant to living within a *Maaori* paradigm. All were important considerations in the foundation of *KKM* and its philosophical doctrine, *TAM*.

The placement of *KKM* within the State infrastructure has provided *Kura* an opportunity of equal access to State funding. In accepting this, *KKM* are legally obligated to adhere to a BOT governance model, founded on values of individualism, choice and other free market assumptions. These conflict with the cultural principles of *whaanau* participation in decision-making and collective responsibility. Both are essential components of the *Maaori* paradigm considered to be crucial to the fabric of the cultural framework of a *KKM* environment.

Past policies have been detrimental to the progress and advancement of *Maaori* within New Zealand society. In this position, the BOT governance model clearly conflicts with the concept of *whaanau* governance and has the capacity to reproduce negative outcomes similar to past government policies. The BOT model contradicts and conflicts with *Maaori* cultural values and aspirations of '*tino rangatiratanga*'. A governance model within *KKM* needs to reaffirm an environment that embraces the essence of the historical function of *whaanau* for the purpose of the collective well-being. The function of a governance model needs to nurture and encourage development of collective responsibility, obligation, reciprocity, commitment and respect. The structure of such a model needs to consider inclusiveness and foster *whaanau* participation. The desired outcome of the model is empowerment and education of the *whaanau* and *tamariki* within a *Maaori* paradigm.

There is a real commitment within *KKM* to achieving this by all those involved but how commitment can be harnessed is the challenge they face. Creating a greater awareness of both *TAM* and the legislative requirements of a BOT is a fundamental requirement of *whaanau* in achieving positive outcomes for *Kura*. This awareness is an integral factor in advancing the development of the cultural framework of *Kura* within a State infrastructure. An awareness of these creates a greater knowledge base for *whaanau* to develop structures and systems which reflect both cultural values and needs whilst meeting legislative compliances.

Some suggestions include; *KKM* themselves looking at how they involve whanau within the operation of *Kura* and how *Kura* whanau communicate with each other. Given the few *whakapapa* links within the *Kura*, there is a need for *whanau* to develop *whakawhanaungatanga* to gain a sense of collectivism in order to function on the premise of the collective well-being. The *Kura* faces the task of creating a cultural framework with limited cultural capital. Therefore, it requires innovative strategies which create an environment of solidarity and cultural learning paths for *whaanau* as well as *tamariki*. The creation of a vision by *whaanau* can contribute to nurturing and strengthening capital capacity, it can also provide a vehicle to carry the *kawa*, *tapu* and *mana* of the *Kura* into the future for generations to come. A vision needs to reaffirm the cultural values and implementation requires *whaanau* participation in all areas of *Kura* operation. Given traditional *Maaori* society relied on each person achieving their tasks, *Kura* requires a similar approach. Clear communication of designated tasks, expectations and consequences to the collective is required to ensure collective responsibility is achieved. This requires full understanding of *TAM* and legislative requirements by all *whaanau* prior to enrolling their *tamariki* in *Kura*.

Doubts are raised as to whether *Kura* can achieve *whaanau* governance under the current BOT model which demands accountability to MOE. BOT accountability to *whaanau* has been clearly identified by *whaanau* as integral, but the BOT model was not developed on this premise. There would be a reliance on Trustees accepting dual accountability pressures, which could potentially increase dramatically if Board decisions contradicted *whaanau* decisions. Under these circumstances, the impact on the declining numbers of prospective BOT members could further decrease. This further supports the notion of

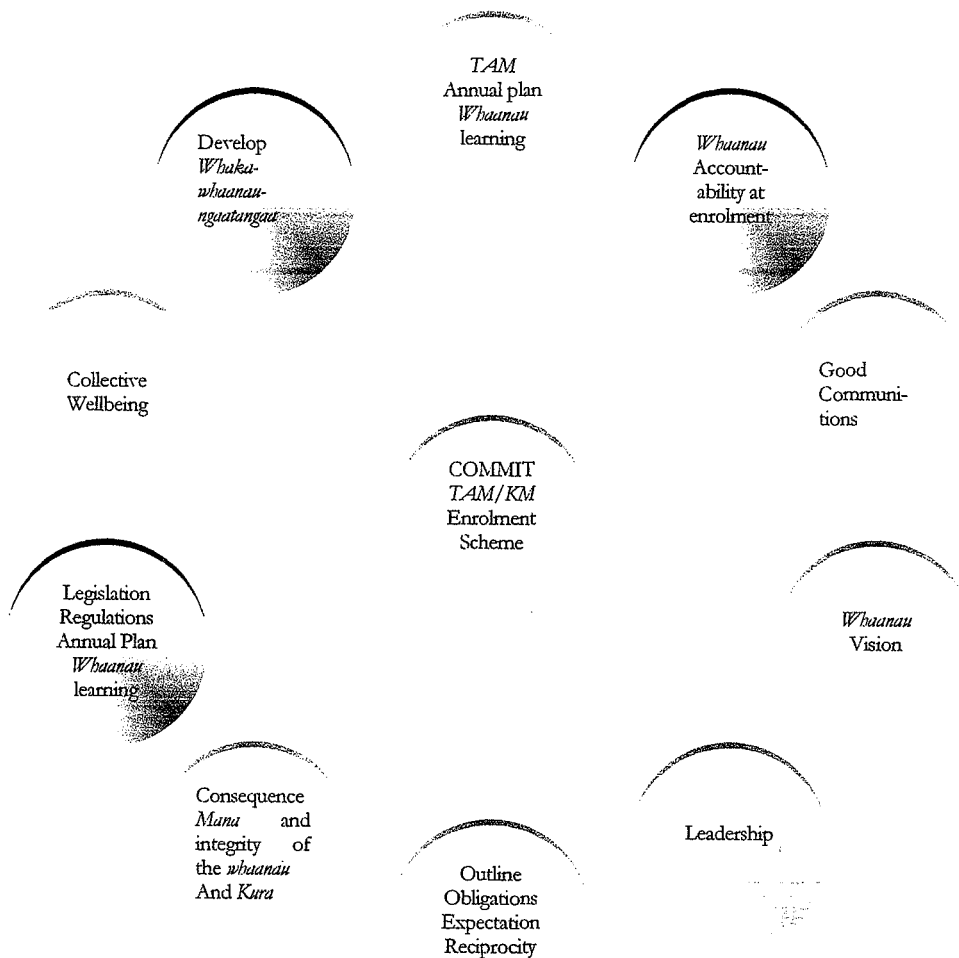
appointing all *whaanau* as the governing body of the *Kura*.

There are dimensions of change which lie outside the control of *KKM* and perhaps this signals the need to revisit legislation. Under the *TAM* Amendment Act 1999, *KKM* must operate in accordance with *TAM* which emphasises *whaanau* governance and management. This conflicts with the Education Act 1989 which requires all State schools to have a BOT. Government faces a challenge to acknowledge the importance of *whaanau* governance within *KKM*. *Kura* are not seeking to devolve their legal obligations, they are, however, wishing to reassert their cultural values. A potential solution is to designate the BOT responsibilities and accountabilities to all *whaanau* members of *Kura*.

Achieving this requires *Kura* to develop a system which acknowledges and reaffirms the importance of *TAM* and *whaanau* commitment to learning and understanding it. *Kura* can seek assistance and guidance from *Te Ruunanga o ngaa Kura Kaupapa Maaori o Aotearoa* who are the *Kaitiaki* of *TAM*, in the quest to further understanding *TAM*. Gaining *whaanau* commitment requires an enrolment scheme that obligates *whaanau* to participate in *TAM* *Wanangaa*, up-take of *te reo* and acceptance of *whaanau* responsibility to govern the *Kura*. The scheme potentially outlines *Kura* expectations and obligations of *whaanau* and their responsibilities to the collective well-being of the *Kura*. It potentially contributes to the foundation of a cultural framework that can be passed down from *whaanau* to *whaanau*. The *Kura* too is obligated to ensure appropriate forums are scheduled annually and resources are disseminated and made available to *whaanau*. *Whaanau* need to enter *Kura* with the knowledge of their expected commitment and reciprocity. The consequences of flaunting rules were traditionally embedded in *whaanau* through the principle of *tapu*. In today's context, *Kura* needs to consider the consequences of *whaanau* not fulfilling their commitments for the collective well-being. Central to this, is that *Kura* governance rely on the *mana* of the *Kura whaanau* and their integrity. Diagram seven summarises all the key factors identified in this study considered important in achieving positive outcomes for *whaanau* decision-making within *Kura*.

Regardless of whether there are legislative changes or not, the *Kura* under *TAM* needs to focus on working towards *whaanau* commitment and participation towards the collective well-being and ‘*tino rangatiratanga*’.

Diagram Seven. Key Factors Towards Positive Outcomes



8.9 Conclusion

BOT governance within *KKM* needs to be considered in the context of *TAM*. The measurement of 'poor governance' utilised by ERO omits this important consideration. If *Kura* is to achieve both cultural and legislative objectives, all *whaanau* must empower themselves to take up the responsibility of managing and governing their *Kura*. *Whaanau* have acknowledged the need to be involved in *Kura*, in particular in decision-making for the education of their *tamariki*. The BOT model structure does not, however, provide for this nor does it legitimate *Maaori* cultural values or the importance of *whaanau* involvement. *Whaanau* should utilise this as a motivator to take up the challenge of exerting their right to '*tino rangatiratanga*' whilst adhering to the citizenship obligations required by all State schools. To achieve the successful educational outcomes *KKM* espouse, *whaanau* need to initiate and implant appropriate solutions that will advance and reflect the needs of the collective well-being for generations to come.

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10.0 Appendices

Appendix A:

Information Sheet

Participation in Shared Decision-Making within *Kura Kaupapa Maaori*

Introduction

- Researcher: *Kanewa* Stokes 21a Hastings Pde, Devonport, Ph 09 445 3128
Mob 025 440 264
- Supervisor: Neil Lunt, Massey University
- Masters Thesis Research Project.
- Employment status of the researcher: Independent Research Consultant

Participant Recruitment

- All *whaanau* will have the opportunity to decline participation/inclusion in participating in both the questionnaire and in-depth *koorero*.
- The questionnaire information will assist in selecting a broad cross selection of *whaanau* to participate in the research study. This will ensure our information is representative of the diversity of our *whaanau*. In-depth *koorero* will likely include a mixture of the following *whaanau*;
 1. *whaanau* whose tamariki did and did not attend *Kohanga* Reo
 2. *whaanau* who represent the different levels of understanding Te Aho Matua
 3. *whaanau* past/present BOT members
 4. *whaanau* who would consider and those who would not consider becoming a
 5. BOT member
 6. *whaanau* who do not attend *whaanau* hui
- A possible 4 groups of 3 *whaanau* will be randomly selected a total of 12 in-depth *koorero* will be conducted. The qualitative approach in conjunction with the selection of *whaanau* has the potential to provide a broad understanding of *whaanau* experiences, perceptions and whakaaro this research is seeking to explore.

- *Whaanau* participating in the in-depth *koorero* will initially consider whether they agree or disagree to participate in the questionnaire. *Whaanau* will then be asked for their phone number if this applicable. *Whaanau* will be telephoned to seek approval for their participation in the in-depth *koorero*. This process will assist to retain anonymity for participants.
- Participation in this research is totally voluntary and if at anytime a participant feels that they do not wish to continue, they have the right to stop the interview and continue at a later date or choose to cease their participation immediately.

Project Procedures

- The questionnaire data will be used to select a broad representation of *whaanau* to participate in the in-depth *koorero*. *Whaanau* questionnaire data will not be reported separately. Quotes will be used to support findings within the report. If participants do not wish particular quotes to be used they have the right to have these omitted and will be informed both verbally and in writing, both prior and post interview. The researcher is responsible for ensuring that these requests are adhered to.
- Data will be stored in a secure cabinet on the premises of the researcher
- All information given by individual *whaanau* members will remain confidential. To retain confidentiality, participants will have the opportunity to strike any quotes they feel could identify them to the research. Anonymity in a small community such as *Kura Kaupapa* will be very difficult to achieve, however if the recruitment process of notification by telephone is successful and interviews are conducted at appropriate places and times, *whaanau* could participate anonymously.

Whaanau Involvement

- *Whaanau* will be required to participate in an interview and feedback on the draft key findings, these will be given/sent to *whaanau*. *Whaanau* do not have to commit to feedback if they do not wish.
- Approximate time involved would be 2 - 2½ hours for the in-depth *koorero* and approximately 1½ hrs for the draft key findings, if *whaanau* choose to do so.

Whaanau Rights

All *whaanau* have the right to:

- decline to participate;
- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdrawl from the study; prior to sample selection, prior to interview or during *koorero*
Once an in-depth *koorero* is complete the data will be utilised in the study.
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings on conclusion
- ask for an audio tape not to be used
- ask for an audio tape to be turned off at any time during the *koorero*

Support Processes

Whaanau members are encouraged to participate in the in-depth *koorero*.

Project Contacts

- If you have any questions about the project please contact, *Kanewa* Stokes Ph 445 3128 (researcher) and/or Neil Lunt , Ph: +64 9 443 9799 ext. 9041,email: N.T.Lunt@massey.ac.nz (supervisor)

- **Committee Approval Statement**

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, ALB Protocol No (02/086). If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Associate Professor Kerry P Chamberlain, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: Albany, telephone 09 443 9700 x9078, email K.Chamberlain@massey.ac.nz.

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS

**PARTICIPATION AND SHARED DECISION-MAKING WITHIN *KURA*
*KAUPAPA MAAORI***

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature:

Date:

.....

.....

Full Name - printed

.....

TE KKM O TE RAKI PAEWHENUA WHAANAU PUKAPUKA UIUI

NO:

- 1 How long has your
- whaanau*
- been involved with the
- Kura*
- .

*E hia te roa to whaanau ki te Kura.***Tau/Yrs** _____**Marama** _____**/Months** _____

- 2 Did your
- tamaiti/tamariki*
- attend
- Kohanga Reo*
- .

AE**KAO***Whaere to tamaiti/tamariki ki te Kohanga Reo.*How many years were you involved with *Kohanga*.**Yrs/Tau** _____*Tokohia nga tau ki honga atu ki koe ki te Kohanga.*

- 3 Which of your
- Iwi*
- do you affiliate with the most strongest.

*He aha to Iwi Matua.***Matua** _____**Whaea** _____

- 4 Which of the following best describes your ability in
- Te Reo Maaori*

Ko tehea oenei tohu ka pa ki a koe.

(please tick which best describes you).

*(Tohu te whakautu e pai ana ki a koe.)***Matua** **Whaea****Native speaker/To reo tuatahi****Learned speaker/He reo tuarua****Still learning te reo/Kei te ako tonu****Very little/Iti rawa atu**

none of the above, could you please specify _____

Mehemea KAORE I rungaa nei, he aha ke _____

- 5 How often would you attend
- Kura Hui*
- (please circle appropriate letter)

*E hia nga hui a marama ka taea ki koe (tohu te hui e tika).***a. Very often/ Te katoa pea****b. Often/Etahi****c. Not often/Uaua pea****d. Have yet to attend/Kaore ano**

- 6 On a scale from 1 to 4 how would you rate your understanding of *Te Aho Matua*. (1=very good understanding, 2=not bad understanding, 3=very little 4=none at all) (Please circle the appropriate number/*Tohua te nama tika*)

Te nama tohi 1=Ki hea koe ki te aho matua 2=au tata 3=hi noa 4=Kore kowhaihi

Matua 1 2 3 4

Whaea 1 2 3 4

- 7 Have you ever been a Board of Trustee in the *Kura* or any other *Kura*

Kua noho ano koe i runga o Board Kura

Matua *AE KAO Whaea AE KAO*

- 8 Would you consider becoming a Board of Trustee

Kua whakaaro ano koe mo te eke atu ki runga o Board

(Please circle/*Tohua Ae/Kao ranei*)

Whaea *AE KAO Matua AE KAO*

- 9 Would your *whaanau* consider in participating in a *koorero* looking at *whaanau* participation in decision-making at *Kura*(please circle/*Tohua*)

Ka mihi ano to whaanau ki a koorero me awhina atu mo tenei kaupapa

AE KAO

Kia ora *Whaanau* for your participation, to ensure we don't waste your time please return your questionnaire either by posting it in the self addressed envelope OR drop it in at the office or to myself.

He mihi nui tenei ki a koutou mo ta koutou tautoko

Whaanau Participation in Shared Decision-Making Interview Schedule

1. *Whaanau* Background (Cultural)

Lets just start by talking about your upbringing

- Explore traditional/contemporary urban/rural setting etc...
- Exposure to *Maaori* culture and *tikanga*,
- What do *whaanau* hold dear to what they learnt from their past that they would like to pass on to the future generations.

(ie what are some of the fundamental concepts which they learnt during their upbringing)

2. How did *Whaanau* become involved in *Kura*

- For what reasons did *whaanau* choose *KKM*
- Did *whaanau* consider mainstream schools, (what were the reasons for or against mainstream)
- What differences do *whaanau* perceive between Mainstream & *KKM* schooling
- What were their expectations of the *Kura*, staff, *Kura whaanau*, & themselves (explore individually)
- What do *whaanau* envisage their roles, responsibilities and obligations are to the *Kura*. (explore what these involve)

If not mentioned explore *whaanau* understanding of *TAM*

- How important do *whaanau* think *TAM* is to *KKM*, (in what ways)

3. *Whaanau* Perceptions of the Board of Trustee

- Explore *whaanau* understanding and perceptions of the roles and responsibilities of a BOT. (how BOTS are created)

- *Whaanau* expectations of a BOT
- Explore perceived weaknesses and strengths of a BOT
- Would *whaanau* members consider becoming a BOT member, (explore the reasons)
- Can any improvements be made to the way the BOT works

4. How do *whaanau* participate in decision-making

- How important is it for *whaanau* to participate and what level/s
- Previous experiences, *TKR*, *Marae whaanau*...
- What types of decisions should *whaanau* make
- How do *whaanau* currently have their say in the *Kura*?
- Do *whaanau* feel they can and do get to have a say (explore)
- Is there anything that might put *whaanau* off from participating in *Kura* decision-making
- What would *whaanau* like to see happen in the *Kura* in regards to decision-making.

11. GLOSSARY

<i>aaahuatanga ako</i>	teaching principles
<i>Aotearoa</i>	New Zealand
<i>aroha</i>	love
<i>Awataha Marae</i>	<i>Marae</i> at Northcote
<i>hapuuu</i>	sub tribe
<i>hianga</i>	mischievous
<i>hui</i>	meeting
<i>Iwi</i>	tribe
<i>Iwitanga</i>	of a specific iwi
<i>kaiako</i>	teacher
<i>kaimahi</i>	workers
<i>kaitiaki</i>	carer/guardian
<i>kanohi ki te kanohi</i>	face to face
<i>kaumaatua</i>	knowledgeable elders
<i>kaupapa Maaori</i>	<i>Maaori</i> principles
<i>kawa</i>	protocols
<i>kawanatanga</i>	governance
<i>Kohanga reo</i>	language nest
<i>koorero</i>	talk/speak
<i>kotahitangaa</i>	one (united)
<i>KKM kaupapa</i>	<i>KKM</i> principles (<i>TAM</i>)
<i>mahi</i>	work
<i>mana</i>	spiritual potency
<i>Maaori</i>	normal
<i>Marae</i>	forum for meetings
<i>mokopuna</i>	grandchild
<i>mooteatea</i>	lament
<i>Ngaa Puhi</i>	Northland Tribe
<i>Ngai Tahu</i>	South Island Tribe
<i>Paakehaa</i>	non- <i>Maaori</i> /European

<i>pakiwaitara</i>	folklore
<i>paanui</i>	notices
<i>pepi</i>	baby
<i>puuraakau</i>	stories
<i>Rangatiratanga</i>	Chief
<i>reo</i>	refers to <i>Maaori</i> language
<i>rohe</i>	area
<i>Ruunanga</i>	Council
<i>taha Maaori</i>	<i>Maaori</i> side (refs culture)
<i>taha wairua</i>	spiritual side
<i>tamariki</i>	children
<i>taonga</i>	treasure
<i>tamaiti</i>	child
<i>tapu</i>	make sacred/rules
<i>tautoko</i>	support
<i>Te Aho Matua</i>	philosophy of <i>KKM</i>
<i>Te ao</i>	the world the universe
<i>Te ao koohatu</i>	from the old teachings
<i>te ira tangata</i>	of mortals
<i>Te Kura Kaupapa Maaori</i>	Primary school operating under <i>TAM</i>
<i>te reo Maaori</i>	<i>Maaori</i> language
<i>te reo me oona tikanga</i>	refers to the culture lying within the language
<i>te tino uaratangaa</i>	defines the characteristics <i>KKM</i> aim to develop in their <i>tamariki</i>
<i>tino rangatiratanga</i>	empowerment/autonomy
<i>tipuna</i>	ancestor
<i>Te KKM o Te Raki Paewhenua</i>	North Shore (<i>KKM</i>)
<i>Te Ruunanga O Ngaa Kura Kaupapa Maaori O Aotearoa</i>	National Body of <i>KKM</i>
<i>tiaki</i>	look after
<i>tikanga</i>	cultural value/s
<i>tohunga</i>	expert in their field
<i>tooku</i>	my
<i>tuakana</i>	older sister/brother
<i>tuu tangata</i>	people make a stand (an initiative of <i>Maaori</i> Affairs)

<i>waiata</i>	song
<i>wanangaa</i>	<i>Maaori</i> institution of learning
<i>wero</i>	challenge
<i>whakaaro</i>	thoughts
<i>whakapakari</i>	strengthen
<i>whakapapa</i>	geneology
<i>whakawhaanaungaanga</i>	developing relationships
<i>whaanau</i>	family
<i>wharepaku</i>	toilet