

Chapter Twelve

E Haere Ana Nga Kete Matauranga e Toru Ki te Kura.

The Three Kits of Knowledge Go To School.¹

Introduction.

In this chapter Bernstein's concepts of pedagogy are used to analyse the discursive resources teachers bring to bear in the teaching of *Taha Maori* and how these resources in turn are recontextualised into official pedagogic discourse. By discursive resources I mean the range of knowledge, information and ways of talking about *Taha Maori* that informed the way teachers taught. This included the books they read, their training, and their background understandings. Bernstein's formulations of pedagogy have been driven by a need to map out, theoretically and empirically, the relations between schooling and society, in particular between state schooling and the social divisions of labour.² One of the questions he has sought to address, for example, is how schooling maintains and relays the power relations which exist in society. In applying Bernstein's concepts I seek also to understand the deeper processes through which, despite the good intentions of many individuals, schooling continues to be implicated in the marginalisation of *Maori* ways of knowing.

This chapter is based on a study carried out with four teachers from four different primary

¹ The 'three kits of knowledge' comes from the story of *Tane-nui-a-rangi* who went in search of knowledge. He climbed to the twelfth realm where after some negotiation he acquired three kits of knowledge and two stones which also contained knowledge. In the kits are all the forms of knowledge needed by humans. This also included the knowledge to do evil things as well as good things.

² Bernstein, B., 1971. *Class, Codes and Control*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul. The introduction to this and subsequent volumes give very clear outlines of the context which led Bernstein in pursuit of understanding this relationship.

schools in the metropolitan area of Auckland. The four teachers were selected after approaches made to their schools, they are all considered by the senior management of their schools to be 'good' classroom teachers.³ The study found that each of the teachers felt inadequately prepared by their teacher training to teach *Taha Maori*. Similarly, they felt that there was little official support outside their school for staff development, resource support or improved status for *Taha Maori*. There was a considerable unevenness in the quality and quantity of school based resources available for *Taha Maori*, each teacher having developed their own personal 'resource kit' which included, units of work, community networks, guest speakers and marae contacts which were used to supplement school based material. However, by applying Bernstein's concepts in relation to pedagogic discourse, it can be seen that many of the problems identified by the teachers are problems related to the ways in which dominant pedagogic discourse has an underlying structure or code, which is realised in different forms. *Taha Maori* is a form of realisation of the dominant code which, at one and the same time, 'legitimises' a dominant discourse and 'de-legitimises' an oppositional discourse.

Taha Maori was introduced as an official curriculum 'subject' in 1984. Support for *Taha Maori* was couched, in terms of its introduction into the core curriculum, as official recognition of *Maori* language and culture, as meeting the needs of nationhood, and of giving priority to a policy of *multiculturalism through biculturalism*.⁴ Criticism by *Maori* of *Taha Maori* focused on the lack of time which was allocated to *Taha Maori*, the emphasis of offering *Taha Maori* to all schools, when there were few available resources thus detracting from the needs of *Maori* students, and on the lack of commitment to change shown by the Review Committee.⁵ On the other hand conservative criticism by *Pakeha* was used to justify;

³ By senior management, I mean principals and/or deputy principals, it varied with each school as to which senior staff had control over external researchers or of the curriculum. Largely as a result of recent educational reforms, the language of management had penetrated the way schools organised themselves and talked about themselves. In one school, when I asked who was responsible for the oversight of curriculum issues, I was told that there was no one as such any more! The principal used to have this task but the Board of Trustees and the new reforms had seen him increasingly involved outside the school; neither of the two assistants to the principal had this role either.

⁴ *A Review of the Core Curriculum for Schools*. 1984, Wellington, Government Printer, p.31. See also *He Huarahi*. National Advisory Committee on Maori Education Report, 1980, Department of Education, Wellington, p.11.

⁵ See for example, Penetito, W., 1984. 'Taha Maori and the Core Curriculum', in *Delta*, v.34, pp.35-43.

calls that school standards were falling, emigration by some *Pakeha* to Australia, and calls for a further review of the core curriculum. *Ranginui* Walker argued that there was radical potential in *Taha Maori* to transform the *Maori* educational crisis. Other *Maori* educationalists also gave cautious support for the 'potential' of *Taha Maori* to educate *Pakeha* and facilitate their biculturalism.⁶ Graham Smith argued that this aspect of *Taha Maori* privileged *Pakeha* needs and aspirations but denied *Maori* access to a curriculum better suited to their needs.⁷ Although *Taha Maori*, at its most basic level, simply gave official recognition to what had been happening already in schools through *Maoritanga* programmes, its introduction into official discourse through the 'core' curriculum was hotly contested. The year 1984 was also a critical year for other initiatives in *Maori* education which included, among other things, calls by *Maori* for a completely alternative schooling system.⁸ Politically, *Taha Maori* was the official state response to *Maori* agitation about schooling.

Taha Maori was defined by educational discourse as the '*Maori* dimension' to be included in all aspects of the 'total school environment'.⁹ It was specifically declared to be 'not separated out' as a curriculum subject which students go to a classroom to 'do'. Instead *Taha Maori* was meant to be part of all other curricula and extra-curricula activities. Emphasis was given to the positive values of *Maori* language and culture which would be infused into school life. In-service courses promoted complex models which showed the connections and intersections between *Maori* and *Pakeha* values and cultural concepts, and which attempted to embed in teacher practice, a theory for what they were attempting to do.¹⁰ Considerable

⁶ Walker, R., 1985. 'Cultural Domination of *Taha Maori*: The Potential for Radical Transformation', in *Political Issues in New Zealand*, ed. J. Codd, R. Harker, R. Nash, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, pp.73-82.

⁷ Smith, G.H., 1986. '*Taha Maori*: A *Pakeha* Privilege', in *Delta*, v.37, pp.11-23. See also Smith, G.H., 1990. '*Taha Maori*: *Pakeha* Capture', in *Political Issues in New Zealand Education*, eds. J. Codd, R. Harker, R. Nash, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, pp.183-198.

⁸ This context is discussed more fully in the following chapter.

⁹ The idea of the 'Total School Environment' had come from Banks' model for a multiethnic school. Banks, J.A., 1981. *Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice*. Boston, Allyn & Bacon.

¹⁰ For a discussion on this point see May, S., 1992. '*Taha* What? Social Studies and Multi-cultural Education: An Holistic Alternative', in *New Zealand Social Studies, Past, Present and Future*, ed. R. Openshaw, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, pp.122-136.

emphasis was given to changing teacher attitudes towards *Maori* language and culture. Although many teachers felt inadequately prepared for teaching *Taha Maori*, and some voiced resentment at being 'forced' to teach *Taha Maori*, the introduction of *Taha Maori* was supported by both the primary and post-primary teacher unions. Furthermore, primary trained teachers had been receiving multicultural education and *Maoritanga* programmes as part of their teacher training since 1973.¹¹ Secondary teachers also had multicultural education as part of their programme. One of the major complaints made by teachers interested in the programme, however, related to the lack of resources which were suitable for classroom use, and which were available in all areas of the curriculum.

In 1989 The Education Amendment Act began a process of major educational change. From 1991, a National Government, under the Minister of Education, has continued the reform process with particular emphasis on a new (and conservative) curriculum. Whilst in 1984 *Taha Maori* was introduced within a discourse of *multiculturalism through biculturalism*, and of catering for cultural difference *in the mainstream*, *Taha Maori* in 1994 is situated in a different discourse altogether. It represents the official, mainstream, minimal approach to *Maori* issues in the curriculum, which is *in contrast to* state funded programmes designed to support the development of *Maori* language and *Kura Kaupapa Maori*. *Taha Maori* is still represented officially as the *infusion* of *Maori* topics, *Maori* values and *Maori* language into the life of a New Zealand school. It is aimed at giving all New Zealand children an understanding of cultural difference and an understanding of their own society. Teacher training has continued with fifty hours of a three year programme given to *Maori* Studies and fifty hours given to multicultural education. There is no time allocated officially to *Taha Maori*, it is up to each school to determine as negotiated with its community and the Ministry of Education, in its Charter statement. Within the official curriculum *Maori* themes, issues, topics or examples are included according to each curriculum subject. This varies according to the curriculum concerned; in science, for example, there is an official *Maori* science curriculum. However, in English there has been considerable contestation over the inclusion of *Maori* literature in the English curriculum. At the primary school level, the development of integrated approaches to the curriculum have allowed more space for the 'infusion' of

¹¹ Walker, p.75.

Maori topics.

Aim of Study.

The aim of the study this chapter reports on was to determine the processes by which *Maori* cultural knowledge is *distributed*, *recontextualised* and *evaluated* as classroom (official) knowledge, or, put another way, to find out what happens when the 'Three Kits of Knowledge Go To School'. These concepts, from Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse, have been used to make sense of the shifts which have occurred in relation to official attitudes to *Maori* knowledge. Colonial educational policies regarded *Maori* ways of knowing as 'other', as 'primitive' and 'irrational'. This attitude 'softened' as assimilationary policies took effect, but it was still paternalistic and informed by deficit views of cultural difference. As an official discourse on *Maori* knowledge, many *Maori* have been sceptical of the 'authenticity' and connectedness of *Taha Maori* to *Maori* culture, but many of those who teach or are responsible for *Taha Maori* in schools are themselves *Maori* who, if they are not fluent *Maori* language speakers, often have access to a wide range of discursive resources which can be employed in support of a programme. At the same time, however, they have been trained as primary teachers, attending the same *Maori* Studies and multicultural education classes as their *Pakeha* colleagues. They have been trained, in Bernstein's model, within a system of elaborated codes which privileges the production of particular forms of discourse. At one level, regardless of whether they are *Pakeha* or *Maori*, as trained teachers they employ pedagogic strategies which realise the code structure upon which their training has been based.

In defining the concept of recontextualisation, Bernstein distinguishes between an '*official recontextualising field (which is) created and dominated by the state for the construction and surveillance of state pedagogic discourse*', and a '*pedagogic recontextualising field consisting of teachers, writers of textbooks, curricular guides, specialised media and their authors*'.¹² He argues further that these two fields may well be opposed to each other. Although this study focused on teachers and the 'pedagogic recontextualising field' the dislocation between

¹² Bernstein, B., 1992. '*Code Theory and Research*', unpublished manuscript, p.49.

the two fields will be discussed later in the chapter. The concept of recontextualisation refers to the rules by which teachers 'construct the 'what' and 'how' of pedagogic discourse', and how in that process of construction, forms of knowledge are appropriated and subordinated to different principles of organisation and realisation. The recontextualising of *Maori* knowledge, for example, is passed through a series of 'ideological screens' on its way to becoming a different form of knowledge, that is, an official pedagogic discourse. What is important to Bernstein is the underlying rules which make this possible and predictable.

Studies by Daniels, Domingos, (later known as Morais), Frykholm, Nitzler and Singh have shown that Bernstein's model of pedagogic discourse does translate cross-culturally.¹³ Davies argues that these 'non-British' studies 'resonated with the(ir) lived perils of underdevelopment, repression and revolution' and are concerned with the 'multiply shaped/determined' relations of power.¹⁴ Bernstein argues that pedagogic communication in schools is a relay of 'patterns of dominance external to itself'.¹⁵ These patterns are based on underlying codes which privilege dominant forms of knowledge (discourse) while simultaneously distorting and misrepresenting, 'the culture, the practice, and the consciousness of the dominated group'.¹⁶ The processes by which this double distortion occurs are generated by specific principles and are realised through specific modes. Pedagogic discourse, in Bernstein's theory, is a set of rules which enable discourses to be appropriated, embedded, and ordered, in relation to each other. This idea connects with Bakhtin's notion of a dominant discourse containing within it multiple discourses which compete with each other but which,

¹³ Daniels, H., 1989. 'Visual Displays as Tacit Relays of the Structure of Pedagogic Practice', in *Journal of British Sociology of Education*, v.10, no.2, pp.123-140. Frykholm, C., R. Nitzler, 1993. 'Working Life as Pedagogic Discourse: Empirical Studies of Vocational and Career Education Based on Theories of Bourdieu and Bernstein', in *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, v.25, no.5, pp.433-444., Morais, A., F. Fontinhas, I. Neves, 1992. 'Recognition and Realisation Rules in Acquiring School Science - The Contribution of Pedagogy and Social Background of Students', in *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, v.13, no.2, pp.247-270. Singh, P., 1993. 'Institutional Discourse and Practice. A Case Study of the Social Construction of Technological Competence in the Primary Classroom', in *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, v.14, no.1, pp.39-58.

¹⁴ Davies, B., 1994. 'Bernstein on Classrooms', unpublished manuscript, School of Education, University of Wales, Cardiff.

¹⁵ Bernstein, B., 1990. *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse, Volume 4*. London, Routledge. p.169.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.171.

as a whole discourse, is able to insulate itself from oppositional or 'unthinkable' knowledge.¹⁷

Teachers are one part of the pedagogic relay. They hold positions within the pedagogic field as reproducers of legitimate knowledge. Because *Taha Maori* is not a written curriculum with guidelines, objectives, texts, or evaluation procedures, individual schools and classroom teachers exercise a high degree of autonomy over what they offer as *Taha Maori*. In some cases, where there is either a sole and willing *Maori* teacher, (and many younger *Maori* teachers are coerced into being responsible for *Taha Maori*), or a willing *Pakeha* teacher, that individual teacher embodies the only resource the school draws upon. This is one level at which there is a dislocation between the official recontextualising field, which says, for example, that *Taha Maori* is important and is part of the core but is weakly classified in relation to other core subjects, and the pedagogic recontextualisation field, which relies on teachers' own knowledge. The official recontextualisation field produces the conditions by which *Taha Maori* is subordinated to the organisational principles of individual schools, contributing to the unevenness of *Taha Maori* across schools, and to the work of individual teachers who take on *Taha Maori* as part of a personal interest. As one teacher in the study said, 'Being responsible for *Taha Maori* or even bothering to teach it, is not going to get us promoted'.

The study focused on the ways in which four classroom teachers organised the teaching of *Taha Maori* in their own classrooms. In particular I was interested in finding out what discursive resources teachers brought into their *Taha Maori* programme, and how these were incorporated or recontextualised into their planning, selection of topics, timetabling, choice of 'activities', and classroom work. The larger study, not addressed here, is also interested in the discourses produced by children as a result of their *Taha Maori* programme.

¹⁷ Bakhtin was a Russian who was subjected to internal exile under Stalin's regime. His work consequently has found its way to the west through different forms of dissemination. For a discussion of Bakhtin's ideas from a socio-cultural approach to language development see Wertsch, J.V., 1991. *Voices of the Mind*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press. For a discussion of his ideas from a cultural studies perspective see Clifford, J., 1988. *The Predicament of Culture, Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press. The term attributed to Bakhtin's idea of multi-discourses within a dominant discourse is 'heteroglossia'.

Methodology.

This study was based on a participant observation method using semi-structured interviews and classroom observations. A *Kaupapa Maori* methodology was applied in relation to this study.¹⁸ This has also meant working cross-culturally at times, as a *Maori* researcher, with *Pakeha* principals and teachers. A *Kaupapa Maori* approach takes seriously; a commitment to working in the interests of *Maori*, (in this case working with teachers attempting to do something positive in *Taha Maori*), developing reciprocal relationships, and designing a study which allowed for multiple feedback between researcher and teacher.¹⁹ Four primary schools known to have a *Taha Maori* programme and situated in areas which had active *Maori* communities were approached.²⁰ After negotiating entry with school principals and deputy principals, each school was asked, by the researcher, to nominate a teacher who would be willing to work with the researcher. In this sense the teachers were self-selected. Each of the four teachers had completed their teacher training after *Taha Maori* had become part of the school curriculum, and had received a minimum of one hundred hours of 'multicultural' education in their three year training programme. The teachers felt confident about working with a researcher, being interviewed and being observed in the classroom. The youngest teacher (Teacher A) was a year two teacher, the other three had taught for at least three years (Teachers B, C and D). By chance rather than design, two teachers were *Maori*, the other two were *Pakeha*.²¹ The principals regarded each of the teachers as enthusiastic and very good classroom practitioners. Semi-structured interviews, organised initially around ten themes,

¹⁸ The working principles of such an approach were mapped out in chapter seven.

¹⁹ A commitment to emancipatory outcomes, a respect for *tikanga Maori* through a sensitivity to ensuring that all the right people are approached not just in schools but in the local *Maori* community, a respect for *rangatiratanga* in terms of framing the research around the critical question. For example, a pamphlet was made for participants which asked questions such as 'Who will benefit from this research?' Also, material was translated into *Maori* language.

²⁰ Although *Taha Maori* is ostensibly 'compulsory' the teacher and principal networks suggested that some schools were not worth approaching because they simply did not have *Taha Maori* in their schools. I wanted to work with schools and teachers who were open about *Taha Maori* and were interested in the nature of the research. This required selecting teachers and schools who 'felt good' about their programmes.

²¹ The *Pakeha* teachers were Teacher A and D, the *Maori* teachers were Teacher B and C.

were conducted with each teacher.²² Teachers were encouraged, if they thought about any additional information after the first interview, to add it in at subsequent interviews. Follow up interviews were held at the times when teachers were planning their next set of work. These were concerned with the details of timetabling, selection and sequencing of topics, selection of resources. Some additional interviews were held in two schools with the *Taha Maori* curriculum committee. Principals, or a deputy principal, was also interviewed on matters of school policy.

In addition to interviews with teachers, a separate inventory of *Taha Maori* resources available in the school was undertaken, and observations were made of school noticeboards and displays. This was designed as a reciprocal activity which would be useful to the school and staff, all of whom agreed such a task was necessary. Resources, however, and such things as school displays, assemblies and cultural performances, are also subject to classification and framing rules. School displays of children's art, for example, have been analysed by Daniels according to Bernstein's principles.²³ The inventory sought to find and name every available resource in the school and then, with the help of the teacher, make up a school catalogue which would be of help to the school.

Discursive Resources Used in the Teaching of *Taha Maori*.

(a) Teacher Education and the Teaching of *Taha Maori*.

One of the themes explored through interviews was in relation to the preparation teachers felt they received from their teacher training.²⁴ When asked about their College of Education courses in relation to *Maori* Studies and multicultural education, all four teachers expressed unqualified dissatisfaction at the preparation they received at college for the teaching of *Taha*

²² The ten interview themes were; (i) Background experiences, including family, schooling and training, (ii) defining what counted as a *Taha Maori* programme, (iii) planning, (iv) time allocations, (v) teacher resources, (vi) links with other aspects of school, (vii) rationale for topics chosen, (viii) activities designed for programme, (ix) evaluation, assessment, feedback strategies and results, (x) working with others.

²³ Daniels, 1989.

²⁴ Prior to entering teacher education all four teachers had attended 'multicultural' urban secondary schools, had had some *Maori* language and had had some contact with a *marae* or *Maori* community.

Maori. When asked what had happened to the hundred hours of training she had received, Teacher A, whose experience was most recent, responded that she 'had learned to make a *poi*'.²⁵ When pressed further she said that she; 'had learned a bit about history and the Treaty (of *Waitangi*), and had a lot of 'controversial discussions', had learned some little songs'. Teacher B responded to the same question by laughing and then by saying that she had 'learned to sing some songs, had had some *Maori* language and had written one assignment about the Treaty of *Waitangi*'. A *Maori*, this teacher also commented on the extent to which she thought the programme of *Maori* Studies she experienced was dominated by the *Maori* male students who were encouraged to express their views of *Maori* culture, while the *Maori* women and *Pakeha* students were made to feel as if they were 'outsiders'. The other two teachers expressed similar views about the content and pedagogical style which was used in their training. In all cases their lecturers were *Maori*.

When asked to compare their *Maori* Studies preparation with social studies, reading and language studies preparation at college, all four said that the preparation over three years gave them more confidence to teach these other subjects, they left college with more teaching resources and units of work, and had access to teaching plans which they had gathered while out in schools on teaching practice. The teachers all felt that what they had learned about the teaching of *Taha Maori* they had learned after leaving college, either from other teachers, or from their own attempts to develop a programme. These resources related to general ideas, units of work, suggestions for organising visits to the local *marae* or other trips, ideas about displays, words of songs, worksheets and other photocopied material.

At face value, the teachers claimed to have been taught little which prepared them, as teachers, to plan a *Taha Maori* programme, carry out such a programme and evaluate it. However, if we look under the surface and apply Bernstein's model, it can be argued that their teacher education did in fact prepare them well for *Taha Maori*. What they each learned was the code which enabled them to de-legitimate and trivialise the '*Maori* dimension', that it was a 'subject' not important enough to classify strongly. They learned, for example, that making a *poi* and learning a 'little song' are perceived, within the education system, as

²⁵ A *poi* is a 'ball on a string' used in performances.

legitimate ways of classifying and representing *Maori* culture. Similarly, they also learned to feel inadequate to deal with controversial topics such as the Treaty of *Waitangi* and so avoided such topics. In two cases, the school as a whole discouraged dealing with controversial issues in classrooms because it was said, that 'parents would complain'. This is an example of an organisational (school) practice classifying and framing the evoking contexts of *Taha Maori*. The significance of this avoidance is that, while recognising the evoking context (because of its community relevance and because of its prominence in their own school Charters), the teachers dealt with the issue in ways which de-politicised it, and which talked about it as something which had happened *in the past*. In other words, a particular discourse was produced, one which historicised the Treaty of *Waitangi*, which avoided dealing with the reasons why *Maori* contested the Treaty of *Waitangi*, and one which denied a voice to a minority group's oppositional views.

Bernstein argues that what is acquired (tacitly) in agencies such as schools, is an elaborated code which regulates the ways in which relevant meanings are selected and integrated, the forms through which these meanings are realised, and the contexts in which meanings are evoked. In the case of *Taha Maori*, what is important is not what the teachers say they did not learn, but what in fact they did learn in their *Maori* Studies courses, in relation to what they learned in the other contexts throughout their teacher education programme. In other words, 'learning to make a *poi*' in a *Maori* Studies course, *in relation to* 'learning about the primary school reading curriculum and the processes for teaching and learning reading', is significant, for what is learned (tacitly) is the regulative principle which determines boundaries between meanings. *Taha Maori* is irrelevant knowledge in relation to other meanings reproduced through schooling. This does not mean that it is not 'official' knowledge or part of a dominant discourse. It has a place within dominant discourse which is marginal in itself but which, in relation to other discourses, reinforces the dominance.

In relation to teacher training, Bernstein argues further that there is, in teacher education, a dislocation between two different discourses, one called 'education' and the other called 'professional subjects'. One of the stages that has occurred in teacher education, he argues, involves a stage 'when a new body of recontextualised knowledge is inserted between

'education' and professional subjects, 'curriculum studies''.²⁶ Bernstein identifies six separate stages which have led to a weakening of disciplines and a technologizing of teacher training. How does this trickle down to the teaching of *Taha Maori*? 'Making a *poi*' is one example, perhaps, of a technologizing of knowledge. Although serious about *Taha Maori*, and able to teach a programme called *Taha Maori*, none of the four teachers felt able to talk about what *Taha Maori* was, or how it fitted in to the core curriculum. They could not recall, for example, any writer, author, theorist or educational expert whose work they had read while at teachers college. In the year they were interviewed, two had not read anything about issues related to *Maori* education generally or *Taha Maori* specifically. Of the other two, one was taking part-time university studies and was in a course which addressed issues related to *Maori* education, and the other had completed a university degree prior to her teacher education, majoring in education and specialising in *Maori* education.

(b) The Community as a Resource for the Teaching of *Taha Maori*.

In introducing *Taha Maori*, the 1984 Review of the Core Curriculum did see the possibilities for better use of community resources by schools. Schools were encouraged to bring people in and take children out to community places such as *marae*. All four teachers had visited *marae* themselves and taken classes of children on day visits. However, community 'contacts' and networks were ones made through the personal efforts of the teachers concerned. Teachers A and B both played 'touch rugby' and had many contacts in this network with *Maori* team-mates. Teacher C had close contacts with other *Maori* teachers and had a good network for collecting resources. Teacher D had access to fluent *Maori* language speakers and family members. The significance of these networks is the extent to which they were personal to each teacher not to the school itself. In being personal to the teacher they were also uneven and arbitrary, dependent entirely on access to resources that may or may not be helpful as community resource people. The underlying principle at work here relates to the classification of *Taha Maori* as 'other' knowledge, even though it may be 'officially' recognised, its form of realisation is not officially recognised. Individual teachers who happen to be highly motivated can seek support from the outside community, but it is arbitrary support rather than

²⁶ Bernstein, 1990, p.161.

official school support.

In the case of one teacher, there was official school recognition given to community people who supported the programmes. These were not just for *Taha Maori*. The school encouraged all kinds of parental and community support, and had a staff room which had as many parents as teachers in it at interval breaks. Teacher C found the school community to be very helpful and used her own personal resources to support her 'good ideas' file. She would, for example, share units of work with teachers in other schools. The support of the school (The Board of Trustees, The principal and all staff including the office staff) made a huge difference to this teacher in that there was a system of support and acknowledgement of her worth, resources such as books and video material were purchased regularly, other staff consulted with her about their programmes, and parents 'popped in' with material or offers to take the children to interesting places. This particular school did not have more *Maori* students or *Maori* teachers than the other schools. It was a small inner city school with children from very diverse ethnic and class backgrounds. These backgrounds were also reflected in the school's presentation of itself, schools displays, cultural performance groups, art work and range of library resources.

There are a number of different issues related to an analysis of what these examples may mean. Firstly, the official recontextualising field was one in which the state 'encouraged' teachers and schools to seek community involvement. The pedagogic recontextualisation field was one in which each of the teachers did seek community involvement. Between these two fields, however, the school, as an evoking context, plays a crucial role. In some circumstances the school acts as an ideological filter through which community knowledge 'out there' is subjected to certain forms of regulation. These rules may be explicit school policies or implicit rules, which suggest to teachers that controversial topics and people are not 'appropriate' as community resources. Thus teachers, as the significant actors in the pedagogic recontextualising field, must situate their particular instructional discourse inside the existing discourse of regulation established by the school. This is especially important where *Maori* are not only a minority group, but are a minority group in, for example, a predominantly middle class *Pakeha* community. The 'parents' who are most likely to complain, or whose interests are the dominant interests represented on the Board of Trustees, help determine the

regulative discourse which is realised through school policies.

The sense, however, that 'any *Maori* would do' as a community resource, just as long as they looked and identified as *Maori*, suggests that teachers assume the principle of weak classification of *Taha Maori* and would not have any criteria, other than usefulness, for selecting *Maori* people who really do know something about *Maori* world views, values, social practices or histories, and are able to articulate those ideas to children. One of the general problems of using community people as resources in the classroom is that they often reinforce stereotypes and other forms of dominant discourse. Bernstein argues, for example, that children who do not have the necessary recognition rules for operating within classrooms are in a less powerful position than children who do recognise the rules and values of a classroom. The same applies to adults. Many *Maori* adults themselves have not done well at school, and when they return as community experts, are positioned disadvantageously either through their speech, their different styles of communication, different pacing and sense of time and different cultural views, anyway, about knowledge. One of the strategies they may use, for example, is to teach as they remember being taught, which in other situations I have observed means 'sit down, shut up and listen while I drone on and on...'.
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(c) Pupil Attitudes and the Teaching of *Taha Maori*.

One of the aims of *Taha Maori* was to encourage positive attitudes towards difference amongst children. It was thought that by learning about one 'other' culture thoroughly (namely *Maori*), and becoming bicultural, this understanding would transfer to other cultures. One of the teachers, whose school had the least number of *Maori* or Pacific Islands students of the four schools (18% of school roll), named the changing of attitudes as the most important aspect of her programme. She felt that whatever the content of the programme, if it did not foster a positive 'open' attitude about *Maori* people and *Maori* issues, then in her school, *Taha Maori* would not work. To this teacher, racist attitudes about *Maori* people came from home, and from previous school and early childhood experiences. Her first activity was to encourage her class to write down what they knew about *Maori* culture, an activity which the teacher then used to plan her programme. The comments generated included such things as, 'they don't have showers and they live in huts and they don't wear proper clothes'.

She also said that 'parents came down and said they'd rather the children learned maths'. For this teacher then, her approach to *Taha Maori* was designed around this initial activity, and had an emphasis on a programme which was about 'having a go, not being afraid to make a mistake'. The significance, in terms of Bernstein's model, of negative pupil attitude towards a minority culture is that, through the pedagogic relay, teachers define the limits of the 'knowable' and the 'unknowable'. Racist attitudes are part of the relations which are external to the school, and dominant pedagogic discourse privileges those attitudes, gives them 'voice' in ways which affirm those particular views. This teacher had decided to address the problem directly, by 'giving permission' at one level, for each child to give voice to whatever ideals, feelings and attitudes they may hold, and on the basis of that information, plan a programme which attempted to change those attitudes. Her evaluation of the effectiveness of such a programme was based, not on content knowledge, but on such things as the 'children's enthusiasm for a topic', the degree to which they talked about and followed up activities after the class session was over, the type of questions the children asked, and the absence of parental complaints.

The three other teachers taught in schools which had larger numbers of students who were not *Pakeha*, although the average percentage of *Maori* students in each school was about 18%. These teachers had fewer concerns about pupil attitudes because they felt that their schools had fostered positive relationships with their own communities, and had strong representation on the Boards of Trustees from both *Maori* parents and *Pakeha* parents who supported the programme. In one school, for example, there were *Pakeha* children in the school's bilingual unit and a queue to get into the unit. Also the three other teachers felt supported and encouraged by their principals and deputy principals, so that their work was acknowledged at staff meetings. They had also been encouraged to attend courses with the fees paid by the Board of Trustees. The other teacher had attended *Maori* courses, in her own time and at her own expense. This was because the school had prioritised staff development, and the new science curriculum was named as the first priority, all other curriculum areas were relegated to secondary importance. Although she had encouragement from the deputy principal, who was *Maori*, and from a *Maori* colleague, she felt that *Taha Maori* generally was not a priority in the school, and the culture of the school was one which did not foster co-operation amongst teachers for sharing resources or ideas. In fact, she and the *Maori*

teacher both told of classrooms being locked at interval times, not to keep students out, but to keep other teachers from 'pinching ideas'.²⁷

(d) Teacher Planning for *Taha Maori*.

All four teachers had written plans for *Taha Maori*, a longterm plan lasting for at least six weeks, and a more detailed weekly plan. The longterm plan mapped out a general theme with objectives for the whole theme, and mapped a series of related topics in music, art, social studies or science. The weekly plan was written on a weekly timetable, and was usually a nominated topic with a list of group activities or resources. Sometimes these were colour coded because the *Taha Maori* unit might be taught in the allocated time for music or for art. As well as plans, each teacher also had 'units of work', often 'boxed', which included reading material, stimulus material, photocopied worksheets and, (depending on the unit), posters, booklets, puzzles, audio-visual material and organisation plans for school visits. These had been developed by each teacher and had been modified over several years. The year two teacher had fewer such resources but had already collected material around several different themes.

Although *Taha Maori* is not given a set time allocation, by being defined by specific units of work, activities or themes, it is taught within the same time constraints as other subject areas. In the school which had the most rigid timetable (a six day timetable), with students attending specialist teachers and operating in syndicates for other subjects, *Taha Maori* was allocated a specific period in the longterm plan. The school which had the least restrictions on timetabling, not even having a bell to signal intervals, for example, was one in which the teacher incorporated *Taha Maori* into a wide range of other subjects including health, science, reading, music and mathematics.

Planning is an important mode through which knowledge is recontextualised within existing forms of realisation. These forms of realisation include; principles for making decisions about timing (how long a unit of work should take, how long children's attention can be held for),

²⁷ 'Pinching' is a New Zealand term for stealing.

for sequencing (what follows from what), for judging relevancy (what prior knowledge the class may have, what other related topics are being studied, what topic will follow), for determining resource needs (what books and audiovisual material are available), for deciding space issues (what displays can be made, what group activities can be undertaken). These principles exist to some degree in teachers' heads', and are a reflection of the ways teachers have been trained. Teacher B, for example, plans for a whole term. This is broken down into a weekly column which she does each Sunday night. Work is organised around a cycle of new material with activities, followed by revision, followed by new material. She has a sense of what she wants to achieve by the end of the term.

Teacher C had a highly integrated thematic approach to her programme. In the summer, for example, the science topic was the rocky shore, artwork had a marine theme, the *Taha Maori* programme was about *Tangaroa*²⁸ and a school visit was organised to Kelly Tarlton's Underwater World and to a rocky beach. Despite the complexity of her planning, similar principles were being employed to the ones used by the first teacher. These were principles for ordering what was to be taught or 'introduced', which activities would be most appropriate for reinforcing an objective, which sequence should be imposed, how groups could be organised (which children should be in which group), what time of day suited the type of work being undertaken. Afternoons, for example, were considered better for group art activities or for individual worksheet activities.

Teacher D had a overall plan for the year which she had thought about over her summer break. This included revamping work she had covered before, and developing new ideas. One of her new ideas for the year, because it was the 'Year of the Family', was to develop an integrated theme on 'Families'. For the *Taha Maori* programme she would explore *Maori* concepts of 'whanau', using related topics of *whakapapa* (genealogy) and *whenua* (land/afterbirth). As an example of an activity, each child would do their own 'whakapapa' or family tree, and would learn the *Maori* terms of relationships such as *whaea* (mother), *matua* (father), *teina* (younger sibling). In reading she had planned to use a short story about a *whanau* as a 'shared book' experience. She also planned to organise her class into 'whanau

²⁸ *Tangaroa* is the ancestral figure responsible for the Sea. He nurtured *Maui*. *Tangaroa* is one of the children of *Ranginui* and *Papatuanuku*, the sky and earth parents.

groups' which would include children from a mix of abilities and backgrounds. This teacher had put considerable thought into her 'theme', and had sifted through school journals to find suitable stories and poems. She had also collected a range of newspaper and magazine pictures and had backed these with cardboard, written questions on the card, and then laminated them. These were to be used as independent activities for the times when individual children had completed their work ahead of the group.

In the example given above are a number of features which illustrate recontextualisation. The framing of *whanau* within a discourse such as 'Year of the Family' already regulates the order of significance and legitimacy between western concepts of family and *Maori* concepts of *whanau*. This framing enables the external discourses of dominance to influence, through the home and the media, what is taught in the classroom. In the case of *whanau* or *Maori* families, the media in 1994 very powerfully positioned *Maori* families as sites of violence and abuse.²⁹ Official discourses on *Maori whanau* also emphasised the concepts of dysfunction and 'not normal'. Even before the unit of work on *whanau* gets into the classroom, it has been subject, firstly, to the rules of classification and framing, and secondly, to principles which enable teachers to 'appropriate other discourses and then subordinate them to different principles of organisation and relation'.³⁰ It is recontextualised in the teacher's 'head' (consciousness) and then through a system of planning, of timetabling and of 'breaking down' into discrete activities it is inflected with a pedagogic 'voice' which situates it in relation to other forms of knowledge being acquired in the classroom.

Much of the work of planning and timetabling is common sense for experienced teachers who seem to be engaged constantly in planning, seeking new ideas for the next set of work. For Teacher A planning was more a matter of 'survival' and of maintaining 'some control' over her work and over her classroom. This was something she was conscious of, whereas the other three teachers thought that planning was just part of life as a teacher. For example, even

²⁹ The film 'Once Were Warriors' also happened to be released during the Year of the Family and its main actor *Temuera* Morrison was used to narrate a television documentary of Family violence. *Maori* activist protests towards the end of the year were represented in the media through the visual imagery of *Maori* men with tattooed faces.

³⁰ Bernstein, 1992, p.49.

if they did not write down a lesson plan they had a structure in their heads for what an individual lesson should look like. According to Teacher B, *'If I am introducing a new topic I would spend some time with the whole class, maybe using a shared story or a picture, and I would make it exciting, talk about the things we will do in this topic. Then we might have small group work, maybe rotating activities, encouraging lots of language. Then maybe some written work or creative work, that would depend on what they can do or read, like the good readers I might give them a story to read while the children who are not good readers I might give them a tape to listen to while they follow along with their books.'*

(e) Textual Resources for Taha **Maori**.

One of the biggest complaints about **Taha Maori** is that there are no resources to help teachers, or to supplement classroom work. There are no set texts for the teaching of **Taha Maori**. There are combinations of texts, some of which are produced through Learning Media, which is funded by the state and which publishes school journals, **Maori** language journals, and other related texts. These are issued to all schools, including the **Maori** language material. One school, for example, had unopened boxes of **Maori** language material which had been issued and for which they had no use. Other texts are produced commercially.

In purchasing texts, schools are constrained by their budgets. During the time when this study was carried out there was a change in **Maori** Language Factor funding.³¹ When this form of funding was first introduced, it was a per capita cost granted to schools on the number of **Maori** students, ostensibly to support **Maori** language programmes. It was left up to each school to determine how the money would be allocated. The Maori Language Factor fund has gradually been cut back and has been channelled into programmes that offer more 'measurable' support for **Maori** language.³² When this study was carried out the schools still received some **Maori** Language Factor funding for their **Maori** students. This form of

³¹ See Johnston, P., 1991. 'A Fair Measure of Influence? **Maori** Members on School Boards of Trustees', MA thesis, University of Auckland.

³² For example, schools which offer immersion **Maori** language programmes have greater priority over schools which offer a bilingual or dual immersion approach. There is still funding for developing programmes but the greater amount of the funding is directed to those schools and programmes which offer more **Maori** language.

funding, however, has to be differentiated from what schools should be spending from their core operational funding to support the curriculum. *Taha Maori* is officially part of the curriculum available for all students, not just for *Maori* students.

Each of the teachers interviewed held some school wide responsibility for *Taha Maori* and could make suggestions for purchasing resources. All four schools did allocate their *Maori* Language Factor funding to programmes which supported *Maori* language. Three schools had bilingual units and one school had *Maori* language classes for children who wanted to learn *Maori*. In the case of one school, all resources related to *Maori* topics were paid for out of this fund. According to the teacher and the *Taha Maori* curriculum committee, no *Taha Maori* resources had been bought for general use in the school for two years, and in no other curriculum area were books related to *Taha Maori* purchased. In the view of these teachers, resource decisions for *Maori* resources were held by the *Maori* language teacher and the principal. The politics associated with that, in association with the lack of support from other teachers for the teaching of *Taha Maori*, meant that the committee's requests for resources were invariably turned down. The consequence of this was that the committee members had developed and purchased their own resources, which they shared amongst themselves but refused to share with any other teachers. If approached for support they would direct the teachers to existing resources, often knowing that the 'box' concerned had been depleted of most of its contents.

Teacher C had been given overall responsibility for *Taha Maori* resources. She had gathered them all together in one place, and systematically organised them into boxed sets, with coloured stickers on each box, indicating reading level and general interest. Material regarded as old was discarded and incomplete sets were boxed with other such material. Visual material was hung in an open file, video tapes were similarly organised. Although this teacher was also responsible for *Maori* language teaching, she had a keen sense of how resource material should be organised in order that teachers could have easier access and would therefore use the material. In an inventory taken in her own classroom, this teacher had an impressive range of material, neatly organised, and directly available to students. The whole sum of it indicates that there are a wide range of texts suitable for primary school use which are available. Many of the texts that this teacher had gathered together already existed in the

school but had never been systematically organised. Other material had been purchased from community and voluntary agencies, such as health centres and *Maori* resource centres. At least a third of the resources were ones this teacher had collected or generated herself. She had folders which had an example of everything she had produced. This included plans, photocopied worksheets, pictures, examples of children's work. She also had books of children's work which she used as reading or stimulus books.

The two examples given could not be more of a contrast. There is a different issue, however, which relates to the 'quality' of resources and textbook material, as a significant aspect of the pedagogic recontextualisation field. There are two major areas of study which are related to an analysis of school texts. One is the political economy of school texts and the other is related to the issues of representation of indigenous or 'native' peoples.³³ In the case of *Maori* the two intersect. *Maori* texts are not profit making for commercial publishers, and the state is involved in the production of texts related to *Maori* language and *Maori* material. Representation issues are therefore situated within the official texts produced by state agencies. Increasingly these state produced materials have been subject to 'crown copyright', raising fears by *Maori* of the further commodification and loss of control over *Maori* forms of knowledge. Analyses of the representation of *Maori* in texts, film and other forms of media, are beginning to be discussed by *Maori*, and will not be developed in this chapter.³⁴ The wider study is concerned with the reasons teachers select texts and other resources and the ways in which they use that material in the classroom.

Discussion.

Bernstein's concepts of pedagogic discourse have been developed over a period of thirty years

³³ For the political economy of the textbook read Apple, M., 1986. *Teachers and Texts*. New York, Routledge & Kegan Paul, pp.81-150. For issues related to representation see for example, McCarthy, C., W. Crichtlow, eds. 1993. *Race, Identity and Representation in Education*. New York, Routledge.

³⁴ For example, Pihama, L., 1994. 'Are Films Dangerous? A *Maori* Woman's Perspective on the Piano', in *Heacte*, v.20, no.2, pp.239-242.

and have been gradually filled out through empirical research.³⁵ This study focused on a very narrow part of pedagogic discourse namely the concept of recontextualisation. However, in attempting to understand how this works, it has also been necessary to understand and assume the basic principles of code, and classification and framing, upon which Bernstein's later ideas have developed. In this study, teachers approaches to *Taha Maori*, and the discursive resources which they selected and organised in order to teach *Taha Maori*, were viewed as a way of understanding the underlying principles of recontextualisation. The principles of recontextualisation are significant to the wider struggles by *Maori* for the legitimisation of *Maori* language, knowledge and culture, because recontextualisation is one of the mechanisms through which *Maori* knowledge continues to be appropriated, reframed and marginalised in official pedagogic discourse.

What the findings of this study suggest is that through their training, teachers acquire the rules for the classification and framing of *Taha Maori* as a marginal and weak subject, and the rules which enable them to make further decisions about *Taha Maori* which, despite their good intentions, continue to position *Taha Maori* as insignificant in relation to other forms of knowledge. These principles are also reinforced by the dislocation and relocation which occurs in recontextualisation; the dislocation of *Maori* concepts from *Maori* world-views, the relocation of new forms of *Maori* concepts in to the classroom. Recontextualisation of *Taha Maori* is the principle by which *Maori* concepts are incorporated within existing forms of realisation of dominant pedagogic discourse, a domestication of the 'unknowable' into that which can be 'knowable' and by implication controllable.

Although teachers are one part of the pedagogic recontextualising field, schools could also be seen as mediating, either positively or negatively, the official discourse from the state (official recontextualising field), and what individual teachers may want to teach. Schools are evoking contexts which regulate, through organisational rules and procedures, what ends up being taught. The relationship between a school and its constituent communities also helps to classify and frame the nature and content of *Taha Maori* in the classroom.

³⁵ How this has occurred has been discussed by Bernstein in *Code Theory and Research* which brings together the work of many of his own graduate students. This is soon to be published as Volume Five of his series on Pedagogic Discourse.

In summary.

One of the critical questions which arise from this study is in relation to the possibilities which may lie within the process of recontextualisation for an oppositional way of knowing to 'sneak in' to the classroom. Is recontextualising, for example, necessarily a form of total appropriation? Is it possible that embedded within the few concepts and songs which are used in *Taha Maori* programmes is the fragments of an alternative code? It may well be that it is in this area that *Maori* teachers bring with them into the classroom other ways of knowing which offer possibilities, particularly for *Maori* students, to make connections between their school programme and cultural value system. The example used in chapter ten would suggest that this is a possibility, that is, that there are spaces within the mainstream which can be created/reclaimed for *Maori*. The following chapter, however, will track another course, the pursuit of an alternative which was perceived as having far more possibilities for *Maori* language, knowledge and culture.