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Māori Pedagogy, Pedagogical Beliefs and Practices in a Māori Tertiary Institution

by

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to describe a Māori pedagogy, i.e., Māori preferred ways of teaching and learning. It argues that the pedagogy described in the literature and reflected in the reported practice of the small cohort of research participants teaching at a Māori tertiary institution emerges from a "relational ontology". This is because it privileges discourses around the primacy of the student and the student-teacher relationship, group work, multisensory approaches and reflection among many others. Theories of student learning, teacher characteristics, learning environments and curriculum content are also described within a model that enables the synthesis of previously disparate elements. The study utilises Kaupapa Māori and Narrative Enquiry methodologies. It hopes to make a contribution to the ongoing transformative praxis of kaupapa Māori institutions such as Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga as well as mainstream institutions involved in remediating historic Māori underachievement in education.

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Introduction

Māku e hanga tōku nei whare, ko ngā pou he mahoe, he hīnau, he pātetē.

A saying of King Tawhiao of Waikato. I will build my own house. The posts will be from the wood of the mahoe, hīnau and pātetē. A saying associated with self determination.

Overview of the Chapter

This chapter has four aims. The first is to describe what the thesis is about, i.e., a Māori pedagogy, but then secondly to locate it within the wider context of education in Aotearoa/New Zealand in order to answer the question, why bother? This second section has two parts, the first, in examining my own motivation, seeks to locate me as researcher within a social and historical frame or within a metaphorical whakapapa so that my values, assumptions and perspectives are transparent from the outset. The second part begins to locate this thesis within its conceptual paradigm, with a statistical description of the Māori educational "crisis" (e.g., G. Smith, 1997) which gave rise to a Māori response that is the intellectual and social project from which this study derives, and to which it contributes. In other words, its metaphorical, academic whakapapa. The third part of the chapter begins the work of the thesis by establishing a framework through which a Māori pedagogy might be conceived. The chapter concludes with a short overview of the rest of the thesis.

What is this Study About?

This thesis sets out to describe a Māori pedagogy. Māori pedagogy can be defined loosely as ways of teaching and learning that are preferred by Māori (G. Smith, 2000). Some equate Māori pedagogy with the Māori term "ako", possibly because of its use as a generic term by writers such as Bishop (e.g., Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Pihama, Smith, Taki, & Lee, 2004). Some characterise "ako" as a form of reciprocal teaching whereby the learner sometimes takes on the role of the teacher and vice versa. It has been described (e.g., Hohepa, 1992; Ka'ai, 1990; Royal-Tangaere, 1996)

as particularly characteristic of teaching and learning in kohanga reo (Māori language pre-school centres). At times a child assumes the role of a learner, listening to the teacher and carrying out instructions, at other times the child assumes a role similar to that of a teacher and the teacher becomes the learner as the child explains a game they wish to play or gives instructions to other children on how something should be done. Bishop (2001) summarises the concept by saying "this term metaphorically emphasises reciprocal learning, where the teacher does not have to be the fountain of all knowledge, but rather a 'partner' in the conversation of learning" (p. 205). It would be over simplistic, however, to say that Māori pedagogy consisted of one teaching/learning strategy – it is much more than this.

The first part of the project then is a review of the current literature on Māori pedagogy. Contexts range from pre-European times (e.g., Hemara, 2000; Puke, 2000), traditional community contexts (e.g., Metge, 1984), school contexts (e.g., Phillips, McNaughton, & MacDonald, 2004), tertiary contexts (e.g., Penetito, 1996), as well as studies that are described as pedagogical in nature and yet do not discuss teaching and learning in any overt way (e.g., Pere, 1991). The second part of the project is a report on pedagogical practices as described and discussed by research participants working within a Māori tertiary education institution, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. In the third part of the thesis comparisons and contrasts will be made between the literature and the discourse of the research participants. No claim is being made that the subject has not been written upon or researched before, since some 70 studies have been reviewed within this project. The hope, however, is that this study will bring a greater coherence to the picture. It is also hoped that by reporting on discussions with practicing Māori teachers, the literature will be enriched by their lived experience.

This study locates itself within the intellectual and social project known as kaupapa Māori (G. Smith, 1997). In contrast with other interventions such as integration and assimilation, kaupapa Māori is a Māori response to the Māori educational "crisis" (G. Smith, 1997) of underachievement and disengagement as delineated by statistics to be discussed more fully below. Kaupapa Māori has been described as "a proactive Māori discourse" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 61), a movement, a consciousness. According to Pihama, Cram, and Walker (2002), kaupapa Māori does not reject

Pākehā culture and tradition, it presents no "either or" choice, but it does assume the validity and legitimacy of Māori language and culture, and therefore has its roots within traditional discourses of Māori culture which were first encapsulated using the term Māoritanga that originated with Sir James Carroll in 1920. According to Māori Marsden, Māoritanga is "the corporate view that Māoris hold about ultimate reality and meaning" (Marsden, 1975, cited in Pihama et al., 2002, p. 31). Māoritanga was the major discourse until the 1980s when other terms began to be used more widely; these included tikanga Māori (Māori custom), te reo me ōna tikanga (Māori language and customs) and kaupapa Māori. Coming from a different perspective, G. Smith (1997) sees kaupapa Māori as foreshadowed in the struggles and achievements of historical Māori leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata, Te Kooti Rikirangi and Princess Te Puea. This is because G. Smith describes kaupapa Māori as a "theory and praxis" or a "theory of change". Following G. Smith (1997, 2000), a much more detailed explication of kaupapa Māori and its close alignment with Critical Theory is undertaken in the methodology section of this study, since kaupapa Māori is the major theoretical underpinning of the methodology utilised. However, the fundamental focus of kaupapa Māori is the improvement of outcomes for Māori through conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis. According to G. Smith (1997), who follows Freire (eg. Freire 1996), conscientisation is "revealing the reality" (p. 37). It is "the concern to critically analyze and de-construct existing hegemonies and practices which entrench Pākehā-dominant social, economic, gender, cultural and political privilege" (p. 37). Resistance is "the forming of shared understandings (through suffering) to derive a sense of 'collective' politics. These collective politics coalesce around two broad themes; reactive activities … [and] proactive activities" (pp. 38, 44). Transformative praxis, which is G. Smith's major focus, is a bringing about of positive change in existing conditions of underachievement, not only in the area of schooling and education generally but in a repositioning of Māori in all social, political, economic and cultural spheres. G. Smith describes three educational sites as examples of the success of kaupapa Māori praxis, these being Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga. The focus of this thesis is these sites. While they are undeniably Māori and have a large degree of autonomy, being funded by the State and being positioned as they are as marginal within a large mainstream, they continue to be contested sites. This emerges as tensions around accountability, quality, curriculum, research methods and agendas –

in both institution and mode. The purpose of this thesis is to contribute to the transformative praxis of these institutions by contributing to the ongoing discourse on Māori pedagogies, with the aim of helping to inform and perhaps improve what is already being done. As others have shown, however (e.g., Bishop & Berryman, 2006), what is good for Māori can also have benefits for all.

The thesis has been written therefore with two audiences in mind, one Māori, one mainstream. Those within Māori education may find that many taken for granted notions and ideas seem to be pedantically described or even described in ways that do not quite ring true, for this my apologies from the outset. For non-Māori audiences, it is hoped that useful insights might be gained that enrich current practice particularly in the education of Māori students in the mainstream. It may seem rather tangential at this stage to describe a Utopian vision but I have decided to do so for the following reason: As will be explained more fully later on in the methodology section kaupapa Māori has been accused over recent years of being unable to resolve the paradoxical issue of whether the rights of a collective, ethnic or otherwise, can be included in a democratic system that has the individual and the rights of the individual as its fundamental building block. In asserting that this thesis can also inform mainstream practice, I am following a vision alluded to by Schwimmer (2004), that cultures coexisting in the same nation state should live "symbiotically" where the relationship between the two follows the Treaty of Waitangi principle of equal partnership so that the relationship is additive not subtractive, mutually beneficial, enhancing and enriching to both. Ramirez III and Castaneda (1974) articulate a similar vision with their idea of "cultural democracy". Reacting to "melting pot" ideas in the United States at the time which had similar implications to policies of assimilation and integration here in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Ramirez III and Castaneda comment that the mainstream idea of the melting pot considered acculturation as desirable only if the Anglo-American middle class cultural pattern is taken as ideal. They present an alternative vision saying that since democracy protects the rights of the individual and since individuals constitute groups, democracy for the individual must also mean democracy for the group. Quoting Kallen (1924), they argue for a nation state that can be characterised as a commonwealth which has as:

> Its substance a democracy of nationalities, cooperating voluntarily and autonomously through common institutions in the enterprise of self realization through the perfection of men [sic] according to their kind … each nation would have for its emotional involuntary life its own particular dialect or speech, its own individual and inevitable esthetic and intellectual forms. The political and economic life of the commonwealth is a single unit and serves as the foundation and background for the realization of the distinctive individuality of each *natio* that composes it and of the pooling of these in a harmony above them all. (Kallen, 1924, cited in Ramirez III & Castaneda, 1974, p. 25)

The Researcher as a Multicultural Subject

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) claim that it is essential for the researcher to attempt to identify the origins of their own interpretative frames by looking at the social and historical influences on their life. The inclusion of a section such as this is intended to make clear the values, assumptions and perspectives that underlie my location as a researcher within the research. It is important also from a Māori perspective (Dr Jill Bevan-Brown, personal communication, 2006) that I give some indication of my metaphoric whakapapa or genealogy and identity so that the process of whakawhanaungatanga, or establishing relationships, is facilitated.

There are a myriad of ways of attempting to describe an individual and their social and historic location. I can be categorised generally as: male, heterosexual, Pākehā, middle class, Roman Catholic, liberal.

As a middle class, Western educated, male, heterosexual Pākehā I am therefore a member of one of the dominant social groups within Aotearoa/New Zealand. I remember once as a young adult discussing the upcoming visit of Queen Elizabeth to the country and the relevance of the monarchy in the modern day with a Māori friend. This person was a fluent speaker of Māori and had been brought up in an isolated Māori community. While she had been living in a large New Zealand city for a number of years and had a Pākehā husband she was still culturally separate. She quite sincerely was only vaguely aware of who I was talking about and did not

understand the discussion I was attempting to have. It was an example for me of two people talking past each other, and brought me hard up against the reality of someone who had a completely different cultural heritage. This same person related stories of moving as a child from an isolated rural area into the city and being asked by her mother to fetch items from the local shop. She spoke almost no English and her mother would make her practice the English words so that the shopkeeper would understand what she required. As a young child she would arrive at the shop, be completely overawed and forget the words she had so patiently learned from her mother. The shopkeeper would become annoyed at this inarticulate little Māori child and when no substantive request was forthcoming would chase her out on suspicion of being there to try and steal something. She would arrive home ashamed and empty handed and be given a scolding by her mother for not carrying out her instructions. I have never experienced such disadvantage. Unlike others who can be categorised differently I have been able to regard as my own the "social processes and practices that are thoroughly grounded in material social relations – in the systems of maintenance (economics), decisions (politics), learning and communication (culture) and generation and nurture (the domain of social reproduction)" (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000, p. 302) which defines culture here in Aotearoa/New Zealand. I have never therefore felt any sense of alienation or been subjected to any alienation from the institutions of culture such as the health system, the education system or the institutions of labour and business. I am able to participate as I wish in the dominant culture without extra justification and have an "insider's" understanding of it.

Having been brought up in a middle class household I was taught and subscribe to middle class values and beliefs. Some of these include: education as a means to financial security, success through effort and perseverance, the importance of nurturing children, honesty and trust in dealings with others as the foundation of a wealthy society.

The development of double consciousness

Ladson-Billings (2000) has defined "double consciousness" as "allowing one to see and understand positions of inclusion and exclusion – margins and mainstreams" (p. 260). She describes the concept as originating from the work of du Bois writing at the turn of the 20th Century about American blacks. It is having a perspective on

one's own experiences while at the same time grasping the fundamentals of another – an ability to see the world from two or more perspectives.

I believe my Catholicism first awoke in me a sense that the world contained multiple realities. Catholicism and indeed all mainstream Christian religious denominations were becoming increasingly the subject of criticism and ultimately derision during the sixties, seventies and eighties, at which time I was being educated at exclusively Catholic schools. Much of the criticism was fully justified as it attacked the arrogance and internal corruption of the Church, and its persistence in maintaining the supremacy of explanations of natural phenomena (such as, for example, the origins of humankind) by reference to the cultural writings of the Hebrew people rather than positivist scientific explanations that demonstrably had more validity. From the point of view of an insider, however, the attacks and criticisms gave one a sense of not being part of the mainstream. Having been educated in Catholic schools my primary social group tended therefore to be almost exclusively Catholic, and it was with some trepidation that I entered the secular, non-Catholic world of the university. I entertained naïve stereotypes about all non-Catholics as being materialistic, selfish and shallow. While this view eventually faded (to the extent that I married one), it was definitely with some sense of being "other" that I began to interact with them. It is interesting how enduring these views were. I maintained only the shallowest relationships possible with non-Catholics during my first year at university, preferring always the company of other Catholics. This was despite the encouragement of Church mentors to do exactly the opposite.

The sixties, seventies and eighties were also a period when the Church in this country began to explore more fully the themes of social justice and the theologies of liberation that were coming to prominence in places like South America (R. Walker, 2004). I was taught a perspective of the Jesus figure that emphasised his poverty and marginality within the Jewish society of his time. He was a Galilean and hence regarded by mainstream Jews as a second-class citizen who, while not as low as the Samaritans, was nevertheless uncouth and uncultured.

This view of Jesus emphasised his mission to the poor and marginalised, as evidenced in his inclusion of the prostitute Mary Magdalene in his inner circle, his

mercy towards the adulterous woman, his choice of a Samaritan as hero in one of his parables, his trenchant criticism of Pharisees and other members of the ruling elite and his eventual execution by this group because of his supposed attempts to overturn the status quo. The theology in which this view of Jesus is grounded also proposes that his eventual victory emerges from his apparent failure, a perspective echoed in Freire's (1996) words:

> The oppressors, who oppress, exploit and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both. (p. 26)

It was these perspectives, values and beliefs that led me to take the side of protest in what became a defining event in my transition to adulthood, and that was the 1981 tour of New Zealand by the South African representative rugby team called the Springboks. This tour forced into the public gaze the, until then, covert racism within New Zealand society, and forced many New Zealanders to show their hand in the debate about whether the apartheid regime in South Africa was racist or not, and what should be done about it. I ended up on the side of protest and became involved in demonstrations in Wellington where I was living at the time. These marches were visceral in their intensity and galvanised commitments to certain points of view for many.

For me, they led eventually to an involvement, facilitated by a previously unrealised talent for language learning, in the emerging movements for the revitalisation of the Māori language and propelled me into the thick of Māori society by so doing. Most of the last 20 years has been spent in Māori language immersion schools and Kura Kaupapa Māori as teacher and eventually principal. My reo is of the Ngā Puhi dialect specifically from Ngāti Hine o Hine-ā-Maru ki te awaawa o Matawaia, ko Te Kau i Mua te hapū.

My background leads me to be suspicious of "Grand Narrative" explanations of social phenomena because I have experienced two or more differing perspectives in my own life. The Catholic upbringing has also led me to prefer views of knowledge that do not involve a separation of fact from value or that research is or can be

neutral. Finally, my involvement in the Māori world has put me in a place where this research project became a possibility and a passion.

The Context of the Study – Why is this Study Important?

The Hunn report (1960) was the first official government acknowledgement that there was a problem with Māori achievement in the school system though differential achievement in English medium reading has been documented since at least the 1930s (Phillips et al., 2004). The problem has continued throughout the intervening years.

For example, the following graph is taken from the Minister of Education's 2008 annual report to Parliament on the compulsory schools sector (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 22):

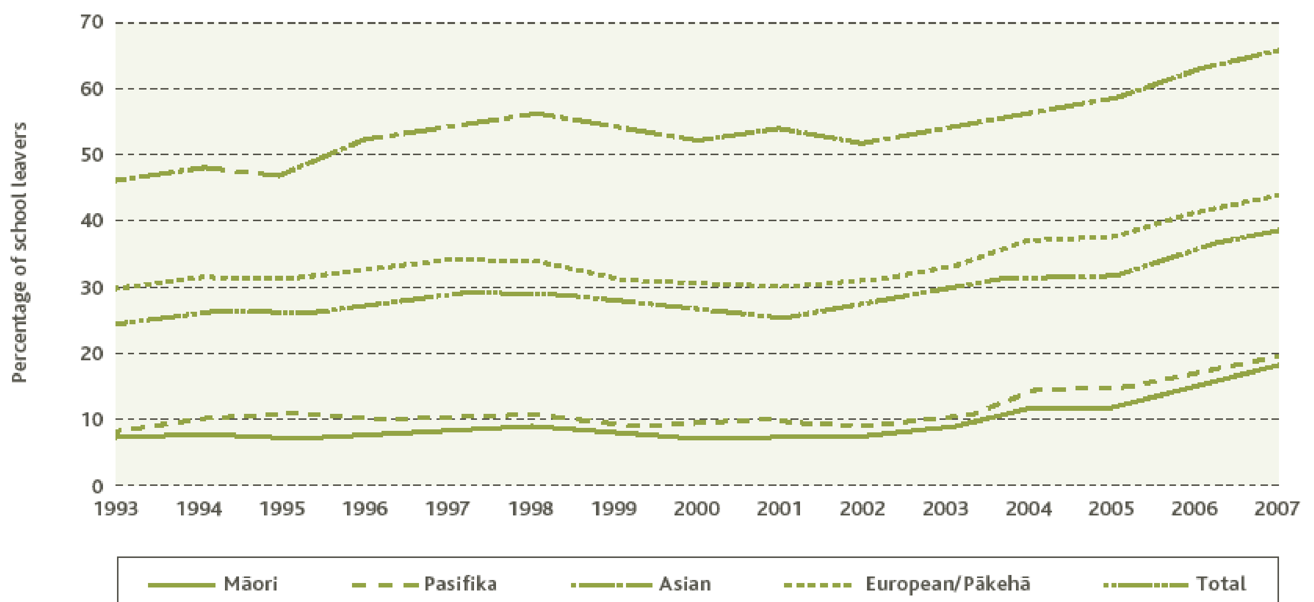

Figure 1: School leavers with a University Entrance standard or a higher qualification by ethnic group, 1993-2007

The above graph highlights a steady improvement in achievement for Māori (though not necessarily at a rate any faster than that of their non-Māori peers), in the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) at level three. There has also been significant improvement at the very bottom end. In 2003 30% of Māori left school

with virtually no qualification. In 2007 this had reduced to 10%. However, the picture is not quite as impressive as it seems. The report summary includes the following statement:

> Māori and Pasifika students continue to be over-represented among the students leaving school without qualifications. In 2007, 35 percent of Māori school leavers had attained less than a Level 1 qualification, compared to 44 percent in 2006. (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 21)

It would appear that those who used to leave having attained nothing at all now leave having attained a little. Still, this is an improvement and the improvement would appear to be a continuing pattern.

As the following table (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 21) shows, however, the inter-ethnic differences continue to be striking:

Table 1: Highest attainment of school leavers, 2007

Highest Attainment of School Leavers	European/ Pākehā %	Māori %	Pasifika %	Asian %	Other %	All School Leavers %
University entrance standard, Level 3 qualification or higher[18]	44	18	20	66	37	39
Halfway to a Level 3 qualification	7	8	15	9	13	9
Level 2 qualification	19	17	21	11	18	18
Halfway to a Level 2 qualification[19]	8	12	14	5	10	9
Level 1 qualification	7	9	4	2	4	7
Halfway to a Level 1 qualification[20]	7	15	12	3	6	8
Less than halfway to a Level 1 qualification	4	10	8	2	5	5
Little or no formal attainment	4	10	6	3	7	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The percentage of Māori students achieving at the University Entrance standard is less than half of that for Pākehā (18% as opposed to 44%). The percentage of those gaining little or no formal attainment is over double that for Pākehā, (35% as opposed to 15%). While the numbers of Māori and Pākehā achieving level one qualifications are close, only 61.1% of those Māori students had met the minimum

literacy and numeracy requirements compared to 80.1% of their Pākehā counterparts (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 83). Rates of disengagement for Māori also continue to be high. The total number of Māori students still at school at age 16 is 63% compared to 81% overall and this drops to 39% compared to 61% at age 17 (p. 83). For every 1000 Māori students, 69.7 were stood down or suspended in 2007 compared to 26.2 per 1000 for non-Māori (p. 91).

There have been a number of explanations over the years as to why these differences in educational achievement between Māori and non-Māori exist (see Chapple, Jeffries, & Walker, 1997, for a full survey). They fall into two broad categories, those that account for the difference mainly by reference to issues of class and socio-economic status or family resource and those that account for the difference by reference to culture and ethnicity.

Within the first category (e.g., Chapple et al., 1997; Harker & Nash, 1990; Nash, 1993; Poata-Smith, 1996), Poata-Smith (1996), in giving a theoretical explanation, lays the blame squarely on the imposition of Western capitalism upon Māori, and their "brutal" assimilation into a working class required by capitalist means of production, as the reason for educational under achievement (see also Chapple et al., 1997, for a similar explanation). Poata-Smith's (1996) argument places the responsibility for Māori educational underachievement not on Māori but on the structural exigencies of Western capitalism (as defined by Marx). This distinguishes him from deficit theorists such as Lovegrove (1966, cited in Bishop & Glynn, 1999) who blame Māori for their own lack of success. Harker and Nash (1990) provide powerful empirical support for Poata-Smith's (1996) position – that issues of class as defined by parental education levels, level of family engagement with Western literature and family income among others, offer more explanation for variance than issues of "ethnicity" or "culture". Chapple et al. (1997) extend Harker and Nash's elements of class to also include:

- The amount of parental support to the child.
- The quality of this support.
- Peer pressure issues or the "tall poppy" syndrome.

- The reproduction hypothesis whereby it has been found that children are more likely to reproduce their parents' educational and oocupational positions rather than these outcomes being randomly distributed across the population.
- The complex interaction of all of the above factors.

In like manner, Nash (1993) describes the development of an "Anglo-Māori working class" through the occupation level where most Māori ended up after the urban drift of the 1950s and 1960s, contacts in the workplace that subsequently developed and substantial inter marriage between Māori and Pākehā working class people. Nash (2005) also proposes a "cognitive habitus" or class related environment that encourages or discourages the development of the cognitive skills necessary for success at school. Chapple et al. (1997) claim that "perhaps a minimum of two thirds" of the gap can be put down to "family resource" factors (p. xi). Others (e.g., Marie, Fergusson, & Boden, 2008) argue that it is even higher.

Within the second category most studies centre on a critique of policies such as assimilation and integration upon which the current education system was founded (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003; Jenkins & Matthews, 1999; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001; G. Smith, 1997; L. Smith, 1990), as well as other policies described by G. Smith (1997, p. 192ff) with multiple "tions" and "isms" – expurgation, termination, domestication, multiculturalism, biculturalism. All have demonstrably failed, as the above statistics attest. Māori writers have consistently critiqued these interventions, using the words of critical theory and by reference to the subordinate nature of Māori in relation to Pākehā in decision-making around the interventions and indeed the system as a whole (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Jenkins & Matthews, 1999; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001; G. Smith, 2000; L. Smith, 1990; R. Walker, 1991). They continually assert that the lack of room for Māori cultural aspirations within the current system is one of the major causes of failure.

> Despite the promises of the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori and Pākehā relations in New Zealand since the signing of the Treaty have not been a partnership of two peoples developing a nation, but political, social and economic domination by the Pākehā majority and marginalisation of the

> Māori people through armed struggle, biased legislation and educational initiatives and policies that promoted Pākehā knowledge codes at the expense of Māori. … Despite there being a myth of New Zealanders being "one people" with equal opportunities … results of this domination remain evident today in the lack of equitable participation by Māori in all positive and beneficial aspects of life in New Zealand and by their over representation in the negative aspects. (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 14)

Thus recent Māori initiatives in education such as Kohanga Reo (Māori language pre-schools) Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wharekura (Māori language primary and secondary schools) and Wānanga (Māori run tertiary institutions) have been variously described as a "resistance" (McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001), a "reassertion" (L. Smith, 1990), or a "response" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

There is a high level of critique within either category of the explanations given by the other. Many socio-economic explanations are labelled "deficit theorising" (e.g., Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Shields, Bishop, & Mazawi, 2005), while culturalist explanations have been characterised as "ethnic boundary making" that serve only to benefit an ethnic elite (Rata & Openshaw, 2006). And yet, writers within both categories acknowledge the validity of the others' arguments (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Harker & Nash, 1990; Nash, 2006). According to Chapple et al. (1997, p. xi), "there is considerable diversity in Māori educational performance. Under these circumstances, uni-causal explanations of the participation and performance gap are unlikely to be correct".

This research project situates itself within the second category. Despite the work of the "family resource" researchers described above and their minimisation of cultural factors as having little or no explanatory value, a number of justifications are given for continuing to pursue "cultural" interventions. The critical theorists (e.g., Darder, 2002) argue that schooling can be implicated in the production and maintenance of the economic and political conditions that have led to the majority of colonised peoples having a paucity of family resources, and needs therefore, both logically and ethically, to be part of the solution. Even researchers whose preference is family resource explanations assent to this social justice imperative. Harker and Nash (1990,

p. 26) say, “The support we give for the kura kaupapa Māori initiative is not, of course, derived from our statistical analyses (though our analysis supports the position we adopt), it is a position reached from elementary principles of social rights”. Bishop’s analysis (in Shields et al., 2005) shows also how the “family resource” argument allows educators to abdicate any responsibility for Māori educational failure or for generating solutions because they can blame any failures on factors outside their control. Utilising an alternative discourse altogether, a number of writers cite responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi (e.g., Glynn, 1998; Ritchie, 2003) for continuing with cultural interventions. Others, for example M. Durie (2003), put forward the idea of “indigineity” and make reference to the United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as a legal basis for the view.

It is not the focus of this study to represent these arguments fully here as they are well articulated elsewhere (see citations above). Kaupapa Māori as a Māori cultural response to the educational crisis has been underway since at least the 1980s. The main purpose of the study is to contribute to the ongoing praxis of kaupapa Māori educational institutions, particularly of Wānanga, since this research is based in that sector, but also to Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori if they should find it relevant and useful. It does this by making a further contribution to the ongoing discourse of Māori pedagogy – what is it? what does it look like? how is it expressed in Māori educational institutions of today? This is the focus of this study. The study intends to describe a pedagogy that has its roots in pre-European times, that has been transformed during colonial times but is still a mechanism grounded in a Māori ontology, epistemology and axiology that serves to pass these on to future generations. As responses to Māori educational crisis, Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga have been and continue to be successful interventions, but as G. Smith (1997) reiterates constantly in his thesis – action without reflection becomes simply activity. It is hoped that this thesis will act as a reflection on a fundamental aspect of any educational institution, i.e., its pedagogy, and will thereby inform processes of ongoing improvement. Since the researcher is a Pākehā it is hoped that the mainstream might also find elements of what is described as useful and enriching for their own practice, particularly when working with Māori students.

Towards a Working Model of “Pedagogy”

In order to make sense of the complex and sometimes mutually contradictory picture that emerges, an appropriate working definition of pedagogy is required. This section of the chapter is an attempt to develop a working definition that allows me to place the various elements of teaching and learning into a logical framework. The definition also needs to signal the relationship between the elements such that inferences can be made. This is because, despite the relatively large number of studies, the picture is by no means complete or coherent. The other advantage of developing a logical model is that it can then be used as a guide to generating appropriate research questions (Miles & Huberman, 2000). This is how I will be using the model.

Watkins and Mortimore (1999), in reviewing the literature on pedagogy, have posited a number of elements that can be included in a conceptual model of pedagogy. They review literature that focuses on the teacher, others that focus on the context in which the teaching and learning takes place and others which focus on learning and learning about learning.

According to Watkins and Mortimore (1999), pre-1950s research focused on teaching styles. Most studies proposed a dichotomy between for example “authoritarianism” or “democracy” or “integrative” or “dominative” styles. Watkins and Mortimore argue that most of these studies presented dichotomies which oversimplified the reality and were more concerned with illustrating “good” teaching and “bad” teaching without much illumination on how to go from being bad to good.

Contexts of learning started to become the focus of attention in the 1960s and 1970s. These studies looked at the dynamics and exigencies of teaching within a classroom environment with a group of children all at different stages of learning and with different learning needs. Such research brought the managerial and organisational aspects of the teaching and learning act into the picture and focused on “teaching methods”, which can be defined as the ways teachers manage and organise the environment so that learning can occur. The way the learning situation is organised has a profound effect on methodology, as evidenced by the differences between

methodologies prevalent in New Zealand primary schools as opposed to those in secondary schools, where the need to fit learning and teaching into isolated 45 minute – one hour blocks is necessary.

Watkins and Mortimore (1999) also briefly review studies that focus on the learner. They quote Bruner, who characterises children as thinkers and active constructors of knowledge. They also point to studies which show that achievement is enhanced when children are encouraged to think about the way they learn and to improve their own learning processes.

Watkins and Mortimore (1999), then, pose a model of pedagogy with three elements:

- The teacher.
- The learning situation or context.
- Theories about learning and learning about learning.

I would suggest that Watkins and Mortimore (1999) have omitted a body of literature on pedagogy, however, that points to at least one other element necessary in any model of pedagogy, and that is the wider social context in which the teaching and learning takes place.

MacNeill, Cavanagh, and Silcox (2005), in their review of the literature, characterise this body of literature as "socio-ideological" (p. 56). It is largely that of the critical theorists such as Freire (1996), who regard pedagogy as "a political tool for the enculturation of students" or as a set of "ideological practises of constructing subjectivities necessary for the reproducing of existing social organisations" (MacNeill et al., 2005, p. 5).

In a separate paper (Cavanagh, MacNeill, Reynolds, & Romanoski, 2004), these same researchers posit a conceptual model of pedagogy that seems to take into account Watkin and Mortimore's (1999) three elements as well as this last socio-ideological consideration. It also suggests a relationship between the elements.

According to Cavanagh et al. (2004), pedagogy can be defined as "encompass[ing] a variety of teaching and learning methods grounded in theories of student learning and influenced by internal and external socio-political contexts of the school" (p. 7).

This model appears to hide the teacher, however it is my belief that teacher behaviours and characteristics are generated to a large extent by their ideas about the learner and their theories of learning. For example, if a careful look is taken at the studies on teacher style from the first half of the 20th Century, most of the elements of the various styles are consistent with what one would expect of teachers operating within Dewey's (1938) "traditional education" vs "progressive education", or Freire's (1996) "banking education" vs "transformative education". That is, the teacher styles reflect overarching philosophical views about knowledge and about the learner and their place within the learning process.

The same is true of literature reviewed for this study. Bishop et al. (2003) have developed an "Effective Teaching Profile" where effective teachers of Māori students in mainstream schools:

> a) positively and vehemently reject deficit theorizing as a means of explaining Māori students' educational achievement levels (and professional development projects need to ensure that this happens); and
> b) they know and understand how to bring about change in Māori students' educational achievement and are professionally committed to doing so (and professional development projects need to ensure that this happens);
> in the following observable ways:
> Manaakitanga: They care for the students as culturally-located human beings above all else. (Mana refers to authority and aki, the task of urging some one to act. It refers to the task of building and nurturing a supportive and loving environment). (p. 191)

The list of characteristics also includes "mana motuhake," "tūranga takitahi," "mana whakahaere" as well as others. These characteristics will be returned to and more fully defined later on in the Literature Review. Suffice to say at this point that characteristics such as "manaakitanga" seem to preclude a teacher who takes a

"tabula rasa" or "blank slate" approach to the learner, and who asserts the primacy of the subject matter to be taught over who is being taught. In other words, teacher behaviours and characteristics reflect the teacher's underlying conceptualisation of the learner.

This said however, for the sake of clarity, I will add another element to Cavanagh et al.'s (2004) definition so that it reads:

"Pedagogy can be seen to encompass a variety of teaching and learning methods *and other teacher behaviours and characteristics* grounded in theories of student learning and influenced by internal and external socio-political contexts of the school."

The final modification I wish to make is in regard to the idea that pedagogy is confined to the school.

Watkins and Mortimore (1999, p. 193) offer a definition of pedagogy as "any conscious activity by one person designed to enhance learning in another".

While this definition is too broad to be useful as a way of exploring and analysing the literature in this paper, it makes the point that the field of enquiry in this area is incredibly wide and cannot be confined to one particular context, i.e., those societies that have developed formal sites of learning and teaching. Likewise, a number of the studies reviewed in this discussion (e.g., Hemara, 2000; Metge, 1984) relate to non-school settings, but it is clear that they are still quite validly studies of pedagogy.

So then, to summarise a working definition of pedagogy for the purposes of this paper and drawn from the above sources, we have:

Pedagogy can be seen to encompass a variety of teaching and learning methods and other teacher behaviours and characteristics grounded in theories of student learning and influenced by internal and external socio-political contexts.

The contention of this thesis is that "pedagogy" is a universal concept since it can be argued that every society has mechanisms of cultural reproduction of some form. It

is appropriate therefore to do what I have done which is to look at Māori and beyond Māori for a definition of the concept. (cf. Hemara 2000 p.6). However, universal concepts tend to be more approachable when depicted using the frames of reference of the local context. Hence when I originally conceived the model I sought a metaphor within Te Ao Māori that I could use to depict it. This is not a new idea. For example, Royal Tangaere likens Vygotsky's concept of "Zones of Proximal Development" to a Māori weaving pattern called "Poutama." (Royal-Tangaere 1997). I considered and then rejected things such as korowai, [ceremonial cloak] whare tupuna, [ancestral meeting house] poutama, [weaving pattern] waka huia, [treasure box] tāonga whakarākei, [decorative ornaments] as possible metaphors but they have been used by others and are not perhaps deep enough to convey the complexity I think the subject matter deserves.

I eventually settled on depicting the Te Ao Māori section of the model as Papatuanuku, [Earth Mother] and Pedagogy as one of the forests of Tāne, [a departmental god and one of the sons of Papatuanuku]. If the model is extended beyond the scope of this thesis, other forests would include other cultural institutions such as the justice system, the health system and so on. The learning theories are the ground of the forest and the other four aspects of pedagogy are trees within it. This seems to me to clearly show the complex links and relationships between the various elements. Pedagogy is fundamentally grounded within its parent culture and affected by it in various ways – analogous to climate, geography, geology etc. At a more micro level the trees within the forest are fundamentally affected by the ground in which they grow (ie the learning theories that are the current dominant discourse) and the micro climate of that area as well as by each other. The whole model can be seen as one huge, ever changing ecosystem. In corollary, in a traditional Māori story concerned with the character of knowledge, Tāwhaki's [a hero figure] ascent to the heavens to fetch the baskets of knowledge is set in a forest context – he climbs a vine - and a modern whakatāuki [proverb] encourages a bird not to eat just the fruit of the miro tree so that it may be master of the forest but to eat the fruits of knowledge so that it may be master of the world. While essentially a universal model, this is why it is depicted the way it is in Figure 2.

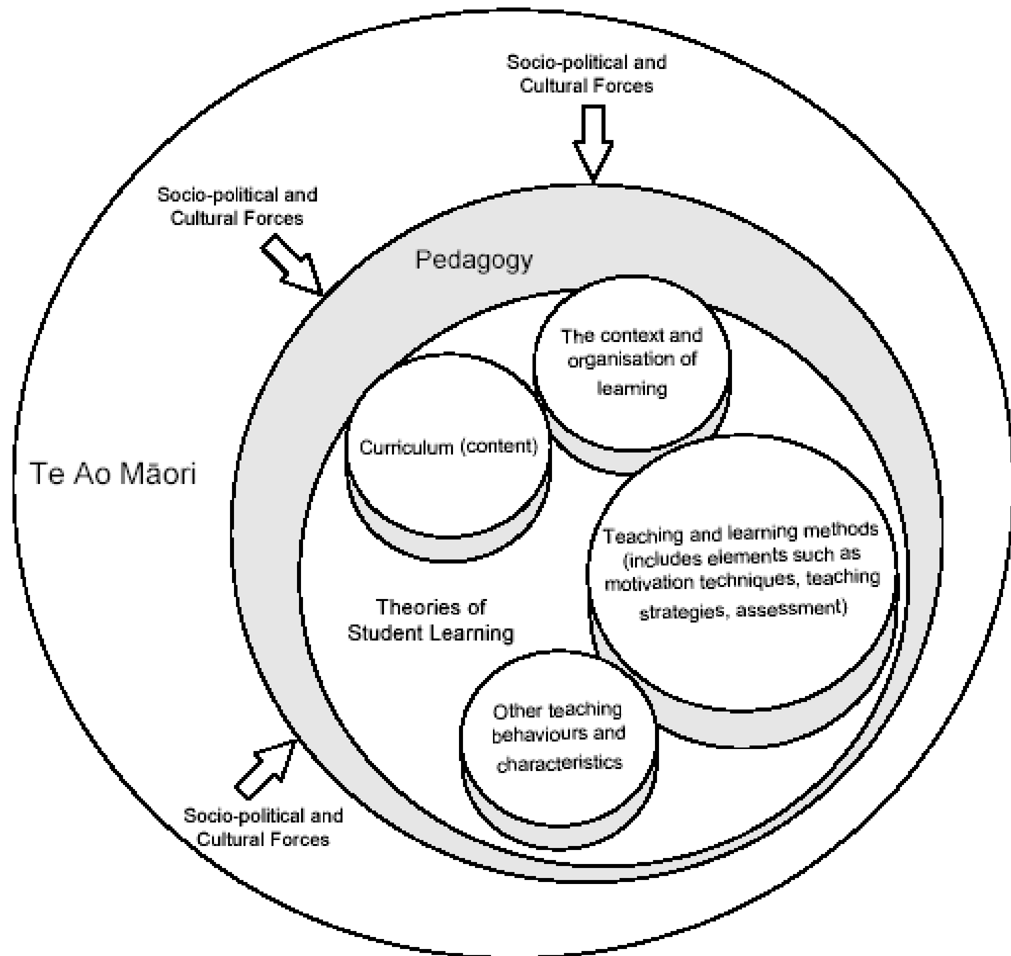

Figure 2: A generic model of pedagogy

The picture that emerges then is of a socio-political and cultural world within which is situated a set of teaching and learning methodologies, motivation techniques, teaching strategies, assessment practices, etc., as well as a curriculum informed by the socio-political and cultural context. There is a discussion of ideal environments and teacher characteristics. All of this is grounded in particular theories of learning. The caveat needs to be added of course that this is not the whole picture. As a sub ordinate culture the model constructed here must be situated within a larger model, which is the Western culture, which dominates Aotearoa/New Zealand. The boundaries of the Māori culture are necessarily porous and many of the factors described below have been, are and will continue to be affected by that dominant culture in both positive and negative ways.

The model is useful for this discussion for two reasons. Firstly, it offers the ability to make inferences. If a theory of the learner and learning is articulated then an inference can be made as to what teaching and learning methods might be observed and what other teacher behaviours might also be seen. Perhaps more validly also, observations of teaching and learning methods and teacher characteristics can lead to inferences as to underlying theories.

Secondly, the model provides a logical place for wider cultural discourses, such as ideas about knowledge, widely accepted societal values, etc., and indicates how these wider discourses might influence teaching and learning.

This model will be referred to throughout the rest of this thesis. It generates the research questions which follow and will be used in the literature review and subsequent chapters to make sense of the data gathered.

The model depicted in Figure 2 has the following sub headings:
TE AO MĀORI

- Socio-political and cultural forces.

(within which is nested)

PEDAGOGY

- Teaching and learning methods.
- Theories of student learning.
- Other teaching behaviours and characteristics.
- The context and organisation of learning – the learning environment.
- Curriculum.

The over arching research question is then:

What are the perceived pedagogical beliefs and practices of a group of Māori educators within a Māori educational institution?

The research sub-questions and subsequent field questions (Clough & Nutbrown, 2002) in brackets are listed below. The field questions, where appropriate, are less technical than the research questions and are designed to facilitate discussion in an area which, even for teachers, is not a common topic of conversation. Where there are no field questions in brackets it was decided that the research questions were easy to understand in their own right and so were asked without modification.

TE AO MĀORI

- Socio-political and cultural forces.
  How is the wider social context characterised?
  What is the place of tikanga (custom)?
  What is the connection between teacher and the iwi/community?

PEDAGOGY

- Theories of student learning.
  What theories of learning do people subscribe to?
  How is the learner characterised?
  ("How is the learner characterised?"
  "What part does the learner play in the way you teach?")

- Teaching and learning methods.
  What teaching methodologies are used?
  (What do you do?
  What don't you do?
  What do you do that might be different from say a mainstream university?)

- The context and organisation of learning – the learning environment.
  What constitutes a good learning environment?
  (What constitutes a good learning environment for you?)

- Other teaching behaviours and characteristics.
  What are the reported characteristics of a good teacher?
  What is the appropriate relationship between teacher and student?

- Curriculum.
  What is taught – both explicitly and implicitly?
  What is it important for students to know – in te ao Māori, in the wider world?
  (What is taught – both explicitly and implicitly?
  What is it important for students to know – in te ao Māori, in the wider world?)

Overview of the Thesis

Literature review

The literature review utilises both the model of pedagogy developed in this chapter as well as the principles of kaupapa Māori (to be described in the next two chapters) to organise and make sense of the material summarised. The diversity of literature in the field is very wide covering philosophical, epistemological, social and cultural descriptions as well as material to do solely with the business of teaching and learning. The review presents the material in an almost annotated bibliographic fashion but then seeks to synthesise it so that some sense can be made and major discourses identified in a more coherent way. The literature review concludes by "filling in" the "generic" model of pedagogy in Figure 2 with what a Māori pedagogy might look like. A reflective, holistic, relational and pragmatic practice is revealed emerging from theories that are constructivist and behaviourist (Hemara, 2000; Royal-Tangaere, 1997). These in turn emerge from well-articulated cultural values, knowledges, beliefs, practices and institutions as well as the political, social and economic realities that currently pertain for Māori.

Methodology

The major business of the third chapter is to locate the study within its epistemological and conceptual paradigms, which are Kaupapa Māori and Critical Theory, and then to describe the methodology and methods utilised. It begins with an historical overview of research and Māori which reveals firstly that some research has completely misconstrued the Māori reality, because of the ontological and cultural frames from which it emerged (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Culpitt, 1995;

Hansen, 1989; L. Smith, 1999; Stokes, 1992). These same writers also show how much research was and, some would argue continues, to be implicated in the marginalisation and subordination of Māori people, emerging as it does from colonial discourses which position Māori as an inferior "Other". Compounding the problem is the fact that most of the research described has been carried out by non-Māori, normally Pākehā (European, white) researchers which is also the group with which I identify and belong. Māori have responded to the above issues by developing their own research methodologies and one of these, "kaupapa Māori research" has been chosen as the research methodology for this thesis so that the pitfalls described above might be avoided. A section of the chapter is also devoted to describing how I as researcher and the research project itself are located in order to take account of my non-Māori identity, indeed my position as member of the dominant ethnic group within Aotearoa/New Zealand. Kaupapa Māori and Critical Theory are then described as the theoretical paradigm for the research and kaupapa Māori (with narrative enquiry), as the methodology. Finally, emerging from these contextual discussions, a detailed account of the methods of data collection and analysis is provided.

Results

The results chapter attempts to re-present a living Māori pedagogy as described by those who agreed to participate in the study. Once again the pedagogical model developed in this chapter is used to organise the material. It begins with a characterization of Te Ao Māori through the eyes of the participants. While it was never expected that things covered in the literature review would also be covered by the research participants with equal weight, there is a remarkable degree of commonality particularly in their view of Māori living as subordinate and marginalised within wider Aotearoa/New Zealand which then has a major influence on the way they view their practice and their motivation for teaching. The bulk of the discussion was concentrated on teaching and learning and while it resounded with echoes from the literature it also shows how phenomena described in the literature are actually lived out in the real world of the tertiary classroom. Consistent with the literature was the primacy of the student/teacher relationship as expressed in ways of relating to students which contrasted with some mainstream practices, an overall preference for a group approach to teaching and learning, a preference for multi

sensory approaches but with a penchant for the visual and kinesthetic. The various types of reflection utilised by the research participants are also described. These practices appear to emerge from discourses/theories "in action" (Barker, 2001) that are mainly socio-constructivist, enactivist and behaviourist in character.

Discussion

The discussion chapter synthesises the literature and the discussions of the research participants and makes clearer the links postulated in the model between Te Ao Māori and pedagogical beliefs and practices. Within the discussion Māori cultural values, concepts, practices and institutions are seen as together expressing a "relational ontology". This makes the discourses or "theories in action" around socio-constructivism and preferred methodologies around group work, reflection and holism logically consistent and not as some might suggest merely an expression of the fashion of the moment. Further aspects of a "relational" approach not described elsewhere are commented upon reflecting the social and economic realities for many Māori today, particularly around ideas of personal responsibility and attending to student welfare. The ideas of group work, reflection and holism articulated in the literature are re interpreted from the point of view of the lived reality of practicing teachers.

Conclusion

The conclusion sets out a summary description of a Māori pedagogy and claims that it is alive and well amongst the participants of this study. It explains the limitations of the study around small sample size, spiral discussion and things left unsaid. It discusses the strengths of the study in terms of spiral discussion – its ability to generate rich data – and the utility of the model developed above. It sets out a possible future research agenda that would continue to improve and enrich the pedagogy thereby continuing to contribute to the transformative praxis of institutions that have already proved that negative outcomes for Māori in education can be overcome. Finally, it offers the beginnings of a self reflection tool for teachers working in the area based on the findings described.

Literature Review

Overview of the Chapter

The purpose of this chapter is a review of the literature surrounding teaching and learning for Māori. It covers a range of areas from philosophical, epistemological, social and cultural considerations to teaching methods, theories of learning, teaching behaviours and characteristics, environmental considerations and curriculum content in a variety of settings and from a variety of time periods.

The model of pedagogy developed in the Introduction and summarised in Figure 2 provides the organisational framework for the chapter as follows:

TE AO MĀORI

- Socio-political and cultural forces accessed through literature on philosophical, epistemological, social and cultural issues. These discussions are organised under the kaupapa Māori principles listed in the previous chapter and elaborated on further in this chapter.

PEDAGOGY

- Teaching and Learning Methods
    - Methodologies and techniques in non-school settings
    - Methodologies and techniques in the early childhood setting
    - Methodologies and techniques in the primary school setting
    - Methodologies and techniques in the secondary school setting
    - Methodologies and techniques in the tertiary setting
- Theories of Student Learning
- Other Teaching Behaviours and Characteristics
- The Context and Organisation of Learning – The Learning Environment
- Curriculum

It begins by attempting to flesh out the epistemological and ontological world within which a Māori pedagogy sits. It is important to do this given the definition developed

in the previous chapter whereby one cannot talk about a pedagogy, any pedagogy, without reference to the social, political and cultural context within which it sits and which illuminates questions such as what counts as knowledge, which methodological and theoretical discourses are privileged and which are marginalised, what counts as good teaching and what does not. Following this the focus narrows to pedagogical considerations. The methodological literature, which is by far the largest, is presented according to the sector within which it was generated. This seems a logical way of organising it and also gives a sense of the breadth of the field. A synthesis is then presented which attempts to give coherence to a picture which is sometimes contradictory. The remaining sections of the model, about which far less has been written, are then discussed. The review ends by "filling in" the "generic" model presented in Figure 2 with a possible Māori pedagogy.

A Note on the Literature Reviewed

There is a large body of literature (e.g., Jenkins & Matthews, 1999; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001; L. Smith, 1990) which describes the history of Māori education since the passing of the Education Act in 1877. This literature describes the effect of various government policies such as assimilation and integration on Māori in education and characterises the rise of the Kura Kaupapa Māori movement variously as a response, a resistance or a reassertion. While this literature is excellent in its own right, an historical account of the colonisation of Māori through schooling is not the focus of this project. The focus is instead to describe a Māori pedagogy or, at least, a Māori pedagogical discourse albeit one transformed in both positive and negative ways by the colonial experience.

It would seem logical therefore to only concentrate on literature that researches pedagogical practices that occur in identifiably Māori sites of learning and teaching such as Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga.

Because most Māori children (around 87%) are located in the schools of the dominant Pākehā culture, however, a somewhat more inclusive approach has been taken. I have included literature which focuses on teaching and learning in Māori learning sites but also on literature that reports positive gains for Māori children

within mainstream schools through interventions designed to facilitate this. I base this decision on the contention that if an intervention leads to positive outcomes for Māori in a mainstream context, a context described by Howe (1993, p. 5) as "an environment which is basically hostile to their cultural needs and values", then the intervention is likely to be an example of their "preferred pedagogy" (G. Smith, 1997) and is apposite therefore to this review.

Much of the literature is descriptive in nature (e.g., Cormack, 1997; Hemara, 2000; Howe, 1993; Pere, 1991). Apart from documenting the views and experience of, in most cases, highly regarded educators of Māori it provides little or no quantitative analysis as to the efficacy of the pedagogy described. I have included it in the review, however, because description is also the intent of this project. Research into whether what is described is practiced generally by Māori educators or is effective in leading to student achievement could be the focus of subsequent studies.

Finally, while the empirical work for this study was carried out in the tertiary context, much of the literature comes from pre school, school and non insititutional sources. The rationale for including this is two fold: Firstly, the use of literature from multiple sectors is in line with the definition of pedagogy described above: that pedagogical practices can be observed anywhere teaching and learning is occuring. Studies limiting themselves only to what might be observed in formal institutions of learning or indeed in only one sector of formal learning may be omitting large pieces of the picture. It might be argued that teaching and learning in different sectors are fundamentally and qualitatively different and that therefore any attempt to simply conflate the various practices, methodologies, behaviours and characteristics is quite invalid. This is perhaps a fundamental thesis of the pedagogy/androgogy dichotomy. For example, Hodgson & Kambouri (1999) discuss adult learning in terms of:

- The adult as a person with:
    - Rich prior experiences
    - A readiness and orientation to learning related to the roles and responsibilities of adult life
    - Internal motivation

- Teaching methods should include:

    - Problem solving
    - Self directed learning
    - Cognisance of different learning styles

- The teacher should characterise themselves as:
    - Facilitator of learning
    - Curriculum developer
    - Critical evaluator

And yet, except perhaps for the orientation to learning, each of these features can equally well be applied to the teaching and learning of children, numerous examples of which can be found in the literature.

To take just one of these, "rich prior experience" is seen as a major factor to be taken into consideration in the new Māori language immersion schools curriculum document "Te Marautanga o Aotearoa."

> Kia maumahara, i te taenga mai o te ākonga ki te kura kei a ia anō ōna ake mātauranga i takea mai i te whānau…Ka ngāwari ake te ako mātauranga hou mehemea kua honoa ki ngā mātauranga kua mau kē i te ākonga. (It should be remembered that when a child arrives at school they bring their own knowledge originating from the family…the learning of new knowledge will be easier if links are made to knowledge the student has already mastered.) (Te Tāhūhū o te Mātauranga, 2008 p. 13, translation my own).

The pedagogy / androgogy dichotomy has been heavily critiqued over the years by many writers (eg. Leach, 2003). Following these authors, the contention within this thesis is that fundamental pedagogical practices and principles are essentially similar across age groups and lessons can be learnt from observations across a broad range of contexts which serve to inform the whole.

Te Ao Māori

Socio-political and cultural forces

Following the conceptual model above, socio-political and cultural forces impact on every aspect of pedagogy and so need to be included in any discussion of a Māori pedagogy. Socio-political and cultural forces are accessed in this literature review through epistemological and ontological discussions presented in the literature.

The idea of "Māori pedagogy" sits within the wider discourse of "kaupapa Māori". At a workshop in November 2004 entitled "Kaupapa Māori Theory and Research" hosted by the Indigenous Research Institute of Auckland University, a number of speakers attempted definitions of what "kaupapa Māori" is.

Peter Sharples (2004), in his opening keynote address, paralleled "kaupapa Māori theory and research" with "Kura Kaupapa Māori" (Māori language immersion schools audited under a Māori pedagogical statement entitled "Te Aho Matua" within Section 155 of the Education Act) and drew a set of criteria from the Kura Kaupapa Māori model that could help to identify other activities as "kaupapa Māori" or not. He said that Kura Kaupapa Māori were places that advanced Māori self determination, they were emancipatory, they validated and prioritised Māori knowledge and utilised Māori cultural "notions, devices and processes" such as the idea of the "whānau" (family) owning the school and having a major say not only in matters of governance but also in management and curriculum to be taught. Sharples (2004) was keen to point out that "kaupapa Māori" could not be reduced to a simple set of criteria, however; that it was, instead, a "way of life".

G. Smith (1997) has set out a more sophisticated set of criteria or "principles" that have become widely used, particularly by Bishop (e.g., Bishop, 2000; Bishop, Berryman, & Richardson, 2001; Bishop & Glynn, 1999), but also by others (e.g., Pihama, 2004).

G. Smith's (1997) principles are:

> Tino rangatiratanga – The principle of self determination or relative autonomy

> Tāonga tuku iho – The principle of validating and legitimising cultural aspirations and identity
> Ako – The principle of incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy
> Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga – The principle of mediating socio-economic and home difficulties
> Whānau – The principle of incorporating cultural structures that emphasise collectivity rather than individuality, such as the notion of the extended family
> Kaupapa – The principle of a shared collective vision and philosophy. (p. 466ff)

In the following paragraphs the above principles will be discussed more fully and their relevance to a Māori pedagogy shown.

Tino rangatiratanga

This is the fundamental orientation and motivation behind any kaupapa Māori activity. Bishop (2001, p. 204) sees it as asserting the right "to determine one's own destiny, to define what that destiny will be and to define and pursue the means of attaining that destiny. This theme was echoed by every speaker at the 2004 Kaupapa Māori Workshop (e.g., Pihama, 2004; Pohatu & Pohatu, 2004; Sharples, 2004; G. Smith, 2004).

Anything purporting to be "Māori pedagogy" then, will likely have as its prime orientation an improvement in the circumstances of Māori people.

A number of iwi have developed strategic education plans that demonstrate the principle of tino rangatiratanga. Ngāti Tūwharetoa's, for example, is quite specific in its focus on increasing educational achievement as a way of increasing the health and wellbeing of tribal members (see www.tuwharetoa.co.nz). Ngai Tūhoe has an education authority that operates within a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministry of Education and has a governance role over 15 schools within the tribal region. The Authority was set up specifically to address Tūhoe underachievement in education and has as its aims:

- Strengthen Tūhoetanga (tribal knowledge and culture)

- Strengthen organisational efficiency and effectiveness in the schools
- Strengthen school governance and management
- Strengthen the professional capability of boards and staff
- Implement assessment systems for the pupils
- Strengthen curriculum development and delivery
- Explore resourcing and provision. (Ngai Tūhoe, 2003)

In like manner the Māori tertiary institution within which this study was undertaken, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, would appear to support tino rangatiranga as G. Smith (1997) and Bishop (2001) define it, as evidenced by their mission statement:

> Te Wānanga o Aotearoa:
>
> - Is regionally based, national, Māori-led and Māori centred lifelong learning and its accompanying knowledge base, teaching theory and practice (pedagogy), and research programmes;
> - Makes tertiary education accessible through removing barriers to access e.g. cost, location, and providing learner support;
> - Advances Māori, their traditional and contemporary knowledge and skill base, and their success as citizens of the world;
> - Supports the economic, cultural, environmental and social needs and aspirations of Māori, and all Aotearoa. Globally, TWoA supports and enhances the education aspirations of all indigenous peoples. (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2004a)

Carkeek, Davies and Irwin (1994) address the issue of Tino Rangatiratanga very clearly in their study on the education of Māori girls. In commenting on school programmes which had large Māori components across a number of indices from curriculum content through to percentage of Māori representation on Board of Trustees they say:

> One of the key features about each of the schools in this study with a bilingual or immersion unit is that whānau have played a critical role in the establishment, implementation and maintenance of the unit… The best case scenario for future developments in the area of bilingual and

> immersion programmes within the mainstream rests with whānau increasingly recognising and exercising their power. Carkeek et al (1994 p. 47)

Tino rangatiratanga within the context of kaupapa Māori can also be seen as an articulation of identity. Many speakers at the Kaupapa Māori Workshop in 2004 spoke of the essential continuity of Māori people and kaupapa Māori and spoke of the coming of the Pākehā and the colonisation of Aotearoa/New Zealand as an "interruption". S. Walker (1996) says:

> It is imperative to realise that Māori do not see themselves as Other. Many Māori have never entertained the notion that we are somebody else's Other; let alone being the Other to Pākehā. The crucial point here is that Pākehā have posited Māori as the Other. … In view of this, it is therefore not correct to say that Kaupapa Māori is merely a resistance movement, a dualistic antithesis, counter attack, counter argument. As Māori we don't answer back as the Other. Kaupapa Māori has its dimensions far removed from the reality of European philosophical paradigms. (p. 56)

In this vein also, Pihama et al. (2004) highlight the importance of decolonisation as a necessary part of the journey toward tino rangatiratanga for Māori.

This consideration leads logically on to G. Smith's (1997) second principle, that of validating and legitimising cultural knowledge, or, as Bishop (2001) characterises it, "Tāonga tuku iho".

Tāonga tuku iho

Bishop (2001, p. 204) says, "Above all this message means that Māori language, knowledge, culture and values are normal, valid and legitimate". He attempts to state what some of these knowledges might be: Community focus, respect for age and wisdom, the importance of genealogy and family, respecting the tapu (specialness) and mana (their potentiality for power) of children. Clammer, Poirier, and Schwimmer (2004) characterise these aspects of culture as phenomenological forms, the sum of which, allow an understanding of fundamental ontological questions such

as, how is the self defined? How is the world characterised? How should the self be in relation to the world both physical and social? What is the world and how is it constituted? A survey of some of these elements seems therefore essential to this project. Consistent with definitions of culture set out in the following chapter, elements of culture are seen as dynamic and changing, however most writers include the concepts of tapu, noa, mana and the values of pono, tika and aroha as central. For example, Waikerepuru (2004) at the Kaupapa Māori Workshop introduced his thoughts on kaupapa Māori with a discussion of a Māori cosmology that he had been taught by his tribal elders from the Taranaki region. This cosmology starts with "Te Wāhi Ngaro" (the Lost or Hidden Space) descends through Pupuke te hihiri (thought), Pupuke te mahara (memory), Pupuke te Wānanga (knowledge) to the Wānanga o te Kore (the learning house of the Nothing), from there to the Hau Tupu (wind of growth), Hau Ora (wind of life) and eventually to Rangi (the sky father) and Papatuanuku (the earth mother) from whom descended Tane and his brothers who together with Hineahuone were the progenitors of humankind (see also Roberts & Wills, 1998; Royal, 2003, for other similar tribal versions). Waikerepuru states that such a geneology gave Māori a profound sense of the "tapu" (sacred nature) of the environment. From tapu comes the notion of "noa" (not tapu) and the need to be "tika" (correct) when entering the realm of tapu. One can be correct by following correct practices (tikanga) or customs. The full set of "tikanga" or customs make up Māori culture. For Waikerepuru then, "tapu" and its associated concepts are central to any idea of "kaupapa Māori ".

Mason Durie (2003) also talks about the importance of tapu and noa as central concepts. He describes the laws of tapu and noa as originating with the new Pacific immigrants to New Zealand in AD 1000 trying to classify what was "risky" in their new environment (tapu), what was safe (noa) and what was not to be touched for any reason (rāhui). He claims that over time these basic concepts became, like the ten commandments of the Hebrew Scriptures, a "code for adaptive living" (M. Durie, 2003, p. 18). M. Durie also echoes most others in his positioning of the "whānau" as a central element. Waikerepuru (2004) is from Ngāti Awa in the Taranaki area, M. Durie is from Rangitāne. Any Māori pedagogy articulated for these areas may need to feature tapu and noa as prime underlying concepts. Pihama et al. (2004) also

include discussions of mana and tapu as central concepts in a Māori pedagogy and add:

- Tika – a "relationship principle" meaning to act rightly and properly.
- Pono – translated by Williams (1975, cited in Pihama et al., 2004) as "true" and so also covering ideas of truthfulness, honesty, and integrity.
- Aroha – often translated as "love" or "compassion". Pihama et al. (2004) speak of aroha as a principle that "includes seeking positive relationships to enhance the being of others and yourself" (p. 43; see also Royal, 2003).

An oft cited work in this area is that of Rose Pere (e.g., Pere, 1991). Essentially Pere (1991) sets out a glossary of key cultural concepts, institutions, values and beliefs which she sees as essential to any Māori educational enterprise (see Figure 3). It is:

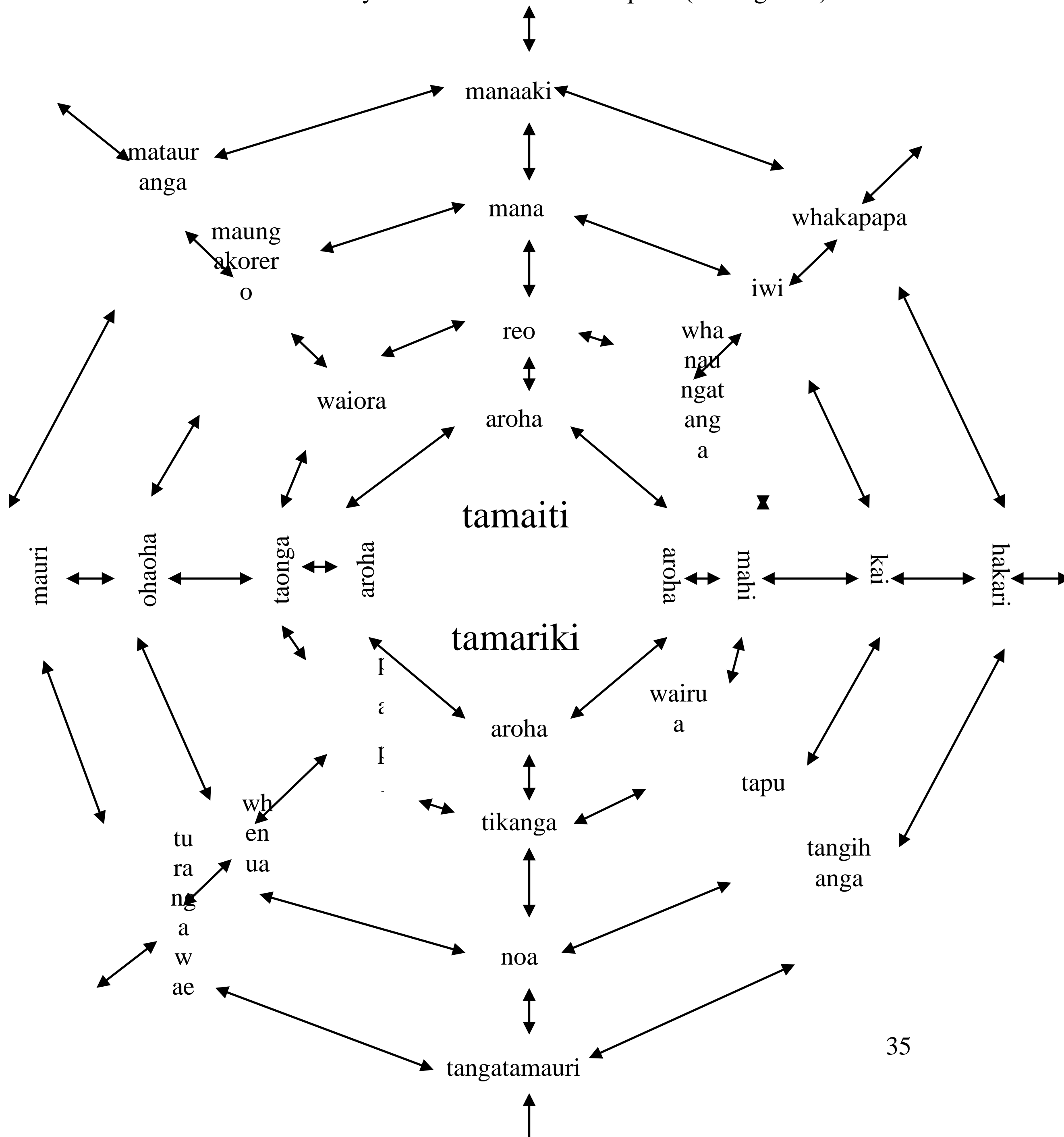

Figure 3: Rose Pere's (1991) "Wheke"

It is interesting to note that Pere's (1991) set of notions, practices and institutions do not include those that could be construed as negative in any way. She does not include, for example, the practices of makutu (cursing), utu (revenge) or ngaki mate (revenge killing), neither does she discuss the misuse of tapu and mana as mechanisms of social control (cf. G. Smith, 1997, p. 179). Others who have produced such lists include Nepe (1991) and Salter (2002).

It would also seem important, however, given discussions held at the Kaupapa Māori Workshop in Auckland, that each iwi, hapū or whānau needs to identify and define for themselves which are the major cultural concepts and practices they wish to undergird their activity.

Other important knowledge referred to by more than one writer include:

- Tribal knowledge/history (Hemara, 2000; Metge, 1984; Penetito, 2004; Royal, 2003).
- Māori arts (Easton, Anderson, Averill, & Smith, 2005; Ritchie, 2003; Rubie, Townsend, & Moore, 2004; L. Webster & Tangaere, 1992).
- Subject specific Māori knowledge (Gorinski & Abernethy, 2003; Hemara, 2000; Metge, 1984; Ritchie, 2003; Royal, 2003).

Nepe (1991) appears to argue that a knowledge of the Māori language is the only way to truly access Māori knowledge. This contention is a major discussion point within Māoridom and centres around the question of whether an activity can be said to be truly Māori if the language used during that activity is English. An example of this is traditional canoe racing. "Waka ama" (outrigger canoe) racing has become popular amongst many young Māori. The canoes used are undeniably Māori in design and decoration. The teams and officials are mainly Māori in the sense of being able to link to Māori genealogies. Event organisation and protocol follows traditional Māori custom. However, the predominant language spoken at these events

is always English. McKinley (2005) also supports Nepe (1991), but argues for other benefits of teaching through the Māori language to do with the revitalisation of the language and the revitalisastion of its ability to change and adapt to new cultural realities.

Pihama et al. (2004) provide an extended discussion of the importance of an understanding of te reo Māori in order to understand Māori knowledge and Māori concepts. They give the example of the word “tamariki”. A common Māori practice when discussing the meaning of a word is to identify various other words within it and use these to add depth to the commonly accepted gloss (e.g., Skerrett-White, 2003). Thus tamariki, meaning children, is also explained by Pere (1997):

> *Tamariki*: *Tama* is derived from *Tama-te-rā* the central sun, the divine spark; *ariki* refers to senior most status, and *riki* on its own can mean smaller version. *Tamariki* is the *Māori* word used for children. Children are the greatest legacy the world community has. (cited in Pihama et al., 2004, p. 22)

Anything purporting to be Māori pedagogy then should legitimise Māori knowledge, practises and values. It may also need to be conducted only through the Māori language though Pihama et al. (2004) stop short of this, saying instead that Māori language fluency is something to be “strived for”.

Knowledge

There also appears to be some agreement on the nature of knowledge. All knowledge can be considered to be “tapu” or sacred since all knowledge was in some way handed down from atua (gods) and handed on by tūpuna (ancestors who are also held in high esteem). Marsden (cited in Royal, 2003) retells the story of the three baskets of knowledge handed down by “Io Matua Kore” (the highest of the gods), others (e.g., Te Matorohanga, cited in Pihama et al., 2004) talk of te kauwae runga (the upper jawbone) and the kauwae raro (the lower jawbone). Both these stories describe two major types of knowledge in the Māori world – that which is sacred, dealing with the spiritual realm and that which pertains to the everyday. To Māori, knowledge was never universally available (Royal, 2003; Stokes, 1992). Knowledge was specialised and different people were specialists in different areas. All, however,

contributed to the well being of the whole so that there were those who had special knowledge to do with genealogy, tribal history and the spiritual realm and there were those who had knowledge of different food gathering techniques, etc. (Metge, 1984; L. Smith, 1992b). The truthfulness of a statement, with regard particularly to tribal history was ascertained, according to Roberts and Wills (1998), using the criteria of reasonableness, precedent and experience. To this I would add the process of hui described by Bishop (1996), Metge and Waititi (2001), and others as a process of consensus making through a type of spiral discussion.

A further notion that appears to be central is that of whakapapa or geneology. This can be seen firstly in the conceptualisation of the child as part of a long ancestral line stretching right back to the gods. The educator must take into account that they have responsibility not just for this one child but for their entire ancestral line (Pere, 1991; Pihama et al., 2004). Secondly, whakapapa forms a major component of curriculum, not only in simply learning geneological connections but as a vehicle then for other aspects of identity formation such as knowledge of one's place in society and one's tribal/community history and geography (Edwards, 2004; Hemara, 2000; Pihama et al., 2004). There are those also who have postulated whakapapa as a Māori way of organising knowledge (Edwards, 2004; Roberts & Wills, 1998; Royal, 2003). Māori Marsden (in Royal, 2003) discusses how the whakapapa of Tane, the god of the forest, groups the trees according to those that are good for building, those that are good for medicine and so on (Royal, 2003, p. 61). Haami and Roberts (2002) in a discussion of the whakapapa of the kūmara shows how it can be read as an ecosystem map for the kūmara since it contains stars that are visible at the time of planting and harvesting, insects which prey on the kumara and other plant species that were used as hedges to protect the kūmara beds. As well as the ecosystem information there is also information within the whakapapa around right use, the spiritual dimension, mythological history, etc. – all are bound up with the whakapapa such that it becomes a compendium of knowledge about the kūmara. Royal and his students (Royal, 1998) have postulated whakapapa as a model for a tool of analysis which helps one to understand the nature, origins and relationships of phenomena under study. Thus any phenomena under study using whakapapa as a tool of analysis will be assumed to have two parent phenomena as antecedent to it. Also, these parent phenomena will have parental antecendents. Following from this, for a phenomena to

exist there must have been some relationship between two antecedent phenomena and so in order to understand phenomena, one must understand relationships. Other logical consequences of the use of whakapapa as a tool of analysis are that it leads to a progressively wider and wider picture rather than a narrower and narrower one, that it is about construction rather than deconstruction and that it leads to the identification of multiple relationships between phenomena at various levels and various distances.

Roberts and Wills (1998), while supporting others in giving primacy to whakapapa, position whenua (land) or the notion of "place" as also being fundamental to a Māori epistemology. Land and people are inextricably linked in Māori thought. The Māori word for land – whenua – is also the word for placenta and the land is conceptualised as papatuanuku who is a female god and so mother of all things living upon her. The discourse emerging naturally from this is that humans have a responsibility to protect and nurture the mother which protects and nurtures them (see also Royal, 2003). As well as also being heavily economically dependant on the land they lived on, Māori systems of naming and claiming land meant that each name told a tribal story such that the land and its names became intimately bound up in tribal and therefore personal history and identity (Roberts & Wills, 1998).

Roberts and Wills (1998) assert that perhaps the contribution of Māori epistemology to the world is the idea, through whakapapa, that reality is "a continuous unfolding of vital generative processes, rather than as mechanical occurrences within inert material substance" (p. 67) and the idea that all reality can be reduced to descriptions in terms of events that occur within the material world might be a limitation of science.

How "tāonga tuku iho" impacts on education

Pere (1991) speaks not of pedagogy but of "education" and likens it to a wheke (octopus), whereby: "The head represents the child/family. Each tentacle represents a dimension that requires and needs certain things to help give sustenance to the whole" (p. 3). A copy of Pere's depiction of a "Māori educational framework" (p. 5) appears above, (Fig. 3). It seems that for Pere, a child must encounter all of these notions, practices and institutions in order to be educated. The utility of her model

for educators is that she defines carefully what each of these cultural constructs mean from a Māori point of view and gives a direction as to what is important to include in any educative enterprise for Māori. Her "framework" can inform curriculum content as well as teaching and learning techniques as illustrated by Bishop and Glynn (1999).

Bishop and Glynn (1999) describe the mechanics of how cultural constructs can inform pedagogy. These writers reinterpret G. Smith (1997) principles as "metaphors". A table from their book, *Culture Counts: Changing Power Relations in Education*, illustrates their approach:

The use of whānau metaphors in education contexts

In Research	In Pedagogy
Establishing relationships is fundamental and ongoing • whānau of interest • spiral discourse	Work to establish relationships in a whānau manner • whānau of interest addresses issues of benefits and accountability • spiral discourse addresses issues of initiation, representation and legitimation
Researchers are involved somatically i.e. ethically, spiritually, morally as well as methodologically Accountability measures are addressed because researches are whānau members	Teachers are involved somatically i.e. ethically, spiritually, morally as well as methodologically Accountability issues are addressed because teachers are a main character in storying
Power and control issues are addressed through participatory research	Power and control issues are addressed through use of new metaphors, e.g. whānau, hui, narrative
Hui as a metaphor for collaborative storying	Collaborative negotiations i.e. storying and restorying

(Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 175)

Another recent example of this approach is Macfarlane (2004), who discusses how various cultural constructs within Māoridom can inform behaviour management in the classroom.

Another example that follows Pere (1991) is *Te Whāriki*, the Early Childhood Education Curriculum document for Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is underpinned by a set of “Principles, Strands and Goals”. Lyall Peris, in the introduction to the document, states that:

> This is the first bicultural curriculum statement developed in New Zealand. It contains curriculum specifically for Māori immersion services in early childhood education and establishes, throughout the document as a whole, the bicultural nature of curriculum for all early childhood services. (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 7)

The Principles are:

- Whakamana (Empowerment).
- Kotahitanga (Holistic development).
- Whānau Tangata (Family and Community).
- Ngā Hononga (Relationships).

The Strands are:

- Mana Atua (Well Being).
- Mana Whenua (Belonging).
- Mana Tangata (Contribution).
- Mana Aotūroa (Exploration).
- Mana Reo (Communication).

This list of concepts was developed as a result of discussions between both Māori and Pākehā developers of the document. They are obviously a fusion of both Māori and non-Māori discourses around related themes. For example, “Mana Whenua” is probably most accurately translated as “ownership of land” in its modern use. It is used in this document to signal “belonging”. The goals that go with this Strand include such things as “Children and their families experience an environment where they know they have a place”, but also “Children and their families experience an environment where they know the limits and boundaries of acceptable behaviour” (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 15). While knowing one has a place fits easily with

ownership of land, it requires some stretching of the idea to incorporate “boundaries of acceptable behaviour”.

The intention of the document is probably that the Māori discourse will both inform and enrich the Pākehā and vice versa. Whether this happens in reality for the early childhood educators who must use the document or whether each cultural group simply focuses on their own sets of meanings and ignores the other is a moot point.

Ako

Because G. Smith’s (1997) principles are derived from his reflections on Māori educational sites, pedagogy is included as a principle. G. Smith talks about the use by these sites of “teaching and learning settings and practices [that] are able to connect closely and effectively with the cultural backgrounds and life circumstances (socio-economic) of Māori communities” (p. 67).

Bishop (2001), however, has focused on one identifiably Māori concept in regard to teaching and learning, termed “ako”. According to Bishop “this term metaphorically emphasises reciprocal learning, where the teacher does not have to be the fountain of all knowledge, but rather a “partner” in the conversation of learning” (p. 205).

This brief explanation will suffice in clarifying G. Smith (1997) and Bishop (2001). Since this area is, however, the major focus of the paper, I will return to it in greater depth in later sections.

Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga

Both G. Smith (1997) and Bishop (2001) talk here about the fact that by participating in Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura and Wānanga, Māori families are impelled to rise above some of the socio-economic difficulties (e.g., lack of reliable transportation) they may be facing because they are motivated by those institutions to participate in their children’s education. At the same time their increased participation increases the likelihood that those participating in the education will achieve more highly.

Bishop (2001) explains the principle in terms of higher home school congruency and the positive effects of this in terms of understanding and engagement on the part of the student.

In another way it means that people are more able to take personal responsibility (Metge, 1984) for what is happening for them. They will not say for example that there is no point in participating in their child's school because the Pākehā parents dominate and Māori voices go unheard.

Whānau

G. Smith (2004) describes Māori society as essentially collective in its organisation rather than individualistic. Thus he talks about collective responsibility for health, education, etc., while at the same time individuals having an obligation to invest in the whānau group. The basic collective unit referred to by G. Smith and most others at the Kaupapa Māori Workshop is the "whānau" (extended family grouping).

One implication for pedagogy of "whānau" is in the area of learning theory. The theories of learning discussed in the literature as being most in harmony with a Māori way of teaching and learning emphasise the learner within a social context rather than theories which focus more on the individual or on the role of the brain in learning (Hemara, 2000; Royal-Tangaere, 1997). Taking a theoretical perspective Forsyth (2006) describes a Māori philosophy which she calls "Āta" that will assist professional educators in negotiating the boundaries of respectful relationships within their classrooms. The word "āta" is normally used as an adverb in Māori. Forsyth summarises the English glosses (ref. Glossary) as "with care" and "with deliberation" (ibid p43). It forms phrases such as:

Āta haere	To be intentional and approach reflectively
Āta-whakarongo	To listen with reflective deliberation
Āta-noho	To give quality time to be with people and their issues
Āta-whakaaro	To think with deliberation, considering the possibilities
Āta-kōrero	To communicate and speak with clarity (ibid p43)

In describing “Āta” as a philosophy and “intrinsic principle” Forsyth proposes that phrases such as those above provide a set of guiding principles for developing and maintaining relationships between teacher and student. Forsyth says that students who were taught in a course where Āta was applied reported a greater sense of connectedness, relatedness, empowerment and respect.

G. Smith (2004), at the Kaupapa Māori Workshop, discussed the role of the whānau in terms of accountability, Metge (1984) in terms of appropriate teaching and learning strategies, and Bishop (2001) of whānau as a metaphor for relationships within the classroom between teacher and student. In reports with a more methodological bent the importance of “whānau” appears to be evidenced by consistent calls for more whānau involvement in the student’s learning (e.g., Butterworth & Bevan-Brown, 2007; Metge, 1984; Phillips et al., 2004; Rubie et al., 2004) and also the idea of learning in groups. According to Metge (1984):

> Learning in groups is favoured over the individual working on his or her own. This may involve instruction of a group of learners, say of school age children, by one or several pūkenga, but the preferred arrangement is the incorporation of learners into pre-existent groups comprising of a range of expertise, such as the work groups which run a hui or renovate a meeting house. (p. 6)

Such is the importance of whānau and its close relation whakapapa within Māori thinking that Fitzsimons and Smith (2000) say:

> Kaupapa Māori [as a theory of transformation] is based on the intersection of whakapapa and whānau in the reconstitution of Māori identity in the modern world. … The ethnic subject is formed at the intersection of kinship geneology and current relationships. It is related on two dimensions – vertically through (whakapapa) and horizontally through present day family relationships (whānau). Identity is formed where these two axes intersect. (p. 38)

Kaupapa

In setting this principle, G. Smith (2000) was referring to Te Aho Matua, which Nepe (1991) describes as:

> A philosophical doctrine incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society that have emanated from a purely Kaupapa Māori metaphysical base. These have been formulated to reproduce guiding principles for Kura Kaupapa Māori. Te Aho Matua has six sections and, taken in total these annotate significant Kaupapa Māori knowledge factors that influence the holistic development of the Māori child. (p. 8)

She also says that it "sets standards and pedagogical procedures" for Kura Kaupapa Māori (Nepe, 1991, p. 41).

Section One "Te Ira Tangata" characterises the child. Using proverbs as a start it asserts that childen are treasures like greenstone and that they are seeds sown from Rangiatea (the ancestral homeland) and will never be lost.

Mataira (1997), in her English interpretation of Te Aho Matua, says this section includes statements around holistic learning, affectionate nurturing, acknowledgement of the spiritual dimension to a child's wellbeing and respect, among many others.

Section Two, "Te Reo" is about the Māori language and sets out policy on how it should be used within Kura Kaupapa and how the English language should be accommodated.

Mataira (1997) introduces section three, "Nga Iwi" with this paragraph:

> Having established the nature of children with respect to their physical, mental, emotional and spiritual needs and determining the most effective approach to language learning this part of the document focuses on the social agencies which influence the development of children, in short, all those people with whom they interact as they make sense of their world and find their rightful place within it. (p. 8)

She says the section includes statements on the importance of genealogy, knowing one's own people but also other people and their societies, the importance and

centrality of family and the right of the family to be central to the staffing, governance and management of the school.

Section Four, "Te Ao", talks about the wider world. It recognises that learning occurs at home, that Māori knowledge must be legitimated, that children should be encouraged to marvel at and value all life forms, that children should be encouraged to see themselves as caretakers of the environment and that they should explore the world through "science" or whatever means enhances understanding.

Section Five, "Ahuatanga Ako" speaks of some principles of teaching and learning: The environment should be a happy one, prayer should be used to focus the child, the presence of supportive adults is vital, listening is a central skill. Engaging the body and the mind in learning is encouraged, different learning styles need to be accommodated, elders must be honoured.

The final section "Te Tino Uaratanga" focuses on the outcome, on what the child might look like once they have come through the system. This is set out as a list of characteristics.

They include: having free, open and enquiring minds, becoming bilingual in both Māori and English, having a great capacity for joy and compassion, having integrity, radiating the joy of living, being high achievers.

Of note here, however, is that this document was written not by any specific iwi group but by a number of educators from various tribes who came together for the purpose of writing such a document. It is a "pan tribal" document. A number of speakers at the Kaupapa Māori Workshop, however (e.g., Pohatu & Pohatu, 2004; Taki, 2004; Waikerepuru, 2004), emphasised that there can be no general kaupapa Māori theory or philosophy. They were uncomfortable expressing thoughts and opinions that were grounded in any body of knowledge other than that which they could legitimately lay claim to through their genealogical links. This argues perhaps for an iwi (tribe) specific concept of kaupapa Māori and therefore also perhaps an iwi specific pedagogy.

Towards a synthesis of socio-political and cultural forces

A picture can be painted of a society which has a well articulated set of concepts, customs, practices, institutions and values all of which can inform curriculum or what is to be taught as well as methodology or how it is to be taught. Some of the most commonly articulated of these concepts, customs, practices, institutions and values are tapu, noa, mana, tika, pono and aroha. All of these inform both curriculum and methodology as illustrated by Bishop and Glynn (1999, see above). Other aspects of culture that remain important include tribal knowledge and history, Māori arts, Māori specific subject knowledge and the Māori language.

Other concepts which seem fundamental to Māori culture are whakapapa, whānau and whenua. All three are closely linked with identity and the first two with the essentially collective orientation of Māori thinking and practice and in a way of thinking about the world as continuous, dynamic and evolving. Māori cosmologies indicate complex realities unable to be apprehended by the five senses that nevertheless impact strongly on the sensory world. Knowledge is precious, specialised and some of it is not necessarily universally available. The truthfulness of a statement, was ascertained using the criteria of reasonableness, precedent, experience and spiral discussion.

Māori are very aware of the presence of non-Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand and characterise this presence as having had and continuing to have mainly negative outcomes for Māori. Words like “emancipatory”, “transformative” and “decolonising” are used to describe examples of best practice in modern Māori institutions. These institutions also promote the agency of the individual in overcoming the social and domestic barriers to advancement.

There are internal tensions around the primacy of the Māori language, for example, the assertion that anything purporting to be “kaupapa Māori” can only be conducted in Māori or whether this is simply elitist and that the fluency required by such a practice is an aim to be strived for rather than something that can be practiced universally in the short term. There are also tensions around tribal versus pan tribal interpretations as evidenced, for example, at the Kaupapa Māori Workshop where a

number of speakers (Eg. Pohatu & Pohatu, 2004 cited above) claimed no authority to speak of knowledge they could not lay claim to through their own geneological links.

Pedagogy

Teaching and learning methods

Referring back to the conceptual model referred to above the review will now focus on methodological considerations. A reasonable body of literature exists in this area so I have developed a short overview of literature under the following headings and then attempted a synthesis:

- Methodologies and techniques in non-school settings.
- Methodologies and techniques in the early childhood setting.
- Methodologies and techniques in the primary school setting.
- Methodologies and techniques in the secondary school setting.
- Methodologies and techniques in the tertiary setting.

Methodologies and techniques in non-school settings

The most comprehensive review of literature regarding Māori pedagogical practices in pre-European times is Hemara (2000). He, along with others (e.g., Makereti, 1938; Puke, 2000) describe what is essentially the informal socialisation of children within pre-European Māori family groups and then attempts to tease out pedagogical practises identifiable within the description.

"Curriculum content" is unsurprising – male and female roles and appropriate behaviour, training in current economic activities (e.g., food gathering for women, hunting and fishing for men) and how to use the technology associated with these activities. Genealogy was also an extremely important area of knowledge since power and prestige were linked closely to it. According to Hemara (2000), tribal history was also important.

Hemara (2000) describes some of the teaching and learning tools used in this informal socialisation. He cites the use of games, songs and proverbs. Reedy gives a powerful analysis of an oriori (lullaby) by Te Whatahoro of Ngai Tuhoe. According

to Reedy, “[This] song[] [is] not merely to lull the child to sleep. [It] is a kind of teaching to the grandchild of the histories of yesteryear and the lessons there in. When the eight verses of the oriori are examined in totality they explain the journey of the child, of mankind throughout life. It is like a revelation to the child of the various phases of life that he enters, grows to manhood and then reaches old age with the full knowledge of life’s continuing cycle”. (Reedy, 2000)

Hemara (2000) goes on to extrapolate other themes. He says that within the informal socialisation processes it can be identified that the learning and teaching were reciprocal, that both the teacher and the learner were at the centre of the educative process and that everyone involved learnt something new.

He states that both constructivist and enactivist concepts can be identified. He claims that waiata, for example, were often complex and that children came to understand them with more and more depth as they grew, reaching zones of proximal development which they were assisted through by the teacher (usually parent or grandparent).

Other themes include:

- Intergenerational teaching and learning. (According to Pihama et al. (2004), the teacher-learner relationship between grandparent and grandchild was normally the most important one for the child.)
- The use of metaphor, allusion and surprise as teaching techniques.
- New learning was hooked to the familiar.
- Learning was life long.
- There was peer assessment.
- “Apprenticeship” type relationships were often formed between an expert or elder and a younger person.
- Learning by doing was a common technique.

Hemara (2000) also gives a lengthy description of a formal training institution generally called “whare wānanga”. Hemara is equivocal in placing much credence on accounts of these places, he says, “Because Pākehā ethnographers found the whare

wānanga an alluring subject to investigate, so much has been written about it. Whether it is truth or an assemblage of facts and fantasies is debatable" (p. 17).

Be this as it may, Hemara (2000) indicates that there were a number of different types of whare wānanga. The main whare wānanga were for transmitting esoteric knowledge such as tribal history, songs, genealogy and the vast corpus of karakia needed by tohunga (priests). He says also, however, that there were other types that focused on weaving, fowling, recreation and histories and biographies. The accounts suggest that only the most exceptional males with the right genealogy (and in some circumstances those without the right genealogy) (Dr Jill Bevan-Brown, personal communication) were allowed to enter these houses of learning. They were surrounded by rituals of restriction. Teaching strategies included rote learning, using surprise and anger to motivate students and learning at night or the early hours of the morning

Marsden (in Royal, 2003) gives an account of "modern" whare wānanga within the Northern tribes. According to Marsden these began in the early 1850s largely through a fear that tribal history and tikanga (customs) were being displaced by Pākehā culture. Marsden says that tribal history as contained in story, song and war dances was collected and recorded by experts. The wānanga were held once or twice a year in various locations and were run in a formal way. They were exclusive. Entry was via nomination by a person already a member. Ability, commitment and wise use of the knowledge and prestige which came with it had to be continually demonstrated in order to maintain membership.

Metge's (1984) ethnography on teaching and learning in the Ahipara Māori community is one of the first attempts at articulating what these terms mean for Māori. She describes three strategies. She briefly describes the Whare Wānanga, characterising them as "formal, occasional, clearly separated from everyday life, selective and exclusive" (p. 3). "Education through exposure" is "informal, semi continuous, embedded in the ongoing life of the community, open and inclusive" (p. 3), and thirdly the apprenticeship or tutorial strategy occurs when "a puukenga or wise older person takes a selected pupil under his or her wing and 'feeds' him or her with assorted kinds of knowledge" (p. 3).

Metge (1984) then goes on to talk about methodologies and techniques used commonly in each of these strategies:

- Looking, listening and trialling after modelling from the pūkenga or teaching by demonstration and example.
- Learning by doing or learning in context with mistakes followed up afterwards on an individual basis.
- Learning in mixed ability groups where the less experienced learn from watching and imitating and being assisted by the more experienced.
- Learning from peers
- She describes motivation techniques such as not answering questions properly in order to encourage the learner to think for themselves.
- The use of memorisation and rote learning.
- Not singling pupils out in public for either praise or vilification but carrying out these activities in private in order to avoid the twin vices of whakahīhī (conceit) and whakamā (so embarrassed they retreat into themselves).
- To these G. Smith (1997) would add an emphasis on accuracy and correctness.

Metge (1984) also talks about pūkenga, preferring an "integrated to a compartmentalised approach" (p. 10), the importance of storytelling, and shared responsibility by the extended family group for education and discipline. Metge says in Māori thinking knowledge is precious, a collection of treasures to be cherished, coveted and aspired to but not too easily attained. Knowledge can be divided up into that which is tapu (sacred) and noa (non-tapu) but that neither necessarily has more mana than the other. She says that knowledge belongs to the group not the individual. A pūkenga is a "repository" charged with preserving and passing on the knowledge entrusted to them for the benefit of the collective and not for personal gain (though they do not go unrewarded in terms of personal prestige and status). She also says that a Māori understanding of education places the responsibility for learning on the learner rather than the teacher.

Methodologies and techniques in the early childhood setting

An early study by G. Smith (1987) characterises teaching methods within the Kohanga Reo that he studied as being very positive, emphasising building on what

children knew rather than on what they did not know and on a group orientation. He talks about there being little discrimination between teacher and learner, inclusive behaviour, questioning of the group rather than spot lighting an individual. He also lists imitation, verbal association, trial and error and the use of logic as procedures he observed being used.

Ka'ai (1990, p. 11) discusses three "pedagogical patterns" that were identifiable in three Kohanga Reo that she observed and were not seen in a mainstream new entrant classroom typical of those that many of the Kohanga Reo children would graduate to. These "patterns" were "Tuakana/teina", "whānaungatanga" and "aroha".

Tuakana/teina (older sibling/younger sibling) appears to be closely related to Bishop's (2001) concept of "ako" or reciprocal teaching. Ka'ai (1990) says that she observed a number of interactions where children assumed roles similar to that of the teacher in the Kohanga Reo she was in. This contrasted with the mainstream situation where "school lessons are typically very restrictive in the opportunities for speaking that children are offered" (p. 14).

According to Ka'ai (1990), "The concept of "awhi" [embracing] and "awhina" [helping] to nurture and assist one another in order that the whole whānau progress is the core of whānaungatanga" (p. 15, English glosses mine). Ka'ai describes "aroha" as an "intrinsic value" (p. 35). It is often translated as "love" and/or "compassion". Ka'ai says that she observed it particularly in the use of the word "pai" (good) and its variants such as "very good", "wonderful", "that's alright" and in the use of "kia ora" which, given the context, can mean similar things.

Ka'ai (1990) does not comment specifically on the use of aroha in the mainstream new entrant classroom but seems to indicate that the whole character of the relationship between teacher and child was different whereby interactions reinforced teacher dominance.

Focusing more on methods used to teach language, Hohepa (1992) observed modelling behaviour being used extensively, questioning of the child for clarification and eliciting the Māori language after English had been used by the child and the

adult caregiver felt that the child was capable of expressing the same thing in Māori. A third and far less effective method was observed being used less and this was prompting or asking for Māori to be used without the assistance of modelling. She also describes the use of routines within the Kohanga Reo as major tools for language acquitision. Hohepa cites these techniques as examples of scaffolding the learning.

Following international language development literature Hohepa (1992) also found that most language occurred during one on one interactions between adult and child but that most of these interactions occurred within group activities thus also confirming the contention of Metge (1984) and others that group learning is favoured in Māori settings.

In a later paper, Hohepa, McNaughton, and Jenkins (1996) explore the role of the group further. They warn against an over simplistic interpretation, saying that group learning is not necessarily always preferred over individual learning and that even within the group setting there are many examples of one to one interactions. Group learning also often involves constantly changing roles depending on context.

Hohepa et al. (1996) also describe a situation which illustrates their contention that language development and enculturation are entwined. They describes a group situation lasting 83 turns where children were discussing one child's play dough creations. According to the child, she was making food for a party. Another child thought that she was making faeces and another that it was worms. After much discussion it was eventually understood and agreed that it was sausages the child was making. Hohepa et al. posit that this interaction is not only an example of natural language development but also of children learning culturally important methods of reaching group consensus.

Royal-Tangaere (1996) largely expands on what Ka'ai (1990) and Hohepa (1992) had already discovered with the addition of other techniques such as the use of singing and games in order to teach language. She takes the theoretical discussion further, however, by adding Zones of Proximal Development to ideas expressed by

earlier researchers on tuakana/teina, scaffolding and the entwined nature of language development and enculturation.

Methodologies and techniques in the primary school setting

A study by Phillips et al. (2004) has shown how professional development for teachers has increased achievement in literacy for Māori and Pacific Islands children in mainstream primary schools in the Auckland area.

Phillips et al. (2004) characterise the professional development as:

> Designed to change teachers perceptions in favour of a co-constructivist view of language, literacy and learning. That is, it was designed to create repeated opportunities for teachers and learners to be actively engaged in problem solving situated in the literacy practices of classrooms. (p. 311)

Other characteristics of the intervention were joint activities and trying to reduce the mismatch between home and school literacy practices while, at the same time, acknowledging the power of mismatch in motivating the learner. Another feature was a focus on the quality of the interaction between learner and teacher.

Rubie et al. (2004) researched an intervention that involved a "culturally relevant" practice into the school setting in order to see whether it enhanced self esteem and self efficacy amongst the group who were involved in the intervention. They cite Corson (1993) as saying that schools should:

- Create a "family" feeling of closeness where each student is given personal attention
- Preferred learning approaches of Māori children should be given attention
- Learning should be cooperative, involving children, teachers, parents, family and respected elders and should emphasise collaboration and de emphasise competition and individualism
- Older children should be given some responsibility for the care of younger children
- Learning should emphasise oral communication and

- Song, dance, legends, crafts should be essential components of instruction. (Rubie et al., 2004, p. 145)

The intervention Rubie et al. (2004) focused on was the introduction of a kapa haka or Māori performing arts group (analogous to the European school choir but with Māori forms of song and dance) to the school activities.

Apart from the obvious validation of Māori knowledge implicit in allowing kapa haka to be part of the school's activities other aspects of the intervention focused on teaching and learning techniques. According to Rubie et al. (2004), the kaiako (teacher) used a "cooperative learning structure of positive interdependence" and that the "kaiako ensured that the learning activities were structured so that the children were given increasing challenges that built on skills developed earlier" (p. 150). Standards for performance were also set by the kaiako, explained to the children and then used as the basis for mainly positive feedback.

The intervention led to significantly increased self esteem and locus of control but not to short term gains in school achievement.

Focusing just on praise, Butterworth and Bevan-Brown (2007) identified four aspects of a "cultural framework" within the classroom they observed in a Māori immersion primary school. These aspects were praise, respectful relationships, encouragement, support and acceptance and the conscious encouragement of parent and wider community involvement.

In researching the differences between the education of Māori girls across three different programme types – immersion units, bilingual units and mainstream schools Carkeek et al (1994) found that immersion units had a high level of curriculum content emerging from a Māori world view, Māori language as the sole medium of instruction and high degrees of Māori input at the levels of governance, management and community support. While stopping short of saying these units led to better achievement for Māori girls they found that girls within these units were more confident in initiating interaction with the teacher and played a more active role in classroom life.

Methodologies and techniques in the secondary school setting

L. Webster and Tangaere (1992) reported on an intervention in a low socio-economically situated secondary school where "whānau classes" were established. These were classes at Year 9, 10 and 11 of the secondary school. Members of the classes had to opt in and accept certain conditions such as striving to work well, to be supportive of others and to uphold the values of whānaungatanga and tikanga Māori. Parents also had to agree to their child entering the unit. Curriculum within the unit appears to have been no different than any other group except that Māori language was compulsory. Two of the 11 teachers teaching in the unit were Māori. The unit tried to encourage more parental and family participation in school, tried to use preferred Māori methodologies such as more group work and less emphasis on individualism, more Māori language in everyday use and more Māori culture for children to identify positively within the classroom and in extra curricula activities.

Howe (1993), when talking to a group of secondary school teachers about his thoughts on how to best teach English to Māori students, discusses strategies and methodologies he has used successfully. He says, "As a practitioner … I like to remain student-centred and focus on the learning going on in the student's head". He claims that a teacher can remain student-centred by focusing on the relevance of the material being taught to the students' life experience, by allowing Māori students to be in the same classes together so that they can support each other and their Māori identity in "an environment which is basically hostile to their cultural needs and values" (p. 5). He also advises the importance of guided reflection by students on their learning processes. Like others, Howe emphasises the importance of group work and gives ideas about how it can best be organised in the teaching of writing. When choosing resources, Howe counsels a focus on allowing the students to choose books that are of interest to them rather than the teacher making these choices.

He summarises his talk in the following way:

> With the students I teach:
>
> - I try to keep the main focuses simple and few in number
> - I try to show them I care about them
> - I try to do the simple things well

- I keep them reflecting
- I emphasise processes
- I limit the number of products expected of them from each unit of work
- I talk with them rather than at them
- I demand high standards of them in their final products
- I emphasise group work
- I try to use what they know
- I try to stay interesting and relevant
- I keep making connections. (Howe, 1993, p. 22)

In an influential study which sought student opinions of best teaching practice, Bishop et al. (2003) developed a set of effective teacher dimensions which will be discussed more fully later on in this chapter. Bishop et al. go on to describe some methodologies that they see fit in with this these effective characteristics. They are:

- Narrative pedagogy
- Co-operative learning
- Formative assessment
- Student-generated questioning
- Oral language/Literacy across the curriculum
- Integrated curricula
- Critical reflection
- Ako
- Differentiated learning, i.e. matching strategies/materials to abilities and addressing learning styles. (pp. 112-113)

Methodologies and techniques in the tertiary setting

Despite best intentions when setting up their distance adult learning module, Zepke and Leach (2002) accepted criticisms from Māori students such as the reliance on large study guides as imposing a heavy reading burden on people who come from a predominantly oral culture, of practising adult learning principles without adequate consideration of learners'contexts, not taking account of difference, too much

reliance on individual as opposed to group work, too academic an emphasis in problem solving activities, and not enough face to face contact.

They attempted to resolve these issues by switching from a study guide to a video. While obviously reducing the reading burden the video also attempted to address other issues through its content and organisation. The most important being the safe introduction of Western pedagogies to an indigenous audience. They used three approaches in the video.

> We theorise a mentoring approach in which authoritative Māori interpret and guide learning of western constructs; an adoption approach where the teacher is part of, and teaching takes place within a Māori community, and a power sharing model where teachers and the community collaborate to address issues of significance to the community. (Zepke & Leach, 2002, p. 315)

Gorinski and Abernethy (2003) posit four aspects of the tertiary environment that need to change if higher completion and retention statistics for Māori are to be achieved. The first of these is a transformation of the curriculum so that Māori epistemologies are embedded. Secondly, teaching styles need to change to support more discursive teaching practices. Thirdly, the importance of the good relationships between the institution and the student by the provision of high quality support services offered within a discourse of rights rather than welfare, and teachers who respond to students as individuals and have high expectations of all learners and opportunities for students to work with other students in constructive ways.

Martin, McMurchy-Pilkington, and Martin (2004), teaching in a Māori immersion pre-service teacher education setting, surveyed their students about practices they used which were effective in preparing their students to teach in Māori immersion settings. In their discussion, Martin et al. (2004) say that the students identified good teaching practice including the use of second language learning techniques such as front loading and code switching. They recognised good lecturer characteristics such as being available for extra support and appreciated the environment being non-threatening and comfortable.

The question that arose for them was what made their practice different from that of their Pākehā colleagues in equivalent mainstream courses. This is because the practices they consciously followed and were commented positively upon by the students are arguably not unique. They posit that the difference is the juxtaposition of tikanga Māori (Māori customs and values) alongside pedagogical practice and use the flax plant as a model whereby the student is the centre shoot (te rito) and pedagogy and tikanga represent the outer leaves which nurture and protect the central shoot.

Ritchie (2003) reports on attempts made within an early childhood teacher education qualification to be more "bicultural" with particular emphasis on Māori. She describes the importance of content such as the history of colonisation from a Māori perspective and the Māori view of the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand's founding document, and the giving of equal status to Māori knowledge and perspectives as that given to mainstream knowledge considered important in the formation of early childhood teachers. She also talks about more "interactive teaching" and issues which could be characterised as focusing on relationships between staff and students, students and students and students and children. These include validation of emotions, recognising and valuing cultural and other differences, avoiding stereotyping and treating others as equal.

Towards a synthesis of teaching and learning methods

A synthesis of the literature review is difficult. A survey of teaching and learning methods described in the literature above reveals the following list:

- Ako (reciprocal teaching, e.g., Bishop, 2003a).
- Rote memorisation (e.g., Hemara, 2000).
- Look, listen, imitate (modelling, e.g., Hohepa, 1992; Metge, 1984; Royal-Tangaere, 1996).
- Storytelling (e.g., Metge, 1984).
- Tuakana/teina (e.g., Ka'ai, 1990).
- Routines (e.g., Hohepa, 1992).
- Prompts (e.g., Hohepa, 1992).
- Questioning (e.g., Hohepa, 1992; G. Smith, 1987).

- Scaffolding (e.g., Hohepa, 1992).
- Problem solving (e.g., Phillips et al., 2004).
- Cooperative teaching and learning (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003; Rubie et al., 2004).
- Song (e.g., Rubie et al., 2004).
- Dance (e.g., Rubie et al., 2004).
- Critical reflection (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003).
- Student-generated questioning (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003).
- Narrative pedagogy (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003).
- Literacy across curriculum (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003).
- Strategies matching abilities/needs (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003).
- Address learning styles (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003).
- Reflection (e.g., Howe, 1993).
- Student choice (e.g., Howe, 1993).
- Keep It Simple (e.g., Howe, 1993).
- Integration (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003; Howe, 1993; Pere, 1991; Ritchie, 2003).
- Collaboration (e.g., Zepke & Leach, 2002).
- Discursive practice (e.g., Gorinski & Abernethy, 2003).
- … and the list goes on …

It is difficult to discern any common themes or elements among this myriad. Indeed, competing discourses can be identified. For example, Metge (1984) describes what she calls three learning and teaching "strategies" that she observed being utilised in the Māori community where she worked as an ethnographer. One of the strategies, that of the "Whare Wānanga" or houses of learning were: "formal, occasional, clearly separated from everyday life, selective and exclusive" (p. 3). "Education through exposure", however, is "informal, semi continuous, embedded in the ongoing life of the community, open and inclusive" (p. 3; see also Patterson, 1992). This said, however, it would appear that the latter is the dominant discourse. A "traditionalist", "tabula rasa" or "banking" approach to education would seem inimical to what most of the literature on Māori pedagogy is saying. This is clearly expressed in Pere's (1991) "Te Wheke" and forms the basis of much of Bishop's theorising (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003), particularly when he speaks of narrative

pedagogy, integration and problem solving and student-generated questioning. Howe (1993) also speaks of student choice and Zepke and Leach (2002) of "collaboration".

There are, however, some broader concepts under which other ideas can be subsumed. Holism, for example, seems to be a major theme within the Māori pedagogy literature. The most common articulation of this is found in M. Durie's "Whare Tapawha" model, which has found its way into the New Zealand schools curriculum via the new curriculum statement for Health and Physical Education (M. Durie, 1994; Ministry of Education, 2002). In defining well being for Māori, M. Durie (1994) claims that the practitioner cannot focus on only one aspect of the person such as say, what is happening in their mind or what might be effecting their body. Using the meeting house as a metaphor he explains how, like the walls of a house holding up the roof, wellbeing cannot be attained if all the four factors of body, mind, spirit and social environment are not taken into account. Pere (1991) also talks of taking a holistic approach to the child and their education. In the educational context the concept of holism is embodied in the idea of integration. This is mentioned by Metge (1984) and Ritchie (2003) in some form and developed further by Bishop et al. (2003). It could also be argued that the myriad methodologies described above all cater for different aspects of the person. While most engage the mind, others such as singing and storytelling also engage the emotions and the spirit.

Reflection is another umbrella concept. Pere (e.g., Pere, 1991) and others (e.g., Howe, 1993) situate the learner at the centre of the teaching and learning activity. Bishop (2000) expands on how this might be made a reality by emphasising the importance of the learner being in control of the learning process or the construction of meaning. Bishop urges teachers to interact with students in such a way that new knowledge is co-created (see also Phillips et al., 2004). He references Lauritzen and Jaeger (1997), who state that one of their main beliefs about curriculum is that it "should be designed to embrace diversity of all kinds and should use the richness of each learner's prior knowledge and experience to the maximum benefit of the community of learners" (p. 27). According to Zepke and Leach (2002), reflection is the process which allows this to happen. They say: "reflection enables [the learner] to learn from their experience and prior knowledge. In this process the teacher is no longer the 'body of knowledge'. She becomes one of the many resources for the

learner to tap in to" (p. 18). Reflection is also fundamental to two major methodologies described in the literature – narration or storytelling (Bishop, 2001; Metge, 1984; Royal, 2003) and an activities-based or modelling approach (Hemara, 2000; Hohepa, 1992; Metge, 1984; Royal-Tangaere, 1996; G. Smith, 1987). The importance of reflection is also evidenced by the importance some writers attach to clear and effective feedback and assessment (Bishop et al., 2003; Rubie et al., 2004). Another aspect of placing the learner at the centre of the teaching/learning process is the emphasis in the literature on catering for the different ways people supposedly learn (Bishop et al., 2003; Cormack, 1997; Ritchie, 2003).

Another theme which seems to weave the myriad methodologies described above is a focus on the quality of the relationship between teacher and learner. Bishop and Glynn (1999) urge the educator to use "whānau" or family as a metaphor for relations in the classroom, and Ka'ai (1990) describes the relationships between kohanga workers and children as ones of "aroha" and "whānaungatanga". Certainly, if it is valid to extrapolate pedagogical principles from the informal socialisation of children as Hemara (2000) and others have done, then trying to model a pedagogy on the family must be fundamental since socialisation in pre-European times was in the main conducted within the immediate and extended family. Ritchie (2003) reports the avoidance of stereotypes, equal partnerships, validation of emotion and the valuing of cultural and other differences as important.

Perhaps a logical extension of this is the emphasis in the literature on any form of group work:

- Mixed ability grouping (e.g., Metge, 1984).
- Single ability grouping (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003).
- Discursive teaching (e.g., Gorinski & Abernethy, 2003).
- Interactive teaching (e.g., Ritchie, 2003).
- Co-construction through problem solving (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003; Phillips et al., 2004; Ritchie, 2003).
- Collaboration (e.g., Zepke & Leach, 2002).
- Cooperation (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003; Rubie et al., 2004).
- "Groups compete, individuals cooperate" (Cormack, 1997, p. 163).

Another related theme is the idea of reciprocal teaching where the learner and teacher swap roles, thereby blurring the distinction between teacher and learner (Bishop et al., 2003; Hemara, 2000; Hohepa, 1992; Ka'ai, 1990; Pihama et al., 2004; Royal-Tangaere, 1996; G. Smith, 1987).

We have then a picture of methodologies which are student-centred and assume a critical role for reflection. They are based on and require a high quality relationship between student and teacher such that the distinction between teacher and student is sometimes blurred and the most appropriate metaphor for the teaching learning environment is that of a family. There is a preponderance of group work in any form and learner differences in ability and learning style are consciously catered for. There is a sense also of the whole of the learner being engaged with methodologies and motivation techniques that engage not only the mind but also the emotions the spirit and the learner as a social being.

I also note, however, a strong sense of pragmatism in the literature. There is very much a sense in which methodologies are chosen for their appropriateness given the context and the subject matter even though they may at first seem to fall outside methodologies generated by the above summary. In this category are such things as rote learning (Hemara, 2000; Metge, 1984), learning at night and in the early morning (Hemara, 2000), exclusive enrolment practices (Hemara, 2000; Metge, 1984; Royal, 2003) and the use of anger as a motivation technique (Hemara, 2000). Also included here are the descriptions of the use of internationally utilised second language learning techniques such as those described by Hohepa (1992), Martin et al. (2004), and others.

Theories of student learning

There are very few explicit references in the literature to what might be the learning theories that underpin the above descriptions of commonly reported methodological practices.

All of these (e.g., Bishop, 2003a; Hemara, 2000; Royal-Tangaere, 1997) look to some form of constructivism and also enactivism for explanation. Bishop (e.g.,

Bishop, 2003a) recommends that teachers should interact with learners in such a way that new knowledge is co-created and that the learners culturally generated sense making processes are utilised and developed. Royal-Tangaere (1997) discusses Vygotsky's concept of "Zones of Proximal Development" whereby children learn a new skill or activity which then becomes internalised. Once that activity has been internalised they move on to a more complex activity and learn that until it becomes internalised. She parallels it with a Māori lattice weaving pattern called poutama. The pattern is a series of steps ascending to an apex rather like a pyriamid. Royal-Tangaere (1997) says:

> The poutama tells me that learning is a process which involves a period of time for the task or activity to be understood. This is represented by the plateaus in the poutama. During this period the process of titiro, whakarongo, kōrero (repeating, practising, sorting, analysing, experimenting and reviewing) is carried out until the task or activity is understood. Once this is accomplished, the learner ascends, like Tāne, to the next step. The poutama depicts the importance of the whānau assisting one another in that learning. (p. 48)

This assistance is termed "scaffolding" which can be defined as any form of "structured assistance" (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 77) which assists the child to have more and more control over the concept or skill being taught. As the child exhibits more and more control the scaffolds are slowly taken away. Royal-Tangaere (1997) emphasises the tuakana/teina or reciprocal teaching identified by other Kohanga Reo researchers such as Ka'ai (1990) and Hohepa (1992) in her discussion of scaffolding. In a similar vein, Hemara (2000) discusses the tohunga (expert) as "construct[ing] and directing" the learning by introducing signposts such as the names of ancestors, topographical features and metaphorical allusions in order to help the student understand a complex piece of tribal history through song.

Hemara (2000) also makes reference to "enactivism" whereby a teacher and learner "work on a common project – the simultaneous bringing forth of themselves and the world – even if their respective interpretations of their actions and experiences differ" (Davis, Sumara, & Kieren, 1996, cited in Hemara, 2000, p. 39). Enactivism is further explained by Barker (2001) as making the learner's experience the central

focus of learning. He says it might equally well be termed "experiential learning" or "phenomonographic learning". It involves consciously engaging with an experience in ways that are not only cognitive but also affective and spiritual. This theory of learning also "situates the learner within a nested series of successively wider interlinked contexts" (p. 54) (home, school, community, society, etc.). Learning can be seen as a series of mutual adaptations by both learner and their wider context. Biddulph and Carr (1999) further describe enactivism as viewing learning as experiential, evolutionary, reciprocal and co-emergent, non-linear, occasioned by the learner rather than the teacher and situated. Its most popular embodiments are environmental and adventure education. Biddulph and Carr say that there are a number of implications of enactivism for the teacher – they should see the learner as a whole biological person with feelings and a history of experiences and ideas which impact on the person learning. Co-operative rather than competitive learning opportunities need to be arranged, perhaps by turning classrooms into "communities of learners". What learning occurs cannot be predicted and so the teacher should listen carefully to their students (Biddulph & Carr, 1999).

Other commonly cited theories of learning such as Behaviourism and Developmental and Humanistic Learning theories appear to be absent from discussions of Māori learning and teaching. This possibly has more to do with factors external to their explanatory efficacy. This is probably particularly the case for Behaviourism with its emphasis on (Pākehā) teacher control of all learning processes, its hierarchical approach to knowledge and its association with testing and external examinations which have so disadvantaged Māori in the past (Hood, 1998) and with the New Zealand colonial education system as a whole up until at least the 1960s (Barker, 2001). As described in the Introduction to this thesis, this system has been the subject of intense Māori criticism. It has been argued that its colonial and Euro-centric character has been disempowering and marginalising for Māori students and is the major cause of low Māori educational achievement in comparison with other ethnic groups. Any theory of learning strongly associated with that system is bound therefore to be viewed negatively. Indeed a comment from one of the research particpants of this study is probably typical. Speaking of the current education system they say:

> "It can only benefit Māori and non-Māori children even more until that generation of behaviourist teachers are well and truly retired." (A & B 16.8.08 p4)

With Developmental and Humanistic theories, Bruner's critique of the lone child struggling single handedly against the world (cited in Biddulph & Carr, 1999) has possibly also struck a chord with many Māori educators when constrasted with Vygotsky's emphasis of the child in a social context and the cultural primacy of "whānau" and "whakapapa" as described above.

Other teaching behaviours and characteristics

There are a number of lists within the literature of the characteristics of a good teacher, for example Hattie (2002), Howe (1993), Nuthall (2002), or the *Interim Framework of Professional Standards for Teachers* (in New Zealand Educational Institute, 2007), that are used within the New Zealand compulsory schools sector to attest teachers. Chickering and Gamson (1987) provide a similar list specifically for tertiary education. All these are systematically developed and comprehensive. Of these, however, only Howe's (1993) list was based on work with Māori. In their influential study, Bishop et al. (2003) have outlined six dimensions of the effective teacher. The dimensions were developed mainly from interviews with Māori students as to the characteristics of effective teachers, supporting this with material from interviews with parents, principals and teachers and then synthesising it with the results of similar studies.

The six dimensions are:

> 1) Manaakitanga: They care for the students as culturally-located human beings above all else.
>
> *(Mana refers to authority and aki, the task of urging some one to act. It refers to the task of building and nurturing a supportive and loving environment).*
>
> 2) Mana motuhake: They care for the performance of their students.
>
> *(In modern times mana has taken on various meanings such as legitimation and authority and can also relate to an individual's or a group's ability to participate at the local and global level. Mana motuhake involves the development of personal or group identity and independence).*

> 3) Ngā tūrango [sic] takitahi me ngā mana whakahaere: They are able to create a secure, well-managed learning environment.
>
> *(Ngā tūranga takitahi me nga mana whakahaere: involves specific individual roles and responsibilities that are required in order to achieve individual and group outcomes).*
>
> 4) Wānanga: They are able to engage in effective teaching interactions with Māori students as Māori.
>
> *(As well as being known as Māori centres of learning wānanga as a learning forum involves a rich and dynamic sharing of knowledge. With this exchange of views ideas are given life and spirit through dialogue, debate and careful consideration in order to reshape and accommodate new knowledge).*
>
> 5) Ako: They can use strategies that promote effective teaching interactions and relationships with their learners.
>
> *(Ako means to learn as well as to teach. It is both the acquisition of knowledge and the processing and imparting of knowledge. More importantly ako is a teaching-learning practice that is culturally specific and appropriate to Māori pedagogy).*
>
> 6) Kotahitanga: They promote, monitor and reflect on outcomes that in turn lead to improvements in educational achievement for Māori students.
>
> *(Kotahitanga is a collaborative response towards a commonly held vision, goal or other such purpose or outcome).* (Bishop et al., 2003, p. 108)

Howe (1993), when speaking to a conference of secondary school teachers of English on how best to teach Māori students, also lists teacher characteristics gathered in a similar way to Bishop et al. (2003). That is, he asked students about effective teachers they had had. His list is organised under affective (self confident, care, love, trust for learners, etc.), Cognitive (wants to be up to date, etc.), Technical (has a research orientation, varies resources, etc.).

The context and organisation of learning – the learning environment

Most writers when discussing the learning environment talk about more than just the physical environment.

At a macro level, Royal-Tangaere (1997) refers to Bronfennbrener in acknowledging the effect of the child's family and immediate social environment moving out to wider society and culture. She then takes Rose Pere's wheke (1991, see Figure 3) and

says that the cultural concepts, values, institutions, customs and practices described by Pere should be a part of the child's immediate and wider environment. Bishop et al. (2003), when talking about "Ngā Tūranga Takitahi me ngā Mana Whakahaere: Creating a Secure and Well-managed Learning Setting (i.e., Management Issues)", provide the following list:

> Effective teachers of Māori students demonstrate on a daily basis that they can create and maintain a secure, well-managed learning setting by:
>
> - having a clear and negotiated set of rules and consequences for quality behaviour and relationships (Hawk & Hill, 2000, 6.1, 6.2)
> - stressing the importance of respectful relationships (no put-downs) (Bishop et al., 2001b)
> - having excellent classroom management (Bishop et al., 2001b)
> - using non-confrontational classroom management strategies (Bishop et al., 2001b)
> - having a clean, tidy, organised room (Hawk & Hill, 2000)
> - inviting whānau to be involved at a variety of levels (Bishop et al., 2000b)
> - seeing their classroom as part of the whole school (Hawk & Hill, 2000, 3.7)
> - ensuring that lessons are well-planned and structured (Hawk & Hill, 2000). (p. 106)

When canvassing their students in a pre-service teacher training programme, Martin et al. (2004) found that students appreciated an open door policy for the discussion of issues and concerns, after class assistance and wānanga to address areas of learning not well understood.

To the above Cormack (1997) adds:

- Readily identify and affirm things Māori.
- Allow Māori issues to be openly discussed in class
- Allow students choice as to whether to identify as Māori
- Continually work at developing teacher-student rapport
- Use humour …

- Challenge Māori students to achieve
- Recognise and confirm individual as well as cultural differences
- Deliver the curriculum in a way that is socially and culturally relevant
- Use Māori imagery, models, practices and tikanga to illustrate points. (p. 167)

When it comes to the physical environment, both Rubie et al. (2004) and Webster and Tangaere (1992) have shown positive effects particularly in terms of self esteem from "culturally responsive" interventions in which valued elements of culture such as performance and visual arts are highly visible and are important elements of the curriculum and Bishop et al. (2003, p. 106) list "having a clean, tidy, organised room" as an essential element for an effective teacher of Māori students.

Curriculum

Many definitions of curriculum (e.g., McGee, 2001) emphasise curriculum as a didactic tool which, when properly developed and organised, enhances teaching and learning. Such definitions mask the fact that curriculum is fundamentally about cultural reproduction. Thaman (1993) on the other hand, following Lawton (1975, cited in Thaman, 1993), defines curriculum as:

> Selection from the culture of a society, of aspects which are regarded as so valuable that their survival is not left to chance but is entrusted to teachers for expert transmission to the young. (p. 249)

Whoever has control therefore over curriculum development has a massive impact on cultural reproduction and therefore also cultural degradation.

Three periods in Māori history can be delineated with regard to curriculum. Prior to the introduction of Pākehā schools Māori had complete control over curriculum in their own socialisation and educative institutions (Hemara, 2000). Between 1879 and 1982, while Māori were in no way passive in education or in curriculum struggles (e.g., Jenkins & Matthews, 1999; Royal, 2003), power over curriculum decision making was, in the main, in the hands of the settler and colonial governments

(Bishop & Glynn, 1999). This period was dominated by policies of assimilation and integration (e.g., Bishop & Glynn, 1999; G. Smith, 1997). Since these policies assumed Māori were best served by becoming completely part of the European mainstream they did not leave room for anything other than State control over most curriculum decision making. A demand for equality of education outcomes in the 1980s saw a waning commitment to these policies (e.g., Bell, Jones, & Carr, 1995; McGee, 1997; Stewart, 2005), and the first Māori language pre-school (Kohanga Reo) was established at this time (A. Durie, 1998), as well as bilingual schools and tribal wānanga (R. Walker, 2004). The 1990s, however, saw an increase in the influence of "New Right" policies in education (see citations above). This brought a change in focus from equality to a concern that education contributed to economic development. Hallmarks of these policies within education include:

- A focus on inputs producing outputs.
- A reduction in bureaucracy and a move towards the contracting of services.
- Ideas of parental choice and parent as customer and consumer.
- A focus on education to produce a highly skilled workforce to enable New Zealand to compete in a global economy (following Bell et al., 1995).

It would appear that this new policy emphasis along with other changes in New Zealand society has been of advantage to Māori education (cf. Harrison & Papa, 2005; Wood & Lewthwaite, 2008). According to G. Smith (1997), the New Right critique of the current system coincided with an increasingly strident Māori critique, most notably his own, and indeed many parts of the New Right agenda actually aligned with Māori aspirations though for vastly different reasons. It should not be forgotten that there was also a strong liberal critique of the current system (cf. Hood, 1998). The combination of these forces saw the increased development of separate Māori pre-school, school and tertiary sectors and a national curriculum to go along with these.

G. Smith (2000) sets out the major objectives for a Māori curriculum as being the revival of the language and culture, while in a speech whose contents have become a part of government policy (Tertiary Education Commission, 2004), M. Durie (2001) outlined them as being to:

- Live as Māori.
- To actively participate as international citizens of the world.
- Enjoy good health and a high standard of living.

L. Smith (1992a) showed how the realisation of these objectives is not as easy at it sounds. In 1992 she set out some of the challenges that faced Māori immersion schools at the initial stages. These included:

- How to deal with essentially mainstream traditions that have become in some way embedded in Māori culture, for example, Christian prayer as an expression of the importance that Māori place on the spiritual dimension.
- The need to select what traditional knowledge is still relevant in an age of computers and video games and leave out that which has lost its significance.
- How to interpret Māori skills and knowledge to the students, for example, Māori archeological artefacts as "tāonga tuku iho" (ancestral treasures) or as "art" or as both.
- The danger of teaching about a golden past that never really existed and definitely no longer exists today.
- The danger of limiting student's opportunities to participate in the world of today, for example, not allowing students to learn how to read and write in English.
- The danger of trying to fuse two different knowledge traditions to the disadvantage of both, for example, in the area of science.
- High levels of suspicion towards mainstream education leading to ignoring lessons that could be learnt. (According to L. Smith (1992a) this was particularly the case in the early 1990s in the area of assessment.)

It would seem that in the intervening 20 years, progress in each of the areas outlined by L. Smith (1992a) has been slow.

The first iteration of the national Māori curriculum statements produced during the 1990s have been criticised for being little more than translations of the equivalent English language mainstream documents (e.g., Barton & Fairhall, 2003; McKinley & Waiti, 1995). Barton and Fairhall (2003) express an intense angst that their work on a

mathematics curriculum for Māori medium education is simply a "Trojan Horse" which will serve to further erode Māori culture, and Stewart (2005) reports no real resolution on how to treat "science" in a Māori medium curriculum. The only positive element these writers comment upon is in the area of the reinvigoration of the Māori language but even this is problematic for Stewart who wonders what the real effects of translating abstruse scientific terms at the senior secondary level might be and how far these terms will become part of the Māori lexicon. Other criticisms of the documents of the 1990s have included:

- Too much new vocabulary for teachers to be able to access the documents easily.
- Too many objectives leading to a crowded curriculum.
- Not responsive enough to the individual needs of schools and their communities.

A second iteration has just been completed and is being trialled in schools currently, (Te Tāhūhū o te Mātauranga, 2008). Only time will tell whether the challenges described above have been answered in this new document, though that appears to be the intention (Ministry of Education, 2004).

Changes wrought by new policy and new thinking that affected the schools sector also led to major changes in the tertiary sector in the area of Māori curriculum. Reflecting international trends (e.g., Strathdee, 2003) a new qualifications assessment and accreditation system was set up in the early 1990s called the New Zealand Qualifications Authority, Te Mana Tohu Mātauranga (NZQA). This body is a repository for knowledge and skills set out as unit standards or achievement standards such that any education provider with the appropriate accreditation can access these units and develop courses of study and qualifications utilising them. New units are being added to the Framework every year and old ones revised. The Framework is divided into 17 "Fields" of knowledge and one of these is "Field Māori". The exact number of qualifications in Field Māori is somewhat unclear. A review undertaken by the Tertiary Education Commission in 2006 (Kingsbury, 2006) refers to 30 qualifications, whereas the current NZQA website (www.nzqa.govt.nz) claims there are only "over a dozen" qualifications and 600 unit standards. The qualifications include the following:

- Governance of Māori Authorities (Level 3)
- Hauora (Māori Health) (Level 4)
- Māori (Te Ngutu Awa) (Level 4)
- Māori (Te Waharoa) (Level 2)
- Māori Business and Management
- Māori Performing Arts (Performance) (Level 4)
- Marae Catering (Level 2)
- Nga Mahi a te Whare Pora (Pae Tuatahi) (Level 2)
- Nga Mahi a te Whare Pora (Pae Tuarua) (Level 4)
- Reo Māori (Level 4)
- Reo Māori Media (Introductory Media Skills). (Kingsbury, 2006, p. 134)

There are also qualifications which could be considered to be Māori but were registered in other Fields on the framework for example a qualification in Māori social work (Kingsbury, 2006).

According to the review team (Kingsbury, 2006), issues facing NZQA include:

- The need for strong pathways and staircasing with both other Field Māori qualifications and mainstream qualifications.
- The problem of Māori qualifications which are designed to have no relationship at all with mainstream qualifications.
- The problem of mainstream providers not applying cross crediting processes consistently to Māori qualifications for students requesting credit transfer.
- Māori qualifications not getting the recognition they deserve.

For its own part, the NZQA has recently developed a set of criteria for assessing the quality of Māori qualifications from within a Māori cultural framework called "Māori Qual" and are developing the same for assuring the quality of providers of such qualifications (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2007).

It is beyond the scope of this review to survey the development and dissemination of Māori knowledge in institutions such as universities who do not utilise the National

Qualifications Framework described above, though the government bureaucracy that oversees the entire tertiary sector – the Tertiary Education Commission – appears in its documentation (e.g., Tertiary Education Commission, 2008) to be committed to continuing the development of Māori knowledge at the current level. Also, reports on the commitment of universities to Māori knowledge (e.g., R. Walker, 2004) are generally positive.

While the picture painted above seems to point to an increasing acknowledgement of the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge in Aotearoa/New Zealand society, G. Smith (1997) cautions strongly that it can also be interpreted as a commodification of Māori knowledge which can then be appropriated by Pākehā to their benefit at the expense of Māori. This is particularly the case given that the NZQA is a State bureaucracy.

In summary then, at a macro level there has been increasing Māori control since the 1990s which has brought about significant progress in re-establishing Māori curricula in all sectors of education. There are ongoing issues, however, such as:

- The continued heavy influence of mainstream priorities.
- Definitions and delineations such as "Māori science" and what this includes.
- What traditional knowledge to include and what to leave out as being no longer of significance.
- The development of new knowledge being still only in its infancy.
- Ongoing issues of quality in the tertiary sector around pathways, staircasing and culturally appropriate quality assurance.
- The danger of misappropriation of Māori cultural and intellectual capital brought about by processes of commodification.

At a micro level, the following sets out the course schedule for one of the programmes upon which research participants taught. These clearly point to the level of overt Māori content and language in the qualification:

Module One – Nga tikanga kōrerorero/Communication in Practice
Module Two – Nga āria ako o te ao whānui/Education in Context
Module Three – Te Papa Whakawhitiwhiti/Education & Politics

Module Four – Ako (1)/Teaching & Learning Methods
Module Five – Aromatawai/Assessment
Module Six – Ako (2)/Professional Practice

Elective Module 1 (Level 5) – He Āhuatanga Māori/Ahuatanga Māori in Practice
Elective Module 2 (Level 5) – Te Hanga Marau/Curriculum Design
Elective Module 3 (Level 5) – Rangahau/Research
Elective Module 1 (Level 6) – He Āhuatanga Māori/Ahuatanga Māori in Practice
Elective Module 2 (Level 6) – Rangahau
Elective Module 3 (Level 6) – He Kāwai Manukura/Educational Leadership in action. (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2008a, p. 33)

Students are required to complete six compulsory modules and two of the elective modules from either level (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2008a, p. 34).

The discussion of the conceptual framework of the programme is wide ranging and covers a number of what are termed "principles". These principles are:

- Theoretical framework (He Waka Tangata, He Waka Mātauranga);
- Organisation Structural Framework (Te Waka Hourua);
- Organisational/Programme Values (Aroha, awhi, tautoko, etc.);
- Concepts Underpinning the programme (Poutama, Tuakana/Teina, Tauira, and ako);
- Programme Themes (Critical & Analytical Thinking, Worldviews & Disciplines);
- Learning Progressions (Hau awhioawhio & Bloom's Taxonomy);
- Programme Structure (Poutokomanawa, Pou Tuarongo & Pou te wharaua). (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2008a, p. 25)

Each of the above principles and the terms used within them are carefully and normally extensively defined in the surrounding text. For example, the structure of the qualification has been likened to the support pillars of a wharenui (Māori meeting

house) where the compulsory modules form the two main pillars of the house and the elective modules form a secondary support pillar (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2008a, p. 34). Another interpretation of the programme, set out in the same section sees it as a woven mat or cloak which appears to require the student to at first look at themselves, then at their own community, then the wider community of the students they are studying with and then the wider world. The warp of the mat are "ako", "tikanga whakaako", "kawa" and "pou". The weft are "personalised learning, the internal self", "critical and analytical thinking", "world views" and "disciplines". The diagram is littered with other terms such as "ways of knowing", "ways of doing"' "ways of becoming" and "ways of being", "kotahitanga", "hūmarietanga", "tau mai, tau atu", and "whanaungatanga" (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2008a, p. 40). A second perspective on the above shows the student reflecting on where they have come from and combining it with what they know now to enhance their "rangatiratanga" which is defined as "historical prestige" (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2008a, p. 39).

Given the number of Māori terms and concepts used the theoretical underpinnings obviously emerge from a Māori perspective. Even the presentation, which is almost collage like, also perhaps reflects a Māori approach to the construction of such a document whereby there is a reluctance to change or subsume a contribution any one person has made and so it is included as a whole.

Upon taking a more detailed look at each module in terms of Learning Outcomes, Performance Criteria and learning resources each module varies considerably in the mixture of Māori and non-Māori content. Unfortunately, in most cases, there is no way of knowing why some things were included and others not. For example the learning theories students appear to be required to study include "socio-cultural", "ecological", "developmental" and "indigenous" theories (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2008a, p. 52). No rationale is given as to why these theories have been included and others left out. No required readings are given for these theories though the following note occurs in the assessment schedule:

> Socio-cultural e.g. Rogoff & Pere
> Ecological e.g. Bronfenbrenner & McFarlane
> Developmental e.g. Maslow, Tangaere-Royal

> Indigenous e.g. Marsden & Meyer. (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2008a, p. 54)

The second recommended author for each of the socio-cultural, ecological and developmental theories are Māori authors. One of the authors recommended under indigenous theories of learning is Māori, the other Hawaian, however both these tend to be known more for their writings on world view and epistemology rather than learning theory.

Knowledge of the curriculum development process for the document could give insights as to what was left out and what was not and why but the description given for the above qualification is little more than a list of meeting dates. It is interesting to note, however, that it appears to be largely internally developed with only one mention of document review external to the institution before submission for accreditation to the New Zealand Qualifications Authority described above. This implies a large degree of institutional autonomy over the design and content of this particular qualification. The development of the Korowai Ākonga Bachelor of Teaching (Primary) is given in far more detail in its programme documentation (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2008b). While much of the work was done internally the descriptions given point to the heavy influence of both the New Zealand Teachers Council (NZTC) and the New Zealand Qualifications Authority who required the qualification to be developed according to their templates. The influence of an "external monitor" required by NZQA and NZTC but chosen by TWoA is also quite pervasive with input at both the structural level and the level of the individual papers within the degree.

At a micro level then document analysis indicates a high level of Māori content in the programmes upon which the research participants teach. Document analysis is unable to show whether this is an appropriate amount or whether mainstream priorities and expectations still hold sway in the minds of the developers. There appears to be a high level of institutional autonomy in the development of curriculum, given reported descriptions of the development process, but still within broad guidelines dictated by the State.

Conclusion

The picture presented above is large and complex. Given the nature of the undertaking, i.e., to describe a Māori pedagogy from the literature using a model that acknowledges the profound effect of the wider socio-political and cultural context within which any pedagogy is situated, this is unsurprising.

Without wishing to, at best, over simplify or, at worst, reify the discussion above, a return to Figure 2, this time filled in with what a Māori pedagogy might look like, seems appropriate (see Figure 4).

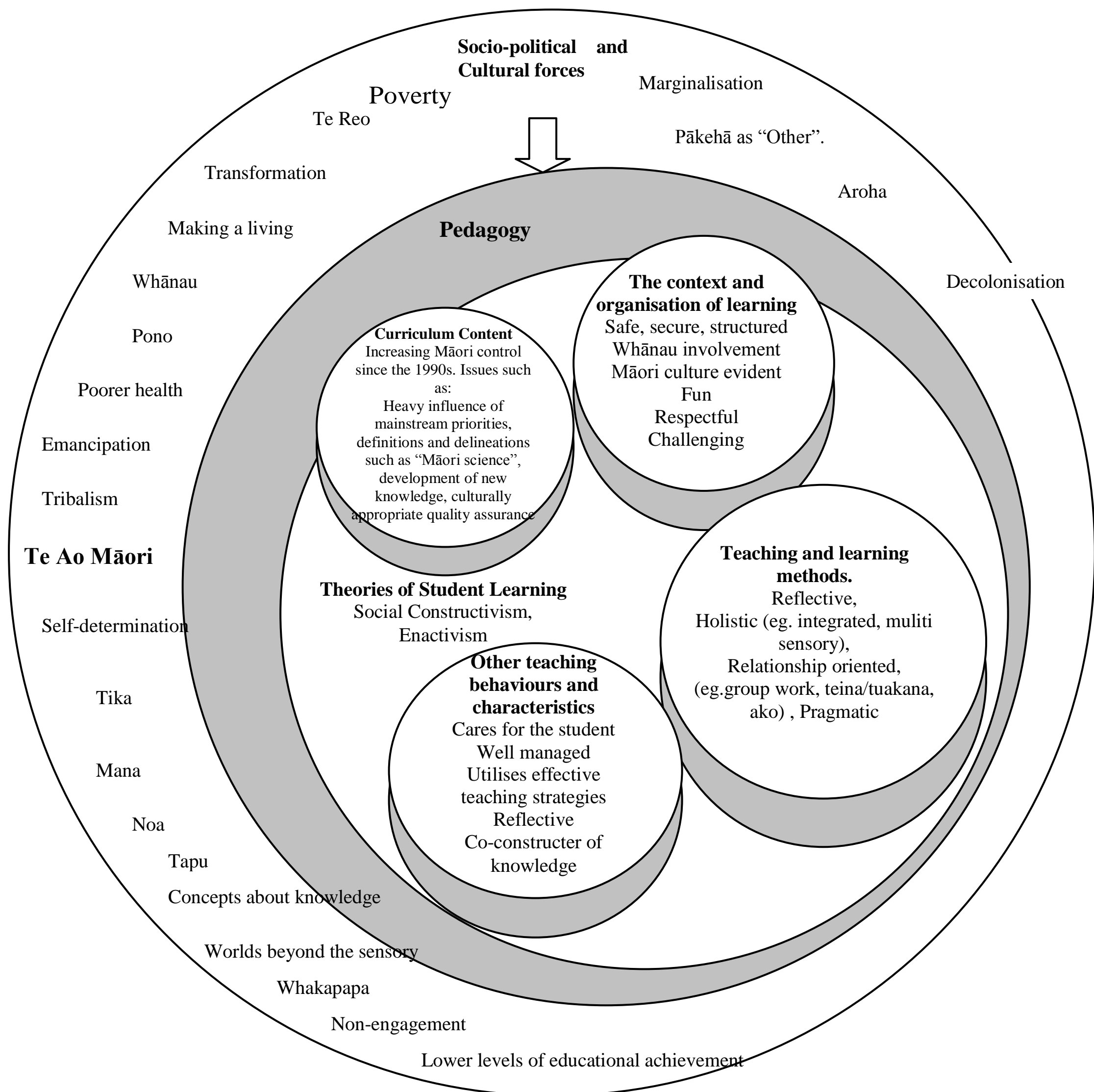

Figure 4: A Māori pedagogy informed by the literature

Methodology

Rurea taitea, kia tū ko taikākā anake (Mead & Grove, 2007). Cast aside the sapwood and let the heartwood stand alone. Get to the heart of the matter.

Overview of the Chapter

The field of qualitative enquiry is so vast that Denzin and Lincoln (2000) describe it as a field of enquiry in its own right. They make sense of the field, however, by providing a conceptual framework of the research process divided up into five phases.

These phases are:

- Theoretical paradigms and perspectives.
- Research strategies.
- Methods of collection and analysis.
- The researcher as a multicultural subject.
- The art, practices and politics of interpretation and presentation.

My discussion of methodological considerations will cover these phases as outlined by Denzin and Lincoln (2000). Within this discussion there is a need to describe historical issues with regard to research and Māori because the search for an appropriate methodology must take these issues into account. Taking these and other ethical considerations into account considerably narrows the options in searching for an appropriate theoretical paradigm and methodology. Kaupapa Māori as a "local approach" (L. Smith, 1999) to Critical Theory has been chosen, because, in contrast to other approaches, it attempts to centre power for the generation of the narrative not solely with the researcher but with all those involved in the project. Emerging from the paradigmatic discussions Kaupapa Māori and Narrative Enquiry are described in terms of methodology and strategy. The setting and the participants are then introduced and methods of data collection and analysis are described.

Theoretical Paradigms and Perspectives

Historical issues

The history of research and Māori is a tortured one. Critique has centred on two major issues.

Differing perspectives on knowledge

Stokes (1992), one of the first to write about the problematic nature of "research" for Māori, asserts that one of the historical discourses within the Western Academy is that knowledge should be publicly available to all, that academics have a "divine right" to know and that it is therefore within anyone's rights to enter the Māori world "and ferret out interesting information which is then reorganised and published for the edification of the world" (p. 8). It was this discourse which led to a plethora of anthropological work on Māori in the early 19th and 20th centuries, including that of authors such as Best, Grey, Smith, White, and others. To Māori however, knowledge was never universally available (L. Smith, 1992b). Knowledge was specialised and different people were specialists in different areas but all contributed to the well being of the whole so that there were those who had special knowledge to do with genealogy, tribal history and the spiritual realm and there were those who had knowledge of different food gathering techniques, etc. While knowledge is highly valued in both societies, it is valued in different ways (Stokes, 1992). These differing ideas about knowledge led in many cases to Māori providing answers to researcher inquiries which they thought the researcher wanted, polite non-cooperation or in a small number of cases the provision of misinformation.

There have also been a number of famous examples of Pākehā researchers distorting Māori knowledge to fit pre-conceived frameworks or worldviews. The best known example of this is the "great migration" myth developed by Elsdon Best and Percy Smith, two ethnographers of the 19th Century. They toured the country collecting origin stories from various tribal groups and noticed that most referred back to a founding canoe migrating from an ancestral homeland in the Pacific. Despite the fact that the genealogical data that surrounded these stories indicated that the canoes must have come out at widely different times, Smith and Best developed a far more romantic tale about how Māori came out together in a great migration of seven large

canoes. This myth, while long debunked in academic circles nevertheless continues to be true in the popular mind (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Stokes, 1992). Equally misguided was Edward Tregear's proposition in 1885, arrived at through comparing language and myth that Māori were Aryans who came to New Zealand as part of a great early migration. The present colonisation of New Zealand by Europeans represented the reconnection of one people (Hansen, 1989). According to Hansen (1989), both the great migration myth and the Aryan myth emerged from contemporary theories of dispersal from a few great cradles of civilisation. These myths also supported government policies of the time around assimilation of Māori into Settler society by making the idea more palatable to the Settlers. Stokes (1992), on the other hand, describes these myths as the Western impetus to categorise, label and provide a chronology for things in contrast to a more Māori conception of knowledge as holistic, with the past being part of the present and the future.

Colonial legacies and the new imperialism

L. Smith (1999) charts the historical colonisation of indigenous peoples, Māori in particular, in her book *Decolonising Methodologies*. Following Said and Fanon, she describes the Western conceptualisation of indigenous peoples as "Other". Fundamental to this conceptualisation was the perception of the "Other" as in every way inferior. "Research" of the colonial era, normally served only to reinforce this idea. An oft cited example is the measuring of the volume of Māori skulls in order to show that Māori had less mental capacity than Europeans. The method utilised was to acquire empty skulls and fill them with millet seed. Another example is the discourse of social Darwinism which held that Māori population decline during the period 1850-1920 – now explained through the impact of introduced disease and other material factors such as land confiscation – was in fact caused by the fundamental weakness of the Māori race in comparison with Europeans. The lack of fecundity in Māori woman could be put down to factors such as licentiousness, infanticide and the feelings of hopelessness brought on by contact with "civilisation". A related colonial discourse was expressed in the phrase "the Māori problem" and what could be done about it. Both L. Smith (1999) and Shields et al. (2005) argue that particular forms of current research, that is, research that appears to depict Māori or Māori culture as problematic in some way, are the modern legacy of this colonial discourse. Curtis (1992) quotes Dewes:

> I am sick and tired of my people being blamed for their educational and social shortcomings, their limitations highlighted and their obvious strengths of being privileged New Zealanders in being bilingual and bicultural ignored. … Every day such children are discriminated against. Their privileged status is treated as a social and educational handicap, their lack of progress in English and other subjects is never recognised as being the fault of unskilled teachers of English. (Dewes, 1968, cited in Curtis, 1992, p. 48)

Such a sentiment characterises a "deficit" approach to thinking about minority groupings. Shields et al. (2005) assert that research of the "family resource" type in relation to Māori educational achievement (described previously) is of this type. They conclude:

> In effect, this legacy of the colonial discourse has led to a self fulfilling prophecy for Māori and non-Māori alike … what remains is that deficit thinking is a form of oppression, that is, 'the cruel and unjust use of authority and power to keep a group of people in their place'. (p. 72)

L. Smith (1999) describes other research in the modern era, which, while not a part of the colonial legacy, are a modern form of imperialism in that they seek to disempower Māori and empower others over them. Her examples include the patenting of genomes, the farming of umbilical cord blood from aborted foetuses, the patenting of indigenous rituals, art and institutions by non-indigenous people, and the commodification of indigenous spirituality.

Culpitt (1995) also reports on Māori dissatisfaction with historical research in the social welfare area. He cites critique of research that while identifying Māori disadvantage led to no mitigation of that disadvantage indeed having virtually no benefit apart from gaining credentials for the researcher. In like manner research which simply describes that which is already known helps no one. Other Māori communities describe being used as "guinea pigs" by people wanting to test their theories and others that became over researched again for little or no perceived benefit. Similar to Shields et al. (2005) and L. Smith (1999), Culpitt (1995, p. 249) talks of research and needs assessment in the social welfare area that was

"determinedly mono cultural", did not reflect the perceptions of Māori as to their problems and needs and therefore maintained institutional and structural racism.

The non-Māori researcher

The above critiques have, in the main, been aimed at researchers external to Māori culture and society and from the culture that has colonised Māori since 1840, i.e., Pākehā researchers. Since I am also a Pākehā wishing to do research within Māoridom it seems appropriate to discuss this issue.

The first question has to be whether it is appropriate at all for a non-Māori to research a Māori community, secondly, if so, how does the non-Māori researcher avoid the pitfalls described above. Powick (2003) has surveyed the small body of literature on research ethics in a Māori context. She cites Linda Smith (1992b), but also Te Awekotuku (1991), who indicates that it might be acceptable if the researcher has a requisite level of cultural capital, Bishop (1996), who indicates that under the Treaty of Waitangi principle of partnership non-Māori cannot exclude themselves or be excluded, and Tolich (2001), who indicates that so long as the non-Māori researcher is aware of issues of cultural safety then it is acceptable. Linda Smith (1999), in her influential book, *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, which was written seven years after the publication cited in Powick (2003), does not appear to have changed her mind in allowing the possibility that non-Māori can still appropriately research in a Māori context though her reasons are different. She asks the question, "Can a non-indigenous researcher carry out Kaupapa Māori research?" And answers, "Perhaps … a non-indigenous, non-Māori person can be involved in Kaupapa Māori research but not on their own, and if they were involved in such research, they would have ways of positioning themselves as a non-indigenous person" (L. Smith, 1999, p. 184). Later on in the same chapter but in the context of a different discussion she repeats again that those who are not Māori are not precluded from participating in research that has a Kaupapa Māori orientation.

Graham Smith (1992) then, suggests four strategies for the non-Māori researcher. The first strategy is the "take" or mentor model which is where a credible and respected mentor from within the community guides the researcher. He cites James

Ritchie and his relationship with Robert Mahuta of Waikato as such a person. The second is the "whāngai" or adoption model where the non-Māori researcher is so involved in the Māori community being studied that they are not regarded as an outsider. He cites Anne Salmond as an example of such a researcher. The power-sharing model is where researchers seek the assistance of the community to meaningfully support the research. He cites Courtney Cazden's research as an example of this type. Finally there is the type of research that aligns with Māori research agendas and is designed to benefit Māori first and foremost. He cites research by Richard Harker as being of this type. Interestingly, Irwin (1992), a Māori, expressed a similar range of concerns for her own doctoral research. She was concerned that her supervisory team had appropriate Māori membership and operated as a "whānau," that she could show her research participants that she had appropriate levels of Māori knowledge, that her research empowered those who participated in the research and that her research aligned with Māori agendas to the extent that she was confident she had a mandate to do the research.

It is my hope that this project utilises all of Smith's strategies. Massey University has moved to fulfill the first strategy through the provision of appropriate supervision. While not claiming to be an "insider", I am immersed in the Māori educational community and am accountable to it on a daily basis both professionally and privately. Thirdly, the research strategy I utilise, described below, is a power sharing model and finally it is my belief that there will be little criticism amongst the wider Māori community of the contention that the project itself aligns well with wider Māori research agendas in education.

Other ethical considerations

Other ethical considerations when researching in a Māori context as surveyed by Powick (2003) include:

<u>Informed consent:</u> this is problematic only if the research participants are unidentifiable, such as in survey research. It has not been an issue with this particular research project since it involves a series of face to face meetings that require signed consent under both Massey and TWoA ethics guidelines. (See Appendices for a copy of the consent form that was signed by all participants before interviews began.)

Māori values: a research project should not compromise Māori values. The ethical approval policy for the Wānanga sets out a number of values by which a project will be judged.

These are: Tino rangatiratanga defined as "absolute integrity", te whakakoha rangatiratanga or "respectful relationships", āhurutanga or "safe space", mauri ora or "well-being", kaitiakitanga or "responsible stewardship", and taukumekume or "positive and negative tension" (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2004b).

Since this project has gained formal approval from Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (see Appendices), it is assumed therefore that the institution sees no conflicts between the project and its own stated values.

Accountability: Powick (2003) says that accountability requires ongoing consultation with the community where the research takes place, the regular provision of drafts for feedback and full acknowledgement of participants in the final report. Consultation occurred in this study through the submission of the project to TWoA for approval by their research and ethics body. Also, a draft version of the results and discussion was sent to the research participants for feedback before this final report was written. Acknowledgement of the central role of the research participants in this project has occurred mainly via the formal acknowledgement and mihi at the beginning of the report. This is necessarily limited because of the need to maintain their confidentiality.

Participatory Approach: For Powick (2003), this involves consultation with the other participants on the research questions and methodology. There was no consultation on the research questions with the participants before the research began or on the methodology. Doctoral regulations, including the need for ethics approval prior to contact with participants prevent researchers from involving participants in the initial conception of the research and the development of the research questions. However, the research can still be described as participatory in that there was extensive opportunity for the research participants to reinterpret and reconstuct questions and answers over two interviews and the submission of draft chapters for feedback.

While politeness precluded anyone issuing a direct "No you got that wrong", there are any number of instances of this occurring within the transcripts. The following examples are typical:

> [Myself] One of the people I have listened to has said their thing is to engage Māori children and enrich the lives of others – does that sum it up for you guys as well, or something similar to that?
>
> Maybe engage all children – enrich all children. Not just Māori. (A & B, 16/8/08, p. 45-46)

Or:

> [Research participant] You know I've seen tuakana/teina being talked about as collaboration and I've seen it being spoken about as co-construction. What's your understanding of tuakana/teina.
>
> [Myself] It's pretty shallow really. Mixed ability grouping – that's tuakana/teina for me.
>
> [Research participant] I would call it collaboration – co-operation and co-construction.

Powick (2003) also talks about the development of a research partnership of trust that has no hierarchies and a commitment by the researcher to the empowerment of Māori, not themselves. This parallels Bishop and Glynn's (1999, p. 175) idea that the researcher will be involved "somatically" with the community where they are researching, i.e., not merely involved for the purposes of intellectual enquiry. Because the Māori education community is a small one and Māori teacher education even smaller, I believe I can lay claim to having this somatic involvement both as an ex employee of TWoA and ex line manager of the research participants but also because of a continued involvement in the wider Māori education community with its shared issues, accountabilities and communities of interest. I was not unknown to the research participants, I was not an outsider, for better or worse I was a part of a shared "whānau of interest".

<u>Intellectual Property Rights:</u> According to Powick (2003), while there are no recommendations as to where the ownership would lie this issue does need to be

discussed with the community. She recommends some form of shared ownership between the institution, the researcher and the community where the research occurs. As this is a doctoral study it comes under the generally accepted Intellectual Property Rights of all doctoral studies, i.e. Copyright lies with the student. Again, since TWoA raised no objections to this in its formal approval of the project it is assumed that it is not a concern to them. They did, however, make permission to access the research participants conditional upon my agreeing to supply them with a copy of the final thesis document for their library.

Research Outcomes: According to Powick (2003), the researcher must ensure that the research will make a positive contribution to Māori needs and aspirations as defined by Māori. The outcomes must also be available in a format that is accessible to the community.

As outlined in the Information Sheet (see Appendices), positive contributions of this project include a contribution to TWoA's ongoing research into its own practices as a unique tertiary organisation and to the research participants themselves via an enhanced ability to talk about pedagogy with their own students. Consultation with the research participants on the most appropriate forums for dissemination has occurred to ensure maximum availability of its outcomes to them and the education community. Apart from the normal avenues of dissemination such as the publication of journal articles, they also requested that in-house seminars be organised where the results of the research could be explained and then discussed.

Ethics approval

The Massey University *Code of Ethical Conduct* appears to contain a mixture of both "positivist" and "communitarian" discourses (Christians, 2000). Its principles are those typical of any Code that emerges from a positivist frame such as informed consent, the minimisation of harm, the avoidance of deception and privacy and confidentiality. It also acknowledges issues that emerge from a more relational discourse around who owns the research and the maximisation of benefits to the participating community by prioritising their "needs and conventions" (Massey University, 2009, p. 12).

It is also very comprehensive in its coverage of factors that need to be taken into account when researching in a Māori context. It says:

> Research on Māori should be considered on a case by case basis to assess whether or not the research project requires explicit inclusion of Māori ethical perspectives in ethical approval documentation. Māori ethical perspectives not only operate to ensure high quality research on Māori or Māori health, but also to ensure Māori participants, tikanga, and cultural concepts are protected. In most cases a decision about inclusion of Māori ethical perspectives will not be known until the research project is presented for approval. (Massey University, 2009, p. 6)

The Massey University ethics process provides a screening questionnaire at the beginning of the approval process so that applicants can judge whether their project requires ethics approval or not. This project did not. It was decided, however, to apply for approval anyway given its potentially problematic nature as described above. Full ethics approval was obtained (see Appendices).

Kaupapa Māori theory

The issues surveyed above narrow the focus in the search for an appropriate strategy for this project. Bevan-Brown (1998) presents an overview of how Māori have responded to those issues. She identifies several types of Māori research:

- Māori centred research.
- Māori research.
- Kaupapa Māori research.
- Iwi research.
- Whānau research.
- Bicultural and participatory research (cf. L. Smith, 1999).

The most popular of the above approaches within the field of education is that known as kaupapa Māori research. Kaupapa Māori research fits within a wider discourse known as kaupapa Māori. It is appropriate at this stage to discuss kaupapa Māori in greater depth because, as a "local approach to critical theory" (L. Smith, 1999) it sits

as the paradigm within which kaupapa Māori research is carried out. It has also recently been the subject of critique.

Graham Smith is one of the best known writers in the area of Kaupapa Māori. He has set out six principles based mainly on his reflections on Kura Kaupapa Māori but which, he argues, can be found in all the different projects associated with kaupapa Māori. His principles are:

- The principle of self determination or relative autonomy.
- The principle of validating and legitimising cultural aspirations and identity.
- The principle of incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy.
- The principle of mediating socio-economic and home difficulties.
- The principle of incorporating cultural structures that emphasise collectivity rather than individuality such as the notion of the extended family.
- The principle of a shared and collective vision and philosophy (G. Smith, 2000).

A more expanded definition of each of these principles occurs in the previous chapter. It is enough to say at this stage that while characterised as "principles" by G. Smith (2003) himself, in the literature they have been referred to as "praxis", "world view", "cultural principles", and "change factors". Elsewhere, they have been characterised as a "framework" a "social project" and, in the research context, as a "paradigm" (L. Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori characterised as theory is best described as a "local approach to critical theory" (L. Smith, 1999). Two extended quotes from Kincheloe and McLaren (2000) give a good summary of critical theory:

> Inquiry that aspires to the name critical must be connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society or public sphere within society. Research thus becomes a transformative endeavour unembarrassed by the label *political* and unafraid to consummate a relationship with emancipatory consciousness.
>
> We are defining a criticalist as a researcher or theorist who attempts to use her or his work as a form of social or cultural criticism and who accepts certain basic assumptions:

- that all thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are social and historically constituted;
- that facts can never be isolated from the domain of values or removed from some form of ideological inscription;
- that the relationship between concept and object and between signifier and signified is never stable or fixed and is often mediated by the social relations of capitalist production and consumption;
- that language is central to the formation of subjectivity (conscious and unconscious awareness);
- that certain groups in society are privileged over others and although the reasons for this privilege may vary widely, the oppression that characterises contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural, inevitable;
- that oppression has many faces and that focusing on only one at the expense of others (eg class oppression versus racism) often elides [sic] the interconnections among them;
- and, finally, that mainstream research practices are generally, although most often unwittingly, implicated in the reproduction of systems of class, race and gender oppression. (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000, p. 290ff, formatting my own)

There are many examples of the use of critical theory by Māori writers in analysing the current position of Māori in society today (e.g., Bishop, 2003b; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Jenkins & Matthews, 1999; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001; L. Smith, 1990; R. Walker, 1991). Graham Smith (1997) argues that Kaupapa Māori is a local theoretical positioning which is the modality through which the transformative goal of critical theory can be achieved within the specific social, cultural and political context of Māori in 21st Century Aotearoa/New Zealand.

As a theory, Kaupapa Māori has both empirical and normative aspects. When used empirically, i.e., in the sense of explaining how the world works, it analyses current

society in terms of unequal power relations between Māori and non-Māori (see references above for examples). It also has predictive value in that it can be used, for example, to predict how research might be carried out or what pedagogical practices might be prioritised in the classroom (e.g., Bishop et al., 2003; Bishop & Glynn, 1999). When used normatively, i.e., in the sense of assessing questions of how society should be organised or how people should act, it prioritises emancipation of Māori and sets out a mechanism by which this might happen (G. Smith, 2003).

Critique of kaupapa Māori theory

Kaupapa Māori has been remarkably exempt, since its inception, from critique. As Linda Smith (1999) implies, this is partly because it is currently the discourse of a subordinate minority and so is simply ignored by the majority. Just as likely, others may have feared being labelled as anti Māori if they do critique it (Rata, 2004; Rata & Openshaw, 2006).

According to Rata (2006), kaupapa Māori theory is an example of ethnic identity politics. She and her co-editor (Rata & Openshaw, 2006) put the argument that identity politics has involved the artificial creation of new ethnic identities for groups of people based on an invalid connection to a "primordial" culture. While the cultural distinction of the group is emphasised, group membership cannot be separated from blood descendency and so is therefore a new form of racism. The development of new ethnic identities has been championed by liberals within Western democracy and institutionalised by them through the mechanism of ethnic classification within government policy. While the stated agenda for ethnic politics has been around social justice, the righting of past wrongs and the more equitable redistribution of wealth, what has in fact happened has been the rise of an ethnic elite who have become privileged by gaining an unequal proportion of the social and economic power accorded to the ethnic groupings. This has occurred through the mechanism of "brokerage" whereby these elites become the spokespeople for their ethnic relations in negotiations with government. These elites, in seeking to maintain their status, have subverted the original intent into a means of engaging with Western capitalism to their advantage with no real benefit to the vast majority of their ethnic relations who remain marginalised and impoverished. These writers critique the concept of ethnic identity, saying it is based on the obfuscating concept of ethnicity and on

“cultural idealism” which reifies culture and minimises large intra group diversity and the modern reality of multiple group membership. They say that ethnic identity politics is unable to resolve the paradox at its core and that is the issue of whether the rights of a collective, ethnic or otherwise, can be included in a democratic system that has the individual and the rights of the individual as its fundamental building block.

Rata and her colleagues (Rata & Openshaw, 2006) do not deny the social reality of ethnic group identification or the rights of individuals to belong to ethnic based associations. They recognise also the validity of the idea that public policies based on ethnicity may be an effective way of addressing social disadvantage and achieving fairer wealth distribution. They put the argument, however, that these goals have not been achieved and go further, saying that democracy itself has been compromised.

This critique of Rata and her colleagues (Rata & Openshaw, 2006) focuses on three parts of their argument. Firstly, that the concept of ethnicity is so amorphous and obfuscating that it is not a useful concept upon which to base public policy, secondly, the idea that kaupapa Māori is an example of “cultural idealism”, and thirdly her evidence for the assertion that kaupapa Māori has been subverted by ethnic elites.

One of Rata’s critiques concerns the problematic nature of the social scientific concept of ethnicity. While Rata and her colleagues (Rata & Openshaw, 2006) acknowledge that there is such a thing as ethnicity, it is obviously a concept whose definition has changed and continues to change historically and is also different in different countries (Callister, 2006). In the early part of the nineteenth century, ethnicity was defined in terms of degrees of blood relationship. Since the 1970s, however, the word ethnicity has been defined in more behvioural terms (cf. Marie et al., 2008). Apart from changing definitions, the waters are further muddied by the fact that many people now identify with more than one ethnicity (Callister, 2006). With such a complex and potentially amorphous picture being painted, is there any use in grouping people ethnically for public policy purposes? Callister (2006), echoing Chapple et al. (1997), says quite definitely yes. He says:

> Past and present ethnic intermarriage, dual and multiple ethnicity, and the leaky boundaries of culture do not undermine the need for a range of perspectives in policy discussions and research. (p. 150)

The caveat need only be, as Callister (2006) reports, that ethnicity helps identify those in need better than other information available and that the tailoring of a programme for a particular ethnic group is likely to help reach those in need or increase the effectiveness of the programme. Positive outcomes for Māori in ethnically targeted programmes such as Te Kotahitanga in the education sector support the idea that this is the case for Māori (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 19).

Rata and her colleague's (Rata & Openshaw, 2006) assertion that kaupapa Māori is an example of "cultural idealism" that relies on a reified definition of culture that does not allow for cultural change over time and ignores the processes of change in culture and an analysis of culture as institutions and processes of power maintenance is an over simplification. Prominent proponents of kaupapa Māori, Bishop and Glynn (1999) make it clear that any such definition of culture is inimical to kaupapa Māori. Culture is a slippery concept much contested even amongst researchers in the area of cultural studies. Frow and Morris (2000), who survey the field of cultural studies, identify culture as "a network of embedded practices and representations (texts, images, talk, codes, of behaviour and the narrative structures organising these), that shapes every aspect of social life" (p. 316). However, they also say that its key terms such as aesthetics, identity, place, globalisation, the local, nationhood and difference are constantly debated. They indicate that it is too simplistic to posit culture as a totalising or essentialist concept that denies or minimises difference between groups but equally simplistic to reject culture altogether and completely deny that there are groups and boundaries between them. Culture, they say, can be characterised as a "singularity" that is neither universal nor particular and that operates on multiple levels – nation state, class, gender, race, age, ethnicity, community. Culture, they say, implies connection not unity. When defining social groups through description of culture, cultural researchers tend to stress the diversity and contestation always involved. They use the concept of agency to describe what individuals and communities do with the cultural commodities they encounter in everyday life and how they make culture. It is important then to also analyse the politics and history of

this process. Culture also has something to do with place or situation but not in the simple sense of culture as nation more as an open, multiply directed and relational process. Cultural researchers also talk of how people can move between a number of identities, categories or singularities in terms of ones gender, sexuality, religious affiliation, etc. Kaupapa Māori theory requires no more than the above definition to still be valid. It does not require recourse to the far more mechanistic definitions of culture implied by terms such as "cultural idealism", "ethnic primordialism" or "traditionalist fundamentalism".

A second part of this argument is Rata's characterisation of "Māori knowledge" (Rata & Openshaw, 2006). While not denying that there is a "Māori world view", she characterises it as "social cement" which helps people to know who they are and where they come from, but as essentially "closed" knowledge and therefore not open to analysis, criticism, judgement and therefore possible rejection. A survey of writings on Māori epistemology (e.g., Roberts & Wills, 1998; Royal, 2003) reveals no indication that Māori knowledge is closed in the Popperian sense. Indeed, Bishop and Glynn (1999) say of knowledge that it should be seen "not as finite, static and complete, but constantly in a process of re-formation; as an organic process of invention rather than a process of passive accumulation through the receipt of transmissions" (p. 187). Again Rata has created a straw man that she can knock down. The basic thesis here is that Rata and her colleagues cannot deny the reality of ethnicity or ethnic disadvantage or its potential as an instrument of social justice simply by rationalising away the concepts. Her caricatures of ethnicity, culture and knowledge are merely straw men she has erected in order to knock down.

While acknowledging that kaupapa Māori and other ethnic identity movements internationally were intended to achieve social justice, economic redistribution and greater political participation for marginalised peoples, Rata and her colleagues (Rata & Openshaw, 2006) contend that these goals have been subverted historically by an ethnic elite who have abused the project to further their own material and political interests. She refers to general statistics from the 1990s which show that between 1991 and 1996, 11% of Māori became more impoverished but the Māori middle class increased from 3.4% of the Māori population to 7.7%. The implication presumably is that the new members of the middle class have done so at the expense

of others who have become even more impoverished. She concludes, “This is despite nearly four decades of bicultural policies designed to support retribalisation” (Rata, 2006, p. 41). Rata fails to point out that the most commonly cited explanations of the increasing impoverishment of Māori over the 1991-1996 period were the continuing effects of the economic restructuring of the 1980s and 90s, including significant reductions in government benefits for the poor and the severe economic down turn experienced by the country in 1990-1992 (Culpitt, 1995; Podder & Chatterjee, 2002). While retribalisation may have contributed to the small increase in the size of the Māori middle class, Podder and Chatterjee (2002) suggest it is more likely to have been caused by the benefits skilled workers have derived from the increasing use of technology in the work place. Some commentators indeed argue that retribalisation represents the denial of embourgoisiement or the development of a middle class (Culpitt, 1995). Others (e.g., Cleave, 1989, cited in Culpitt, 1995) turn Rata’s argument on its head and suggest that the development of a middle class is necessary to the emergence of Māori generally from impoverishment. Rata and others (e.g., S. Webster, 2002), who raise the spectre of economic abuse by elites fail to provide any real proof that in the New Zealand context, at least, this is a general trend or even an occasional aberration and, as Schwimmer (2004) suggests, current Māori and mainstream discourses of accountability should preclude any such abuse anyway.

Rata and her colleagues maintain that kaupapa Māori is essentially a racist dogma that sets Māori against non-Māori in a totally negative way and that it is designed to privilege only an intellectual and economic Māori elite. While they rightly bring attention to the fact that, like anything, kaupapa Māori is open to abuse they have not shown that its underlying concepts are flawed or that in New Zealand at least the economic and cultural effects of its recognition in public policy have been misappropriated by its elites. In comparison with the failed policies which it has replaced, those of assimilation and integration[1], kaupapa Māori as a theoretical underpinning for Māori ethnic identity making still appears to have much to offer.

[1] See Culpitt (1995) for a comprehensive overview of the arguments in the social welfare sector.

Research Strategies

Kaupapa Māori research

To focus then on a model of research with Māori that is used particularly within education, Bishop and Glynn (1999) have developed a model for planning and evaluating research that attempts to address the above issues. They ask the following questions, all of which seek to make explicit the power relations at work within the research project:

Initiation

- Who initiates the research project?
- What are the goals of the project?
- Who sets the goals?
- Who sets the research questions?
- Who designs the work?

Benefits

- What benefits will there be?
- Who will get the benefits?
- What systems of assessment and evaluation will be used?
- What difference will this study make for Māori?
- How does this research support Māori cultural and language aspirations?

Representation

i.e. an adequate depiction of social reality?

- Whose interests needs and concerns does the text represent?
- How were the goals and major questions of the study established?
- How were the tasks allocated?
- What agency do individuals or groups have?
- Whose voice is heard?
- Who will do the work?

Legitimation

i.e. what authority does the text have?

- Who is going to process the data?
- Who is going to consider the results of the processing?
- What happens to the results?
- Who defines what is accurate, true and complete in a text?
- Who theorises the findings?

Accountability

- Who is the researcher accountable to?
- Who is to have accessibility to research findings?
- Who has control over the distribution of knowledge?

(Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 129; see also Clark, 1997, for a similar list)

Bishop and Glynn (1999) propose a research model that answers the above questions such that the research continues to be safe for Māori. Their model is based on three cultural concepts.

Whakawhanaungatanga (establishing relationships)

For Bishop and Glynn (1999), the outcome of research must be co-constructed in a "culturally conscious and connected manner" (p. 121). Under whakawhanaungatanga, the establishment and maintaining of relationships is fundamental. It involves the creation of a "whanau (family grouping) of interest" through a process of "spiral discourse". Spiral discourse can be described operationally as an initial interview followed by further interviews whereby the research participants collaboratively code the transcripts eventually coming to a joint interpretation. Such a process creates a shift in the traditional researcher/researched relationship from active/passive to one where both parties have equal agency, equal voice, where the interpretive frame of the researcher coalesces with the interpretive frames of the other participants and "what emerges is a co-creation between researcher and participant through conversation" (following Kincheloe & McLaren, 2000, p. 302).

Another aspect of whakawhanaungatanga, according to Bishop and Glynn (1999), is that the researcher understand themselves to be involved physically, ethically,

morally and spiritually with the other research participants in the research process. They cannot be seen as the “disinterested scientist” or even the “transformative intellectual as advocate and activist”, as Lincoln and Guba (2000, p. 166) describe the stance of the critical theorist. It removes any sense that there is a possibility of objectivity on the part of the researcher and allows the researcher to let their interpretive frames become simply part of the mix in the making of meaning. Establishing relationships must be done in such a way that issues of power and control are addressed.

Hui

Bishop and Glynn (1999) also use the word hui (meeting) to inform the description of kaupapa Māori research. Following Pere (1991), they describe the aim of a hui as reaching a consensus, arriving at a jointly constructed meaning but the decision as to whether this has happened or not rests within the Māori culture i.e. in the kaumatua (elders). This takes time, days if need be. Hui begin with pōwhiri (ritual of welcome) involving speech making and the joint participation in food. The aim of the pōwhiri is “to recognise the tapu (potentiality for power) and mana of all participants” (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 122).

Tangata whenua and manuhiri

Another cultural construct discussed by Bishop and Glynn (1999) is that of tangata whenua/manuhiri (host/guest). In the pōwhiri the host/guest relationship is prioritised and formalised. The host is initially the group with precedence and the manuhiri waits to be called before the ritual encounter takes place. Bishop and Glynn indicate that this relationship is the appropriate one for the researcher and the researched with the researched as the tangata whenua and the researcher as guest. The guest must wait and must suspend their agendas and concerns so that the voices of the other research participants are not swamped. It is a relationship of respect in the Freirean sense.

According to Bishop and Glynn (1999), kaupapa Māori research:

> Goes beyond an approach that simply focuses on the cooperative sharing of experiences and focuses on connectedness, engagement and involvement with the other research participants. However, what is

> crucial for researching in indigenous contexts is that it necessarily will take place within the cultural world view and discursive practice within which the research participants function, make sense of their lives and understand their experiences. (p. 126)

In these ways kaupapa Māori research addresses the issues of power, described by Bishop and Glynn (1999) above, that have been so problematic historically for Māori.

Narrative enquiry

Bishop and Glynn (1999) state quite explicitly that kaupapa Māori research does not necessarily exclude any particular methodology. Depending on the research question the various issues of power they outline are more or less important. In a study where the question is obviously quantitative in nature, such as "How many Māori children passed NCEA Level One in Year 11 in 2004?", problems of representation are minimal but questions of initiation, and benefit are much larger. Who wants to know and why do they want to know? Who will benefit from this knowledge and what difference will it make for Māori? In this present study, however, which is descriptive and cross cultural with the added challenge of being located within an indigenous, colonised culture and carried out by a member of the dominant colonising group, questions of representation and legitimation are probably the most critical. Bishop and Glynn provide an extended discussion of the use of interview as used in narrative inquiry that answers many of the questions of representation and legitimation that they raise. A summary of the field of narrative inquiry follows.

Jean Clandenin and Michael Connolly (2000) have presented strong cases for narrative as a mode of inquiry. Their particular brand of narrative inquiry is based on the work of Dewey (1938), particularly his ideas about experience and its centrality to human life. Narrative is the description of experience. Experience has continuity over time, is situated in a particular context and is the result of and involves interaction with people.

Narrative inquiry explores these three dimensions:

- The personal and social (interactions).

- Past, present and future (continuity).
- Place (situation).

Exploration occurs by moving inward into the person, their feelings, hopes, reactions, moral dispositions and outward into the external environment and forward and backward along the time continuum.

Narrative inquiry rejects any tendency towards reducing “field texts” (data) to generalisable themes or theoretical constructs. Clandenin and Connolly (2000, p. 78) contrast the thrust of narrative research as “trying to make sense of life as lived” with “grand narrative” or “reductionist” strategies that seek to reveal an immutable truth.

According to Clandenin and Connolly (2000), developing and maintaining strong relationships with the research participants is one of the defining characteristics of narrative inquiry. They devote an entire chapter of their book to entering the research field. They speak of tensions around the fact that the researcher is entering a field that is already an ongoing narrative by a researcher who is a part of their own ongoing narrative. These tensions centre around whether the researcher has the appropriate background to establish a fruitful relationship with the research participants while at the same time acknowledging that “reaching across autobiographically storied boundaries is possible perhaps even necessary for the creation of narrative insight” (p. 66). According to these researchers, the researcher entering the field for the first time needs to have a sense of the history of the research field and understand it as something they are entering for a short time and then moving on again.

Once inside the field the fundamental role of the researcher is to establish good working relationships with the other participants. This “working towards intimacy of relationship” (Clandenin & Connolly, 2000, p. 78) is what enables good research to be done. This implies that the researcher will be in the field for extended periods. It is only through doing this that the job of “trying to figure out the taken for granted ness” (p. 78) can be concluded.

While in the field the researcher creates “field texts”. These field texts are not simply collections of stories but are more often records of actions, doings and happenings – what you did, what I did, what we did, what was around us, where we were or remembrances of past times. At the same time as recording these issues the researcher is also recording their own reflections, thoughts and feelings and those of the other research participants on the experience. According to Clandenin and Connolly (2000), field texts are the tool by which the researcher can move between experiencing the experience and a level of intimacy to a reflective stance.

Field texts must be richly detailed and may include:

- Autobiography.
- Reflective journals.
- Field notes.
- Photos taken of experiences as they happen.
- Letters from researcher to other research participants and vice versa.
- Taped conversations and interviews.
- Family stories.
- Memorabilia.
- Field notes on life experiences outside the field of inquiry.

Analysis and interpretation again is not simply a matter of telling stories perhaps with some reflective comment. Coding occurs around issues of characters, places, actions story lines, gaps and silences, tensions, continuities and discontinuities. There is tension around voice and signature. While trying to represent the voice of the research participants the researcher must remember that the participants do not speak with one voice but emerge from many discourses of their own, some of which will be mutually contradictory and that the signature of the researcher must also be easily identifiable in the research text. When returning to the participants then to check that they are happy with what has been written the questions are not around whether the researcher has got it right or rendered things accurately but more around; is this you, do you see yourself here, are you happy to be characterised in this way. Another tension when it comes to write up is the acknowledgement that there will be an audience and they will constrain the writing in some way. Clandenin and Connolly

(2000) use soup as a metaphor for the write up, saying that it must be a good mixture of narrative, description and cogent argument.

Methods of Collection and Analysis

Echoing the above, Miles and Huberman (2000) state that sampling decisions or "bounding the field of inquiry" in qualitative research normally follow conceptual considerations rather than concerns for representativeness that can then support generalisations across the population. A model of pedagogy has been developed, it is described in detail in the previous chapter and summarised in Figure 4. This study will paint a picture of a Māori pedagogy following this model that generates the following research questions.

TE AO MĀORI

- Socio-political and cultural forces
  How is the wider social context characterised?
  What is the place of tikanga (custom)?
  What is the connection between teacher and the iwi/community?

PEDAGOGY

- Theories of student learning
  What theories of learning do people subscribe to?
  How is the learner characterised?

- Teaching and learning methods
  What teaching methodologies are used?

- The context and organisation of learning – the learning environment
  What constitutes a good learning environment?

- Other teaching behaviours and characteristics
  What are the reported characteristics of a good teacher?
  What is the appropriate relationship between teacher and student?

- Curriculum
  What is taught – both explicitly and implicitly?
  What is it important for students to know – in te ao Māori, in the wider world?

As stated in the Introduction, less technical field questions were also developed for the above research questions in order to facilitate discussion with research particpants.

The setting

The setting for this study was the Aronui (Humanities) section of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, a large Māori tertiary education provider. According to Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa 2004) they began in 1983 as a project to build and decorate Otāwhao Marae at Te Awamutu College near Hamilton, New Zealand. This project developed into the Waipā Kōkiri Arts Centre Trust in 1986 which provided trades-based training for the large numbers of Māori unemployed. As the Trust expanded, it changed its name to the Aotearoa Institute, Te Kuratini o Nga Waka in 1989. After six years of negotiations with the government, Crown Tertiary Status was achieved in 1993. This status meant government funding became available for the courses offered by the Institute. Finally, in 2000, after a successful claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, capital funding was made available by the Crown for what was now Te Wānanga o Aotearoa as well as the other two Māori Tertiary Insitutions – Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa and Te Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa 2004)

In 2008 Te Wānanga o Aotearoa provided around 90 programmes of study at the tertiary level across ten campuses and 20 satellites mainly in the North Island of New Zealand but also in the South Island. The Aronui section umbrella-ed four pre-service teacher education programmes:

- A pre-service degree in primary teacher education.
- A certificate in early childhood education at level 4/5 of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority qualifications framework (NZQA framework).

- A certificate and diploma in tertiary teaching at levels 5/6 of the NZQA framework.

These are run mainly at four campuses in the upper half of the North Island – in Manukau, Hamilton, Gisborne and Rotorua. Student numbers are small in comparison with the Wānanga as a whole. Of the approximately 40,000 part time and full time students throughout the Wānanga, in 2008 around 600 are enrolled in the teacher education programmes.

The main reason for choosing this setting for the study is because Te Wānanga o Aotearoa is characterised as a Māori tertiary education provider. It is set up under the Education Act that states that Wānanga will advance the application of knowledge "concerning āhuatanga Māori according to tikanga Māori". In expressing its special character the Wānanga states that it:

> Is regionally based, national, [offering] Māori-led and Māori centred lifelong learning and its accompanying knowledge base, teaching theory and practice (pedagogy), and research programmes. (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2004a, p. 4)

The participants

The majority of staff within the teacher education programmes are Māori by birth and also meet definitions of Māori, such as those described by Callister (2006) and Marie et al. (2008), around active participation in Māori society. Most are also qualified as teachers and have experience as teachers in other sectors. This is one of the reasons for choosing this section of the Wānanga over others. As qualified teachers these staff may be more conscious of their practice and ways in which it can be described and they may also have knowledge of a range of teaching approaches and practices. This being the case, they are possibly less likely to simply follow practices that they experienced in their own schooling, all of which would have been in a mainly mainstream school setting. This is because Māori education sites have only been in existence for the last 20 years and it is only in the last eight years that graduates from Wharekura (Māori secondary schools) are starting to enter the work force.

The other main reason for choosing Te Wānanga o Aotearoa as a site for study is because it is an institution in which I once worked. Access is therefore easier and the ability to develop and maintain strong relationships so essential to the kaupapa Māori and narrarative methodologies described above is also possible. This contrasts with other sites that could be considered Māori educational sites such as Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura or the other two Wānanga in Whakatane and Otaki, i.e., Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi and Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Entering the field

Given that the Institution is a tertiary education provider the first step was to gain approval from the institutional research and ethics committee (see Appendices for a copy of this approval). I was then provided with a "letter of introduction" to line managers of the research participants by a TWoA senior manager. This allowed me to approach them for permission to approach their staff (see Appendices). I approached the senior managers via phone with an email follow up. Since I was already known to them the issue of contacting their staff was not problematic. The same can be said of the eventual research participants. I approached them initially via phone with an email follow up. I met with them face to face to explain the Information Sheet and Consent Form (see Appendices) which were signed before interviews began.

Data gathering

Data was gathered via interviews with individuals and pairs.

Larger interviews were initially favoured because "pedagogy" is not a common topic of interview even amongst teachers and it was thought that a large group discussion was more likely to bring forth ideas, beliefs and practices than an individual interview. Group interviews also aid in moderating any tendency among individuals to give aspirational or idealised versions of their practice knowing that their colleagues will be aware of what they actually do in class with students. Further to this, Bishop (1996) uses "hui" as a metaphor for the kaupapa Māori research approach. Bishop says:

> Generally the procedure is for people to speak one after another, either in sequence or left to right or of anyone participating as they see fit. People

> get a chance to state and restate their meanings, to revisit their meanings and to modify, delete, adapt their meanings according to local tikanga. The discourse spirals, in that the flow of talk may seem circuitous, opinions may vary and waver, but the seeking of a collaboratively constructed story is central. (p. 33; cf. also Metge & Waititi, 2001)

This does not necessarily mean, however, that there is or must be some sort of consensus at the end of the day or even, in the research context, that such a consensus is necessary. What must be achieved, however, to refer back to Clandenin and Connolly (2000), is participant acceptance that "this is me", "I can see myself here", "I am happy to be characterised in this way".

It was initially thought to bring together research participants from each programme from their home towns across the top half of the North Island to one location for the interviews. This proved unrealistic, however. Participants did not have enough time available to both travel and also be interviewed. Also, not all potential participants consented to participate in the project. Of the 14 possible research participants, 9 formally agreed to participate and only 8 ended up doing so. Only one person gave a reason for their non participation, they cited heavy workload. Despite this, the initial benefits ascribed to larger group interviews described above and the spiral discourse was still achieved in both the pair and individual discussions. This was brought about during the second round of interviews by presenting participants with the transcripts of all of the first round interviews, not just their own. These had been coded to the extent that discussion had been grouped together under broad themes that had been identified by the researcher. These themes with the appropriate transcript material attached were presented for validation or not and to further the discussion.

The initial interview was 1½-2 hours in length. Two follow up interviews were planned but, in the end, only one further interview was carried out again between 1½-2 hours in length (see note 4 below). A summary of aspects of the interview schedule in tabula form follows:

Table 2: Summary of interview scheldule

Participant Group[1]	Number in group	Ethnic mix	Location[2]	NZQA Level of Qualification[3]	Number of interviews held[4]	Timing of interviews[5]
ECE tutors	1	Māori	Multiple locations	4/5	1	Beginning of year
Tertiary Tching tutors	1	Māori	Multiple locations	5/6	2	Beginning, and middle of year
Preservice primary tcher ed degree	6	Māori	Multiple Locations	5/6/7	2	Beginning, and middle of year

1. This sample is essentially a sample of convenience and as such does not claim nor attempt to be representative of all tutors within Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. However, gaining access to a wider range of tutors would be incredibly problematic given:

- the previously described problematic history of research and Māori and consequent negative attitudes to research
- the timeframe for this study.

2. Multiple locations introduces more variability in the sample since Māori society was originally tribal and tribal loyalties and tribal variations in thought and practice continue to exist across all areas of life. The sample included representatives from six major North island tribes.

3. Interviews across multiple qualification levels was favoured because it gave more variability to the sample.

4. Since participants were to be involved in a "spiral discussion" (Bishop, 1996), it was necessary to interview them more than once. The literature gives no hard formulas as to how many interviews should be included in the spiral (though Bishop used three in his own research). The guiding principle is that there should be enough to ensure that a shared understanding is reached. Bishop says:

> There is a way to conduct interviews so that the coding exercise, as a product of shared meanings, becomes part of the process of description and analysis. It is suggested that sequential, semi-structured, in-depth

> interviews as conversations, conducted in a dialogic, reflexive manner, be expanded to facilitate ongoing collaborative analysis and construction of meaning/explanations about the experiences of the research participants. (1996, p. 29)

I initially planned for three interviews with each group. One to initiate and generate discussion, a second in which I would present my initial interpretations for discussion and feedback and then also to progress the discussion based on this feedback and a third in which to finalise the discussion. Discussion with another researcher (Dr Jill Bevan-Brown, personal communication) suggested that it is also important to allow individuals the opportunity to contact the researcher after the interviews in case they have further things to add or indeed views which contrast in some way with the group and which they felt they could not express within the group.[2] In the end two interviews were held with each of the three pairs and one individual. The second individual withdrew from the project after the first interview. It was felt that the "spiral discourse" described by Bishop (1996) had worked extremely well in the first two interviews and a sufficient level of data had been gained such that it was not necessary to burden participants with a third interview request and risk minimal engagement. Be this as it may participants were given further opportunity to re theorise the findings when draft results and discussion chapters were given to them for feedback.

Semi structured interviews as described above were used. In this type of interview the field questions outlined above were used to guide coverage during the interview but there was no strict adherence to a pre-set schedule of questions. This was so that the research participants had maximum opportunity to guide the discussion in ways they thought were important rather than these being researcher imposed. The unstructured interview seems to come closest to the style described by Bishop (1996, p. 31) as "interview as 'chat'".

5. Interview timing was mainly a pragmatic consideration. The interviews occurred during student recess times when the research participants had relatively fewer

[2] While this opportunity was presented to participants none chose to take it up.

timetabled commitments. All interviews were conducted on Te Wānanga o Aotearoa campuses where the participants worked and followed normal Māori meeting protocols (cf. Irwin 1992) such as whakatau [a formal speech of greeting and orientation] and karakia [prayer] at the beginning of the interview and mihi [greetings and thanks] at the conclusion. They were conducted mainly in English.

Method of analysis

The analysis of the transcripts was essentially a deductive process, since, to use the terminology of grounded theory (Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. 1990), the "categories" (ibid p65) of analysis have been pre-defined by the model and heavily informed by the preceding literature review. If the model itself can be described as the "core category" (ibid p116) and each aspect of the model as a "category", then a table was constructed for each category. The research question and any related field questions were utilised as the label for that category. "Concepts" or related data identified in the discussions, were collected in tables for each "category."

The sub categories within each section, for example, "whanaungatanga," "multisensory," "group work," etc were generated by a careful answering of each of the research questions and an iterative process of compare and contrast. (ibid p74) This is particularly so for the teaching and learning methods section. This was because this was the area where most time was spent during the first interview and generated 29 pages of transcript. Discussion which related to each of the other areas was simply placed in the appropriate table without any thematic analysis. Each of the tables was reprocessed to remove anything which might allow identification of the participants. During the second round of interviews a copy of each table was given to the participants. They were asked to read through the transcripts and to respond in any way they thought fit. This generated a further 56 pages of transcript. A second compare and contrast exercise was carried out on these transcripts to identify themes amongst the other questions. Sub categories for the theories of student learning, for example, "socio constructivism" or "behaviourism" emerge directly from the literature review as do those for the teacher behaviours and characteristics, though, as will be seen, the research participant discussions moved beyond the literature and have led to the identification of a possible new sub category in this area.

Results

Ka mahi te hukuroa i ana mahi (Brougham, Reed, & Karetu, 1999). Well done! The band of toilers keeps on working.

Overview of the Chapter

A large amount of data was generated by the field questions. With the aim of the research in mind – to describe or sketch a picture of a Māori pedagogy – the data has been organised with reference to the model of pedagogy developed in previous chapters. In this way it follows the review of the literature in the previous chapter so that commonalities and contrasts are illuminated.

The model depicted in Figure 2 has the following sub headings:
TE AO MĀORI

- Socio-political and cultural forces.

(within which is nested)

PEDAGOGY

- Teaching and learning methods.
- Theories of student learning.
- Other teaching behaviours and characteristics.
- The context and organisation of learning – the learning environment.
- Curriculum.

Te Ao Māori

Socio-political and cultural forces

How is the wider social context characterised? What is the place of tikanga?
What is the connection between teacher and the iwi/community?
(What is the place of tikanga?
What is the connection between teacher and iwi/community?)

As discussed more fully in previous chapters, the model of pedagogy being used indicates that the wider social world informs pedagogy in a number of ways, particularly in terms of curriculum or what it is considered important to teach. It was thought important therefore to ask research participants questions which illuminated **their** world, thus gaining an insight into what is currently considered to be important for them.

The questions asked were:

- "What is the place of tikanga (Māori custom)?"
- "What is the connection between teacher and iwi/community?"

A number of comments emerged from the first question that indicated that for these teachers, Māori and Māori language and culture are not highly valued in wider society:

> The Principal said, "Everyone in this school is all the same, we're all the same". So we go, "Well … that is what this programme is about, that is what you've come to the Wānanga for because we're not all the same". (E & F, 29/4, pp. 106-110)

> Yeah, with a lot of our new schools [a Pākehā colleague will do the initial liaison] because from feedback from our practicum we've noticed that we do need to educate our schools. … We had one of our students being called "helper" and we found that very offensive. So does that [Associate] Teacher perceive us as not qualified, I don't know. Playing at training teachers. … Yeah. So its breaking those perceptions. (E & F, 14/8/08, pp. 151-153)

> And a lot of the [stories] that we spoke about in regards to [the] Kotahitanga [research project] – like our Māori children not being listened to in class regarding their own culture and experiences … they're seeing firsthand in the classroom. … The student felt 'wow'. Our kids out there are getting a real raw deal. Why would [Māori parents] send [their children] to a mainstream, predominantly Pākehā school? You

could walk past the bad seat, they call it something else. It doesn't matter what you call it it's still the Māori kids still on it. (E & F, 14/8/08, p. 51)

I hadn't set up my workshop for that particular purpose but it was a chance for people to air the concerns that they were bringing from the schools and one of the big ones was the baggage that parents have with respect to Te Reo Māori … resistance towards Te Reo, not supportive of their children doing Māori. (D, 14/8/08, pp. 5-8)

I always follow up with – I do push Māori pedagogy, Māori values because – and I say to the students we have a strong focus on lifting the achievement levels of Māori children … obviously the Māori experience has been poor. (A & B, 16/8/08, p. 41)

I had four teachers sitting round a table, four lots of schools from Christchurch coupled with one from Northland and myself at the table representing another Auckland school … and I'm saying, "How much Māori do you do in your kura?" And every single one of those schools from Christchurch and [the] South Island happily putting up their hand[s] and saying, "Yeah, we all teach – you know – all the tamariki in our school can count in Māori, they can tell you the colours in Māori". … I am still amazed though [at] the Northland representative [a Māori] who then said, "I think yous are wasting your time!" And, "You shouldn't be teaching it because …" – and so you are still getting that. (G & H, 24/7/08, pp. 31-36)

Because of this perceived denigration of Māori in wider society, a strong sense of mission comes across in how participants view their role as teacher and a strong sense that they are working to better the lot of Māori in general:

My thought is that they move on to … do higher learning so that they get tohu [qualifications] … because a lot of people that come to my classes have either been kicked out of school or they are the rebels of the school; you know they haven't had that nurturing. … But by the end of it all I want them to … be able to walk away from the Wānanga with a tohu and

> hopefully that tohu will … put them onto higher learning so that they can better themselves and better their whanau. (C, 29/4/08, p. 72)

> I like that notion where the Wānanga is set up to advantage and to give privilege to the groups that weren't privileged in this other system. … The Wānanga came out of this struggle of when they found this other system couldn't help them. And ultimately, in the end, when you are trying to develop educational systems you are trying to develop the individual to become successful. What does Wānanga try to do? We try to make whoever comes through our doors successful at the end of it. What's the most successful dimension that we have found to make our students successful is that we link them closely to their own family custom. I like the [idea] … that our twelve Wānanga sites are like knowledge brokers, knowledge villages. … [The notion] … that in order for you to survive you've all collectively joined back together and brokered your own success. (G & H, 24/7/08, p. 58)

> I have to say that I am really glad to [be] part of a degree that pushes Māori pedagogy and Māori ways of teaching and learning simply because the age group of the senior teachers in New Zealand schools today are still those who came through the sixties. The principals and the senior teachers are still that generation from the sixties who were largely behaviourist trained and they need a rush of new teachers with a completely different way of looking at the world. (A & B, 16/8/08, p. 42)

One person also spoke of the general feeling amongst Wānanga staff that part of their role was cultural preservation:

> [Speaking of colleagues] How and why they are proud to work for Te Wānanga o Aotearoa because it's about making sure that something doesn't disappear and that it does keep going. (D, 29/4, p. 28)

"Socio-ideological" (MacNeill et al., 2005, p. 165) theories of learning were cited by five of the eight participants as preferred ways of conceptualising the place of Māori in wider New Zealand society. For example:

> Yeah so … our practice is hugely influenced by Critical theory or Kaupapa Māori [theory], aye, … for that particular student you're talking about … one day she said she's starting to fondle with the idea that we are different and now … after Critical Theory and explaining Critical Theory she now knows where her discourse came from, why she believed that and now she is totally convinced of the opposite … so that would be tika [correct] for us to be teaching Kaupapa Māori theory and Critical theory. (E & F, 29/4, p. 111)

> I like that notion of how Bourdieu talks of cultural reproduction. (G & H, 24/7/08)

Pedagogy

Teaching and learning methods

By far the largest discussions during the interviews occurred when research participants were asked the questions; "What do you do? What don't you do? What do you do that might be different from say a mainstream University? That is, questions to do with methodology, the "how to" of delivery in the classroom.

Based on the discussions, these have been organised under the following themes:

- Whanaungatanga
  - Mihimihi
- Variety of approaches
- Multisensory
  - Waiata/music
- Group work
  - Tuakana/teina
- Koakoa
- Reflection
- Lecturing
- Storytelling
- Don't tell them everything

- Modelling

Whanaungatanga (relationships)

When first asked the above questions, all eight research participants said that whanaungatanga and whakawhanaungatanga (developing, maintaining and strengthening relationships) were some of the most important things for them. For example:

> Well I know what guides my teaching style is definitely whanaungatanga. (A & B, 28/4, p. 10)

Or:

> I think well you know whanaungatanga has become a bit of a by word but I still think it's an important part of [what] Te Wānanga o Aotearoa was about. You know family relationships and not just family relationships between the tutor and the students but within the students themselves. (D, 29/4, p. 138)

Or:

> My typical session will start with karakia [prayer] we do whakawhanaungatanga, we do mihimihi [greeting] and then we get into the kaupapa [major theme of the class]. (C, 28/4, p. 16)

Whanaungatanga and whakawhanaungatanga involve a number of different aspects for participants. Most importantly they appear to be about engaging with students as people. This was described by one as being less formal with them than in other institutions. For example:

> But I think I know I teach a lot differently in this environment than I did at mainstream because I'm allowed to. Because it's accepted that I can be nana, aunty or the lecturer here. I can wear whatever hat I want to and it's just so nice that I can be whaea [older female relative] and not be detached academic who is up there. (A & B, 28/4, p. 59-67)

Part of this treating the students as people also involved being seen as a real person yourself. For example:

> Just going to talk about how I feel that the students need to know that they're safe with me. And that a lot of the material that we do share is personal experiences and I don't … mind … putting myself on the line there and sharing personal experiences when it comes to understanding some of the kaupapa that I teach. (A & B, 28/4, pp. 22-24)

For others it was knowing the student's backgrounds. For example:

> I think that part of that is knowing the person, not being nosey but you know having some insight into the person's likes and dislikes … you know it might be a solo mum … and all the rigmarole that has to go around with arranging childcare you know if you're going to be away for three days [for a weekend noho marae]. (D, 29/4, p. 121)

Echoing Bishop and Glynn (1999), one person also commented on the idea that "whānau" relationships are modeled within the class:

> You know family relationships and not just family relationships between the tutor and the students but within the students themselves. You know so that the downfall of that is that if one student goes under then you may lose even more because you know they are such a tight knit family that everyone goes under because of one thing and it takes a lot of work maybe to get them back on line again. (D, 29/4, p. 138)

This same person spoke of the way whānau relationships are also modeled within the staff:

> But I think that the whanaungatanga I think that Te Wānanga o Aotearoa is always been about inclusiveness you know whereas I think at [University X and at University Y] when I've been there, there was always kind of an exclusivity about the places and about the departments. (D, 29/4, p. 138)

This same discussion then led on to what the participants described as uniquely Māori ways of dealing with tensions that inevitably occur in any whānau:

> Yeah tikanga [custom], whanaungatanga in our classrooms. Manaaki [hospitality] if there's issues in the classroom where there's tension between factious groups between groups of students then kei te tika [that is correct] we hui [meet] together as a class and raise these raru [problems] together openly in an open forum. That's what we've done so that's one way that our tikanga hui [Māori custom of meeting] is relevant in our classrooms. (E & F, 29/4, pp. 117-119)

For all of the participants whanaungatanga was about actively following up people who are potentially having problems. For example, this particular participant is doing a qualification at a mainstream university on a part time basis. They are describing their own experience of handing in some work late:

> Well for me as a student you now like being at another institution … I haven't handed in my proposal yet, it's like 2 weeks overdue … if that was my student I would be saying, "Are you okay, are things alright you know?" … like and really trying harder to make a connection you know to catch up with them. And that's what we do a lot here. You know if our students haven't come for a day we all start talking. Second day we're on the phone. Third day they haven't come up you know somebody may go around and see … teaching styles differently you know I mean there have been some key lecturers at [Z university] that have really empowered and influenced me in particular ways and have shown manaaki and awhi [helped] but it doesn't appear to be, its still isolated. (E & F, 29/4, p. 145)

There are two other important elements to whanaungatanga described by the participants. One, echoing the literature (e.g., Penetito, 2004; Roberts & Wills, 1998) is the importance that place or locality plays in identity:

> And then I asked the students to … form groups according to their geographical areas. So the point of doing that was to get them to position themselves within the places that they live. And so they reported back to the group on what was unique about their particular places. (D, 29/4, pp. 17-20)

Another is the idea that whanaungatanga is essentially about making links or connections between people:

> Probably a typical session for me would start out with karakia which is, and I guess the first one for me as always is the whakawhanaungatanga … I sort of like to encourage lots of sharing about the whānau [family] and some of the reasons that they're here but I guess its about being able to make some links, for others to make links for other tauira [students] or other whānau that are in [the] rōpū [group] and to get a sense of where we all belong. (G & H, 2/5, p. 21)

Finally, an important part of whanaungatanga is mihimihi or greeting people at the start of a session or hui. Mihimihi is a formal or semi formal way of greeting people and giving them some detail about who you are and why you are here. In a traditional context on a marae, mihimihi can be elaborate and complex. When transferred to the learning situation mihimihi can be problematic as this following dialogue attests. In some ways it may be seen as a side issue to the business of learning and teaching but within Māoridom it is a real tension that has to do with an important cultural process adapting to a modern time constrained world where not all Māori let alone any other student fully understand its significance or how to do it well:

> Mihimihi. It's become a habit now to have mihimihi but mihimihi has changed. In terms of having to talk about themselves or introduce themselves in a group it can be seen as … a threatening situation, particularly if they are not used to the concept of mihimihi and they don't have a clue of what they should be doing. … In my second workshop I did that [mihimihi] and I was hoping – everyone knows this is an hour and a half long – you know, keep it short. Well, they didn't. And the person who was [time keeping] the workshop … she was one of the longest. I thought how – mihimihi is great – but basically it's about just say who you are and that's it.
>
> [Myself] Yes, we don't need your biography!
>
> Then they go on to other details! "I've been really happy today and I wasn't so happy yesterday and …" – that's mihimihi – the whole concept of mihimihi. Can be unpacked. That's what I was trying to do here

> because mihimihi has always been a problem because it's a part of whakawhanaungatanga, but there's also that pragmatic consideration. (D, 14/8/08, pp. 222-242)

Variety

Another major theme within the discussions is that of variety in approach. These are typical comments:

> No I just try anything. And I'm happy; I'm open to try anything. (G & H, 2/5, p. 48)

> Look over the years I've had a series of, varieties of teaching styles or methodologies and at the moment the students themselves actually like a more hands on approach and I've taken on using a variety. Kinaesthetic, worksheet type things through to posters and presentations through to media, multi media approach using power-point and the overhead transparencies so it's been, throughout the year I've used all of those different things. (G & H, 2/5, p. 11)

Using a variety of approaches was tied for many to a need to cater for different "learning styles". For example:

> You know its always been my practice to plan as thoroughly as I can before I have any kind of teaching taking place and so that has meant that I have usually when it comes to teaching that I have a range of activities and tasks and worksheets and that I have put together that cater for my style of teaching. And though ever since I've been in the Wānanga people have talked about learning styles and how we must you know cater for the different learning styles you know I think I do try to do that but I'm not, you know I don't push the point. (D, 29/4, p. 12)

Multisensory

Within this variety, however, a number of preferences are evident. One is a multisensory approach with particular emphasis on the visual. This is how one participant put it:

> I had ideas around powerpoint images … don't worry too much about the words get a picture that really gets the idea across and then talk about the picture. … Having visual images allows people to gain understandings at many different levels, more appropriate levels for the level of the learner. (D, 14/8/08, pp. 18-21)

Of this same presentation another participant commented:

> He used images from the past to take us for a walk through history, instead of having words up he used images and they were powerful images, not just standard photos of kids having fun or whatever … there were kuia and kaumata in that class and [the teacher] just allowed [them] quite gracefully to take over because they had been to those places that [the teacher] had. (E & F, 14/8/08, pp. 11-113)

D's knowledge of the technical aspects of good visual presentation appeared fairly high. For example:

> When you are searching for images you have to be really clear about what the image is and therefore you have got to be clear about your key word. (D, 14/8/08, pp. 93-95)

This participant was not the only one, however, who emphasised the importance of some form of visual component. For example:

> [Myself] Do you like, you know, if students are not understanding do you slow down your delivery of content?
>
> Oh definitely yeah I do. … I've got two students who aren't able to, they can write but they don't like reading and so for me it's about … putting everything in pictures so that they have an understanding of what I'm talking about. So I say to them "draw a picture if you can't or do your power-points" because they like working that way. They said yes "but what about the reading?" and so what happens now is that I will sit, we all take the time out to do a reading in class so that they can hear and then while we're talking they're drawing or making links by that way". (C, 28/4, pp. 33-36)

Or:

> I like the visuals and I like yeah I really like the visuals more than anything and I think it also gives them a break from listening, yeah to listening to me talk all the time. And so there's a combination of the visual with the sound because quite often I like to have the sound going as well. Yeah so I just like using the mixed media approach. (G & H, 2/5, p. 51)

Waiata (song) and music

Five participants commented on the use of either song, composition or using music in their classes:

> Also I do it through song. I teach through song. … What I do first off, I teach the song and a lot of it my students have to write waiata pertaining to the paper so we learn that way as well, through waiata and they have to. So you know just for [the] Treaty [of Waitangi paper] alone five waiata … that have been composed. (C, 28/4, p. 39)

> And waiata. [We were] learning about Tāwhaki going up [to the heavens to fetch the three baskets of knowledge] and we came across a waiata and I was going to teach it but … [X colleague] taught it in kapa haka. … Now when I go back to that class I say we're talking about Tāne nui-ā-rangi and I can re-jog their memory with the waiata. (E & F, 29/4, pp. 155-158)

> All the waiata we sing will be from [local area], and waiata tawhito [traditional songs] so basically they know the waiata from [local area] very well! Sing it regularly. (A & B, 16/8/08, p. 59)

D had been to an in-house professional development course a short time prior to their first interview and made the following comments:

> Well [what] I haven't done ever is use music and I'm just aware that many of my colleagues in the Wānanga use music but they've never been able to articulate to me how to use it. Whereas recently I've heard that

> music is a means of being able to manage the emotions within the classroom. (D, 29/4, pp. 30-33)

Three months later when interviewed again they had this to say:

> Music to set the emotional level of the class. Still doing it. It's just – it does work – but it's quite technical. (D, 14/8/08, pp. 267-270)

Comments were made on the use of waiata and music in other programmes run by the Wānanga.:

> At that particular campus they had this [in house professional development course] … and the person who was taking the professional development was talking about using music to change energy levels so that particular person's classes started at 5 o'clock in the evening and so they were talking about using bouncing, energetic music to increase people's energy levels after being at work all day and then 5 o'clock they come to class.
>
> Which totally contradicts [the practice in a large national Te Wānanga o Aotearoa programme] because they claim the calming down music [is good] and we find that that's great because after work your mind is so busy, or you've been busy for the whole day and the karakia and the calming down affect [of the music] on people, [I've] forgotten what they call it, that takes a good half hour and the music just settles you right down and somehow you become more spiritually, for me anyway, spiritually aware and ready to go and then we get into it. (A & B, 16/8/08, pp. 15-16)

Group work

Echoing the literature (e.g., Metge, 1984), another preference appeared to be group work. Each of the following excerpts describes some sort of group activity. Often this will be "hands on" or practical in nature requiring cutting, drawing, pasting, power point or OHT construction, etc.:

> But during the lesson I always think you know like how can I engage them and usually through activities I've found useful … questions and

> activities … that yeah, engage the learners. Lots of groups. (E & F, 29/4, pp. 24-29)

> I know too with regards to different methodologies of teaching I make a conscious effort to actually use power-point to engage them with the readings and the power-point is never more than 10-15 minutes maximum. And then straight into hands on games whether it's breaking down a piece of literature, turning it into role play. But every lesson that I teach, every lecture I give if it has a power-point component then it goes straight from that into pair or small group activities to at least sight some of the readings relevant to the lecture. Straight into OHPs for key questions to focus on. And then straight back to class discussion so I've got feedback for affirmation. (A & B, 28/4, pp. 27-29)

> I need to cut that down to five minutes and make that content a little bit shorter as far as me talking is concerned and then get them into reading and they discuss it and then they deliver it back, they present it back so that understanding is not just me telling about it but them reading about it and presenting it in a way that they can understand. … You can do a Play, you can do a montage, you can just do a straight out poster or you can just discuss it with the class. So four different groups, four different delivery modes of the same sort of kaupapa and it was amazing that they all picked something different to be able to deliver a particular subject. (A & B, 28/4, p. 43)

Tuakana/teina (older/younger sibling)

Tuakana/teina is a form of group work (see for example, Hemara, 2000; Ka'ai, 1990). Six of the eight participants spoke about this as a methodology.

The following discussion indicates the variety of activities that appear to be covered by the term:

> You know I've seen tuakana/teina being talked about as collaboration and I've seen it being spoken about as co-construction. What's your understanding of tuakana/teina?

[Myself] It's pretty shallow really. Mixed ability grouping – that's tuakana/teina for me. …

I would call it collaboration – co-operation and co-construction.

There was a neat thing on the Taura Whiri website – their latest method for people to learn how to speak Māori is a tuakana/teina project. You can be either a tuakana or a teina and you invite – so I would invite you to be my tuakana. And so the idea is that we find out a time when we can work together and that's where the kaupapa [reason for meeting] would be kōrero Māori. But it would be – the tuakana is not the teacher and the teina is not a learner. …

[Myself] So it was almost … a social networking thing where the website helped you to network with a person who could either be your teina or your tuakana?

No, the website doesn't – all it does is that it presents the method and it's for you to go out and find out whatever or who your teina, who your tuakana might be. It suggests that once you have got a teina or tuakana relationship going that you might want to invite other tuakana into the group or other teina and develop it that way. I thought that [is] more the way natural language grows. I liked it – I must say that that reading has helped me to develop my thinking around tuakana/teina because I was much the same as you – "Oh pairs". I didn't even think of it [laughter] I'll put that down. Because it has made me realise the powers of pairs. In fact, when you are talking about groups the minimum you need in a group is two.

[Myself] If you've got the pair right – it can be incredibly powerful.

Well, you don't even need to – like when we have karakia – part of it is karakia [prayer] waiata [song] whakatauki [traditional Māori proverb] so I've got into the habit of saying whakatauki – this is our whakatauki: "Whaia te iti kahurangi, ki te tuohu koe me maunga teitei". Now in your pairs I want you to – one [person] to say it to the other and then that person to say it back. What happens is that people immediately there's this buzz because everybody is giving it a go because they are not saying

> it to everybody they are just talking to one other person. To me that's tuakana/teina but it's more the pairs idea. (D, 14/8/08, pp. 148-162)

Other examples labeled by participants as tuakana/teina are:

> And when I match up our … students with [the complex] language pieces, … I term that the teina/tuakana context. … Some of our students already are quite proactive about that too. Because I've had some students say "I'm going to sit with so and so" so now they're doing it themselves. (A & B, 28/4, p. 56)
>
> I also in terms of, I'm consciously aware of a couple that are English second language learners in my class and one of the things I really push is making sure and I guess its that tuakana/teina that happens, that other students are supporting them in terms of them understanding what's required of them. (G & H, 2/5, p. 32)

Koakoa

Four of the eight participants commented on koakoa. The normal English glosses are joy or happiness and in the classroom it translates for these participants into fun and humour:

> Kia ora, I think koakoa is really important. I think humour is really essential to my teaching anyway. Mainly because I think sometimes some of the content is so boring, how can I put this across to most of my students. (A & B, 28/4, p. 21)
>
> Koakoa to me is a feeling – it's about how you make the student and the teacher feel in the teaching and learning. (G & H, 24/7/08, p. 8)
>
> Well I know what guides my teaching style is definitely whanaungatanga first so I'm always irrespective of whether I'm not feeling 100% or if I'm not happy with the particular lack of progress with individuals in class I always use humour throughout my teaching time. (A & B, 28/4, p. 10)

Reflection

A number of the comments and discussions can be categorised as types of reflection. Comments range from seeking and eliciting feedback, reviewing and recapping to analysis and critical reflection. For example:

> Always a lot of, I don't start with "our learning intention today is" I always start with a review of the last session. (A & B, 28/4, p. 11)

One participant offered this definition of reflection:

> I've always asked my students to reflect but I don't use the word reflect. I use the words "Be honest with yourself". Especially when I've asked them to do a little task and a number of individuals don't. (A & B, 28/4, p. 59)

This same person and one other spoke about reflection within Māori contexts. For example:

> Well I use the metaphor quite frequently with my class of being aware of taumata [levels]. And so yeah I do that regularly on Mondays and Thursdays and ask them to self evaluate. I don't say give me your answers – just tell me where are you? Are you still setting tables or what? The setting tables is your beginning of your life on a Marae, then you go to washing dishes, then you go to putting out the kai, then you're allowed to sweep the ātea [courtyard of meeting house], then you're allowed to do the greeneries for the tangihanga [funeral ceremony] and the epitome [is being called upon to do] the karanga [formal call of welcome] or taumata [place from which speech making occurs]. So you know I always ask them "Where are you in our Marae?" (A & B, 28/4, pp. 132-133)

Another struggles with the concept of critical reflection which is a major theme in the qualification they teach. They give the following as an example of critical reflection for them. They are speaking about colleagues at their work site.

> That's why I've said over here that [with] karakia [prayer] … critical reflection is needed because I think that they reflect on it but I don't think they critically reflect on it.

> [Myself] Don't learn a lesson out of it you mean?
>
> Well, for example, if everybody [is] getting ready for karakia and the best speaker of Māori there happens to be a woman do you still enforce the fact that women don't say karakia [with] in [X tribal area].
>
> [Myself] Yeah. What are you trying to communicate here?
>
> Yeah. What's important? For myself, recognising that [issues to do with Māori language revitalization] aren't great by a long chalk [is very important]. So therefore, it's still about nurturing and making sure that the best examples/exemplars of Te Reo are there in front of us while they are still here. And so therefore the critical reflection and say that you would try and get the best for the people that are there to listen.
>
> [Myself] [They are] putting across the gender message as being more important than the karakia message? (D, 14/8/08, pp. 164-175)

Lecturing

Views about lecturing as a delivery method varied. The following is an oppositional view and is the more common:

> I remember how it was when I was at [X university], I was there for x years and I couldn't stand some of the lectures when you just went in and you just sat and listened for two hours to someone speaking. You know I thought I'm never going to do that here because I learnt nothing, I learnt nothing from that. Everything I learnt at particular lectures at [X university] I had to reread and re-look at all the readings and theorists that that particular lecturer was talking about. And even go to tutorials. … So I didn't want to do that to these students I wanted to make sure that the understanding … came during that lecture period. And I believe I don't lecture. I don't like calling myself a lecturer, I like to call myself a teacher, a teacher/learner. (A & B, 28/4, p. 51)

For others the issue was a little more complex. Ambivalence towards lecturing had to do with the dearth of feedback it gave about how well the students had understood:

> We don't lecture.

Lecture definitely, yeah no yeah that's one thing we say we don't do. Because you soon lose them after a little while, yeah. Even though I prefer to learn that way, I prefer to be lectured to sometimes.

If you want to write notes or something at the end of the session you never sort of know whether they're going away with anything. (E & F, 29/4, pp. 57-59)

D, however, was fully supportive of lecturing as a delivery method, if done well:

So you've got lectures and I've been talking about information sessions and training sessions. When we went over this with my class there are definitely ways of doing lectures that can create more powerful learning. I had two students – one that stood up and delivered a lesson in the French language and the second one who delivered the lesson in Jamaican. Oh, shit, talk about fun. The fun part was just amazing. (D, 14/8/08, pp. 121-123)

Storytelling

One of the participants referred overtly to story telling as part of their own methodology another described its use by a colleague:

So on that yeah I place a huge emphasis I suppose on prior knowledge, you know and drawing all that out first and then and trying to attach that to a Māori context really. … For instance … the Poutama model[3] … and so you draw out what they know about how kids learn and then introduce the Māori contextual version … its like the poutama … pattern. Then you do the story … of Rangi and Papa and Tane and Wairangi … and I find that all those stories engage some of the learners but not all but through the combination of using a variety of strategies I hope at the end that somebody has got something from it. (E & F, 29/4, pp. 39)

And so she [a teaching colleague] proceeded to tell a story to the tamariki [children], she was telling the story … of Rangi and Papa so that

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[3] Royal-Tangaere's (1996) interpretation of Vygostky's "Zones of Proximal Development" utilising a Māori weaving pattern called Poutama.

> methodology I realised was a story telling [one] that was totally different to what I learnt at training college and all the flash mod cons. (G & H, 2/5, p. 12)

Don't tell them everything

In her ethnography of teaching and learning in an Ahipara community, Joan Metge (1984) describes the withholding of information as a common practice amongst the community teachers. Learners needed to find out the missing parts of the story on their own, through their own efforts or their own mistakes.

This practise is echoed by one of the participants:

> And the kaupapa I've briefed them on what the kaupapa is. They either have to rangahau [research], the kaupapa … I don't give it all on paper. … It was quite funny because … Uncle said, "You don't give everything" and I thought to myself, 'Gee, that's what I do, I give them some and they have to fill in the gaps.' A lot of my mahi [work] is done that way because for me if you give it all at once well they're not learning at all. (C, 28/4, p. 16)

Stop, look, listen

Three people echoed the literature (e.g., Metge, 1984) with comments along these lines:

> I always reiterate that this is breaking down your fear barriers of children. All the myths. You can't go in there with your aunty and your mummy and your older brother skills; you're going in there as teachers. You have to teach content, manage behaviour … assess these children, know how to analyse data … follow your associates, get on with your associates personality. Learn to stop, look and listen and not talk. (A & B, 28/4, p. 31)

> And things actually changed for me when I actually was forced to do Māori immersion teaching. And the first thing that happened to me was a little old Kuia told me to stop writing the things up all over the place and sit and listen and watch. And so she proceeded to tell a story to the

> tamariki, she was telling the story of … of Rangi and Papa. (G & H, 2/5, p. 12)

> I don't expect students to do what I haven't modelled for them first myself because quite often I think our people … like to watch and observe to get an idea. (G & H, 2/5, p. 33)

Theories of student learning

What theories of learning do people subscribe to?
How is the learner characterised?
("How is the learner characterised?"
"What part does the learner play in the way you teach?")

This discussion attempts to illuminate the participants "theories in action" (Barker, 2001) as opposed to their "espoused theories" through the questions, "How is the learner characterised?" and "What part does the learner play in the way you teach?"

Twenty-eight excerpts from the transcripts have been identified for this section. It needs to be emphasised that there is not always a clear match between data and formal learning theory and that different transcripts can be interpreted in different ways. Despite this, it was still thought that the following transcripts illuminate to some extent the participants' "theories in action." A more detailed discussion of these excerpts will occur in the discussion section. The following are typical examples.

Behaviourism

The examples below have been interpreted as examples of a behaviourist approach to student learning since they appear to characterise learning or not learning in an "action leading to consequence" way:

> [Myself] So you are quite happy to play - the informal term is the "witipū" (witch)?

> I don't see it like that actually, I just see it as be[ing] very firm but fair about what I expect from them. … and I follow that up you know I make sure, checking them off every time … I just think its about being clear and just being consistent. (G &H, 2/5, p. 87)

> So they might come in and they do stuff – pouring their heart out and I [listen and then say,] "So when did you say you're going to get your assignment in?" and just keep it at that, "Oh tomorrow", so off they'll trot. … I think yeah we … we've got to give all our aroha [love and compassion] stuff but at the same time we've got to toughen them up for what they're coming in to do. And it is hard work isn't it? (E & F, 29/4, p. 96)

Barker, (2001) describes another aspect of a behaviourist approach as the breaking up of concepts into discrete parts. These can be acquired in an additive manner until the whole concept is understood or, in some instances, the understanding of some parts is a pre requisite to understanding others.

> If they haven't understood … poutama then I wouldn't introduce lets say Rose Pere's Wheke. If I do feel like they have grappled poutama really well then I'll start to draw in how this relates… to perhaps Mason Durie['s] Tapawha… (E & F, 29/4, p. 41)

The following is an example of the use of "neo behaviourist" (Barker, 2001) techniques. Examples of a neo behaviourist approach include such things as achievement objectives and learning outcomes and emerge from older behaviourist ideas around breaking down concepts into manageable parts as described above:

> Sometimes I start with a whakatauki. If it's a whakatauki that comes to mind that encapsulates what we are, the main focus for the day, learning intentions is always a key thing that we write on the board. And sometimes we discuss with the class or how can that be measured? How can we know that we've learnt that side of criteria? (E & F, 29/4, p. 20)

Humanistic

Barker (2001) characterises a Humanist approach as one where emotions, feelings and other non-cognitive aspects of the learner are acknowledged as having a profound effect on learning. The following are examples of this type of thinking expressed by the participants:

> Not only am I teaching but I also do pastoral care too, you have to because if you don't then they're not going to think learning, they're too worried about other things you know their stuff from home, their own domestic issues. But if you just share with them or are willing to share like even just say "there are people here and student support", when they come back into the class they're ready to learn. (C, 28/4, p. 48)

> And that's another thing you know the wairua [spirit] has to be, the wairua of the student, the wairua of the kaiako [teacher], the wairua of my facilitators have all got to. … You know when the wairua is not good because … there are always some who will sit back so you know straight away that their wairua isn't good. So what we do is I actually take them through whakarite [prayers] … because a lot of them are from outside of [the tribal area] so they have to come to me for that if they want that. I do have … healers in my class as well. (C, 28/4, p. 56)

Social constructivism

Biddulph and Carr (1999) summarise a social constructivist approach to learning as involving the Piagetian ideas of assimilation and accommodation which point to the importance of prior knowledge and feelings being taken into account, as being greatly facilitated by interaction with others, and as involving a personal linking of ideas and skills. Scaffolding, i.e., any form of structured assistance which is then slowly taken away as the learner becomes more independent (e.g., Alton-Lee, 2003), is also a central concept in social constructivist learning theory. The following transcripts appear to utilise social constructivist terms and concepts:

> I do believe though that students need to learn, they are given something new and they need time to work with that new idea. (D, 29/4, p. 13)

I guess for me I'm always trying to sort out where their learning is at. You know so it's pretty much a social constructivist view. Where is the learner at and where does the learner need to move to? (D, 29/4, pp. 82-84)

But during the lesson I always think you know like how can I engage them and usually through activities I've found useful. That the students questions and activities yeah that yeah engage the learners. Lots of groups. (E & F, 29/4, pp. 24-29)

My other inter-personal skills I feel is crucial for students to want to engage with me and to break down their fears of the content is that I always relate it to their personal experiences. (A & B, 28/4, p. 11)

Enactivism

As outlined in the previous chapter one of the most commonly cited examples of an enactivist approach to learning is "experiential learning" (Barker, 2001). The following is an example of this approach:

And in Maths we do break it up … because … many of them have had bad experiences in Maths so then we have to do this sort of you know there are other ways of learning Maths. We do games and stuff. And I think they like it because they can do these. I think its simpler, better too, when you don't have a lot of equipment, it's just a whiteboard or a bit of paper and they are things that they can do with their own kids at home so that hooks them up.

And then you talk about [the] rule, you know, what did you learn? What is the learning going on within a game? So that it's not just about Maths it's about games. It's going backwards and forwards I think.

[Myself] So is there a bit of like do an activity and then reflect on that activity type system?

Yeah, yeah like how would you, what did they learn then? (E & F, 29/4, pp. 34-37)

Other teaching behaviours and characteristics

Following the literature review, I have chosen to use a list of teaching behaviours and characteristics derived by Bishop et al. in 2003 in order to categorise the statements made by the research participants. A summary and explanation of Bishop et al.'s (2003) list may be found in the literature review section of this report.

Manaaki

Six of the eight participants made comments which might be categorised as exhibiting manaaki. For example:

> I think and it's probably because of how people think of me here and … because my students are special. I think they're special anyway. I mean everybody else, all the other students are but mine are mine because at the beginning you take a week to whakawhanaunga … they're like my daughters, they're like my own whānau that come and my nannies are like my nannies. Even though the professionalism is still there, I [am the] kaiako … but we're able to work like that. I see them all as part of my whānau, not students who have come in to get a Certificate, but they become my whānau. So we noho like that, we stay like that for the year. And the same with my kuia, they're all kuia but they call me nana. They're 70 odd and they call me nana. (C, 28/4, p. 86)

> A good teacher is somebody who knows who their students are, knows something … about their students, makes allowances, you know, because of their knowledge of what their students lives are about. (D, 29/4, p. 163)

Mana motuhake

All participants made comments that could be classified as a care for the performance of their students. For example:

> No I'm not afraid to push them. Push them, if I know, well they all have potential. You know so, and it's about cracking the whip sometimes. I get mangere [lazy] ones, you know, I just tell them and I think that is the reason why these others won't take my class. (C, 28/4, p. 88)

> [Myself] There's a comment you made in those transcripts somewhere about how teaching is hard and you just have to accept that and get on with the job.
>
> Build a bridge – let's get on with it?
>
> And they need that. They need to know that within that embodiment of aroha [love and compassion] I suppose there's a light and [X kaiako] is it.
>
> Yeah, don't come to me if you want … aroha.
>
> But then in a strange and interesting way you still are, you still do have that [aroha].
>
> [Myself] Aroha doesn't mean an easy pushover.
>
> No, that's right. That's what I'm trying to say, is … that type of aroha is needed to get from here to there. (E & F, 29/4, p. 178)

Ngā tūranga takitahi me ngā mana whakahaere

In terms of a secure, well managed learning environment, the following comments are indicative of those made:

> I think a good teacher challenges us to think more deeply, to think more widely, to extend ourselves. But in extending ourselves still there is still some kind of safety rope there so that you know you can try for something and if it doesn't work well that's fine there is still this other thing that's there that will support you. (D, 29/4, p. 163)

> But for me and I go back to my tipuna, … and the way they taught me, I wasn't pushed into things. The only thing I was pushed into was going away, leaving my Community, my whānau and being sent away to College … while I was growing up it was all about … [the tikanga of my rohe]. Why [the tikanga of my rohe] was important, what we had to do, listening to the kaumatua, listening to all the whakatauki and all they wanted was that somebody was taught all these things and they didn't – there was no harshness. (C, 28/4, p. 81)

Wānanga

The following may be categorised as effective teaching interactions:

> A good teacher is when I understand the message that the teacher is trying to put across to me. And the message is clear. It maybe a complex message that's got many levels, … I understand how they're connected and I can go away and work with them. (D, 29/4, p. 169)

> But during the lesson I always think you know like how can I engage them and usually through activities I've found useful. (E & F, 29/4, pp. 24-29)

> Learning styles to me is about dealing about diversity. We are recognising that the learners in front of us are diverse and that they learn in different ways. But in order to address learning styles I think that the teacher needs to have a number of learning and teaching methods. … If there is a smorgasbord of methods around [the students] will be likely to pick up more things than they already have and therefore add to their kete. (D, 14/8/08, p. 115)

> Yeah I have to be clear in myself before starting out what it is I want them to know we'll be able to do by the end of a session. And it might be a few things. So I know what I think I know what I want them to know then that's half the thing, now how can we go about it? (E & F, 29/4, p. 31)

Ako

Under this category are placed comments that focus in some way on the teacher as learner:

> Yes, and what I think works for me too, a bit of my own learning style I suppose coming out there. And a lot influenced by what I read is effective pedagogy. You know for Māori [I read X research] report – I'm thinking, "Am I doing that?" But then you can try and do all those things and again a lesson can fail. You know, so there is no recipe at this stage for a stress free lesson I suppose. (E & F, 29/4, p. 192)

> But a teacher to me is somebody who is open-minded, knows their stuff and doesn't wing it. (C, 28/4, p. 84)

> You know good teachers are involved with research because how do you know where the frontiers are unless you're on them. (D, 29/4, p. 169)

> [Myself] You know I'm just sort of responding to what you're saying here … you used the term being innovative and exciting. So is that part of pedagogy for you – constantly searching for new ways of delivering?
>
> [I] think that's one of the reasons why I admire [Paolo] Freire because not only was he a theorist but he was a practitioner as well and so put it into practice. (A & B, 16/8/08, p. 5)

Kotahitanga

The following comments may be classified as pertaining to practices that lead to improvements in learning outcomes for students:

> [They are] a good teacher you know because [they are] reflective and like [they were] saying before I go 100 miles per hour then I back back and … I think. (D, 14/8/08, pp. 184-186)

> One of the things I do encourage though is that students feedback to me about how I'm delivering because I think I say "always feedback about ways that I could have done something better". (G & H, 2/5, p. 48)

> But, they practice. Everything they learned from [professional development course] well, they went back to the class and they did it. (E & F, 14/8/08, pp. 115-117)

Other characteristics

There were also other comments that are not easily categorised under the above headings and have to do with the personal character of the teacher. One has to do

with cultural adaptability and another to do with personal empowerment or personal agency:

> That's why I say – you have to learn to – it's like going to a different sort of university and it's the same with a Māori student who goes, or a Pacific Islander, who goes to a university, they have a certain way of doing something – they have to learn to adapt and teachers have to be adaptable – doesn't matter what the context is. … They ask themselves at [XXX] University – they're standing there, 1 in 100 people in the same lecture theatre, is this the right place. They either put their head down and go for it and accept that that's the way and they adapt or they get left behind. I think that's just the way it is. (G & H, 24/7/08, pp. 39-40)

> Ultimately though, my message is you have the power as a teaching practitioner to deliver a pedagogy that suits you. Basically that's my message. There are other things that will contribute to what you find out there but you can't control the teacher next door. You might be able, as a senior teacher, to give guidance but you can't ultimately control someone else. What you can do is manage yourself as a professional. (G & H, 24/7/08, p. 30)

The context and organisation of learning – the learning environment

When asked the question, "What constitutes a good learning environment for you?" all eight participants began their answers with comments on the physical environment. The following is a typical comment:

> Immediacy of resources. Accessibility to photocopying facilities, laminating facilities. Open and thankful Library service. Good nourishing affordable kai at the cafeteria. Clean user friendly bathroom facilities. A warm environment. (A & B, 28/4, pp. 109-115)

Five people commented on the emotional environment. For example:

> I think for me … number one in my personal view [is] the ways that a kaiako has to be open, trustworthy. … If a kaiako can go into a classroom and have a good āhua [way of coming across] all the time. That's what brings that good learning environment into the class … last week I've

had a lot of waiora [emotional and mental health] issues and [did not know] about them so if I go in there with a happy āhua then the whole class can pick up on that āhua too. (C, 28/4, p. 48)

For two of the participants students would feel more emotionally "settled" if the social milieu was right:

> And the other thing is why we like [the older site] is because we have this, it really was like a [Teachers' College campus]. I felt as if it had that environment conducive for the children to be around. And I really actually found it quite difficult [when we moved to this present site]. … There [is] no early childhood centre here. (G & H, 2/5, pp. 146-147)

Two discussions could be classified as pertaining to the cultural environment. For example:

> To me tikanga is about tika, aye, doing what's right and proper given the context that something has happened in. And so I think that tikanga is always important and therefore making sure that people are safe. You know people can't learn if they don't feel safe and so you know making sure that they are comfortable and doing those things.
>
> [Myself] And … mihimihi is an important part of that?
>
> Oh it is. (D, 29/4, pp. 117-119)

Two participants commented on the intellectual environment:

> A happy one. A busy one. It's got focus. What was your question again, "What is a …"
>
> [Myself] What constitutes a good learning environment for you?
>
> Yeah, good learning environment, yeah, purposeful learning, yeah, so there's a purpose and it's measurable at the end, get the students … participation. (E & F, 29/4, pp. 80-85)

> And [X tutor will] say, … that [their] whole [teaching] has changed. And [they were] saying that's the Wānanga that's allowed [them] to do that

> because we have had a lot of professional development in different ways of teaching. Where [they] sit in the office now with the [staff from another programme] they're forever talking about these things and [they are] picking up on it. (E & F, 14/8/08, pp. 115-117)

Two participants spoke of the spritual environment which will be discussed more fully below under the heading of "Karakia."

Curriculum

What is taught – both explicitly and implicitly?
What is it important for students to know – in te ao Māori, in the wider world?
(What is taught – both explicitly and implicitly?
What is it important for students to know – in te ao Māori, in the wider world?)

The conceptual model of pedagogy discussed in the previous chapter contends that teaching and learning are activities that emerge from and are influenced by the wider social context in which they occur. Following also Thaman's (1993) definition of curriculum, outlined in the literature review, curriculum is influenced by current perceptions of what is important knowledge.

Knowledge

The Programmes of Study for the qualifications taught by the participants of this research project are all available as public documents for public scrutiny and have been analysed as part of the literature review. It seemed important therefore not to inquire into the overt curriculum but to gain a sense of the things that the participants chose to emphasise in their own teaching. The questions asked were:

What do you teach – both explicitly and implicitly?
What is it important for students to know – in te ao Māori, in the wider world?

A number of themes can be identified:

- Māori Knowledge
    - Tikanga
        - Karakia

    - Māori context
    - Tribal History
- Values
- Diversity
- Dealing with Prejudice

These themes are reported on below.

Māori knowledge

Participants used two terms when describing Māori knowledge – tikanga and Māori context. Most spoke of tikanga as overt customs such as not harvesting harakeke when menstruating or not sitting on tables or taking your shoes off before entering a meeting house. It was also used for ritual and ceremony such as the formal ceremony of welcome called pōwhiri.

Māori context (cf. Easton et al., 2005; McKinley, 2005; Stewart, 2005; Wood & Lewthwaite, 2008) was spoken of particularly by those teaching in the pre-service primary teaching qualification. It indicates the use of Māori contexts to teach broader concepts, for example, when teaching the concept of displacement a Māori canoe might be used to illustrate the idea rather than a dinghy. When exploring the concept of identity a teacher might use a Māori carved treasure box (waka huia) for children to fill up with their likes, dislikes, strengths and weaknesses rather than a coat of arms.

Tikanga

> Oh yes [tikanga] is important. I teach it and I teach things like know[ing] about … powhiri – what happens here [in this tribal area]. I think it's important because if they are going to go out, the students are going to go out and be educators who best to teach them, teach our mokopuna than those who know what tikanga is about. Well, have to have a basic knowledge anyway. (C, 28/4, p. 43)
>
> Yeah, last year we went down to [local Māori festival] … simply because I had a lot of Pākehā in my class last year, never been to [local marae]

[they] weren't interested at all in tikanga, or things Māori. So I took them down there, said, "We're going!" And we went down there and it was just kapa haka [Māori performing arts] this particular night. So I said to them, "Well, at 8.30pm we're to leave". And I took them down there so that they can see that we eat together in the, you know [dining room] and said to them at 8.30pm we're leaving. Well it took me … just about till midnight to round them all up. (C, 28/4, p. 90)

Depends what you define as tikanga, what tikanga are you talking about. Because if you're talking … about whether sitting on the desks. … I mean you know those are all basic tikanga that we take for granted. Karakia and you know and all that sort of [thing]. In my teaching, like I also teach Technology, and we recently went out to get some, we were making manu aute or manu tukutuku [kites] so one of the key areas that I focused in on, even though it wasn't part of the lesson plan, was the tikanga behind you know getting harakeke [flax] and all those sorts of things. (E & F, 29/4, p. 102)

Karakia

There was a lot of discussion about a particular custom followed by all participants and that was the practice of reciting prayers at the beginning and end of classes:

Oh, karakia. Everything – education is tapu [sacred] – so therefore, any session that you have there should have been karakia, that should have been part of it and karakia as part of the end of that session so that the tapu of the learning that's taking place is recognised. I think that is quite a different position to the western position of what learning is – learning and teaching. That's my understanding of the transmission of knowledge is a part of wairua [spirit] and that karakia is a way of dealing with the wairua that's imparted or received in that process of teaching and learning. I think it's neat the way we can start off – it's more or less – it's a rule – every site must have karakia at the start of the day. So you've got this rule – but, in fact, that's just a rule to make it easier to enforce a policy in a policy-type way but it has much deeper meaning to it. I think sometimes it's that unpacking of the deeper meaning that not enough

> time is given [to]. I have heard people starting to question what is a wānanga? Wānanga has got to recognise wairua and one way of doing this is through karakia.
>
> [Myself] So why does a Wānanga have to recognise wairua?
>
> Because all knowledge is tapu. That's my understanding of that. Even the idea of ngā kete o te wānanga [the baskets of knowledge] were obtained from Io Matua Kore [Supreme Being] and so, therefore, that's where the tapu nature of knowledge came from was in that initial giving and so just as whakapapa [genealogy] goes from human into the gods then you get knowledge started with the gods and came down. (D, 14/8/08, p. 69)

> I found that it can be in conflict when we were first developing the Māori curriculum at this primary [school] … really do these children need to know the dimension … of Rangi and Papa and the dimension of Tāne and the dimension of Tūmatauenga. Do they really need to know that? And so the argument that came back from [senior colleagues] was they need to know these dimensions because that's where the language and tikanga has come from. (G & H, 24/7/08, p. 22)

There was also a sense in which the spiritual is quite pervasive. Although it would appear that the word "wairua" is being used in the same way as the English terms "esprit de corps" or "morale" in the following transcripts, it would appear that this type of "wairua" can also be effected by karakia indicating that it is more than just esprit de corps or morale:

> Yeah, but relationships could be about wairua too – that there's a positive wairua going on which means a good relationship. … And the negative – a wairua means bad relationships going down. (D, 14/8/08, pp. 82-84)

> And that's another thing you know the wairua [spirit] has to be, the wairua of the student, the wairua of the kaiako [teacher], the wairua of my facilitators have all got to. … You know when the wairua is not good because … there are always some who will sit back so you know straight away that their wairua isn't good. So what we do is I actually take them

> through whakarite [prayers] … because a lot of them are from outside of [the tribal area] so they have to come to me for that if they want that. I do have … healers in my class as well, and so the healers can pick up and I just know by one healer if [I] look at her I just know that … there is something happening in the room. … But we share it, we share our mahi [work] so the healers can say this is happening and we discuss it, the whole class discuss it. And then after the discussion those who are not feeling quite up to it will actually come away and maybe in the break say, "Well this is happening". (C, 28/4, p. 56)

However, there was a range of different views expressed about the reasons for karakia. For example:

> [Commenting on the above discussion with D] I don't have a deep, as deep a regard for karakia as that though I understand that korero and he tika tēnā [that is correct], that is a beautiful whakaaro [idea] from that colleague. Wonderful to have heard that. Very inspiring. I have to say we have karakia at the beginning of the day and at the end of the day, the first class and the last class. However, the only class that I do have karakia with is Te Ao Māori [The Māori World] at the beginning no matter where we are in the day's programme. Simply and the class are quite free – initially they were quite surprised by that and I said I would like to have karakia at the beginning of every Te Ao Māori session because we need to be grateful for the knowledge that we have received and this is from the old world, the old people and so it's a thanksgiving. They said, "What is our karakia and hīmene [hymn]?" It is [traditional songs from the tribal area], no hymns'. They said, "Why don't you want to sing hymns?" I said, because it wasn't Christianity that gave us Te Ao Māori. All this kōrero that's been given to us came from the old people who agreed to be published and we have got their works in front of us. All the waiata we sing will be from [local area], and waiata tawhito [traditional songs] so basically they know the waiata from [local area] very well! Sing it regularly. So that was a conscious effort on my part to show gratitude for that beautiful knowledge we still have and to acknowledge that we are in the [local tribal] boundary and [sing] their

waiata to say thank you. I love to have karakia because it helps us all to feel as a whānau and music is aesthetically, no matter if you sing flat, you don't play an instrument, music brings joy. Harmony, guitar, I believe it's an aesthetic experience and it is lovely for one moment in a day to put yourself on a plane because we are so busy. That's the one precious moment that we can be on a nice, calm plane (A & B, 16/8/08, p. 59)

I think it boils down to family expectation is that if you are going to lead and be a good model for future generations you have got to be seen to be practising these tikanga. (G & H, 24/7/08, pp. 13-14)

[Myself] Why do you support starting and finishing the day with karakia?

Because it's part of the kaupapa for the Wānanga. I guess it's about the linking of – it's beginning the day and linking to Atua [gods] making that link to Tangata [humans]. Making that link to where you are standing so I think it's an important part of who we are. Acknowledgement of source, acknowledge[ment] of who we are and it's an expression of that. For me it's just a normal part – I just see it as an integral part of what we do. It's really a celebration of being for me. (G & H, 24/7/08, pp. 18-21)

So that when I have a mixed range of students from different ethnicities so my first for me anyway the first thing I do is we have karakia and I teach karakia, Māori karakia. Just simple basic karakia so the tauira will feel free to come into this place and at least get an idea of how we see our teachings because for me it's about that in the beginning. (C, 28/4, p. 1)

Māori context

An example of Māori context within the primary teaching qualification is:

So you're teaching about Poutama and scaffolding, you know, Vygosky. … Vygotsky came up with this but Tangaere put it in a Māori context, you know, and this is how she played it out. And then after that [the students] thought, "Wow!" … So you're making Western connections to

Māori but emphasising the Māori as a beautiful way of depicting a Western model – by Vygotsky. (E & F, 29/4, p. 39)

Other examples of discussion of a Māori context are:

> I have noticed that while I have been observing there's been some students that don't use the Māori context in their classroom but when I point it out to them then the next time I come in they will do it. (E & F, 14/8/08, p. 25)
>
> [Myself] But why is Māori context so important?
>
> Oh, good. I think it's important because it's validating, legitimating our own values in this country and as tangata whenua that should permeate every aspect of our society. And, of course, where best to start than with our tamariki? Because they're our next generation and I still go to hui, conferences, and hear other Māori say 'don't teach Māori in your school'. (G & H, 24/7/08, pp. 31-36)
>
> They say, "What does [Māori context] mean when we're planning?" And I say for me when I ask you for Māori context I mean either [a] tikanga or Te Reo component and so that means when you're planning if you're using a topic – a rocky shore [for example], and you're using a tikanga element you need to plan and I want to see it in your lesson sequence, the delivery of that particular tikanga. If its turn the rock over when I've finished examining and taking observational notes about what's on the rock I'll turn it back … as part of the traditional practice, the tikanga practice but that needs to be included in your planning and I expect to see it. (G & H, 2/5, p. 153)

Tribal history

A knowledge of tribal history and tikanga was seen as important:

> I took my graduates on a trip … – did the Pā sites – from [XXXX] all the way down to [local historical battle site], and I was really lucky, because I was here, really lucky to get one of our kaumatua to come with us and

> do some kōrero as well as what the students had researched. (A & B, 16/8/08, p. 93)

> When I was at [X school] … the community directed the school. They came in and they told us what they wanted – well, that's the way I worked with them – what do you want your kids to learn about? So they would come in and they wanted them to learn about [local tribal history] and blah, blah, blah, and so we would match our programme to what they had put up, to what were their aspirations for next year. Then we would plan our trips and different things around what they had said. … They wanted every kid to be able to fish so we tied that into our programme and planning too. (E & F, 14/8/08, p. 161)

> But overall my teachings, my methodologies are I have to walk the students from the past, they have to have an idea of what has happened to the past to come to the present and what is better for our tamariki in the future. So that's basically how I teach. (C, 28/4, p. 11-12)

Other comments on Māori knowledge

There were many other comments on Māori knowledge throughout the transcripts. Other issues that participants spoke of included:

- Māori knowledge giving the Wānanga a different perspective, perhaps because there is a less rigid focus on the different traditional fields of study.
- The importance of the Treaty of Waitangi as a component of the teacher education qualification being taught.
- The need to make comparisons between the old world and the new.
- The deliberate exclusion of some Western educational thought in the qualification programme documents.

Values

Four of the eight participants spoke strongly of the importance of values to their teaching:

We were discussing those values, we were working with Rose Pere's Te Wheke and we were talking about those particular values that encompass in what we hear, they are sort of our underpinning philosophies for Te Korowai Ākonga so its really important that those particular values are somehow entrenched within what we do in Te Korowai Ākonga. And so it was really important for us to come up with different examples of each of those. … So we looked at some of the examples and I spoke about aroha and you could see some of the young ones go you know …

[Myself] Sex!

Yeah sex and all that and I went, "No, we're not talking about the aroha that you fellas are going to go down the back, you and whoever, … not that kind of aroha we're talking about unconditional love here" and that's what Pere talked about too. (A & B, 28/4, pp. 134-136)

Like our truths our seven [truths], like to fit in the degree.

[Myself] Where do they come from?

From the Conceptual Framework, like we use them everyday.

We use them everyday this is what we expect from you and you can expect from us and this is what it looks like in reality in practice. No use having values unless you're practicing them, that's what we believe.

[Myself] So this Conceptual Framework stuff … is not just [rhetoric?]

No its huge its become more and more important for me like I can finally see how I mean coming back to our name of our qualification, Te Korowai Akonga [The Student's Cloak] just as I was explaining before just seemed like just a word with a korowai [cloak] but had nothing inside it or had no meaning until the Conceptual Framework. … They call it the values now, the aho tapu [first thread of a woven cloak] so that's the grounding pegs[4] and you can really feel it and see it and if we show how that acts out in practice and we do it you know then it all comes together and we feel part of that Korowai Ākonga, so that

[4] Traditionally a cloak was woven across two pegs which were stuck in to the ground.

> metaphor is very powerful. To me at this present time and I'm hoping for all the students to feel part of that yeah. That we hope that all our students can feel where they are in this whole Korowai Ākonga. So it's just not for the leaders … and for us as kaiako but for our students. (E & F, 29/4, p. 122ff)

Diversity

Three participants also made comments that can be categorised as comments on diversity:

"This lead up to your practicum is not to show you how to teach while you're on practicum, your associate will model that but this practicum is to help you to recognise that there are five groups of learners in front of you." And its gotten to the point now where they all mouth it back to me and I'm saying it, the gifted, the behaviour needs, the special needs, the immigrant child, you know and then the Māori child. (A & B, 28/4, p. 30)

> Just talking to some of my graduates last year, both non-Māori, what they liked about coming on to the programme is not now that the kete is full of things Māori, not just that, but the fact they realise that every child has a culture, not just Māori. Because they were entrenched in this idea of things Māori and culture being so important and intrinsic to teachers knowledge so that they can teach Māori children it is also important for them to realise that every single child in their classroom has a culture and they must get in touch with that to be able to teach effectively. (A & B, 16/8/08, p. 40)

> Learning styles to me is about dealing about diversity. We are recognising that the learners in front of us are diverse and that they learn in different ways. But in order to address learning styles I think that the teacher needs to have a number of learning and teaching methods. (D, 14/8/08, p. 115)

Dealing with prejudice

Three participants spoke about what they said to teachers or student teachers who were confronted by Māori disadvantage:

> What we teach here is conscientisation really, in that we make them aware of the impression … surrounding tamariki Māori and ourselves as people over the years. Once they are free from that then they are looking out for it as opposed to just accepting this as the way it is. So it's a positive thing but how do we bring balance now to say, let's be proactive about this for Māori. (E & F, 14/8/08, pp. 56-57)

> The other ones are real staunch[5] … when you find this identity thing I think you go through that – that radical thing, "Poor me, … you don't [expression of anger] and I'm going to fix the world!" And then they will come back to a balance, hopefully.
>
> [Myself] So, how do you teach people to cope with that racism that they see out there? I mean I shouldn't be calling it racism, that's a bit heavy isn't it?
>
> No, institutional racism, that's what it is.
>
> I just teach them to make a difference themselves. They can only change themselves and their attitude to those around them. (E & F, 14/8/08, p. 67-70)

This sentiment was echoed elsewhere:

> However, I just tell them that once they are at this stage where they have got their own classroom they will be expected to follow some guidelines but in the end the delivery of the content is something that they have to have some control over. So, it's about that one person seeing themselves as being in power, delivering in a way that both suits them and incorporates those elements … and that's why I make such a big issue about ensuring that with their planning for every curriculum area the Māori context has been planned and thoroughly thought through in terms

[5] Students who identify strongly and positively as Māori.

> of your practice, in terms of tikanga, in terms of your te reo component, how you are supporting it in your classroom. (G & H, 24/7/08, p. 28)

Conclusion

The transcripts have provided a rich picture of the teaching and learning world of this small cohort of Māori teachers. Their practice is revealed as being heavily informed and influenced by their Māori culture. Major influences include:

- Their conception of Māori in relation to Pākehā as disadvantaged and devalued.
- Māori cultural concepts such as whanaungatanga and whakawhanaungatanga in particular but also such things as tapu and wairua.
- Māori practices such as karakia and hui.
- Māori values such as manaakitanga and aroha.

The next chapter will show how the social and economic reality for Māori also impacts on their teaching.

The above discussions give an insight into how the picture described in the literature is lived on a day to day basis in the tertiary classroom. While there are many similarities there are also contrasts and adaptations to the reality on the ground. A picture emerges of teachers who prioritise an engagement with their students as real, multidimensional people. They utilise strategies such as playing multiple roles and humour as well as Māori cultural practices such as whakawhanaungatanga, mihimihi and problem solving hui to achieve this in the physical dimension. The pervasive use of karakia could be seen as an attempt to achieve the same in the spiritual dimension.

While they are pragmatic and willing to try anything they favour multisensory approaches but with a preference for visual and kinesthetic strategies which show more than just a flair for it. Group work of any sort also seems a privileged strategy with a variety of "tuakana/teina techniques being described and utilised. Reflection is also utilised, particularly in the cognitive domain through feedback, analysis of an activity completed and critical reflection but also in the social and emotional domain such as the "Where are you on our marae?" type. Classical strategies such as "Stop,

Look and Listen", story telling and witholding all the information are also in evidence.

All participants reported aspects of a Māori conceived model of effective teacher characteristics in their practice. The learning environments they created were characteristically Māori not only in a physical sense but also socially and culturally. What was taught reflected some Māori priorities.

Discussion

Ko te kai a te rangatira he kōrero (traditional proverb). The food of chiefs is talk.

Overview of the Chapter

This chapter returns to the main purpose of the study explained in the Introduction, that is, to describe a Māori pedagogy. One that has its roots in pre-European times, that has been transformed during colonial times but continues to be a mechanism grounded in a Māori ontology, epistemology and axiology that serves to pass these on to future generations. The pedagogical model which has been used throughout this thesis has provided a template for describing a socio-political and cultural world within which is situated a set of teaching and learning methodologies, motivation techniques, teaching strategies, assessment practices, etc., as well as a curriculum informed by the socio-political and cultural context. It allows for the discussion of ideal environments, teacher characteristics and other behaviours, all grounded within particular theories of learning.

It is important to note that in attempting to paint a picture of a Māori pedagogy in this chapter no attempt is made to also compare it with a "Western" pedagogy or indeed any other pedagogy described in the literature. This is because pedagogical discourses are very wide and diverse. They range across a myriad of international social and political contexts and stretch across the full array of learning theories, curricula, environments, organisation of learning, teacher characteristics and behaviours and methodologies. Any comparison could only deal in generalisations and would not be valid.

It will also be claimed by some that many, indeed all the elements of a Māori pedagogy described below can be found in other, non-Māori pedagogical discussions. Ideas around student agency can be found in Freire (e.g., Freire, 1996) and the other critical theorists, ideas around a relational pedagogy are covered by Gay (e.g., Gay, 2000) and others, reflection as a fundamental teaching tool is discussed in most introductory teacher education textbooks, curriculum integration is

well discussed by Beane (e.g., Beane, 1997) and others, sophisticated approaches to group work are covered by Brown and Thomson (e.g., Brown & Thomson, 2000) and others. While Māori may have unique insights to offer into these various strands, for example the reciprocal teaching described as “ako” and Bishop and Glynn’s (1999) idea of “whānau” as a metaphor for the teaching learning process, my main aim is to look at all the previously disparate elements of a Māori pedagogy as a totality. It will be seen that, taken together, a unique mechanism of cultural and social reproduction exists which is much more than simply the sum of its parts.

It was proposed that the model allowed inferences to be made from observed behaviours about what were the underlying theories of learning “in action” and vice versa and to provide a place for wider political and cultural discourses and how these might influence teaching and learning. The following discussion attempts then to do two things:

- To synthesise the literature with the practices and beliefs reported by the research participants.
- To illuminate the links between socio-political and cultural themes present in the outer circle of the model and the theories and practices described in the “pedagogy” circle.

The discussion does not follow the same organisation as previous chapters. Some of the kaupapa Māori principles have been omitted because they have been subsumed into other areas or because not all the principles were equally represented in the discussions with research participants. This is not a suggestion that these things should be deleted from G. Smith’s (2000) principles, merely that they were given less coverage in the discussions of the research participants. Curriculum has been placed first within the Pedagogy section because, as has been explained above, it is closely informed by the wider Māori context and conclusions drawn are similar to those for Te Ao Māori.

Te Ao Māori

Socio-political and cultural forces

The Māori world revealed by the literature is rich in concepts, customs, practices, institutions and values which emerge, though transformed, from pre-European times. These include aspects such as tapu, noa, mana, tika, pono and aroha, tribal knowledge and history, Māori arts, Māori specific subject knowledge and the Māori language, whānau, whenua and whakapapa. There are also discourses that have arisen since and often because of colonisation. One particularly pertinent to this thesis is "tino rangatiratanga".

Tino rangatiratanga

For the most part discussions with the research participants concerned issues typical of any teacher, the issues of content and method, assessment, deadlines, dealing with bureaucracy and the minutiae of the institution. At times however, particularly when discussing students and children, a passion was revealed that transcended the day to day grind and pointed at a perspective emerging from the margins rather than the mainstream. Research participants share the view of Māori/Pākehā relations reflected in commentaries such as:

> "If you are Māori, then on average you are three times more likely than Pākehā to be unemployed, twice as likely to leave school without qualifications, four times more likely to be convicted by a court, you are likely to die seven years earlier and your income is likely to be 20 per cent below that of Europeans.
>
> These figures show that Māori are worse off because of their race. They reveal that Māori suffer from institutionalised racism in capitalist Aotearoa, despite yesterday's government slogans about "one people" and today's official platitudes about "biculturalism." ... It's racism that flows from the whole structure of the state and the whole system of social relations." ("The struggle to defeat institutionalised racism" 1994 p1)

Consequently, they also reflect ideas similar to G. Smith's (2000) and Bishop's (2001) principle of Tino Rangatiratanga, which gives a mission to education to

support "the economic, cultural, environmental and social needs and aspirations of Māori, and all Aotearoa" (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2004a, p. 4).

Particpants see their role as, among other things:

- Assisting the otherwise unsuccessful to attain higher levels of educational achievement (C, 29/4/08, p. 72).
- Privileging those who have not been privileged by the mainstream system (G & H, 24/7/08, p. 58).
- Educating teachers to be more properly equipped than in the past to enable Māori children to meet their potential (A & B, 16/8/08, p. 42).
- Supporting Māori cultural preservation and reproduction (D, 29/4, p. 28).

A number of participants also spoke of the importance for them as teacher educators:

- Of assisting students to be aware and cater for all forms of diversity (A & B, 16/8/08, p. 40; D, 14/8/08, p. 115).
- Of upskilling them in how to deal with racism and prejudice by conscientisation (E & F, 14/8/08, pp. 56-57).
- Assisting them to come to a balanced view (E & F, 14/8/08, pp. 67-70).
- Developing their own personal agency (G & H, 24/7/08, p. 28).

Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga

Following on from the above discussion, another way in which issues within wider Māori society effect the teaching of the research participants is in their response to the issues of poverty, marginalisation and lower educational achievement revealed in statistics such as those quoted at the beginning of this thesis. Te Wānanga o Aotearoa deliberately targets students who have not benefited from mainstream education, who want a second chance in accessing formal education, who are long term unemployed and who represent the lower socio-economic groupings in New Zealand (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2004a). It is highly likely therefore that they will have a large proportion of students for whom overcoming the multiple challenges of gaining a qualification at Levels 4-7 of the NZQA Framework will be problematic.

G. Smith (2000, p. 67) and Bishop (2001) speak in terms of the kaupapa Māori nature of an institution enabling people to overcome difficulties caused by poverty or other debilitating social circumstances and commit seriously to what that institution has to offer; G. Smith (2000, p. 67) because kaupapa Māori is "such a powerful and all embracing force" and Bishop (2001) because of the higher home school congruency it offers.

While G. Smith (2000) and Bishop (2001) are undoubtedly correct, at the level of the day to day to grind where students are having to balance difficult academic work with family and social lives – often from a place of relative disadvantage, the reality for the research participants reflects Freire (1996) as much as it reflects G. Smith (2000) or Bishop (2001) when he says:

> It is essential for the oppressed to realize that when they accept the struggle for humanisation they also accept from that moment, their total responsibility for the struggle. (Freire, 1996, p. 26; cf. Royal-Tangaere, 1996)

Consistent with the preference for relationship based teaching methods already described and echoing the literature (cf. Metge, 1984), most research participants conceptualised student difficulties in terms of personal responsibility. A comment by A is typical:

> 'Fail' is not a word that is common around our programme. If they don't hand in assessments there is a lot of consultation there. We don't just send a letter saying, 'That's it!' It's half a dozen phone calls to their cell phone. You know they are not picking it up because when their mates ring [them] straight away they get an answer. … Most of the students, in fact all of the students I have spoken to, agree, in consultation, once you get to talk to them, the consequence is right and there's no way they will achieve the way they are going. Usually when you talk to them, it's usually external issues that affect them. It has nothing to do with the Wānanga even though you might hear stories later 'Oh, the Wānanga kicked me out,' and all this stuff – 'Oh, tell the truth man!' It's not about the Wānanga, it's about their own personal issues. (A & B, 16/8/08, p. 35)

Personal responsibility was normally couched in terms of the group. One participant used kapa haka [Māori cultural performance] as a metaphor whereby the teacher had a poi [decorative ball on the end of a string] to twirl and the student did also, it was only by both upholding their responsibilities correctly that the performance would be a winning one. The idea of rowing a waka (canoe) was used in like manner. Most participants spoke of continually clarifying their "expectations" for the students. These expectations were in fact the students' responsibilities as a student and included things like attending regularly, handing in assignments on time, participating in class and assisting other students. These were often couched in "these are my responsibilities, however these are also your responsibility" terms.

Coupled with the emphasis placed on personal student responsibility within the group there was also a large reported commitment to student welfare or pastoral care of students (Cf. comment quoted in the previous chapter from C: "Not only am I teaching but I also do pastoral care too…" (C, 28/4, p. 48))

Finally all participants gave examples of or were able to articulate strategies they used to assist those with particular difficulties. The most common of these was that characterised as the "tuakana/teina" approach, that is, seating students with problems with those who were more able.

Tāonga tuku iho

There were mixed messages when it came to tāonga tuku iho. While all participants spoke of the inclusion of tikanga in their practice, there was no sense in which this was systematic and pervasive. Indeed comments by three participants were typified by the following:

> Supposedly the Wānanga, it's driven by tikanga. And you know it's supposedly the norm in it's practices … the kaiako is constantly … aware of tikanga that they have to follow. But again it's about when it's appropriate. And sometimes it's overlooked and especially in content things and how you're going to deliver it. (G & H, 2/5, p. 156)

Wairua

The tikanga practiced most pervasively and the most visible expression of ideas around wairua, tapu and noa was karakia. Ideas of wairua, tapu and noa appeared to be contested amongst research participants. While explicit reference is made to tapu by one participant in relation to knowledge (cf. D, 14/8/08, p. 69), their views on this issue were not necessarily shared by the others. Karakia was normally recited at the beginning and end of every day and at meal times (e.g., G & H, 24/7/08, pp. 18-21). Two participants, in giving a rationale for this practice, referred to the myths and cosmologies described by Waikerepuru (2004), Roberts and Wills (1998) and Royal (2003). For others, the rationale for the practice was more diffuse and included:

- Family expectation.
- As a thanksgiving to ancestors for knowledge handed down.
- For strengthening relationships between students and teacher.
- For stress relief.
- Because of its aesthetic value.
- Acknowledgement of source and identity.

Apart from karakia the legacy of the highly developed cosmologies and spiritual world described by Marsden (Royal 2003) and others appears to remain in the pervasive nature of wairua (cf. D, 14/8/08/ pp. 82-84; C, 28/4, p. 56) and the difficulty participants expressed in accepting the Descartian mind/body split central to positivist science. As D states:

> Western knowledge has gone through lots of changes through the Enlightenment and those kinds of things so western knowledge has kind of separated itself away from ideas of spiritual, whereas I don't think Māori knowledge has. (D, 14/8/08, p. 74)

Whenua

Another concept central to the literature reviewed, that of whenua and its logical extension, place, was also present in participants' discussions but to a lesser extent. One participant described the importance for them of students acknowledging the place they came from as part of their identity and five others spoke of teaching local tribal history.

Whakapapa

The centrality of whakapapa as a Māori cultural concept in the literature was not reflected overtly in the discussions with the research participants. The literature discusses viewing the student as only one part of a long ancestral line, of the importance of learning one's genealogical connections, as a way of organising and frameworking knowledge, as taxonomy (Haami & Roberts, 2002). It has been put forward as a tool of analysis and as a central characteristic of a Māori epistemology whereby reality is "a continuous unfolding of vital generative processes, rather than as mechanical occurrences within inert material substance" (Haami & Roberts, 2002, p. 67).

The only explicit reference to whakapapa by the participants is where one suggests that for them one of the main reasons behind the practice of whakawhanaungatanga is:

> Being able to make some links, for others to make some links for other tauira or other whānau that are in [the] rōpu and to get a sense of where we all belong. (G & H, 2/5, p. 21)

As will be discussed more fully below under the concept of "whānau", whakapapa, as a relational concept, appears to be central in informing a pedagogy dominated by relational considerations.

Values

In the area of values, participants were strong in articulating the impact of these on their practice. This is particularly so for aroha. One discussion described in the previous chapter exhibits a highly developed understanding of aroha as "unconditional love" (A & B, 28/4, pp. 134-136). This section of the transcript then went on to discuss how the concept was introduced to students and how they were then encouraged to put it in to action for their peers. Other values spoken of by other participants included tika, awhina and manaaki.

Values were also apparent in a way that was almost equivalent to the kaupapa Māori idea of "kaupapa". While G. Smith (2000) was referring to Te Aho Matua when he

spoke of the principle of "kaupapa", both Bishop (2001) and Pihama et al. (2004) speak more generally of a "collective vision". Two of the research participants spoke in similar terms of a section within the conceptual framework of their qualification which they called the "seven truths" (E & F, 29/4, p. 122ff). These include the values of aroha, awhina and manaaki but also other concepts – koakoa, tikanga, whanaungatanga and whakapakari [to strengthen and mature]. E and F expressed a strong commitment to communicating and promoting these to the students and staff working in that particular programme and also to having them firmly entrenched and actioned

Te Reo Māori

Māori language was a course in each of the qualifications taught by the research participants, most peppered their conversations and discussions with Māori words, expressions and idiom and all spoke of speaking Māori to those students in their class who were fluent enough to be able to handle this. These students were also allowed under the qualification regulations to submit assignments in Māori. English was, however, the main language of instruction for all the research participants. This was for several reasons:

- Their own lack of fluency.
- The lack of fluency of the students.
- The fact that the majority of students would be gaining positions in mainstream schools and institutions when their qualifications were complete.

It could be said that the use of the Māori language amongst the research participants accurately reflected its use in wider Māori society.

Whānau

When asked the questions "What do you do?", "What don't you do?", "What do you do that might be different from a mainstream institution?" all participants began by discussing whanaungatanga and whakawhanaungatanga. Their entire teaching appeared to be heavily influenced by these concepts in a variety of ways including the way they viewed the student, the way they related to them and to colleagues and the preferred methodologies used to teach.

Participants saw it as a priority to view their students not simply and only as learners but to engage with them more holistically by:

- Being less formal than they might be in other tertiary institutions.
- Being seen as a “real”, multidimensional person yourself.
- Knowing students’ backgrounds.
- Being inclusive.
- Using preferred Māori methods of problem solving when relationships between students or between staff and students deteriorated.
- Actively following up those who are having problems either academic or social and personal.

The notion of whānau is also echoed in the overall preference for group work when teaching students. All of the participants reported using different types of group work whereby a group of students worked together to produce an output that showed their understanding, interpretation, etc. of the current topic. No particular configuration of students in groups was discussed but particular mention was made of students working as tuakana/teina. This had as many meanings as there were participants who discussed it, for example, simply working in pairs such that a synergy was created but in the main it appeared to be sitting more able or experienced students with less able or experienced students in order to assist them with the task at hand.

Pedagogy

Curriculum

Curriculum discussions within the literature are necessarily general rather than specific whilst comments in this area made by the research participants focus specifically on the area of teacher education because that is the area in which they teach. Their discussions echo the themes of the literature, however, in a number of ways. Firstly it is clear that these teachers have had some control over and buy in to the curriculum for the qualifications upon which they teach. This is evidenced particularly by the above discussions on values. E and F (29/4, p. 122ff) describe the importance to them of their “seven truths” which are embedded in their programme documentation during a hui revising the degree. These “seven truths” were identified

by the degree teaching staff as being of fundamental importance to them. Consequently they were written into the Conceptual Framework of the degree. Teacher control of curriculum is evidenced in other discussions as well: For example:

- The importance placed on students coming to an understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi.
- Māori language as part of all the courses upon which the research participants taught.
- Comments by G about how some mainstream knowledge and some mainstream authors were deliberately left out of the programme.

> [They] looked at my paper schedule and said, "There's somebody consciously, … made sure that the Western voice is out of this Education [paper]. [They've] left out whole blocks". So then I had to explain to [them] the reason why it was written this way. I said you can go to do Education in any other University … we consciously made sure that the readings were around Māori pedagogy, around Māori world view. (G & H, 2/5, p. 165)

Decisions either overt or not have obviously also been made about what traditional knowledge must be kept because it retains its relevance today. This includes tribal histories, karakia and rituals such as pōwhiri and mihimihi.

At the same time, however, this control over curriculum also reflects some of the challenges evident in the literature. Subject specific Māori knowledge was discussed as Māori context, particularly by those teaching on the pre-service primary teacher qualification. While examples of Māori context were given it was by no means obvious that there was a systematic approach to this and indeed two of the participants had this to say:

> We say we want … a Māori context but it's not written into our marking, you know when we go mark [the student teachers on practicum], our evaluation. It's not actually in there any more [in the recently redeveloped marking schedules]. (E & F, 14/8/08, p. 145)

It is clear that in a sector still dominated by mainstream forces the research participants were not including as much knowledge emerging from a Māori cultural framework as their mainstream counterparts were able to do from a mainstream cultural perspective.

Schwimmer (2004) characterises Māori society as an island archipelago constantly crossed using the "indestructible" methods of car and telephone. He cautions, however, that all these islands or spaces are continually contested by the mainstream who constantly seek to restrain Māori power. The development of new islands or spaces is, in Ranginui Walker's words, "a struggle without end" (Walker, 2004, cited in Schwimmer, 2004, p. 268). Māori ontology as expressed in tāonga tuku iho and reproduced in curriculum submits to the same analogy. While Te Wānanga o Aotearoa may be an island within the archipelago it is still contested space where some aspects are clearly visible such as whānau, whenua and whakapapa. Other aspects, however, have been drowned in the mainstream tide. The reports of the research participants on how some tāonga tuku iho are lived in their practice and passed on in their curriculum seem to reflect this idea. Many aspects of Māori culture need to be raised again through processes of recovery and transformation by a modern and probably collective Maui, [a demi god].

Teaching and learning methods

Holism

Holism weaves a number of themes within the literature together. These include M. Durie's (1994) Whare Tapawhā model of well being, curriculum integration and the use of methodologies and techniques which engage the whole learner.

When asked about holism, A had this to say: "holism, I don't usually use the word holism. Have never articulated that word to the class" (A & B, 29/4/08, p. 59).

This does not mean to say, however, that they or any of the other participants were unaware of its meaning or implications. Two others spoke specifically of the Whare Tapawhā model and described how they taught it in class. They also reported using it as a model for how they treated the students as adults and how they thought of their

class. The notion of koakoa, commented on by four of the participants, is another expression of this holistic view of the student because its use attempts to engage the whole student not just their cognition. Curriculum integration as another aspect of holism forms a third level course in the pre-service primary school qualification and two participants reported on how they tried to integrate some of their own classes. E and F (29/4, p. 151ff) describe utilising a common theme across a number of both curriculum and theory papers over three week periods in order to enhance student learning. Finally, the myriad methodologies described by participants cover – whether consciously or not – cognitive, emotional, spiritual and social aspects of the person as well as various learning styles. Types specifically commented by participants were visual and hands on activities but also such aspects as music, waiata, stopping, looking and listening.

To borrow then from Durie and the whare tapawhā which argues that all aspects of a human being need to be taken into account within the concept of "wellbeing" not just their physical health, (a more detailed explanation of the whare tapawhā can be found in the Literature Review), so holism within the Māori pedagogy described by the literature and the research participants might be depicted in the following way:

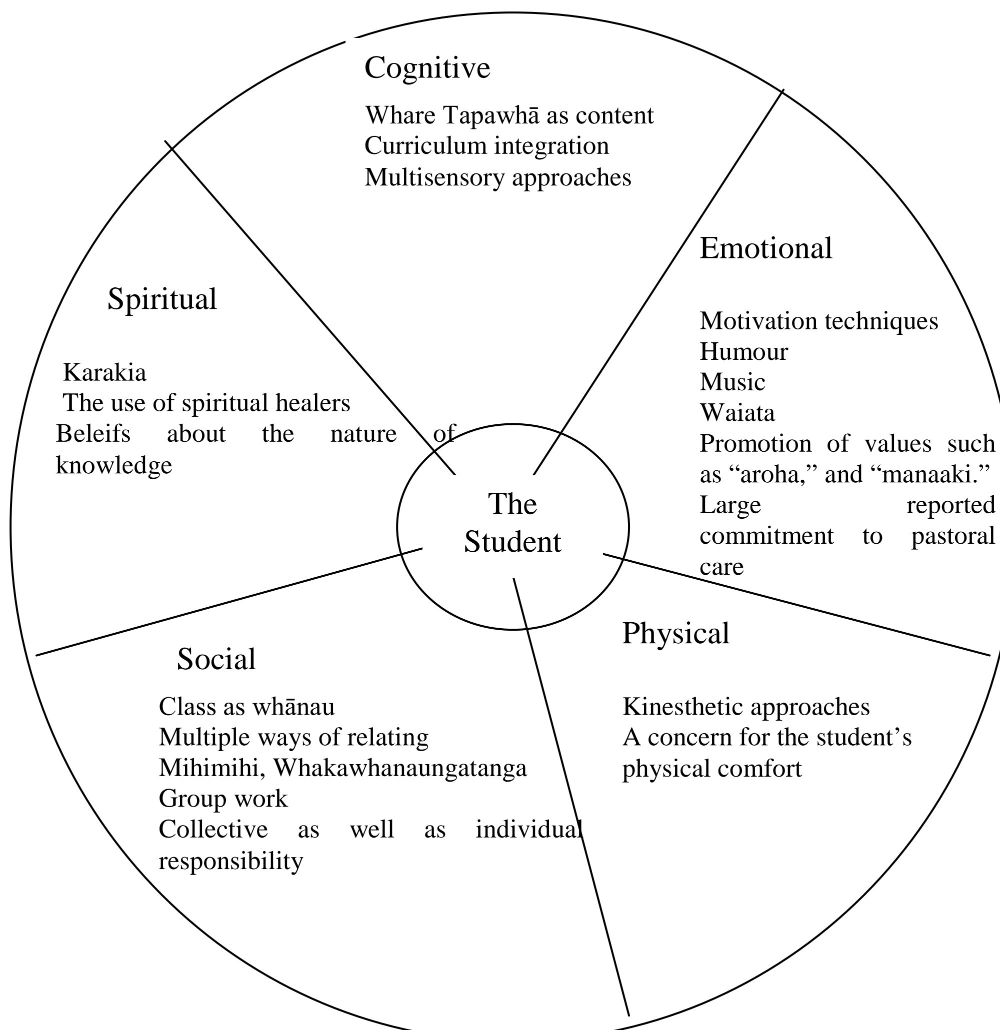

Figure 5: An holistic methodology

Reflection

Reflection was another unifying concept within the literature and was also a dominant theme within the transcripts. Within the literature, discussion of reflection tends to be highly theoretical and embedded in ways of teaching and learning such as narrative pedagogy, storytelling and in centring the learner as the focus of teaching and learning. Within the transcripts the place given to reflection tends to be more transparent and straight forward. It is described by participants as:

- Review.
- Drawing conceptual knowledge from practical experiences.
- Being honest with oneself about one's performance.
- Critiquing current practices.
- Giving and receiving feedback and feedforward.

One participant had developed a Māori context for scaffolding reflective practice with her students using the work done on a marae to cater for visitors as a scenario to reflect on academic progress.

In the sense that reflection is associated with both placing the learner at the centre of the teaching and learning paradigm and with feedback one of the participants rejected lecturing as a preferred teaching methodology because:

> If you [as kaiako] want to write [evaluatory] notes or something at the end of the session you never sort of know whether they're going away with anything. (E & F, 29/4, pp. 57-59)

Theories of student learning

Of the 28 excerpts from the transcripts that shed light on research participants "theories in action" (Barker, 2001) by far the majority indicated a socio-constructivist orientation especially since the sections of transcript analysed as socio-constructivist were sourced from all of the participants not just some. This finding is in line with the literature where those writers who refer to theories of learning (e.g., Bishop, 2003a; Hemara, 2000; Royal-Tangaere, 1997) overwhelmingly refer to a socio-constructivist approach. It is interesting to note, however, the continued popularity of views and behaviours that would appear to derive from a Behaviourist approach to teaching and learning. This could be because of the pervasive nature of the Behaviourist approach in New Zealand education or it could be to do with the pragmatism which is also evident in the transcripts in the sense of:

> No I just try anything. And I'm happy; I'm open to try anything. (G & H, 2/5, p. 48)

In all likelihood it is a mixture of both.

It is also appropriate to ask what the relationship is between theories of learning and cultural characteristics such as the importance of whānau, whakapapa and whenua which would also appear to have similar implications for teaching and learning as a socio-constructivist approach. In terms perhaps of each of the above theories and cultural concepts being seen as discourses, it could be said that the more liberal discourse currently holds sway amongst Māori educators. Though if this is the case, Hemara (2000) at least would probably argue that it held sway even in pre-European times. The contention of this thesis is that the importance placed on relationships by the research participants is far more fundamental than simply a current discourse (perhaps reinforced by the popularity of some current research), but is consistent with the epistemology and ontology of a Māori world view. As evidence of this, Fitzsimons and Smith (2000) describe Māori identity occurring at the intersection of the axes of whānau and whakapapa. Roberts and Wills (1998) suggest that the

contribution of a Māori epistemology to the world is that nature is “a continuous unfolding of vital generative processes” by reference again to the nature of whakapapa. The answers that the research participants and the above quoted authors might give to the ontological questions posed by Clammer et al. (2004), such as:

- how is the self defined?
- how is the world characterised?
- how should the self be in relation to the world both physical and social?
- what is the world and how is it constituted?

lead to the contention that a Māori ontology might be described as a relational one. Consequently, the emphasis participants place on relationships within their teaching is a logical outcome of this, it reaches beyond learning theories, it is fundamental to who they are socially, politically, spiritually and culturally.

Other teaching behaviours and characteristics

Following the literature (Bishop et al., 2003), there was evidence of the research participants exhibiting the characteristics of manaaki, building mana motuhake, expertise in managing ngā tūranga takitahi and mana whakahaere. There was evidence of some being experts at wānanga and ako and the development of kotahitanga. There were also other discussions around cultural adaptability and the development of personal agency in students which did not seem to fit so well into Bishop et al.’s (2003) categories as they define them. I would like, therefore, to add a seventh category called “whakamana” which could be said to encompass these elements which do not fit. I would argue that these are not merely miscellaneous add ons but are fundamental to characteristics and behaviours exhibited by the research participants in responding to the social reality in which their students find themselves. Aspects included within this seventh category include:

- Developing personal agency.
- Being able to adapt to life in situations where Māori is not the dominant culture but still finding “spaces” in which to be Māori.
- Developing a balanced approach to the experience of Māori marginalisation and racism in general.

The context and organisation of learning – the learning environment

While the main focus for the research participants when asked about the learning environment was the physical environment and the need to cater for the physical comfort of learners, there was also plenty of discussion of other aspects that contributed to a good environment:

- The way the kaiako comes across emotionally (cf. Bishop et al., 2003; Forsyth, 2006).
- The social milieu (cf. M. Durie, 1994).
- Cultural environment (cf. Cormack, 1997; Rubie et al., 2004; L. Webster & Tangaere, 1992).
- Intellectual environment (cf. Bishop et al., 2003; Cormack, 1997).
- Spiritual environment (cf. Pere, 1991).

As can be seen, these aspects are all reflected in the literature. While none of these aspects of a good environment are unique to Māori some of the expressions of them are. Concuring with the literature, it was important to the participants that the environment reflected Māori culture, not just in material ways but that it was also "safe" in other domains:

> I notice the question here on tikanga [custom] and to me tikanga is about tika [rightness, correctness] aye, doing what's right and proper given the context that something has happened in. And so I think that tikanga is always important and therefore making sure that people are safe. You know people can't learn if they don't feel safe …
>
> [Myself] And … mihimihi is an important part of that?
>
> Oh it is. (D, 29/4, pp. 117-119)

Discussion around the cultural milieu also seemed to reflect uniquely Māori priorities and tensions. G and H spoke of moving to a site with no early childhood centre attached and missing the "campus" feel that the presence of children gave them. The discussion turned then to, in their opinion, the over zealous, implementation of the policy of no children on campus unless in a supervised group. Management would no doubt couch the issue in terms of the rights of other students to learn without disruption but the research participants saw it instead as Western discourses on the

nature of the Academy being privileged over Māori ones. The middle way was to establish a child care facility on campus but such a move obviously has large financial implications.

While not overtly referred to by the research participants it was obvious simply from looking around their classroom spaces that they made sure that Māori material culture in the form of posters, and Māori art work was privileged over other forms.

Summary

In summary it can be seen that the discussions of research participants about their practice closely align with the literature but enhance it in a number of ways. They describe the practical ways in which they bring Tino Rangatiratanga to life in their classrooms. They understand the human face of the colonial legacy of poor health, non-engagement, lower levels of educational achievement and relative poverty and describe the practical ways in which they support their students through this. Elements of Māori culture such as wairua, tapu, noa, whānau, whenua and whakapapa so important in the literature are also present in both the formal programme documents utilised by the research participants and in their day to day practice. This is most obviously seen in the area of wairua through the regular use of karakia and in one instance in the utilisation of spiritual healers. It is also seen in the overt and hidden ways in which Māori values are taught. At the same time, however, participants report a constant struggle to give elements of culture their proper place and this is probably most particularly the case for the Māori language. Increasing control over curriculum is reflected both in the literature and in research participant discussion. Tensions remain, however, around the continued influence of mainstream priorities, what Māori content to include and not include, the development of new knowledge and issues of quality. The prominence given in the literature to holism and its various aspects such as group work, multisensory approaches and integration is also evident in research participant discussion. Reflection is also evident in their discussions but at a much more practical level than in the literature. With regard to theories of learning, the research participants seem to move beyond the level of theory and point to the idea that while theory explains some of their practice it is more likely that it emerges from a cultural ontology that through concepts and

practices around whānau, whakapapa and whenua leads to a view of the world and ones place in it as fundamentally about relationships. Other teacher behaviours and characteristics are well subsumed under Bishop et al.'s (2003) list but the research participants' commitment to Tino Rangatiratanga and knowledge of the social context within which many of their students find themselves mean that strategies of student empowerment are characteristic of their practice and strategies for student support are well articulated within a discourse of collective responsibility. Finally, in terms of the learning environment, both the literature and the research participants discussed aspects of the environment not unique to Māori but also described the uniquely Māori ways in which these aspects were covered. A new version of the pedagogical model amended to take into account the discussions of the research participants seems therefore to be appropriate.

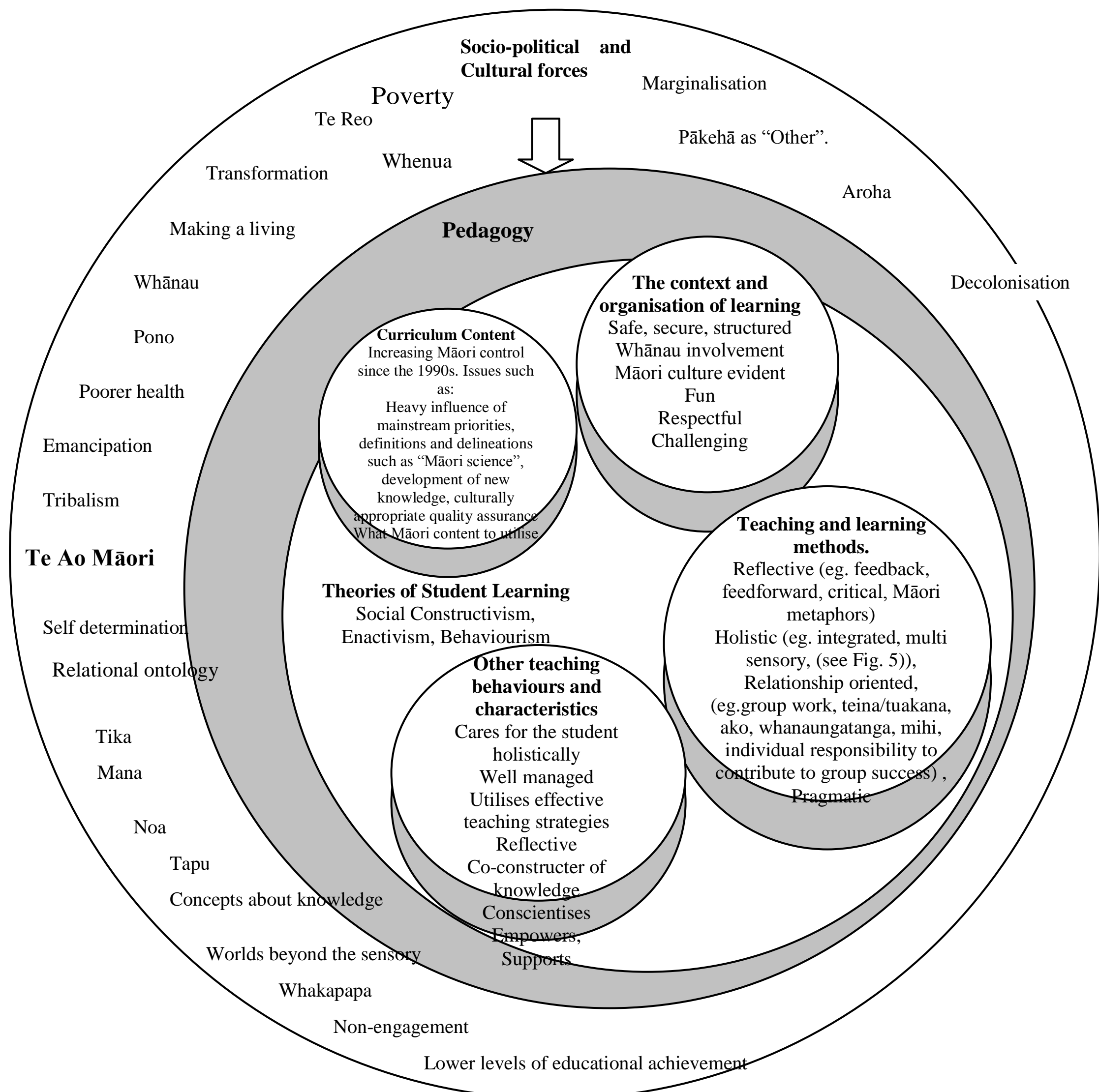

Figure 6: A model of a Māori pedagogy informed by literature and research participant discussion

This third iteration of the model enriches the picture presented by the literature as depicted in Figure 4 and illuminates more clearly the influence of each of its parts, one upon the other. It shows that theories of student learning prioritised in the literature and by the research participants and which are reflected in practice are underpinned by a relational ontology derived from the primacy of concepts such as whānau, whakapapa and whenua. It shows that the research participants are very aware of the marginalised nature of Māori and Māori culture and that this effects their sense of mission, their teaching characteristics and behaviours and methodologies. These methodologies utilise various forms of reflection and are rich in techniques that promote and utilise the group. The tension evident in the literature around curriculum content is reflected in research participant practice around the amount of Māori language utilised and the unsystematic inclusion of Māori content. The notion of wairua or worlds beyond the sensory is far more evident in research participant practice than in the literature particularly with regard to the pervasive practice of karakia. Some may find the model rather crowded but I am concerned that it not merely contain a series of rather meaningless sub headings. "Holism," for example, has many meanings across a number of different contexts so it seems important to ensure the model contains the particular meanings associated with its use within this Māori pedagogy.

Conclusion

He rā e tō, he rā e puta mai anō (The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1996). Sun sets and then rises again. Another day begins, the journey continues.

Summary

This thesis began with a description of kaupapa Māori which is the intellectual and social project from which this study derives, and to which it contributes. The hope was expressed that this thesis might contribute to the transformative praxis of Māori education institutions by contributing to the ongoing discourse on Māori pedagogies, with the aim of helping to inform and perhaps improve what is already being done and secondly to inform mainstream practice particularly in the area of teaching and learning for Māori in mainstream institutions. It has done this by synthesising the diverse and previously disparate literature on Māori ways of teaching and learning with the discussions of practicing Māori teachers to produce a more holistic, relational model that takes into account all aspects of the teaching/learning process. What was found is that while no single aspect of a Māori pedagogy is unique, taken as a whole, a unique and internally consistent process is readily discernible.

It is a pedagogy that has its roots in pre-European times, that has been transformed during colonial times but is still a mechanism grounded in a Māori ontology, epistemology and axiology that serves to pass these on to future generations. Large parts of teacher practice appear to spring from Māori conceptions such as whānau and whanaungatanga and from Māori values such as aroha and manaaki and from an acknowledgement of some form of spiritual dimension. Characteristics of a teaching practice that emerge from these discourses include an emphasis on the student as the centre of the teaching/learning paradigm and the importance of relationships expressed as a desire by the research participants to see the students as holistic, multi dimensional people and to be seen as such themselves. They utilise strategies such as playing multiple roles and humour as well as Māori cultural practices such as whakawhanaungatanga, mihimihi and problem solving hui to make these discourses real in the physical dimension. The pervasive use of karakia could be seen as an

attempt to achieve the same in the spiritual dimension. It is a teaching practice which gives preference to group work and various forms of reflection as primary learning tools. Emerging perhaps from the absence of a Descartian mind-body split in Māori knowledge traditions, various forms of holism are also privileged. These include multi sensory approaches but with a preference for the visual and kinaesthetic and the integration of subject matter across traditional Western classifications. Education for these research participants is also not solely concerned with the students cognitive development but also with their physical, spiritual and emotional well being. Emerging as it does from a relational ontology it is a practice aligned with and informed by socio-cultural constructivism but which is eclectic and pragmatic and not slavishly ideologically aligned. Participants view of their role is coloured by the history of Māori colonisation of the past 180 years and effected by the material and social conditions within which the majority of Māori find themselves. This is reflected amongst the research participants in a strong sense of mission to social justice for Māori and in an emphasis placed on the student upholding their responsibilities to learn within the group's effort to realise their desires. There is a strong reported commitment to student welfare and well articulated strategies of support for those with problems. The most commonly cited strategy was that labelled "tuakana/teina". Their practice is spoken of in Māori terms and is peppered with content that is characteristically Māori. Best practice conforms with a Māori formation of good teacher characteristics and the learning environment contains elements both material and social which are uniquely Māori. Curriculum content reflects the "scattered" nature of Māori society and Māori culture whereby there are a number of strong elements present but where mainstream knowledge is more pervasive and English rather than Māori is the main language of instruction.

Limitations of the Study

This study is most obviously limited by the small number of research participants. No generalisations can therefore be made across a wider population as to whether what is described here is common practice. This is even more so since the research participants were all from one sector, one discipline and indeed one institution. However, the overall aim of the work was never to contribute to some "grand narrative" on Māori pedagogy but to contribute to the discourse with the hope that a

more coherent summary of major themes might assist in the improvement of practice. It is hoped that this aim has been accomplished.

From a methodological point of view the fact that larger group discussions were not able to be carried out due to the practical realities of time and distance could be said to have compromised the ability to generate a "spiral discussion". I have argued elsewhere in this report that spiral discussion may be a part of a Māori epistemology, and it is also important in terms of Bishop and Glynn's (1999) issues of representation and interpretation (validity and reliability) around the questions – What agency do individuals or groups have? Whose voice is heard? Who is going to process the data? Who defines what is accurate, true and complete in a text? Who theorises the findings? It is hoped, however, that presenting the research participants with the partially analysed transcripts of all the interviews, not just their own during the second round and the opportunity given them to comment on drafts of the Results and Discussion chapters has compensated for the absence of larger group discussions.

It is important also to be aware of the fact that participant discussions do not necessarily represent the complete picture. An example of this is in the area of values. Many participants talked about the overt and incidental teaching of values such as manaaki and aroha. The openness and inclusiveness emphasised within these values contrast strongly with some of the discourses emerging from notions such as tribalism which privilege those with the appropriate tribal membership or from discourses emerging from the idea of tino rangatiratanga around "by Māori for Māori" which can be exclusive of people of other ethnicities. In common with all societies, Māori mechanisms of cultural reproduction in all probability also include a "negative curriculum" both hidden and overt. For example, it might be argued that inter-generational revenge killing seems to have been a significant feature of pre European Māori society at least in some areas. The well known history of the Tainui tribe by Te Hurinui Jones & Biggs (1995) which deals with Tainui tribal history between around 1475 and 1800 (ibid p 9) describes innumerable such events. Indeed the history may be characterised as a chronicle of war many of which began because of such killings. Such a practice can be seen to emerge from an hegemonic conception of mana and how mana was maintained amongst dominant sectors of

Māori society at the time. Nowadays a more positive rhetoric around "reciprocity" is often heard but it seems naïve to suggest a more negative dimension no longer exists. Elements such as these need to be studied further.

Strengths of the Study

While irremediably a limitation of the study the small sample size can also be seen as a strength of the study. It has allowed the gathering of rich data, particularly so since it enabled two discussions with research participants to be held about the same questions. This has produced a depth of understanding that, because of time constraints, a larger sample size may not have enabled.

A second strength of the study is the model that has been developed. It has allowed the synthesis of previously disparate discussions of Māori pedagogy and has illuminated the relationships between each of its parts. It also provided a structure for the analysis and comparison of data and will be a very useful tool in the future for investigating and improving the education provided for Maori students.

Looking Towards the Future

A Māori pedagogy is alive and well. The kaupapa Māori project described by G. Smith (2000, p. 1) as conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis is being carried out by these research participants. However, there is much that can still be done to strengthen the endeavour.

Teaching and learning methods described in previous chapters, such as reflection, holism, multisensory approaches, group work and reciprocal teaching emerging from within Māori discourses such as whānau, whakapapa, whenua, tapu, noa need to be subjected to robust empirical scrutiny with regard to their effectiveness in leading to student achievement and therefore to how they might be enhanced to lead to higher levels of achievement. Further research on and development of Forsyth's (2006) philosophy of "Āta" as a tool for managing respectful relationships between teacher and student would seem to have much potential in this area. Forsyth argues that "Āta" is a philosophy and intrinsic principle of Māori culture that assists teachers to

negotiate boundaries, enter, engage in and exit a learner/teacher relationship by encouraging a careful, deliberative and reflective approach.

There is much that can be strengthened also in terms of curriculum. While all of the participants reported the inclusion of specifically Māori content in their teaching such as tikanga, tribal history and "Māori context" there appears to be a lot of room for taking a more systematic approach to this and continuing to build more and more content that emerges from a Māori cultural context.

In terms of strengthening a Māori pedagogy potential exists in the following areas:

- Identity formation among students based on the key ideas of whakapapa and whenua.
- The continuing study of the epistemological and analytic aspects of whakapapa and how these can inform pedagogy.
- The continued study of other concepts such as tapu and noa and mana and the implications of these for practitioners either as metaphors that guide practice or as aspects of a world view and view of the person.
- The revitalisation of Māori cosmologies and a study of the implications of these for a view of the world and how it should be treated.
- The continued development of Āta as a relationship guide for practitioners.
- The continued revitalisation of the Māori language.
- The continued investigation of "visual" techniques, particularly around the use of images and video.
- The continued development of more integrated approaches.
- An investigation into the hidden Māori curriculum both positive and negative.

Towards a Contribution to the Field

Academic tradition has it that the conclusion of a thesis such as this must answer questions of the type: "What is the relevance of this research to the wider world?" "What contribution does it make to the body of knowledge and to the field of study in particular?" In other words – so what?

In a society still heavily burdened with the negative historical and ongoing effects of colonialism, as evidenced by the statistical picture of Māori educational underachievement discussed in the Introduction Chapter, this study's contribution to a better understanding of Māori pedagogy as it is currently practised and how it might be further strengthened stands as it is. However, this is of little practical use to working teachers wishing to improve their practice at a day to day level. It is suggested that a self reflection tool might be developed for teachers with questions that emerge from the findings described above. These questions might include the following:

Te Ao Māori

How well do I know and engage with Māori culture?

In what spaces am I and the Māori students I teach able to be Māori?

How well do I understand the history of colonisation and its effects on Māori?

To what extent do I engage with Māori society?

How do I realise my commitment to student welfare?

How do I conscientise and decolonise?

What are my values as a teacher?

Teaching and Learning Methods

How important for me is the development and maintenance of strong respectful relationships with students?

How is this effected in my practice?

- Am I informed about the lives of my students beyond the institution?
- Do I relate to them in ways other than merely as teacher?
- Do I have well articulated, mutually respectful forms of conflict resolution?
- In what ways is my teaching "student centred?"
- Do I utilise reciprocal teaching?
- What personal systems do I have in place which enable me to change my practice according to student feedback?

What reflective tools do I use in my teaching?

How important is an holistic approach to me?

- How is this effected in my practice?
- Do I practice any form of curriculum integration?
- Do I try to utilise multiple approaches that cater for different learner's needs?
- How do I engage with the non academic aspects of my students' lives – the physical, emotional, social and spiritual aspects?

Do I utilise the strength of the group to effect individual achievement?

- Do I view the students in a collective as well as individual sense?
- Do I utilise groups and in what ways?
- Do I utilise a tuakana/teina approach?

Theories of Student Learning

What is my answer to the ontological questions raised by Clammer et al. (2004):

- how is the self defined?
- how is the world characterised?
- how should the self be in relation to the world both physical and social?
- what is the world and how is it constituted?

Can I articulate my "theories in action?"

Other Teacher Characteristics and Behaviours

How do I define and practice the following:

1. manaaki,
2. building mana motuhake,
3. managing ngā tūranga takitahi and mana whakahaere
4. ako
5. kotahitanga
6. whakamana

The Context and Organisation of Learning – Learning Environments

How do I manage the following aspects of my educative environment and to what extent is it Māori in character?

- Physical

- Emotional
- Social
- Cultural
- Intellectual
- Spiritual

Curriculum

What Māori knowledge do I consciously include in my teaching?
What is my commitment to finding out more?
What is my commitment to Māori language revitalisation?

A Final Comment

As discussed elsewhere in this thesis and so important to Graham Smith (1997) whom many regard as the first to clearly theorise kaupapa Māori, action without reflection can be seen to be merely activity. My hope then, is that this thesis will be a useful reflection on and for the ongoing kaupapa Māori praxis of those in the field.

Whakataka te hau ki te uru,
Whakataka te hau ki te tonga,
Kia mākinakina ki uta,
Kia mātaratara ki tai
E hī ake ana te atakura
He tio,
He huka
He hauhu
Tīhei mauri ora!

(Traditional Māori acknowledgement of a new day)

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Glossary

Notes on the Glossary

Many of the Māori words below have been given technical meanings in the text either by myself or by other writers. For example the various types of “mana” described in the New Zealand Early Childhood Curriculum document, *Te Whāriki*:

- Mana Atua (Well Being)
- Mana Whenua (Belonging)
- Mana Tangata (Contribution)
- Mana Aotūroa (Exploration)
- Mana Reo (Communication)

In all cases those meanings have been explained in the text. The English glosses provided in the following list are taken from the “A Dictionary of the Māori Language” by H. W. Williams (1957). The Williams dictionary in various editions is recognised as one of the most authoritative of the current Māori to English dictionaries available.

Many words have a range of meanings. Those supplied include most of those related to the context within which the word is used within the text. So, for example, glosses such as “daytime”, “world”, “cloud” and “bud” have been supplied for the word “ao” but not “bark of a dog”, which is another of its meanings but which falls outside the context within which it was used in this thesis. The glosses given are the “everyday” meanings of the words used in the text. These meanings have been supplied for two related reasons. The first is that a knowledge of the everyday or root meaning of a word often deepens understanding of the specialised or technical meaning and secondly as Schwimmer (2004) suggests, Māori ontology tends towards synthesis rather than analysis and so all meanings of a word add to it as a concept.

I have also included the Māori titles of some of the literature referred to. Translations are my own and therefore may not be as the author intended.

Ahakoa kai tahi tera a roto te hahae kē ra – even though we eat together [I] am torn within

Aho – string, line, cross threads of a mat, line of descent, medium for a god, radiant light

Aho Matua, Te – philosophical document of Kura Kaupapa Māori schools

Aho tapu – the sacred thread

Āhua – form, appearance, character

Āhuatanga – likeness

Āhurutanga – warmth

Aki – dash, beat, pound, abut on, urge on

Ako – learn, teach, have a tendency to split, move, stir

Akonga – learner, disciple

Ao – daytime, world, cloud, bud

Ao Māori – Māori world

Aotearoa – common Māori name for New Zealand, often translated as "long white cloud"

Ariki – first born, hence, chief, priest, leader

Aroha – love, yearning, pity, compassion, affectionate regard, show approval

Aronui – name of School of Humanities at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa

Āta – indicating care, deliberation, thoroughness, slowly, clearly, openly, deliberately, cautiously

Ātea – clear, free from obstruction, out of the way

Atua – god, demon, supernatural being, object of superstitious regard, anything malign, disagreeable, strange, extraordinary,

Awhi – embrace, foster, cherish, draw near to

Awhina – assist, benefit, befriend

E hao nei e tenei reanga te toi huarewa – this generation eagerly grasps the vine [upon which Tawhaki climbed to the heavens to bring back the Baskets of Knowledge]

Haka – dance, song (normally aggressive in nature)
Hapū – pregnant, section of a large tribe
Harakeke – flax plant (phormium tenax)
Hau – wind, air, space,
Hauora – spirit of life, health, vigour, healthy, fresh, well, in good spirits, lively, perfect
Hihiri – laborious, brisk, energetic, assiduous, requiring exertion, eagerly desire, long for, spring up, rise up
Himene – transliteration of the English term "hymn"
Hiringa – perserverence, energy, determination, = mana
hiringa i te mahara, Ko te – "power of the mind"
Hononga – splice, join, add, marry, continual
Hui – put or add together, congregate, come together, meet, double up, assembly, group

Iwi – nation, people

Kaiako – modern term for teacher
Kāinga – place of abode, lodging, quarters, encampment, bivouac, home, country, unfortified place of residence
Kāhui – assemblage, cluster, swarm, flock,
Kahui Pou, Ngā – the groups of leaders
Kaitiakitanga – modern term embracing the idea of "guardianship".
Kapa – rank, row, stand in a row, play, sport
Kapa haka – Māori cultural performing arts group
Karakia – charm, spell, incantation, repeat a form of words as a charm or spell
Kaumatua – adult, old man or woman, grow up, become adult
Kaupapa – level, surface, floor, stage, platform, layer, groundwork to which feathers are attached for making a cloak, fleet of canoes, medium for intercourse with an atua or wairua, sticks used in the niu rite of divination
Kauwae – jaw, chin, tattoo marks on the chin, a pattern of carving, beam
Kete – basket made of strips of flax
Kia hiwa ra – be watchful
Kia tau te Rangimarie – let there be peace

Koakoa – glad, joyful, rejoice over

Kohanga Reo – "language nest" Māori language immersion early childhood centre

Kohinga – a collection

kōingo mo te pumahara, he – yearning for wisdom

Kore – not, no

Kōrero – tell, say, address, speak, talk

Korowai – cloak, ornamented with black twisted thrum

Kotahitanga – unity

Kuia – old woman, mother, grandmother

Kūmara – sweet potato

Kura – modern term for school

Kura Kaupapa Māori – Māori language immersion primary school which follows the principles of Te Aho Matua

Mahi – work, work at, make, be occupied with, do, perform

Mākutu – bewitch, spell, indication

Mana – authority, control, influence, prestige, power, psychic force

Mana Tohu Mātauranga, Te – Māori name for the New Zealand Qualifications Authority

Manaakitanga – show respect or kindness to, entertain

Manu – bird, kite

Manu aute – kite made of aute leaves

Manu tukutuku – kite

Manuhiri – visitor, guest

Māngere – lazy

Māoritanga – explanation, meaning

Marae – enclosed space in front of a meeting house, court yard, village common

Marautanga – modern term for curriculum

Mauri ora – life principle, thymos of man,

Mihi – sigh for, lament, greet

Mihimihi – frequentative of mihi

Mokopuna – grandchild, child of a son, daughter, nephew, niece, descendant

Motuhake – separated

Noa – free from tapu, of no moment, ordinary, indefinite, within one's power
Noho – sit, stay, remain, settle, dwell, lie, be located, marry

Ngaki mate – take vengeance
Ngaro – hidden, out of sight, disappeared, absent, destroyed, consumed
Ngutu awa, te – mouth of a river

Ora – alive, well in health, safe, satiated, satisfied with food, survive, recover, escape
Oru – heart, midst, thick of a crowd

Pā – stockade, fortified place, screen, blockade
Pae Tuarua – modern term for eighth year at school
Pae Tuatahi – modern term for seventh year at school
Paepae – beam, bar, threshold, horizon
Pai – good, excellent, suitable, satisfactory, be willing, be agreeable
Pākehā – a person of predominantly European descent, foreign
Papatuanuku – name of the earth, Earth Mother
Pasifika – modern term for people of unspecified Pacific Island descent
Pepeha – charm, proverb, witticism
Pono – true,
Pou – post, pole, teacher, expert
Poutama – a stepped pattern of tukutuku… and of weaving mats etc.
Pōwhiri – wave, whisk, whirl about, welcome, ritual of welcome
Pukenga – skilled, versed in
Pupuke – well up, rise as of water, swelling, flooded
Pūtaiao – modern term for "science".
Pūtea whakarawe, he – a tightly closed bag whose contents do not satisfy the expectations of the receiver (Wood & Lewthwaite, 2008, p. 626)

Rā – sun, day
Rāhui – a mark to warn people against trespassing
Rākei – adorn, bedeck, used for the person and inanimate objects

Rangahau – seek, search out, pursue, used in modern times to mean research

Rangatira – chief, master or mistress, well born noble

Rangi – sky, heaven, upper regions, abode of supernatural beings, day

Rangiātea – a Pacific island

Raro – the bottom, the underside, down, downwards, down below

Raru – be in difficulty, be perplexed, be hindered, be encumbered, disappointed, trouble, preoccupation

Rautaki – a modern word meaning strategy

Reo – voice, tone, speech, utterance, language, dialect

Riki – small, few

Rito – centre shoot or heart of flax plant

Rohe – boundary, set bounds to, enclose

Rōpū – company of persons

Taketake – base, lower point

Tamariki – child, children

Tangata whenua – people belonging to any particular place, natives

Tāonga tuku iho – property, anything highly prized handed down through the generations

Tāonga whakarākei – (see rākei)

Tapu – under ceremonial or superstitious restriction, beyond one's power, inaccessible, sacred,

Tauaki – modern term meaning statement

Tauira – teacher, skilled person, pupil, pattern, copy

Taukumekume – contend, for, struggle for, pull one against another

Taumata – brow of a hill, resting place

Taura Whiri – a rope which binds, name of the Māori Language Commission, a government agency which promotes the Māori language

Tawhito – old, ancient, primeval, original

Teina – younger brother of a male, younger sister of a female, cousin of the same sex in a younger branch of the family

Tērā i te kereru i runga i te miro – there [sits] the wood pigeon on the miro tree

Tika – straight, direct, keeping a direct course, just, fair, right, correct

Tikanga – rule, plan, method, custom, habit, anything normal or usual, reason, meaning, purport, authority, control correct, right.

Tino rangatiratanga – modern term meaning self determination

Titiro – look

Tohu – mark sign, proof

Tohunga – skilled person, wizard, priest

Toi – tip, point, summit, origin, source of mankind, native, aboriginal, art, knowledge

Tuakana – elder brother of a male, elder sister of a female, cousin of an elder branch of the family

Tupu – grow, increase, spring, issue, begin, shoot, bud, growth

Tupuna – ancestor, grandparent

Tūranga takitahi – a term coined by Bishop et al. (2003), translated as "individual roles and responsibilities" (p. 98)

Uarua – tanga – desire, value

Utu – return for anything, satisfaction, ransom, reward, price, reply

Waharoa – entrance to a pā

Wāhi – place. locality

Waiata – song

Waiora – health, soundness

Wairua – spirit, insubstantial image, shadow

Waka – canoe, in modern times any form of transport

Waka āma – outrigger canoe

Waka (huia) – a long narrow receptacle as trough for water, box for feathers etc.

Wānanga – lore of the tohunga, occult arts, instructor, wise person

Whaea – a respectful term of address to a woman

Whaia te iti kahurangi, ki te tuohu koe me maunga teitei – seek after the small treasures, if you should fail let it be [only] to a lofty mountain

Whaiora – see waiora

Whakaaro – thought, intention, opinion, understanding

Whakahīhī – vain, conceited, jeer, sneer, speak contemptuously

Whakamā – shame, abasement, shy, ashamed

Whakamana – give effect to, give prestige, make effective, rectify

Whakapakari – to mature

Whakapapa – lie flat, place in layers, recite in proper order, genealogical table

Whakarite – make like, put in order, arrange, fulfil, perform

Whakarongo – listen, obey

Whakatau – cause to alight etc

Whakatauki – proverb

Whakawhanaungatanga – modern term meaning to make or maintain relationships

Whānau – to be born, be in childbed, offspring, family group

Whāngai – feed, nourish, bring up

Whāngaia ki te kōrero kia pehapeha te korokoro – feed with talk that the throat may exclaim

Wharekura – the building in which the tohunga imparted esoteric lore to his pupils, applied sometimes simply to the common meeting house of the village, modern term for Māori language immersion secondary school

Whare pora, te – weaving house

Whāriki – anything spread on the ground or on a floor, floor mat, etc.

Whawhai – fight

Wheke – squid, octopus

Whenua – land, country, ground, placenta, afterbirth

Appendices

Ethics Approval – Te Wānanga o Aotearoa

Ethics Approval – Massey University

Permission to be on site

Information Sheet

Consent Form

Massey University

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18 September 2007

Mr Paul Stucki
936 Orini Road
RD2
TAUPIRI

Dear Paul

Re: HEC: Southern A Application – 07/31
Maori pedagogy, pedagogical beliefs and practices in a Maori tertiary institution

Thank you for your letter dated 15 September 2007.

On behalf of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, I am pleased to advise you that the ethics of your application are now approved. Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

J. O'Neill

Professor John O'Neill, Chair
Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A

cc A/Prof Nick Zepke
School of Educational Studies
PN900

Dr Jill Bevan-Brown
School of Curriculum & Pedagogy
PN900

Prof Wayne Edwards, HoS
School of Educational Studies
PN900

Dr Lone Jorgensen, HoS
School of Curriculum & Pedagogy
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Massey University Human Ethics Committee
Accredited by the Health Research Council

Te Kunenga

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Information Sheet

Māori Pedagogy, Pedagogical Beliefs and Practices in a Māori Tertiary Institution

Tēnā koutou,

He mihi tēnei i te tuatahi ki te Kingi Māori kei raro nei mātou i tōna maru e noho ana. E tautokohia ana te īnoi ra ki te Runga Rawa kia whakatauria iho e ia ana manaakitanga katoa ki runga ki a ia, tae atu hoki ki tana whānau me te Kāhui Ariki nui tonu.

E whai whakaaro ana hoki ki ērā kua ngaro atu i te tirohanga kanohi. Haere koutou i runga i ō koutou waka tīwaewae, ō koutou waka e kore nei e kī i te roimata i te kōrero, haere koutou.

Ki a koutou rau rangatira mā, tēnā koutou katoa.

I am Paul Stucki. I am a Pākehā, married with three children. I have been involved in Māori education for the past 18 years as a teacher and principal in Kura Kaupapa Māori in Auckland, Northland and the Waikato. I spent three years from 2003 until 2006 working at TWoA. Currently I am teaching at a Kura Kaupapa Māori in the Hamilton area.

As this research contributes to my EdD qualification, Massey University provide supervisors for the project. These are experienced researchers who also have expertise in areas related to this project. The supervisors are Associate Professor Nick Zepke who is a well known and highly respected expert in adult education and Associate Professor Jill Bevan-Brown who is also well known and highly respected particularly in the area of Inclusive & Gifted education for Māori children. Jill's tribal affiliations are Ngāti Rakawa, Ngāti Weiwehi, Ngāti Awa and Ngai te Rangi

A Summary

This project sets out to describe a Māori pedagogy. Māori pedagogy can be defined loosely as ways of teaching and learning that are preferred by Māori (Smith, 1997). The project develops an holistic model of pedagogy that includes the following:

- What teaching methodologies are used?

- What is taught – both explicitly and implicitly?
- What is important for students to know – in te ao Māori, in the wider world?
- How is the wider social context characterised?
- What is the place of tikanga?
- What theories of learning do people subscribe to?
- How is the learner characterised?
- What are the reported characteristics of a good teacher?
- What constitutes a good learning environment?
- What is the appropriate relationship between teacher and student?
- What is the connection between teacher and the iwi/community?

I will be inviting participation of all kaiako involved in the TWoA teacher education programmes across the campuses, including those on Te Korowai Akonga, Te Tohu Mātauranga Kohungahunga and the Advanced Certificate and Diploma in Tertiary Teaching.

The hope is that together as kaiako on Te Wānanga o Aotearoa teacher education programmes you will come to an expression of these issues that is uniquely you as kaiako Māori and kaiako at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. It is hoped that this project will contribute to the ongoing discourse on what is a uniquely Māori way of teaching and learning as well as contribute to an articulation of a uniquely "TWoA" way of teaching and learning.

The Process

The method proposed is that small groups at each venue will meet and discuss the above questions in an informal and non-threatening context. The researcher will write up the discussion and feed it back at the next meeting where views and impressions will be confirmed or modified and the discussion continued (see Bishop, 1996).

How Many Meetings?

If you agree to participate there will be three meetings of approximately 1 ½ hours in length to be held at times and a place negotiated with you. All meetings will be audio taped. You will also have the opportunity to attend a presentation of the findings if you should so wish. Final publication of the research project will not go ahead until you are happy that your contributions have been fairly represented.

What Else Am I Up For?

If you agree to participate your commitments are to:

- Turn up to the meetings
- Participate fully in the meetings (this said, however, if there are any topics you feel uncomfortable discussing or any questions you feel uncomfortable answering you are not obliged to involve yourself in any way)
- Respect other people's privacy and confidentiality
- Behave in a professional manner

Do I Get Paid?

No, there is no reimbursement to you.

What Does the Researcher Get Out of This?
If the project is completed the researcher will earn a Doctorate of Education from Massey University.

What Does the Wānanga Get Out of This?
The project has the potential to contribute to an articulation of a "Wānanga" pedagogy which can be used to inform relevant Wananga documentation and practice.

What Do I Get Out of This?
- The opportunity to meet, talk and reflect with your colleagues about issues central to your work as an educator.
- Potentially, an enhanced ability to discuss pedagogy and Māori pedagogy with your students.

What Are My Rights In Regard To This Project?
You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:
- *decline to answer any particular question;*
- *withdraw from the study without explanation at any time.*
- *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 when it is concluded.*
- *ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview*
- *every attempt will be made to protect your identity through the use of pseudonyms in all publications arising out of this project. Complete confidentiality in all instances cannot however be guaranteed. If this is a particular issue for you, you may need to consider carefully before agreeing to participate.*

What Happens at the End of the Project?
It is hoped to conduct the meetings between April 2008 and December 2008 and have the project fully completed by May 2009.

After the publication of the final report it is hoped to disseminate it through presentations at conferences to interested educators and through the publication of articles in education journals. If you agree to participate you will be asked for your thoughts as to which publications and conferences you think would be appropriate.

All tapes and transcriptions will be securely stored for a period of five years and then destroyed.

Who Can I Contact for Further Information?
You can contact myself at:

whanaustucki@xtra.co.nz
(This is a confidential address accessible to the researcher only) or

021 023 20394 or

the Massey University staff above are based in Palmerston North and can be contacted via e mail or phone.

Nick Zepke: n.zepke@massey.ac.nz
Jill Bevan-Brown: j.m.bevan-brown@massey.ac.nz

The phone number for Massey University in Palmerton North is:

06 356 9099

Just ask for the person you wish to speak to.

References

Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). *Culture counts: Changing power relations in education*. Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press.

Smith, G. (1997). Māori education: Revolution and transformative action. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 24*(1), 58-72.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, Application *07/31.* If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor John O'Neill, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, telephone 06 350 5799 x 8771, email humanethicsoutha@massey.ac.nz.

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Māori Pedagogy: Pedagogical Beliefs and Practices in a Māori Tertiary Institution

Consent

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 understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without explanation and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission. (The information will be used only for this research and publications arising from this research project.)

Any disputes I may have that cannot be resolved between myself and the researcher will be communicated in writing to the project supervisors whose names and contact details appear below. All disputes will be resolved by consensus within the parameters of the Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and Massey University Codes of Ethics.

I understand that the interview will be audio taped.

I agree to keep confidential any information disclosed during the group interview.

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

Signed: ______________________________

Name: _______________________________

Date: _________________

Project Supervisors

Associate Professor Nick Zepke
n.zepke@massey.ac.nz

Doctor Jill Bevan-Brown
j.m.bevan-brown@massey.ac.nz

or

Attn: N. Zepke or J. Bevan-Brown
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