

Ako:
Pūrākau of Māori teachers' work
in secondary schools.

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Abstract

This thesis develops a new approach to understanding Māori teachers' work. While contemporary emphasis on teachers' work focuses on generic characteristics of effective practice as key to improving student outcomes, here it is shown that Māori teachers bring a quality to their practice not captured in standard approaches. Framed by kaupapa Māori theory, this thesis foregrounds pūrākau as a research methodology to tell the story/stories of five Māori secondary school teachers. These teachers source their work deeply in who they are *as Māori*, enacting the philosophy and practice of ako.

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Chapter One

Setting the scene for ako

Introduction

This thesis is a pūrākau (Māori narrative) about ako (Māori pedagogy)¹ in the work of Māori teachers at secondary school. There are many ways this pūrākau could be told; this thesis aims to present an account that refocuses the Māori teacher for New Zealand secondary schools, in particular, for Māori students.

While this thesis is preoccupied with ako, it is through the active engagement by Māori teachers that ako finds meaning in this study. This chapter will introduce Māori teachers as the ‘main characters’. However, not all Māori teachers, by virtue of their ethnicity and/or profession, are the same. It is important to identify from the outset the group of Māori teachers in this thesis. Similarly, it is essential to establish the research scene in which this study is located if the pūrākau are to be fully understood. Without the context, the individual pūrākau become detached and disconnected from the intended meaning and purpose of the overall study. The research question and the wider research setting in which the study is positioned, namely ‘decolonising methodologies’ (L. T. Smith, 1999), and kaupapa Māori (Bishop, 2005; G. H. Smith, 1997) provide further clarity to the purpose and parameters of this project.

Following Māori cultural traditions that insist a speaker (or writer) should make known to their audience who one is (Clothier, 1993), and academic protocols that reject the notion that the researcher occupies an objective position (Bishop, 1996;

¹ The translation of Māori terms will be shown in brackets the first time they appear in the text, thereafter, refer to the glossary for the English meaning.

Pihama, 2001; L. T. Smith, 1999), I begin by introducing myself as the researcher and my relationship to the kaupapa (subject or purpose) of this study. This chapter sets the scene for pūrākau about Māori teachers' and ako to unfold.

The researcher

My interest in ako did not start with my participation in studies at university, or any academic theorising as a lecturer in the Faculty of Education. My fascination with ako had begun long before, during my whānau (family) upbringing. My mother constantly telling me I had to further my education, my father's relentless work ethic, my grandmother's gifts of taonga (treasures) when I participated in kapa haka (Māori song and dance), and my grandfather's stories of hardship as a Chinese market gardener in the 1930s and 1940s: these were some of the experiences that led me to think more deeply about ako.

My parents are former primary and secondary school teachers. Growing up, I remember large groups of students coming to our home to have dinner and participate in a variety of outdoor activities on our country property. While choosing a career in teaching felt like a 'natural' vocation, I was also well aware that my mother and father were the first to go to university and the only ones to become teachers in their respective families. My inspiration to pursue a doctoral study about the work of teachers derives from my teacher-parents' fortitude as a first generation Chinese female, and Māori-Chinese male in the 1960s, at a time when mono-culturalism was still the highly valued 'norm' in schools.

I first met ako in my Māori language classes as a year 11 student at Massey High School in West Auckland.² From the most powerful kaiako (Māori teacher) in my schooling, Awa Hudson, I discovered that the word ako literally meant 'to teach and to learn'. One of the first phrases we learnt to say, was "kei te ako au i te reo Māori" (I am learning Māori language). I began, in Freirean (Freire & Macedo, 1987) terms, to "name the word and name the world" (p. 7). Ako was like the key to a door that opened a world I had a deep connection to, but couldn't recognise. I lacked the cultural skills and knowledge to make sense of my place in this new landscape.

² Ako is personified here. In Māori narratives and in Māori language it is common to personify tangible and intangible things.

I continued to employ ako to explore the Māori world through my secondary schooling and in my undergraduate studies at Waikato University. During this time I began to foster a more comfortable relationship with ako as I became familiar with te reo (Māori language) me ngā tikanga Māori (Māori cultural practices). I also followed my parents' footsteps and became a teacher. I was 'trained' to teach Māori language, English and Social Studies. In my new role, I began to engage with a new side of ako, one in which I now became the 'teacher'. The reciprocal teaching and learning nature of ako meant that I was privy to many profound insights taught to me by my Māori students and their families, as well as my teaching colleagues.

While ako was (and is) always omnipresent, I did not know its theoretical side until I was introduced to the elements of kaupapa Māori theory during my post-graduate studies. Leading proponents of kaupapa Māori, Linda Smith, Graham Smith, Kuni Jenkins, Margie Hohepa and Leonie Pihama were my MA pouako (lecturers) at The University of Auckland during the early 1990s. As I worked with the practical side of ako during the day as a secondary school teacher, and the theoretical side of ako in the evenings as a post-graduate student, I became more intrigued by ako's qualities and traits.

My work as a Māori teacher at Northcote College (on the North Shore in Auckland) during the early 1990s involved establishing a Māori whānau-based unit. In a predominantly Pākehā (White New Zealander) school, where Māori students made up 10% of the 700 student population, to create a Māori 'space' was an enormous challenge (Lee, 2001). The benefits, however, were immense. For instance, the Māori suspension rate dropped from 64% (of all suspensions issued at the school) in 1991, to 11% a year after the whānau class was created in 1994 (Lee, 2001). As the students involved in 'Te Whānau o te Kākano'³ became more confident as Māori, they independently formed Te Kākano sports teams in which they included Māori language and tikanga in their activities. These Māori students generally became more comfortable in the school environs. After three years as a Māori teacher I suffered 'burn out' and took a year out to complete my MA thesis.

³ The name of the whānau class can be translated as 'The family that nurtures the seed'.

The following year, in 1996, I returned to the classroom at Auckland Girls' Grammar School (Central Auckland) to lead the Ngā Tumanako o Kahurangi (a Māori bilingual unit).⁴ I followed in the footsteps of former Māori teachers Arapera Blank, Linda Smith and Rāhera Shortland – Māori women who had pioneered this landmark unit and established the marae, Kahurangi-ki-Maungawhau – I felt privileged to be appointed as Head of Māori and Dean of Kahurangi. I spent five years teaching alongside three other Māori women and working with more than 80 Māori girls from years 9 to 13. Again, while I taught I also learnt a tremendous amount from my students, their families, and my colleagues.

One thing that became more pronounced during my teaching career was the way being Māori influenced my work, my interactions with students and whānau, my engagement with curriculum, and my pedagogical purpose. This doctoral thesis is directly related to my personal and professional experiences *as Māori* in education; in particular, I seek to examine *ako* via Māori teachers' work in mainstream secondary schools. I am interested in the ways 'being Māori' is significant to Māori teachers' practice. I argue that Māori teachers are able to meet the Māori cultural aspirations of Māori learners and their families in ways that other teachers cannot – and that this is a substantive aspect of 'quality' not properly understood within the field of education in New Zealand.

Māori teachers (at secondary schools).,

If you were to see only the images of Māori teachers presented through the TeachNZ⁵ nationwide media campaign to recruit teachers, you might think that Māori teachers are a group of young, lively, and highly energetic Māori who love their work. One of the television commercials screened in 2006, featured a young Māori male teacher, Lincoln Savage. He wore a pressed, buttoned, business shirt and trousers and was surrounded by Māori students (in perfect uniform) seated in straight rows. Both the teacher and students were actively engaged and enthusiastic in their tasks, the students were either writing in their books or had hands up (eager to participate). Standing in

⁴ Ngā Tumanako o Kahurangi was established in 1986, with the support of the principal Charmaine Poutney. This was the first Māori language immersion unit begun in a mainstream secondary school in New Zealand.

⁵ TeachNZ is a unit of the Ministry of Education that actively promotes teaching as a positive career option.

the centre was the Māori teacher surveying the room in the act of teaching. In this television-perfect advertisement, the aim of marketing teaching for Māori as a fun, exciting and rewarding career was achieved. While this might be the case (or at least the ideal) for some Māori teachers, the statistics and small body of research literature about Māori teachers paints a very different picture.

Although teaching has been officially promoted to Māori as a positive career option for more than 70 years,⁶ Māori teacher numbers have remained consistently small. In 2006, Māori teachers made up 7.6% of all teachers in secondary schools (Ministry of Education, 2007a, p. 1), a slight reduction (.2%) from the previous year (Ministry of Education, 2006a, p. 130). In mainstream secondary schools these teachers are concentrated in Māori language classrooms. According to the Ministry of Education's 2004 Teacher Census, the largest number of Māori teachers (415) taught Māori language (82% of all Māori language teachers). The second largest number of Māori teachers taught Social Studies (279), followed by Maths (242). However, in these subject areas, Māori teachers only make up 11% of all Social Studies teachers and 8% of all Maths teachers at secondary schools (R. Engler, personal communication, November 9, 2007).⁷ Students that do not opt to take Māori as a subject are not very likely to encounter Māori teachers during their secondary schooling.

The proportion of Māori teachers also drops sharply at high decile schools.⁸ In 2007 Māori teachers made up 19.5% of teaching staff at decile one schools, and only 2.8% of teachers at decile ten schools⁹ (R. Engler, personal communication, January 7, 2008). Māori student numbers also follow this trend as seen in Table 1, 38.5% of all students attending decile one schools are Māori, whereas Māori students at decile ten schools make up only 5.7% of the student numbers (R. Engler, personal communication, January 7, 2008). Yet even in regions where Māori represent a high

⁶ The Māori schools' quota began in 1940. Although the quota was not created specifically for Māori, it enabled Māori to enter Training Colleges under its own allocation. The Māori schools' quota is discussed further in chapter four.

⁷ R.Engler is a Research Analyst, Demographic and Statistical Analysis Unit, Ministry of Education.

⁸ Each school in New Zealand is awarded a decile rating from 1 to 10 calculated on Census information. The school's decile indicates the extent to which students are drawn from a particular socio-economic group. Decile 1 schools have the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities, whereas decile 10 schools have the lowest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities (Ministry of Education, 2006b).

⁹ Includes permanent and fixed term teachers.

percentage of the population and student roll, the percentage of Māori teachers are still lower. For example, in Gisborne, Māori are 62.1% of all domestic students (Ministry of Education, 2006a, p. 129), and 36% of all teachers (R. Engler, personal communication, November 9, 2007).

Table 1. Percentage of Māori teachers and Māori students by secondary school decile 2007

Secondary schools	% Māori teachers	% Māori children
Decile 1	19.5%	38.5%
Decile 2	15.2%	44.7%
Decile 3	12.4%	33.2%
Decile 4	7.8%	26.4%
Decile 5	7.9%	22.6%
Decile 6	5.4%	16.3%
Decile 7	4.5%	13.9%
Decile 8	5.1%	12.3%
Decile 9	4.6%	10.1%
Decile 10	2.8%	5.7%
TOTAL	7.1%	18.9%

(R. Engler, personal communication, November 9, 2007).¹⁰

Unfortunately the data showing the numbers of Māori students graduating from secondary teacher training (English-medium) shows that a rapid increase in Māori teachers is unlikely, as shown in Table 2. From 2000 to 2006, the number of Māori completing teacher education to become secondary school teachers is still small, despite a recruitment campaign begun during the mid-1990s that included promotional advertising, face-to-face recruitment, and TeachNZ scholarships of

¹⁰ Percentage of students from Data Management Unit, Ministry of Education, July 2007. Percentage of Māori teachers from Teacher payroll data warehouse, April 2007.

\$10,000 to “high calibre Māori and high calibre people proficient in Māori language” (Ministry of Education, 2004c, p. 24).

Table 2. Number of Māori students graduating from secondary teacher training 2000 - 2006

Year	Number of Māori graduating	Māori graduates as % of total graduates
2000	127	19.5%
2001	142	22.2%
2002	119	19.1%
2003	141	23.0%
2004	112	19.9%
2005	106	25.8%
2006	114	23.8%

(R. Engler, personal communication, February 11, 2008).¹¹

The stagnant number of Māori teachers in secondary schools stands in stark contrast to the growing numbers of Māori students. Whereas Māori students made up 19.9% of all domestic students in 1996, by 2005 that number had increased to 21.4% (Ministry of Education, 2006a, p. 15) and 21.6% in 2006 (Ministry of Education, 2007a, p. 114). According to the Ministry of Education (2006a), the present Māori student population is the largest proportion of Māori students seen in the ‘mainstream’ than ever before. By 2020 Māori are expected to account for more than a third (35%) of the total secondary school population (Ministry of Education, 2004c, p. 8). In some parts of the country Māori students already make up the majority in secondary schools.

When predicting a marked increase in numbers of Māori students the Ministry of Education often adopts a cautionary stance. This is not because the Māori student rate

¹¹ The data provided differs slightly from information provided in *2006/2007 Ngā haeata mātauranga: Annual report on Māori education* (Ministry of Education, 2007a), the datasets from Demographic and Statistical Analysis Unit, Ministry of Education are live and updated when necessary.

of growth exceeds that of Pākehā students by 10%,¹² but if the present trends of disproportionate negative educational outcomes for Māori students continue, the ‘life chances’ trajectory of more than a third of all students will be severely limited – a result that will impact on New Zealand society at large. Mason Durie (2001) notes:

There are some 60,000 young Māori, who, on present trends, will never experience anything like a reasonable outcome. Instead they will become trapped in lifestyles that are essentially incompatible with healthy growth and development and will struggle to participate in either te ao Māori [Māori world] or the wider global community (p. 4).

Durie (2003) goes on to blame poor educational outcomes for the over-representation of Māori in the negative statistic indices of Māori health, welfare and justice. He identifies educational failure as one of the precursors to a ‘trapped lifestyle’ for Māori, the forerunner of Māori offending, and subsequent imprisonment.

The Māori educational crisis, as it is often referred to by Māori educationalists (Jenkins & Ka'ai, 1994; Penetito, 1996; G. H. Smith, 1997), was reiterated recently in the national media when Māori educationalist Russell Bishop (New Zealand Herald, 2007) described the situation of underachievement rates as a “time bomb of problems”. Bishop was commenting on the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA)¹³ Level 1 results for Māori students in 2006, where 53 per cent of Māori boys left school without having achieved even Level 1, compared with 20 per cent of Pākehā boys (New Zealand Herald, 2007). Bishop (like many others) concludes that the state of education for Māori is unacceptable. Not only is the proportion of Māori leaving school without NCEA Level 1 more than double that of non-Māori counterparts (Ministry of Education, 2006a, p. 136), this data is comparatively worse than the statistics presented in 2003. The 2003 statistics showed 38.3% Māori boys and 31.8% of Māori girls left school with no formal

¹² Between July 2002 – 2006, the number of Māori students increased by 6.4% while the number of Pākehā students decreased by 3.6% (Ministry of Education, 2007b).

¹³ National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) is New Zealand's main national qualification for secondary school students. There are three levels of achievement; most secondary school students begin level 1 in year 11.

qualifications,¹⁴ in comparison 17.1% of non-Māori boys and 12.1% of non-Māori girls were left in the same predicament (Ministry of Education, 2004c, p. 114).

Since the 1980s Māori teachers have been promoted as an important part of the government's intervention strategy in Māori educational underachievement (Renwick, 1984). In 2002 the Ministry of Education (2002a) still considered Māori teachers as "crucial for improving the quality of education and providing positive role models for Māori students" (p. 32). *Ngā haeata mātauranga: Annual report on Māori education 2000/2001 and direction for 2002* (Ministry of Education, 2002a) states that Māori teachers help to:

- provide positive role models for Māori students
- raise educational expectations and achievement for Māori
- improve the quality of Māori immersion education
- develop the capacity of iwi [tribe/s] and Māori to initiate their own educational programmes (p. 32).

These same sentiments were echoed the following year in the Ministry of Education's (2003) annual report of Māori education. To raise Māori student achievement, five approaches were identified. The first relied on "increasing the supply of Māori teachers and addressing Māori teacher workloads" (p. 14). Māori teachers were considered key to the process of improving educational outcomes for Māori. Furthermore, Māori teachers were recognised as able to assist Māori students in ways that went beyond the conventional (non-Māori) teacher.

The high proportion of Māori teachers suffering from an excessive workload, however, has overshadowed the special contribution Māori teachers make in secondary schools. Māori teachers often feel strained from carrying a heavy workload in culturally challenging (and sometimes culturally unsafe) work conditions (Bloor, 1996; International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, 1999 [IRI]; H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). Three reports produced in the 1990s describing Māori teachers' work, in particular the high levels of workload stress, have dominated the discourse of Māori secondary school teachers. While the focus of all three reports concern workload issues, these three studies also provide a useful

¹⁴ These statistics are taken from 2002 NCEA results, students who left without any 'formal qualification' are students who gained fewer than 14 credits at level 1.

portrayal of the sorts of work Māori teachers do in schools. These reports are drawn on throughout this thesis (in particular, in chapter five) and are introduced briefly here.

The first report entitled *Māori teachers who leave the classroom* (H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993), funded by the New Zealand Council of Research, sought to examine the attrition rate and stress experienced by Māori teachers. This study surveyed 74 former Māori primary and secondary school teachers as well as 23 Māori commentators on policy and practice in education in the early 1990s. The report found that Māori teachers played key roles in schools. Māori teachers were needed to:

- teach Māori language, Māori history, Māori values and culture, and general classroom subjects
- act as role models of successful Māori adults for the Māori (and Pākehā) children in schools
- support and extend Māori children through understanding their background values and recognising their needs
- to be a visible sign to Māori children that they are welcome and valued at school
- to provide a Māori perspective for the school administration, the staff, the board of trustees, and other decision makers
- to provide contact for Māori parents and whānau
- to demonstrate to the community that the school prizes Māori contributions, Māori values, and Māori culture (H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993, p. 123).

In fulfilling these roles Māori teachers often suffered difficult work conditions and extreme workloads. The narratives of Māori teachers and educationalists explain that the reason Māori teachers experienced difficulties at school was usually related to ‘being Māori’. In sum, the marginal status of Māori in the education system was a key cause of conflict for these Māori teachers. The report dismally concludes, “It does not seem necessary to reiterate the reasons Māori teachers leave. The wonder is that so many of them remain” (H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993, p. 127).

The second study, *The workloads of Māori secondary school teachers* (Bloor, 1996), was commissioned by Te Huarahi Māori Motuhake, the National Māori Executive of the Post Primary Teachers' Association (PPTA). This study intended to provide comparable data with a survey of New Zealand secondary school teachers conducted the previous year (Bloor & Harker, 1995), and identify the workload characteristics and perceptions of Māori teachers. One hundred and seventy-six Māori teachers randomly selected from the PPTA national database completed survey questionnaires. From information provided by this group of teachers, it was found that Māori teachers were generally younger with less teaching experience than the general teaching profession, and just over half (51.1%) of these Māori teachers taught Māori language usually in a one-teacher Māori Department. Beyond the hours spent on typical teaching activities by secondary teachers in general (a forty hour week), Māori teachers spent an extra twenty-one hours performing duties *as Māori* such as, acting as the Māori community liaison person. Some of these duties were not formally recognised by the school but were culturally expected (Bloor, 1996, p. 19). Like the previous study conducted by Hilary Anne Mitchell and Maui John Mitchell (1993), Bloor (1996) found Māori teachers were a “physically, emotionally, spiritually and socially strained group” (p. 48), and that at least half the Māori teachers had seriously considered leaving teaching (p. viii).

The third study, *A report of workload issues for Māori secondary school teachers* (1999) was undertaken for the Ministry of Education by the International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (IRI), The University of Auckland. This study was part of the ‘Te Hiringa i te Mahara’ (The Power of the Mind), a national professional development programme began in 1998 aimed at Māori secondary school teachers. The IRI study aimed to identify a range of specific workload pressures and to assist in the design of interventions to support Māori secondary school teachers; it also provided a basis in which to evaluate the success of these interventions. This report contained a data analysis based on the information gathered from the completed questionnaires of 262 Māori teachers and a literature review. The report found that many Māori teachers chose teaching as a career option because they wanted to make a positive difference in the education of Māori youth, and they were committed to the revitalization of Māori language and culture. Like the previous studies (Bloor, 1996; H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993), this report also found that the

workload issues experienced by Māori teachers were cause for concern. The report states “Māori secondary school teachers are not only carrying a ‘normal’ teaching load. They are also taking an active part in the Māori cultural affairs of their school and community” (IRI, 1999, p. 8). The report found that the nature of Māori teachers’ work is closely related to their motivation to improve educational experiences for Māori students, and contribute to the retention of Māori language and culture.

Te Hiringa i te Mahara (THM) continues to be one of the key professional development initiatives funded by the Ministry of Education for Māori secondary school teachers. THM aims to address Māori teacher stress by “developing Māori teacher capability” in secondary schools (Ministry of Education, 2007h). This goal is to be achieved through a variety of intervention strategies, including a range of professional development courses, ICT programmes, curriculum resources, web-based digital stories, and so forth. During 2006 and 2007 the key developments included a database of resources for teachers (Te Whatarau), digital leaning objects and an online learning community (Whakawhitiwhiti Whakaaro) for Māori teachers (Ministry of Education, 2007a). The primary goal of THM is to empower Māori teachers to “aspire to and model excellence” (Ministry of Education, 2007g). In a review of the THM programme, *The second measurable gains report* (James & Fraser, 2003) found that despite a significant improvement in stress levels experienced by two-thirds of Māori teachers (338) who participated in some form of THM intervention, workload-related stress remained high (p. 14).

Unfortunately, the effort to assuage the excessive work-related stress placed on Māori teachers has inadvertently drawn attention away from the significant roles Māori teachers play for Māori students and their families. In a recent media report about a Māori education hui (meeting, gathering) held in Christchurch on 25-26 September 2007, the Ministry of Education’s southern regional manager, Mike De’Ath, warned that Māori teachers should not be viewed as the answer to Māori underachievement (“Christchurch Māori attainment levels lag”, 2007). In his view, to do so may cause Māori teachers to leave the profession. Rather, Māori students are seen as the responsibility of every teacher. This idea that the education of Māori students is a shared responsibility has inadvertently de-emphasised the centrality of the Māori teacher.

By the early 2000s Māori teachers had begun to fade from the spotlight. Instead there was a renewed focus on the importance of the classroom teacher. Māori teachers were no longer identified as “crucial” for Māori students; rather they were subsumed within the discussion about *all* teachers. The title of the 2002 New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) Conference, ‘Teachers make a Difference: What is the research evidence?’ John Hattie delivered the keynote address which took the focus off the “structural, home, policy, or school level” and on to teachers:

Intervention at the structural, home, policy, or school level is like searching under the lamppost for your wallet, which you lost in the bushes, because that is where there is light. The answer lies elsewhere – it lies in the person who gently closes the classroom door and performs the teaching act – the person who put into place the end effects of so many policies, who interprets these policies, and who is alone with students during their 15,000 hours of schooling (p. 103).

According to Hattie (2002) there are six major sources of variance that impact on students’ achievement. These six variants are: the student’s ability (in Hattie’s words whether or not students are “bright” or “not so bright” (p. 5) accounts for 50%; the home influences account for 5-10%; the type of school the student attends (including the effect of the Principal) accounts for 5-10%; the effects of students’ peers account for 5-10%; and the teacher is responsible for about 30% of the variance. After the students themselves, it is teachers that make the most difference to student achievement outcomes.

In countries including the United States, England, Canada and Australia, teachers are also viewed as the key factor in improving student achievement. The American Council on Education (1999) concludes in its report, *To Touch the Future*:

The success of the student depends most of all on the quality of the teacher. We know from empirical data what our intuition has always told us: Teachers made a difference. We now know that teachers make *the* difference (American Council on Education, 1999, p. 5, original emphasis).

Similarly, in the New Zealand context, the Ministry of Education strongly supports the view that the teacher makes the main difference in raising achievement. Whereas Hattie claimed the impact of the teacher accounted for approximately 30% of the variance of achievement outcomes, the Ministry of Education’s figure puts it much higher. In *Ngā haeata mātauranga: Annual report on Māori education 2002/2003*, the Ministry of Education (2004c) claims “the quality of teaching can explain up to 60

percent of the variation in a learner's educational achievement" (p. 41). Given the potential impact teachers can make on student progress, the expectations of teachers have risen – their philosophies, pedagogies and practices (usually described as 'teacher effectiveness') are now under the spotlight.

The current trend to view teacher effectiveness as key to improving student outcomes, as well as efforts to address heavy workload issues carried by Māori teachers has, in effect, meant Māori teachers have almost disappeared in discussions related to schooling for Māori students. In the Ministry of Education's (2007e) *Statement of intent – 2007 to 2012*, Māori education or achievement does not feature as a distinct goal, aim, theme or priority. While reducing educational disparities of Māori and responding to Māori cultural aspirations are included in this document, the emphasis is on improving the teaching of *all* students through approaches such as "personalising learning" (p.18) and "effective teaching" (p. 19). Under one of the government's three priority themes 'National identity', the document reads:

The education system helps safeguard and interpret our diverse cultures and views of our place in the world. Education, from early childhood through to tertiary, also supports Māori to maintain and develop Māori language, knowledge and culture. Kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and wānanga [learning forums] clearly have leading roles, but *all* education providers share the responsibility (Ministry of Education, 2007e, p. 17, emphasis added).

Māori providers, like Māori teachers, are not (officially) expected to be solely responsible for Māori students and Māori education in schools. While all teachers should take responsibility for improving all students' achievement, the 'work' Māori teachers do can easily be overlooked.

In 2006/2007 *Ngā haeata mātauranga: Annual report on Māori education* (Ministry of Education, 2007a) does mention the need for more Māori teachers. Under the sub-heading 'Teacher ethnicity' (rather than Māori teachers) one sentence says, "Increasing the number of Māori teachers is a way to ensure the education system is *effective* for Māori students" (Ministry of Education, 2007a, p. 107, emphasis added). Although this statement can be interpreted to mean that Māori teachers make the schooling 'effective' by acting as role models, raising expectations of Māori students and so forth (as did the *Ngā haeata mātauranga: Annual report on Māori education 2000/2001 and direction for 2002*), the term 'effective' is more closely associated

with the discourse of ‘effective teaching’. The brief inclusion of Māori teachers in the report is consistent with the current overall thrust by the Ministry of Education, to improve Māori education by making *all* teachers more ‘effective’.

In an education context saturated with negative statistics describing Māori students’ underachievement, a government that wants to improve Māori educational outcomes, and a research community that has identified teachers as the most important variant to student achievement, it is ironic that importance previously assigned to the Māori teacher is disappearing. Apart from the small body of research about Māori teachers that primarily concentrates on workload stress, there remains a paucity of literature specifically about Māori teachers, and an understanding of the cultural work they do in secondary schools. This thesis intends to refocus on Māori teachers by exploring what these teachers do *as Māori* that makes the difference for Māori students.

To teach *as Māori*

Although Māori secondary school teachers can be generally characterised as under-represented, overworked and located mainly in Māori language departments, Māori teachers are not a homogenous group. No ethnic or cultural group is in complete agreement about their own identity; Māori are no different. Māori can be just as individually varied culturally, socially, politically and economically as any other ethnic group in Aotearoa.

As an Indigenous population who has been, and continues to be marginalised in multiple ways, Māori identity is complex (McIntosh, 2005). Ethnic identity is often hybridised and always intersected by categories such as class, gender, sexuality, age and geography, as well as whakapapa (genealogy), iwi (tribe/s), hapū (sub-tribe/s), whenua (land), which in turn, produces a vast array of Māori lived realities. Tracey McIntosh (2005) argues that identifying as Māori does not mean that one is absorbed into an “undifferentiated ethnic mass” (p. 142), rather she explains, “to be Māori is to be part of a collective but heterogeneous identity, one that is enduring but ever in a state of flux” (p. 143). The changing nature of identity is continuously shaped and influenced by the everyday circumstances and ideologies in which we live.

A closer look at the demographics of Māori teachers show the diversity amongst this group. According to the IRI report (1999) about Māori secondary school teachers' work, Māori teachers range in age from 22 to 70 years old, the largest percentage of Māori teachers are in the 30-39 age bracket (p. 39). There were slightly more Māori female (54.6%) than Māori male teachers, over half whom held senior positions (54.6%) such as Heads of Department, Dean or equivalent (p. 40). Depending on the experience and level of responsibilities, Māori income varied from less than \$30,000 to more than \$60,000. Māori teachers were also distributed across iwi (tribal groups), with one fifth (the largest group) affiliated to Ngāti Porou (p. 40). Not all Māori teachers had received similar pre-service training: a variety of institutions provided various teacher education pathways. Some Māori teachers had full-time employment status, while others had part-time or relieving work. Māori teachers differed in all sorts of ways. Apart from the issue of excessive workload, it is difficult to characterise all Māori teachers according to their demographic and biographic features.

In any ethnic group there are also various degrees of cultural competence and commitment, from those who can be described as 'secure' in their Māori identity (Durie, 1998, p. 58) to those who may be referred to as 'ethnic self-haters' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990, p. 91). Although of Māori descent some Māori do not wish to identify as Māori,¹⁵ while those that do may not necessarily be fluent in Māori language, familiar with Māori culture or customs, nor display physical Māori characteristics. Although the IRI (1999) report found that 72.5% of all Māori teachers taught Māori language and more than half of the same group were involved in teaching Māori culture and kapa haka (p. 47), a THM evaluation (Waiti, Maniapoto, Bolstad, & Wylie, 2003, p. 23) conducted a few years later reported that a much smaller proportion of Māori teachers could actually speak Māori. According to the *Te hiringa i te mahara evaluation report* only 14% of Māori secondary school teachers are first language speakers of te reo Māori (Waiti et al., 2003, p. 23). Another 8% reported they could speak Māori fluently,¹⁶ a total of 22% altogether (Waiti et al., 2003, p. 23). Not all Māori teachers are culturally competent nor are they culturally confident. An

¹⁵ The 1996 census recorded that 579,714 indicated they were descended from Māori, but 523,374 actually identified as Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 1998, pp. 13-15).

¹⁶ This was 15% less than the proportion of Māori teachers who reported they could speak Māori fluently surveyed by IRI (1999).

audit of teacher education programmes completed by the Ministry of Māori Development (2001) showed that many of the Māori trainees (like their non-Māori peers) did not feel confident about teaching Māori students after their pre-service training course. The trainees indicated that their lack of confidence stemmed from a lack of knowledge of Māori language and culture.

The Māori teachers who are the focus of this thesis should be distinguished from those teachers who ‘just happen to be Māori’. Rather, the emphasis here is on teachers who work *as Māori*. Defining how one might work *as Māori* though is not unproblematic; it can be argued that each expression of ‘being Māori’ is not necessarily more (or less) ‘Māori’ than any other. McIntosh’s (2005) broad description of three types of contemporary Māori identities is useful in understanding the type of Māori teacher I wish to refer to in this study. McIntosh loosely refers to Māori identities as either ‘fixed’ (traditional Māori identities), ‘fluid’ (rangatahi [youth] and fusion/hybrid identities) or ‘forced’ (identities formed under conditions of deprivation). Although teachers who are of Māori ethnicity cover the spectrum of these identities, it is the first group, the ‘traditional’ Māori identity that most closely align to the group of Māori teachers who are the focus of this thesis.¹⁷

According to McIntosh (2005) some of the key markers of Māori with a ‘traditional’ type of identity include whakapapa, knowledge of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge), and a proficiency in Māori language and tikanga. Although this type of identity is not strictly ‘fixed’ (and the extent to which each marker is utilised may vary), there are some general expectations related to rights, responsibilities, and reciprocity, that these people *as Māori* enact.

In brief, Māori who fall into this category feel secure and confident about their identity *as Māori* based on their knowledge, experience and familiarity of Māori

¹⁷ This is not to discount that some Māori teachers may also fall into McIntosh’s (2005) ‘fluid’ identity category. In brief this type of identity responds to and manipulates the ‘traditional’ identity, it also however, draws on other cultural groups to connect with a particular social landscape. McIntosh (2005) states “The fluid identity ‘plays’ with cultural markers such as language, custom and place and reconfigures them in a way that gives both voice and currency to their social environment” (p. 46). Some Māori teachers may at times also fall into this category as they select particular aspects of ‘traditional’ Māori culture to articulate an identity that is most powerful in forwarding Māori educational aspirations in the context of the ‘mainstream’ school.

cultural customs, protocols and etiquette. An important feature of the traditional identity, which resonates with the Māori teacher, is their sense of responsibility to retain Māori cultural values, concepts and beliefs. McIntosh (2005) explains, “A traditional identity is constructed by culturally and politically adept Māori who consciously work towards ensuring that Māori values and aspirations receive wide coverage” (p. 44). The Māori teacher in the mainstream school setting is the ‘traditionally-identified Māori’, an inherently cultural and political position as he or she teaches as well as challenges and resists stereotypical definitions, harmful misrepresentations, activities and ideologies that threaten ‘being Māori’.

McIntosh (2005) states, “when I say that I am Māori, and I do, it is an act of claims making” (p. 38). So too is identifying one’s self as a Māori teacher. To claim to be a Māori teacher, as opposed to a teacher *of* Māori language (or any other curriculum subject), is deliberately distinguishing oneself *as Māori*. To call oneself a Māori teacher is a purposeful act that aims to value and progress Māori language, culture and knowledge and advance the education of Māori students. Māori teachers see their role as vital to assisting Māori students in the process of identity formation to feel positive, comfortable and confident about being Māori. Māori teachers have a commitment to cultural sustainability and achieving social justice for Māori people.

‘To teach *as Māori*’ is the enduring desire of the Māori teachers this study is about. This group of Māori do not compromise their cultural identity because they are teachers, and are distinct from those teachers who perceive their Māori ethnicity as incidental to their work. I have conceptualised or ‘named’ the Māori teacher in this thesis as culturally informed, politically motivated, and intent on advancing Māori educational aspirations.

Mason Durie’s three concurrent goals for Māori education, first delivered at the Hui Taumata Mātauranga¹⁸ in 2001 (and agreed to and supported at three consecutive Hui Taumata Mātauranga), is widely accepted by Māori (and the government) as representing Māori aspirations for education. The three goals are:

- To live *as Māori*

¹⁸ The Hui Taumata Mātauranga examine Māori development and have been held in Tūrangi since 1853. Today the Hui Taumata Mātauranga is an annual meeting to discuss specifically issues of education (Durie, 2001).

- To actively participate as citizens of the world
- To enjoy good health and a high standard of living

(Durie, 2001, pp. 4, 5, original emphasis).

This study is premised on the notion that Māori teachers are pivotal to meeting these aspirations, in particular, to live *as Māori*.

It is not necessarily clear, however, what ‘to live *as Māori*’ means, given the hallmarks of living as Māori are often poor educational outcomes, limited Māori language competency, suffering from serious health issues, and receiving low annual income. The 2006 Census shows that 39.9% aged 15 years and over have no formal qualifications as compared to 25.5% of all people aged 15 years and over in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2007c). According to a Māori language survey conducted in 2006 (Ministry of Māori Development, 2006), the proportion of Māori that are able to speak Māori (with a high level of fluency) remains small. Only 14% of the 4000 Māori interviewed throughout the country reported that they could speak Māori “very well/well” (Ministry of Māori Development, 2006).¹⁹ Māori health statistics are also serious. They show that in 2002 Māori life expectancy was more than eight years less than non-Māori (Māori Health, 2003b), and illness such as diabetes was two-and-a-half times higher among Māori than among non-Māori (Māori Health, 2003a). Finally, the 2006 the median annual income of Māori is still markedly lower (\$20,900) than European (\$25,400) (Statistics New Zealand, 2001). The phrase ‘to live *as Māori*’ does not refer to, or accept the hardship that many Māori face as ‘natural’ or ‘normal’.

At school, most Māori youth have signalled they want to identify *as Māori*, but are not necessarily culturally competent or confident. A national youth health survey conducted in 2001 that included 2,325 Māori students (aged 12 to 18 years) found that the majority (70.9%) felt “proud to be Māori” (Adolescent Health Research Group, 2004, p. 16). While 60.3% of these Māori students said they knew which tribal groups they belonged to, and 73.9% had attended a tangi (Māori funeral) or unveiling,²⁰ only 8.4% reported they could speak Māori with some fluency and have a

¹⁹ Other categories to describe Māori language fluency used in this survey were: fairly well; not very well; and no more than a few words or phrases.

²⁰ This is a Māori commemoration ceremony of a person who has recently passed away. At this ceremony the headstone of a grave is unveiled.

conversation in Māori (Adolescent Health Research Group, 2004, p. 16). As Māori MP and educationalist Peter Sharples pointed out, when speaking at a ‘Kaupapa Māori theory and education conference’ held at The University of Auckland in 2004, today Māori still know who they are, but the difference is that they don’t know how or what this means.

The aspiration ‘to live *as Māori*’ means that it is not enough for Māori students to improve self-esteem and confidence (although this is not unimportant) and/or improve achievement outcomes. Many educationalists contend that Māori students should not have to compromise their identity and culture for success at school (Alton-Lee, 2003; Harker & McConnochie, 1985; Hawk, Cowley, Hill, & Sutherland, 2001, December), and others have gone further to argue that cultural competence (which includes linguistic competence) and a strong sense of identity is the basis for educational success (Durie, 2001; Macfarlane, 2003; Mataira, 1989; Nepe, 1991; Penetito, 1996; G. H. Smith, 1997). Schooling should not only intervene in the poor educational outcomes experienced by Māori, but in the dislocation of many Māori to their cultural knowledge, heritage and sense of identity (a direct result of colonisation). Many Māori view schools as instrumental in Māori cultural revitalisation (Penetito, 2005; G. H. Smith, 1997), and teachers are key to invigorating students to redefine and recreate what it means to be Māori. In this thesis I am interested in the way Māori teachers retain their identity *as Māori* and engage ako in their work, which advances Māori educational aspirations. Māori teachers are considered vital to inspiring, modelling, and teaching (as well as learning from) students what it means ‘to live *as Māori*’.

The Research Setting

The topic of this thesis is inspired by my personal background *as Māori* and directly related to my professional experiences as a teacher. The current research context, in particular, the Indigenous and Māori research environment has also influenced the way in which Māori teachers, ako and pūrākau have come together in this study. There are two key research approaches that have shaped the parameters, informed the politics, clarified the purpose, defined the content, and guided methodology of this thesis – decolonising methodologies and kaupapa Māori.

Decolonising methodologies

Indigenous peoples²¹ throughout the world are historically familiar with various forms of research, but mostly as the ‘researched’. Western research methods co-existed and corroborated with ideologies that included the racialisation and dehumanisation of Indigenous peoples. In brief, the concept of ‘race’ begun during the eighteenth century by European ‘natural scientists’ who forwarded the idea that all life forms could be placed on a single hierarchical scale from the simplest (least evolved) to the more complex (most evolved). Under the guise of ‘scientific research’ the measurement of ‘race’ included categorising and comparing biological traits such as the shape of the face, width of the nose, thickness of the hair, and colour of the skin, to determine the most superior and inferior peoples of the world (Banton, 1977).

In New Zealand ‘researchers’ participated in the racialisation of Māori by measuring the amount of millet seeds that could be filled within a Māori cranial skeleton as a way to determine their mental aptitude (Thomas, 1859). In general, race theorists found that people with dark skin were racially inferior and hence intellectually and culturally backward, whereas white skin represented a superiority of intelligence and civilisation. Māori were not only dehumanised through acts of research, but have been subject to research practices that amount to no more than an intellectual invasion and theft of cultural property. Research, as part of advancing imperialism and colonialism, has framed the Indigenous research experience (L. T. Smith, 1999).

Alongside other colonising devices, research was used to define, destroy and deter the valuing of Indigenous knowledge, people and their practices. Marie Battiste (2000) argues that Eurocentric discourses are still unable to deal with the complexities of colonialism and continue to contribute to “a historical and contemporary immunity to understanding and tolerating Indigenous knowledge (p. xx). Despite the progress some Indigenous nations have made to reclaim their land, languages and culture and to retrieve a level of justice, freedom and self-determination, Indigenous peoples remain in many ways oppressed by the power of western research (L. T. Smith, 1999).

²¹ I use the term Indigenous peoples to recognise the collective shared experiences of colonised peoples as well as the differences that exist between Indigenous peoples.

The widespread negative experiences of research suffered by Indigenous peoples and the difficulties confronting Indigenous researchers, has not completely deterred an interest and participation in research. This 'come back' is due in part to a collective realisation that research is an important strategy for understanding, addressing and intervening in the complex yet systematic nature of oppression. Battiste (2000) argues that Indigenous scholarship (that includes active participation of Indigenous communities), lies at the heart of postcolonial transformation. She contends:

the agenda of Indigenous scholarship, which is to transform Eurocentric theory so that it will not only include and properly value Indigenous knowledge, thought, and heritage in all levels of education, curriculum, and professional practice but also develop a cooperative and dignified strategy that will invigorate and animate Indigenous language, cultures, knowledge, and vision in academic structures (p. xxi).

Indigenous research is a significant part of addressing the need for decolonisation and the promotion of transformative action in pursuit of social justice for Indigenous peoples. Given that writing, researching and theorising are all powerful forms of academic knowledge creation and production, Indigenous peoples are also encouraged to begin documenting their own traditions, lives and aspirations as a way to make sense of their present experiences. Indigenous research must be conducted in a careful and critical way. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) cautions against uncritical writing that sustains the dominant discourses, enables our knowledge to be misappropriated, romanticises our stories, or reinforces negative stereotypical representations.

'Decolonising methodologies', as coined by L. T. Smith (1999), describes a research approach that recognises the exclusive nature of the knowledge that has emerged from western 'scientific' research codified within ideologies such as imperialism and colonialism. In response, decolonising methodologies reacts to traditional positivist approaches by attempting to re-cover, re-cognise, re-create, and 'research back' by utilising our own ontological and epistemological constructs. The diversity of Indigenous struggles around the world means that such an approach cannot be reduced to a singular, one-dimensional solution, theory, or methodology. Within each Indigenous group there are multiple sites from which to intervene that require a range of research projects that are ethical, respectful and meaningful for, by and with Indigenous people themselves. L. T. Smith (1999) identifies 25 different research

projects presently being undertaken by Indigenous communities, some of which are a mix of existing conventional research methods and Indigenous practices. While there is a range of diverse approaches, all centre on “the survival of peoples, cultures and languages; the struggle to become self-determining, the need to take back control of our destinies” (p. 142).

Indigenous scholarship spans across academic disciplines, educational institutions, geographical and metaphysical space and time. Our Indigenous cultural concepts offer infinite ways of exploring research and understanding the world. Charles Royal (2002) argues:

Perspectives on the nature of the world and our place within it are rich and are available to researchers. These perspectives concern the world at large and they also concern the way in which our thinking is conducted. Models of analysis and modes of expressions can be identified and be used to explore a particular style of inquiry and analysis unique to ‘indigenous research’ (p. 241).

There are Indigenous lawyers and legal experts who chronicle series of laws, practices and schemes that have sought to control, dominate and sometimes exterminate the Indigenous populations (Jackson, 1998; Laenui, 2000; Yazzie, 2000). Research in this arena reveals the ways in which the legal system as a socially constructed institution has been used in unjust and sometimes fraudulent ways against Indigenous peoples to acquire land, wealth and resources. Other studies concur, Indigenous Peoples have often been made invisible and basic human rights have systematically been denied within the international legal arena (Moses, 2000). Some Indigenous scholars engage in comparative studies to explain the ways in which particular Indigenous worldviews and values culturally collide and clash with those of the colonisers and/or other new immigrants (Bear, 2000; Walker, 2004). Such studies provide insights into the ways colonialism promotes a singular, and supposedly universal worldview that results in a particular social order in which Indigenous culture, customs and people are suppressed and consigned to the lowest levels. Other Indigenous writers have concentrated on, among other topics, the revitalisation of language (Mataira, 1989), the reconceptualisation of Indigenous theories (Alfred, 1999; Jenkins, 2000; Pihama, 2001; C. W. Smith, 2002) or postcolonial theory (Chamberlin, 2000; Hoskins, 2001), culturally relevant and derived pedagogies (Grande, 2004). Indigenous research is not limited to particular areas but covers a

broad spectrum of topics and utilises a wide variety of methods, as each attempts to intervene in the multiple layers of oppression suffered through colonisation. L. T. Smith (2005) describes Indigenous researchers as in the process of ‘becoming’ a research community through connecting across borders, participating in a shared dialogue, writing in ways that resonate with each other, identifying common barriers, and arguing for what Indigenous research ought to be.

Decolonising methodologies may utilise existing research methods but in ways that attempt to retain the values of the Indigenous communities from whom the researchers derive. Not necessarily culturally derived or exclusive, decolonising methodologies do not entirely dismiss western methodological approaches. L. T. Smith (1999) states:

Decolonisation ... does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centring our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes (p. 39).

Such an approach encourages Indigenous researchers to reconnect with our own epistemological views of the world, and to theorise based on our own cultural notions in order to engage in more meaningful and useful research for our people.

As a Māori doctoral student, writing a thesis is not only an academic exercise borne of an intellectual curiosity or personal challenge. Such a study is also an opportunity to participate in a wider political movement of Indigenous peoples endeavouring to ‘write back’ in ways that disrupt the dominant discourses by recentering our own ways of knowing and living. The potential decolonising nature of my study was made clear to me when I first decided to investigate the ‘work’ of Māori teachers. During the writing of my research proposal, a conversation I had with a highly regarded Professor in Education at The University of Auckland about the topic of my thesis is still clear in my mind. I had told him that I was interested in exploring what it was that made Māori teachers effective for Māori students. His response was swift. In a constructive and well-meaning manner he told me that I was wasting my time. The research ‘evidence’ showed that ethnic minority teachers are no more effective than any other teacher. In fact, scores of studies, including large-scale randomised type research, had been conducted about effective teachers and the characteristics were

well documented and generally consistent. This conversation was a turning point from hesitance and indecision about the topic to a sense of resolve to pursue such a study. My proposed thesis was perceived to be of little merit because ‘effectiveness’ was understood in a way that centred mainly on western values and academic achievement. Furthermore the research evidence rendered a study about Māori teachers’ practice as unnecessary.

The unequivocal way in which a senior member of the academy so easily dismissed the significance of my proposed study echoed the forewarnings of experienced Indigenous scholars. I knew from my own familiarity with schooling (both as a student and teacher), the stories of Māori students, parents and communities, that being Māori affected one’s experiences in the education system. I suspected that Māori teachers did ‘work’ in ways that other teachers did not or could not, and the impact of their ‘work’ went beyond the grades students achieved in their formal tests and examinations. Engaging in conversations with Māori and other Indigenous and ethnic minority academics and activists, strengthened my resolve to pursue my area of interest. Encouraged to review our own conceptual frameworks, knowledge systems and traditional practices as proper and legitimate, ako became an obvious pedagogical framework from which to explore the work Māori teachers do, and pūrākau provided a way in which to express and pass on their experiences of learning and teaching.

Claiming to be an Indigenous researcher also means working closely with your community. According to Taiaiake Alfred (1999), from the Rotinohshonni people of the Kahnawake Mohawk Territory, the connection and location of the individual within their community is central to understanding one as Indigenous. He contends, “In fact, it is impossible to understand an indigenous reality by focusing on individuals or discrete aspects of culture outside of a community context” (p. xvi). No matter how much knowledge (or qualifications) a person accumulates, if it does not reach the collective consciousness of the wider group then the person is failing to act Indigenous. In this respect, one of the ongoing challenges for Indigenous researchers is not only to undertake ethical research about our people but also to meet the criteria set by our own communities. Indigenous communities will often sanction the integrity and credibility of the research and the researchers using their own measures. According to L. T. Smith (1999) Indigenous groups will ask critical

questions connected to issues of ownership and control of research in an effort to make researchers (especially Indigenous researchers) more accountable to the collective. Recognising Indigenous criteria, Graham Hingangaroa Smith (2000) warns against researchers working within institutions such as universities, becoming disconnected from our communities and instead performing only to the demands of academia as ‘ivory tower intellectuals’. Indigenous researchers have dual responsibilities – they need to be accountable to both the community and the academy.

As a former Māori teacher and educational researcher I am directly responsible to two key Māori communities: Māori teachers and my own tribal group. As Māori teachers are the main subjects of this study, there is an expectation that this thesis will not only be of benefit to Māori education in general, but to this group specifically. I do not only want to give ‘voice’ to Māori teachers’ untold experiences so that others might share in their views and insights, but critically engage with Māori teachers. An exploration of *ako* in the secondary school setting seeks to acknowledge, reinforce and support the ways Māori teach as well as investigate why Māori teachers work in these ways. Furthermore, I hope that this study also challenges Māori teachers to maintain and develop what it means to teach *as Māori* in the mainstream.

My sense of responsibility to my tribal group comes from researching as a member of the *iwi* of Waikato. Undertaking a doctoral degree is recognised as a major achievement not just for the individual but the wider *whānau* that have supported the person to reach this level. The *hapū* and *iwi* feel a sense of pride when a member graduates with such a degree. My tribal group, Tainui, actively supports its post-graduate students with an annual grant to assist with university fees and student expenses, and takes interest in our field of research and the strength of our commitment to our own *marae*. Applying for a Tainui grant involves getting the support of the chairperson of your local *marae* as well as a written statement explaining how my particular study will be of benefit to the *hapū* and *iwi*. It is made explicit in this process that while your relations will celebrate your achievements, there is a strong expectation that your acquired knowledge, skills and qualification will also be utilised for the benefit of the greater community. At a recent *hui* held at the Endowed College in Hopuhopu (16-18 February, 2007), Tainui post-graduate

students were brought together to share their research projects and contribute ideas towards the growth of the College, as an important part of our iwi development. We were reminded of the struggles and deeds of our ancestors, in particular, the Kingitanga.²² An important part of this hui was the presentation of the history of Tainui by Mamae Takerei, one of the spokeswomen for the Kingitanga. The role we (as post-graduates and researchers) play by engaging in meaningful research for the benefit of the iwi, and continuing to advance the aspirations of the Kingitanga is central in claiming Waikato identity. For researchers, tribal membership is not only a source of support, but also one of responsibility.

Decolonising methodologies (L. T. Smith, 1999) has begun to map the territory of research for Indigenous peoples. Our shared experiences of colonisation in which previously autonomous and self-governing Indigenous nations lost their sovereign status, which left societies scattered and impoverished, has been the starting point for solidarity in survival. Similar cultural values and aspirations converge as Indigenous peoples hold hopeful post-colonial visions. Past and present Indigenous scholars (and non-Indigenous allies) contribute to a re-claiming, re-creation and re-construction of knowledge that often extends beyond their local communities to an Indigenous academic arena that is not only a 'safe', but a reinvigorating place to go. To be inspired and influenced by decolonising methodologies is to be part of an Indigenous scholarly community with its own rules and rigour, and to be part of a broader political struggle where research is a strategic goal.

Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori is a local expression of a decolonising methodology. As an 'organic' (Gramsci, 1971) theory that has its academic beginnings in Te Aratitia (Māori Education) at The University of Auckland (G. H. Smith, 1997), I was one of the early generations of Māori post-graduate students to be exposed to a theory by, for and about Māori. Pioneering Māori academics, including Linda Smith, Graham Smith, Margie Hohepa, Kuni Jenkins, Leonie Pihama and Trish Johnson were part of a

²² The Kingitanga or Māori King movement begun with the installation of the first Māori King Potatau Te Wherowhero of Tainui in 1858. The king movement intended to unify Māori and encourage the retention of Māori land. The kingitanga is still active and well supported today; in 2006 the longest serving monarch Dame Te Atairangikaahu passed away, her son Tuheitia Pahi was elected to take her place.

teaching and research team that ensured that students of Te Aratitia had ample opportunity to consider kaupapa Māori as a valid theoretical framework. Subsequently, kaupapa Māori became a key part of my theoretical repertoire as a Māori student, and influenced my general approach to my MA thesis (Lee, 1996) as well as my teaching philosophy and practice in the classroom. In this study kaupapa Māori has heavily influenced my methodological approach. It has affected the research process, production and presentation – in all aspects and in every stage of the study.

While kaupapa Māori has been used by academics to refer to Māori theoretical positioning (Jenkins, 2000; Pihama, 2001; G. H. Smith, 1997) and research philosophy (Bishop, 2005; Mead, 1997; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; L. T. Smith, 2005), it is important to note that Kaupapa Māori finds meaning beyond an academic arena. In its widest sense, L. T. Smith (2006) proposes that kaupapa Māori is a social project. The word kaupapa can be defined as philosophies or foundation (Pihama, 2001).²³ In its everyday usage kaupapa Māori often refers to activities, events or endeavours in which Māori (people, language, culture and/or issues) are at the ‘centre’. Being at the centre assumes Māori control of the activity where Māori cultural values become the ‘norm’. Traditionally based activities, such as hui (gatherings), wānanga, tangi which often take place at a marae, as well as sports activities, speech competitions, dance expositions and so forth, may be considered kaupapa Māori. To understand that Māori are at the centre of the activity also presupposes a political edge. While the organisers or participants may or may not identify their activity as political, asserting Māori control, practising Māori culture and valuing Māori customs and people is not a neutral act. Furthermore, kaupapa Māori creates the ‘spaces’ for mātauranga Māori to be explored, sustained and developed.

Essentially kaupapa Māori promotes the validity of Māori epistemological and ontological constructions of the world based on the ‘taken for granted’ position of Māori language, knowledge and culture (G. H. Smith, 1997). According to Tuakana Nepe (1991), kaupapa Māori originally derives from a metaphysical realm that takes shape as a body of knowledge. She says, “This kaupapa Māori knowledge is the

²³ Contemporary definitions of kaupapa by Te Taura Whiri [Māori Language Commission] (1996) include; policy, scheme, subject and theme (p. 175).

systematic organisation of beliefs, experiences, understandings and interpretations of the interactions of Māori people upon Māori people, and Māori people upon their world” (p. 4). Kaupapa Māori has always been integral to the development of Māori ways of conceptualising, interacting and theorising in our own environment.

Kaupapa Māori theory refers to Māori-centred philosophies, frameworks and practices, and is underpinned in a political context by the notion of tino rangatiratanga (absolute self-determination) and the Treaty of Waitangi²⁴ (Bishop, 1994; Nepe, 1991; G. H. Smith, 1997). Cheryl Waerea-i-te-rangi Smith (2002) makes this distinction when she explains that, “Kaupapa Māori theory emerges out of practice, out of struggle, out of experience of Māori who engage struggle, who reject, who fight back, and who claim space for the legitimacy of Māori knowledge” (p. 13). The ‘naming’ of kaupapa Māori as theory coincides with the Māori-driven educational initiatives in our communities such as, Kōhanga Reo (Early childhood Māori language nests) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori immersion primary schools).

Kura Kaupapa Māori (KKM) is a well-known and often cited kaupapa Māori social change initiative. KKM are total immersion Māori language (mainly) primary schools that are based on Māori philosophies, pedagogies and practices. In the mid-1980s there was an overwhelming disillusionment and mistrust felt by Māori parents towards the education system. Poor achievement outcomes and the denigration of Māori language and culture were common experiences. This resulted in groups of Māori parents withdrawing their children from state schools to begin an alternative Māori-centred school. G. H. Smith (2000) describes the establishment of KKM outside of the state system without government funding, resources or support, as an anti-colonial resistance initiative that was both positive and proactive. The exercise of tino rangatiratanga (absolute self-determination) was seen as a key element in the popularity and growth of KKM amongst Māori communities, in a desire to address the dual crisis of educational underachievement and language loss (G. H. Smith, 1997). Māori were able to determine the overall culture of the school – curriculum,

²⁴ The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 by independent Māori tribes and representatives of the Crown. It is a document that confirms Māori sovereign rights as tangata whenua (Indigenous people).

pedagogy, assessment, administration, governance and daily routines, and expectations.

KKM became state-funded in 1989 and have since been accountable to government policy and pressures. According to Ministry of Education (2006a) statistics, there are 63 Kura Kaupapa Māori and 363 Māori-medium schools and classes in operation²⁵ (p. 138). G. H. Smith (2000) is critical of the implications state funding has had on KKM. In his view, the liberating and transforming potential of these schools has been limited by government attempts to return and confine KKM to the parameters of the ‘mainstream’ educational ideologies. G. H. Smith (2000) admits, however, that few social projects can reach the utopian dream immediately and considers KKM are making incremental change towards social transformation. L. T. Smith (2006) points out that incremental change will not transform the legacy of colonisation quickly, but KKM is part of an approach that needs to be multi-layered with multiple strategies working across educational sectors simultaneously.

Although this study is about Māori teachers in the mainstream it has been highly influenced by the development of KKM education and can be viewed as part of the wider kaupapa Māori movement. Māori teachers who work in mainstream schools can also be considered ‘sites’ of kaupapa Māori endeavour. Sometimes Māori in the mainstream are dismissed as proponents of kaupapa Māori because they choose to teach in a context in which Pākehā dominant ideologies prevail. However, some Māori teachers purposely situate themselves in these schools because 85% of Māori children continue to be schooled in mainstream secondary schools (Ministry of Education, 2001). While the principle of tino rangatiratanga, in particular, is likely to be thwarted by structural and cultural constraints, Māori teachers in mainstream schools can achieve a relative sense of autonomy within their circumstances, whether this be within their classroom, through the establishment of a whānau-based unit or bi-lingual programme, the organization of cultural activities and so forth. Māori teachers also ‘struggle’ (even though the ‘ground’ they recover may be small) as they use both overt and covert strategies to enact the kaupapa Māori principles and forward Māori aspirations alongside Māori students, parents, whānau, community and non-

²⁵ Māori-medium schools and classes include immersion and bilingual schools and as well as schools with immersion and or bilingual classes.

Māori supporters. Whilst the extent to which kaupapa Māori operates will fluctuate from school to school – it is important here to understand Māori teachers as kaupapa Māori adherents who establish kaupapa Māori sites in mainstream secondary schools.

While there are many articulations of kaupapa Māori (including theory, research and practice) within whānau, hapū, iwi and communities, G. H. Smith (1997) has developed six key principles of kaupapa Māori based on an analysis of KKM as a Māori intervention initiative. Although these principles are not intended to be definitive or prescriptive they have come to represent some of the common principles said to be operating in any kaupapa Māori context. These are:

1. Tino rangatiratanga (relative autonomy principle)
2. Taonga tuku iho (cultural aspirations principle)
3. Ako Māori (cultural preferred pedagogy)
4. Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga (mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties principle)
5. Whānau (extended family structure principle)
6. Kaupapa (collective vision, philosophical principle)

Each principle is expressed in KKM settings in particular ways (although the ways in which they are expressed will also vary given the individual circumstances of the whānau and tribal context). These principles also constitute an important part of a theorising kaupapa Māori. However, the theorisation of kaupapa Māori has extended from KKM settings in an effort to connect with Māori in all spheres of life.

Kaupapa Māori theory/ies

Kaupapa Māori theory draws on our cultural precepts as the tools to analyse, critique, intervene in our multiple realities and to create new possibilities in different sites. In this sense it becomes both the means and the end. In our pursuit to engage in the process of decolonisation, we are continually seeking the ‘old’ ways of knowing in an effort to reach ‘new’ ways of understanding. Kaupapa Māori offers a ‘space’ to explore, debate and revise the way in which we comprehend and conceptualise the world around us as Māori. Moreover, kaupapa Māori theories provide some of the tools to help us intervene in the on-going saga of colonial oppression. While kaupapa Māori theorising is fundamental to pioneering an Indigenous frontier, it is still fraught with complexities (Hoskins, 2001; Jenkins, 2000; Waitere-Ang & Johnston, 1999).

Kaupapa Māori recognises that Māori culture is not static but dynamic and in constant flux; it does not exist in a vacuum but interacts, challenges and negotiates with all the other societal forces.

Kaupapa Māori theory is not fixed nor is it prescriptive. As a counter-hegemonic strategy, kaupapa Māori should not be positioned as a meta-narrative as if a singular one-dimensional Māori experience exists. As McIntosh (2005) points out, the marginalisation of Māori has produced an array of diverse Māori identities, many of whom are influenced by urban, youth and Afro-American culture as well as severe social issues such as poverty and poor health. Similarly, Te Kawehau Hoskins (2001) cautions against the homogenisation of ‘Māori’ and binaries such as dominant/subordinate, oppressor/oppressed. She argues that instead, we should view kaupapa Māori theory as encompassing theories in order to connect with Māori “multiple identities, histories, genealogies, geographies, ages, genders, education, knowledges; political, social and moral positions; and relation of power, both historically and contemporarily” (p. 70). To do otherwise is not only counter-productive but may set up elite counter-productive hegemonic discourses. Kaupapa Māori as theories seek to connect with the complexity of diverse Māori lived realities (Hoskins, 2001), as well as express whānau, hapū and iwi aspirations (Pihama et al., 2003). This work of developing kaupapa Māori theories was begun by a small group of Māori academics.

The extensive nature of kaupapa Māori leads Leonie Pihama (2001) to refer to kaupapa Māori as an ‘evolving theory’. Her own theorisation of mana wahine is a direct response to the need to make visible to various expressions of being Māori, in this case, the knowledge and experiences of Māori women. Her work can also be considered a gender critique of kaupapa Māori. Mana wahine provides a framework that allows Māori women to critically engage in how Māori women are represented in our diversity. The elements that Pihama identifies as part of mana wahine that challenge colonial patriarchal structures but are based in mātauranga Māori are a good example of the way in which kaupapa Māori is intertwined with other Māori

conceptualisations as well as foundational to further theorisation.²⁶ While I am interested in this study in the work Māori teachers do, Pihama's (2001) thesis raised the need to theorise *ako* or *kaiako* as part of kaupapa Māori scholarship. Investigating Māori teachers who teach *as Māori* relies on understanding the characteristics of *ako* as well as features of the secondary school system. To draw on our traditional body of knowledge, as well as our past and present day realities of teaching and learning *as Māori* in order to intervene in the continuing crisis of Māori educations is a deliberate and purposeful kaupapa Māori theoretical approach.

The concept of *aitanga*²⁷ as developed by Kuni Jenkins (2000) is part of the development of kaupapa Māori theories. She refers to kaupapa Māori as the 'te pūtake o aitanga' (the foundation or source of aitanga) to emphasise the way in which *aitanga* stems from the kaupapa Māori base. *Aitanga* as theory emerged from Jenkins' (2000) dissatisfaction with binary explanations of Māori as either resistant to, or victims of, colonisation in the context of Māori-Pākehā relationships in the early nineteenth century, especially in New Zealand's educational history. *Aitanga* seeks to highlight the ways in which Māori actively attempted to develop and engage in multi-dimensional relationships with other people in the struggle for schooling. The theory of *aitanga* has been particularly useful in understanding the history of Māori teachers (discussed in chapter four), and influential in positioning Māori teachers as active cultural agents, rather than passive, colonised Māori, mindlessly participating in, and progressing assimilation through schooling. Māori teachers have not uncritically accepted government educational policy, research, or the official 'best practice' for Māori students, but have worked in ways to maintain and value Māori identity and culture within the education system. While Māori teachers are the key actors in this study, *aitanga* reminds researchers to be cautious of the binaries that simply posit Māori teachers (or researchers) as 'good' and Pākehā teachers (or researchers) as 'bad'. This is not the case, the Māori teachers who appear in this study are careful to distinguish between Māori teachers that are committed to teaching *as Māori*, and those Māori teachers whose Māoriness is merely incidental to their work. Furthermore, Māori are quick to acknowledge Pākehā teachers and others who played

²⁶ The elements of *mana wahine* as laid out by Leonie Pihama (2001) include; *te reo me ōna tīkanga*, *whakapapa*, *whānau*, recognising diverse realities, *wairua*; *te tiriti o Waitangi*; decolonisation; *mātauranga wahine* and reclaiming cultural space.

²⁷ The term 'aitanga' literally means progeny or descendants.

an important role in their education and/or supported kaupapa Māori initiatives in schools. Aitanga provides a Māori framework for understanding the encounters, interactions and relationships with other people, tribal groups and Pākehā.²⁸ Relationships are never straightforward and rarely equal, instead they are dynamic and complex.

C. W. Smith is another proponent of kaupapa Māori; she forwards the theory of pou in her PhD thesis “He pou herenga ki te nui: Māori knowledge and the University” (2002). Through multiple metaphorical notions of pou she seeks to ‘claim space’ as well as ‘protect space’ as it relates to Māori knowledge in various sites, in particular, at The University of Auckland. As part of a kaupapa Māori agenda, she too affirms her iwi links to declare that she is not a neutral observer, but connected through multiple relationships to her topic and people of study. As a descendant of the Whanganui River, her thesis represents the river or the knowledge that runs through her iwi, the chapters then each become tributaries. Kaupapa Māori and pou not only form the approach to her work but also impact on issues of textuality, the way in which her ideas, topics and chapters create a ‘stream of thought’ in the text. This dimension of pou (post markers) provided the impetus for pūrākau to move beyond a kaupapa Māori informed research method for collecting Māori teachers’ stories that sit discretely within the thesis, to a way of conceptualising the entire narrative as intersecting pūrākau. Like pou, pūrākau provide guidelines for shaping and structuring of the content, as well as understanding and locating the arguments within a Māori framework.

Although initially developed in the field of education, kaupapa Māori theory/ies have been applied in a range of other disciplines, including health (Barnes, 2000; Pihama et al., 2003) and accounting (McNicholas & Barret, 2003), in and outside of the academic academy. Other adherents to kaupapa Māori that have also begun to develop different aspects of this theoretical framework in an effort to disrupt the multiple and complex hegemonic discourses that surround Māori. I foresee that kaupapa Māori theories will continue to expand to all those places Māori live, work

²⁸ The formation of aitanga theory also demonstrates the way in which kaupapa Māori enables Māori to preserve assert tribal affiliations differences. While the concept of aitanga is familiar to Māori generally, the term is unique to Ngāti Porou the iwi from which Kuni Jenkins is descended.

and participate because it provides an approach in which notions of conscientisation, resistance, praxis and transformation are central (G. H. Smith, 1997).

This thesis seeks to be part of the theoretical engagement with, and extension of kaupapa Māori in the field of education. The impact of kaupapa Māori on this study is multiple. Kaupapa Māori is central to the framing of the issues, construction of the arguments and analysis in this thesis. Kaupapa Māori deters a pathological approach to Māori education; instead Māori teachers become potentially powerful agents of intervention. Kaupapa Māori is the theory that underpins the methodological exploration of pūrākau and theoretical basis of ako. The commitment to the expansion and development of kaupapa Māori theories has determined and influenced the form, shape and content of the ‘stories’ and overall thesis, which can also be conceptualised as a pūrākau.

Pūrākau as kaupapa Māori research

In line with decolonising methodologies, kaupapa Māori as a research philosophy is founded on various fundamental principles based on notions including decolonisation, self-determination and social transformation. Kaupapa Māori research is an attempt to “retrieve some space” (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 183) to plan, organise, conduct, analyse and give back culturally responsive research primarily to, by, for and with Māori. Kaupapa Māori as research provides clear directions of how to conduct research in ‘Māori ways’ and the impetus to explore new research methods. In this context, pūrākau as methodology (Lee, 2005) has been developed as part of kaupapa Māori research.

Pūrākau are commonly interpreted as traditional Māori stories. The Williams Dictionary defines pūrākau as an “ancient legend”, “myth” or an “incredible story” (Williams, 1985, p. 312). However, Māori have long been critical of relegating pūrākau and other narratives to the categories of ‘fable and fiction’. Pūrākau as myths invalidate Māori epistemological views of the world, and pūrākau understood as just ‘stories’ is an inadequate explanation of the importance of pūrākau in teaching and learning. The content contained in these narratives spanned the cosmos as well as the

human and spiritual realms. In traditional Māori society,²⁹ pūrākau was a common and constant, fundamental to understanding the natural and social world. Pūrākau were crucial to cultural sustainability, providing information that shaped our cultural identities.

In this thesis, pūrākau refers to both traditional and contemporary Māori stories.³⁰ Pūrākau is proposed as kaupapa Māori methodology (discussed in detail in chapter two) through which we might better understand how Māori teachers bring their cultural selves to the work they do, in particular the operationalisation of ako through Māori teachers' narratives. The individual pūrākau of five Māori teachers are included in this thesis, Te Aorere (Awi) Riddell, Maiki Marks, Chris Selwyn, Awa Hudson and my own. The narratives of Māori teachers may not constitute a pūrākau in the traditional form; they are not generated by iwi, hapū or whānau groups, neither do they contain taniwha (creatures) or describe amazing supernatural feats. However, pūrākau as a methodological approach can still enable us to express our stories, to convey our messages, embody our experiences while keeping our cultural notions intact.

The pūrākau of Māori teachers are included in chapters three, four, five and six and sit as discrete stories that tell of different aspects of ako and Māori teachers' work. The format and style of each pūrākau differs slightly, each provides a counter-story to the dominant discourses about Māori teachers and their work. The respective chapters or sections following each pūrākau discuss some of the themes and messages shared in the pūrākau, but are not intended to engage in a discourse analysis. The pedagogical nature of pūrākau is inherent; like other Indigenous storytelling traditions (Archibald, 1997), the stories 'invite' the reader to learn (discussed further in chapter two and three). Three of the pūrākau are purposeful and deliberately crafted re-presentations of Māori stories based on interviews. One of the pūrākau was originally a short paper presented by Maiki Marks (Marks, 1984a) at a Māori education conference; the other is my own pūrākau, an opportunity to reflect on a particular incident in relation to

²⁹ I use the term 'traditional Māori society' to refer to a time when Māori social, political and economic systems functioned to ensure whānau, hapū and iwi were strong and cohesive.

³⁰ There are other terms to describe different forms of Māori stories, 'kōrero nehe' (or 'kōrero o nehera') is used to refer to ancient stories (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1996, p. 182), pakiwaitara is often used to refer to fiction, and sometimes used interchangeably with pūrākau (Karetu, 1974).

ako. Each pūrākau is different in its tone, style and content but together they form a sort of case study that sheds insight about teaching *as Māori* as a complex endeavour. While each pūrākau is only one story of one individual, they collectively demonstrate how ako is closely connected and influenced by the wider social, political and cultural agenda of schooling and the aspirations of Māori communities. The multi-dimensional nature of pūrākau does not limit a pūrākau to a particular form (hence the inclusion of Maiki Marks' paper as pūrākau).

In the same way articulations of kaupapa Māori span across a range of initiatives, projects, and enterprises, kaupapa Māori as research will vary as it expands and extends into different academic disciplines and research fields. Kaupapa Māori is fundamental in this study, and has impacted on all aspects of the research; it is part of the rationale to pursue ako through the work of Māori teachers in secondary schools, and the impetus to develop pūrākau as methodology. Kaupapa Māori firmly sets the frame within which the research 'story' can be told.

Thesis overview

As explained at the beginning of the chapter, this thesis has come from a personal and professional interest in Māori teachers' work and cultural commitment to advancing Māori aspirations and improving Māori education in secondary schools. There are various research questions, educational issues and cultural considerations that have come to the fore during the crafting of this thesis about Māori teachers, the theory of ako and methodology of pūrākau. The key research question, however, that initiated and has guided the framing of this thesis is:

To what extent has / does ako underpin Māori teachers' work in secondary schools and how has / is this played out?

In the process of addressing this question, in particular in the investigation of ako, the concept of the Māori teacher *as Māori* emerged. Each chapter seeks to engage this concept of the Māori teacher through some of the contexts in which they work, namely in the socio-historical, the political and the current 'diversity' context. My intention in this study is to better understand the roles that Māori teachers play in secondary schools by foregrounding their cultural selves *as Māori* and by drawing on ako as a Māori framework of educational philosophy and practice. Pūrākau proposes a

way to investigate how Māori teachers experience their work, and enables Māori teachers themselves to tell their own stories of teaching.

Chapter one has sought to give the reader an overview of the research topic by: locating myself as a former Māori teacher and researcher; introducing the characteristics of Māori teachers in secondary schools, and in particular, the potential they represent to fulfill Māori educational aspirations. I have also positioned this research within the broader context of Indigenous decolonising methodologies and kaupapa Māori research, which has led to the theoretical development of *ako* and *pūrākau*.

Chapter two focuses on *pūrākau* as the methodological framework for this study. As part of Māori oral literature that has its own rules, rigours, literary devices and so forth, the study of *pūrākau* itself could constitute an entire study. It is not my intention in this thesis to explore the depth and complexities of *pūrākau* as a Māori narrative genre. Rather this chapter draws on the practice of traditional and contemporary *pūrākau* to guide the methodological approach to *pūrākau* as research in this study. Traditionally there were established practices for the sharing, representing, disseminating, and performing of *pūrākau*. These practices were not straightforward but varied because culture is a dynamic process that functions within social systems that are determined by Māori beliefs, values and worldviews. The result was (and continues to be) a range of diverse and multi-purposed *pūrākau*. In this chapter *pūrākau* research also responds to the current educational research context of ‘evidence based’ research and other narrative inquiry methods within the qualitative paradigm, namely life history (Goodson & Sikes, 2001) and portraiture (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). *Pūrākau* as a kaupapa Māori approach to narrative research is still an emerging theoretical framework; this thesis only begins to develop the multiple dimensions of *pūrākau* in relation to the study of Māori teachers and *ako*.

My own short *pūrākau* begins chapter three. This *pūrākau* is about an incident that occurred during my Māori teaching career, it has also made me think more deeply about *ako*. In this chapter I argue that *ako* is not limited to teaching and learning practices, but it is an education framework reliant on Māori cultural values, concepts

and beliefs that create the cultural conditions in which teaching and learning *as Māori* occurs. Again I draw on practices in traditional Māori society to portray the depth and breadth of ako, which sits in sharp contrast to the narrow definition often given to ako in Ministry of Education literature today. Pūrākau also appears in this chapter because it was (and still is) central to teaching and learning how to participate and contribute as a valued member of the whānau, hapū and iwi. Furthermore, the pedagogical dimension of pūrākau reinforces why pūrākau as research is an appropriate methodology to study Māori teachers ‘work’.

It is important to point out that this investigation of ako is not preoccupied with identifying ‘best practice’ exemplars of Māori teaching, models or strategies of ako. Notwithstanding the importance of ‘effective teaching’ studies and ‘culturally-relevant’ (Ladson-Billings, 1994) literature for all teachers, including Māori, this is not the focus of this thesis. There is a growing body of research that focuses on improving teaching for particular groups of children, as well as specific curriculum areas.³¹ Research studies that extend on culturally-relevant approach and/or draw on Māori cultural concepts to improve Māori students’ achievement outcomes are especially exciting.³² It is not my intention, however, to cover this field of work. A Māori teacher who operates with ako is not precluded from discussions about effective or culturally-relevant teaching. One would hope that all teachers have an in-depth knowledge of their curriculum area, a wide repertoire of teaching skills and strategies, and sensitivity to respond appropriately to the culture of their students. However the focus in this study is on the ways that Māori teachers operate from an ako framework to create the cultural, political and pedagogical conditions to meet Māori educational aspirations that foreground the learning of Māori language, culture and knowledge.

In chapter four I seek to retell the ‘story’ that Māori (and some Pākehā) have told about the history of Māori teachers in schooling. Awi Riddell’s pūrākau of his own schooling experiences in the 1940s and 1950s, and teaching career through to the mid-1980s, begins this chapter. I argue that the government and Māori communities

³¹ New Zealand research includes: Hipkins, Bolstad, Baker, Jones, Barker, Bell, et al. (2002); Anthony and Walshaw (2007); Hill and Hawk (2000).

³² These studies include: Macfarlane (2004); Bevan-Brown (2003); Bishop and Glynn (1999).

have always recognised teachers as cultural beings, although the political implications of each perspective were different. Sometimes being Māori was an advantage to teaching Māori students, at other times to be a Māori teacher was considered a deficiency – decidedly a disadvantage. Both the government and Māori, however, recognised Māori teachers *as Māori*. Although Māori teachers' participation in schooling has always been tempered by the state's strong drive for assimilation, Māori teachers have managed to maintain a strong sense of their cultural selves in their pedagogical practice, despite the sometimes strict policies against it.

In chapter five the scene moves from the Māori teacher in a historical context, to the Māori teacher in a political context, the focus is on and the political dimension of Māori teachers' work. The introduction of Māori teachers in secondary schools was not a 'natural' progression, whereby Māori university graduates simply began to choose teaching as a career option, but their inclusion in schools was part of the broader political picture. Maiki Marks' pūrākau begins section one of this chapter, her frustrations as a Māori language teacher in the 1980s represents the way Māori teachers were beginning to speak out about the plight of Māori in secondary education. Spurred on by the kaupapa Māori educational initiatives (namely Te Kōhanga Reo and KKM), and the demise of Māori language, Māori teachers played an important part in the vanguard of Māori language, culture and children in secondary schools. However, their responsibilities to protect, teach and develop Māori culture and students, pushed them into highly political and pedagogical positions. Chris Selwyn's pūrākau of his teaching experiences begins section two of this chapter. His pūrākau continues to highlight the political nature of teaching *as Māori*, but it also clarifies the roles of the Māori teacher when working from an ako framework today. This chapter draws extensively on the narratives of Māori teachers collected in the previously mentioned three reports about Māori teachers (Bloor, 1996; IRI, 1999; H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993) to better understand the scope of their work.

Chapter six seeks to locate Māori in the current popular discourse of 'diversity', a discourse that seeks to improve educational outcomes for *all* students, but in particular, Māori students. Awa Hudson's pūrākau appears at the start of this chapter, but unlike the previous chapters her pūrākau has little in common with the discussion

that follows. Rather, her pūrākau becomes a counter story to the dominant discourses of diversity in which Māori teachers are barely visible. This chapter seeks to engage current educational approaches to improving Māori students' achievement and recentre the importance of Māori teachers in ethnic, cultural and individual diversity that exists at many secondary schools today.

Summary

Despite the cheerful images of Māori teachers popularised in the advertising media, the reputation of Māori teachers as severely under-represented, overworked and highly stressed is well known in New Zealand education. Unfortunately such a reputation often overshadows the powerful pedagogical potential Māori teachers offer Māori students. Indigenous researchers using decolonizing methodologies as a way to seek transformative action and outcomes, promote approaches that 'research back' and utilise our own ontological and epistemological constructs. Kaupapa Māori is a local theoretical approach that provides ways of rethinking the work Māori teachers do as ako, and pūrākau becomes the means (and the ends) to recognise that work as central to advancing Māori educational aspirations. In the tradition of pūrākau, the 'story/ies' of, and by Māori teachers traverse through the regulatory confines of time and space in pursuit of understanding how ako enables Māori to teach, learn and live *as Māori*.

Chapter Two

Pūrākau: A Methodological framework

She was an old, old woman. Everyone said she was crazy, she was off, she was mad. Everyone said that, right from the day she first came down from the spring. Saying who she was. But they were the crazy ones because they said she was up there, and they pointed at the moon. Up there, hanging on to a ngaio tree, up there, in the moon. They stretched fingers skyward in the night and chanted their story about Rona, in the moon (Excerpt from 'Rona' by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, 2003, p. 17).

Introduction

‘Rona’, a spontaneous rendition told in te reo Māori, was one of the first traditional pūrākau my daughter heard as a child. As a four year old, she learnt that Rona lived with the moon. She understood that Rona was a space traveller, and when the moon was full and bright, she could see Rona clutching to a ngaio tree and tahā (calabash). The story of Rona’s entrapment on the moon serves to remind people of the power of atua (deities), if we should cause offence. In other versions, Rona is a heroine, courageously confronting the unknown in another world. Whatever the variation in the account, the story of ‘Rona’ is etched in our memory of who we are *as Māori* and how we understand the world we live in.

Pūrākau, such as ‘Rona’, continue to be a feature of our family’s everyday talk as we struggle to sustain Māori language as a first language, and inculcate Māori cultural values, beliefs and worldviews to our children. Far from being considered as mere tales or ‘myths and legends’, pūrākau preserved ancestral knowledge, reflected our

worldviews and portrayed the lives of our tūpuna (ancestors) in creative, diverse and engaging ways. However, telling pūrākau is not limited to traditional stories, but includes ‘storying’ our experiences in our contemporary contexts.

In a research context pūrākau too finds purpose for Māori. Pūrākau should not be restricted to the strictures of the past, but continue to be developed and progressed as a valid form of expression, documentation and a repository of knowledge today. Te Kapunga Dewes (1975) argues that our oral literature tradition provides the basis for an exploration in genre such as pūrākau. He says:

The oral arts in Māori should provide continuity and inspiration for written literature. Far from being irrelevant, the traditional arts challenge us to create with artistic integrity and seriousness, in a manner relevant in contemporary experience and dimensions (Dewes, 1975, p. 54).

Having heeded the encouragement of Dewes (1975) and other Māori writers and artists who have used traditional narratives and knowledge forms to inform, inspire, and shape their writing and work, pūrākau in a research context poses an exciting methodological development. Pūrākau have always provided the means and the ends to produce and preserve popular and particular information for the benefit of whānau, hapū and iwi groups. Pūrākau, too, continues to provide the stimulus to create, to write, to inform, to analyse – and to research.

This chapter sets out some of the methodological practices of a pūrākau approach by drawing on the portrayal of traditional and contemporary pūrākau as well as other narrative-based inquiry research in the qualitative field. This combo-type of approach, which can be described as a bricolage (Lévi-Strauss, 1966), does not necessarily provide a neat and tidy prescription of pūrākau as research methodology or method.³³ Sometimes the uneasy transition between pūrākau and other more conventional methodologies makes for a messy discussion, but one that aims to track the influences on my development of pūrākau research in the study of Māori teachers and ako.

³³ Following Harding (1987), ‘methodology’ is understood as a theory and analysis of how the research should proceed, whereas the ‘method’ refers to the techniques for gathering information.

This chapter is broken into two sections. Section one begins by describing my development of pūrākau as a methodological approach in terms of an Indigenous bricoleur. Pūrākau as methodology has not emerged in a linear way from Māori tradition to research, but has drawn from and responded to the wider historical, social and political research contexts. The early New Zealand ‘research’ context that recorded pūrākau as myths and legends, and the current context in which ‘evidence-based’ research now considers the ‘best’ research are particularly relevant.

In section two I examine traditional practices as well as contemporary articulations of pūrākau that provide some guidelines for the use of pūrākau as research. As an Indigenous bricoleur, pūrākau as methodology has also been influenced by narrative-based inquiry research, in particular life history (Goodson & Sikes, 2001) and portraiture (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983). Aspects of these two qualitative methods are discussed, and while they both provide useful ideas for narrative research of Māori teachers, they also have their limitations. Finally, pūrākau as a research method in this study is outlined here.

Section One: The Indigenous bricoleur

The description of the qualitative researcher as bricoleur, and the research they produce as the bricolage (or research product), is a useful way to think about the way qualitative research and kaupapa Māori theories have come together in this study. Lévi-Strauss (1966) refers to the bricoleur as a “professional do-it-yourself person” (p. 17) whose task is to weave together sets of practices as possible solutions to a specific problem. In order to create the bricolage, the bricoleur must have broad knowledge of a range of methods that may adapt and evolve during this process as they seek to utilize the most useful tools to find the solutions to that particular situation. For the bricoleur the scope (including the questions) of the research and the methods are determined by the context itself. Subsequently, a multi-method approach may be utilised or methods created anew.

To create a successful bricolage, the researcher needs an overarching knowledge of interpretive paradigms, and may cautiously move between them. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) explain, “The research-as-bricoleur-theorist works between and within

competing and overlapping perspectives and paradigms” (p. 4). The knowledge of philosophical systems a researcher should possess includes an understanding of the way gender, ethnicity, social class and power-relations inform and shape research furthermore, that all research is value-laden. Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) advocate that such a multidisciplinary approach requires “a new level of research consciousness” (p. 316) where the researcher is not only familiar with multiple methods but is also cognisant of how the bricolage is influenced by his or her perspective, social location and personal history. Hence, the bricolage (or research product) can be viewed as “a complex, dense, reflexive, collage-like creation that represents the researcher’s images, understandings and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under analysis” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 4). A bricolage recognises and reflects the complexities and realities of lived experience of not only the participants, but also the researchers themselves.

The work of a researcher as bricoleur can more specifically be described as a methodological bricoleur, a theoretical bricoleur, an interpretive bricoleur, a political bricoleur, a gendered bricoleur, a narrative bricoleur (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and a critical researcher-as-bricoleur (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). I advance here that there can also be an ‘Indigenous bricoleur’. The development of Indigenous scholarship and projects based on decolonising methodologies (L. T. Smith, 1999) can be viewed as a bricoleur approach already used by Indigenous academics and researchers. In *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*, Lincoln and Denzin (2005) acknowledge that:

The rise of a social science that is indigenously designed and indigenously executed, more or less independent of Western or colonial and postcolonial influences, except where invited, is already a reality (p. 1118).

In response to the history of research that has often demeaned Indigenous knowledge, history and experiences, to participate in the research academy not only requires a return to our own epistemological frameworks, but the reworking of existing conventional research practices.

A bricolage approach also aligns well with narrative inquiry, a tradition that also employs multiple methodologies. In her article ‘Narrative inquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches, voices’ Chase (2005) writes, “Contemporary narrative inquiry can be

characterized as an amalgam of interdisciplinary analytic lenses, diverse disciplinary approaches, and both traditional and innovative methods – all revolving around an interest in biographical particulars as narrated by the one who lives them” (p. 651). Narrative inquiry can be characterised by what Chase (2005) refers to as distinct analytic lenses and approaches, it remains an interdisciplinary tradition that is shaped by researchers’ interests, assumptions and theories. Similarly the multi-dimensional and multi-purpose nature of pūrākau also encourages an approach that is not confined to specific typology. Rather, I argue in this chapter, pūrākau is a flexible, creative and culturally derived narrative device for collecting, containing, and transmitting knowledge.

In many Indigenous cultural traditions, story telling is one of the key ways knowledge is sustained and protected within communities. In L. T. Smith’s (1999) book *Decolonising Methodologies*, one of the 25 research projects she describes that has been undertaken by Indigenous peoples is storytelling. Sami researcher, Kuokkanen (2000) concurs:

Contemporary Indigenous peoples’ narrative knowledge has to be part of the decolonisation process which is taking place within all Indigenous peoples’ societies. Throughout history oral traditions have been and remain the memory of a people encompassing all aspects of life regarded as important within a culture. A common view of Indigenous people is that stories tell who “we” are. This includes stories of origin and of ancestors, world view, values and knowledge for everyday survival (p. 421).

Reclaiming story-telling and traditional stories is an important part of strengthening Sami pedagogy today (Balto, 2006). Indigenous researchers have re-employed storytelling approaches to research, such as life-story and life history methods, to ensure contemporary lives and realities are heard.

Indigenous academics are also reviving traditional modes of storytelling in contemporary ways. Jo-ann Archibald’s (1997) PhD thesis *Coyote learns to make a storybasket: The place of First Nations stories in education* provides inspiration to record and retell our stories in culturally consistent ways. From the Sto:lo Nation, British Columbia, Archibald uses the Coyote as a traditional trickster character throughout her thesis to explore, investigate, and reflect on the pedagogical value of First Nation story-telling traditions, or what Archibald refers to as ‘storywork’.

Archibald not only incorporates Coyote and Coyote stories in her thesis but also develops theoretical principles for making sense, meaning and learning from the stories. She argues that it is important to draw on First Nation theories to understand the stories, rather than western theories that don't 'fit'; to do otherwise engages in "new act of colonisation" (p. 21). She writes:

The issues and the way that we want to deal with the issues – the types of conversations and talks – must be given space for us to fill. This does not mean that non-Native people should forever excluded from the conversations. I am suggesting that we, First Nations, need some space to talk: to share our stories in our own way, to create our culturally based discourse, develop our ways to validate our discourse, then open the conversations for others to join (Archibald, 1997, p. 26).

Her study of First Nation's orality also directly tackles the tension between western scholarly writing traditions of explicit analysis and Indigenous implicitness and subtlety in the narratives (spoken in their native language) to meet the demands of academic rigour and retain cultural integrity.

Other writers whose work is informed by their own cultural narratives include Peter Cole (2006) from Douglas (Xa'xta) First Nation of British Columbia. He 'writes back' in a creative style that challenges conventional academic writing to illustrate the ways that language has been used to limit, control and define, in particular, Indigenous people. In his article 'Language as Technology in Indigenous Cultures' (2006) his precise, rhythmic and poetic style encourages an exploration of language, style and textual layout. Marlene Atleo (2003) a First Nation's woman from the Nuuchah-nulth a rural community in Clayoquot Sound, British Columbia, employs the traditional metaphor of qu'uuc (a large Nuuchah-nulth burden basket) to explore meaning in narratives, in particular their own learning and teaching theories. Another First Nation woman from Nlakapamux people, British Columbia, Shirley Sterling (2002) uses the traditional genre of spilaxam (personal narrative) of grandmothers to explore models for transmitting their culture and teaching their children. In the same way that other Indigenous researchers have employed their traditional narratives to inform their research and document their current concerns, I have used pūrākau in this study.

The protocols of traditional pūrākau are not necessarily easily transferable to a research context. As an Indigenous bricoleur I have tinkered with research methods and in the process of actively seeking the most appropriate way to engage the topic of Māori teachers' use of ako, have become what Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) describe as a “methodological negotiator” (p. 317). They state:

A [bricoleur's] consciousness refuses the passive acceptance of externally imposed research methods that tacitly certify modes justifying knowledges that are decontextualized, reductionistic, and inscribed by dominant modes of power. (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 318).

Part of negotiating the methodological landscape and utilising pūrākau as my chosen research methodology includes analysing the way pūrākau has been popularised and determined by Pākehā (as the dominant group). An Indigenous bricoleur not only attempts to reclaim cultural traditions such as pūrākau, but to articulate these traditions in new forms. In doing so we strive to create knowledge outside the production and control of the powerful and elite, a different sort of narrative that aims to contribute to the social transformation of Indigenous groups.

Pūrākau as myths and legends

Pūrākau are still popularly regarded as myths and legends, a definition awarded to pūrākau as part of the process of colonisation. Since the early documentation and publication of Māori narratives by Eurocentric anthropologists and ethnographers, the knowledge contained in pūrākau have been misappropriated and misrepresented. Alongside other forces that dispossessed Māori of their land, language, knowledge and culture, the ‘research’ of Māori narratives was, as Ani Mikaere (1995) describes, dangerous.

The distorted and contrived myths were unsafe because they created epistemological disarray, destabilised religious beliefs, and upset the balance of social structures, including the power between male and female. Merita Mita (2000) describes this process:

Our storytelling began to be disempowered, the day the stranger began recording our stories, writing them down. From that day on, the stories started to change, they became a passive collection of words and phrases, sentences and paragraphs, pages of misinterpreted coding, derivative imagery, superficial characters and shallow

portrayals. To the stranger from the west, mere collections of fantasy and myth (p. 10).

Furthermore, the notion of the ‘pūrākau as myth’ increased as the colonisation process advanced. The pre-colonial status of pūrākau as valid explanations and understandings of the world was “displaced by the mythology of the new culture” (Walker, 1992, p. 170). Instead of learning pūrākau through traditional social systems and channels of ako, Māori were reduced to learning about Māori culture through the stories mainly written by Pākehā. As a consequence, generations of Māori (and non-Māori) have grown up with an understanding that pūrākau are ‘Māori myths and legends’, which have had far-reaching and long-term implications for Māori society.

Early Pākehā anthropologists often deliberately melded pūrākau to create one totalising, complete story. It was not uncommon for these researchers to take great liberties in the translating, editing and embellishing the original pūrākau for their own purposes. For example, A. W. Reed (a well-know collector and publisher of Māori language and culture) readily admitted to regularly changing pūrākau with the intention of ‘improving’ the overall readability of the story. In the preface to the 1963 edition of the *Reed Book of Māori Mythology*, Reed (2004) states:

The purpose of the book is to put into simple, connected narrative form, and in a logical sequence of categories, the major legends and beliefs with their more important variants, and thus to provide a volume of straightforward reading and easy reference (p. xx).

Conscious that common pūrākau often varied between tribal groups and sometimes amongst the same tribe, Reed was “in the business of combining different tribal versions to make a satisfying composite picture” (Calman, 2004, p. xiii). Described by Calman (2004) as ‘hybrid stories’ that did not belong to any one tribe. Bishop and Glynn (1999) argue that the simplification of the narratives “commodified Māori knowledge for consumption” (p. 17), and reflected the inadequacy of Pākehā to understand and accept the complex nature of a tribal system that supported a diversity of histories, narratives, including pūrākau.

Reed wasn’t alone in the re-shaping of pūrākau; it was an accepted research practice by New Zealand anthropologists and ethnographers of the day to produce this type of synthesis (Calman, 2004). The ‘Great Fleet’ story, developed by Best (1974), is a prime example of the way fragments of different tribal narratives were combined to

create the theory that after Kupe in 950 AD and Toi in 1150 AD, a Great Fleet of canoes followed. Later Pākehā ethnologist Simmons (1976), challenged Best's 'Great Fleet' claim by comparing tribal genealogies and pūrākau. He found that the ancestral waka (canoe) of tribal groups arrived sometimes 12 generations apart, making the concept of a unified 'fleet' a sham.³⁴ Walker blames another Pākehā researcher, Percy Smith for the truncating of tribal genealogies into this notion of a unified arrival of a fleet of canoes. Walker (2004) describes the 'Great Fleet' as "just another example of the expropriation and transformation of knowledge by the coloniser" (p. 39). The tampering with tribal migration pūrākau to suit Best's or Smith's tidy synthesis, became the basis of the 'Māori myths and legends' taught at schools for decades, and as Bishop and Glynn (1999) note, continue to be used by some teachers, politicians and educationalists today.

Christianity (alongside key 'civilising' practices such as schooling) also contributed towards the denigration of Māori knowledge, beliefs, values, social structures and pedagogies, including pūrākau, to create epistemological disarray. Mikaere (1995) points out, that the impact of colonisation did not facilitate the direct erasure and replacement of one set of beliefs for another. Rather, social and spiritual disorder was created, in part, by the promotion of one set of beliefs, values and knowledge (or evidence) as more valid than another, which covertly worked to destroy traditional Māori belief systems. Māori gradually incorporated various aspects of Christian teachings into their own worldview, and they constructed their own "blend of religious beliefs" (Mikaere, 1995, p. 71). Mikaere (1995) identifies Christianity as the main cause for this change. She says, "it was through their [missionaries] influence that the very heart of Māori religion and cosmogony, was colonised" (p. 71). In relation to pūrākau, there was a subtle, but significant shift towards stories that reflected Pākehā worldviews; some pūrākau had a striking resemblance to Christian stories.

The most prominent and powerful pūrākau that has come under scrutiny for its likeness to a Christian understanding of God, is the manuscript of H. T. Whatahoro

³⁴ Another version of the 'Great Fleet' myth that emerged independent of the pūrākau altogether, is the theory that Māori drifted rather than navigated the Pacific Ocean to reach the shores of Aotearoa. Popular in New Zealand school settings, the 'drift theory' proposed that Māori did not purposely voyage here but accidentally arrived due to storms and sea currents.

promoted by early anthropologists Percy Smith and Elsdon Best of a ‘superior’ class of myths (Mikaere, 1995, p. 74). Whatahoro was educated at a mission school and he was a baptised Christian. He wrote a manuscript as a young man based on the teachings of Te Matorohanga (a Ngāti Kahungunu tohunga during the late 1850s). Although it is difficult to determine the extent to which the narrative was influenced by Te Matorohanga, Best or Smith, Whatahoro’s version showed a clear resemblance to the Christian creation story. The most notable difference of Whatahoro’s version to previous creation narratives was the inaugural appearance of Io. Mikaere (1995) writes:

The discovery that Māori had a supreme male god all along, one which had been responsible for the creation of the primal parents of humankind, was almost breath-takingly convenient. In an instant, the entire Māori cosmogonic account was able to slot into the Biblical framework (p. 75).

Mikaere notes, while Smith and Best enthusiastically promoted this narrative as a new theory of cosmogony, up until the ‘discovery’ of Te Whatahoro’s manuscript, Io was completely unknown. According to Te Rangi Hiroa, Io’s discovery was “a surprise to Māori and Pākehā alike” (cit. in Mikaere, 1995, p. 74). Because Whatahoro’s version found favour with Best and Smith, prominent writers about Māori culture at the time, Whatahoro’s narrative was to have a huge impact on Māori religious beliefs.

Ani Mikaere (1995) strongly argues in her MA thesis *The Balance Destroyed: Consequences for Māori Women of the Colonisation of Tīkanga Māori*, that the colonisation of Māori traditional narratives had a devastating impact on Māori society, particularly Māori women. According to Mikaere (1995), one of the direct results of reorganising the creation pūrākau according to Smith’s and Best’s ‘discovery’ of Io, meant that the balance between the male and female element was destroyed. In Whatahoro’s new version of creation, a female element was no longer involved in the beginning of Io; rather female figures were relegated to passive roles and of limited power. Females were cast in roles where their power and sexuality was neutralised. Mikaere (1995) attributes the stereotyping of female figures in this way to the misrepresentation of Māori narratives. She says:

The result of this re-telling of Māori cosmogony ... through the eyes of Pākehā male ethnographers has been a clearly discernible shift in emphasis, away from the powerful female influence in the stories and towards the male characters (pp. 77, 78).

Another reason such a male dominated view was expressed in these pūrākau was the failure of the early anthropologists and ethnographers to record the pūrākau of Māori women. Although Māori women were renowned for their literary expertise (Ngata, 1961) as composers of mōteatea and other narrative forms, they were not sought out as experts of pūrākau. In the process of Pākehā men asking Māori men for their pūrākau, translating and re-telling the pūrākau in their own eurocentric ways, meant that the roles that females played in the pūrākau were significantly reduced. Mikaere (1995) describes the mythologising of Māori women in pūrākau as ‘femasculated’ (p. 78), the deletion of power through the erasure of sexuality – the female equivalent of ‘emasculate’.

The way the beliefs, values and worldviews of early Pākehā researchers were inscribed in the pūrākau they reproduced were also evident in the purging of pūrākau of any references to female and male genitals, and sexual liaisons. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (cit. in Mikaere, 1995) describes these writers as “inevitably eurocentric, and quite openly and tritely colonial” (p. 72). In discussing Reed’s perspective to representing Māori ‘myths and legends’, Calman (2004) acknowledges that Reed wrote “within a Victorian sensibility of European racial superiority, the bias of Christianity, prudishness and, in many cases, simple lack of knowledge of te reo and tīkanga Māori” (p. xiv). For example, while a South Island version of the pūrākau of ‘Rona’ tells of Hoka’s testicles being torn off, Reed corrupts the pūrākau by referring instead to a ‘part’ of Hoka (Calman, 2004, p. xiv). Many of the pūrākau popularised as Māori myths and legends were reshaped from a male, Pākehā, Christian perspective, sanitised to be acceptable for public consumption.

The misappropriation, misrepresentation and misinterpretation of pūrākau are a stark reminder of role research has played in the colonisation of Aotearoa. The promotion of pūrākau as myths and legends not only distorted tribal genealogies and knowledge, but created social and cultural disarray. As an Indigenous bricoleur, identifying the colonial influences on our cultural traditions is an important part of the reclamation process, in this case, pūrākau as methodology. The distortion of pūrākau highlights that research and representation operate within systems of relationships that are influenced by paradigm, power, epistemology, theory and ideology. Māori narratives were collected and then shaped (not just reproduced) as anecdote, fable, myths and

legends. In order to propose pūrākau as a narrative inquiry method in this study, analysing the way pūrākau has been mistreated in the past is only part of the work of the Indigenous bricoleur. It is also necessary to ‘negotiate’ and purposely position pūrākau in the current methodological context, which requires engaging with ‘evidence-based’ research in education.

Evidence-based research

In the United States and England, in particular, ‘evidence-based’ research has experienced newfound popularity and spread from the field of medicine to education with an emphasis on scientific rigour. The beginnings of an increased appreciation of evidence can be traced back to the bio-medical discipline, where it was argued that reviews of evidence of effectiveness were critical for clinicians to keep abreast with best practice and the rate of change (Clegg, 2005). In this context the randomised controlled trial gained momentum and a so-called evidence-based approach began to enjoy a privileged status. In 2000, the British government made it clear that funding initiatives in education must be closely linked to effectiveness and measurable outcomes. As part of this drive to identify ‘what works’ to inform policy and practice the Evidence for Policy and Practice Information and Co-ordination Centre was established in 1993 at the University of London. The centre’s aims closely aligned to the international organization involved in the preparation of systematic reviews, the Cochrane Collaboration also set up in 1993.

In the United States some have hailed evidence-based education as the process that takes education to the brink of a “scientific revolution that has the potential to profoundly transform policy, practice and research” (Slavin, 2002, p. 15). A commitment to evidence-based research was signaled in the ‘No Child Left Behind’ Act 2001, in which there were also clear directives for accountability and ‘scientifically-based’ research. While such an approach claims not to exclude correlational, descriptive, and theory-building research, the preference was systematic, experimental, random and large-scale definitive research that could demonstrate effectiveness (Slavin, 2002). The importance of evidence-based research was made more explicit in the United State’s government-led educational forum held the following year ‘Rigorous Evidence: The Key to Progress in Education’. This discussion resulted in the publication *Bringing Evidence-Driven Progress to*

Education: A Recommended Strategy for the U.S. Department of Education (Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy, 2002) that suggested a major effort (including funding) should be made to build the knowledge base around educational interventions that have been ‘proven’ through research such as randomised control trials. ‘Evidence-based’ research was not only readily accepted in education, but also strongly supported as a way to guide educational improvement.

Despite the popularity and logic of using ‘evidence’ to inform policy to practice, the evidence-based discourse has also been fiercely challenged in some sectors. In the health-science discipline, where evidence-based health sciences (EBHS) is an established global term broadly understood as clinical practice based on scientific inquiry, the evidence-based movement has been criticised as reductionist and anti-positivist (Clegg, 2005). Holmes et al. (2006) describe EBHS as an example of micro-fascism in a contemporary scientific arena. They argue that the saturation of health science discourse with concepts informed by an evidence-based approach is “outrageously exclusionary and dangerously normative” (p. 181). EBHS as a “regime of truth” is reinforced by the original evidence-based work of Archie Cochrane³⁵ who established a database to provide ‘valid’ research resources to clinicians. One of the criteria for the inclusion of ‘valid’ research is that it must be based on the randomised control trial design, all other research (98% of the literature) is deemed “scientifically imperfect” (Holmes et al., 2006, p. 181). In the same way pūrākau was dismissed as true or valid ‘evidence’ by research protocols of the day, Holmes et al. (2006) advance that EBHS is another colonising tool that disallows other epistemologies and marginalises (or excludes) other forms of knowledge.

An evidence-based approach has also come under scrutiny in the field of education and is causing concern, especially amongst qualitative researchers (Freeman, deMarrais, Preissle, Roulston, & St. Pierre, 2007). In the United States calls for “standards of evidence” in educational research, have been influenced by the National Research Council (NRC), which has received funding to begin a long-term initiative related to the quality of evidence in the social and behavioural sciences. The NRC originally began in 1916 by the National Academy of Sciences to bring together

³⁵ Archie Cochrane is a British epidemiologist, whom considered randomised control trials to be the highest level of evidence, his legacy is remembered in the Cochrane Collaboration.

scientific and technological knowledge primarily from the fields of science, engineering and medicine for the federal government. Today the NRC is moving to define ‘evidence’ for use in other disciplines including education. At the same time the American Educational Research Association (AERA), the most prominent educational association in the world (with over 25,000 members), has set out standards for reporting on research methods in its publications which signals a shift towards ‘scientific’ educational research (Freeman et al., 2007). The sort of ‘evidence’ now required emphasises ‘science’ whereby quantitative research and large-scale randomised control trial type methods are privileged, a shift that is of considerable concern to qualitative researchers.

Qualitative researchers advocate that the very nature of the qualitative paradigm rests on the heterogeneity of research. Qualitative research, within which a pūrākau approach can also be situated, is a field of inquiry that was established in the discipline of sociology by the work of the Chicago School during the 1920s and 1930s. A large, historically complex research field, qualitative research is not easily defined. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1998), qualitative research is an interpretive approach that critiques the politics and methods of positivism. Whereas positivist approaches value ‘objectivity’ by eliminating environmental variables in an effort to apply the results to the largest possible number of subjects and experiments (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994), qualitative studies place emphasis on the socially constructed nature of reality and the ways in which values are embedded in research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). In short, qualitative researchers “study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 3). In order to ‘make meaning’ a feature of qualitative research is that it is inter-disciplinary, it does not adhere to a singular theory or paradigm, and neither does it boast a unique set of methods.³⁶ Therefore, qualitative research cannot be easily quantified, measured, fixed or defined which is of little value to an ‘evidence-based’ approach.

³⁶Despite the diverse and interdisciplinary nature of qualitative inquiry, common qualitative research conventions already exist that include both descriptive and prescriptive requirements. The former is the careful documentation of all procedures, providing a way to recognise models as well as more innovative methodological approaches. Whereas the latter concerns theory, this is not universally prescriptive; each discipline within qualitative

From a qualitative perspective, what constitutes evidence is highly contestable. Critical theories, post-modern and post-structural approaches, in particular, unsettle the notion of 'truth', critique positions of objectivity and subjectivity, and draw attention to the socially constructed nature of science and evidence. Qualitative researchers recognise that 'data' itself is highly dependent on interpretation, without which field notes, documents, transcriptions of interviews and interactions are merely collected materials. From this perspective data only becomes evidence when it undergoes some form of systematic analysis, which is then used in relation to some question or argument. Freeman et al. (2007) refer to what they term the 'contingency of evidence' (p. 29) to indicate all forms of research evidence exist within material, political and theoretical contexts from which they draw their meaning. They conclude that the evidence-based discourse incorrectly assumes 'rigorous science' is the new solution because it will provide generalisable, unambiguous and proven answers to complex educational problems.

In an article that argues evidence-based research can be used for critique and emancipatory projects, Clegg (2005) contends that the debate about evidence is about discursive location, not method. She notes that the trend towards an evidence-based approach (as a result of concerns about educational quality) coincides with a shift towards outcome-orientated monitoring and accountability by governments. In Clegg's view the linear account of the relationship between evidence, policy and practice is suspect. She argues:

Evidence-based practice serves an ideological function that is disguised through the rhetoric of independence and the idea that policy is disinterested and objectively informed (p. 419).

Alongside stronger calls for financial accountability by governments in all public sectors (including education) evidence-based research has a new found status.

'Truth', or whose knowledge counts as 'evidence' is not an immutable certainty but dependent upon the opinion of others. The treatment of pūrākau by early

educational research adheres to its own particular theoretical frameworks. In general the validity of qualitative research is drawn from the reliability of the interpretations researchers make of the data (Freeman et al., 2007). In turn the validity of the interpretations rests on the epistemological constructions and theoretical rigor of each discipline and community of practice.

anthropologists and ethnographers reinforces to Māori that research (and ‘evidence’) is never neutral or innocent, but shaped by discourses that create and attribute particular meanings to words, ideas and activities. Cognisant of the criticism ‘evidence-based’ research received overseas, educationalists were careful to adopt a slightly different approach to ‘evidence’ in New Zealand.

New Zealand’s Best Evidence Synthesis (BES)

An ‘evidence-based’ approach has also been embraced by government-led educational research in New Zealand, highlighted by a series of reports that are part of a ‘Best Evidence Synthesis’ (BES) published by the Ministry of Education begun in 2003. Similar to other OECD countries³⁷ whose educational results show marked disparities between particular groups of students, an evidence-based approach has become an important part of a policy strategy for educational improvement in New Zealand. The Chief Education Adviser for the BES Programme for the Ministry of Education and author of one of the BES reports, Adrienne Alton-Lee claims that the ‘best evidence’ approach to research will offer policy makers, practitioners and parents a “rigorous, transparent, and concise evidence-base” to inform and guide future educational developments (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 11). The intention is that the identification of evidence will become part of the overall culture of the education sector, and be incorporated as a research and developmental norm towards achieving educational improvement. BES espouses a ‘health-of-the-system’ framework, described as:

... a broad concern with how infrastructure, wider policy settings, and interactions amongst the multiple communities within an education system contribute to a system that is functioning effectively for all its learners (Alton-Lee, 2006, p. 8).

The BES assumes that an evidence-based approach offers irrefutable benefits and aims to inculcate such an approach in the infrastructure as well as the practices of educationalists across the sector.

Alton-Lee (2006) notes, however, that in contrast to the evidence-based education model used in the United States where educational outcomes are understood through

³⁷ The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was established in 1961 and currently has 30 countries that are members. The organization provides a source of comparable statistics, economic and social data.

standardised achievement test results, New Zealand's methodological approach to synthesising evidence is innovative and unique. With an emphasis on pluralism and student diversity, the MOE espouses a "jigsaw methodology" to provide "credible evidence" (Alton-Lee, 2006, p. 1) to inform educational change. In the same way completing a jigsaw requires the connecting of different pieces, so too are 'bits of evidence' pulled together to form discernable patterns for analysis.³⁸ Subsequently evidence is not strictly defined in any of the five Ministry of Education's BES reports (discussed below) because the sorts of 'best evidence' considered relevant to the respective studies differ. This open methodological approach has received international recognition and commendation. Luke and Hogan (2006) write in the *World Yearbook of Education: Education Research and Policy*:

What is distinctive about the New Zealand approach is its willingness to consider all forms of research evidence regardless of methodological paradigms and ideological rectitude, and its concern in finding contextually effective, appropriate and locally powerful examples of "what works" (p. 174).

In other words, in the New Zealand education context 'evidence' can mean a range of things, however, the emphasis remains on research that demonstrates clear links to relevant outcomes.

Outcomes-oriented evidence is emphasised in the first of the BES series *Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling: Best evidence synthesis* (Alton-Lee, 2003). This report aims to provide a 'systematic review strategy' of pedagogical practices that optimise learning and achievement outcomes for all students, and makes explicit that student outcomes do not narrowly focus on measures of academic achievement but also include social and cultural outcomes. The criteria for research to be considered as evidence are refined in the following explanation. BES purports to seek out research about:

... academic outcomes, skill development, social outcomes, cultural identity, disposition as a learner, self-regulatory skills, enjoyment of learning, preparation for local and global citizenship and success and well-being (Alton-Lee, 2006, p. 7).

³⁸ From meetings held in 2003 and 2004 organised by the Ministry of Education, national reference groups, researchers, methodological advisors, BES writers, policy workers and teacher union representatives were brought together to develop the *Guidelines for generating a best evidence synthesis iteration* (Alton-Lee, 2004).

While student outcomes are broad, the research studies included in this BES had to have demonstrated a clear relationship between practice and outcomes, in particular students' learning and achievement. Studies that were not able to show this relationship but rather focused on "selectively exemplified classroom practices or used anecdotes to support particular views of what is desirable in teaching" (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 11) were excluded. Case studies, like pūrākau, that are not explicitly linked to "student outcome data or evidence of quality learning processes" also fall outside of 'best evidence' because, it is argued, "they can simply carry the assumptions of the teacher/researcher laid over accounts of practice" (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 12). Research that was outcome-linked and produced by authors published in peer-reviewed international handbooks and journals, by leading researchers recognised by international educational organisations were accorded special status.

The second in the BES series is *Quality teaching early foundations: Best evidence synthesis* (Farquhar, 2003). This study is based on the early childhood sector and again focuses on research linked to (positive) child outcomes by drawing on small-scale studies to longitudinal projects, however, it takes a slightly more open approach to research evidence. Farquhar (2003) explains that the studies considered to be "an acceptable research standard" were those that included a "clear description of sample and methods, data clearly explained, and conclusion supported the evidence" (p. 17), as well as peer reviewed articles, externally published studies and academic theses. Farquhar (2003) acknowledges that an evidence-based approach to a synthesis in the area of early childhood education raised a number of challenges. The first was the emphasis on an outcome-driven focus (which emphasises cognitive development, structured teaching approaches and child development testing), which is actually antithetical to the value and intrinsic benefits placed on play and participation in early childhood. In addition, the synthesis needs to provide evidence that was useful across different contexts to 'trained professionals' as well as family and community members who are just as involved and influential in their children's early education. Another challenge, and perhaps the most pronounced in this synthesis, was the small amount of evidence-based literature presently available in early childhood education. Farquhar (2003) points out that most of the research has concentrated on descriptions of best practice (including case studies), developing resources to support best practice, and investigating the effects of programme variables and different types of curricula

that can be influenced through regulation and policy. Subsequently, the jigsaw metaphor was particularly useful in the approach employed in this BES.

The authors of the BES report *The complexity of community and family influences on children's achievement in New Zealand: Best evidence synthesis* (Biddulph, Biddulph, & Biddulph, 2003) faced a similar dilemma concerning the dearth of evidence-based literature available. They note that synthesising evidence in education is still in a state of development because relatively few large-scale experimental research projects in New Zealand have been undertaken. Furthermore the authors recognised the inherent differences in gathering evidence in the discipline of medicine (where experimental studies may be more tightly controlled) than in the field of education, particularly when focusing on the community. Some of the principles for systematic review methodology outlined by the United Kingdom Government Cabinet Office were drawn on to determine the 'best evidence' in this study. These principles were (based on research that):

- specifically linked to children's achievement;
 - best explain the processes by which family and community influences are translated into achievement, and;
 - indicate clearly how positive family influences can be enhanced
- (Biddulph et al., 2003, p. 6).

Like the previous report about early childhood education (Farquhar, 2003), family and community influences do not directly produce clear student outcomes. Much of the data that examines family characteristics, home processes, and parent programmes are considered correlational rather than casual in nature (Biddulph et al., 2003).

In recognition of the difficulty in gathering 'evidence-based' data and the complexities of using correlational data about community and family influences in New Zealand, this report utilised two approaches: a systematic review (also known as a Narrative Review), which involves the collating of relevant evidence to find commonalities and points of difference; as well as a realist synthesis, which draws attention to the theories that underpin the changes engendered by various programme resources. In this sense, a realist approach is a 'generative approach' (Biddulph, 2003, p. 8); it does not believe the success of a programme only rests on the programme or intervention, but that the reasons for, and resources of the programme, as well as the

participants themselves generate causation. The inclusion of a realist approach allows the BES to draw on theory as a way of building some coherence around the data, and to examine and make sense of the evidence. While it is not stated, the inclusion of the realist synthesis more readily accepts qualitative research.

The shift towards a realist synthesis in addition to the narrative review is even more prominent in the fourth BES report published in 2003, entitled *Characteristics of professional development linked to enhanced pedagogy and children's learning in early childhood settings* (L. Mitchell & Cubey, 2003). The aim of this report is to provide research evidence related to learning opportunities and outcomes through the provision of professional development for Māori, Pasifika³⁹ children as well as those children from low socio-economic families. In this report realism proffers a view that concentrates on the mechanisms that trigger change. The authors explain:

Realist synthesis does not offer a recipe for the 'best' programmes, but develops a theory about what kinds of programme work, in what respect, in what contexts, and for what subjects (p. 6).

A realist approach claims to provide an insight into structures, powers and generative mechanisms that includes considering the participants, interpretations of the programme, and the context. A realism perspective considers that 'evidence' only exists through a theorizing about and experimenting with what works (and doesn't work).

The most recent BES *Effective pedagogy in mathematics/pāngarau: Best evidence synthesis iteration* (Anthony & Walshaw, 2007) foregrounds a realist perspective. Theory is not only included as a critical part of the evidence-based approach, but this BES encourages theoretical pluralism. The authors explain:

We have included many different kinds of evidence that take into account human volition, programme variability, cultural diversity, and multiple perspectives. Each form of evidence, characterised by its own way of looking at the world, has led to different kinds of truth claims and different ways of investigating the truth. Our pluralist stance left us free to consider the relative strengths and weaknesses of different methodological approaches (Anthony & Walshaw, 2007, p. 211).

³⁹ Pasifika is a translation for Pacific, and refers to Pacific Islands peoples in New Zealand.

The teaching of Mathematics is understood as part of a ‘nested system’ that sees teaching and learning influenced by a range of interrelated factors and environments. Because pedagogical practices are complex and often reliant on social, cultural, structural conditions, pieces of evidence may contribute only one variable towards understanding the processes of effective teaching and learning. The nested system acknowledges that the connection between teaching and student outcomes is not straightforward. In this BES report there appears to be a shift from offering ‘teacher-proof’ methods and strategies towards a more inclusive approach towards various types of research that show the complexities of teaching and learning.

While New Zealand’s approach differs to the United States and United Kingdom where the best evidence is that from randomised controlled trials and systematic reviews, the outcomes-oriented approach to evidence in a climate of increased accountability requirements by the government, is consistent with trends around the world. The BES is careful not to specify preferred research paradigms and methods. However, narrative inquiry approaches such as *pūrākau* do not easily fit nor are they easily locatable within the evidence-based discourse. In this thesis, *pūrākau* does not directly show links to student outcomes (this is not to say that a *pūrākau* could not be used in conjunction with statistical data related to students’ achievement outcomes). Rather *pūrākau* aims to expand understandings of *ako* in relation to Māori secondary school teachers’ work, a research approach that would fall outside of the boundaries of what might be considered ‘evidence’. *Pūrākau* is not only one specific story or the particular experiences of one Māori teacher, but an example of Māori teachers’ experiences. *Pūrākau*, like other narrative research representations, such as case study, are underpinned by an understanding that the general also resides within the particular.

Unlike the BES approach, in this thesis I am not attempting to draw conclusions that can be held up across any context. I do not expect to identify a list of definitive characteristics of *ako*. A study of Māori teachers is premised on the notion that teachers do not and have not mindlessly implemented the prescriptions of researchers and/or policy of governments, but are collaborators in the production of knowledge. In a BES context teachers’ knowledge and experience is disregarded in favour of the ‘evidence’ from an external review. In contrast, in this study Māori teachers are

viewed as possessing an intimate source of understanding about teaching and learning that comes from ‘being Māori’.

Another point of difference in this study is that while each of the BES reports recognises the disparities experienced by the Māori learner, the Māori teacher remains absent. There appears to be a disconnection in this literature between the sorts of cultural understanding, knowledge, relationships and pedagogies that Māori teachers bring to the classroom and Māori teachers themselves – knowledge becomes separated from the knowers. The cultural capital, to use Bordieu’s (1977) term, that Māori teachers have and the cultural congruence they offer to Māori students, is unspoken. The methodological discourse of evidence-based education ignores the cultural identities of the teacher; Māori teachers are missing (this important issue is discussed further in chapter six). Instead, *all* teachers are treated as universal classroom practitioners who will improve learning conditions by implementing the ‘best’ practices, theories or resources based on the research ‘evidence’.

Pūrākau as methodology ‘writes back’ in a research domain that has historically disregarded Māori knowledge, beliefs and narratives as legitimate forms of ‘evidence’. The present New Zealand evidence-based research context now seeks Māori knowledge, theories and pedagogies (if the ‘evidence’ qualifies it as worthy) in order to improve educational outcomes, especially for Māori students. However, a disjuncture exists between the knowledge, skills or strategies and the people who will implement them in the classroom. Pūrākau seeks to reposition Māori teachers as central to stories of Māori teaching and learning, and represent ako in a purposeful and pedagogical narrative.

Section Two: Pūrākau as methodology

Pūrākau as research (as it is developed in this thesis) has not progressed in a linear way from Māori tradition to a contemporary research methodology. Rather, pūrākau as methodology draws on Māori oral literature tradition, contemporary expressions of pūrākau, as well as narrative inquiry methods within qualitative research. This section will discuss some of the key influences on pūrākau as research methodology as it has been employed in this study.

The development of pūrākau

In traditional Māori society, knowledge, philosophies, histories, experiences, dreams and aspirations were contained in narratives and etched into whakairo (carvings) and other art forms. The genre of Māori oral literature includes mōteatea (traditional song), whakapapa, whaikōrero (speechmaking), whakatauki (proverbs) and pūrākau. The breadth of information and depth of knowledge was transmitted from person to person, generation-to-generation, and embedded in different forms of narratives. In order to protect, preserve and perpetuate knowledge, Māori narrative practices were “sophisticated ... and refined through creative, diverse frameworks” (Taylor, 1994, p. 97). Each narrative genre had its own categories, style, complex patterns and characteristics. All highly prized, the narratives were also carefully constructed and skillfully delivered.

Within the genre of pūrākau there were various types of pūrākau. This is not to say that pūrākau fell into distinct categories; however pūrākau had multiple purposes, and were multidimensional. Pūrākau ranged from explanations about the origins of the universe to specific historic tribal events or particular incidents (Orbell, 1992; Walker, 1990). Some pūrākau contained a raft of information including genealogical names and tribal places, whereas others had more gripping and interesting storylines, although these were not necessarily exclusive to each other (Biggs, 1997). Some pūrākau were responsible for maintaining absolute accuracy and knowledge, and others were embellished to invoke “the wairua (spirituality) and the mauri (life force) of the story” (Bishop, 1997, p. 25). The presentation of pūrākau varied in style, highly dependent on the narrator, the context and purpose (Metge, 1998). Some of the most esteemed people in the tribal social structure were those that were responsible for the accuracy of information and gifted with the art of performance of pūrākau. However, the general function of pūrākau remained the same, predetermined by the need to pass on knowledge in an orally based culture.

While pūrākau originated from an oral culture, soon after the missionaries arrived in Aotearoa, Māori also became literate in the skills of reading and writing and as such began experimenting with written texts by producing newspapers, as well as encrypting traditional narratives in the written word. Reedy (1993) points out that since the 1830s and 1840s, Māori have produced a voluminous literature that include

letters, reports, essays, histories, stories and songs.⁴⁰ Reedy (1993) argues, “Māori people are the possessors of a great written tradition as well as a rich, ongoing oral tradition” (p. 9). This is not to say that Māori wished the written word to replace or supersede Māori oral narratives, rather that Māori culture too quickly became a literate culture in reading and writing.

Māori engaged the technology of written literacy to express pūrākau, and were unafraid to adapt pūrākau to fit the occasion or purpose. Pūrākau shared in the Native Land Courts is one such example. Established in 1865, the Native Land Court was initiated by the colonial government to facilitate a judicial process to identify individual owners of Māori land in order to hasten the purchase of the land by the Crown as well as British settlers. Histories preserved in pūrākau were told to make the case of their connection to the land within specific boundaries. There are various examples of uninterrupted pūrākau narratives with detail and explanations of tribal events, stories of building alliances through marriage, reciprocity, family feuds and so on. However, conscious of the court’s function, Māori narrators purposefully changed the emphasis of the pūrākau. Whereas, traditional pūrākau centred on relationships, Māori retold these narratives to focus issues of occupation and land rights in ways that Pākehā would understand (Parsonson, 2001). Māori adapted the style of their pūrākau appropriately, and deliberately left other information out. Acutely aware of context, pūrākau were crafted by Māori in new ways to satisfy the audience and context, in this case, the judicial process of court.

Another example of Māori experimentation with traditional forms of knowledge is by Māori writers and artists. The establishment of the ‘Māori Artists and Writers Society’ in 1973, marked the intention of practitioners in their respective fields to creatively pioneer ways of using traditional forms in contemporary settings. In *Māori artists of the South Pacific* (Mataira, 1984), Ford remarks:

Old images were broken down and reformed, new materials replaced the traditional ones and the content looked both backward into the past and forward into the future. The exact copying of previous designs was not seen as the only means of conserving the old.

⁴⁰ According to Reedy (1997), much of these early written narratives though, remain unpublished and still in manuscript form, in private individual or *whānau* collections or in *Māori* language periodicals of the nineteenth century – of which only a small amount has been translated into English.

Instead, the ancient custom of treasurable uniqueness became the justification and motivation for the new symbols and shapes to express each new venture (p. 9).

Each person profiled in this book, including Māori writer Patricia Grace and poet Hone Tuwhare, refuse to be ‘copycats’ and retain only the templates of the past. Instead they attempt to incorporate Māori tradition to express and explain contemporary Māori lives and issues.

Ruahine: Mythic Women by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (2003), from which the rendition of ‘Rona’ that begins this chapter appears, is another example of a Māori writer representing traditional pūrākau in a new form. Written in English, Te Awekotuku tells her own version of some well-known pūrākau that feature powerful women. These pūrākau are a significant departure from most other written pūrākau that either provide direct translations of Māori pūrākau (Biggs, 1997; P. T. H. Jones & Biggs, 1995; Reedy, 1993), children’s stories (Sullivan, 2002; Taiaroa-Smithies & Taiaroa, 2006; Te Kanawa, 1997), or interpretations of pūrākau written by non-Māori (Grace, 2003; Orbell, 1992; Reed, 2004). Despite being written in the English language, Te Awekotuku maintains the characteristics of traditional pūrākau. They are rich in detail, subtle in their teachings, yet forthright and unabashed. Her version of events reaffirms the power, strength, and position of Māori women in traditional Māori society. Her telling of pūrākau is enchanting, seductive, riveting and thought provoking.

Pūrākau has also been progressed in other media beyond the written text. Māori filmmaker Merita Mita and others have used video imaging to continue telling ‘our stories’. According to Mita (2000) visual media offers a more fluid movement between time and space than the confines of literary structures on the page. Intent on preserving our history as well as producing pūrākau that explores our contemporary culture, Mita reinforces the purpose of pūrākau as an exploration and exposition of culture and identity. She asserts:

We must not overlook the fact, that each of us is born with story, and each of us has responsibility to pass those stories on. To fortify our children and grandchildren, and help them cope with an increasingly material and technological world, we have to tell them the stories which re-enforce their identity, build their self worth and self-esteem, and empower them with knowledge (2000, p. 8).

Despite the oppressive context of colonisation, Māori have continued to explore pūrākau in new arenas – changing, adapting, adding and recreating pūrākau to suit modern-day settings. Through print form, film and digital media, as well as performance such as theatre,⁴¹ Māori have continued to progress pūrākau.

The research context is not to be excluded; pūrākau presents us with a conceptual framework of representation that is relevant to research. Māori have already employed pūrākau as a methodological process in therapeutic clinical settings. Māori clinicians have incorporated pūrākau as a kaupapa Māori intervention when working with Māori tangata whaiora (mental health clients) and their whānau. Clinical practitioner Diana Rangihuna refers to the process in which she utilises pūrākau as ‘mahi ā ngā atua’ (the deeds of the gods)(Cherrington, 2003). Drawing on the pūrākau that feature atua, Rangihuna shares these traditional pūrākau with the tangata whaiora and their whānau, which is followed by wānanga that includes discussion and debate about the knowledge, meanings, and messages embedded in the pūrākau. In particular, the participants explore the trials and tribulations, and identify the strengths and weaknesses of ngā atua. In general, the participants are encouraged to relate the experiences of ngā atua to the tangata whaiora themselves.

According to Cherrington (2003), the most significant part of the pūrākau as therapy is the opportunity for each tangata whaiora and their whānau to retell, recreate and creatively represent the pūrākau (which may include waiata [song], haka [particular type of Māori dance], poetry, drama, sculpting, painting, drawing, story telling, and/or writing), in ways that connect and relate to their own understandings and experiences. Through these pūrākau the tangata whaiora learn that they as Māori are descendants of ngā atua. Furthermore the process of identifying similar traits or characteristics to ngā atua encourages the tangata whaiora to focus on issues of identity, te taha wairua and their own potential. Pūrākau, Cherrington (2003) argues, is a powerful medium that pre-existed for Māori long before any western-based treatment and continues to offer tangata whaiora a culturally specific and valid therapeutic process.

‘Interview with a Tree’ by L. T. Smith (1998) is an example of a pūrākau-type portrayal in the academic arena. Presented in a simple dialogue style, the pūrākau

⁴¹ See Roma Potiki (1992) and Grace-Smith (1993).

unfolds to demonstrate some of the cross-cultural issues facing Māori in the judicial process. Issues of identity based on whakapapa, the effects of urbanisation, and the complexities of representation are covered in this pūrākau. Māori (or the tree's) worldviews are juxtaposed with the values, beliefs, culture and power of the dominant group in the context of the court. The following short excerpt illustrates the way in which these issues are brought to the fore as well as the style of the portrayal:

Interviewer: Right now I am standing outside the High Court in Auckland as the participants and spectators leave the court at the close of the day's session. One participant in the court proceedings has been hanging around the court for a very long time. Non-human entity, I understand that you claim to be among other things a Christmas tree, a pan-tree, an urban tree, a native tree, a Pohutukawa tree, a descendant of a God who created human beings and insects, a relation of Sir Mahuta and other famous people ...

Tree: You missed out that I am a seed from Rangiatea

Interviewer: Let me get this right, you claim to be a tree and seed at the same time? (L. T. Smith, 1998, p. 75).

The often-comical conversation between the tree and mono-cultural interviewer serves to engage the reader in the complexities of the legal definitions of Māori, a topic often reserved for the Māori elite in the courtroom. The light-hearted and engaging style makes some of the key issues accessible to an audience beyond Māori leaders and the legal profession. The pūrākau is also powerful because the tree not only represents Māori, but the pohutukawa tree has a direct relationship with Māori people through whakapapa as a descendant of Tane Mahuta. Therefore, while the pūrākau may be regarded as entertaining, at another level, talking with a tree or the deity Tane Mahuta is possible and acceptable.

There are examples of contemporary articulations of pūrākau in different disciplines and in different media. An exploration of pūrākau as methodology has already begun in the arena of research. Cherrington's (2003) work as a therapeutic clinician draws on the pedagogical qualities of pūrākau, whereas L. T. Smith's (1998) example uses the 'artistic' characteristic of pūrākau which encourages Māori researchers to write our stories in ways that creates interest, stimulates inquiry, relates to and engages people of the 'real world'. Research such as this inspires Māori researchers to look beyond conventional methods and academic styles of documentation to experiment with literary techniques that can demystify important issues in ways that are relevant

and accessible. The traditional practice of pūrākau is discussed next before considering research developments in the narrative inquiry context, specifically, life history and portraiture.

The practice of pūrākau

The oral delivery of pūrākau originally involved a creative energy to capture the attention, spark the interest and seduce the audience to participating, thinking and learning. Te Kapunga Dewes (1975) explains the practice of oral narratives:

The manner of rendition is significant; the exploitation by the oral artist of tone in language (as oratory and story-telling) as a structural element in literary expression; the use of visual resources such as gesture, dance and dramatic bodily movement; a spontaneous song or dance-poem in which the audience may be inspired to participate (e.g. haka), combining words, music and dance; the employment of other devices to manipulate the audience's sense of humour (assuming they have prior knowledge and capitalising on it); the austere style in the delivery of whakapapa (genealogies) because their recitation is a serious business; or the individual styles of story-tellers where vividness, humour, enactment and delivery (e.g. with gestures and body movement) add drama and meaning to a simple story (p. 56).

Like other Māori narratives, pūrākau too was a performance; purposely crafted to appeal to the audience's aural, visual and emotive senses.

The aspect of performance was not merely for entertainment value, but necessary if the pūrākau was to be maintained and successfully passed down to the next generation. Engaging the audience in a creative portrayal was critical, if not, the knowledge could be lost forever in a culture reliant on oral communication. Subsequently the audience was a key factor in how the narrators shaped and delivered the pūrākau. Usually a diverse group, the audience comprised of an intergenerational whānau, men and women, elders, parents, adolescents, and children. The narrator was charged with holding the attention of the audience; otherwise the heterogeneous group could be easily distracted.

Today on the marae, pūrākau continue to be shared with inclusive Māori audiences that are generally not distinguishable by age, gender, social status, or iwi (particularly on urban marae). In the setting of the wharehau (meeting house), it is generally informal (although governed by tikanga). The audience sits on the floor, usually on

soft comfortable mattresses. If the narrator does not hold the attention of the audience, they chat, go to sleep or walk out (Metge, 1998, p. 8). The delivery must be a skilful literary act that is challenging and engaging. With an emphasis on successful transmission of the pūrākau, narrators were able to vary their performances given the topic, audience and purpose. From the dramatic, spontaneous, and humorous to the austere and serious (or a combination of these things), narrators were able to develop their own diverse styles.

Pine Taiapa (Ngāti Porou) and Tarutaru Rankin (Ngāpuhi) are described by Metge (1998), as examples of contemporary gifted exponents of the “art of oral storytelling” (p. 6), primarily because of their responsiveness to their audiences. Taiapa’s manner, according to Joan Metge (1998) was “colloquial, relaxed and personal” (p. 7); he could ‘read’ his audience with ease. Metge (1998) describes the narrator at work:

... he pauses, waiting for a noisy child to settle, seeking the phrase or analogy that will make sense to his listeners. He directs attention to significant points in so many words or by repetition (p. 7).

In contrast, Rankin’s portrayal centres on making pūrākau relevant. His rendition of ‘Maui catching the Sun’ utilises contemporary idiom to bring new meaning to the present activities and events. Rankin says:

When he got that jawbone, he was like a young Māori teenager with a Mark II Zephhr or a ten-speed bike – he had to show off. The sun is misbehaving in a way that does not allow the people to do their work. So he discusses the matter with his brothers to get their approval. They say, ‘ok, we’ll work together’. And he says, ‘what we need is something to catch the sun’. You need to say things like this, much the same as when you have a flat tyre on a car, you need a jack to prop it up ... when you weave small fibres together you get something which is very, very strong. But Maui didn’t only weave the fibres, he also wove together the respect of his brothers. When you have a unity of people, you can blow down the wall of Jericho or you can handle a force as great as the sun, whether it’s a Tania Harris thing or the protests against the Springbok Tour (cit. in Metge, 1998, p. 8).

Both Taiapa and Rankin bring the story to life, through their literary skills, sense of humour and by incorporating contemporary illustrations that relate the motivations and actions of the characters in the pūrākau. Pūrākau always had purpose and the narrator was fully aware it needed to relate to, and engage the audience.

Moving from orally transmitted narratives to pūrākau as a written text, the importance of portrayal does not diminish. From an analysis of different versions of pūrākau written by Māori in the late nineteenth century, Margaret Orbell (1992) notes the vast range in style. She says:

But all of the narrators, while faithful to this inheritance [traditional stories inherited from earlier generations], have shaped their material in their own way and told the story in their own distinctive manner. This stylistic individuality becomes especially apparent when we are able to compare a number of stories by the same writer, or where there are different narrators' versions of a single tale. Each storyteller has their own approach, their own artistry (Orbell, 1992, p. 5).

The diversity of style and portrayal of pūrākau was the norm; it was expected and necessary if the narrator was to transmit his/her ideas successfully. Metge (1998) also notes how narrators made their own mark on the pūrākau. She comments:

Storytellers were clearly not limited to a fixed form of wording. They drew fairly heavily on a pool of conventional images and dramatic devices, such as repetitive dialogues and direct speech, but exercised considerable freedom with regard to which they used and how they arranged them. Different tellers highlighted different episodes and actors and added their own individual touches (pp. 5-6).

The artistic character of Māori oral literature, including pūrākau, enabled an individual to practise his or her own portrayal, style and narrative flair. The length, style, tone and tenor of pūrākau varied from pūrākau to pūrākau, and from person to person.

Given that a key element of pūrākau is that it must be engaging, the potential for diverse portrayals of pūrākau in research is also immense. We are encouraged by the artistic nature of Māori oral literature tradition to write in creative ways that draws on Māori language and concepts, such as Māori metaphors, symbols, whakatauki and waiata, and connects to a wide audience. Narrative techniques including humour are valued in order to enhance the portrayal of the pūrākau. A pūrākau method does not exclude autobiographical, testimonio, oral history, case-study type approaches, nor does it assume these methods have nothing to offer. In an effort to create the bricolage or 'paint a picture' of the experience, and engage with the audience in culturally relevant ways, portrayals of a pūrākau may create what Aldama (2001) refers to as a "hybridization of literary or writing practices" or "crosscultural literary genres" (p.

77). Life history is one of the research methods that has influenced the development of a pūrākau approach in this study.

Life history

In a context where there is still a dearth of literature about Māori experiences of education, life history has appealed to many Māori as a narrative research method because it affords the opportunity to document peoples' stories. With its origins in autobiography, life history was developed as a sociological research tool from the 1920s (Goodson & Sikes, 2001). Although the popularity of life history approaches has varied with trends such as modernism and postmodernism, life history regained ascendancy amongst feminists and minority groups such as Māori, because it provided a legitimate research space to tell the 'histories from below' (Finch, 1984). According to adherents of the life history approach, researchers could illuminate the experiences of people who had previously been made 'invisible' and those who belonged to 'outgroups' (Delgado, 1989) - the voices that have been suppressed, devalued and unheard.

Like pūrākau, life history is not just about recounting a story, in this case, of someone's life. Implicit in pūrākau are numerous pedagogical points pertinent to whānau, hapū and iwi. Similarly, life history is interested in exploring the relationship between the culture, the social structure and the individual in the story – the emphasis is on issues of power and meaning making. Goodson and Sikes (2001) state that "by providing contextual data, the life stories can be seen in the light of changing patterns of time and space in testimony and action as social constructions" (p. 18). The aim of life history is to show that one's interpretation of their experience is a social phenomenon that operates in a particular period and specific historical circumstances. A life history does not treat the personal as separate from the wider historical, political, economic and cultural context, rather it attempts a holistic approach to understand and conceptualise personal experiences.

While life history has found favour amongst some Māori researchers, there are also some restrictions related to representation that explain my reluctance to accept life history as the most appropriate method for researching ako and Māori teachers in this study. Māori academic, Kura Taylor, notes some of the difficulties in her utilisation

of the life history method. Her MA thesis, *Conversations with Māori women educators: Ngā kupu paake a ngā wahine Māori* (Taylor, 1994) is a collection of narratives from seven Māori women who had been primary school teachers. The study centred on the question of Māori women as ‘agents of assimilation’ in the schooling process, and featured the experiences of Māori women as educators in which she challenged notions of their marginalisation. Despite her success in conducting ‘culturally safe’ interviews that produced rich and detailed data, Taylor notes that portraying the talk that occurred (the transference from the spoken word to the printed text) was not easy.

According to Taylor (1994) the conversations that took place between the Māori women (researcher and participant) were full of Māori verbal and non-verbal interactive behaviours, body language, silences, intonation, nuances, and the rhythms of speech that were crucial to meaning. However, these real life dialogues were distorted when reproduced in written form. In addition to the complexities of speech, she found that in translating some of the language from Māori to English, the imposition of English language structures also altered the talk. She states:

... even more serious were the distortions imposed by English language prose constructions such as grammar, sequence, relevance, paragraphing and punctuation for interest and readability (p. 129).

Of greatest concern was retaining the authenticity and the intended meaning expressed in the narratives of the women themselves.

While criticism of the restrictions of the written story is not exclusive to Māori researchers using life history, the need to portray the whole person is particularly critical to Māori ‘telling the story’. In an effort to capture as much of the characters of the women, pertinent to understanding their views and experiences as Māori teachers, Taylor decided to produce ‘lightly edited’ verbatim transcripts, which included the hesitations, repetitions and pauses. Although she provides an analysis of the stories, she also opted for reproducing the full verbatim conversations so that readers had the opportunity to view the complete narratives and interpret the data themselves. The presentation of the life history narratives in verbatim is akin to the early documentation of pūrākau (to write as it is spoken) and does give the reader some clues as to the way the stories were told and a sense of the interaction. On the

other hand, I also found the ‘ums’, ‘ahs’, gaps and repetitions distracting to the flow of the story. How to depict the characters of the participants and their life history without disturbing the story remained an issue.

Similarly, in the work for my own MA thesis I too struggled to capture the āhuatanga (character), in particular the Māoriness, of the research participants through a life history (Lee, 1996). Entitled *He Hainamana tōku māmā, he Māori tōku papa, ko wai ahau? Māori-Chinese tell their stories: An exploration of identity*, my study investigated the impact of schooling of Māori-Chinese perceptions of identity. While the life histories I gathered were rich and interesting, I was also struck by the constraints of such an approach to reveal the whole person. Through a relationship determined largely by tīkanga that included lengthy visits, dinners at the participants’ homes, and meeting their friends and whānau, I got to know the participants well. I was conscious that what they said in our interviews could not be wholly relied upon to provide a sense of actually who they were, how they felt about their schooling experiences, and how they viewed their ethnic identity. For instance while a participant might say that they were not culturally competent in Māori culture, they unconsciously operated according to cultural practices that include mihi (greeting), manaakitanga, tautoko (support) and āwhina (help). Furthermore, I found it difficult to document cultural values and beliefs that they practised but did not articulate. Culture in operation, often invisible in a dialogue, was always present in the interaction and sharing of their life history.

In an effort to introduce the participants *as Māori* and connect them to their whenua, iwi and hapū identities I followed a mihi procedure, whereby people introduce themselves to their unknown audience in relation to their tribal affiliations. While I felt as if the mihi went some way to addressing the disconnection and dislocation of individual stories to their whakapapa links and to each other, I was still disappointed in the flat renditions of the written stories. The written narratives did not embody nor encompass the emotional and sometimes spiritual highs and lows that I had experienced as the immediate listener. In an effort to inject a sense of what it “felt like” I added a brief section I named ‘He Whakamārama’ (An Explanation) to contextualise their stories by providing a short description of the person and the nature of our interactions. While I think ‘He Whakamārama’ gave some sense of the

participant's personality, it consisted in the main, with me – my voice, my views, and my subjectivities – it felt like an appendix to the life histories rather than part of the stories themselves.

While a life history method enabled participants to talk in their own words and tell their own stories, and research written by Māori and about Māori has been scarce, there has been a tendency to shape life histories (in particular the stories of Māori women) so that they are primarily promoted as positive role models. L. T. Smith (1999) refers to this kind of narrative as an “indigenous granny story” approach. She says, “granny stories are of strong, powerful but loving, and culturally correct grannies who have overcome extreme hardship to become significant community icons and repositories of knowledge” (p. 64). While the production of such positive life-histories of Māori is not unexpected in a wider social context where it is more common-place to see Māori represented negatively in education, health, justice, social and economic arenas, such one-dimensional portrayals of Māori are not only highly romanticized but are often unrealistic portrayals of people.

Another criticism of the way in which life history stories are often constructed, is the neat and tidy, chronological summation of one's experiences. L. T. Smith (1999) argues that lived experiences (especially women's lives) are not usually told in this way. Neither is experience necessarily understood by the participants themselves as an individual linear existence. Added to this, is reluctance by Māori to talk about themselves. The well known and often quoted whakatauki “Kāore te kumara e kōrero mo tōna reka” (The kumara does not speak of its own sweetness) is a clear directive in humility. To Māori, it is not right to talk about your own achievements, rather that one's strengths should be left for others to acknowledge. In my experience, this cultural code often extends into arenas such as job interviews where winning positions depend on applicants being able to speak confidently about their qualities and attributes. The general acceptance of whānau being admitted to job interview procedures (especially in the public service) is a response to the cultural codes by which Māori operate. In my experience, research interviews that also attempt to draw out an individual's achievements or life history can face similar barriers. Māori are often uncomfortable and disinclined to talk at length about themselves.

One of the subtle but key differences between a life history approach and pūrākau is its intent. Life history, as I have argued, is an attractive method to Māori because it enables people to ‘speak’ their experiences and show the complexities of their lives in a research context in which such literature is scarce. Collective narratives or stories told by members of subordinate groups could be seen as constituting a counter-hegemonic strategy, a way of strengthening an historical consciousness by providing an alternative reality that is constructed by the dominant group. Goodson and Sikes (2001) argue, “Life history, by its nature, asserts and insists that ‘power’ should listen to the people it claims to serve” (p. 8). Instead of positioning ‘the oppressed’ as mere passive victims about whom the accounts are written, the life history researcher can demonstrate everyday histories of struggle and resistance (Lee, 1996).

Pūrākau too offers the potential to provide another perspective – the messages of Māori, which inevitably add insights to the research problem or issue. However, the purpose of pūrākau is primarily concerned with the production, retention and dissemination of knowledge - teaching and learning for, about, and *as Māori*. The goal of pūrākau is not to try and convince non-Māori or ‘outsiders’ of the value of our voice or the worthiness of our beliefs, practices, values and experiences, but to teach and learn *as Māori* about the things that concern us. As an Indigenous academic and storywork writer, Joann Archibald, urges Indigenous peoples to create their own ‘spaces’ and their own ways to ‘talk’, pūrākau is one way for Māori to do this. While each pūrākau in this thesis is different, the perspective portrayed comes from a Māori understanding of the surrounds, conditions and experiences of teaching, as well as story telling.

Privileging Māori as the target recipients of pūrākau may or may not (depending on the type of research) dramatically change the form, format or style (non-Māori might not recognise it as different from any other story), it does though change the focus of what and how an issue is discussed. The aspects of ako raised in these pūrākau are those that are deemed important to and for Māori. Such an approach does not exclude non-Māori readers. Research and academic studies (including doctoral theses) are not usually privy to only a particular group (especially if it is a publicly-funded project). Māori and non-Māori alike will have access to the pūrākau. It does however assume a Māori cultural view on the topic, the narrative, the analysis and ethical issues.

The aforementioned issues of the practice of pūrākau that includes depicting the participants *as Māori*, have been points for reflection in the emergence of the kaupapa Māori informed narrative-based inquiry in relation to Māori teachers and ako. More creative than the direct transfer of the spoken word to the written page, pūrākau invites us to be creative in our portrayal, and engage the audiences to effectively deliver the messages. It is these textual issues of pūrākau that has led me to an interest in a related narrative inquiry, ‘portraiture’ (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997).

Portraiture

Portraiture was initially conceptualised by Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot (1983) and further developed in conjunction with Jessica Hoffmann Davis in *The Art and Science of Portraiture* (1997). As the title of the book suggests, portraiture is concerned with the combining of science (which they describe as the rigours of scientific research) and art (the creative aspects of literary principles), in order to, as the metaphor implies, ‘paint a picture’ - a narrative portrait of the subject. Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) explain:

... I seek to combine systematic, empirical description with aesthetic expression, blending art and science, humanistic sensibilities and scientific rigor. The portraits are designed to capture the richness, complexity and dimensionality of human experience in social and cultural context, conveying the perspectives of the people who are negotiating those experiences. The portraits are shaped through dialogue between the portraiture and the subject, each one participating in the drawing of the image. The encounter between the two is rich with meaning and resonance and is crucial to the success and authenticity of the rendered piece (p. 3).

Portraiture offers a way of presenting rich, powerful case studies in creative ways that document (among other things) the life histories of individuals as well as the wider picture including, the relationships to their students, communities and the culture of the school.

Just as qualitative research values the context and seeks to understand phenomena in all their complexity in a particular environment (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994), portraiture too, depends on the context as the framework in which to provide understanding about human experience and organisational culture. Unlike traditional positivist research that works to eliminate environmental variables, portraiture

encourages the researcher to investigate all aspects of the context i.e. physical, geographical, temporal, historical, cultural, aesthetic – within which the action takes place.

Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) identified five ways in which the portraitist employs ‘context’. These elements also provide useful points for an Indigenous bricoleur to include when shaping the pūrākau we want to produce. A brief summary of these points follows:

Internal context: the physical setting. The internal context refers to a description that considers the ecological, geographical, demographic and physical characteristics that are experienced through all the senses i.e. visual, auditory and tactile, from the macrosphere to the immediate setting. For Māori the ‘internal context’ is pertinent to understanding pūrākau. Place is not only defined by descriptions of the physical setting, as well as the materials and resources within it, but the whenua and natural environment are culturally bound, located in whakapapa relationships that are vital in making cultural meaning. Identifying the tribal boundaries and connection to the land provides an important part of understanding the context.

Personal context: the researcher’s perch and perspective. Given that the researcher disturbs the ‘natural rhythms of the environment’ and is paramount in revealing ‘an angle of vision’, the personal context involves ‘sketching’ the researcher into the narrative. In pūrākau the researcher’s ‘perch and perspective’ is also foregrounded because the researcher is expected to be responsible for the re-presentation of the pūrākau. As a Māori researcher, my tribal affiliations, my kaupapa and relationship to the participants must be visible. The researcher’s rendition is reliant on their perception to bring to life the narrative.

Historical context: journey, culture, ideology. Portraiture encourages careful investigation of the institutional culture, values, structure, purpose and history in which ‘action’ takes place. Researchers are to be alert to convergence and contrast between the external signs and symbols and interior culture. Similarly, pūrākau should expose those aspects of the research narrative that may be contradictory to the culture of the context. Pūrākau are not required to be neat, tidy stories with ‘happy

endings’. There is a much stronger emphasis on stimulating the audience. The pūrākau should be pedagogical and thought provoking.

Aesthetic features: symbols and metaphors. The context should provide ideas for central metaphors and symbols that can shape the narrative, and impart other associations of meaning that serve as underlying themes throughout the portrait. This aspect of portraiture resonates with Māori oral literature that is proliferated with metaphorical language. The inclusion of aesthetic literary features (where relevant) is highly appropriate to pūrākau.

Shaping context. This aspect warns against viewing the context as static. Rather the actors and the context are interdependent of each other, as the actors are shaped by and simultaneously shape the context. In portraiture the changing context receives attentive consideration. If pūrākau is viewed as a portrait of a cultural context, then the Indigenous bricoleur should be sensitive to the dynamics of culture, in particular, the ways colonisation has disrupted and continues to affect Māori people and society. Māori researchers utilising pūrākau methodology must be able to critique context by thinking about (and asking) critical questions about power relationships, knowledge and control. In portraiture the context is viewed as a rich resource from which to seek understandings about the specific research topic as well as to impart a sense of the scene. Portraiture delights in ‘thick’ contextual description as if to position the researcher alongside the reader.

Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis’s (1997) explanation of context as crucial to the portraits is an opportunity for Māori researchers to reflect on and explore culturally contextual elements. Portraiture is useful to the Indigenous bricoleur because it supports the connection of the actors to their immediate surroundings as well as their ancestral, tribal, historical, geographical and social context. Māori people do not only exist as individuals but also identify collectively in relation to the physical, spiritual and historical environment – these things are a critical part of our cultural landscape. This is not to say that all of these aspects of context are included in each of the pūrākau in this thesis. Rather, portraiture has helped me to think about how to document the cultural values and beliefs embedded in the narratives through the use of ‘context’. Each pūrākau is different, and includes aspects of ‘context’ in different

ways. Just as haka, whaikōrero and mōteatea, have been described as an oral literature where “the whole body talks” (Dewes, 1975, p. 56), portraiture encourages the depiction of the messages embedded in the whole act, rather than a focus only on the words. Like video imaging, portraiture attempts to illustrate the narrative.

One of the key advantages portraiture offers, beyond portraying the ‘whole person’, is the ability to write culture into the text. In studying the ways Māori teachers employ ako, the narratives need to give meaning to Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices in the school setting. Rather than simple translations or limited explanations that are often given for Māori pedagogical concepts such as aroha (love and compassion) and manaakitanga (respect, kindness, or hospitality), a pūrākau (like portraiture) enables what it means to ‘teach *as Māori*’ to be documented and explored in more depth. The centrality of Māori language, culture and knowledge in Māori teachers’ work, indeed ako, can be better illustrated because pūrākau (like portraiture) seek to describe the nuances, the specifics and the subtleties of Māori experience.

One of the principles of portraiture that appeals to me is the rejection of a pathological approach to research. In the Māori education context, where Māori failure has been relentlessly documented (Bishop, 1996), victim blaming is the norm, and Māori are viewed as culturally, intellectually and financially deficient (Chapple, Jefferies, & Walker, 1997; Pihama, 2001; Shields, Bishop, & Mazawi, 2005; Simon, 1990; G. H. Smith, 1997). Portraiture provides a method in which to seek what is ‘good’. Whereas in life history there is a tendency to shape ‘sunny stories’ of Māori, portraiture assumes that expressions of goodness will always include some imperfections. Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) clarify this point:

... portraits are not designed to be documents of idealization or celebration. In examining the dimensionality and complexity of goodness there will, of course, be ample evidence of vulnerability and weakness. In fact, the counterpoint and contradictions of strength and vulnerability, virtue and evil (and how people, cultures, and organisations negotiate those extremes in an effort to establish the precarious balance between them) are central to the expression of goodness (p. 9).

The non-pathological element of portraiture resonates with the study of Māori teachers because it encourages a type of research that probes to find out the sorts of cultural work Māori secondary school teachers do, without being afraid to also discuss the

challenges. Such an approach serves to shift the focus from Māori students' underachievement or Māori teachers' work stress to the things that are accomplished but are often unnoticed in a schooling system that gives first priority to academic and western values of success.

Another aspect of portraiture that is akin to kaupapa Māori is the overarching idea that research should be engaging and accessible to a wide audience, not just those within the academic community. Māori researchers often grapple with this tension; the need to reach the people the research is for as well as those who will determine the scholarly value of your work (Irwin, 1994; G. H. Smith, 1997). Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) aim to use portraiture to engage with people of the 'real world'. They contend:

With its focus on narrative, with its use of metaphor and symbol, portraiture intends to address wider, more eclectic audiences. The attempt is to move beyond the academy's inner circle, to speak in a language that is not coded or exclusive, and to develop texts that will seduce the readers into thinking more deeply about issues that concern them. Portraitists write to inform and inspire readers (p. 10).

Portraiture directs research to be written in ways that serve those people to whom the study is primarily intended; first and foremost it should be of value to the participants. The idea that the research to be worthwhile to the 'researched' is also fundamental to kaupapa Māori. Portraiture, like pūrākau, aims to articulate 'stories' in ways that people can and want to, make sense of them.

As an Indigenous bricoleur I have reconceptualised pūrākau as methodology, an outline of pūrākau as research method as it is used in this study, follows.

Pūrākau as research method

The teachers

Given the experimental nature of pūrākau as research, I invited Māori teachers who I knew would be open to working through this process with me. The lengthy interview schedule and collaborative crafting meant that these teachers needed to be easily accessible. As discussed in chapter one, I am interested in Māori teachers who remain Māori in their practice as teachers. The three teachers to be interviewed were invited to participate because of their experience, their prominence in the Māori teaching profession, their tribal and community connections, and their commitment

and passion for their work *as Māori* teachers. Each of the teachers is well known in their local areas, they are fluent in te reo, and well versed in tikanga Māori. Furthermore they are (or have been) active in promoting Māori language, culture and politics at a local, regional and national level. Only three teachers were interviewed due to the size of the study, but undoubtedly many more could have participated.

Te Aorere (Awi) Riddell's pūrākau begins chapter four, his pūrākau serves to re-examine the history of Māori teachers' participation in New Zealand schooling. Awi initially became involved in this study as a family friend. Recently Awi married into our family and has become a significant member of the whānau. He is a well-known Māori teacher, his teaching career spanning over twenty years in both state secondary schools and Māori church boarding schools. His lifetime involvement in Māori boarding schools as a pupil, teacher and principal, characterise his career as a Māori teacher. At 71 years of age, Awi is the oldest of the three participants in this study. His commitment to Māori education is on-going as he continues to support Te Aute College in an advisory capacity, acts as kaumātua (elder) for Volunteer Service Abroad (VSA) and does contractual work for the Ministry of Education as an auditor of Māori language programmes in schools. His pūrākau provides an historical angle on the shaping of Māori teachers and their participation in schools. Awi's work, experiences and understandings of education for Māori portray him as a product of his era. In 2006 Awi's contribution as a Māori teacher was formally recognised when he received the Queen's Service Medal for his service and commitment to Māori education.

Chris Selwyn's pūrākau appears in chapter five. Chris' tribal links are to Te Rarawa in Northland. After completing his MA in Māori Studies at The University of Auckland in 1995, Chris began teaching at Western Springs College in central Auckland. He joined a strong group of Māori teachers who had decided, with the support of the whānau and wider school, to begin a reo rūmaki (total Māori language immersion) unit 'Ngā puna o Waiorea' (Well Springs of Orea)⁴². At that time the unit was led by the late Achlee Fong (Ngāti Whātua-ki-Kaipara), and included Māori teachers, Mina Pomare (Te Rarawa), Tanya Crompton (Ngāti Awa) and Neil Rogers (Te Arawa, Te Rarawa). A forerunner to the present immersion unit, a bilingual unit

⁴² This area is now known as Western Springs.

was begun in 1988 and led by Māori teacher Massey Nathan with the support of other teachers, including Deidre Walker and Margaret Taurere. This group also established the school's marae 'Rehu' (named after a famous Ngāti Whaatua chief), officially opened on 28th November 1989 by the Māori Governor General of the day Sir Paul Reeves.

After the sudden death of Achlee Fong in 2000, Chris was given the responsibility of HOD Māori and the unit. Since then he continued to lead the 'Ngā puna o Waiorea', which presently has approximately 70 students from year 9 to 13. During his time at Western Springs, Chris has taught most curriculum subjects within the reo rūmaki unit at junior level, Hangarau (Technology), Pūtaiao (Science), Tīkanga-ā-iwi (Social Studies), Hauora (Health). His main teaching subjects, however, are te reo Māori and English. Chris is also involved in various professional groups and activities; this includes serving as Te Reo-ā-rohe representative for Tāmaki Makaurau, PPTA (Māori regional representative for Auckland), and judging at regional and national Ngā Manu Kōrero (Māori Speech Competitions). Having taught for more than ten years at the same school, and leading the only reo rūmaki unit in a central Auckland secondary school, Chris has established a strong reputation amongst Māori teachers and the Māori community. To remain in the classroom working with, and for Māori youth (when many of his Māori contemporaries, including myself, have left teaching) speaks to his commitment. To continue to operate a reo rūmaki unit in a mainstream secondary school (when there are few full-immersion units in the mainstream secondary schools in the whole of New Zealand), speaks to his fortitude. In chapter five, Chris' pūrākau highlights the political dimension of Māori teachers' work.

Awa Hudson's pūrākau begins chapter six, a chapter that seeks to engage Māori teachers in the current 'diversity' discourse that aims to improve (among other things) Māori achievement. Awa was my own Māori teacher at secondary school student and highly influential in my desire to pursue teaching as a career. Recently retired, Awa spent more than 30 years at Massey High School, a large West Auckland secondary school with a significant proportion of Māori students. Her interest in teaching coincided with the Māori renaissance of the 1970s when the revival of the Māori language was seen as integral to the retention of Māori culture and identity. She became part of the 'movement' and has viewed her work as a Māori teacher as part of

this political activism. As the only Māori teacher on a staff after 14 years, her pūrākau portrays dedication, determination and struggle. Awa's prominence in the community also saw her involved in local government politics and was elected onto the Waitakere City Council during the 1980s. For a period she served as Deputy Mayor. She also served a three-year term on the Kaipara College Board of Trustees, and twelve years on the Auckland College of Education Council, as well as other Māori educational committees. In 1993 she was a recipient of The New Zealand Suffrage Centennial Medal, and then the Waitakere City 2000 Millennium Medal awarded to 100 citizens for service to the community. In 1998 she received an acknowledgement awarded from Te Huarahi Post Primary Teaching Association (PPTA) for services to Māori education. Since she has retired, Awa also continues to utilise her skills, knowledge and experience in schooling to advance Māori education. She is a board member of Te Whānau o Waipereira Trust (who have developed an Education Strategy), a member of the West Auckland Education Forum, a member of the Waitakere City Taumata Runanga (a standing committee of the Waitakere City Council), and involved in various other local and regional groups.

The other Māori teacher's pūrākau (apart from my own) included in this thesis is that of Maiki Marks. Maiki was not interviewed, instead her pūrākau was originally a paper presented at the Māori Educational Development Conference held at Turangawaewae Marae in 1984. 'The frustrations of being a Māori teacher' written by Maiki is not only a poignant and powerful pūrākau, but is a seminal work by, for, and about Māori teachers. Maiki's tribal affiliations are to Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa and Ngāti Paoa (Tainui waka). Her pūrākau begins chapter five, it is a moving introduction to the commitment Māori teachers feel towards their Māori students and their whānau, and the place of Māori language and culture at school.

When I approached Maiki about including her paper as a pūrākau in my thesis (via phone and through emails) she was very supportive and forthcoming with information. Maiki's teaching career spans over fourteen years, she worked at several secondary schools including Birkdale College, Hillary College, Henderson High School, Tamaki College and Kerikeri High School. She has taught a variety of subjects: Māori language, English, Social Studies, Economic Studies and Home Economics. Her pūrākau, however, is based on her experiences as a Māori teacher at

her first school, Birkdale College in Auckland. When Maiki began teaching in 1976 she introduced Māori language as a subject option at Birkdale College. The response from students was encouraging. After four years, Māori language was being taught to one year 9 class, two year 10 classes, a year 11 class, and small year 12 class. Maiki's pūrākau not only tells of her experiences, but also reflects the political mood in the mid-1980s. While exciting kaupapa Māori-driven educational initiatives were being developed, unrest was brewing amongst Māori teachers in state schools, especially secondary schools. As a member of the PPTA executive from 1984 to 1988, Maiki wrote several articles to promote the teaching of Māori language and improve conditions for Māori teachers and students. Her 'work' *as Māori* positioned her at the forefront of the political struggle for Māori in secondary schools. While Maiki was pleased that her paper is still useful, despite the fact that it is twenty-three years old, she is disappointed that little has changed for Māori in secondary schools.

Today, Maiki works in Whangarei as a Māori advisor to schools, as part of Team Solutions, The University of Auckland. Maiki is actively involved in iwi activities and continues to write papers to voice her grievances about injustices to Māori.⁴³ She is also involved in educational committees and groups such as; the Enviroschools Trust and the Ministry of Education, National Education for Sustainability Team; Chairperson of the Bay of Islands Coastal Watchdog; Co-Chair of the Environment and Conservation Organisation of Aotearoa.

Ethical considerations

Although I had an established relationship with each of the three people to be interviewed before this study began, ethical implications still had to be carefully considered. A pūrākau approach does not solve the problem of unequal power-relationships in research. However, the ways in which pūrākau were traditionally practiced provide clues about how pūrākau as methodology might treat ethical issues.

⁴³ One of the iwi groups Maiki is presently involved with is the Kororareka Marae Society, who are working towards building a marae in Kororareka (Russell). Maiki also recently wrote a Submission to Special Rapporteur On Human Rights, United Nations (24th November 2005) entitled, 'The appropriation of Māori concepts and values in the New Zealand education system by Pākehā without recourse to consultation with guardians of Te Whare Tīkanga'.

Depending on the type of pūrākau, the traditional codes for conducting pūrākau varied, whakapapa narratives, for example, responsible for maintaining accuracy, were protected and shared with a select few (Walker, 2004). Popular pūrākau, on the other hand, were openly performed as a communal activity (Hiroa, 1982). Pūrākau were always practised however, according to the cultural codes and etiquettes of each group. One of the key features of pūrākau was the idea that they were not and could not be individually owned. While the delivery and performance of the pūrākau may be an individual act and particular people were known to be the experts in this oral narrative tradition, the collective nature of Māori society ensured the pūrākau themselves belonged to and resided in the place and the people. The pūrākau did not exist in isolation to the audience, their whānau, hapū and/or iwi, and natural environment. The pedagogical value and meaning of the pūrākau were highly dependent on a connection to the context.

A pūrākau approach to research that involves interviewing and collecting the narratives of others, does not only view the information gathered as belonging to the interviewee, but also to his or her tribal or whānau group. Hence, when I proposed to each participant that they share their pūrākau it was with their consent that their names and identity be known. Culturally however, names without tribal affiliations usually mean little. In this sense, the participants not only provided their individual identities but were conscious they were also representing their whānau, their tribal group – their whakapapa. Māori refer to the geneological connection to others as whakapapa. Linda Mead (1997) identifies whakapapa as one of the five principles of kaupapa Māori research. Whakapapa frames relationships between each other and with the world around us, it is considered fundamental in understanding oneself as Māori. As Mead (1997) points out, however, whakapapa research is complex. The whakapapa of the Māori researcher has inter and intra-iwi implications, and in part guides the nature of the relationships between the Māori teachers (as the participants) and I (as the researcher). The pedagogy of these pūrākau rely on a knowledge and understanding of who these people are and where they are from. To make sense of their experiences *as Māori* teachers - the whakapapa of person, place, concept or object is essential, it enables the audience to be more culturally attuned to the ‘story’.

In addition to representing their tribal groups, the Māori teachers participating in this study were also acutely aware that their personal experiences were part of the wider collective of Māori teachers. Much like other Indigenous story-telling traditions, Aldama (2001) notes unlike the egocentric “I” of privilege in autobiographical type narratives, the Indigenous narrator often speaks for, or in the name of the collective. For example, a (translated) testimonio of one of the Andean miners of Mexico says:

The history that I am about to tell should not for any minute be considered as only a personal problem. Because I think that my life is inter-related with my people. What happened to me could have happened to hundreds of people in my country (in Domitila Barrios de Chungara cit. in Aldama, 2001, p. 123).

Similarly, Archibald describes how First Nation peoples understand how the stories of individuals are connected to their people, when she says “Even though I speak from “me”, the circle of influences from my family, community, and Nation also shape “me” (Archibald, 1997, p. 4). The pūrākau of the Māori teachers I interviewed also referred to their experiences as a shared reality, or common experiences of Māori in the school system. Their narratives are told and understood as versions in relation to, and as part of other people’s stories. Because the pūrākau in part was highly dependent on the participants’ identities and tribal affiliations and community connections, the ethics process not only required a compliance with The University of Auckland Ethics Committee guidelines, but made explicit that their participation was not anonymous.

While the pūrākau were traditionally narratives that belonged to the wider group, each narrator had a great deal of poetic licence; they were expected to bring their own artistic talent to the process of pūrākau. Māori understood that re-presentation of a pūrākau was not a process of duplication, but interpretation. Each person had their own mana (authority, control) to determine the pūrākau as he or she interprets it while still being responsible to the group for the transfer of knowledge. Whereas the narrator determined the portrayal of the pūrākau, the elders moderated issues of authenticity, accountability and accuracy during public renditions of the pūrākau. There was a clear responsibility on the narrator to get the story ‘right’, otherwise they would be corrected (sometimes in a public arena). Metge (1998) says:

If he or she makes mistakes, experts in the audience rise to their feet to correct them. If sufficiently outraged they may even order a speaker to sit down. In this way the audience acts as a check on

error, preventing stories playing fast and loose with treasured stories (p. 8).

The pūrākau were not simply a ‘grand narrative’ because cultural processes that include creative input from the narrator and an interaction with the audience (whom the narrative belongs), prevents a singular, static story.

The process in which the pūrākau were collected and documented for this study was similar to the procedures I used in my MA thesis. My MA study provided an opportunity to experience some of the dilemmas of narrative-inquiry which I was able to learn from and apply in this project. Previously I had attempted to address ethical considerations by negotiating with the participants a process that ensured an effective partnership, whereby we worked co-operatively (Lee, 1996). To this end I was guided by Māori academic Clothier’s (1993) research model, in which she:

... ensured participants negotiating rights over all aspects of the research, access rights to written material and the option of contributing to the research process in other ways than merely talking (p. 14).

Hence, in my MA study the participants were encouraged to be active in the research process and view themselves as the subjects rather than the objects. Their participation was not confined to the dialogue within the interviews. Instead, it was an open process that included informal meetings that involved social interactions and the exchange of food, and gifts as well as ideas. I transcribed the interviews and then ‘cut and pasted’ their narratives to form a chronologically-based story of their schooling experiences, which they then edited, changed, deleted, added new information as they liked. As much as possible, we collaboratively constructed their stories into a cohesive form in which they had overall rights of authorship.

Although I was committed to paying more than superficial attention to ethical issues, I did not realise the overwhelming (although unintentional) presence of me – the power of the researcher in the stories. Despite the emphasis on the participants’ control in the kōrero (talk) process, the stories (in many respects) were as much about me (the researcher) as they were about the participants themselves. I had determined the way the stories were framed, prioritised what I wanted to know, the sections that were developed in more detail, and so on. While this was to some extent inevitable, there was a sense of naivety in the way in which I thought I was counteracting my

position. Goodson and Sikes (2001) recognise too the contradiction implicit in the life history approach that is often touted as non-hierarchical. Goodson and Sikes (2001) state:

If life history is undertaken in order to ‘give voice’ to people who would not otherwise be heard, and if it is the life historian who is in the position of providing the channel to enable those voices to be heard, then there is an inevitable inequality (p. 102).

Although many aspects of power in the research process can be mediated through careful negotiation with the participants, unless the participants become the researchers, editors and authors, ultimately an unequal power relationship will always prevail between the researcher and the researched. Life history proponents acknowledge this dilemma and encourage researchers to be cognisant of ethical dilemmas and the ways in which they position themselves in the process of constructing the narrative.

Indigenous and other academics have also been highly critical of the ways “told-to” life narratives of Indigenous peoples have been re-told and re-framed, especially by non-Indigenous researchers (Aldama, 2001; McCall, 2002; Mikaere, 1995; Pihama et al., 2003). Despite the worthy intentions of the researcher to share the stories of the subaltern, the voiceless and the anonymous, using methods, such as testimonio, that aim to privilege the narrator’s words over those of the recorder, does not erase the author. McCall (2002) cautions against downplaying the role of the researcher as if they are invisible, nullifying their presence as if they are only compiler of data. Such a stance can appear like a ‘god-trick’ of “seeing without being seen” (McCall, 2002, p. 75), dismissing and obscuring the power-relations in editorial processes and the production of text. Furthermore McCall (2002) acknowledges that the historical asymmetric relations between non-Indigenous editor and researchers, and the Indigenous storytellers and participants (regardless whether or not friendship, trust, mutual responsibility and explicit claims of relinquishing researcher authority were involved), has often rendered the life history or narrative portrayal a “re-inscribed textual colonization and dominance” (p. 85). Many researchers, and Indigenous researchers in particular, are acutely aware of the complexities of editorial control, not easily solved in narrative-inquiry based research.

Russell Bishop (1996) tackles the issue of power and control in narrative inquiry research in his book *Collaborative research stories: Whakawhanaungatanga*. To avoid the constructing a ‘grand narratives’ by the researchers, Bishop conducts a meta-analysis of five kaupapa Māori research projects that utilise a ‘collaborative storying’ approach. Whakawhanaungatanga is used as a research strategy to: establish whānau relationships with participants; establish participant-driven approaches to power and control; and involve the researcher completely (physically, ethically, morally and spiritually) in the research project. Adhering to Māori cultural values and metaphors such as koha and hui, Bishop argues the whakawhanaungatanga research process is predicated on interconnectedness, commitment and engagement that shift the locus of control from the researcher to a participant-driven process. Bishop works with his participants to co-jointly construct meaning and create collaborative stories; the narratives contain both the voices of the researcher and participant/s in dialogue and illustrate how they make sense of the ‘data’. While Bishop’s collaborative stories draw on Māori concepts to lessen the imposition of the researcher and create culturally appropriate contexts for initiating the research, establishing research parameters, facilitating participation and addressing issues of accountability and representation, he also notes the ethnical complexities inherent in Māori projects that are reliant on real names and whakapapa information.

Collaborative stories (Bishop, 1996) represent another kaupapa Māori articulation of narrative research, but differ slightly from a pūrākau approach that primarily draws on practices of pūrākau. One key difference is that the responsibility for re-presenting the pūrākau rests with the researcher, who is expected to deliver the original narrative to its intended audience in a creative and engaging manner (so that it can fulfill its pedagogical intent), while always being accountable to the original story-teller (participant). An explanation of how the narratives were expressed and documented in this study follows.

Interviewing and writing process

In this thesis pūrākau were crafted from semi-structured ‘interviews’ with the teachers. The interviews were planned with each participant in a place of their choice, usually in their own homes or school settings. When I invited the Māori teachers to participate in this research, I told them I was interested in documenting the

roles that Māori teachers play and the work they do in secondary schools, in particular, their own experiences. Each person began his or her story at a different starting point, and emphasised different aspects of ako. As a retired principal, Awi Riddell reflected on his life as a student as a way of introducing the type of teacher he was to become and how he understood his service to Māori in schools. Chris Selwyn talked directly about the challenges he was currently facing at school and the sort of work that consumed much of his time, whereas Awa Hudson always framed her experiences within a political context.

Each person was interviewed at least four times, the duration of the interviews varied between one and a half hours to four hours. Usually the interviews were accompanied with food and time to exchange news. All interviews were audio taped and transcribed by myself. These were given back to participants for any editing or amendments. I also kept a journal of the times I conducted these interviews; these became my observation notes. I would not only record what I observed, but how I understood what I had seen or how I felt. Any other documentation (such as newspaper articles, newsletters, books and videos) the participants provided me also became part of my 'data'. Based on the interviews, observational notes and other documentation I composed a pūrākau drawing on the key messages that I understood they were sharing with me (and the wider audience). Finally the pūrākau of each person was returned to them for their approval. The teachers were again able to edit, delete or suggest changes. I attempted to strike a careful balance between retaining the original information, the important knowledge and key messages provided by the teachers, with my interpretation as the new narrator and researcher.

While each person in this study was able to make any changes to their pūrākau at any stage during the speaking and writing process, they also accepted that I was responsible for the re-telling. The Māori teachers understood and expected that their pūrākau would inevitably change shape through my interpretation and rearticulation of the 'story'. A pūrākau approach accepts that the participant's voice is central and the story must always be authenticated by the original storyteller. The process of representation however, is not merely a regurgitation of words; it always involves the input of, in this case the researcher – their ideologies, subjectivities and politics. In

this study the purposeful use of voice connects and separates the researcher and narrator's voice in ways that makes explicit the role of the researcher.

Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis's (1997) portraiture method offers literary ways to write in ways that make explicit the position and power of the researcher through the use of voice in the text. According to Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) voice is imprinted on both the process and product (the finished narrative). The notion of voice refers to the language used in the text, the participant's voices, and the narrative itself, and the researcher as the first person. Portraiture proposes six ways in which voice can be used in the narrative and are highly relevant to pūrākau in an effort to make explicit the position of the researcher. Briefly these points are summarised below:

Voice as witness. This involves the researcher as the discerning observer, the 'boundary sitter' who acts as a witness and gives expression through the development of the story. This voice is most evident in Chris Selwyn's pūrākau that is written in the form of a script between the researcher and participant.

Voice as interpretation. The authors distinguish between 'thin' and 'thick' description as uninterrupted data and thoughtful, perceptive interpretation. They also point out that, "... in making an interpretation, the portraitist must be vigilant about providing enough descriptive evidence in the text so the reader might be able to offer an alternative hypothesis, a different interpretation of the data" (p. 91). Voice as interpretation is about searching for meaning. This type of voice is used in all the pūrākau but most prominent in Awi Riddell and Awa Hudson's pūrākau in an effort to create an image of their character that in turn provides clues to how ako might function in their teaching practice. Interpreting the participant's surrounds, what they say (and don't say) and how they say it, become part the narrative I compose.

Voice as preoccupation. Preoccupation refers to the way in which the researcher is predisposed by her own bias, and the text is shaped by assumptions including disciplinary background, theoretical perspectives and intellectual interests. Following the tenets of kaupapa Māori, I have explicitly located myself in this thesis as the

researcher (beginning chapter one) and explained my interest and purpose in this topic. The preoccupation of voice in shaping this study is overtly Māori.

Voice as autobiography. This element expands on the previous one and reflects the autobiographical experiences of the researcher. However, this must not overwhelm the inquiry. Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) advise:

... this balance must be explicitly reflected in the text as the portraitist sketches enough of her story into the narrative to inform the reader about the filter she brings to her interpretation of the data ... this autobiographical story must be expressed with restraint, sketching only those dimensions that bear some relationship to the themes of the portrait (pp. 95-6).

The researcher's voice as autobiography seeks to enhance the readers' ability to form independent interpretations. I have attempted to attend to this voice by including and crafting my own pūrākau (in chapter three). In doing so, I have tried to constrain my autobiographical experiences to this particular narrative rather than encroach on the pūrākau of others.

Voice discerning other voices (listening for voice). This aspect implies that there are often other messages as well as those given direct voice by the actors. These include the resonance, the tone, the repertoire, the emotions, the silences and the gestures. As the authors put it, portraitists are intent on not only "listening *to* a story" but "listening *for* a story" (p. 99). A pūrākau approach lends itself to the discerning voice, as layers of meaning are implicit in the text, it is incumbent on the audience to listen for the story and its messages.

Voice in dialogue. Here the researcher declares her presence and lets her voice and that of the actor come together to show the developing relationship in the "dance of dialogue", and co-operatively "define meaning-making" (p. 103). This voice is used frequently in all the pūrākau in this thesis; the interaction between researcher and participant is an important part of understanding the pūrākau itself.

In sum, voice may be employed in many modalities to show different levels of presence of the portraitist in the text - ideal for pūrākau. In this thesis all the pūrākau appear in italics (as well as excerpts from the individual pūrākau used within the chapters) to distinguish the 'voice' of pūrākau. Consciously and clearly utilising

“voice/s” suits a pūrākau method because it encompasses the epistemological, ideological and cultural orientations of the researcher. Distinguishing between the use of different voices as suggested by Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis (1997) enables a clearer view of the role of the researcher and participant. The extent to which both people and groups of people have shaped and informed the story, as well as the views and theories that underpin the researchers approach can be made more explicit. The ‘granny story’ tendency that L. T. Smith (1999) warns of, may be muted by declaring of voices in the narrative itself. More importantly, understanding who speaks and how they speak assists the reader to better interpret and understand the ways Māori teachers draw on culture and utilise ako.

Beyond the pūrākau of the three Māori teachers interviewed for this thesis, I am cognisant that my own voice changes when I recall personal incidents or when different subjects are discussed in my own pūrākau. Pihama (2001) also recognises the variety in her voice or writing style in her own PhD thesis, which she explains differs because of her relationship with the material or information, whether it be deeply personal or highly theoretical. She argues that her use of pronouns, in particular ‘I’, and referring to people using their first names as well as their surnames purposefully locates herself in the text and rejects the notion of the objective, neutral researcher. Following Pihama’s lead, I have referred to the Māori teachers’ whose pūrākau appear in this study by their first names. The writers that I refer to and/or quote are usually introduced in full and thereafter referred to by surnames only to denote the more formal relationship (consistent with academic protocols) to the text. Like Pihama the tone of my voice also varies as the narrative negotiates through biographical, descriptive, interpretive, analytical, historical and reporting style text.

The pūrākau of three Māori teachers who were interviewed for this study appear in chapters four, five and six - much like a case study. My own pūrākau starts chapter three and tells of a lesson that was partly responsible for pursuing a study of ako. Maiki Marks’ paper is also included as a pūrākau, and appears in chapter five. The multi-dimensional and multi-purpose character of pūrākau enables Maiki’s paper to be included as pūrākau without issue. Composed for a mainly Māori audience, she crafts her narrative to engage, to challenge, and to push for change; she also uses the characteristics of pūrākau such as metaphor in her paper. Each of the pūrākau serves

to introduce the topic of the respective chapter and can be read as a discrete story. The discussion that follows within each chapter is not intended to provide a discourse analysis, pūrākau were never intended to be used in this way. Rather I draw on some of the key ideas or core elements, to explore historical moments that connect to the teachers' lives, and identify some of the contradictions and tensions between their pūrākau and the dominant discourses about Māori teachers and/or Māori students.

While each of these pūrākau provides insights into the lives of the Māori teacher, they were deliberately written to inspire, encourage, issue caution and promote learning – to practise ako. The pedagogy of pūrākau is a key reason pūrākau as methodology has been developed for this study (the relationship between ako and pūrākau is discussed in detail in chapter three). Pūrākau aims to provoke a thoughtful response and engage the audience so that they bring their own meanings and readings of the story. A pūrākau approach will not necessarily deliver all the answers. To engage in ako means that questions are often responded to with further questions. It is the intention of the storyteller to inspire the audience to continue thinking long after the story has ended, ako fosters the desire to learn, and the thirst for new knowledge. Pūrākau should stimulate reflective thinking so that readers might not only make their own interpretations and arrive at their own critical understanding by relating and connecting not only with the story, but in the process create and reflect on their own pūrākau.

Summary

To engage in a pūrākau approach is more than a desire to tell 'stories', recount anecdotes or add vignettes, but engage in a culturally responsive narrative approach to kaupapa Māori research. The task of the Indigenous bricoleur requires an analysis of the methodological context that includes the way colonisation has impacted on Māori narratives. Pūrākau were disregarded as legitimate knowledge, and promoted by many non-Māori researchers and writers as mythical tales. The mythologising of pūrākau had devastating and far-reaching consequences for Māori society and serves as an important reminder of how research is closely linked to issues of power, culture and identity.

Identifying pūrākau as a relevant narrative inquiry method is not merely a cultural preference, rather, it has also been selected in this study to respond to the socio-political research environment, in particular, the current evidence-based education context. Considered ‘proper’ scientific research, evidence-based research in England and the United States emphasise large, randomised controlled trials. While New Zealand also favours evidence-based research, the definition of ‘best evidence’ in the Ministry of Education’s BES series is awarded a much wider definition. Yet qualitative narrative-inquiry, of which pūrākau research is a part, still struggles to find acceptance in this evidence-based discourse because it cannot be easily measured, fixed or defined. The value of the wisdom, experiences and ‘stories’ of teachers is easily overlooked in this current research context. The preoccupation with Māori learners (as students who suffer disproportionate negative achievement outcomes) in the BES reports, further highlights the absence of Māori teachers. A pūrākau approach to re-searching and re-writing the stories of Māori teachers seeks to give ‘voice’ to their experiences that so often go unheard. Pūrākau also offers an opportunity to investigate ako in relation to Māori teachers’ pedagogy – cultural qualities that are often made peripheral in a system that is focused on ‘outcomes’. Pūrākau as methodology has developed in an effort to portray the culture of, as well as the culture generated by, Māori teachers.

While life history and portraiture as qualitative methods of narrative inquiry offer useful and creative approaches to the documentation of lived experiences, the Indigenous bricoleur draws on traditional protocols and practices of pūrākau to provide guidelines for Māori researchers to progress pūrākau in new domains. Māori have always been committed to preserving our traditional narratives as well as telling our contemporary stories in innovative and creative ways. Pūrākau aims to provide the stories of Māori teachers’ experiences, as well as the risks and dilemmas they face in their work, and in doing so, the extent to which ako operates.

Chapter Three

Ako: An educational framework

Introduction

This study is interested in the ways Māori teachers advance and adhere to ako in their pedagogical practice in secondary schools. Ako, however, can be rather elusive, because it relies on the interaction of a range of Māori cultural concepts and conditions. The nature of ako (and Māori teachers' work) is one the reasons why pūrākau is employed in this study – a study of ako cannot be definitively measured. This aspect of ako is often frustrating for educators who want clear directives, methods or strategies to better teach Māori students. I argue that ako is an educational framework made up of Māori values, beliefs, philosophies and practices, which create the cultural conditions for teaching and learning what it means to be Māori.

This chapter begins with a short pūrākau that tells of a personal experience that was an impetus for researching ako. When I was a teacher educator, primarily concerned with preparing Māori language teachers for secondary schools, I recited this 'story' many times to highlight the importance of fair and rational judgments in relation to assessment. As I have pondered over this incident new understandings have come to light, and I have come to understand it as a pūrākau. It was a turning point in my understanding of ako and a poignant reminder that pedagogy cannot simply be reduced to categories of knowledge or teaching and learning practices – which is often how ako is promoted within New Zealand educational literature.

In this chapter I will discuss the way ako is currently included in 'mainstream' educational literature, before analysing ako in traditional Māori society. In the

Ministry of Education literature ako has begun to appear more regularly, however, it is accorded little conceptual understanding. The narrow way ako is defined is very different to the way ako operated in traditional Māori society. It was the strength of Māori cultural values, beliefs and knowledge, as well as the cohesiveness of social structures in Māori society that produced an array of pedagogical practices. Given the expansive nature of ako, I have focused on the teaching and learning that occurred within the tūpuna-mokopuna relationship because this is the stage most relevant to the wider discussion of Māori teachers' work with children. Understanding ako as a pedagogical framework in traditional Māori society enables a basis for recognising, discussing and analysing some of the enduring characteristics of ako that are explored in Māori teachers' work today. I argue that ako is a cultural teaching and learning, that will come closer to meeting Māori educational aspirations that foreground the retention of Māori language and culture.

Closely associated with ako because of its own pedagogical qualities, pūrākau as methodology continues in this chapter. Vested with vast amounts of knowledge about the physical and metaphysical realms, everyday activities and specialised events, cultural codes of conduct and worldviews, pūrākau were a common, accessible, and regular feature of teaching and learning. Pūrākau was one of the key ways through which ako occurred. Theorising pūrākau in relation to ako, further supports pūrākau research as methodological, and assists in understanding the purpose of pūrākau to investigate Māori teachers' pedagogy.

Pūrākau of Jenny Lee

Ako: Is it in your heart?

In 1994 I was a young, enthusiastic Māori language teacher, with two years classroom experience. Although there had been widespread opposition by Māori teachers, the School Certificate⁴⁴ Māori language exam changed from an external oral assessment to an internally-assessed achievement-based model. Māori teachers grieved the loss of the few opportunities left for Māori teachers and students to hui together (despite the examination conditions), to participate in whakawhanaungatanga (forging kinship relationships), and for the hosting school to express in full, the concept of manaakitanga. Whereas previously, external Māori language assessors had graded students on their oral language (50% of the total grade), the responsibility for assessment of the oral part now shifted to the individual teachers themselves.

By default (other eligible teachers had not attended this particular meeting), I was appointed by the Auckland Māori Teachers' Association to be the chief moderator of School Certificate Māori for our region. I was not thrilled about the prospect of more work, without time allocation, monetary reward or recognition. However, I viewed my responsibilities very seriously, since I was charged with the task of teaching more than 50 Māori language teachers in the Auckland region, the latest assessment method that was to be implemented that same year. The shift in assessment type was to have immediate and direct impact on teaching and learning Māori language, especially for the students.

As I recall, training to be the chief moderator involved attending one, perhaps two hui held in Wellington. At these hui, with other Māori language moderators from throughout the country, we were to discuss the criteria of achievement at each level. The New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) in conjunction with members of the Whakaruruhau group⁴⁵ had written the criteria. The overall descriptors of

⁴⁴ School Certificate was the Year 11 national examination was replaced in 2002 by National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) Level One.

⁴⁵ The Whakaruruhau group was made up of selected Māori language teachers and representatives from throughout the country.

achievement were not more than one sentence, distinguished mostly by the adjectives ‘good’, ‘very good’ and ‘excellent’.

The training process involved a discussion of the criteria in conjunction with the viewing of a poor quality video recording of several students speaking. Each moderator then awarded the students a grade from 1 to 5 depending on their level of competency. In a consensual type of approach, some of the people in the hui informed the rest of the group the grade they had awarded each of the students, as well as the reasons why they had achieved that particular grade. While this discussion provided some explanation about each standard of achievement, there was a growing level of unease amongst a small group of the younger and newer teachers. To us, there seemed to be no clear differentiation between a level 1 and 2, or level 2 and 3; there was no defining ‘evidence’.

At this time many of the Māori teachers involved in this hui were of kaumātua (elder) status. They had been teachers for many years and were widely respected in wider cultural forums as Māori language and cultural experts. As the discussion about the appropriate grades for each oral exemplar ensued I became increasingly frustrated at the rationale people provided. People were more likely to say ‘Level 2. Ae, i tino mōhio te akonga’ (Yes, this student is very competent), and others would nod in agreement. As a young Māori-Chinese woman, and a second language learner of Māori, I eventually built up the courage to ask one of the older women, “E kui,⁴⁶ what is it that makes the difference between whether a student has achieved a Level 2 or Level 3?” The reply I received has stuck firmly in my memory for many years now. As she looked over the top of her glasses at me the kuia (old woman) replied (with a hint of irritation in her voice), “Well, you just know in your heart, dear!”

⁴⁶ ‘E kui’ means ‘old woman’ but is used as a sign of respect of her kaumātua (elder) status.

Ako in the ‘mainstream’

Just over ten years ago, Kathie Irwin lamented the lack of recognition accorded to Māori educational philosophies and pedagogies. She wrote:

There is a Māori education system which predates the New Zealand education system. As a feature of colonization, the Māori education tradition has been written out of what counts as education in this country (Irwin, Davies, & Carkeek, 1996, p. 65).

Ako was a critical part of the Māori education system that Irwin (1996) refers to above. Since then, however, ako has begun to appear more regularly in mainstream educational literature, forums, resources and teaching strategies. Its popularity though can be likened to a fashion in the New Zealand education scene (Lee, 2005), determined partly through ‘demand’ and by those who ‘produce’ and ‘market’ the latest educational trends. While the intention to recognise ako and include it in the mainstream may be considered laudable, ako often appears in a fragmented and piecemeal way, making the ‘Māori education system’ that Irwin refers to above ‘count’ – but for very little. In brief, ako can be found in the following literature.

Ako features in a diagram on the home page of the ‘Te Tere Auraki – Māori in Mainstream’ website (Ministry of Education, 2005c).⁴⁷ ‘Te Tere Auraki’ (which means to ‘navigate the mainstream river’) is a strategy aimed at improving educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream schools that primarily concentrates on assisting teachers to improve the teaching of Māori students. Reproduced in the Ministry of Education’s (2006a) *2005 Ngā haeata mātauranga: Annual report on Māori education*. (p. 85), this diagram (see Figure 1) shows four discrete strands of professional development currently being promoted. These are:

Te Kauhua professional development project. Te Kauhua begun in 2001, and has had more than 30 schools and 350 teachers, principals and community members participating in programmes that aim to improve Māori students’ engagement with learning at school. According to the Ministry of Education (2007a) key outcomes of Te Kauhua include, “strengthened principal leadership, enhanced teacher efficacy,

⁴⁷ This is a government funded website which forms one of the key links in the Ministry of Education’s (2007h) website ‘Te Kete Ipurangi’ (On-line Learning Centre). Te Kete Ipurangi (TKI) is a bilingual portal-plus web community, which provides educational materials for New Zealand schools, and the wider education community.

improved school practices, improved academic and social outcomes for Māori students, enhanced whānau-school relationships and evidence of structural and systemic change to support sustainable practices” (p. 25)

Te Kōtahitanga Year 9 and 10 research and professional development project.

This project also commenced in 2001 as a research project that interviewed Māori students, Māori parents, teachers and principals about the barriers to learning facing Māori students in years 9 and 10. Based on this research, a professional development programme for teachers was created that focused on challenging the deficit views about Māori students, building strong relationships with their Māori students, and introducing particular teaching strategies and practices. (This project is explored in depth in chapter six.)

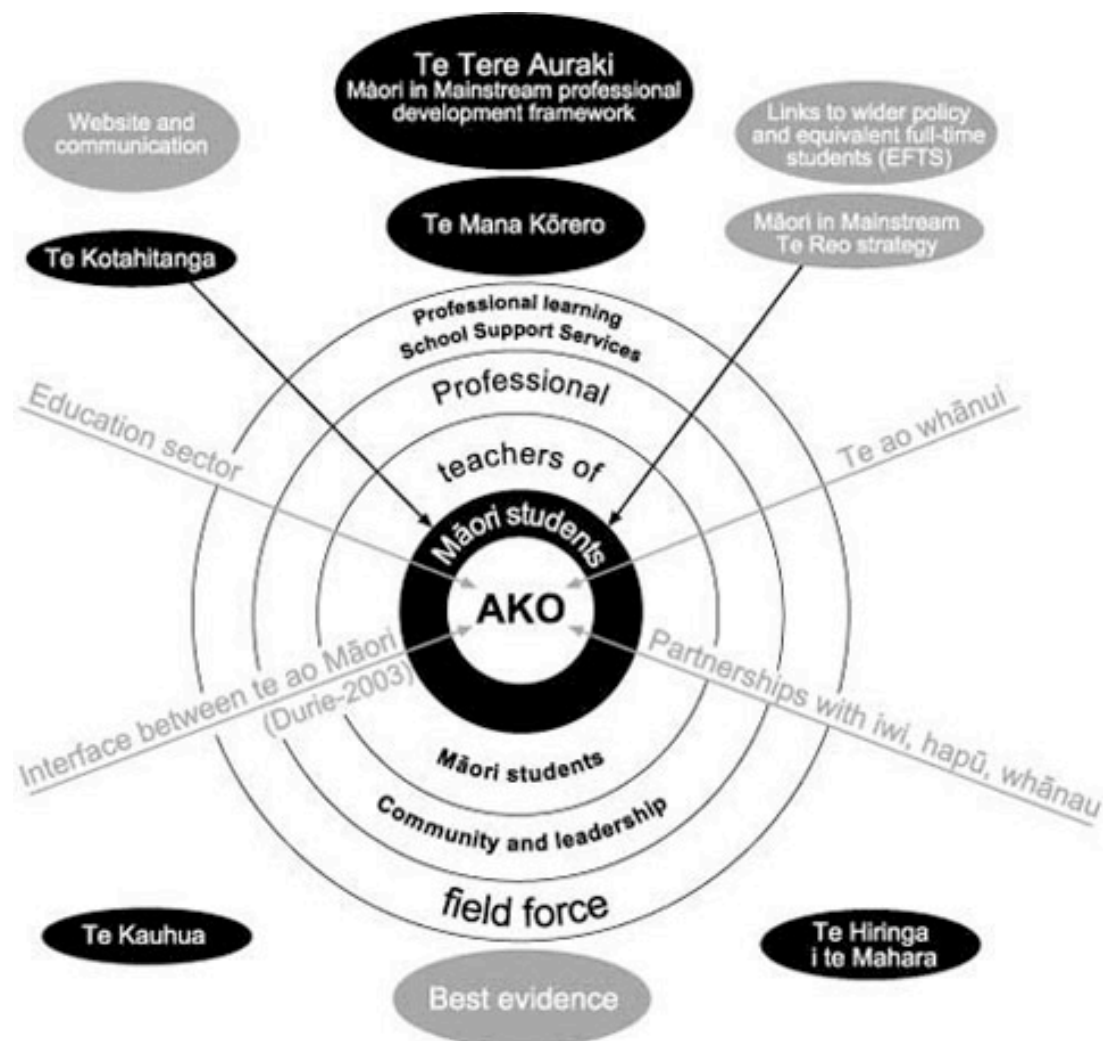
Te Mana Kōrero Video packages and workshops through School Support Services.

This is a series of video, DVD, handbook type resources that provide practical guidance for teachers to improve Māori students’ achievement. In 2003, *Teachers make a difference for Māori students* video and handbook was produced. This resource pack aimed to encourage teachers to build better relationships with their Māori students and reflect on their own teaching practices. *Relationships for learning* is the third resource package, it suggests ways for schools to develop successful partnerships with whānau. These resources are implemented by contracted school supply advisors as well as Ministry of Education’s pouwhakataki (Māori liaison officers) and pouherenga (iwi liaison advisors).

Te Hiringa i te Mahara professional development.

As previously mentioned, this initiative aims to address Māori teachers’ workload by providing various learning opportunities for Māori teachers to improve teaching practice and increase their leadership capacity.

Figure 1. Te Tere Auraki – Māori in the mainstream



(Ministry of Education, 2005c)

It is significant that ako features as the common denominator amongst these professional development initiatives and stakeholders as key to facilitating success for Māori students. Ako becomes the central element that cuts across educational sectors, dissolves the distances and differences between tribal boundaries, and provides the interface between the Māori world and global scene in which Māori students will operate and live. Given the centrality of ako, one might expect the way ako will accomplish these educational feats and its relationship to the respective professional development programmes to be fully explained. Yet ako is rarely accompanied by an in-depth explanation or description when included in the Ministry of Education literature. Like fashion, the impact of a latest trend is sometimes only ‘style-deep’.

In one of the professional development initiatives of ‘Te Tere Auraki’, the *Te Mana Kōrero: Teachers making a difference for Māori students* kit (Ministry of Education, 2002b), *ako* makes only a fleeting appearance. The aim of this teacher kit is to improve Māori student achievement by facilitating discussion and modelling through the ‘voices’ of teachers two key messages: “a strong belief in high expectations – Māori students can and do achieve”; and “teachers make the difference” (p. 2). Three Māori terms frame the approach in this resource, ‘Manaakitanga’, ‘Wānanga’ and ‘Ako’. Each Māori concept is afforded a four to five word explanation; *ako* is simply defined as “our teaching and learning” (p. 1). *Ako* appears as the header for three sections: reflecting on how we teach; developing expectations; and exploring the curriculum. Beyond serving as a section header, *ako* does not play any greater role; it becomes a tokenistic inclusion, merely a translation for teaching and learning. In this resource kit, *ako* is reduced to a convenient category that adds an attractive Māori flavour to a conventional (western informed) resource for Māori students.

In 2006/2007 *Ngā haeata mātauranga: Annual report on Māori education* (Ministry of Education, 2007a), *ako* appears often. *Ako* is described as one of the three theoretical concepts underpinning the Te Kauhua professional development model.⁴⁸ Defined here as “the Māori principle for teaching and learning” (p. 26), the emphasis on *ako* in this context means that the teacher is not expected to be the fountain of all knowledge. Rather students, parents and others can participate in teaching (and learning). However, in the same report (Ministry of Education, 2007a), *ako* is described in a slightly different way. In reference to ‘Overview of ka hikitia – Managing for success: The draft Māori education strategy 2008-2012’, *ako* is described as “effective teaching”, and a “crucial area of focus” (Ministry of Education, 2007a, p. 94). The report states:

Ako, in the draft strategy [*Ka Hikitia – Managing for success*], is understood as effective teaching and learning for Māori. It refers to teaching and learning where educators’ practices are informed by the latest research and are both deliberate and reflective. *Ako* refers to teaching practice that is grounded in the principle of reciprocity, where all partners in the learning process are both a learner and a teacher (Ministry of Education, 2007a, p. 73).

⁴⁸ The other two theoretical concepts are ‘culture counts’ and ‘productive partnerships’ (Ministry of Education, 2007a, p. 26).

This statement is consistent with the actual use of ako in ‘Overview of ka hikitia – Managing for success: The draft Māori education strategy 2008-2012’, where it states:

Within early childhood education and schooling the key to *effective learning* is ako. Key aspects of ako are:

- culture counts – knowing where students come from and building on what students bring with them
- productive partnerships – Māori students, families, whānau and educators working together to produce better outcomes (in Ministry of Education, 2007a, p. 164, emphasis added).

While ako can incorporate these definitions, the explanations given to ako are rather narrow and limited. It is also interesting to note that whereas Māori teachers used to be viewed as “crucial” by the Ministry of Education, ako is now promoted as the key to improving Māori educational outcomes.

The notoriety of ako in mainstream New Zealand educational literature rests largely on the understanding that it means ‘to teach and to learn’ (Pere, 1994). In the glossary of *Ka hikitia – Managing for success: The draft Māori education strategy 2008-2012*, ako is also defined in this way (Ministry of Education, 2007c, p. 47). Similarly, the *Quality Teaching Early Foundations: Best Evidence Synthesis* (Farquhar, 2003) uses this definition of ako. Farquhar (2003) writes “The learner and the teacher cooperate as one towards a shared goal” (p. 7). However, apart from drawing attention to co-constructivist approaches (McNaughton, 1995) and other partnership models of leaning,⁴⁹ ako is not granted any further discussion.

Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and Richardson’s (2003) study *Te Kōtahitanga: The experiences of year 9 and 10 Māori student in mainstream classrooms* (funded by the Ministry of Education), also includes ako. Based on research that included interviews with principals (4), teachers (80), parents (50), with a special focus on the views of Māori students (70) across four schools (urban and rural), an ‘Effective Teaching Profile’ (ETP) was developed. The ETP became a central part of the intervention

⁴⁹ See Farquhar (2003, pp. 7-9) for a summary of the influential socio-cultural theories and models of learning in early childhood education.

model aimed at improving educational outcomes of Māori students at year 9 and 10 in ‘mainstream’ secondary schools. Ako appeared as one of the six elements (all of which are Māori concepts) of the ETP.

In *Te Kōtahitanga*, ako refers to teaching and learning strategies that create “culturally appropriate and responsive contexts for learning” (p. 112). These strategies are: narrative pedagogy; co-operative learning; formative assessment; student-generated questioning; oral language/literacy across the curriculum; integrated curricula; critical reflection and; ako. As a strategy, ako again centres on the notion of the interrelationship between teaching and learning. The authors state:

Ako is about the reciprocity of a person being both a learner and a teacher according to the teaching/learning context. In this practice the teacher does not have to be the fount of all knowledge, but rather a partner in the ‘conversation’ of learning (Bishop et al., 2003, p. 114).

While each of the aforementioned strategies (included in the ako section) highlight the importance of the learner in the student-teacher relationship, these teaching strategies do not necessarily derive from an ako framework. Instead, ako appears merely to provide a useful umbrella for which these strategies can be grouped together.

G. H. Smith (1997) notes that the recognition of ako as a conceptual relationship between teaching and learning is a relatively ‘new’ idea, previously considered by most western educationalists as two separate activities. Instead ako describes the pedagogy of both teacher and learner, which does not privilege the discourse of one or the other - both are seen as integral, inseparable and interchangeable. Paulo Freire’s (1987) literacy work, in particular, drew attention to the relationship between what teachers teach and the productive meanings that students bring to the same activity. Through what Freire and Macedo (1987) refer to as the ‘pedagogical encounter’, the interactional nature of teaching/learning, including writing, talking and debating cannot be understood as if only the teachers actively produce knowledge and students passively receive knowledge.

As part of a wider understanding of the processes of teaching and learning, and in an effort to address the on-going educational disparities experienced by Māori learners, it

appears that ako has a newfound popularity in New Zealand. However the way ako has been utilised in the aforementioned literature treats ako as a simple translation, rather than a term that requires conceptual understanding. Despite the recent fame of ako, to Māori it is neither new nor so narrowly defined.⁵⁰

Ako in traditional Māori society

Derived from a Māori cultural framework, ako can be understood as an activity in which every person is engaged from the time they are born (if not before) to the time they die (Pere, 1994, p. 54). Apart from the more formal teaching and learning that took place between tohunga (experts) and taura (students),⁵¹ the notion of ako was not bound by age, gender or social status. Unlike the New Zealand education system today where qualified teaching professionals teach students who are formally grouped by age and subject in separate school or institutions, to be a learner (and teacher) in the widest sense in traditional Māori society was inclusive, extensive, co-operative, reciprocal and obligatory. Metge (1984) refers to the all-encompassing nature of ako as “education through exposure” (p. 3). She describes teaching and learning as “informal, semi-continuous, embedded in the ongoing life of the community, open and inclusive” (Metge, 1984, p. 3). Everyone was in a constant state of teaching and learning (with the exception of those in a formal whare wānanga environment) because the collective, not only the individual, gained to benefit through ako and the transmission of knowledge (Nepe, 1991).

The ever-present nature of teaching and learning in traditional Māori society meant that ako could not be described or limited to a finite set of educative practices. It was not a process that stood in isolation from everyday Māori life, instead like other Māori cultural concepts, ako found meaning in the interaction with other Māori cultural notions (Pere, 1994). Ako was also determined by the physical landscape, the social context and resources of the group, and encompassed within specific whakapapa, whānau, hapū, and iwi relationships. The process of ako was largely governed by what knowledge was to be exchanged, for whose benefit the knowledge was to be transmitted, and between whom the exchange was to occur.

⁵⁰ The concept of ako is also not new to Pasifika peoples. In the Tongan culture ako means to learn to behave appropriately according to one’s various roles and status, with an emphasis on learning through observing, listening and imitating others (Hipkins et al., 2002).

⁵¹ Taura is used to describe learners in the whare wānanga context (G. H. Smith, 1987).

Ako does not, however, only describe pedagogical processes or practices. In its widest sense, ako refers to a Māori educational framework that was integral in the protection, sustenance and transmission of knowledge, shaped by what was collectively deemed necessary and important. Based on conversations with kaumātua from various regions, Barlow (1991) explains the concept of akoranga (the lessons transmitted through ako) in the following way:

Akoranga refers to the traditional teachings of a tribe, covering both spiritual values and social rules of conduct, with particular emphasis on the ethical values which are handed down by tribal elders to succeeding generations. Such values or teachings are often specific to a particular tribal group, but in all those there are values that can be applied to Māori people as a whole (p. 3).

In other words, ako facilitated the retention and development of knowledge that was necessary to the social, cultural, economic, political as well as spiritual sustenance of whānau, hapū and iwi groupings. The mana and identity of each group was dependent on the way in which ako was practised, protected and progressed.

Ako: Teacher-learner relationships

Ako is grounded in, and dependent on, relationships. In an effort to improve educational outcomes in schooling, there has been an emphasis in recent years on the importance of relationships between teachers and their students (Alton-Lee, 2003; Bishop et al., 2003; Carpenter, McMurchy-Pilkington, & Sutherland, 2002) (Ladson-Billings, 1994). In New Zealand, Hawk, Cowley, Hill and Sutherland (2001) identified the establishment of effective relationships to be a critical factor in teaching Māori and Pasifika students. Based on the results of three separate research projects conducted during 1999-2000 that focused on Māori and Pasifika students in lower socio-economic areas within the Auckland region, the findings revealed that a common denominator to engaging and motivating students in their learning was the existence of a positive relationship between teacher and student, whether it be at primary, secondary or tertiary level.⁵² The characteristics of this relationship, however, tended to only describe the attitudes and attributes of the teacher (towards the students) rather than characteristics of the relationship itself. Components of the 'effective relationship' were: empathy; caring; respect; commitment (described as

⁵² The three separate studies were conducted at a primary school, secondary school and tertiary institution. Each study differed in terms of size, sample, coverage and methodology (Hawk et al., 2001).

‘going the extra mile’); passion to enthuse/motivate; patience and perseverance; and a (teacher’s) belief in their ability (students). While ‘relationships’ are uncovered as key to pedagogical practice (especially with minority students), to Māori relationships have always been fundamental to understanding the world around us. In traditional Māori society, pedagogical relationships went well beyond the ‘friendly’ or ‘effective’ teacher, rather each individual was immediately born into a complex web of relationships, in which the teacher-learner dynamic was only one.

An emphasis on the perpetual, seamless and life-long nature of teaching and learning in traditional Māori society ako could easily be misunderstood as if it occurred in an unorganized and completely ad hoc fashion. On the contrary, knowledge and education were highly valued, controlled and conducted through various learner-teacher relationships. Beyond the formally sanctioned systems of education that occurred in specific locations between tribal experts and carefully selected apprentices in *whare wānanga*,⁵³ the Māori kinship structure, namely *whānau*, provided the primary basis of the teaching-learning relationships.

Whānau was (and continues to be) the fundamental social unit in Māori society. Generally, *whānau* as extended family is understood as a family grouping that consists of up to three or four generations in which the elders play an important leadership role (Henare, 1988). *Whānau* might number between 20 to 30 people who live in their own *papakainga* (homestead) or village settlement (Walker, 2004). Within this social unit, *whānau* structures provided the basis for the inculcation of cultural and social values. The knowledge that was taught and learned had to keep the *whānau* active, safe and well within the wider *hapū* and *iwi* setting and physical environment. Knowledge systems, codes of behaviour, worldviews and societal norms were reinforced within the *whānau* and sustained through intergenerational living. Furthermore, the protection and regeneration of knowledge was vital to the survival of the *whānau* whose over-arching aim was to become a strong, self-sufficient social unit. *Ako* relates to teaching and learning life skills for the benefit of the *whānau* or group (G. H. Smith, 1987).

⁵³ *Whare wānanga* were traditional houses of specialist learning of sacred knowledge (Hemara, 2000).

As Hoskins (2005) points out, the structure of whānau was (and still is) a pedagogical model for processes of teaching and learning. Each individual was socialized within these close familial relationships; the whānau system also ensured accountability, responsibility and reciprocity amongst its members (Pihama et al., 2003). Nepe (1991) explains:

By virtue of his/her birthright each member is automatically born into a multiplicity of obligatory reciprocal commitments. What it means for each member is security in knowing who one is, where one originated from and to whom one is reciprocally obligated and committed to (p. 22).

It was the whānau that provided one's immediate social surroundings, as well as sense of belonging and identity.

Within the whānau structure several discrete roles can be distinguished that affected the sorts of educative relationships that occurred. Nepe (1991) identifies the following whānau relationships as central in the transmission of knowledge in traditional Māori society:

- kaumātua-kuia (elders)
- matua-whaea (parents)
- tuakana-teina (elder and younger siblings of the same gender)
- tuahine-tungane (siblings of different gender)
- tama-tamahine (children)
- tīpuna whaea/tīpuna matua-mokopuna (grandparents – grandchildren).

Each set of these relationships highlight different teaching and learning intentions and outcomes. The tuakana-teina relationship, for example, draws attention to ascribed roles and responsibilities to each other as older and younger siblings (of the same gender). The eldest son (tuakana) may have particular whaikōrero responsibilities, whereas the eldest daughter (tuakana) may be expected to carry out the particular duties. The younger brothers and sisters (teina) had their own duties and tasks and may only have stepped into the tuakana (older siblings) roles when their elder siblings were not present. Similarly, the tuahine-tungane relationship concerns the complementary and supportive roles men and women (as brother and sisters) were expected to play. The complexities and inter-connectedness of these kinship relationships is vital to understanding the way in which ako operated.

While each group had a significant role to play as part of the collective, Nepe (1991) argues that *tīpuna whaea/tīpuna matua-mokopuna*, were the most fundamental of these relationships with regard to teaching and learning of children. Whereas the *matua-whaea* (parents and other adults) were expected to provide for the community's most basic needs including growing, harvesting crops, hunting and fishing, building whare and so forth, the *tīpuna whaea/tīpuna matua* became the primary caregivers. The children were usually left for long periods of time in the care of the elders and developed, what Nepe (1991) describes as "the most intimately bonded" (p. 30) relationships through the daily nurturing, and teaching and learning practices.

Communal living based on collective responsibilities also meant that the care of the children did not reside exclusively in one or two sets of grandparents (or the parents). Inter-tribal relationships often resulted in the nurturing of *mokopuna* by a wider group of *kaumātua*. In Amiria Stirling's biography, recorded by Salmond (1976), she recalls the way in which she was warmly received when she went to live with her *kuia*. She says,

... all the old people round the marae thought I was their *mokopuna*, they owned me. They'd say to the old lady, 'If you go somewhere, give us the *mokopuna Pākehā* to look after' (p. 3).⁵⁴

According to Stirling, everyone was happy to claim and care for her. Rangimarie Pere's (1994) experiences also describe a community of adult care. She says it was not uncommon for children to disappear from their own home for few days, because every home in the *whānau* was welcoming to the children. Furthermore, if there was conflict at home, other *whānau* were able to act as mediators and provide a sanctuary for the child. Respected for their knowledge, understanding and experience, the elders also provided wise counsel to the younger generations. Walker (2004) adds that the death or desertion of a parent was not considered a traumatic event because of the care the *whānau* could provide. Hence, collective nurturing, and education was a customary feature of Māori life.

The importance of *tīpuna* (ancestor/s) in the formative years of childhood has also been documented by Te Rangi Hiroa (1982), Papakura (1938), Nepe (1991), Pere (1994), Edwards (1990), Marsden (2003), Walker (2004), Hemara (2000), and

⁵⁴ Amiria Stirling was referred to as *mokopuna Pākehā* here because of her red hair and fair skin (Salmond, 1976).

Pihama et al. (2003). The tīpuna were viewed as vital because they formed a conduit to cultural knowledge. The knowledge exchanged between elder and child was central to the sustenance of identity and social purpose. Children were instilled with a sense of pride and connectedness to their respective group, they learnt values and attitudes such as respect, unselfishness and hospitality that underpinned appropriate behaviour towards other people as well as their natural environment. In short, Nepe (1991) says:

the tīpuna has the role of transmitting to the mokopuna knowledge that will develop the child's intellect to 'think Māori' as well as to nurture the child's wairua to 'feel and be Māori' (p. 31).

Ako was embedded within these intimate familial relationships that precipitated the cultural conditions for teaching and learning knowledge, skills and abilities but instilling a sense of identity. Children were made to feel a sense of belonging, as well as honour and privilege, as part of the whānau and wider tribal group (Pere, 1994), children learnt what it is meant *to live as Māori*.

While childhood was considered an important educative phase, Māori believed that even while the child was still in the womb the teaching and learning could begin (Pere, 1994). Waiata, karakia (incantations), and kōrero were shared with the unborn child. Sometimes important instructions or expectations were delivered at this time. Mohi Turei of Rangitukia recounts that Tuwhakairiora of Ngāti Porou took heed of his mother's pre-natal directions to avenge his grandfather's death (cit. in Hemara, 2000, p. 10). Children were considered the greatest resources of the whānau and tribe, and were therefore cherished and cared for throughout, even before birth.

It was during the stage of tama-tamahine (children) development that ako was vital. Children were regarded as precious members of the community and were accorded special status. Pere (1991) argues that the importance of children is embedded in the word 'tamariki'. She says:

Tama is derived from Tama-te-ra the central sun, the divine spark; ariki refers to senior most status, and riki on its own can mean smaller version ... children are the greatest legacy the world community has (p. 4).

Deemed to be one of the greatest treasures in a family, family violence against children was not accepted and extremely rare. Papakura (1938), Hiroa (1982) and Salmond (1991) concur that children were never neglected or physically beaten but

treated with kindness. Salmond (1991) notes that both male and females cared for the children, whom she describes, were treated indulgently. Pere (1994) describes the treatment of Māori children as being encircled by aroha.

Aroha is described by Pere (1994) as an infinite and unconditional love. She recounts her own experiences of an open display of warmth and affection towards children and babies from both men and women in the whānau. Aroha as integral to ako is highlighted within the special relationship between tīpuna-mokopuna, where teaching and learning was based on a depth of genuine caring and sharing. Pere (1994) explains:

The commitment of 'aroa' is vital to whanaungatanga and the survival of what the group sees as important. Loyalty, obligation, commitment, and inbuilt support system made the whānau a strong stable unit, within the hapū, and consequently the tribe (p. 26).

In the context of aroha within the whānau, Papakura (1938) argues that completing duties in the home was 'pleasurable' because children had strong bonds of aroha with their parents and elders which meant that they wanted to behave in ways that showed initiative and supported the family. For instance, Papakura says that children took pride in getting up early and lighting the fire each morning without having to be woken by their parents or grandparents. Aroha worked in conjunction with other cultural values surrounding the child in an environment that kept them safe and secure, and motivated for success. Aroha as nurturing and caring also formed a core cultural value that binds together and operationalises the whānau, and a quality that is vital in the educative process.

Children were the centre of the Māori community because they were considered the 'life line' between the past and the future, the well-being and sustainability of the whānau depended on the children acquiring competencies, and the adults and elders inspiring commitment. Metge (1995) draws on the metaphor of the pā harakeke (flax bush) to describe the way in which children were viewed:

Like fans in the flax bush, parent-child families in the whānau share common roots and drives strength and stability as part of a larger collective. Like rito, children are the hope of continuity ... they represent life's yearning for itself – the future. Like the flax bush the familial systems of whānau, hapū and iwi enter cycles of birth, death and regeneration. In this sense new life is made possible by the old (p. 16).

Children were at the heart of the whānau, they were considered vital in the sustenance of wider social relationships, stability of the collective, as well as development of hapū and iwi.

Pere (1994) argues that the strong inter-generational connection between tūpuna-mokopuna is evident in the actual words, which share the common word ‘puna’ meaning ‘a water spring’. This metaphor provides an understanding of the way the grandparents are responsible for the sustenance of the ‘spring of knowledge’, ‘feeding’ the mokopuna in ways that will enable the ‘spring’ to continue to flow with vitality and strength. Pere reiterates that the ‘puna’ provides continuity and sustenance between the past and future generations. The strong connection between the elders and children is further supported by Metge (1984), she likens the connection between the tūpuna and a particular child as a taura (rope), in what she refers to as the apprenticeship/tutorial strategy. She says “this moko taura is attached to the grandparents as by a rope and is him or herself the lifeline linking the old people to their descendants” (p. 4). Both metaphors of the puna (spring) and taura highlight the important link between the tūpuna and mokopuna.

In turn, ako relationships within the whānau existed within the wider framework of whakapapa. Often translated as ‘genealogy’ (Ryan, 1989), whakapapa was more than an issue of identity through genealogical connections; rather it provided a way in which to locate oneself in relation to other whānau, hapū and iwi as well as the natural and metaphysical worlds. Whakapapa provides explanations for the origins and present position of all animate and inanimate things, and sets up a relational framework that is not linear or strictly chronological, but governed by notions of reciprocity (Pihama, 2001). Whakapapa also informed relationships with the natural environment and spiritual realm through Papatūānuku, Ranginui and the many atua Māori. Pere (1994) explains:

Traditionally every adult person was expected to know and to be able to trace descent back to the tribal ancestor ... The rights and the claims that an individual could make to the resources of the group she or he related to, or identified with, depended on such knowledge (p. 11).

The more knowledgeable one was about his or her whakapapa provided social advantages. Whakapapa information was regarded as crucial, and learned people in

whakapapa were highly respected. In relation to ako, whakapapa was a pivotal cultural framework because it informs who we are, how we are connected to each other, what it means in our social relationships with others, and why it matters.

In sum, teacher-student relationships did not exist outside of the whānau, hapū, iwi and whakapapa structure. These intricate and over-lapping relationships provided the context and determined the content and pedagogical practices employed by both the teachers and learners. Ako rested on the strength of the whānau and wider whakapapa relationships to generate a commitment to life-long teaching and learning for the collective welfare, mana and sustainability of the group and their natural environment.

Inclusive Pedagogies

One of the ways that the seamlessness of ako was managed within the teacher-learner relationships was through the informality and inclusiveness that surrounded learning. One of the key pedagogical principles of ako was that children and adolescents were never excluded in everyday contexts, including formal social gatherings and adult conversations (Hiroa, 1982). Education through exposure, to borrow Metge's (Metge, 1984) phrase, meant that children had ample opportunities to learn how to participate and contribute as a valued member of the whānau and wider tribal group. Children were exposed to etiquette, protocols, family and tribal knowledge as well as the rituals of whaikōrero, karanga (calling), waiata, and so forth, in their everyday activities on the marae and in the kainga. Children, however, were not necessarily passive in their inclusion in these daily activities and group events, but were attended to accordingly as participants. In 1822, Marsden reports that he was surprised to see very young children participating in discussions with adults. The children were fully engaged, listening attentively and posing questions. The adults also considered their questions thoughtfully and responded seriously (Hemara, 2000).

Ako was not just a pedagogy of exposure, but it also provided opportunity and incentive to participate. Cultural values such as whānaungatanga and aroha emphasized the importance of group cohesiveness, which encouraged young people to take part in activities such as waiata with the adults and elders. The ability to contribute and participate with the adults was a source of pride and mana to the individual as well as the wider collective (Hiroa, 1982). Ako was inter-dependent on

the cultural values and social practices from which Māori societal structures operated, in turn, Māori society relied on ako to maintain and continue these structures, customs, values, beliefs and worldviews.

In Pere's (1994) book entitled *Ako: Concepts and learning in the Māori tradition* she describes some of the traditional modes of teaching and learning (based on her own education by her kaumātua). The discussion centres around the key principles that form the basis of a Tūhoe-Pōtiki and Kahungunu (her tribal groups) worldview. She stresses the way in which the process of traditional teaching and learning can only be viewed in relationship with other cultural modes. Pere (1994) discusses 30 Māori concepts, in some depth, in an effort to explain the way ako operated. These concepts are:

Whakapapa	Reciting things in order, creation myth, genealogy
Wairua	Spirituality and associated beliefs
Te Reo	Language and its importance, kinship and tribal identity
Whenua	Placenta, land and its significance
Ohaoha	Production, distribution and consumption of goods, work roles
Whanaungatanga	Kinship ties, obligations, loyalty, caring and sharing
Papakainga	Territory occupied by a kinship group, associated customs
Mauri	Life principle of inanimate and animate things, associated customs
Tangihanga - Hahunga	Ceremonial mourning, exhumation, associated beliefs
Mana	Psychic influence, control, prestige, power vested and acquired authority
Noa	Principle applied to everyday living and complex
Tapu	Protection, social control, ceremonial restriction
Hui	To congregate, assemble, meet, plunder and to perform rituals
Kai	Consume, eat, drink, food and associated beliefs
Ngā tikanga	Rules, plans, customs, methods, and approaches
Hakari	Entertainment, feast, gifts, display of food and associated beliefs

Tīpuna-mokopuna	Ancestors, grandparents, descendants, grandchildren, close links
Matapuna	Source of a river, learning, transmission of a culture
Ngā mātua	Parenthood, parenting, distribution of responsibilities
Waiora	Health, total well-being and associated beliefs
Ahu	Course of direction, role of tending and fashioning something
Maunga Kōrero	Role of the most senior people in teaching
Mahi	Vocation, make, prepare, perform
Tamarikitanga	Childhood, caring for the young
Ahi	Fire, ceremonial rituals, role of the most senior women
Āwhina	Embrace, cherish, assist, benefit, to care for humanity generally
Taonga	Possessions, property, anything highly prized, arts, crafts
Tohu	Omens, proof, mark of recognition, direct, instruct, recommended
Manaaki	Respect, kindness, hospitality, quality of life
Mātauranga	Education, to learn and acquire skills, to experience

Although Pere only provides an overview of each concept she signalled the depth and complexity of each, as well as, the intertwined relationship with ako. It is clear from Pere's (1994) work that it is the interconnections and fusion of Māori cultural concepts that furnish ako with meaning.

For instance hui was not only an opportunity to discuss, debate and make decisions about issues or directions for the whānau, but a time when genealogy, history and pūrākau were shared with the whānau and wider tribal group. The rituals of welcome (oratory and song) and karakia in a hui provided modelling of formal language and social etiquette. In addition, hui usually involved providing food, hospitality, entertainment and sometimes accommodation, especially if visitors or guests were in attendance. Catering for people of the hui, preparation and presentation of the kai, was another opportunity for skills, expertise and knowledge to be shared. People had to work together to ensure that all aspects of the hui were successful. During such activities, ako was always in action, teaching and learning through watching,

listening, participating, following, copying, modelling, instructing, socializing, questioning and answering. Contributing and participating in a hui was not viewed specifically as a pedagogical opportunity, rather it was considered essential by the whānau in maintaining their own mana and supporting other whānau or the wider tribal group.

The transmission of particular types of knowledge was the responsibility of specific groups within the kinship relationship structure. For instance, according to Pere (1994) the elders tended to concentrate on instilling the cultural practices and economic lore whereas the senior men and women were responsible for the knowledge as it related to interacting with the natural environment and resources. Generally, however, there was no strictly set curriculum or content that was considered correct for children at a particular age, neither were there many restrictions surrounding general knowledge (Nepe, 1991; Pere, 1994). Ako was boundless. The notion that ako cannot be limited to a finite number of pedagogical practices directly coincides with an understanding that mātauranga (Māori knowledge) was not static or isolated (Pere, 1994). Shaped by the nature of the relationship and dependent on the context, the knowledge disseminated within ako responded to the needs of the individual and the wider collective, it was not limited to particular forms or fields of knowledge.

Arapera Royal Tangaere's (1996) explanation of the poutama⁵⁵ symbolizing Māori views of learning, reinforces the multi-dimensional nature of ako. She argues that the layered steps of the poutama depict an understanding of Māori human development that depends on a balanced progression of not only the intellectual, but social, emotional, spiritual, and physical aspects of a person. Each level requires a period of time before the person can ascend to the next level. She says, "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" (p. 112). The poutama emphasizes the holistic nature of education, and while different facets of knowledge can be identified separately, it is the whole, that results in competence, understanding and ultimately wisdom. Students were encouraged to use all their senses, including their use of intuitive intelligence, in their learning. Students

⁵⁵ Poutama is a traditional lattice weaving design in a shape of a staircase.

were also expected to immerse themselves in their learning because they were real-life authentic activities and experiences.

Often ako was sanctioned in various ways through karakia and tīkanga. The physical realm was not detached from the spiritual realm, just as there were technical requirements to be mastered, there were also spiritual implications (Pere, 1994). Children were taught about the powers of tapu (restricted, sacred), the importance of mana, and the spiritual world. For instance an important part of becoming an expert in a field such as carving, weaving and cultivation were rituals of tīkanga and karakia that recognised the atua and the domain of that particular knowledge. Ceremonies that initiated students into this discipline were considered vital in facilitating more effective teaching and learning. Te Rangi Hiroa (1982) says:

[The student's] apprenticeship was preceded by an initiation ceremony, in which the ritual brought him under the favour of the tutelary god of the particular craft. The student's understanding was thereby quickened, his ears became receptive to instruction, his memory retentive, and his hands skilful (p. 361).

Children not only learnt to plant and harvest crops, but also about the deities associated with horticulture and the stories about ancestors who were well known as food producers. Through such processes, learning takes on multiple dimensions that extend beyond the activity itself. Teaching and learning practices that recognized the metaphysical realm highlights again the integrative nature of ako; each activity being part of a wider cultural framework of knowledge.

Another pedagogical feature of ako that derives from the intimate learner-teacher relationship and the value of knowledge were high expectations of learners. Carelessness, laziness and incompleteness of tasks were unacceptable (Papakura, 1938). If mistakes were made, they became learning opportunities. If a student made an error in his/her flax work it would be required to be undone and repeated until it was correct. Learners could not move onto the next stage until they showed the necessary skills, understanding and knowledge. Both the teacher and learner would be involved in evaluating the learning process and the development of their skills and knowledge (Pere, 1994). The knowledge that was exchanged between teacher and learner depended on the child as well as the elders. Pere (1994) states:

Their [elders] emphasis was on appropriate ways of knowing according to the responsibilities it was collectively recognised a child should be carrying or experiencing. A corollary to this was an emphasis on how the ways of coming to know would work effectively into what a child already knew or was experiencing (p. 4).

If a child showed an aptitude and a keen enthusiasm in a particular area, they were usually afforded the opportunity to learn the knowledge and skills. The kaumātua were pleased to teach interested learners, and provided them with experiences to further their understandings in that discipline (Hiroa, 1982). In this sense, each child was taught or involved in activities specific to his or her level of ability or interest.

Echoing much of what Pere (1994), Nepe (1991), Metge (1984), Hiroa (1982) and others describes as pedagogical practices in traditional Māori society, Wharehuia Hemara (2000) sums up some of the key Māori pedagogies and curricula in a review of the literature, in the following way:

- Students and teachers were at the centre of the educative process
- Life-long intergenerational learning was normal
- Students undertook gradual learning from a familiar starting point
- Giftedness was recognised and encouraged
- Learning and teaching were conducted out of students' strengths
- Small student numbers were normal
- One-on-one interaction was important (p. 5).

Hemara does not go into each of these points in any depth, rather he provides a broad overview of some of the features of traditional child-rearing practices, games that were played by children (and adults) as well as a discussion of the *whare wānanga* to highlight ways in which teaching and learning occurred.

Recognising that Māori pedagogies (curricula and assessment practices) are reliant on the inter-relationship between cultural concepts, structures and practices, Hemara (2000) refers to *waiata*, *whakatauki*, *kōrero tawhito* (traditional narratives) and *whakapapa*, as mixed media educational tools. According to Hemara (2000), these cultural pedagogies were used in the following ways. *Waiata* such as *oriori* (lullaby) were used to teach very young children about things such as tribal lore, genealogical origins, to commemorate feats and tragedies, and take on leadership roles. *Whakatauki* were regularly espoused and edified lessons about all spheres of life.

Kōrero tawhito captured and expressed historical and social information that taught about the formation and demise of political relationships between hapū and iwi. Finally whakapapa not only provides information about how individuals and groups are positioned in relation to others, but also provides a connection between the pedagogies themselves. He says:

...whakapapa, waiata, kōrero tawhito and whakatauki do not exist in isolation. Each depends on the others for its origins and its existence. While informing each other, each one can also extend its boundaries of enquiry, both individually and collectively (Hemara, 2000, p. 33).

While Hemara identifies only some of the pedagogical ‘tools’ Māori utilized (and continue to use) he highlights the way in which each of these cultural practices has its own characteristics and features. Ako as pedagogy, however, comes together in the integration of these and sustained approach. Herein lies the place of pūrākau as pedagogy, as it works alongside the other educative practices in the operationalisation of ako.

Pūrākau as pedagogy

While pūrākau constitutes the methodological framework for this study, its pedagogical qualities and close connection to ako highlights how these cultural concepts work in conjunction to produce the conditions for teaching and learning by, for, about and *as Māori*. Philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews are all constructed within pūrākau. The most well known pūrākau are perhaps those that have been popularised as the three major ‘myth cycles’ (Walker, 2004, p. 11); the stories of creation involving Ranginui and Papatūānuku; the famous feats of Maui; and the adventures of Tāwhaki. A key feature in the first set of cosmogony, pūrākau contains whakapapa. The explanation of creation beginning from Te Kore (The Void), Te Pō (The Darkness), Te Ao Mārama (The World of Light) to Ranginui, Papatūānuku and their progeny explicitly lays out the genealogical connection from the spiritual forces to Māori people as their human descendants. At a surface level, it would appear as if pūrākau only contain strict catalogues of sequential phases, but embedded in these narratives are Māori philosophical understandings and teachings. Māori Marsden (2003), for example, explains that the state of Te Kore represents the realm of ‘potential being’, the process of continuous creation and thinking, as opposed to the literal translation of ‘The Nothingness’. Mikaere (1995) draws attention to the central role of the female

elements, in particular, establishing the reproductive birthing cycle as the way in which the world emerged and all its offspring. Walker (2004), on the other hand, emphasises the connection Māori people have to the land as tangata whenua (people of the land) in these pūrākau.

Using Metge's (1998) definition, the Māori 'myths' fall into four main and two minor story-cycles:

- the story of the creation of the world, including the gods, natural phenomena and human beings, subsumed in Grey's collection under the title 'The Children of Heaven and Earth';
- the Maui cycle, plus associated stories of Hinauri, Rupe, Tinirau and their descendants;
- the Tāwhaki cycle, plus the associated stories of Rata and his descendants;
- the migrations of the ancestors of the Māori people from Hawaiki to Aotearoa (p. 4).

Usually presented in prose and in a chronological manner, these pūrākau contained massive amounts of information and followed an evolutionary style that aligns with the traditional method of genealogical recital (Walker, 2004). These pūrākau set the cues for the manner of Māori interaction with the environment, and the human and spiritual dimensions of the world around us.

As well as these popular pūrākau there are many others. Margaret Orbell's (1992) collection and translation of various pūrākau in *Traditional Māori Stories*, includes pūrākau of patupaiarehe (fairy-like people), ngārara (reptiles), taniwha, whales, and tuatara as supernatural beings. Sometimes these creatures change and take human forms. At other times human kind (like the creatures) moved easily between different worlds. They use their special powers to resolve situations of conflict or search for love or recompense. These pūrākau are often set in particular places and are peculiar to that iwi. For example, 'He kōrero patupaiarehe nō Pirongia' told by Hariata of Waikato (in Orbell, 1992), tells of an incident where a patupaiarehe from Pirongia takes the mother of a family and how the husband and son set out to retrieve her. It is the mother's deceased son that reappears in spirit form that provides the plan of how to attract the mother, Tawhaitū, back home. The plan is to travel to a particular place and cook food (patupaiarehe only ate raw food because they were tapu so that

Tawhaitū will come and know it is her husband searching for her. After the second attempt the mother is reunited with her family, protected by the kōkōwai (red ochre) painted on her. The patupaiarehe is unable to penetrate the surrounds of the kainga and whare because of the power of the kōkōwai, traditionally painted on carvings, important buildings and sometimes on people's faces. The pūrākau ends with a waiata sung by the patupaiarehe lamenting the loss of Tawhaitū. This pūrākau, like others in this collection can be interpreted in many ways. There are teachings about tapu and noa (ordinary), the significance of kōkōwai, the importance of family, the issue of love, and so forth. In these pūrākau dealings between the human and the spiritual realm is a common experience, the nuances of cultural lore and mores are played out, and Māori beliefs and values come to the fore.

There are pūrākau too that tell of the history and tradition of a particular iwi or hapū and the formation of personal, family, or tribal relationships, alliances, struggles and battles. Another example of a pūrākau from my own iwi of Waikato that sets up clear inter and intra-tribal boundaries and links between groups is that of Whatihua and Ruaputahanga, and Tūrongo and Mahinarangi. In brief, Whatihua tricks his brother Tūrongo and marries his fiancé, Ruapūtahanga from Pātea of the waka Aotea. In grief Tūrongo leaves and eventually marries Māhinārangi from Te Tairāwhiti (the East Coast). These marriages strengthened the alliance between Waikato and the Taranaki tribes and united the Waikato with the tribes of the East Coast. The information in this pūrākau also sets out the northern boundary of the King Country, the origins of names of places in Tainui and the whakapapa of hapū. Tribal pūrākau are full of information pertaining to our people and places, valuable knowledge that is intrinsic to the teaching and learning and standing of iwi and hapū.

The people who held these pūrākau within each iwi, hapū and/or whānau were esteemed in the eyes of their tribe as the mana and distinctiveness of their group rested on this learned knowledge. In recent times, people such as Mohi Ruatapu of Ngāti Porou and Pei Te Hurunui Jones of Ngāti Maniapoto, who have recorded these pūrākau in written form, have been referred to as *tohunga rongonui*⁵⁶ (famous experts). These pūrākau are treated as treasured and precious teachings that provide

⁵⁶ For example, in title of Reedy's (1993) Mohi Ruatapu is described a 'tohunga rongonui o Ngāti Porou' (an well-known expert of Ngāti Porou).

the uniqueness and prestige of the people. The late Māori Queen Te Atairangikaahu commends the publication of the *Taaonga o Neheraa* (treasure of the past) in the foreword of *Ngā Iwi o Tainui* by P. T. H. Jones (translated by Bruce Biggs, 1995), she wrote:

We look upon these words as the living presence of our tuupuna and so they are a living taaonga for us all. Especially in this year with the major resolution of the raupatu claim, the publication of this book is timely (in P. T. H. Jones & Biggs, 1995, pp. xiii-xiv).

These pūrākau are not only considered a taonga that should be protected, but important literature that continue to provide relevant information for today. Pūrākau are still viewed as containing valuable knowledge that is fundamental to our identity and continues to inform and influence our interaction as people of distinct tribal groups with each other as well as non-Māori.

A closer look at the word ‘pūrākau’ provides a fuller appreciation of the pedagogical role pūrākau played in Māori society. Many Māori terms can be better understood as cultural concepts that are grounded in Māori language. Pere (1994) demonstrates this approach in her previous explanations of tamariki (children), mokopuna and tūpuna. Translations alone cannot be relied on to transmit the conceptual meanings of Māori words because they are removed from their own cultural context. As C. W. Smith points out, “[Māori] Words have whakapapa, they are from a particular state of existence, they have origins, and the stories told about the words give us meanings” (C. W. Smith, 2002, p. 38). The term pūrākau is also embedded in Māori language and cultural meanings.

Pūrākau can be divided into separate words, pū and rākau. ‘Pū’ has various meanings.⁵⁷ The definition that is relevant here are those that refers to pū as the “origin, source, and cause” (Williams, 1985, p. 300). In te reo Māori, pū can be used in relation to other things to indicate the basis of that particular subject. As the Williams Dictionary (1985) illustrates, ‘te pū o te maunga’ means the ‘foot, base or foundation’ of a mountain, ‘whaia te pū o te wheke’ means ‘aim for the heart or centre of the octopus’ (p. 300). When pū becomes a prefix to another word, such as pūrākau, the meaning of pū as the origin comes to the fore. For instance, pūtake means the ‘reason or cause’ (p. 316), pūwaha (waha means mouth or entrance) refers

⁵⁷ See Williams (1985) for different ways pū can be used in Māori language.

to the mouth of the river (p. 317) and pūao (ao mean daytime or world) is the period of time that begins each day, the dawn (p. 302). Pū is a powerful word; it denotes a sense of being the beginning or the source. The word rākau most commonly used to refer to a plant or tree⁵⁸. In relation to trees, te pū o te rākau refers to the root of a tree or a plant (Williams, 1985, p. 300).

It is not coincidental that the pūrākau, which literally refers to the roots or the base of the tree, is also the word for the everyday narratives articulated in pūrākau. Rather it is significant that pūrākau derives its meaning in Māori language from words that relate to the trees, since understandings of the natural environment heavily influenced Māori worldviews. According to Walker (2004):

The personification of natural phenomena in the Māori pantheon is fundamental to the holistic world-view of the Māori. Papatūānuku was loved as mother is loved, because the bounty that sprang from her breast nurtured and sustained her children. Humans were conceived of as belonging to the land; as tangata whenua, people of the land. This meant that they were not above nature but were an integral part of it. They were expected to relate to nature in a meaningful way (pp. 13-14).

Traditional Māori worldviews were informed by Māori experiences of a specific place, ecologies and environment. Māori were intimately connected to the land as Papatūānuku (earth mother) and understood the landscape as an extension and personification of their respective iwi and their ancestors. Metaphors that are based on the natural world, like pūrākau, abound in Māori language and culture.

Similarly, Royal (2005) concurs that because Indigenous people come from the earth and are intimately connected to nature, the natural environment informs our understandings about humanity and social relations. He argues that conceptualisations should not be drawn from nature as if it is a random occurrence that is separate to people and human energy. He says:

Perhaps the single – most important aspect of an indigenous worldview is the notion that the world is alive, conscious and flowing with a perennial energy. The natural world is not so much the repository of wisdom but rather is wisdom itself, flowing with purpose and design. We can say that the natural world is a mind to

⁵⁸ Māori words often have various meanings and rākau may also be used to refer to wood; a stick, spar or mast; weapon or something wooden (Williams, 1985, p. 321).

which all minds find their origin, their teacher and proper model (Royal, 2005, p. 218).

This same sentiment is echoed by the Hawaiian scholar Manulani Meyer (2003). Her directive is to reclaim Hawaiian epistemologies and create culturally sustaining education, “Learn from the land, not simply about the land” (p. 8). From an Indigenous perspective the natural world is alive and filled with energy in which there are an infinite number of lessons provided in the designs, movements and expressions that occur in nature and in the land.

An example of what the natural environment, in particular, the plants and trees, can teach us are words associated with the ngāhere (the bush or forest). The ngāhere not only provided food and materials for sustenance and survival, but also offered ways of understanding our social reality. According to Wiremu Doherty (personal communication, March 4, 2002), a native speaker of Māori, from the heartland of the Urewera ranges of Tūhoe, the word ‘ngāhere’ also reflects the perception of and relationship between the natural environment and Māori social organization. Ngāhere literally means the (ngā) ties or binds (here). The ngāhere represents unity, all trees and vegetation were inter-related and often inter-dependent. The ngāhere has its own rules, some native trees need to be planted together in order to flourish whereas other fauna need plenty of room. Similarly, the word kauri, the most majestic native tree, can be read as two words ‘ka uri’ and understood as the (ka, present-continuous tense marker) descendants (uri).

Pūrākau too, should be viewed and understood in the context of the natural landscape, in direct relationship to the trees. The trees, the flora and fauna were fundamental to Māori life. The trees supplied food, wood for fire, materials to build shelter and fashion tools, rākau too were used for medicinal purposes. Plants, shrubs and trees were tremendously important to everyday survival and activities. The pū of each rākau, that is the roots of the tree, provide the tree with what it needs in order to survive and grow. The pū usually unseen, buried deep within the Papatuānuku, draws the water and nutrients it needs in order to provide strength and vitality to develop as well as protect, shelter and foster other trees growing in the ngāhere. Doherty (personal communication, March 4, 2002) suggests that the metaphor ‘te pū o te rākau’ can be interpreted as the experiences and atmosphere felt through the leaves

and branches of the tree, shared through the trunk and then processed and analysed for meaning at the roots.

As narratives, pūrākau can be understood as experiences, knowledge and teachings that form the pū, which people need in order to live healthy, productive, safe lifestyles. Pūrākau enabled people to operate according to the cultural mores and lore of the group. Pūrākau provided the information core to our identity; they contained clues to our culture and connected us to the all living things and worlds around us. They were not only accounts of the past, but captured contemporary experiences too. Theorising the word pūrākau as the source or origin of the tree signals the way in which pūrākau were viewed as central to Māori society. They were innately pedagogical and one of the most common ways of imparting knowledge. As part of a rich tapestry of Māori narratives that sought to preserve and protect the history and traditions of each tribal groups; pūrākau are concerned with the transmission of knowledge, culture and worldviews.

The pedagogy of pūrākau is clearly signalled in the concept ‘te pū o te rākau’. Pūrākau were to be fundamental to further development and learning. Marsden (2003) refers to the allegory of the plant growth, beginning with pū, to show the constant development that occurs with creation, which is also applicable to learning. Te pū, more, weu, aka, rea, wao nui, kune, whe (meaning primary root, tap root, fibrous roots, trunk, tendrils, massed branches, buds and fronds) show the different levels of continuous and dynamic expansion of potential.⁵⁹ While pūrākau played a critical role in connecting, nurturing, sustaining and flourishing of culture and people, pūrākau as part of the framework of ako were also integral to establishing a foundation for analysing, reflecting, developing and creating knowledge through new, extended or revised pūrākau. Both pūrākau and ako are interdependent on each other. Without ako, pūrākau become mere words or stories, and in the absence of pūrākau, the strength of ako to teach about Māori knowledge and culture is greatly diminished.

⁵⁹ The plant growth allegory is exemplified by the naming each of its year levels at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi after each stage of development. The year one class, the point of beginning kura (school), is referred to as Pū, the year two class is More and so forth.

Ako and Māori teachers

To study ako in relation to Māori teachers today is not to treat ako as if it is a cultural relic unconnected to the lives of real people. Despite the advent of colonization, Māori people, language and culture have survived - albeit in a different form. Ako has not disappeared, but neither has it remained unaffected. Aspects of ako continue to find expression in Māori settings today, wherever Māori engage in teaching and learning. The pūrākau that began this chapter is an example of a contemporary expression of ako, that was not easy to learn.

As a young teacher I was devastated with the kuia's ambiguous response, "you just know in your heart". I couldn't understand how these particular Māori teachers assessing oral language had arrived at their decisions. As the chief moderator for the Auckland region I remember feeling a deep sense of panic because I didn't know how I was to explain the difference in achievement levels to more than 50 Māori language teachers, for whom I was responsible for teaching this new internal assessment model. I wanted the kuia and the other teachers to describe the attributes of each student's work, debate points of contention and make transparent their decision-making processes. I wanted the 'evidence' on which the decisions were based. In an educational climate that had moved further towards standards-based assessment with the implementation of NCEA; I felt it was crucial for Māori teachers to identify the criteria that distinguished the grades in order to arrive at decisions about students' achievement. Unless teachers were familiar with the criteria (and curriculum) which form the basis of the assessment, teachers cannot be assured that they are awarding grades that are consistent with the official standards, or with other Māori schools in their region, let alone the rest of the country.

More recently I have begun to 're-read' the above pūrākau rather differently. As my Māori language and cultural competencies developed and I became a more experienced teacher, I began to recognise the many dimensions of ako. Repositioning the kuia as 'an elder' rather than the 'inarticulate assessor' has challenged me to extend what I perceived as criteria for achievement or 'evidence'. The "knowing" that the kuia referred to as "in your heart" can be understood as the interaction of cultural concepts, knowledge, values and beliefs that operate to effect ako. My narrow notion of teaching, learning (and assessment) had to be re-evaluated. The

reasons the student achieved a high standard in her speech was not limited to testing of her grammatical accuracy, the range of language structures she employed, the amount of information provided or her general pronunciation. Rather, the judgment will have also been based on her *ahuatanga* (character), her presence, her commitment, her spirit, her depth of feeling, and the message she conveyed, not only through verbal language. The *kuia*'s response suggested that she had relied on more complex criteria, a combination of factors that could not be reduced to simple linguistic categories. Through rethinking and retelling of this incident, this *pūrākau* pointed me towards considering more deeply the work that Māori teachers do, their pedagogical practices, and *ako*.

G. H. Smith's (1997) definition of *ako* is useful to understand how Māori teachers might employ *ako*. He refers to as *akonga Māori*⁶⁰ in the following way:

Akonga does not pertain only to traditional concepts; the term 'Māori' is used here to describe practices and views which are characteristically preferred by Māori and may or may not focus in the 'past' (p. 330).

Aspects of *ako* function alongside other forms of teaching and learning in a wide range of contemporary Māori contexts. Purposely broad, G. H. Smith's (1997) definition does not exclude the possibilities of Māori learning through new technologies. For example, currently Māori educators are exploring *ako* on the internet in e-learning and on-line forums (Institutes of Technology and Polytechnics of New Zealand, 2004; New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2004a, 2004b). In these new contexts it is apparent that *ako* cannot be confined to an idea or technique; it is not constrained to a replication of traditional pedagogical practices in the present, but it is a 'culturally preferred pedagogy' (G. H. Smith, 1987) that relates to the current context, circumstances and cultural aspirations.

The meaning of *ako* is also expressed in *Te aho matua o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori* (Te Aho Matua), the 'foundation document' upon which the identity and philosophy of Kura Kaupapa Māori (KKM) education is based (Mataira, 1989).⁶¹ Te Aho Matua

⁶⁰ G. H. Smith (1997) refers to 'ako' as 'akonga Māori' to emphasise the learner in teacher-learner relationship.

⁶¹ The genesis of Te Aho Matua was begun with the original teachers of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi Marae, Pita Sharples, Katerina Mataira, Aroha Paenga, and whānau. In 1989, a working party was established that included KKM proponents: Tuki Nepe; Cathy

is broken into six sections, each section contributes to ensuring the child in a KKM environment develops spiritually, intellectually, emotionally, physically and socially. One section is ‘Āhuatanga Ako’ which includes the “principles of teaching practice”. Many of these principles are based on the traditional educative practices within the whānau (as discussed earlier in this chapter). These principles also provide a clear idea of how ako can be interpreted within a contemporary schooling context. Within the ‘Āhuatanga Ako’, Te Aho Matua states:

Kura Kaupapa Māori, therefore:

- Assert that teaching and learning be a happy and stimulating experience for children.
- Practise karakia as a means of settling the spirit, clearing the mind, and releasing tension so that concentration on the task at hand is facilitated.
- Value the presence of supportive adults as important participants in the teaching/learning process.
- Emphasise the particular value of concentrated listening as a skill to be thoroughly learned by children.
- Encourage the use of body, mind and all the senses in learning; listening; thinking and quiet concentration; visualisation and observation; touching; feeling and handling; questioning and discussing; analysing and synthesising; testing hypotheses; creative exploration.
- Adopt teaching practices and principles which accommodate different styles of learning and motivate optimal learning.
- Honour kaumātua as the repositories of Māori knowledge and invite their participation as advisors and fellow teachers.
- Expose children to the protocols of hospitality in the home, at school and on the marae, and require their participation at cultural functions in roles appropriate to their gender and levels of maturation
- Accept that healthy relationships between brothers and sisters, younger and older siblings, children, parents and elders are the joint responsibility of the kura whānau.

Dewes; Graham Smith; Tony Waho; Pem Bird; and Rāhera Shortland, who continued to progress these ideas. The document was finally named ‘Te Aho Matua’ by the kuia of the group, Katerina Mataira.

- Encourage older children to care for the young ones and to occasionally assist in their learning activities, and younger children to accept the guidance of their older peers.
- Emphasise the importance of creating a learning environment which is interesting, stimulating and reflects the Māori world
- Expand the learning environment to include marae, the wide-open spaces of bush, sea and sky, libraries and museums, and all other places which contribute to learning.
- Welcome innovative ways of stimulating the learning of children but encourage self motivation.
- Provide for the special interest that individual children may have in the development of self-directed learning.
- Encourage shared and co-operative ways of learning (Mataira, 1989, pp. 23-24).

Māori children are not expected to learn or respond to learning methods in the same way. For instance, while Te Aho Matua recognizes that listening is a key skill for learning, other methods, such as; observation, feeling, questioning, analyzing, testing hypotheses, and creative exploration, are promoted as *ako* to ensure that all the senses are alert and challenged. Teachers are also encouraged to extend their teaching outside the classroom and use the natural environment (the domains of the Māori deities) as important contexts for learning in order to nurture the spiritual side of the child. In Te Aho Matua, *ako* directs teachers to accommodate the range of learning styles and adopt new teaching practices to optimize student outcomes.

The re-articulation of *ako* in KKM is part of a cultural reassertion that not only seeks to recover ‘traditional’ educative practices as legitimate forms of knowledge exchange, but makes *ako* meaningful (beyond a superficial inclusion) in the modern context. Pihama (2001) concurs, “*ako* Māori ... assumes the validity of Māori processes of learning and teaching, and asserts the notion that we have a right to access those processes” (p. 138). *Ako* is a pedagogy that is grounded in the reassertion and reclamation of cultural aspirations. *Ako* is advanced in this thesis as a conceptual framework of educational philosophy, pedagogy and practices whose key function is to transmit knowledge to enable one *to live as Māori*.

Summary

In an effort to address the negative educational disparities experienced by Māori students, Māori concepts such as ako are incorporated in the Ministry of Education's literature to better equip *all* teachers. Yet the meaning attributed to ako is often narrow and simplistic. Unlike the popular definition of ako, "to teach and to learn", in traditional Māori society ako was fully integrated into the Māori ways of living. Ako was integral to the creation, transmission, conceptualization, and articulation of Māori knowledge. As an educational framework, ako was encompassed within whānau, hapū, iwi and whakapapa relationships, governed by the knowledge deemed necessary by the collective group that ultimately derived and generated *being Māori*.

This chapter has sought to signal the breadth and depth of ako as pedagogy. Pūrākau features as an important element of ako, storytelling was a regular feature of daily life and an important teaching and learning practice in Māori society. My own pūrākau about my experience as a young teacher tells of one way ako continues to find expression amongst Māori teachers today, and signals the complexities and implications of ako in a mainstream setting. Having argued that ako is a Māori educational framework that arises from Māori epistemologies, philosophies and practices, in the following chapters I explore how ako is embedded in Māori teachers' work.

Chapter Four

Recognising teachers *as Māori*: An historical pūrākau.

Introduction

Although the present preoccupation with the ‘effective teacher’ in education is intense, it is not a new phenomenon. Teachers have always been recognised as the dominant factor in successful schools by Māori communities. I argue in this chapter, Māori teachers have always been recognised *as Māori* by the church, the government and Māori communities themselves. Māori teachers have a history of involvement in western style schooling that predates the establishment of the New Zealand state schooling system in 1867.

The historical pūrākau of Māori teachers, their contributions and experiences have received little attention in New Zealand education literature. This chapter seeks to retell the ‘story’ that Māori (and some Pākehā) have told about the history of Māori teachers. I have not attempted to provide an in-depth history of Māori schooling in this ‘version’; other studies have concentrated specifically on this topic (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974; Jenkins & Ka'ai, 1994; Simon & Smith, 2001). Rather, this chapter analyses the historical construction of Māori teachers in the New Zealand educational context, and reflects specifically on the position of Māori teachers as important, especially given that one of the current ‘truths’ in education is the centrality of the teacher in schooling.

The pūrākau of Te Aorere (Awi) Riddell begins this chapter and tells us one story of the making of a Māori teacher. Awi’s education began in the 1930s; his career as a teacher followed the legacy left by many of the early Māori teachers who were also groomed at Māori boarding schools to fulfill teaching roles. His personal pūrākau

intersects with historic moments in the development of Māori education, and portrays the complex ways in which the historical conditions influenced his own pathway to teaching.

Pūrākau of Te Aorere (Awi) Riddell

The making of a Māori teacher

*Ko Hikurangi te maunga, ko Waiapu te awa, ko Ngāti Porou te iwi.*⁶²

I fly to Gisborne, the largest city on the East Coast, to visit Awi in his home in Wainui. I am acutely aware of the crossing of tribal territories, from my corner of Tainui in Auckland to the stronghold of Ngāti Porou. The East Coast is mostly rural country, physically characterized by the unspoilt landscape, vast sandy beaches and rough surf that shapes the driftwood figurines that line much of the foreshore. Wainui is a little settlement nestled next to a popular golden sandy beach, situated just north of Gisborne. After fifty years away, Awi has recently returned to his tribal roots and purchased two hectares of land in Wainui. He is only one and a half hours drive from Te Puia Springs, the place where he grew up, and 45 minutes from Te Rua-a-Rehu urupa in Puha, where his late wife Maringi Riddell lies.

I arrive late in the afternoon to Awi's home, the dining table is already set for dinner. China plates and beautiful silver cutlery are laid out neatly. My small koha is added to the 'pre-dinner nibbles'. Awi has invited his sister Maud Isaac (a former Native School teacher and primary school principal) and whānau to dinner. A substantial entrée of raw fish is followed by roast chicken and fresh vegetables (from Awi's garden), and dessert accompanied with good red wine. It is a hākari (feast), with enough food to feed 20 people, not just the five of us.

Awi's house is adorned with fine antique furniture and china. Photos of Maringi, his grandmother, grandchildren and whānau, as well as brightly coloured paintings by his daughter Frances Riddell (artist and art teacher) feature in prime spots throughout the house – everything has a place. The manicured lawns and gardens, dust-free state of the furniture, china and silver, left me curious about the organization of his classroom and teaching practices.

⁶² Hikurangi is the mountain, Waiapu is the river, Ngāti Porou is the tribe.

Awi has short grey hair, combed back in a 'short back and sides' style. He is not a tall man, but has a presence that seems to increase his stature. He dresses immaculately from 'tip to toe', whether he is wearing a black singlet to mow the lawns or an Italian suit, he always looks neat and tidy – there is a sense of formality about him. When we begin our 'interview' I'm a little daunted by his intent gaze. When he speaks he looks you straight in the eye; he is thoughtful and purposeful. Despite his stern and serious exterior he has an overwhelmingly warm, open manner. His infectious laughter often breaks the dialogue, and serves to remind me of the human side of all issues. Rarely does Awi use slang words; he is articulate, deliberate and decisive. He has a gentle voice and enunciates his words clearly. Tihei Mauri Ora!

Primary school

Awi describes himself as a keen student, even as a preschooler. Awi says, "while most children ran away from school, I ran to school and had to be taken away". Like most of his seven older siblings Awi attended Te Puia Springs Primary School. He remembers hurrying to school, sometimes with his "pants still steaming". He explains, "We only had one pair of pants and one shirt each, and each Saturday we washed them. Sometimes they still hadn't dried by Monday morning and we would have to press them dry". It was at primary school that Ailsa Corrie-Johnstone was his teacher and principal from 1947 to 1950. A Pākehā woman of Scottish descent, Ailsa devoted herself to teaching. She also had an important influence on the career path Awi was to take and the sort of teacher he was to become.

The first morning we begin the 'interview', Awi receives a phone call to say that Ailsa Corrie-Johnstone has died, aged 96. Some years ago she had asked him to deliver the eulogy at her funeral. Unsurprisingly, he is already prepared. Awi's eulogy transverses the Māori and English languages, and is filled with Māori, English and Scottish poetry and song. The 'The Ode to a Nightingale' by John Keats is one of the poems he includes. The eulogy reads, "We were touched by a person who cared for us and about us; one who challenged us; she became our mentor and a teacher par excellence ... This woman took us away from our immediate surroundings; she broadened our horizons through song, poetry and story. She made us work hard both inside the classroom and outside. We sang, we danced, we did our sums, we wrote,

we read, we learnt the correct use of the English language ... Ailsa imbued in us a sense of self-worth and that we could all achieve. She made us work hard, and to value and enjoy education". Awi salutes her dedication as a teacher to her students and the communities she became involved in.

One of Awi's strongest memories of his primary schooling is the beautiful school garden. Just as Ailsa converted the school's small tool shed into a "lovely, cosy house" for herself and her mother, Awi recalls the way in which the school was transformed. "We carved a garden out of a wilderness; we planted roses; we collected horse and cow dung; we pulled up bracken fern; we planted ferns; we drained a gully; we built a bridge ... Each year we would win the prize for the best school gardens on the East Coast!" Awi says with a tinge of sadness, "I have since revisited the school many times. The English cottage-style gardens, rose gardens, native gardens are no longer there; the roses have long since been replaced by a building, but each time as I stand at the gate, I can still smell the beautiful scent of our roses". I catch myself thinking about the way Awi takes great pride and toils in his own garden, the Māori-language children's story Ngā Mahi a te Rāhoroi (Riddell, 1995) in which he has written about Māhaki, a young boy helping his grandfather with the garden, and I ponder again on the influence this teacher and his primary schooling had on many aspects of his life.

While Awi admires the work of Ailsa Corrie-Johnstone and speaks fondly of his lessons, he also notes that there was an important element missing. Finally, he says, "We could quote lines and verses of English poetry and sing well-known English songs. How much richer might we have been had we also been exposed to our own language, culture, and heritage. We would have received a more balanced education in terms of acknowledging us as Māori".

Secondary School: Ka titiro pu atu ana ki te rangi

Like his brothers and sisters, Awi by-passed his local district for his secondary schooling. Awi points out "My mother always had a firm belief in the value of education and she sent all of us, her fourteen children off the East Coast to Gisborne High School, three of us to St. Stephens, and a sister to St. Josephs. She firmly believed that the future for us lay in having a good education". His grandmother, Tangimangaone Nawaia Pewhairangi, was also fully committed to education and

organised her children to attend Māori boarding schools during the early 1900s. Awi marvels at his grandmother's vision, "Amazing, my mother went to Queen Victoria then to St. Josephs. Mum's sister to Hukarere, two brothers to Te Aute College and one brother to St. Stephens."⁶³ Gee, that old kuia, she was a real matakite (visionary)! I wonder where she found the money to send them".

Critical of the local Māori District High School, his mother sent him to a Māori boys' boarding school, which was made possible by a government educational scholarship that provided 75 pound annually for four years. In 1950 he was one of two boys on the East Coast to receive this scholarship. In 1951, at the age of 14 years, Awi entered St. Stephen's School.

The principal at that time, Patrick Smyth, was of Ngāpuhi descent. Awi described him as a "harsh disciplinarian". He was an ex-army officer, who ruled with an "iron fist". The buildings, classrooms and dormitories were "Spartan" and the daily timetable ran like a military operation. The boys adhered to a rigid timetable; they worked hard and played a major role in the daily running and up-keep of the school. Their duties included cleaning the classrooms, dormitories and general maintenance of the school grounds. Army cadet training drills that were part of the curricula at St. Stephens (right through to the early 1970s) meant the boys were familiar with army-like routines and strict discipline – this included, lining up outside the classroom, marching from one class to the other and standing to 'attention' when required during the day. There was little time to relax, minimal privacy and no room for boredom.

I find myself reacting to the inflexible, military-style routines, a place seemingly void of any luxuries, and feel somewhat compassionate towards Awi and his classmates for having to endure such harsh conditions. In contrast, Awi says with real jubilation "I absolutely loved my time at St. Stephens as a student, every minute!" When I ask Awi to explain, he responds thoughtfully, "In the early years it was the order. Then the camaraderie, we built wonderful friendships. It was also the pride in one's school. The belief that your school was the best in the world. We had a sense of belongingness".

⁶³ Queen Victoria School, St Josephs' College, Te Aute College and St. Stephens' School are all Māori church boarding schools.

Appointed the Principal in 1953, Lewis Evan Lewis (Pākehā) was one of the two teachers at St. Stephens that had a great impact on Awi. He says, “Joe Lewis or ‘The Boss’, had a lasting influence on many, many of the old boys of St. Stephens. He believed that with a good education, and a good grounding in your culture, coupled with sport – people could do anything if they put those three things together”. Many years later, the old boys came together to organise Joe Lewis’ tangihanga, a testament to his commitment to Māori culture and the strong connection he had to many of his students and their families.

Awi speaks with some sadness about the teacher, educator and friend whom he respected and “loved most of all”, John (Hoani) Waititi. Awi says, “He worked hard for you. He didn’t threaten you, he had a lovely sense of humour, he could play sport with you, tennis or table tennis, and he’d take you for a ride in his car and buy you some takeaways. It’s teachers that went out of their way, that did the little bit extra, not just be a classroom teacher”. The “little bit extra” Hoani Waititi did included visiting Awi’s mother in her home, to encourage Awi to return to school for a further three years after attaining his School Certificate in 1953, a track that led to university. Awi recalls Hoani Waititi’s death from leukemia in 1965, “He was a great loss to education, to Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, and to Māoridom. “Kua ngaro koe ki Te Po. Ko te kauri nui takoto, pipiwharau e tangi nei, rere pōuri i konei” (You have departed to the underworld. The great kauri has fallen, the shining cuckoo laments your passing as it flies from here in mourning).

Teaching (and learning)

In 1957 Awi was granted a Teacher’s Bursary⁶⁴ that afforded him the opportunity to attend The University of Auckland from 1957 to 1960 and complete his BA in Geography, Māori, English and Biology. During his teacher-training year (1961) at the Auckland College of Education, he was placed at Bay of Islands College, Kawakawa, for his practicum. He speaks about it as if it was only yesterday, “I was there for a month and that was a lovely experience. The school was just about totally Māori ... it confirmed that I really wanted to be a teacher”.

⁶⁴ At that thime the Teachers’ Bursary paid seven pounds ten a week.

When Awi graduated he returned to a heavy teaching timetable at St. Stephen's School, where he fully immersed himself in school life for four years. However, because St. Stephens was categorised as a 'private school',⁶⁵ he could not gain his Teacher Certification. Subsequently he decided to apply for a job at Western Heights School, and his family moved with him to Rotorua. While Awi enjoyed his time at this school, he was critical of the way that the Māori students seemed to be directed into the manual-type subjects. Awi says thoughtfully, "Whereas at St. Stephen's, boys from all corners of New Zealand, particularly from rural communities, were challenged and they succeeded".

After three years away, Mr Lewis again invited Awi to return to St. Stephens, this time as Head of Geography. With a tone of triumph, he says, "So, I went back there for another eight years. Altogether I spent 12 years as a teacher, and six years as a boy, a total of 18 years at St. Stephens. So it was very much part of my life, of my children, and of my late wife".

As a teacher, Awi describes himself as "demanding". He had high expectations, and would require his senior classes to complete at least one essay a fortnight. "I think the students saw me as a hard disciplinarian, but I think they knew where my efforts lay – for them. I worked them hard because I was prepared to work hard. I took home mountains of books to mark and they always came back to them the next day ... with their marks and all my comments. So I was prepared to work hard for them and I think because of that, they worked hard". Awi constantly challenged the boys to do their best in whatever they pursued and he pushed them to achieve in their academic exams. "I thought, 'no, these kids can achieve, all of them can'. So one of the things that I aimed for and constantly achieved ... was that none of them would get under 50% in School Certificate, and I constantly got that level in Geography and Māori. Few if any would get under 50%".

As Awi talks about his teaching at St. Stephens, I begin to understand the sort of commitment that was required as a teacher at a Māori boarding school. He not only carried a heavy teaching timetable, but also organised a host of 'extra-curricula'

⁶⁵ Māori church boarding schools were independent of the state system. St. Stephens School and Te Aute College were 'translated' into the state system in the mid 1970s, prior to the Private Schools Conditional Integration Act 1975.

activities as well as responsibilities that extended way beyond normal teaching hours. Awi was master-in-charge of athletics, softball, cross-country, rugby, gymnastics, speech competitions, prize-giving ceremonies, and the hosting of large ope (which included being in charge of the hangi!). When he was the teacher on duty, “you start at six in the morning and you don’t finish until about 10.30pm or when the school settles”. Awi was also one of the teachers in charge of the cadets.⁶⁶ He went on regular weekend and week long concert party ‘tours’ with the senior boys, and frequently had boys home for lunch and dinner. In many respects Awi was a teacher, coach, mentor and surrogate parent. Awi sighs, “it’s not just a job you know, it’s your life! There were expectations placed upon you by the parents and by those in authority over you that you would bring these kids up to a certain standard. And you sweat blood and tears to do that”. However, when Awi became principal there was an even more pressure and a greater demand on his time.

‘Whakatangata kia kaha’: Te Aute College

In January 1977, accompanied by a large contingent from Ngāti Porou and Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki, Awi and his family were formally welcomed to Te Aute College and into Te Whatu-i-Apiti at a huge pōwhiri (formal Māori welcome) at Kahuranaki Marae, Te Hauke. Te Aute was the ‘brother’ school to St. Stephen’s founded by the Anglican church and its teachings, so there was much in common about how the schools operated. Awi says, “The big difference, in Māori terms, from my leaving St. Stephen’s and taking up the principalship of Te Aute, was that I now had to move from the back of the marae, where I was very comfortable, to the paepae (the speakers’ domain) at the front of the marae, which I did with much apprehension”.

Despite his daunting role, Awi approached his work as he had done at St. Stephens. “When I went to Te Aute I tried to model our school on the best teaching practices and what I had read and observed of the characteristics of successful schools. I tried to incorporate a love of scholarship, and a love of things cultural, spiritual, and sporting – a holistic approach: *te taha hinengaro* (intellectual side), *taha wairua* (spiritual side), *taha tinana* (physical side)”. Like St. Stephens, Māori language and custom were infused into the culture of Te Aute. *Karakia*, *waiata*, *haka*, *pōwhiri* and

⁶⁶ The New Zealand Army trained the teachers in charge of the cadets during the school holidays, these teachers then organised regular military training exercises with the students.

other Māori rituals were regular features. Coupled with the boarding side of school life amongst the Māori boys, a whānau-type environment was created from which 'life-long bonds' were established – the school became inescapably Māori.

An important part of what made both school Māori, was the Māori teachers, a feature of the small staff (of usually about twelve teachers) at both St Stephen's and Te Aute. Awi recalls, "We were fortunate to have a strong body of male Māori teachers who occupied senior positions. Not only were they experienced, but they were all academically qualified and trained". In a typical whakapapa-type of narrative, Awi recounts the Māori teachers of the day. Many of the names he goes on to mention are now well-known kaumātua and/or prominent people in the educational community. "In my time at St Stephen's these [Māori teachers] included: Patrick Smythe, John Waititi, Rawhiti Ihaka, Scotty McPherson, Apirana Mahuika, Koro Dewes, Tamati Reedy, Lewis Maxwell, George Marsden, Kingi Houkamau. At Te Aute we had John Wehipeihana, Hiwi Tangaere, Fred Jackson, John Hovell, Kingi Houkamau, Anaru Takurua, Fred Timutimu and Maringi Riddell".

Just as each Māori teacher had his or her own tribal affiliations and connection to the school, they also understood the whakapapa and whānau connection of their students as Māori. Awi continues, "Through previous association we would be aware of where a boy was from, and perhaps who his parents or grandparents were. For example, names such as Reedy, Harrison, Ngata, Tibble, Houkamau, Pewhairangi, Rangihuna, Tangaere, Stirling, Walker, Waititi etc... would be associated with Ngāti Porou / Te Whānau-a-Apanui. Tipoki, Cotter, Niania, Ormond, Huata, Westrupp, Tomoana, Hakiwai etc. with Ngāti Kahungunu. Temara, Timutimu, Heremia, Tait, Biddle, McGarvey, McLean etc. with Ngai Tūhoe. Tarapipipi, Paki, Mahuta, Tahapehi, Hohaia, Cooper etc. with Waikato. Bennett, Pokiha, Hemana, Hamiora, Waaka, Schuster, Morrison etc... with Te Arawa. Wihongi, Ihaka, Witana, Henare, Marsden, Watene, Norman, Harawira, Jones etc... with Te Tai Tokerau". Like others familiar with tribal groups, I am aware that many of these names represent prominent families from particular regions, some have a long history with Māori boarding schools or the church.

It strikes me that besides the full-time job of looking after the boys in a boarding context, the responsibility to educate Māori boys (especially from these families) was enormous. Awi saw the teachers as loco parentis and referred to the students as “their boys” who were “in their care”. He said “Some Māori teachers were much loved by boys because they really cared for them ... Sometimes boys would be invited to have a meal or supper at a teacher’s home. This might be a group of senior or junior students, boys who might have done particularly well in some activity, or boys who may have arrived at school too late for their evening meal”. The boys regarded having a meal at a teacher’s or principal’s home a huge privilege. Another activity that some of the Māori teachers often shared with the boys was diving for kaimoana (seafood) and eeling. Awi remembers, “Eeling was a lot of fun but it meant spending time in preparation (preparing gaffs and spears, torches, knives) and time in showing them how to clean, bone, salt and dry the eels, and then how to smoke them or cook them in the oven”. Some of the skills and values that the boys might have been taught at home (had they lived there), the Māori teachers assumed at school. Awi believes that these sorts of activities strengthened the relationships between the teachers and students. He points out that the boys always regarded their teachers with the greatest of respect, and many of the boys and their teachers became life-long friends.

I am reminded of the pūrākau of the kuia teaching me about ako being “in my heart” when Awi describes success at Te Aute as a “feeling”. “I think it’s a feeling. You know when it is right, a feeling of achievement, of success. The boys feel good about themselves and that rubs off on to the whole student body, no matter what it is. Whether it has been a concert performance, a drama performance, whether it be rugby, athletics, softball ... or whether they have achieved well in their academic exams. You know you have got it right, when the whole school feels good about itself”.

Just as Awi was unwavering in his dedication to St. Stephens, he again struggled to maintain some of the own time at Te Aute. The position of principal at a boarding school demanded more time than a usual secondary school principal, because the students were your responsibility day and night. Many of the parents had entrusted their sons into Awi’s personal care and had high expectations for their success. With a sense of frustration Awi says, “Without any formal training, I now found myself

responsible for everything, 24 hours a day, seven days a week. I was the professional leader of the school, the hostel manager, the guardian of the boys, the confidante to those with problems, the first port-of-call for parents". There is no resentment in his tone, rather he exudes a sense of whakaiti, when he speaks about the 'privilege of teaching', of being involved in the boy's lives, boys that have gone on to achieve great things in their professional, personal and familial lives. He too shares in a pride that is usually the reserve of parents.

It was his grandson Mahaki, who was the catalyst for moving from his Principalship to a role in the Ministry of Education. "I suppose it got to a point that I was exhausted after 13 years. I was totally exhausted. And Maringi and I were looking after our grandson, and I felt for him and for our daughter ... I decided that I had given Te Aute and St. Stephens enough of my time. It is my time now to look after my own family and see the broader picture of education in the Ministry [of Education]".

Ahakoā te teitei o ngā maunga, ka taea te piki ake ki runga, ā, ka tutuki pai ai ngā wawata me ngā moemoea o ngā matua tīpuna (Notwithstanding the height of the mountains, they are still able to be ascended, in order that the hopes of the ancestors can be realized).

Māori teachers at missionary schools

While Awi's story is unique, his journey to, and experiences of Māori church boarding schools that directly led him to becoming a teacher were not. The Anglican, Catholic and other denominational boarding schools originally begun by the missionaries were not only dedicated to the teaching of Māori students but also training them for particular occupations, one of which was teaching.

Before the establishment of a state-run national schooling system for Māori in 1867, Māori had already been actively involved in mission schools (first established in 1816). Jenkins (2000) describes the relationship between Māori and Pākehā up until the 1860s, in particular with the missionaries, as a healthy *aitanga* relationship. Underpinned by Māori cultural concepts, *aitanga* refers to a commitment to a meaningful, reciprocal and active relationship by both partners. *Aitanga*, Jenkins argues, enabled Māori to be fully engaged and exert a high level of influence in the mission schools. One of the ways Māori played an active role in these schools was to become teachers. In an effort to build self-supporting Christian communities the missionaries promoted the establishment of schools and the training of Māori teachers. Samuel Marsden (the first missionary to New Zealand) wrote:

To make schools general and permanent in New Zealand, they must be supported, eventually by the industry of the Natives, and also taught by Native School masters (Missionary Register, vol. 19 (1831) p. 114, cit. in Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 3).

The missionaries considered Māori teachers to be a central ingredient to the development of schooling. In turn, schooling was seen as an important vehicle for converting the 'heathens', and at the same time, 'civilising' Māori.

Initially the mission schools instructed through the medium of Māori language, and taught western knowledge from a religious viewpoint as well as providing an artisan-based curriculum. Māori, keen to acquire western technologies and, (in most cases) establish (*aitanga*) relationships with the missionaries, saw the mission schools multiply. The mission schools increased from a small number of schools based at three mission stations in the North (Rangihoua, Kerikeri and Paihia) in 1828, with 111 pupils (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 17), to 61 schools throughout the country with approximately 2000 students in 1836 (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, pp. 25, 26). The mission schools which included village day schools and boarding schools,

were run by three established churches: Anglican; Catholic and Wesleyan.⁶⁷ However, missionaries soon realised the limitations of teaching in the Māori language – literacy in Māori did not change to any degree Māori social and cultural norms to the manners and customs of Pākehā Christian settlers.

In the changing context of colonisation, the numbers of Pākehā settlers were increasing and New Zealand was declared a British Colony.⁶⁸ The Treaty of Waitangi signed on 6 February 1840 between the British Crown and Māori chiefs, established a more extensive and formal relationship between Māori and not only Pākehā missionaries, but the Crown. Appointed in 1845, Governor Grey strongly believed and explicitly stated that Māori should be fluent in the English language if Māori were to ‘progress’ towards Europeanisation (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). Whereas the missionaries primarily wanted to Christianise the Māori, the British Crown was interested in the colonisation of Māori and claim Aotearoa; however both groups shared the goal of wanting to ‘civilise’ the ‘Natives’. Impressed with the work of the missionaries to establish schools and to teach literacy skills, the government sought to wield some influence over Māori (and the missionaries) through schooling. As a result Grey proposed the Education Ordinance Act, passed in 1847, which lent financial support to mission schools on condition that the curriculum included religious education and industrial training, and that instruction be in English. In addition the schools were to become accountable to the government through annual inspections. While the Education Ordinance Act gave support to the mission schools, it was the start of government control of the education of Māori, and a shift towards an English-only educational policy. Māori, however, were not opposed to the learning of English, but enthusiastic to acquire new skills and which would enable them to enhance their own knowledge as well as their economic and political power base.

From the 1830s to the late 1850s the spread of literacy and numeracy skills amongst Māori was rapid. Jenkins (2000) suggests that one of the reasons the achievement of Māori at these mission schools was so high, was the pedagogical approach that was

⁶⁷ In 1822 Wesleyan Mission entered New Zealand, by 1838 Roman Catholic Church had also begun.

⁶⁸ On 29 January 1840 Captain Hobson arrived in the Bay of Islands with a Proclamation that declared New Zealand to be a British Colony.

used at the time. Following in the tradition of *ako*, Māori were engaged in both learning and teaching in the mission schools. Once Māori had mastered the skills of literacy they were expected to teach others, alongside and often under the guidance of the Pākehā teachers. Jenkins (2000) notes that official reports of mission schools often failed to mention the contribution of Māori, yet they were highly involved in ensuring the success of such schools. Indicative of the interdependent (*aitanga*) relationship Māori had with the Pākehā at this time, Jenkins (2000) notes that these schools (and churches) were often built in the style of Māori whare.

A spin-off to the spread of teaching and learning of literacy amongst Māori, was the introduction of the institution of a 'school' that was open to everyone, a significant departure from the education through the processes of *ako* that primarily occurred within the *whānau* in Māori society (Jackson, 1975). This is not to say that *ako* within the *whānau* was discontinued, but the emergence of schools and Māori 'teachers' (who sometimes came from different tribal areas or were of low social status, not from chiefly lineage) affected the traditional social framework of *ako* within the confines of the *whānau*. Furthermore, the 'teacher' assumed a newfound status. However, the introduction of the 'school' and 'teacher' was at a time when Māori still had a numerical majority, they were linguistically and culturally dominant, and in control of their land, resources and knowledge.

During the expansion of mission schools, independent Māori schools that taught English also developed (Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 159). These schools were located in local villages and led by Māori teachers from those communities. In 1862 Inspector Gorst reported on several Māori village schools in the Waikato region nestled in small rural communities such as Arowhenua, Paetai, Rangiahia and Maungatautari. The schools, run by Māori teachers and parents, received no government funding or assistance. Gorst was impressed with several of the schools he visited. His description of an independent Māori School taught by three Māori teachers and run by Wiremu Tamihana in Matamata in 1862, follows:

All the children read Māori perfectly. All wrote down Māori dictated by the teacher, legibly and without any mistakes. They wrote on slates. Their knowledge of arithmetic was most creditable, on the whole the best I have met with any Māori school. They intoned the multiplication and pence tables, and answered easily all the questions put on these subjects. All could write down figures for any number

named, no one failed in a question in addition, and all but three succeeded in reducing a proposed number of ‘twopences’ to pounds (AJHR, 1862, E-4, p. 5).⁶⁹

Gorst was impressed with the high level of classroom organization and teacher effectiveness.

Another Māori teacher who impressed Pākehā officials was Mary Tautari. Mary Tautari had run a successful private school in Kawakawa with 30-40 students. She was highly regarded as a teacher and encouraged to set up a Native School by Sir Donald McLean. In 1875 she was the first Māori person appointed as head teacher of a Native School. In 1878, she was highly commended by writer J. Grey on his travels around Northland, as an outstanding teacher. He wrote:

There was none of them [Native Schools] with which I was so highly pleased as with the select boarding school established at a place called Taumarere, three miles distant from Kawa Kawa. This excellent school is one which the Native Department may well feel proud of. It is conducted by Mrs Tautari than whom a more accomplished mistress is not in the service of the Government (Grey, 1878, p. 24).

While visiting inspectors reported that some Māori teachers in the Māori village schools struggled (often due to lack of resources), some Māori teachers were highly competent and successfully taught the skills of literacy and numeracy.

The active involvement of Māori teachers in these early schools is not to say that Māori did not desire to be taught by Pākehā teachers. Māori not only recognised the salient role of the teacher, but the contribution that teachers *as Pākehā* could make to the technological transformation that Māori wanted to engage in. Just as Māori wanted to establish relationships with missionaries to advance (amongst other things) their literacy skills in Māori and English, Māori also wanted Pākehā teachers to enhance their western knowledge base or strengthen their political position. In 1858, Tamihana Te Rauparaha specifically requested a “really good English Master to take charge of the school” (Simon, 1998, p. 8). Tamihana Te Rauparaha recognised that Pākehā teachers brought with them not only their technical skills and curriculum

⁶⁹ Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, frequently to AJHR, are papers tabled in the New Zealand House of Representatives. These include reports of government departments, financial statements, reports of commissions and Royal Commissions and reports of Parliamentary Select Committees.

knowledge, but cultural expertise. His calls for a Pākehā teacher was an opportunity to learn about western knowledge, values and cultural systems at a time when Māori were attempting to establish some form of inter-tribal unity and combat Pākehā appeals for land (Simon, 1990, p. 8, 1998). In addition to learning English literacy skills, Māori wanted to learn about Pākehā cultural characteristics to cultivate better relationships, position themselves more usefully in relation to land dealings, trade and inter-tribal politics. Pākehā teachers were advantageous to Māori trying to protect their own interests. In some quarters, so strong was the call for Pākehā teachers, that in 1877 a petition was presented by Wi Te Hakiro with 336 others requesting that teachers of Native Schools be completely unfamiliar with Māori language and culture (Ramsay, 1973, p. 40).

In terms of secondary education, it was the missionaries again who provided schooling for Māori students. The missionaries established the boarding schools (also referred to as ‘central institutions’) intent on exerting a ‘civilising’ influence over the students. This was to be achieved by removing Māori students from the “demoralizing influence of the kainga” (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 19) and immersing them in an European environment all day, for seven days a week, and most months of the year. Under the Education Ordinance Act 1847, these boarding schools also received a small amount of funding from the government, some were provided with land grants, which assisted with the provision of livestock, farm equipment, and funding money for buildings (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). In exchange, the boarding schools, like the village mission schools, were subject to the government’s conditions under the Education Ordinance Act. Usually Māori would provide land for the school and the school’s farm, as well as contribute money and food. In 1852 there were numerous boarding schools attached to mission stations that housed several hundred Māori students (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). By 1887 four denominational boarding schoolings received government support by providing scholarships for some of the students. St. Stephens School (in Auckland) and Te Aute (in Hawkes Bay) were boarding schools for boys, and Huakarere (in Hawkes Bay) and St Joseph’s School (in Hawkes Bay) were boarding schools for girls.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ In 1887, 74 of the students attending the four denominational boarding schools received a government scholarship, 82 were private students (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 162).

Church boarding schools were also the place where many Māori students first became involved in teaching. Enacting again the *aitanga* relationship between Māori and the missionaries, and repeating the cycle of *ako*, there are several accounts of former Māori students going on to teach in the mission schools. At St. Stephens School, one hundred years before Awi followed a similar path, Rota Waitoa began as a student during the 1850s and then went on to become the Assistant Master there (Old, 1994). At Huakarere Girls Boarding School, Ange Down started as a pupil, five years later in 1880 she took on the position as assistant teacher (Jenkins & Morris Mathews, 1995). Later another pupil Mere Hana Hall became the principal at Hukarere in 1928 (Jenkins & Morris Mathews, 1995). At Te Aute, in 1885, Inspector Pope (the first Native Schools inspector) notes the excellent work of Māori teacher Walter Wi Papa (a former student). With a cautious tone, Pope conceded that if Walter Wi Papa is an example of what a Māori teacher can achieve in the teaching of English, more Māori could possibly be trained to teach Māori students. Approving of the work of Māori teachers (to teach English, an important part of the ‘civilising’ aim), Pope applauded the ‘effectiveness’ of Māori teachers.

The churches generally viewed the boarding schools as a training institution specifically for teaching. In 1852 Bishop Selwyn issued the Church of England’s plan, which involved establishing the Diocesan Colleges as a place where Māori students were to be trained, primarily as school teachers. That same year an Anglican boarding school for Māori boys was established in Waimate with the explicit intention of teaching English and training the senior boys as teachers (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). The following year, Governor George Grey sent a proposal to the Bishop of New Zealand, the Superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission and the Roman Catholic Bishop that attempted to consolidate the mission school education system. The proposal included government funding to each of the respective churches to aid in the training of teachers. At that time, the Governor also foresaw that the mission-run schools would train their ‘most promising’ Māori scholars as teachers. The notion of Māori teachers for Māori students was not only accepted, but actively encouraged by the church, and at that stage, by the government too. Grey suggested the teachers should receive an annual salary of ten pounds and hoped that the boarding schools would produce enough Māori teachers to run the mission village schools.

The 1860s were a turbulent time for Māori; many schools were deserted as Māori turned their attention to issues of sovereignty, played out in the New Zealand land wars. Mission schools fell from favour, and had not turned out enough Māori teachers. The popularity of the mission schools, in particular the primary schools, had ended. The government was increasingly coming to recognise the importance of teachers and the powerful nature of their work amongst Māori communities. However, there was some debate amongst the missionaries and government representatives as to whether or not it was useful for Māori to be teaching Māori students. The Bishop of Waiapu, William Williams, advocated for Māori teachers on the basis of financial constraints (the salary of 'English masters' were too expensive). Whereas School Inspector Taylor questioned the competency of Māori teachers as the government moved towards a state-funded schooling system for Māori children. Taylor argued:

The education of children under a Native teacher which must not be lost sight of, and that is, his inability to train the children to the habits and usages of civilised life – for I maintain that so long as a Native School exists in a Native settlement under a Native teacher ... the children must continue rude, uncivilized and barbarous ... We cannot expect a Native teacher to combat single-handed against customs almost honoured for their antiquity, or make headway where natural inclinations and parental example are perseveringly opposed to him (AJHR, 1862, E-4, p. 36).

Despite the training, experience and effectiveness that Māori teachers had demonstrated in mission-run schools and in independent Māori schools, the government was to reconsider whether Māori were the 'appropriate' teachers, especially in light of the agenda of assimilation and the role schooling was intended to play as in the process of colonisation.

Native School teachers

From the outset the aim of the state-led Native School system, established under the 1867 Native Schools Act, was to assimilate and 'civilise' Māori. As Jenkins (2000) points out, the curriculum of the mission schools and the Native Schools was not vastly different; rather it was the power relations between Māori and the government that had changed. Assuming the right to control the 'education' of the Māori, the government set out to replace te reo and tikanga Māori with English language and western knowledge, which was to be achieved through a selected narrow curriculum

as well as the appointing of ‘appropriate’ teachers in Native Schools. The government erroneously envisaged that assimilation through schooling would be a simple operation. In 1900, in a review of Native Schools, Pope reiterated the ‘basic formula’:

It should be remembered that the problem to be dealt with was almost entirely new; it was to bring an untutored but intelligent and high-spirited people into line with our civilisation, and to do this, to a large extent, by instructing them in the use of our language, and by placing in Māori settlements European school-buildings, and European families to serve as teachers and especially as exemplars of a new and more desirable mode of life (AHJR, 1900, E-2, p. 16).

Alongside the exclusive medium of English language and the physical structures of English culture embedded in the buildings and surrounds (including the gardens), teachers were seen as a crucial part of this educative approach. Pākehā teachers would not only be able to instruct, but be vital conduits of English culture, values and worldviews.

Although Awi did not attend a Native School, his experience at a small two-teacher predominantly Māori school in the rural community of Te Puia Springs on the East Coast exemplified the influential nature of a single Pākehā teacher. Alisa Corrie-Johnstone not only shared knowledge and a love for learning, but also her culture, customs, values, beliefs and worldviews. She instructed through poetry, song, the cultivating of gardens, her general conduct, and her dedication to the students and community. Being interviewed about the impact individual Pākehā teachers had in Native Schools, L. T. Smith says:

So you look at this picture [of a female Pākehā teacher] and say, “Wow! How did this teacher survive, this one woman teacher”. But, secondly, “How come we lost our language and there was just one white teacher? What was going on that meant that the community was clearly a dominantly Māori community and the teacher was one, possibly two if her husband was there, three if their child was there. What was in that teacher’s power? What was the nature of the power?” The teachers were the registrars of birth, marriage and death; they had judicial powers in isolated communities ... they were powerful. You look at the photograph and go, “oh my God, how could this have happened, one individual?” (Battiste, Bell, & Findlay, 2002, p. 184).

Ailsa Corrie-Johnstone too was powerful; Awi’s pūrākau portrays that the impact of the work of a highly effective and dedicated teacher is life-long. Unlike some Pākehā

teachers who refused to engage at a personal level with Māori, Ailsa, who never married or had any children of her own, was closely associated with the Māori community and became a mentor and friend to students like Awi. Fully committed to her role as a ‘teacher’ in the school and the community, Ailsa Corrie-Johnstone successfully transmitted a western curriculum and Pākehā cultural knowledge.

The Department of Native Affairs was acutely aware of the cultural contribution teachers made in schools. In an effort to improve Native Schools, Inspector Pope drew up the 1880 Native Schools’ Code (AJHR, 1880, H-1F, p. 1-7). Among other things, the Native Schools’ Code reinforced the cultural significance of the teacher by officially specifying who was to be considered ‘suitable’ to teach Māori children. They were teacher-certificated, married, Pākehā men. The male was expected to act as the “master of the school” and the female as the “sewing mistress” (AJHR, 1880, H-1F, p. 1). These teachers were not only required to instruct, but also expected to exert a “beneficial influence as role models of Pākehā culture both in their professional and personal lifestyles” (AJHR, 1880, H-1F, p. 1). Teachers were expected to be “direct exponents of the new culture” (Ball, 1940, p. 277) and thus be agents of assimilation.

The reality, however, was that there were not enough certificated, married, male teachers who applied for teaching positions in Native Schools. Nearly fifty years after the beginning on the Native School system, in 1914, 86% of the teachers at Native Schools were still uncertificated⁷¹ (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 151). As a result, certificated single women as well as unqualified Pākehā married men were appointed to fulfill the role of teachers.⁷² Although the 1880 Native Schools’ Code did not specify that teachers should be Pākehā, Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) argue that the preference for Pākehā teachers was taken for granted. The idea that Pākehā teachers were favoured was made more apparent when a provision was created to address staffing shortage in 1867 that enabled Māori to enter the Native Schools “when it may be found impossible to provide English teachers” (Barrington &

⁷¹ This number had decreased to 50% in 1924, and 36.5% by 1931 (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 151).

⁷² Under the 1931 Regulations men wishing to be appointed as teacher had to be married (see Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 36). An amendment was made in 1934 to enable schools with a roll exceeding 100 students to have one male assistant (see New Zealand Gazette, vol II, May 17, 1934, p. 1451 cit. in Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 312).

Beaglehole, 1974, p. 101). Although Māori were not considered to be the ideal teaching applicants, with more than fifty years collective experience as teachers at mission schools and independent community-based schools, Māori continued to act as teachers, this time in the state-run Native School system.

Māori teachers in Native Schools

It was mainly Māori women who entered Native Schools in the role as junior assistants. Teaching, considered an esteemed job by Māori, was a rare opportunity for Māori women to enter a profession that was not related to domestic service.⁷³ Although primarily responsible for assisting the younger children of the school, the junior assistant took direction from the head teacher and infant mistress. As a result, the junior assistant's work could range from carrying out specific tasks to being fully involved in the life of the school (Simon & Smith, 2001). In 1909, Inspector Bird found that Māori women were successfully fulfilling the role of the junior assistant. He reports, "speaking from our own observation, we have no hesitation in saying that some of the more competent assistants in the service are Māori girls" (AJHR 1909, E-2, p. 3). Junior assistants were paid salaries and received between two and four years of post-primary training.

By 1930, Inspector Bird was encouraging more Māori into teaching and echoed the sentiment that the Māori boarding schools, in particular Māori girls' boarding schools, should play a key role in preparing Māori teachers. He reports:

In the girls' colleges attention is concentrated upon teaching domestic arts – cooking, dressmaking, laundry-work, first-aid, and home nursing. While these are very necessary, it would be worthwhile for a number of the more intellectual girls to study for the Training College Entrance Examination with a view to qualifying as teachers for native schools where a number of the girls find positions as junior assistants (AJHR, 1930, E-3, p. 7).

For many, Māori boarding school was still the training ground for entering teaching. In 1940 Ball reflected on the capabilities of Māori women as junior assistants. He wrote, "There are more than one hundred of these positions [junior assistants], and their continuance has been fully justified by the outstanding service rendered by the Māori girls" (Ball, 1940, p. 289).

⁷³ Māori men were generally encouraged into technical and agricultural domains (Simon & Smith, 2001).

Despite the junior role that many Māori teachers had in the early years of the Native School system, their Māori cultural competencies were recognised by the head teachers as well as the Native Affairs Department as useful in the instructing of Māori students. Māori teachers were valued because of their bilingual and bicultural abilities; they were especially useful in helping new entrants make the transition from their home environment to an English immersion and culturally foreign learning context. A special provision was made in the 1880 Native Schools Code to allow Māori teachers to speak Māori, even though the overall aim was that Māori language should be dispensed with entirely at school. The Native Schools Code stated that in the junior level “Māori language may be used for the purpose of making the children acquainted with the meanings of English words and sentences” (AJHR, 1880, H-1F, p. 1). Māori teachers helped the new entrants, who usually could not speak any English, to understand how to operate at school. Beyond the role of inducting Māori language speakers into an English language context, some Māori teachers continued to speak in Māori to the children in and outside the classroom, regardless of the official policy. The oral narratives of former pupils and teachers of the Native Schools report that Māori language was sometimes included in learning programmes and used to mediate disputes between students in the playground (Simon & Smith, 2001).

As L. T. Smith pointed out (Battiste et al., 2002), teachers of Native Schools were often powerful people in schools and in the local community; their roles included Registrar of Births and Deaths of Māori and Postmaster. Although teachers were closely involved with the families in their district, Simon and Smith (2001) note that unlike Awi's teacher, Ailsa Corrie-Johnstone, it was not usual for Pākehā Native School teachers to form close relationships with the local people outside their public roles. Simon and Smith (2001) described Native School teachers as either ‘idealistic entrants’ (teachers with an interest in Māori and/or the Church) or ‘pragmatic entrants’ (teachers who entered because of their social circumstances, such as few other employment prospects). According to their study 80% of the Pākehā former Native School teachers they interviewed, fell into the latter category (Simon & Smith, 2001). The general reluctance by Pākehā teachers to engage in personal relations with Māori in their communities was also due to wanting to maintain a professional distance and retain the status as the teacher. In some cases, Pākehā teachers avoided

Māori contexts such as tangihanga because they felt culturally inept (Simon & Smith, 2001). More often than not, Pākehā teachers were not inclined to form close relationships with Māori in the community nor were they interested in increasing their knowledge of Māori language and culture, beyond their role as teacher.⁷⁴

In contrast to the ‘removed’ manner of many Pākehā teachers, Māori teachers usually taught within their own communities, so it was not possible for them to act with indifference. Māori teachers were familiar with the family environs as well as connected through whakapapa, which provided access to what Nepe (1991) calls kaupapa Māori knowledge. This cultural knowledge enabled Māori teachers to ‘work’ in culturally appropriate ways, and to draw on Māori frameworks, such as ako. The importance of whakapapa knowledge is evident in Awi’s pūrākau. An understanding of who the students are deeply affects the relationship between teachers and students *as Māori*. One of Awi’s Māori teachers, Hoani Waititi demonstrated his kaupapa Māori knowledge and cultural compatibility with his Māori students through, what Awi describes as, doing “a little bit extra”. Playing sports, entertaining them, buying and sharing food, visiting their parents – practising aroha and caring for them *as Māori*. Hoani Waititi treated them more like his whānaunga (relations) rather than ‘students’. In turn, Awi and his Māori colleagues unconsciously incorporated values such as manaakitanga and tiaki through sharing of kai as part of the ‘work’ or role as Māori teachers. Teaching the students to dive for kaimoana and to catch eels was also considered a normal part of teaching and learning; it was in fact an expression of ako – skills and knowledge important to, and for Māori.

The extent to which Māori teachers utilised ako in the Native Schools is difficult to ascertain. Māori teachers have been described by their students, however, as “bringing a different style to their teaching” (Simon, 1990, p. 103). Some Māori teachers spoke te reo Māori to their students, built close relationships with their communities and incorporated aspects of Māori culture in their teaching practice (Simon & Smith, 2001). Appointed as a Native School teacher at Te Kapotai in 1876,

⁷⁴ Despite the reasons Pākehā teachers chose to teach in Native Schools many were disconnected to the communities from which the students came, there were also some Pākehā teachers who were dedicated to their work, the students and families (2001).

Mary Ann Horsley⁷⁵ is an example of a Māori teacher selected by her community.⁷⁶ She was also someone whose cultural perspective and her role as a whānau member heavily influenced her pedagogical practice. Simon and Smith (2001) write:

Whānau involvement was an important aspect of the Native Schools, and pupils were often closely related. At Te Kapotai, Mary Ann was similarly linked to the wider school community and to the pupils in her care through ancestral, traditional and spiritual bonds. These links supported values such as mutual caring and support, and co-operative working, learning and teaching, with the emphasis on group rather than individual outcomes. Constant observation, practice and performance taught children proficiency. Knowledge was thus absorbed, rather than instructed through monologue (p. 88).

Simon and Smith (2001) contend that government officials did not recognise Mary Ann Horsley's community connections or cultural competences, rather Inspector Pope found her (cultural) 'style' of teaching to be a point of contention. Largely because she retained her Māori cultural values in the classroom, she was described by Pope as inexperienced and ignorant of modern teaching methods. Not all Māori teachers, however, included Māori culture in their work (Simon & Smith, 2001). In a schooling environment that promoted English language and culture as superior, it is not surprising that some Māori teachers only incorporated particular aspects of Māori culture and/or avoided Māori language and culture altogether.

Apart from the Māori culture of the teacher, the Māoriness of the students also influenced the atmosphere at Native Schools. Most of the students were not only Māori, but related to each other. Whānaungatanga (an important element of ako) amongst the students, including concepts such as tuakana-teina relationships (whereby older siblings assist and support younger siblings) impacted on schooling. One former Native School teacher interviewed by Simon and Smith (2001) explains:

We found over the years that the best teachers ever in Māori Schools were Māori children. You got the [older] children to help teach the younger ones (p. 98)

Tuakana responsibilities included protecting their teina (younger siblings) from reprimands by ensuring that they understood the rules and routines, reminding the

⁷⁵ Mary Ann Horsley was officially considered 'European' because she had a Pākehā father (Simon & Smith, 2001).

⁷⁶ Although Māori parents had no executive power to select the teachers of Native Schools they often recommended to the Department a prospective teacher, as was the case with Mary Ann Horsely (Simon & Smith, 2001).

teina of what was culturally appropriate at times such as ‘morning talk’, and ensuring that their younger siblings arrived home safely (Simon, 1998). Like Māori teachers, Māori students too continued to operate in culturally relevant ways to enhance the teaching and learning.

Māori parents also demonstrated that they also had clear expectations of schooling and of the teachers. As early as 1858 Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Mātene Te Whiwhi and Hukiki of Ngāti Toa expressed that they were unhappy with the way their mission school was being run (Simon, 1998). Similarly in 1867, Paora Tūhaere of Ōrākei complained that Māori children “were set to work as servants” (AJHR, 1867, A-3, p.1). Māori parents complained “We thought you took our children from us to give them schooling, but instead of that you are making slaves of them” (AJHR, 1867, A-3, p. 15). So strong was the opposition by Māori parents to poor teaching, the government soon recognised that a ‘bad master’ could cause the end of a Native School altogether because the Māori community would refuse to support it. Inspector Pope explained:

If the Natives have a master sent to them by the Government, and he treats the children cruelly and misbehaves himself, the Māoris conclude that, as he is probably a fair specimen of what schoolmasters generally are, they would rather manage to rub along without one, that education is a great mistake, and that they will have no more of it (AJHR, 1883, E-3, pp. 6-7).

Cultural expectations dictated that children should not be ill-treated, subject to hard physical labour. Like Awi’s grandmother and mother, Māori parents in the late 1800s wanted access to academic knowledge when they made it clear that they did not want their children to only participate in industrial training in schools. Not afraid to make complaints, Māori parents continued to express their opinions at Native School through the school committees⁷⁷ about teachers’ conduct, and classroom management. Simon (1998) writes:

There were cases of School Committees insisting that teachers be removed from their schools for such things as including ‘too much

⁷⁷ Native School committees were usually elected members of the Māori community. Unlike the school committees of Public Schools, the Native School committees had no control over the school finances, nor were they able to officially recommend teachers for appointment or dismissal. Instead they were responsible for the cleaning of the school and provision of firewood. Simon and Smith (2001) point out that these committees played an important role in supporting the teacher and strengthening the relationship between the teacher and the community.

drill' in the school programme, cutting the children's hair, threatening to hit children and actually hitting them (p. 33)

Opposed to cutting the children's hair (hair was considered sacred) the use of corporal punishment (physical punishment of children was considered abhorrent), Māori parents not only expected teachers to teach knowledge and skills but behave in culturally appropriate ways.

Despite the technical and cultural competencies of Māori teachers, discourses of 'race' and civilisation overshadowed the ways they were viewed by the government and Pākehā. The racialising of Māori teachers was clear in the Department of Native Affairs' preference for the 'type' of Māori teacher they accepted. The expectation was that if Māori were to become teachers, it was the 'Europeanised Māori' that would be able to transform Māori children into 'civilised' ways of thinking and modes of behaviour. The notion of the 'Europeanised Māori' teacher was articulated in the 'Rules of the Native Teachers' School' (set up as part of St John's College to train Māori in teaching and Scriptural knowledge). The 'First Class' teacher was one who pledged to adopt English ways of living, specifically, "to divide his house into rooms, to abstain from smoking, to take care of his wife and children, and attend to their improvement, to wear English clothes constantly and above all, to be regular in his attendance to Church and School" (cit. in Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, pp. 47-48). On the other hand the "Third Class" teacher was considered someone who wanted to learn English but had not yet forgone their "native habits" (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 48). In short, the 'good' Māori teacher was someone who discarded his/her 'nativeness' as 'inferior' and replaced it with Pākehā culture, values, beliefs and knowledge.

Officially 'Europeanised Māori' were those that had Pākehā 'blood', or in relation to teaching had adopted 'civilised' social habits, and would therefore not compromise the aim of teaching in English only. It was likely that Mary Tautari, recognised for her outstanding work in Taumarere Native School, was considered a 'Europeanised Māori' teacher. Grey described her as being "by birth a half-caste ... [who had] received an excellent education, [and was] naturally intelligent" (Grey 1879, p. 20 cit. in Simon, 1998, p. 72). Similarly, 'half caste' Māori-Pākehā children were thought to inherently possess more potential to improve (and thus become 'civilised') than other

Māori children. Some Pākehā believed that a European ancestry improved the racial mix. In a letter to Governor Grey in 1850, Morgan, a Pākehā teacher at Otawhao wrote:

I am persuaded that we cannot admit and educate the natives with the Half Caste children without a decided injury to the latter. A school for the Half Caste race ought to be in every respect an English school. A mixed school would not prosper for the natives would considerably retard the Half Caste children in the acquisition of the English language, neither would a school on the mixed plan give satisfaction to the European parents in general ... We feel it our duty to provide more comfortable accommodations, as well as a better dietary for the Half Caste than we should for the Māori children (cit. in Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 51).

Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) note that Morgan's school for 'half castes' failed. Māori and 'half caste' children attended the school without any distinguishable social or intellectual characteristics or differences. However, theories of 'race' continued to advance that white people were at the top of the 'evolutionary ladder', and Māori (as a dark-skinned people) and culture were by their very 'nature', sub-standard.

Discourses of race also saw Native Schools, sometimes referred to as a 'Māori institution' (Ball, 1940, p. 300), regarded by Pākehā as not as 'good' as public board schools.⁷⁸ Sometimes Native Schools were deemed inferior because of the higher number of uncertificated staff. Simon (1990) notes that as late as 1967 there was public discussion in the *North Advocate* newspaper about the lower standards of Māori schools because the teachers were less qualified. As a result, when there was a choice, Pākehā parents commonly selected the public board schools (where Māori students would make up the minority) for their children (Simon & Smith, 2001). Similarly, Native School teachers were awarded a lesser status than those teachers at public board schools; Māori and non-Māori teachers alike were regarded as 'below standard' by the Pākehā public and teachers' union (Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 243). The notion that Native Schools were lesser than board schools was reinforced by the New Zealand Educational Institute's (the primary school teachers' union) refusal to

⁷⁸ Board schools were established under the 1877 Education Act. The Department of Education established 10 boards to administer a national, free, secular and compulsory state-funded primary schooling. Māori could attend board schools but were exempt from the compulsory attendance clause till 1894.

accept Native School teachers as members up until 1935, not because of their level of qualifications, but because they taught at Native Schools.⁷⁹

It is difficult to ascertain how many Māori teachers taught at board primary schools and the impact they had at these schools. In books about the history of New Zealand primary schools do not mention Māori teachers, nor do they distinguish the ethnicity of the teachers (Cumming & Cumming, 1978; H. May, 2005). As schools originally designed for Pākehā children (and Māori children once complete assimilation had been reached) board schools made little effort to acknowledge Māori students or incorporate Māori culture (Simon, 1990). In discussing public primary schools, Ball (1940) states “No special provision despite racial differences, is made for these [Māori] children, who must take the usual course prescribed for European children” (p. 291). However, by 1914 there were more Māori pupils (4,905) attending board primary schools administered by Education Boards, than there were at Native Schools (4,531) (Ball, 1940, p. 274). This trend was to continue till the end of the Native School system (there were also more public primary schools than Native schools).

From the inception of the state-funded Native School system, Māori teachers were precariously positioned. The inclusion of Māori teachers in Native Schools was, to a large extent, a last resort. With the goal of assimilation, the *aitanga* relationship in relation to schooling between Māori and Pākehā had come to an end. The government, intent on utilising schooling as a civilising tool, did not want to accept Māori language in the school grounds lest it threaten the English language (and culture) only environment. Officially Māori teachers were only able to use their bi-lingual and bi-cultural capabilities to assist the youngest children to transition into the Native School setting; the inclusion of Māori language was only permissible in order to hasten the assimilation process. The Department of Native Affairs undoubtedly recognised Māori teachers *as Māori* evident in their desire to distinguish the more ‘suitable’ Māori teachers as ‘Europeanised Māori’. However, many Māori teachers did not compromise their identity *as Māori* and included aspects of *ako*; they

⁷⁹ The New Zealand Educational Institute excluded Native School teachers because it defined ‘teachers’ as only those teaching at public, secondary or technical schools of New Zealand as per the Education Act 1912 (Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 245).

managed to maintain some Māori language and incorporate some cultural values in their teaching.

1930s – 1960s: Teaching ‘cultural adaptation’

In 1930 the Department of Education⁸⁰ modified the policy of assimilation for one of ‘cultural adaptation’. There were several reasons for this shift in policy. Despite the government’s efforts to assimilate Māori into Pākehā culture through the influence of Native Schools, a survey undertaken in 1930 found that 95% of the Māori graduates of Native Schools were still speaking Māori in their homes and retained traditional cultural customs (Ball, 1940). Native School Inspector Ball (1940) believed that schooling had failed to assimilate Māori because Māori had continued to live *as Māori* (viewed as a negative and ‘backward’ way of life) within their communities. Furthermore the disconnection between the Native Schools and the community had hindered the ‘progress’ students could make towards Europeanisation. Ball argued that the adaptation of Māori culture (to that of Pākehā), through the inclusion of selected aspects of Māori culture in the curriculum, would be more effective because it would provide opportunities for Māori community members to become involved in school, and in turn, the Native Schools could exert a greater influence over Māori whānau and their communities. The cultural adaptation policy offered the Department of Education another, more covert way of still achieving its ‘civilising’ goal.

The move to include Māori culture in schools was also due, in part, to pressure exerted in the 1930s by a powerful segment of Māori society – Māori leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata and Te Puea Herangi. Concerned about the decreasing numbers of people expert in the traditional arts of carving and weaving, Māori leaders promoted a ‘cultural renaissance’. An important strategy part of the cultural revitalization strategy (that extended to other cultural activities including Māori song and dance) was the push to teach Māori culture in Native Schools. Alongside the building of new wharenui, and the growing popularity of kapa haka compositions, Māori culture in the curriculum was also part of the thrust by Māori communities to ensure a regeneration of cultural knowledge and skills.

⁸⁰ In 1897 the Native Schools shifted from the responsibility of the Department of Native Affairs to the Department of Education.

Under the cultural adaptation policy Native Schools were now required to include aspects of Māori culture, usually art and craft-type activities in the curriculum so that Native School children would “... radiate a healthy racial pride, stimulated by knowledge of and research into past history and achievements of the Māori” (Ball, 1940, p. 283). In this policy context that supposedly sought to acknowledge the cultural identity of the Māori child, Native School teachers were now required to have some appreciation of Māori culture. Conscious of the cultural capacity of most Native School teachers (moreover the lack of), the Department of Education turned their attention to up-skilling the mono-cultural majority, who were Pākehā.

Most Pākehā teachers were monolingual and deficient in knowledge of Māori language and culture. Professional development programmes for Native School teachers (referred to as ‘refresher courses’) were set up by the Department of Education and led by cultural exponents including Sir Apirana Ngata, Dr Tutere Wi Repa, Pine Taiapa, Hera Rogers and Ann Warbrick. These refresher courses began in 1936 in Kaikohe, Rotorua and Tikitiki (Simon & Smith, 2001) and provided an opportunity for teachers to learn about Māori history and culture as well as Māori carving, weaving and songs. The *New Zealand Education Gazette* began a Native Schools’ Column in 1931 that also assisted teachers to incorporate activities that promoted elements of Māori culture. The inclusion of Māori culture aimed to engender a sense of pride amongst the Māori children. In 1939 introductory lessons in the Māori language and culture for the mainly monocultural Pākehā teacher workforce began at Wellington [Teachers’] Training College – the start of what was to become a feature of teacher preparation in New Zealand. In 1940, former Native School Inspector Ball acknowledged that Native Schools were still mainly staffed by Pākehā teachers, he also recognised that “not one percent of whom [Pākehā teachers] has facility in the Māori language” (Ball, 1940, p. 299).

By the 1950s, Peter Ramsay (1973) contends that it was generally accepted in New Zealand education that “Māori culture had a significant role to play in New Zealand schools” (p. 43). In 1956 the Consultative Committee on the Recruitment, Education and Training of Teachers recommended that all pre-service teachers should have a knowledge and appreciation of Māori culture (Recommendation 46 cit. in Ramsay, 1973, p. 43) and school publications were beginning to include more Māori history

and cultural information. The revision of the Arts and Crafts syllabus in 1958 and the Social Studies syllabus in 1961 also incorporated Māori culture in much more depth than had previously been accorded. Despite the opportunities available to teachers to up-skill themselves and incorporate Māori culture into the school curriculum, there were varying degrees of emphasis on Māori culture in the classroom.

While some Native School teachers successfully implemented the cultural adaptation policy in their schools, others only accorded Māori culture cursory attention (Simon & Smith, 2001). Some teachers complained of an increased workload, lack of training, and limited knowledge and skills, as barriers to include Māori culture in their school programme (Barrington, 1985). The oral testimonies of former Native School students and teachers collected in Simon and Smith's (2001) study confirm that the inclusion of Māori culture in the curriculum was variable, highly dependent on the motivations and skills of the teachers. There were also some Māori who did not support the inclusion of Māori culture in the curriculum. They questioned whether it was appropriate to teach certain Māori cultural knowledge and skills in a Pākehā school context outside of, and disconnected to Māori cultural safeguards, protocols and norms (Barrington, 1985). Whereas ako ensured a holistic approach to teaching and learning, Māori culture in an English dominated curriculum could be easily reduced to objects of 'arts and crafts'. Because of the barriers, and despite the good intentions of many teachers, most Pākehā teachers did not incorporate Māori culture into their daily curriculum in any meaningful way (Simon & Smith, 2001).

In light of the cultural adaptation policy, Māori teachers were at an advantage. Before the introduction of Māori culture in the curriculum, numbers of Māori teachers were still relatively few in number. In 1910 there were only three Māori head teachers (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 151); the majority of Māori teachers remained in the role of junior assistants (Simon & Smith, 2001). During the 1930s, however, numbers of Māori teachers began to gradually increase as more opportunities to gain the teaching qualifications became available. In 1936, Māori junior assistants had the opportunity to become certificated teachers. The Correspondence School offered tuition that allowed Māori junior assistants to gain the qualifications required to enter Teachers' College. At the same time Continuation Scholarships, funded by the Māori

Purposes Fund Board were introduced, enabled Māori secondary boarding school students to enter Teachers College (C. W. Smith, 2002, p. 244).

In addition to the aforementioned initiatives, a special course for Native School teachers began in 1939 at the Wellington Teachers' College. In 1940 the first intake of four students became part of this course; there were two Māori students in this group (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 219). By 1948, 37 students were admitted to training colleges under the Native School's quota (AJHR 1948, E-3, p. 4). Although not created specifically for Māori, what became known as the Māori Schools' quota⁸¹ enabled Māori who had attained entrance qualifications (School Certificate) admittance to Training Colleges under its own allocation. Included in this course was Māori language, and the graduates were able to teach at either a public or Māori School. Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) note between 1940 and 1953, 381 Māori completed their teacher training course under the quota. By the end of the 1960s the number of Māori entering through the teacher training quota system had more than doubled, from 38 Māori trainees in 1962 to 83 Māori trainees in 1967 (Auckland Star 31 May 1967 cit. in C. W. Smith, 2002, p. 245). In Native Schools, Māori represented one-third of the teaching force in 1936 (Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 80). By 1961, Māori teachers nearly made up half (48%) of Māori School teachers (Commission on Education in New Zealand, 1962, p. 423).

The increased supply of Māori teachers was supported by greater numbers of Māori students attending Māori Schools and primary board schools, in particular, secondary schools. Previously, only a few Māori received government grants (Continuation Scholarships) to enable them to undertake secondary schooling at the Māori boarding schools. These scholarships were virtually the only opportunity for Māori to receive secondary education. Furthermore, to be eligible to enter secondary school one had to pass the Proficiency examination, which few Māori did. C. W. Smith (2002) notes that in 1906 the large majority of Māori failed the Proficiency examinations. She says, "only 29 of 4,183 pupils attending Native Schools passed ... and most of these pupils were Pākehā" (p. 143). C. W. Smith also points out that these figures didn't change for the next 30 years. In 1936 there was a relaxation of the criteria to pursue

⁸¹ In 1947 Native Schools' name changed to Māori Schools. The term 'Native' was removed in all official usage at this time.

secondary education (the Proficiency exam was abolished), and in 1941 the establishment of Māori District High Schools began in the remoter parts of rural New Zealand which saw Māori student numbers at secondary schools gradually increase. In 1936 not more than 8.4% of 13-17 year old Māori students attended secondary school, by 1951 this number had risen to about 30% (IRI, 1999). The increased numbers of Māori accessing secondary education provided a greater opportunity for more Māori to become Māori teachers.

In the context of cultural adaptation, Māori teachers were much better positioned to incorporating Māori culture into the curriculum and culturally cater for Māori students. The Department of Education was aware of the bi-cultural competencies of Māori teachers (and limitation of Pākehā teachers), as many Pākehā teachers relied on the expertise of the Māori teachers and junior assistants in Native Schools to teach Māori cultural activities. From Simon and Smith's (2001) interviews with those previously involved with Native Schools, they found:

... when aspects of Māori culture were included in a school's curriculum, it was frequently because there were Māori teachers on the school staff to teach such programmes (p. 177).

The cultural competencies of Māori teachers again proved to be useful to the Department of Education; this time it was not their bi-lingualism but their cultural knowledge, community contacts and their identity *as Māori*. In 1943, with Māori teachers still in the minority, the Department of Education appointed itinerant Māori advisors in arts, crafts and music to regularly visit Māori Schools and assist teachers with their Māori programmes.

Despite the inclusion of aspects of Māori culture in the curriculum, the increase in the number of Māori teachers and appointment of itinerant Māori advisors, the cultural adaptation policy retained its assimilationist thrust. According to a former Māori School teacher, Powell (1955), 'cultural adaptation' merely saw a mono-cultural British-based education system "garnished rather ineffectually by a few extras called Māori activities" (p. 265). The emphasis in Native Schools continued to be the teaching of English, 'health hygiene', and manual training ('housecraft' for the girls, agriculture and woodwork for the boys). The minor addition of Māori culture did not detract from the overall function of schooling for Māori, which was to train Māori *to*

live as 'Europeans' (albeit to fulfill limited vocations). While Māori language was still secure and spoken in Māori homes, Māori also wanted to learn English and have access to western knowledge through schooling. The distinction however, was that Māori did not wish to compromise their identity *as Māori*. As Sir Apirana Ngata (1939) stated in 1939, there was “nothing worse than for one to be with Māori features but without his own language” (p. 24). Both the government and Māori recognised the centrality of one’s own language in the maintenance of culture and identity, but desired the inclusion of Māori culture in the curriculum for different ends.

In effect, the state’s so-called dramatic shift from an explicit assimilationist to cultural adaptation policy amounted to little more than political rhetoric. Māori culture in the curriculum was not only narrowly defined and relegated to mainly arts and crafts, but also often poorly implemented by the majority of teachers who had little knowledge about Māori culture. Māori teachers were recognised as useful in so far as they were able to implement the cultural adaptation policy. Māori teachers were viewed by the government as part of the process of schooling, rather than as partners in the education endeavour. Jenkins (2000) contends that the government’s desire to assimilate Māori nullified any *aitanga* relationship, because one partner wanted the other partner in the relationship to disappear! The low status of Māori teachers (*as Māori*) was reinforced when the suitability of Māori teachers to achieve the government’s aim of education of Māori (synonymous with assimilation) was again raised by some educationalists. In 1931, Gould (1931), a professor of Education at Victoria University College wrote:

Nor will it [education] be achieved by the appointment of inexperienced natives whose methods of living and ideals of existence are on a plane with those lives they are to uplift. The teachers must lead the people, and to ask native teachers to do this is to ask the blind to lead the blind ... Those schools throughout the Pacific – they were many in my time – which native teachers controlled were a stumbling block to progress, whether they were under the supervision of a mission or not. I doubt very much whether the time is even now arrived when the native teacher can be permitted any but a very minor part in the school education of his people (p. 185).

Gould viewed Māori as too culturally inept to teach, to ‘civilise’ or assist in the assimilation process. The Māori teacher was still seen as inherently deficient due to his or her racial, ethnic and cultural background.

Despite some negative views towards Māori teachers, by the end of the 1960s Māori teachers had become more significant in Māori School staffing demographics. Māori Schools continued to be dominated by Māori students⁸² and increasingly seen as part of Māori communities themselves (Simon & Smith, 1990). Māori School Inspector H. Holst acknowledged that the Māori Schools had become a Māori institution. In 1957, he stated:

For years [the Māori] have looked upon their school as their own. They have cleaned it every day and have cut the lawns and maintained the gardens ... they have felt themselves to be members of a community. Their teachers have been interested in their health, their cleanliness, their clothing and have been quick to investigate reasons for absences. The pupils have come to interpret these outward signs as indicative of the measure in which their teacher is interested in them as persons. Their curriculum has been planned around their immediate interests and needs. Significant aspects of their Māoritanga have been emphasised ... Furthermore, because of the very nature of the community in which they live, their teachers know their parents, their homes, their families ... The pupils have come to look upon their teachers almost as second parents: they know their house, their car, their children; they feel that teachers are real people (Holst, 1957, *The Māori child's first year at post-primary school*. Education, 6 (3), cit. in Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 251).

Many families had also developed a historical relationship with Māori Schools and their teachers. In most cases, tribal land had been given for the buildings and tūpuna had helped establish the schools - there were whakapapa and strong emotional attachments to the schools and the land. Māori schools were not only closely connected to the communities but, as L. T. Smith argues, “Māori schools had also come to be seen as the only hope for Māori cultural survival” (Simon & Smith, 1990, p. 7). Many Māori teachers (and some Pākehā teachers) in these Māori schools were successfully incorporating Māori culture into the curriculum and responding to the interests and needs of Māori students and communities (Simon & Smith, 2001).

⁸² Simon and Smith (2001) note that in 1957 there were 160 Māori schools. 11,990 of 13,084 pupils were Māori (p. 6).

Just as Māori teachers were becoming more prominent in Māori schools, the Māori Schools system drew to a close in 1969. According to L. T. Smith:

Māori or Native schools did not come to a natural end but were ended by the state as part of the shift in state discourses on Māori and redefinition of the site of struggle. Māori schools had become a site of Māori resistance and of Māori counter-hegemony. This resistance needed to be marginalised and brought under control (Simon & Smith, 1990, p. 2).

The many gains Māori teachers had made in Māori schools with Māori students and parents were lost. Māori teachers, like Māori schools, became part of primary board schools, where Māori teachers became the minority.

Māori in secondary schools

The development of primary schooling in New Zealand became widespread especially after the 1877 Education Act made primary schooling for Pākehā children between the ages of seven and thirteen years old, compulsory and free.⁸³ In contrast, the development of public secondary schooling was uneven; post-primary education was voluntary and initially attracted only those children whose parents could afford it.⁸⁴ Secondary schools were set up locally through their own board of governors; who designed their own curricula (until 1944) and organised their annual examinations and charged fees. Nelson College was the first to open in 1856, followed by Christ's College (Christchurch), Auckland Grammar, Wanganui Collegiate and Otago Boys' High. The elitist nature of secondary schooling was reinforced by the Proficiency Certificate (not abolished till 1937), which students had to pass before gaining entry to secondary school.

Historically missionary-run boarding schools provided the only real opportunity for a small number of Māori to gain a secondary education.⁸⁵ Jenkins (2000) notes that for nearly a century, from the opening of St. Stephens in Te Araroa in 1846 till the completion of the first State-run Native District High School⁸⁶ in Ruatoria in 1941, denominational boarding schools provided secondary education for Māori. The government's preoccupation with the operationalisation of Native Schools was largely

⁸³ Schooling for Māori did not become compulsory until the 1894 School Attendance Act.

⁸⁴ The churches were the first to provide postprimary schooling, the first secondary schooling was provided at Auckland Anglican's St John's College in 1843.

⁸⁵ The Native Schools did not provide schooling higher than Standard 4 until 1898.

⁸⁶ The Native District High Schools became known as Māori District High Schools.

based on the belief that the day-schools would exert a greater influence over Māori families because they were located within their communities. In contrast, the boarding schools were viewed as not only expensive, but only able to influence individuals who would probably revert to ‘living *as Māori*’ (seen as a backward step), when they returned to the kainga (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). Subsequently, the boarding schools were controlled and administered by boards nominated by the various church authorities. The churches exercised a greater level of autonomy over the boarding schools and, as Jenkins (2000) argues, Māori were therefore able to continue more of an *aitanga* relationship with Pākehā in schooling.

The most well known example of a Māori boarding school resisting government policy is Te Aute, led by Principal John Thornton (from 1878 to 1912). Instead of teaching only limited manual-based courses, Thornton insisted that able Māori students be provided with an academic curriculum. The government was attempting to get Māori boarding schools to implement an industrial and domestic dominated curriculum, and considered secondary schooling to be largely superfluous to Māori educational needs, especially when few Pākehā were receiving secondary education.⁸⁷ While the government wanted to assimilate Māori, they also envisaged that Māori were to fulfill ‘working class’ aspirations, and therefore needed to be trained accordingly. An agricultural and carpentry focused syllabus was designed for Māori boys and domestic home-craft type of syllabus for Māori girls. Instead the boys at Te Aute were prepared for the matriculation examination, modelled on an English Grammar School. As a result, Te Aute produced a small wave of scholars during the 1880s and 1890s. Some of these graduates included prominent Māori political figures: Apriana Ngata (of Ngāti Porou, was the first Māori to graduate with a university degree, MA and LLB), Maui Pomare (of Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Toa, first Māori to graduate with a medical degree), and Te Rangi Hiroa (of Ngāti Mutunga, Taranaki, also graduated with a medical degree).

When secondary education became more accessible to the wider Māori population in the 1940s, Māori denominational boarding schools remained the preferred secondary

⁸⁷ In 1901 Inspector-General of Schools George Hogben reported that only 39 out of 10,000 Pākehā children were receiving post-primary education, and the majority of those children did not stay at secondary school for more than two years (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 170).

schooling option by Māori. Due, in part to the academic success achieved by students at Te Aute, and the strong relationships that Māori families had established with the missionaries and the boarding schools. Awi's pūrākau illustrates how his mother continued the tradition established by his grandmother of sending her children to boarding school for their secondary education. Awi also sent his three children to Māori boarding schools. As members of Ngāti Porou, an affiliation to boarding schools, especially Te Aute (through Apirana Ngata) was also strong.

Awi's mother's criticism of the local secondary school in Tokomaru Bay (a Māori District High School) was also not uncommon of Māori. While the establishment of Māori District High Schools by the government in the remoter parts of rural New Zealand provided better access for Māori students to secondary schools, they were regarded by Māori parents as "second grade" (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 232). Māori language was usually available as a subject option, however, the other subjects were industrial-based courses that aimed to prepare students for manual type work. None of the subjects at the Māori District High Schools were available as School Certificate courses. Consistent with the manual focused curriculum designated to Māori students in Native Schools, these secondary schools did not offer an academic pathway. Due to criticism and pressure from Māori parents, in 1945 the Department of Education began to introduce School Certificate level courses in the Māori District High Schools.

Furthermore, it was the relationship Māori had established with the church and the teachers that made the boarding schools the preferred secondary schooling option for their children. In her discussion of the history of Hukarere Māori Girls' Boarding School, Jenkins (2000) argues that it was the respect that Māori communities accorded the Williams family, well-known missionaries in the mid-1800s and founders of Te Aute and Hukarere, that sustained these two boarding schools through the years. A strong relationship between the missionaries/teachers gave way to the active role that Māori families played in organising school events, fundraising, and providing food and supplies to the school. Jenkins describes the relationship between Māori and the boarding schools as a reciprocal one:

... schools [Native Schools] in Māori communities have not just been centres of learning, but they have anchored communal activity. The schools have also given the community an identity, and created a

focus for the political and social life of the people who have lived there. Boarding schools have shared a similar profile (Jenkins, 2000, p. 238).

Over the years Māori boarding schools developed a good reputation in Māori communities, in turn, Māori families established a strong attachment to 'their' schools.

The connection Māori felt to Māori boarding schools is illustrated in Awi's pūrākau when he returned to St Stephen's as a teacher, a move that was not uncommon for Māori boarding school students. As previously mentioned, the boarding schools were in the habit of employing former Māori students as teachers. Awi's principal, Patrick Symth, was himself a former student of St. Stephens. He began in 1909 and became the Head Boy and Dux of the school. In all he had spent 31 years at the school (Old, 1994). At Hukarere, Agnes Down arrived in 1875 as a pupil and later became the first Māori head teacher. She spent 24 years at the school. Hukarere's principal from 1928 to 1944, Mere Hall, had an impressive 51-year association with the school as a pupil, teacher and principal. Awi's 18 years at St Stephens and 13 years at Te Aute, totalling 31 years at Māori boarding schools, was part of this tradition. These former students-turned-teachers and then principals are examples of the strong attachment students and teachers developed toward the boarding schools.

At another level, the pattern of the student becoming the teacher, much like tuakana teaching teina, can be seen as an expression of ako. The close quarters in which the students and staff worked and lived together (nearly all-year round), combined with the Māori cultural values of the community, created a whānau atmosphere and the conditions for aspects of ako to be expressed. At Hukarere the long-serving teachers were often referred to as 'Aunts' of the school (Jenkins & Morris Mathews, 1995). It was common practice, as Awi says, for the teachers to treat 'their' students like family members. Similarly the students continued their connection with the school and their teachers long after they finished their secondary education.

Māori teachers were able to make an impact *as Māori* because they were more able to bring their cultural attributes, values and beliefs to their work. Awi's favourite teacher at St Stephen's, Hoani Waititi (also a former St Stephen's student) is an example of the impact that a Māori teacher of Māori language and culture had in his

school (and in other secondary schools too). While teaching te reo Māori at St Stephens from 1949 (for eight years), Hoani Waititi also taught te reo Māori at Queen Victoria School and lectured at Auckland Teachers' College. He also wrote two Māori language textbooks *Te Rangatahi 1* and *Te Rangatahi 2*, which became the main textbooks used in secondary schools for many years, and are still used today. During his time at St Stephens, Hoani Waititi was also pivotal to strengthening the 'Māori Concert Party' or what is now called the kapa haka (an important extra-curricula activity for many secondary schools). The boys combined with Queen Victoria School (a Māori girls' boarding school in Auckland) and performed at numerous ceremonies and occasions. Māori culture was considered normal and an important element of Māori boarding schools, especially Māori karakia and waiata, often led by Māori ministers, teachers and students.

Māori boarding schools were not only characterised by their religious values but by Māori language and culture. While the 'cultural adaptation' policy saw little real change in the curriculum of Native Schools, Jenkins and Mathews (1995) contend that it enabled Māori culture at Hukarere to undergo a renaissance. Māori principal of Hukarere Māori Girls' Boarding School challenged the official stance that restricted the inclusion of Māori language and culture in the 1930s, by offering Māori language as subject option, albeit at an introductory level. When Māori language was introduced as a School Certificate option in 1945, many Māori boarding schools were quick to include it in their curriculum. As G. H. Smith (1996) notes, up until the 1970s Māori boarding schools were almost the sole preserve of the teaching of Māori language and culture. Positive reinforcement of Māori was often seen in the adornment of school buildings or chapels with Māori carvings, tukutuku and or signage, and Māori cultural practices such as powhiri and karakia was a normal part of the school routine. Māori boarding schools were seen as an important educative pathway for Māori students because of the 'cultural content' students experienced. Māori boarding schools were not only expected to offer an academic education, but as Jenkins (2000) argues, they were also expected to uphold Māori traditional values.

The special Māori character of Māori boarding schools with an emphasis on Māori language, culture and traditions is not to say that they were not successful in transmitting English language, knowledge and values. Awi's demeanour, his proper

English and clear enunciation is a result of his secondary education. Furthermore, boarding school also shaped his manners, appreciation of English etiquette, and a deep appreciation of the beauty of the English language as expressed in poetry and song. However, in a report about Māori boarding schools, G. H. Smith (1996) acknowledges the positive impact these boarding schools have had for Māori. He writes, “collectively these schools have had a profound influence on New Zealand society as whole in producing Māori graduates with all round skills and expertise in both Māori and Pākehā cultures” (G. H. Smith, 1996, p. 10).

In the 1940s, apart from the Māori boarding schools, there were few Māori teachers in the public secondary schools. There were two avenues for Māori to become primary teachers. Firstly, as ‘junior assistants’ who could gain qualifications through the Correspondence School, and secondly through gaining the necessary qualifications at postprimary denominational schools which enabled one to qualify for Training College. To teach in secondary schools, there were three main entry points: either as qualified primary school teacher; a university degree graduate; or a graduate of a special one-year Training College programme for Māori language teachers (not begun until the 1970s). In the 1950s there were still very few Māori (like Awi) who were university graduates that went on to Training College to pursue a secondary teaching certificate, because there were still so few entering university. According to C. W. Smith (2002), there were only approximately 20 Māori students at Auckland University in 1954 (p. 246). Apart from the Māori boarding schools, Māori teachers were only just beginning to enter mainstream secondary schools, where their impact was yet to be felt.

Summary

While the present focus on the importance of the teacher may seem like a recent phenomenon, since the establishment of Native Schools for Māori the government has been cognizant of the influential nature of the teacher in the classroom, the school and community. Māori have a long history of participation as teachers in schools, initially teaching within their own whānau, hapū and iwi, alongside and under the tutorship of the missionaries. Teachers were highly regarded in Māori communities because they were able to provide western knowledge and technical skills that could enhance a

changing Māori society. Māori teachers went on to work in, and often to lead their own independent schools, and Native Schools, Māori boarding schools.

The government never saw the schools as merely instructional sites, but cultural sites with the specific aim of assimilating Māori to Pākehā culture. Curriculum was developed around political imperatives, and schooling was (and still is) about cultural reproduction. Similarly teachers were not just seen as technical instructors but cultural conduits. The government has always recognised Māori teachers *as Māori*. This meant Māori teachers were sometimes viewed as deficient (in their ‘Europeanisation’ and therefore inappropriate to foster ‘civilised’ ways of living). At other times Māori teachers were useful employees in so far as they could utilise their Māori cultural competencies (in a limited and prescribed way) to progress the government’s education policy for Māori.

Despite the governments over-riding agenda of assimilation through schooling, many Māori teachers continued to value Māori language, culture and beliefs. Drawing on their Māori cultural knowledge, Māori teachers utilised aspects of *ako* to teach students *as Māori*. Expressions of *ako* were clearly evident in Awi Riddell’s experience as a learner and teacher. The *pūrākau* that tells of Awi’s journey of learning and teaching intersects with, and brings a ‘real-life’ dimension to, this historical *pūrākau*. His story portrays teaching and learning as a complex endeavour, and does not simply posit Māori teachers as ‘good’ and Pākehā teachers as ‘bad’, rather it demonstrates how *ako* is closely connected and influenced by wider socio-historical, political and cultural conditions. There is a tone in Awi’s ‘voice’ that he was destined to be a teacher. The foresight of his grandmother, the determination of his mother, the support of his teachers (both Māori and Pākehā) all directed him to teaching. Awi was to follow in the footsteps of the Māori teachers who had gone before him, so that he too could be of service to Māori people.

In sum, schooling provided limited opportunities for Māori teachers to work from a framework of *ako*. Māori teachers were not free to openly make, shape, and explore (teach and learn) their own cultural *pūrākau*. Rather, with an agenda of assimilation the government was intent on using schooling (including Māori teachers) to displace

our cultural narratives - something that the growing number of Māori teachers in secondary schools by the 1980s took issue with.

Chapter Five

Māori teachers as kaiako: kaiako as a political role.

Wāhine mā, haere kōutou ki roto ki ngā kura ki te **ako** i a tātou tamariki. Mā wai e **ako** ā tātou tamariki, mā te Pākehā? (Pare Ruha Richardson cit. in Jenkins & Morris Mathews, 1995, p. 70, emphasis added).

Women folk, you need to be in our schools to teach our children.
Who will teach our children, the Pākehā?

Introduction

In 1971 Pare Ruha Richardson attended the Māori Women's Welfare League's National Conference in Invercargill. It was here that the question posed above was the turning point for her choosing to become a Māori teacher. 'Ako' was seen as a powerful process. More than teaching and learning curriculum content, ako was vital for the sustenance of Māori language, culture and identity. From the history of Māori schooling Māori also knew the cultural impact the teacher could have on one's worldviews, beliefs, values and knowledge. In the context of the 1970s when there was a groundswell of Māori politicisation based on calls for the return of lands, the honouring of the Treaty of Waitangi, and legitimisation of Māori language and culture in New Zealand society, Pare Ruha Richardson responded to the question of whether the act of ako should be left to Pākehā, and became a teacher.

In this chapter I wish to focus on the political dimension of the Māori teacher. As part of the wider political movement, the demand for Māori language as a viable curriculum option was the impetus for an increased number of Māori teachers, and the start of a Māori political presence in secondary schools. Māori teachers also led the charge to challenge the disproportionate rates of Māori educational underachievement, as well as co-ordinate and critique the introduction of Māori

programmes under the government's policy of *taha Māori*.⁸⁸ Each Māori educational advance (or retreat) in the secondary school could usually be attributed to the effort, work and political maneuvering of the Māori teacher and supportive colleagues. The link between Māori teachers and the wider push for political change is rarely remembered. I will explore the motivations of Māori teachers from the 1970s, and what they do today within a political framework.

This chapter is made up of two sections, each of which is preceded by a *pūrākau*. The first *pūrākau* was a paper presented at the Māori Educational Development Conference held at Turangawaewae Marae, Waikato in March 1984, where most of the 300 delegates were Māori language teachers. It was an important conference because it marked a political turning point for Māori teachers in secondary schools as they began to collectively vocalise their concerns and educational aspirations for Māori students, as well as agitate for change in schools. Amongst the many compelling papers presented at the conference there was a short powerful paper by Māori teacher, Maiki Marks, encapsulating the feelings of many of the Māori language teachers there (Walker, 1990). Entitled 'The frustrations of being a Māori language teacher' her paper forms the first *pūrākau* as a way to frame how Māori teachers had begun to articulate the political nature of teaching *as Māori* in secondary schools.

The *pūrākau* of experienced Māori teacher, Chris Selwyn, begins section two and sets the scene for the exploration of the various roles Māori teachers fulfill in secondary schools. In the form of a short script, this *pūrākau* plays out the political realities and multiple dimensions of being a *kaiako* Māori. *Kaiako* refers to a teacher in *te reo* Māori, a deliberate name used by Chris to distinguish between Māori teachers who utilise *ako* and teachers "who happen to be Māori". Furthermore the term *kaiako* foregrounds the concept of *ako* and reconceptualises the 'work' of Māori in schools. Both 'Māori teachers' and 'kaiako' are used interchangeably in this chapter and the following chapters. Inevitably *kaiako*, whose work is underpinned by the philosophy and practice of *ako*, fall into the realm of politics because they continue to challenge

⁸⁸ *Taha Māori* referred to the incorporation of a 'Māori side' throughout the school, including the curriculum.

conventional practices of the classroom teacher and the monoculturalism that dominates the management of secondary schools.

Pūrākau of Maiki Marks

The frustrations of being a Māori language teacher

The frustrations of being a Māori language teacher are the same as being a Māori in our education system. To show you what I mean, when I was first hired as a high school teacher, I was not given a Māori language class. I was given a class of shattered youngsters to care for.

It seems to me that there are two big problems facing any Māori teacher who see their taha Māori as absolutely crucial to their students' development. The first big problem is that schools basically are designed to teach Pākehās, and middle class ones at that. Bringing the system across half the globe hasn't altered that in any way. So a Māori teacher and a Māori student is compulsorily part of a system designed to treat her as if she is Pākehā. And if she shows signs of forgetting that, to treat her as someone requiring to be made Pākehā, to be assimilated. Whatever term you want to use, it means the system wants Māoris to forget that they are Māoris while they're in school. And when they leave school, too.

The second big problem facing a Māori teacher – or any teacher that wants to make changes – is that schools are divided up into 30 students with one teacher, each in their own room. For teachers to cooperate, plan together, evaluate together, plot revolution together is utterly exhaustingly hard work. Furthermore, what the teacher is, is what the students get. The teacher's limitations are passed onto the students, circumscribe what the kids learn. If the teacher is monocultural – and almost all of them are – then so is the class's work.

Now the situation facing a teacher specifically hired to be a Māori language teacher is even worse. This teacher is expected to teach Māori language as if it were dead. That is, to teach it academically, to prepare their students for the exams of SC and UE.

If the teacher is given any extra role in the school by the principal, that role is likely to be to hand on gimmicks and tricks to her Pākehā colleagues on how to control Māori kids.

The Māori language teacher is in a very delicate situation which makes it easy for that teacher to be sucked into keeping the system going. The Māori teacher is a highly visible part of the staff. The school's public relations and the head's 'mana' in part depends on the school's success in the inter school Māori and Polynesian contests. Furthermore, isolated as she usually is from other Māori colleagues, the Māori teacher is likely to find it easier to take on protective 'colouration' by adopting or pretending to adopt her Pākehā colleagues' views and attitudes towards students in general and Māoris in particular. In this situation, Māori teachers now exert far too little influence upon their colleagues, such as in the PPTA or NZEI. Even committees set up to look at Māori 'problems' are probably stacked with middle class Pākehā for whom it's all just another academic exercise.

That Māori language teacher may see that the school is actually working not to save Māori language or Māoritanga but to preserve them in the same way as Latin and Greek are preserved – as academic studies that do no one any harm because they can challenge no one's thinking and self, because they are treated as irrelevant to real life.

To sum up, then, the Māori language teacher is likely to be feeling frustrated by being a member of a system she seems to be able to do little to change. And even where the school has a taha Māori, it's probably merely a Māori club or timetable periods for language and arts and crafts. But the school is most unlikely to have changed its self so that it actually FEELS good to Māoris and actually works to give them an equal chance. Not at equal chance at Pākehā education only, but the same chance that Pākehā students get for their culture for their own culture.

The Māori language teacher every day faces the victims of the system. I want to talk especially about the Māori girls. These are the saddest victims. It's often said that the worst sins in New Zealand society today are to be young, to be Māori, to be female, and to be the child of working class parents. I see these girls coming into high school with their selves battered and bruised after eight years in the system I've just described to you. They have little confidence. Their behaviour often reflects their inner pain and confusion. And all the school does is to yell at them, to punish them, to expel them. However, it is also true that some, a few, of these girls, are even

at the third form level starting to work it out for themselves who they are, who they want to be. And to be proud. These are the girls who get on well with others, these are the elder sisters, the helpers, the hostesses. This is not necessarily to say that they are the students, the teachers like. Their inner confidence may lead them to reject the school and its inherent racism. But these girls, too, are easily knocked down. And they have a huge variety of strategies to cope with rejection, boredom, confusion, ranging from inattention to dropping out. And, of course some girls succeed in using the system to their advantage. I'm one of them. And you have to be hell of strong to do that. The frustrations of being a teacher of Māori language are just the same as those of being a Māori in New Zealand society. The frustrations of being a Māori language teacher are essentially summed up in the feeling that the education system has invited you to be a mourner at the tangihanga of your culture, your language – and yourself.

(Paper presented by Maiki Marks at Ngā tumanako: Māori educational development conference, Turangawaewae Marae, 23-25 March 1984).

Section One: Kaiako Māori as Māori language teachers

To contextualise Maiki Marks' pūrākau, her participation as a Māori language teacher in secondary school teaching should be viewed as part of the wider kaupapa Māori-driven politics. Central to the Māori activist movement, spurred on by the radicalisation of Black, feminist and Indigenous activists elsewhere around the world, was a focus on the revitalisation of Māori language and culture. In New Zealand the political activism of the 1970s was a decade characterised by: the formation of groups, including Ngā Tamatoa;⁸⁹ organised protest marches, such as the 1975 Te Hiko - Land March, from Cape Reinga to Parliament led by Te Matakite of Aotearoa; and organised occupations, the most prominent was the 407-day occupation of Bastion Point by Ngāti Whātua in 1977. The return of confiscated land, equal representation in parliament for Māori and the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi, were among the things called for, along with demands that Māori language and culture should be taught in schools (Simon, 1990).

By the 1970s the number of Māori language speakers was in sharp decline. While Ball (1940) had reported the great majority of Māori were still speaking Māori in 1930, just over thirty years later a national survey conducted by Richard Benton (1978) between 1973 and 1978, which covered 6,450 households in the major areas of Māori population in the North Island, found the Māori language at the brink of extinction.⁹⁰ Of the 33, 638 people surveyed, only 15% of the Māori youth (who constituted 50% of the Māori population at that time) could speak Māori fluently (Benton, 1979). Benton (1979) found that in Manukau City (a more densely Māori populated suburb of Auckland), of 1,302 school-aged children sampled, only 28 could speak Māori with some competence. In response to the desperate state of Māori language, Māori (especially kaumātua and educators) set out with a compulsion to

⁸⁹ Ngā Tamatoa (The Young Warriors) was an activist group formed in 1970 to raise awareness and oppose violations of the Treaty of Waitangi and threats to Māori culture by organising petitions and other public acts of protest.

⁹⁰ Linguists Hough and Skutnabb-Kangas (2006) suggest, that languages are 'murdered' (rather than dying a natural death) as a result of a schooling system that neglected the Indigenous language and reified English to a superior position. Hough and Skutnabb-Kangas describe the loss of a language as a genocidal consequence of "subtractive dominant language medium education" (p. 115), a situation where the dominant language is learned at the cost of the mother tongue, thereby subtracting from the linguistic repertoire rather than adding to it.

‘save’ and seek ‘justice’ for te reo Māori, and in doing so, demanded that Māori language be given status and that the education system be transformed.

However, in the 1970s there was still limited opportunity to learn Māori language or study Māori culture at any level in the education sector. Although Māori language had officially become a University Entrance subject in 1918 (as a result of lobbying from Māori politicians Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck and other Māori leaders), it wasn’t listed as a BA subject in the calendar of the University of New Zealand until 1929 (Ball, 1940), and not taught at any University until the 1951 (C. W. Smith, 2002). At secondary school, Māori language as a subject option was also slow to begin. Although gazetted as a School Certificate subject in 1934 when School Certificate examination system was introduced, Māori language was not undertaken as a School Certificate subject until 1945 (C. W. Smith, 2002). Even after its introduction, few secondary schools chose to provide Māori language as an option for students. Although Māori language was available at most Māori District High Schools and Māori boarding schools, there were only ten secondary schools in total teaching Māori language as a School Certificate subject in 1970 (Walker, 1984, p. 35).

One of the reasons Māori language was not available in a greater number of schools was the shortage of Māori language teachers. In the 1970s the universities and teacher training colleges were still only producing a small number of Māori graduates prepared for secondary school teaching. Although schools sometimes accepted ‘untrained’ teachers as Māori language teachers (a common practice if there were teacher shortages in any specific subject areas), there were still not enough teachers for Māori language classrooms. In response, there were calls from Māori groups including Ngā Tamatoa to the government to urgently provide more Māori language teachers through alternate pathways. As a consequence, in 1976 a special one-year training programme was established by the Department of Education that recruited native Māori language speakers. It began with 41 students (Grant, 2003, p. 80). However the programme was criticised by principals and the Post Primary Teachers’ Association (PPTA) that it did not adequately prepare Māori teachers for the demands of secondary schools. The Māori graduates from this one-year course were intended as Māori language specialists, but when they entered secondary school they were expected to teach other subjects; however they were not qualified or trained to do so.

In addition, they were expected *as Māori* to take responsibility for disaffected Māori students, a frustration expressed by Maiki (and discussed further shortly). By 1980 the numbers of Māori opting into this special Māori language teacher education programme had declined to 13 teacher-trainees, and shortly after the programme came to an end.

In 1987 a similar one-year Māori teacher-training course called Te Atakura was set up. In an effort to avoid the negative experiences of many of the Māori teachers who graduated from the one-year programme began in the 1970s, these teachers were only supposed to teach Māori language as well as assist with development of Māori cultural programmes and support Māori students in the school. Another difference was that the Māori communities, from which these Māori applicants came, had to attest to their Māori cultural competencies and suitability for secondary teaching. Hence Te Atakura focused on strengthening the teacher trainee's language and cultural competencies, rather than developing another teaching subject. Te Atakura programme came to an end in the early 1990s.⁹¹

The growing number of Māori language teachers was matched by a dramatic increase in the numbers of students opting to learn Māori language. In 1973, sixty-three secondary schools were teaching Māori language (Grant, 2003, p. 79). There was a near threefold increase from 4,423 secondary students learning te reo Māori in 1971 (IRI, 1999, p. 33), to 15,000 students in 1979 learning Māori language in secondary schools (Walker, 1984, p. 35). By 1996, the Ministry of Education recorded a total number of 90,929 students learning te reo Māori, an increase of 46% since 1992 (Ministry of Education, 1997, p. 13, 1998). In 2003, 373 secondary schools were reported to providing Māori language as a subject option, with a total of 22,868 secondary school students learning the language (Ministry of Education, 2004b, p. 58).

The increasing number of Māori students, Māori teachers and students learning Māori in secondary school aligned with a greater number of Māori appointments made within the Department of Education. The first Māori to take up the position of

⁹¹ No research exists specifically about the Te Atakura programme.

Assistant Officer for Māori Education⁹² in 1962 was Hoani Waititi, who immediately “immersed himself in the task of transforming the education system” (Walker, 1984, p. 33). By the mid 1970s, Simon (1990) notes that the numbers of Māori personnel had increased to eight Māori (of the sixteen people) in the Māori and Island Division of the Education Department. It wasn’t, however, until 1983 that the first senior Māori appointment to the Department of Education was finally made when Wiremu Kaa was selected as Director of Māori and Island Education.

While schools were scrambling to keep up with the demand for Māori language, the growing political consciousness amongst Māori was gaining momentum. The importance of te reo Māori was at the fore of what was to become the ‘Māori Renaissance’ that culminated in a pro-active response and a pivotal historic moment for Māori language and Māori education. In 1981 a Hui Whakatauirā of Māori leaders in Wellington resulted in the proposal of Te Kōhanga Reo (TKR) to be established in partnership with Māori Affairs Department (Walker, 1984). As a community-driven Māori movement, Te Kōhanga Reo (TKR) was at the cutting edge of social and educational change in New Zealand (Nepe, 1991). Guided by kaumātua, TKR reconceptualised and reorganised pre-school education for Māori, by Māori. TKR were based on Māori language, culture, and worldviews. The first TKR was established at Pukeatua Kokiri in Wainuiomata, Wellington. By 1983, 188 TKR were running and most of these were still not receiving state funding (Walker, 1990, p. 239). After only five years, the TKR movement had grown in number to 521 Kōhanga Reo throughout the country (Walker, 1990).⁹³

For Māori commentators, the start of TKR had become a political movement for educational emancipation of Māori from Pākehā control (Walker, 1991). The momentum of the TKR also provided the impetus for Māori educators within state schools and the like, to critique the Māori schooling experiences and explore new schooling options. In 1985 the first Kura Kaupapa Māori (KKM) was established at Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland. Independent of the state system and

⁹² The Assistant Officer for Māori Education was the highest Māori position after the Officer of Māori Education, which was held by a Pākehā. The position of the Officer of Māori Education established in 1956, eventually became Director for Māori Education.

⁹³ In 2006 the Ministry of Education (2007a, p. 86) reported that there were 486 Kōhanga Reo in operation.

privately funded, KKM provided a Māori language immersion primary school based on Māori values, beliefs, knowledge and philosophies. While exciting Māori educational developments were taking place at an early childhood and primary schooling level with the introduction of kaupapa Māori initiatives, there was unrest brewing amongst Māori teachers in the secondary school sector.

The politicisation of kaiako in secondary schools

Māori teachers became increasingly dissatisfied and more outspoken about conditions and prospects for Māori in secondary schools. As the number of Māori secondary school teachers increased, the negative schooling experiences and low academic achievement rates of Māori students became more pronounced. Māori teachers saw first-hand the ‘carnage’ the secondary school system could create for Māori students and their whānau.

The statistical data produced in the 1960 report by J. K. Hunn (concerning issues related to the Department of Māori Affairs) was the first to draw public attention to the long-standing educational achievement disparities experienced between Māori and Pākehā. The Hunn Report, as it became known, showed that only 0.59% of Māori stayed until sixth form as compared with 3.78% of Pākehā (Hunn, 1960, p. 24). Two years later the Currie Commission of Education (Commission on Education in New Zealand, 1962) reinforced that Māori education was “an area of special concern” (p. 415-18). By the end of the 1960s the statistics on Māori education had worsened. In 1963, 21.8% of Māori students sitting School Certificate ‘passed’ (scored over 50% in three or more subjects), as compared to 15.9% in 1969 (Grant, 2003, p. 78). The proportion of Māori school leavers entering university had also reduced from 1.5% in 1951 to 1.3% in 1968 (ibid.). The poor educational outcomes experienced by Māori at secondary school were further exemplified as the Māori population rapidly increased and became more youthful. From 1936 to 1966 the Māori population had more than doubled to 201,159 people, and 50% were younger than 15 years old (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, pp. 247, 248).

By the 1980s the Māori secondary school population had more than tripled within a twenty-year period. Due to the population increases, the number of Māori secondary school students had grown from 9,432 in 1962 to 29,923 in 1982 (Renwick, 1984, p.

10). Although the proportion of Māori gaining higher qualifications had slightly improved within the same period, the results were still poor. For instance, in 1966, 85% of Māori left school without any formal qualifications; by 1974 this number had decreased to 73%, but was still more than double the proportion of Pākehā (34%) who were leaving school under the same circumstances (Grant, 2003). In 1986 the results remained serious, 76% of Māori were leaving school without School Certificate, more than twice the proportion of their Pākehā peers (37%) who left without any qualifications (Waitangi Tribunal, 1989, p. 30).

The Hunn Report of 1960 was not only notable for the statistical evidence on Māori, but marked a clear shift in policy from assimilation to integration. Whereas the notion of assimilation worked from the assumption that there was nothing in Māori culture of value, 'integration' proposed "to combine (not fuse) the Māori and Pākehā elements to form one nation wherein Māori culture remains distinct" (Hunn, 1960, p. 15). Schools were expected to play a vital role in achieving this policy, as the "nursery of integration" (Hunn, 1960, p. 25). However, in reality there was little change from the underlying assimilationist thrust in schooling. The shift to an integration policy and the growing awareness of the negative educational results of Māori students were met with sporadic educational developments in education. One of the notable developments was the reconstituting of the National Advisory Committee on Māori Education (NACME) in 1969 so that at least 50% of its members should be Māori (Simon, 1990, p. 126). The committee published a report the following year that, among other things, recommended that Māoritanga⁹⁴ (including Māori language) be incorporated in the curriculum (NACME, 1971). Simon (1990) notes, however, that while NACME could issue recommendations it had no decision-making power.

Apart from the efforts made by the Māori and Island Division of the Department of Education to assist Pākehā teachers to gain an understanding of Māori culture (in an effort to improve schooling conditions for Māori learners), the rest of the Department

⁹⁴ Māoritanga was defined by Sir Apirana Ngata as "the inculcation of pride in Māori history and traditions, the retention as far as possible of old time ceremonial, the continuous attempt to interpret the Māori point of view to the Pākehā in power" (Ngata, 1940, pp. 176-7 cit. in Walker, 1974, p. 45). Māoritanga was used in broad terms in education to refer to Māori cultural values and practices (Tauroa, 1984).

did little to address the concerns expressed about Māori education (Simon, 1990). In the 1970s, taha Māori had only been a recommendation to schools by the Department of Education. The publication of books such as *Māori children and the teacher* (Department of Education, 1971) encouraged “every teacher of Māori children [to] be in some degree a self-effacing student of Māori history and culture” (p. xi). However, there was no compulsion for teachers to acknowledge or incorporate Māori culture in the curriculum or their classroom practices.

It was the momentum of Māori political activism and kaupapa Māori educational developments that were key to shifting educational policy towards the inclusion of Māori language and culture in the curriculum. Following a review of the core curriculum by Māori and Pākehā working parties set up by the Director-General of Education, a clear directive was announced in the *Review of the core curriculum for schools* (Department of Education, 1984a) that all state schools were expected to implement ‘taha Māori’. Officially described as the Māori dimension, the Department of Education espoused:

In the education process, Taha Māori is the inclusion of aspects of Māori language and culture in the philosophy, the organization and the content of the school. In the curriculum it is not a separated-out compulsory element. Pupils should not go to a classroom to ‘do’ taha Māori. Aspects of Māori language and culture should be incorporated into the total life of the school – into the curriculum, buildings, grounds, attitudes, organisation. It should be a normal part of the school climate with which all pupils and staff should feel comfortable and at ease (Department of Education, 1984b, p. 1).

Combined with the need to provide Māori language as a subject option, taha Māori put pressure on schools to include Māori culture throughout the whole school.

While the policy may have changed, the teaching profession had not; it was still dominated by Pākehā teachers who had little knowledge of (or commitment to) Māori culture. Just as the cultural adaptation policy relied heavily on the knowledge of Māori teachers and the goodwill of Māori parents and the community, the responsibility for taha Māori was to again fall on Māori teachers. In the secondary school context, where there was often only one Māori teacher, he or she carried this load. While Māori teachers were seen by Māori (and the government) as critical in advancing Māori language and culture, they became overloaded with responsibilities

that included improving Māori students' schooling experiences, academic achievement, and the implementation of taha Māori.

It was in this context, that the paper 'The frustrations of being a Māori language teacher' by Maiki Marks emerged at the Māori Education Development Conference in March 1984, a conference that marked a significant political moment for Māori secondary school teachers. As G. H. Smith (1997) notes, educational institutions came to be seen by Māori as sites of struggle to challenge the assimilationist drive of mainstream schooling. Education was the means by which to intervene and transform Māori society and, Māori teachers were seen as key to achieving this aim. One of the first things Māori teachers attacked, was the way Māori language was treated in secondary schools.

The low status of te reo Māori in secondary schools

Despite the determined efforts of Māori to ensure their children had an opportunity to learn te reo Māori at school and secure Māori language as a legitimate School Certificate subject, in her pūrākau Maiki laments the way in which te reo was expected to be taught at secondary school. She likened the treatment of te reo to a 'dead' language, static and dislocated from Māori people and their everyday activities, in particular, the Māori students themselves. The 'pencil-and-paper' approach to teaching, learning and assessment (demonstrated in the value of the written section (85%) and oral section (15%) of the School Certificate Māori exam) was not consistent with an oral cultural tradition. Furthermore, given the threat of the extinction of Māori language there was little emphasis on the students achieving a level of communicative competence (Waitangi Tribunal, 1989). The notion that Māori language should be categorised with (or below) 'foreign languages' in particular Greek or Latin, unconnected to real life and people was, according to Maiki and her Māori colleagues, completely unacceptable.

Māori teachers were further outraged when it was revealed in a paper presented by David Hughes (1983) at the same conference, that the School Certificate scaling system ensured the subject Māori had the lowest pass rates. Hughes pointed out that since 1975 the School Certificate system had created a scaling hierarchy of subjects

that aimed to ensure that the performance of a student in one subject was consistent with their achievement in the other subjects they had selected. Hughes (1983) states:

Clearly it is intended that ‘bright’ students should pass School Certificate irrespective of the subjects taken. Equally, it is clearly the Board’s intention that students who are not bright should fail their School Certificate no matter which subjects they elect to take (p. 85).

Unsurprisingly, Māori language was ranked near the bottom. The notion that Māori language was not for the more studious students was not new. In 1944, a *Critical Survey of New Zealand High Schools* conducted by J. Murdoch referred to Māori language as a possible course of study for the “non-academic students” (p. 101). By 1983 educational statistics showed that School Certificate Māori language was scaled to a pass rate of 37.35%, whereas Latin, French and German had a pass rate of about 80% (Hughes, 1983). In other words sixty-two children of every 100 sitting Māori in School Certificate were manipulated to fail through the scaling system. Māori language was regarded as a subject option of low academic status and the students that opted to learn Māori language were deemed to be less intelligent than those learning foreign languages.

In 1986 a claim was lodged to the Waitangi Tribunal by Huirangi Waikerepuru and Ngā Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo (Inc) seeking official recognition for Māori language.⁹⁵ In Sir James Henare’s evidence he said, “Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori (The language is the life force of the mana Māori)” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1989, p. 34). Māori language was not only viewed as a tool of communication or a curriculum subject, but a symbol of cultural distinctiveness and well-being. In his evidence Henare added:

... the taonga, our Māori language, as far as our people are concerned, is the very soul of the Māori people. What does it profit a man to gain the whole world but suffer the loss of his own soul? What profit to the Māori if we lose our language and lose our soul? Even if we gain the whole world (Waitangi Tribunal, 1989, p. 34).

As Maiki expressed in her pūrākau, Māori teachers understood that their role was part of the vanguard to protect and sustain Māori language as part of a cultural legacy and collective identity. Being a Māori teacher was both a cultural and political commitment, a significant departure from the ways in which most teachers of other languages (and subjects) at secondary schools viewed their teaching responsibilities.

⁹⁵ In 1975 the Waitangi Tribunal was set up to make recommendations to the government on claims relating to breaches by the Crown to the Treaty of Waitangi.

Maiki's criticism about the status of Māori language in secondary schools rejected the idea that learning and teaching te reo Māori is a neutral act. When linked to the unfair and ideologically flawed scaling system and the historical exclusion of the language in Native and board schools, the status of Māori language was clearly associated with unequal relationships of power. Subsequently, teaching Māori language at school immediately put Māori teachers into a radical role. It was viewed as a potentially powerful act that resisted the mainstream conformity and began to recover a core aspect of Māori identity.

Disproportionate levels of Māori underachievement

The frustration that Maiki and other Māori teachers felt was intensified by seeing the ways Māori students suffered in the secondary school system. She referred to Māori students, particularly Māori girls, as the 'victims' of an institution that failed to recognise their culture and skills as elder sisters, helpers and hostesses. Negative schooling experiences were commonplace for Māori students. Many of the Māori at the conference felt as if secondary schools had "actually manufactured Māori failure" (Walker, 1990, p. 242). This claim was further supported by Ian Mitchell's (1984) paper 'Māori examination failure' which documented the extent to which Māori students were underachieving, most evident in the School Certificate examination marks.

According to I. Mitchell (1984) in 1982, on average 69% of Māori School Certificate candidates failed the subjects they sat, compared to 43% of Pākehā students (p. 53). Yet, a closer look at the 1982 School Certificate statistics showed that the Māori failure rates were even starker.

Table 3. 1982 Māori failure in School Certificate subjects.

Subject	Māori Failure Rate ⁹⁶
Geography	74%
English	73%
Science	66%
Maths	64%
Agriculture	84%
Home Economics	84%
Engineering Shopwork	82%
Clothing	88%

(I. Mitchell, 1984, p. 53).

Note that Māori students achieved progressively worse results in the last four subjects considered to be ‘less academic’ than the first four, a result that is influenced by the aforementioned scaling system. Hughes’ (1983) paper confirmed that raw marks had been manipulated to maintain a subject hierarchy pass rate that positioned te reo Māori and the ‘non-academic’ subjects (which Māori students were often encouraged to select), with a disproportionate level of failure. Walker (1991) argues that this revelation demonstrated another way in which the elite continued to control educational outcomes to maintain Pākehā dominance and Māori subjugation.

The cumulative effect of underachievement and negative secondary school experiences is passionately expressed at the end of Maiki’s paper, when she uses the metaphor of a tangihanga to describe Māori participation in secondary schooling. The hostility of the education system towards Māori, left Māori teachers in a state of mourning for the language, culture and children. Committed to the revitalisation of the language to ensure cultural survival, and educational achievement for the sustenance and well-being of individual and whānau, Māori teachers also saw themselves at the forefront of preventing this ‘death’ (to continue Maiki’s metaphor) wrought upon Māori students through secondary schools.

⁹⁶ A ‘fail’ in a School Certificate examination was a score below 50%.

Teaching taha Māori

Maiki was also highly critical of the implementation of taha Māori in secondary schools. The lofty ideal that the school systems (including every Pākehā, Māori and other teacher) would incorporate taha Māori (reminiscent of the ‘cultural adaptation’ policy) into their daily practices, classroom routines and curriculum content was, for the most part, untenable. Simon reinforces the powerful nature of the culture of the teacher, in particular the cultural limitations of Pākehā teachers in taha Māori. She says:

The policy [taha Māori] fails to acknowledge that since the ‘Pakehaness’ of teachers in the past has been instrumental in establishing and maintaining the dominance of Pākehā cultural reproduction in the education system, the same ‘Pakehaness’ is unlikely now to be capable of producing a Māori dimension in schooling (Simon, 1990, p. 172).

Within a monocultural education system, and mainly Pākehā teacher work force (with little if any expertise in Māori language, culture or knowledge), the implementation of taha Māori was never going to be easy. At the primary school level, the number of Itinerant Teachers of Māori (ITM)⁹⁷ staff increased to 40 in 1979, to service 250 schools wanting to offer taha Māori (Walker, 1984). Some primary school teachers (in particular those ones who had been practicing in Māori Schools) had also been incorporating aspects of Māori culture for some time, and some resources were slowly being produced.⁹⁸ Despite these efforts, as Māori educationalists predicted, the instigation and operation of taha Māori in schools was variable (Penetito, 1986).

Judith Simon’s (1990) study of taha Māori in 21 primary schools during the 1980s, showed that taha Māori programmes ranged from the non-existence of Māori language and culture and/or tokenistic gestures, to the incorporation of taha Māori in school policies, practices and some curriculum areas. Simon (1990) notes that six of the schools with high Pākehā rolls and located in high socio-economic areas had made no provision for taha Māori at all. The respective principals of these schools cited parent resistance as a key reason. One principal said he would be “laughed out of the

⁹⁷ The Department of Education first created a system of itinerant Māori advisors in arts, crafts and music in 1943. Originally, itinerant teachers regularly visited Māori schools to support the development of Māori programmes in arts, crafts and music.

⁹⁸ Resources included: Dansey (1971), NACME (1980), Rikihana (1976), Scott (1986), Secondary Teachers College (1969) and Tauroa (1984).

place” if he included Māori Studies in the curriculum (Simon, 1990, p. 259). Even if there had been people able and willing to teach taha Māori, in many places, towns and regions, resistance to Māori studies was fervent - taha Māori was not considered significant or important.

Neither was taha Māori in secondary schools seamlessly incorporated into all aspects of school life. Simon (1990) also found in her research of eighteen secondary schools in the Auckland metropolitan area, a correlation between the schools that accorded varied importance to taha Māori and the numbers of Māori students and Māori teacher/s. In the four schools that accorded little or no place to things Māori there were few Māori students, no Māori staff and neither did the school offer Māori language as a subject option. One principal referred to the Māori students that attended his school as “classy Māoris” (Simon, 1990, p. 317) (in other words, middle-class, high achieving Māori students), whom he perceived had no need for taha Māori. Māori culture in other words was associated with catering for ‘problem’ Māori students. Such views, contends Simon (1990), only served to denigrate taha Māori whilst affirming the legitimacy of a Pākehā-orientated curriculum as ‘normal’.

In contrast, the fourteen schools that Simon (1990) identified as schools in which things Māori were accorded “some recognition” (p. 318) or which were “highly committed” (p. 313) to catering for Māori and Pasifika interests, had significant numbers of Māori and Pasifika students. These schools offered Māori language as well as other programmes as a way to improve Māori achievement; and employed Māori teachers. In two of the highly committed schools were large numbers of Māori teachers (six in each school). While other factors such as support by the principal, Board of Trustees (BOT),⁹⁹ parents and community were important, the operationalisation of taha Māori in all schools was heavily reliant on the knowledge, skills, commitment, time and energy of the Māori language teacher, who was often the sole Māori teacher on the staff. Of the 10 secondary schools, which accorded some recognition to things Māori, seven schools had only one Māori teacher.

⁹⁹ The BOT is a group elected from the school’s community who are responsible for the governance of the school.

Disenchantment with the ineffectual implementation of taha Māori by non-Māori is a point Maiki makes in her paper. Māori (and other) students were denied access to Māori language, culture and knowledge, and the responsibility for taha Māori largely fell on Māori teachers. In both primary and secondary schools, Māori teachers not only taught their own respective classes but also often provided Māori culture expertise for the school, in curriculum areas, policy matters, extra-curricula activities and so forth. The IRI (1999) report on Māori secondary school teachers highlights the way Māori teachers worked in the context of taha Māori:

An immediate effect of the introduction of Taha Māori was that in most cases the sole Māori resource in a school was the te reo Māori teacher who was then asked to plan the programme across all subjects, teach the programme, find community resource people, and continue with their own teaching load as no other teacher was available to provide relief (p. 13).

In secondary schools where teachers of specialist areas are defined by subject knowledge, the idea that Māori language and culture was the domain of only the Māori language teacher and therefore not the responsibility of others was even stronger. Instead of each teacher and every subject department incorporating a Māori dimension to their programmes as directed by the Department of Education, (or even including Māori greetings, classroom instructions or acknowledging some cultural protocols such as not sitting on desks), in most schools taha Māori programmes were reduced to, or heavily reliant on the work and good will of the Māori language teacher.

The Department of Education officially recognised that Māori teachers were pivotal to the success of taha Māori when the Director General of Education, Renwick, officially promoted this idea in a keynote address to the Māori Education Development Conference in 1984. He advised, “One of the main ways of building respect for taha Māori is to change the composition of the teaching profession” (Renwick, 1984, p. 8). At that time, 13% of primary school teachers and 6.8% of the secondary schools teachers were Māori and Pacific Islanders (Renwick, 1984, p. 9). However, there was not a dramatic enough increase in the number of Māori teachers to change the composition of the teaching profession and ‘build respect’ for Māori language, culture and people. Instead further expectations were placed on Māori teachers, and the pressure began to mount.

Wally Penetito's (1986) analysis of responses to taha Māori in schools is a useful way to explain Māori teachers' perspective on taha Māori and their role as Māori teachers. The introduction of taha Māori did create a variety of responses from Māori, ranging from welcomed relief to cynicism and suspicion (Penetito, 1986). While Māori encouraged the incorporation of Māori culture into the curriculum, there was some dispute about the extent of what was taught, how it was taught, and for whom it was taught. Wally Penetito (1986) groups the responses to taha Māori into four categories.

The first response he refers to as the 'Rangihau model'. Based on John Rangihau's critique, this is a cautionary response to the collapsing of 'being Tūhoe' or 'being Waikato' (that recognises our tribal distinctiveness) into 'being Māori', or in this case taha Māori. Rangihau was acutely aware that a taha Māori approach could reduce the everyday complexities of 'Māori' cultural identities into neutral, near meaningless (depending on your tribal origins and beliefs) but manageable curriculum chunks. Wally Penetito (1986) writes:

Taha Māori is a shorthand term, a generalisation, a typification, which glosses over all the hard work of those who are Māori who are attempting to deal with their world. It hides all their achievements of everyday life, yesterday, today and tomorrow (p. 3).

Just as some sections of the Māori community had opposed the introduction of Māori culture in the curriculum under the cultural adaptation policy in the 1930s, the Rangihau model draws attention to the actual breadth and depth of taha Māori.

Furthermore, Rangihau's model calls into question whether or not schools and teachers are capable of delivering taha Māori, given the knowledge and understanding that is required to provide an authentic taha Māori teaching and learning experience. Māori teachers understood that taha Māori was not something that could be reduced to content and activities set out in a book; rather it was about a different curriculum, pedagogical and political relationship. For this reason, many Māori teachers knew they were vital to Māori students. L. T. Smith (1986) writes:

They [Māori teachers] also feel strongly that only Māori teachers can teach Taha Māori because it is not just about a different content to be covered it is about a different way of covering it (p. 7).

The idea that only Māori can teach taha Māori raises a tension between the idea that all teachers should (and can) take responsibility for taha Māori and that taha Māori is the sole preserve of the Māori teacher. Simon (1990) highlights the political tension inherent in this scenario by drawing attention to the power-relations between Pākehā and Māori. She writes:

In the very suggestion that 'taha Māori' can be incorporated into the school curriculum, the policy reduces Māori culture to something finite, easily identifiable and manageable by Pākehā. It becomes nothing more than a Pākehā reinvention of aspects of Māori culture. To imply that Pākehā could reproduce Māori culture is to denigrate and belittle both the culture and the Māori who are capable of reproducing it (Simon, 1990, p. 172).

Rather than dismissing altogether the involvement of Pākehā teachers, Simon argues that Pākehā teachers can still contribute, through their practice, by showing an appreciation and understanding of Māori culture. From a 'Rangihau' perspective, Māori teachers agree that *all* teachers should be responsible for the achievement outcomes of Māori students, rather the teaching of taha Māori, as a cultural aspiration, should be the domain of Māori teachers.

Some Māori teachers clearly felt that the taha Māori programme offered by schools were shallow and tokenistic, unable to do justice to the complexities and intricacies of Māori culture. Beyond the individual efforts of a few dedicated teachers, taha Māori was not considered as high priority in the curriculum or within the larger organisational activities of the school. Frequently sabotaged by teaching a few Māori songs or 'art and craft' activities, the taha Māori programme was treated as unimportant and of little value. Some Māori teachers even refused to participate in taha Māori because of the detrimental impact it could have on Māori students. Judith Simon (1984) reports:

... Māori teachers are reluctant to have Māoritanga included 'officially' within the school curriculum. These teachers recognise that whilst failure to acknowledge the cultural heritage of the Māori child in the education system is a gross injustice, to focus on that heritage and then treat it with contempt is a greater act of violence (pp. 36-7).

Maiki and other Māori teachers saw the lack of commitment to taha Māori as consistent with the low status that Māori language, culture and people occupied generally – reinforcing the notion of Pākehā dominance within society and schools.

The second response Penetito (1986) describes 'taha Māori as an evolutionary process'. People who fall into this category concur that taha Māori is 'right and proper' because it is not only beneficial for Māori, but for all New Zealand children. A Department of Education (1984b) publication entitled *Taha Māori in schools: Suggestions for getting started*, stated that one of the rationales for incorporating taha Māori was "For the non-Māori New Zealander, taha Māori gives the child a share in something that is uniquely New Zealand and facilitates cross-cultural understanding" (p. 5). With good intentions, the notion that taha Māori is advantageous for all does not necessarily extend to supporting the tangata whenua status of Māori; rather it seeks to accommodate Māori by making 'special provisions' (often left up to Māori themselves) in schools. One of the characteristics of this response, as with evolution, is that 'progress' is always slow. Given the crisis in Māori education, Penetito concludes that time is a luxury that Māori cannot afford.

'Taha Māori as a catalyst for revolution' is Penetito's third category. Those who adhere to this view emphasise the political domination of Pākehā in New Zealand, and are therefore deeply critical of any so-called initiative such as taha Māori that claims to be of benefit to Māori when the power structures and unequal power relationships between Māori and Pākehā remain. Instead, 'revolutionaries' seek independent and/or separate development based on mana motuhake (self-determination). From the outset Maiki also identified the non-neutrality of schooling as the first issue Māori teachers needed to know about. She perceived that the fixed monoculturalism that is entrenched in the expectations of New Zealand schools is obstructive to Māori teachers and students who value their own culture. According to Maiki, the monocultural nature of the school is inherent in the philosophy, pedagogy and practice, and given powerful expression through mono-cultural teachers which made the incorporation of taha Māori difficult to achieve. From the way the classes (and teachers) are separated, categorised and levelled, to the sort of curriculum content that is presented, teachers construct, prescribe, and control what and how students learn in the classroom.

The final response Māori teachers in secondary schools voiced, according to Penetito, is called 'taha Māori as the process of transformation'. The objective of this approach

is the structural and cultural transformation of the existing system through the politicisation of the curriculum. Penetito (1986) argues:

Politicizing the curriculum means coming to understand concepts such as the allocation of resources, the distribution of power, the process of conflict, and the conciliation of conflict within classroom, schools, communities and society at large (p. 9).

Key to the politicisation is the notion of establishing Māori control, and engaging in a ‘radical pedagogy’ (i.e. *ako*) that challenges normative views in classroom practice. Māori teachers understood that their roles were inherently political because of the unequal power relationships between Māori and Pākehā in education as well as the power they had as Māori to make a positive impact on the education of Māori students.

Aspects of all four responses to *taha Māori*, as set out by Penetito, can be found in Maiki’s *pūrākau*. While there is a tone of disillusionment in Maiki’s *pūrākau* that comes from the heavy load Māori teachers have to bear in the monocultural context of schools, her frustrations are also borne from knowing that Māori teachers were potentially very powerful. In a Post Primary Teachers Association (PPTA) article about Māori teachers, Maiki Marks adds that Māori teachers are the most appropriate manifestation of *taha Māori*. She urges:

The Māori language teacher has to embody *taha Māori*. She or he has to be *taha Māori*. By example, the teacher has to politicise other teachers (Marks, 1984b, p. 7).

In Maiki’s opinion, Māori teachers ‘work’, their roles, their responsibilities - frustrating as they may be - were inherently political. Māori teachers were a group of people not only interested in teaching Māori language and culture, but intent on the transformation of Māori through the education system.

Section Two: Kaiako

This section continues the theme of the politics of the Māori teacher by focusing on the roles (guided by *ako*) that they enact at school. Chris Selwyn’s *pūrākau* that begins this section, moves the ‘story’ from the 1980s to teaching in the present context. Chris also believes Māori teachers have a special duty to Māori students that can only be fulfilled by working *as Māori*.

Māori teachers, like Maiki Marks and Chris Selwyn, do not see their role merely as facilitators of curriculum content, inductors of what the 1993 *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* called “essential skills” (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 17), or as the latest *New Zealand Curriculum* calls “key competencies” (Ministry of Education, 2007k, p. 12).¹⁰⁰ Rather, the role of the kaiako extends beyond the classroom practitioner’s duties, or even the teaching of Māori language and culture, kaiako feel responsible for the future of Māori children *as Māori*. Like Maiki’s pūrākau, Chris also suggests that the kaiako is constantly at odds with a secondary school system that values and prioritises the dominant culture’s knowledge and beliefs. Kaiako, a deliberate term used by Chris, are aware that they also draw on a Māori educational framework in the secondary school context. A context that is characterised by Pākehā monoculturalism and asymmetrical power relations.

This section draws on the small amount of literature about Māori teachers today. There are three key reports introduced in chapter one: H. A. Mitchell and Mitchell (1993) *Māori teachers who leave the classroom*; Bloor (1996) *The workloads of Māori secondary school teachers: A national survey*; and IRI (1999) *A report of workload issues for Māori secondary school teachers*.¹⁰¹ The work Māori teachers do, according to the aforementioned reports, is reframed by some of the dimensions of ako. In addition, I have drawn on a limited but developing body of literature about Indigenous and racial minority teachers overseas (mainly from the United States), who share similar experiences of marginalisation within education systems. Their frustrations, struggles and activities for transformative change reiterate and resonate with the politics of being a Māori teacher. Freire and Macedo’s (1987) notion of the teacher as a cultural worker is also drawn on in the remainder of this chapter to further understand in that the way in which Māori teachers work is inherently political.

¹⁰⁰ The New Zealand Curriculum identifies five key competencies: thinking; using language, symbols, and texts; managing self; relating to others; and participating and contributing (Ministry of Education, 2007k, p. 12).

¹⁰¹ Refer to pp. 10-12 for a brief overview of each report.

Pūrākau of Chris Selwyn

Kaiako Māori

Characters:

Chris Selwyn
Te Rarawa
Head of Department Rūmaki Reo Māori

Jenny Lee
Ngāti Mahuta
Interviewer (former Māori teacher)

The school scene

*Ko Wairaka te maunga. Ko Waitemata te moana. Ko Rehu te marae. Ko Ngā Oho te whare tūpuna. Ko Orea te whare kai. Ko Te Waiorea te papakainga.*¹⁰²

*Western Springs College is a medium size (approximately 900 students), multi-cultural secondary school located close to central Auckland. Reflecting the ethnic mix of the local communities the student ethnic diversity is 60% Pākehā, 16% Māori, 12% Pasifika, 9% Asian and 3% Other (Western Springs College, 2007). The school is currently categorised by the Ministry of Education as a decile 7 school.*¹⁰³ *Western Springs College is co-educational, and unlike most New Zealand secondary schools, the students are not required to wear a school uniform.*

Western Springs College has large spacious grounds and brightly painted classrooms. At the entrance is a modern style administrative block. At the entrance also stands the school's marae and Māori language immersion unit. Like many school marae, the wharenui is an old prefab that has been transformed into a Ngā Oho whare adorned with carvings and kōwhaiwhai (traditional paintings to adorn dwelling) panels. Directly behind the whare, sits Orea the dining hall that opens on to a large covered deck. Adjoined to these whare is a new modern looking building that was opened in 2005. This contemporary modular style office block contains the administration area, a laundry (to enable the proper functioning of the marae), a

¹⁰² Wairaka is the mountain. Waitemata is the sea. Rehu (a famous Ngāti Whātua chief) is the marae. Ngā Oho (The Awakening) is the ancestral house. Orea (a type of eel once abundant in that area) is the dining room. Waiorea is the local area.

¹⁰³ School decile ratings are explained on p. 5.

storeroom for kapa haka kakahū (kapa haka costumes) and equipment, curriculum resource room and student computer suite. The marae and modern looking school administrative block make for a welcoming entrance to the school.

Jenny arrives at Western Springs College during the first week of the school holidays in May, and parks directly in front of the marae grounds. There are cars scattered in the car park, the occasional teacher and young person wander past.

Chris is standing with a small group of boys to the left of the marae and classrooms. He is watching carefully as the boys use sanding tools on old desks and tables. There is a lot of noise and dust.

Jenny waves to Chris. He smiles and comes over to greet her.

Jenny: Kia ora Chris, sorry I'm late but I've brought coffee and sweet cakes.

Chris: Kia ora e hoa, ka pai (Hello my friend, that's good). Come into my office.

His office is cluttered with piles of papers, books, carved trophies, certificates and photos. He clears some space so we can both sit facing each other. Jenny takes out papers and pen and her tape recorder and places it on the edge of the desk.

Jenny: Hey, thanks for meeting up with me again today to talk about your mahi, especially during your holidays!

Chris: Kei te pai e hoa, I've been in all week. Sorry about the state of my office. The new part of the marae was opened at the beginning of last year, and while this block was being built I was housed in the hall for two terms. As you can imagine all my papers accumulated, and it's only now that I've had time to try and sort them out. That's what I've been trying to do all this week.

Jenny: Kei te pai e hoa, don't worry about it – I remember what it's like.

Chris: How have you been?

Jenny: Well, I'm still trying to write my thesis! I'm still exploring the work of Māori teachers. I am interested at the moment in the political nature of your mahi.

Chris: Mmmm ... Ae...

Chris takes a long swig of his coffee and looks thoughtful.

Jenny: So, tell me about your work as a Māori teacher.

Chris: There are a variety of roles that a Māori teacher can play in schools, beyond just being the te reo teacher. I think if I was just the te reo teacher, I would be an extremely "effective" teacher – a hugely "effective" teacher. Because that's all my role would be defined as.

More often than not, you'll see your colleagues get all the ticks in the boxes that are required, but those boxes don't take into account what we do as Māori teachers. And because of the huge role we have to play within a school, there's not enough boxes for us. If I was to go through what I do daily - everything that I'm carrying in here, in my mind and in my heart - I don't think you can do a comparison with your Pākehā colleagues. Because I know that they don't walk into the classroom, or walk anywhere in the school carrying as much as we do as a kaiako Māori. And at the end of the day, they can switch off and walk out. Any decision they make is made in their role as a teacher.

Jenny: So, how would you describe the role of the teacher?

Chris: Life would certainly be a whole lot simpler and a whole lot easier if I just had to fulfil my role as a teacher. And maybe that's it, that there are two distinct roles here, one as a teacher and one as a kaiako. There is a big difference between the two.

If I was just defined as being a “teacher” I would be up for the excellence awards all the time. And that hurts sometimes. You see your Pākehā colleagues being put up for those awards because they are “effective”, they are doing all the right things in terms of ticking the boxes. But there are a whole lot of boxes that aren’t on the page that I have to tick as a Māori teacher, as a kaiako Māori, that they will never ever have to look at. So where are the appraisal boxes that relate to us as kaiako Māori? They are not there. Take for example reporting or giving feedback to whānau.

For the teacher:

- ✓ *Yes you’ve done your report,*
- ✓ *Yes, you’ve done your parent teacher interviews*

For me, the Māori teacher:

- ✓ *Yes, I’ve done the reports*
- ✓ *Yes, I’ve done my parent interviews*
- ✓ *Yes, I’ve met with that whānau*
- ✓ *Yes, I’ve taken 5 to 10 minutes to have a kōrero to them and find out how they are*
- ✓ *Yes, I’ve tried to make them feel comfortable in the school environment*
- ✓ *Yes, I’ve encouraged them to ask the right questions, not just of myself but also of the children’s other subject areas, and so on.*

You know... the work of the Māori teacher goes way beyond what’s over here on the ‘teacher’ side.

Jenny: Can the kaiako limit themselves to the work of the teacher?

Chris: No, you can't ever operate as just being the teacher, unless of course you have made a conscious decision to do that.

I think it's a huge struggle as kaiako Māori, that yes we are ticking the boxes on this page, and yet there is this unseen page that we have to tick the boxes on as well and as a kaiako Māori that is demanded and expected of you. Quite simply, acknowledging parents, whānau or tamariki that your colleagues don't have to do. You know, they don't have to go up and hariru people as they come into the kura (school). You don't have to stop what you are doing to welcome them as they walk through the door. Because on the teacher page, you are being extremely professional, carrying on what you are doing, being the teacher. In terms of the kaiako page, you'd be extremely rude not to welcome them - unMāori.

Jenny: There's a lot of professional development being offered currently by the Ministry of Education about aspects of Māori culture and pedagogy so that teachers are able to better relate, and more effectively teach Māori kids.

Chris: Yeah, but do those whānau that come in want to talk to those Pākehā teachers? Actually, they want to look for the kaiako, the Māori. So even though you (a Pākehā teacher) may mihi to them, greet them and do a fantastic job at it - do they really want to talk to you at the end of the day?

Because 90% of the time, they want to talk to the kaiako Māori who will be the intermediary, who will speak to them, or will do the problem solving, or give them the information that they want. So even when you tick that box it doesn't necessarily mean that you are "effective".

I think that schools could quite easily, even though they have Treaty of Waitangi policies or whatever, tick the boxes. But there'll not be any real substance to what they've done in terms of their Treaty obligations or Treaty partnership. They can do all the professional development about the Treaty of Waitangi, but at the end of the day, what's really changed for Māori? What's changed for kaiako Māori? What's changed for Māori students? What's changed for

Māori whānau? They can tick boxes, but who's really going to make sure that that implementation has been done or that the implementation that has been done is the best thing for Māori?

Jenny: Are you saying that this is the role of kaiako Māori?

Chris: At the end of day Māori are the only ones that can do this mahi.

Take for example, something simple - if the school wanted to change how the day ran. The most important part of the day for us is our whānau meeting first thing in the morning, so we can do those karakia, mihi and pānui. If the school was to change the day without any consultation, which they could do, and which might have great benefits to the rest of the school, in terms of tikanga, where would that leave us? We wouldn't be able to have karakia to start the day off, we wouldn't be able to have mihimihi, which would have a huge impact. But in terms of the school operation, it's only a minor change. The impact it would have on Māori though, would be absolutely huge. So my role in working with the senior management of the school, is to make sure that stays in place, so that we are still able to do that.

One of the things that we have experienced in the last few years, that I was really against, was that SSR was taken out of the school.¹⁰⁴ We used to meet as a whānau in the afternoon for SSR. Why? Because of the majority of the kids, and whānau of the school were saying, "well, I read anyway". Well, that's fine if you are Pākehā and come from a Pākehā whānau where reading is part of your day outside of school. For a lot of our tamariki, because of their extra-curricular commitments or their whānau commitments, or whatever, they may not get that time to read. So I think that has had a huge impact on our achievement here within the whānau. Although it was a struggle getting the kids to read, at least for 20 minutes a day our tamariki were reading. And so the majority, which are Pākehā here, are doing fine. But for the minority, the

¹⁰⁴ Sustained Silent Reading (SSR) is a reading programme that provides a fixed period for students to read (silently) in class to encourage and improve reading.

Māori, we are not doing as well as we did before.

So simple things like that have an impact, that's why I think you have to operate within a political frame of mind. Whatever decision you make, whatever you do – you have to be a political animal, because you can see whatever decision they make can have an effect on the Māori population.

Jenny: What sort of effect?

Chris I could imagine, for instance, if I wasn't here, then this complex that you see here - this marae, could very easily become just another room on the school grounds. The whole history of this place, if you didn't have the right people in those roles, could dissipate and become watered down into essentially ... to nothing really.

The wairua – the essential thing of us being Māori, would not be present. It could be lost totally, or something that is just defined by whoever is around at the time. It could be constructed or deconstructed or misconstrued – it could be quite a nightmare. I'd hate to think what it could be like, because at the end of the day it all comes down to what the dominant culture thinks what being Māori is.

It's like with Papa Achlee's [Fong] death. We had a crisis team in, we had the counsellors in, we had a Special Education team in, but with specific individual kids there was no one that they could relate to. Yeah, they could sympathise and empathise ... but there was no one there who could speak to them 'Māori to Māori'. To say the things that I said to some individual students that weren't very nice, but had to be said to draw these kids out of this pōuri (sadness) that they were in - but no one else could have said it. And if there wasn't a Māori there to say it, I hate to think where some of these kids could have ended up – what could have happened to the whānau (unit).

Achlee's aspirations and vision for 'Ngā Puna o Waiorea' was to provide the space to teach curriculum areas in te reo Māori. He aimed to produce well-

rounded kids who were tuturu to being Māori and could achieve academic success. Kids who had a backbone – strength, resiliency, kaha ki te kōrero Māori (determined to speak Māori)! And because of their grounding in te ao Māori, they could take that with them into the ‘mainstream’ – they were not operating from any form of ‘deficit’, they didn’t just have our own knowledge but theirs (Pākehā) too.

There is a knock at the door. A big teenage Māori boy is waiting patiently. He is back at school to do ‘community service’ for his misdemeanours during the term. Chris supervises the mahi of these students from the Ngā Puna o Waioarea. Chris turns and looks directly at him.

Chris: Ae, e tama, he aha? (Yes, what is it boy?)

Blake: E Pā, kua mutu taku mahi (Pā, I have finished my task). Can I have break now?

Chris: Are all the tables done?

Blake: Ae (yes).

Chris: Ka pai e tama. (Well done, boy) Me whakatā mo te tekau meneti (You had better have a break for ten minutes). Then you and the others can begin the weeding. I’ll be out to check on your work shortly.

Blake: Okay, thanks Pā.

Unfazed, Chris turns back to Jenny and continues.

Chris: On a more positive note ... in 2001 we had 12 or 13 Māori boys that came through the seventh form, but it wasn’t at the cost of their being Māori. When they walked out of here it was with that all-round excellence and being Māori, not just speaking Māori, but being Māori. Which was just so beautiful, it was the dream. Because for five years they were just allowed to be Māori boys, and

the antics they got up to in the classroom over those five years was acceptable and accepted, which wouldn't have happened if they were in a Pākehā environment - they wouldn't have been as successful.

Jenny: The role of the kaiako is really important then?

Chris: Well, maybe that's part of it – it's only the Māori teacher that can ensure this success, because it's only the Māori teacher that can recognise that those qualities or the essence of being Māori is maintained, understood and accepted.

Chris smiles.

Chris: We talk about the unseen appraisal page, but maybe the unseen framework page is missing as well, how we operate. What drives and what determines what we do and how we do it – maybe that's the page that is missing as well, because that's never been addressed, never been defined. And only Māori have that page or have those pages in their book.

Kua mutu (The end).

Kaitiaki: cultural caretakers

Tiaki is an important Māori value; it means to take care of a person or thing. A kaitiaki is a guardian of that which is in his or her care; in this way kaiako can be seen as kaitiaki. The importance of the teacher who establishes a relationship and cares for his/her students is not new, but has been reiterated in many New Zealand and overseas studies (Alton-Lee, 2003; Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Foster, 1995; Hawk et al., 2001, December; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Macfarlane, 1997). Kaiako as kaitiaki, not only care about the academic achievement of his or her students, but about the whole person – their physical, spiritual, social and intellectual self. Furthermore kaiako become the caretakers of Māori culture in the school. Kaiako provide for the cultural needs, and protect and develop the cultural identity of the Māori students. As guardians of Māori cultural practices and protocols, their cultural responsibilities determine the way kaiako interact and engage with Māori students and their whānau, the way they organise activities such as powhiri, and generally conduct themselves at school. Kaiako recognise that it is not easy to make taha Māori a meaningful part of the school life, neither is ‘being Māori’ always seen as a positive attribute or asset.

Kaiako understand from their own experiences that for many Māori students participation in mainstream schooling is difficult by virtue of being Māori. Reflected in the dismal and disproportionate ‘failure’ rates, and experiences of prejudice, discrimination and racism at school, the secondary school can represent a racist and hostile environment (Simon, 1990; G. H. Smith, 1997). Māori teachers in H. A. Mitchell and Mitchell’s (1993) study witnessed various forms of degradation of Māori children, parents and Māori culture. From the mispronunciation and lack of regard for Māori children’s names, insensitive and incorrect portrayal of Māori in the curriculum, to explicit racist views of other teachers who considered Māori children as dirty, intellectually incapable and uncontrollable. One Māori teacher said, “The principal would regale me every day with how bad Māoris were”, another teacher reported “Some teachers believe that Māori pupils are dirty, they swear and they come from low-income families so they couldn’t possibly cope with two languages” (p. 70). According to the Māori teachers in H. A. Mitchell and Mitchell’s (1993) study, the unjust mistreatment of Māori students was commonplace. Ten years later, literature on Māori students’ experiences in ‘mainstream’ secondary schools

continues to be overwhelmingly negative (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Bishop et al., 2003; McKinley, 2000). One Māori student portrayed the way Māori language, culture and children are still treated as low status, when she simply said:

When I started at this [secondary] school, I had a Māori name, but none of the teachers could say it. So now I am Tania. (Bishop & Berryman, 2006, p. 79).

Māori teachers are constantly on guard to protect Māori students, language and culture.

Kaiako assume ‘caretaker’ type roles for Māori students and their whānau: not the coddling parent or docile caretaker, unable to be professional or make decisions that Freire (1998) warns against, but a caretaker who protects against injury to one’s identity, confidence and culture. For instance, Chris admits speaking to students in ways that may be considered unconventional in order to culturally care for the taha wairua – the emotional and spiritual well-being of students. The research literature shows that Māori teachers defend Māori students against accusations of other teachers, assisting teachers with behavioural issues of Māori students in their class, advocating for Māori parents, creating safe ‘spaces’ for Māori students to meet, hui and learn, counselling Māori students and generally helping Māori students resolve conflict at school (Bloor, 1996; H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993; Simon, 1990). H. A. Mitchell and Mitchell (1993) conclude that this aspect of Māori teachers’ work is a direct result of ‘being Māori’. They argue:

Māori secondary teachers often become embroiled in these battles, not because they teach the child concerned, nor because they have any special expertise in the field. Sometimes they become involved because they cannot bear to stand by and watch injustice being done to a Māori child; sometimes because the child or family seeks the Māori teacher’s help to deal with the power of the system; and sometimes because the teacher and/or administrator involved marches the Māori child (often by physical coercion) to the Māori teacher’s door and demands that he or she becomes involved (H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993, p. 61).

While Māori teachers sometimes feel ill-prepared for these sorts of roles, and recognise that Māori students are not the sole responsibility of the Māori teacher, they are often at the forefront of these ‘battles’ because *as Māori* they are culturally connected and committed to act as kaitiaki and often feel compelled to try and make changes to the school context itself. The level of kaitiaki type of support Māori

teachers provided is indicated in the findings of the 1999 study of Māori secondary school teachers (IRI, 1999) showed 75% of all the Māori teachers surveyed were involved in pastoral activities, namely counselling Māori students at their school.

Overseas studies have shown that minority teachers are important for minority students elsewhere. American multicultural educator Nieto (1999) argues that in the United States minority teachers' own personal schooling experiences of inequality and alienation means that they are more likely to relate to minority students in ways that other teachers cannot. Furthermore, minority teachers' ongoing experiences of isolation in schools because of their ethnic and cultural background sometimes strengthen bonds between these teachers and their minority students. In Gordon's (2000) study about the recruitment of African American, Latino, Native American and Asian American teachers, she found that while some minority group teachers were ambivalent about selecting teaching as a career because of the discrimination and racism they had experienced as students, for others it was the primary incentive to teach - so that they could make a change in schools.

Wanting to improve Māori children's schooling experiences was also the reason many Māori chose teaching as a career. H. A. Mitchell and Mitchell (1993), Bloor (1996) and IRI (1999) consistently found that Māori teachers shared high levels of commitment to improving schooling experiences for Māori students and their families. *The Report of workload issues for Māori secondary school teachers* (IRI, 1999) showed that 46% (the largest proportion) of Māori teachers selected teaching to "make a difference" to Māori students, which included teaching te reo and tikanga Māori (p. 54). Some of these teachers made the following comments:

I was raised on the streets of South Auckland. I felt I wanted to make a change. I recognised at an early age that education was a key component to making effective change.

I wanted to do something positive for rangatahi Māori.

I wanted to make a difference to students who didn't fit the system.

I wanted to make our children proud of who they were, where they came from and where they could go on to.

The desire to empower rangatahi.

Working with tamariki Māori, the desire to see our language maintained (p. 53).

There was a common desire expressed by Māori teachers to assist Māori children in schools. They were aware of the power they could assert as Māori teachers to enhance Māori students' experiences at school, to assist in pastoral type activities, to help Māori students succeed in academic studies, and assist with the formation of students' identity as Māori.

Overseas studies have also found that because minority teachers have a shared cultural understanding of their respective students' linguistic and cultural codes (that are often different to the dominant culture of the school), they are more likely to have a deeper appreciation of student values, worldviews, behaviour, and learning. Nieto (1999) argues that consequently minority teachers often act as 'bridge' between the culture of student's ethnic group and the dominant culture of the school. Stanton-Salazar (1997) uses the term 'institutional agents' to refer to these teachers and others who help individuals from minority groups to negotiate institutions so that they too have an opportunity to access the positions usually reserved for the 'mainstream'. Teachers as institutional agents assist minority students by trying to equip them with the social and cultural capital they need to succeed in schooling; they become conduits between the culture of the home and that of the school. Like the institutional agent, choosing to be a Māori teacher or cultural caretaker is a political decision, one that challenges the dominant discourses and ideologies to (primarily) serve Māori students and their whānau.

When Chris refers to the nature of his responsibilities as a kaiako as "everything that I'm carrying in here, in my mind and in my heart", he brings the role of kaitiaki to the fore. Constantly caring for Māori students, the marae, the whenua, and the whānau is Chris' view of his responsibility. Whether it is the cancellation of the SSR (Sustained Silent Reading) programme or a restructuring of the daily timetable, Chris worked to ensure Māori interests across the school and in the community were always considered so that any school changes did not affect the cultural 'norms' of the Reo Rumaki unit and the operations at the marae. Committed to providing a culturally safe environment for his students to learn and *be* Māori, his job was not limited to the everyday routines but fulfilling the vision initiated by the founders of Te Puna o

Waiorea, Massey Nathan, Achlee Fong and others, so that Māori children had a safe and steadfast place at school to learn *as Māori*.

Kaiāwhina: cultural conduits

Āwhina means to help or assist, a kaiawhina (helper) as kaiako is a teacher who not only assists students with their academic learning, but also supports Māori and promotes Māori culture wherever needed. The push for the inclusion of taha Māori in schools intensified the role of the kaiawhina as they were thrust into assisting and helping other teachers with the incorporation of Māori culture into their programmes. Māori teachers often became the key providers of Māori cultural expertise on curriculum matters in school.

The *Tomorrow's Schools* (Department of Education, 1988) reforms resulted in Māori teachers also helping as cultural conduits to Māori communities, they also became the main facilitators in the implementation of the Treaty of Waitangi in the school context. At the same time government officials espoused that Māori parents and communities would have the opportunity to have a greater input in schooling through devolution of power from centralised government to Boards of Trustees (BOT).¹⁰⁵ While this may have been the case in some schools, for the majority the first step in this process often relied on Māori teachers to assist, organise, or action these policies, programmes or activities. Every BOT was (and still is) required to create its School Charter to establish the aims and direction of the BOT and the school, in relation to the government's National Educational Guidelines (NEGs) and National Administration Guidelines (NAGs). The school's programme also had to take account of various characteristics of the school, including "the particular wishes of the institution's community" (Department of Education, 1988, p. 4). Like taha Māori, the laudable intention to include the wishes of Māori parents and the community was not necessarily easy to enact.

Given their often poor experiences of their own schooling, many Māori parents avoided schools, felt uncomfortable entering and meeting the teachers and, especially in urban centres, were not necessarily connected to other Māori in the same community. Sheridan McKinley's (2000) study of *Māori parents and education*

¹⁰⁵ Refer to p. 195 for an explanation of the BOT.

found that while the majority of Māori parents “loved” primary school, they experienced difficulties when they reached secondary school. The main reason for their dislike of secondary schooling was due to the teachers, which Clarke, Smith and Pomare (1996 cit. in McKinley, 2000) suggest impacts on their support of their own children in schools. The Māori parents interviewed in the *Te Kōtahitanga* study also felt negative about entering their children’s secondary school. When these parents were asked why they don’t visit the school their children attend, they gave the following reasons:

I don’t feel welcome.

I feel uncomfortable in the school situation. I didn’t attend any college myself.

You have to make appointments.

Our kids make it difficult to decide who it is we need to see about something, and I find it hard to arrange the meeting.

My work.

The other [children] still at home.

The letters you get about parent meetings, they invite you to come in but it doesn’t seem like they really want to see you. Like it’s something teachers have to do.

It’s a very Pākehā place (Bishop & Berryman, 2006, p. 151).

The responsibility to generate whānau hui in an effort to meet and build relationships with Māori parents and community was often left to the Māori teacher. Māori teachers are seen as pivotal to encouraging more Māori parent and whānau involvement and participation.

Chris’ pūrākau emphasises the important link kaiako play for Māori parents and whānau. Cultural etiquette dictates that the Māori teacher’s relationships with parents should extend beyond the common expectations of the conventional teacher. Making Māori parents feel welcome and comfortable in the school environs is a priority for the kaiako. Chris’ pessimistic response to the professional development programme that aimed to provide other (non-Māori) teachers with ways to better relate to Māori parents is indicative of the view that ‘being Māori’ or relating to Māori cannot be reduced to just technical tasks. He claims that Māori parents usually want to see (in the first instance) a Māori teacher. Like the students, the parents too need someone in

which to talk “Māori to Māori”, and the kaiako Māori is the key conduit for Māori parents and whānau at school.

The relationship between kaiako and whānau is not completely determined by the school; rather, it exists within a framework of ako that positions Māori teachers *as Māori* within a set of whakapapa, tuākana-teina, whaea-tamaiti /mātua – tamaiti relationships, both reciprocal and obligatory. In Bloor’s (1996) study, it is clear that Māori teachers are intimately connected to their communities in these ways. Two Māori teachers say:

The community expects as much as the parents, and more to a certain extent. If the kids fail, the teacher has failed – if the kid gets kicked out of school, the teacher is not considered effective enough to prevent this from happening. Very high expectations.

I’m theirs, they’re mine. An occupational hazard for me. Iwi very demanding. My phone should be paid for by the MOE (p. 22).

According to Bloor, Māori teachers spent between fifteen and a half to almost nineteen hours extra per week in an āwhina role on activities related to meeting the expectations of school, parents, community and whānau (1996, p. 19).

In addition to connecting and liaising with whānau, a change to the National Educational Guidelines (NEGs) in 1990, in which it became mandatory for each school’s charter to include the Treaty of Waitangi, brought added work for the Māori teacher. Whereas secondary principals previously could have ignored taha Māori, now because of the Guidelines, schools had no choice but to clarify the way they intended to “give active expression to the obligations inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi” (Hirsh, 1990, p. 58). There was a range of responses to these Treaty-related reforms, from basic education about the Treaty of Waitangi for the staff and Board of Trustees, to the establishment of whānau, bilingual or immersion programmes, such as Te Puna o Waiorea at Western Springs College. Whereas in 1982 there had been only two bilingual units in secondary schools, by 1990 there were 52 (Grant, 2003, p. 85). Often the overall effect of the varied Treaty-inspired initiatives, however, was to further impact on the load of Māori secondary school teachers.

Māori teachers were now expected to be knowledgeable about Treaty issues and its implications for schooling, which some non-Māori staff regarded to be “a Māori

thing” altogether (H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993, p. 83). Interestingly, Bloor (1996) found that Māori teachers spent up to five and half hours per week educating their non-Māori colleagues about Māori issues, an activity that was additional to the duties of the usual classroom teacher (p. 18). The IRI (1999) report found that Māori teachers’ Treaty work on average had decreased to 2.8 hours per week (p. 50). It was still, however, a significant part of Māori teachers’ role. When combined with the other professional expectations such as professional development for other Māori teachers; organising hui and pōwhiri; and educating their non-Māori colleagues, Māori teachers spent an extra twenty-one hours working over and above the ‘typical’ forty hour week (Bloor, 1996, p. 19). Those Māori teachers in middle management positions spent more time meeting school, parents, community and whānau expectations. Their average working week was about seventy-two hours (Bloor, 1996, p. 19). Kaiako were carrying a whole raft of ‘extra’ activities that were not directly related to their own teaching, but were peculiar to ‘being Māori’ and the concept of āwhina - forwarding Māori culture as conduits in secondary school for Māori and non-Māori alike.

While kaiako were probably the most appropriate staff members to act as cultural conduits (between school and community, non-Māori teachers and Māori children), when the responsibility for fulfilling these legislative requirements and up-skilling of teachers is mainly left to the lone Māori teacher, kaiako are often left feeling stressed, overworked and overwhelmed. Hooks (1994) terms a minority person that is forced to assume such a role as a “native informant” (p. 43). Often in the ‘spirit of tokenism’, the individual minority teacher or student is objectified and expected to provide cultural knowledge to the others. Maiki Marks (1984a) clearly felt this way when she describes the efforts of the Māori teacher to support colleagues being reduced to “gimmicks and tricks ... on how to control Māori kids” (p. 43), rather than introducing Māori cultural perspectives in any meaningful way. The idea of the cultural conduit as a ‘native informant’ is strengthened in Māori teachers’ reference to themselves as the ‘school Māori’ (H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993).

Kānohi kitea: cultural ambassadors-at-large

Kānohi kitea means ‘the face that is seen’ and refers to the cultural expectation that one should always attend in person important functions and gatherings, because a face

seen is a face remembered. To be present is a sign that the topic of meeting or hui is significant, to show that one is interested and committed to the issue at hand. For Māori teachers, *kānohi kitea* is important because his or her face represents the Māori face, a constant reminder to others that the rights of, and responsibilities to Māori should not be forgotten.

Echoing the sentiments of *kānohi kitea*, one Māori teacher in Bloor's (1996) study described this role as a 'Māori ambassador-at-large' (p. 19), a duty that entailed representing Māori across the whole school. As well as public displays of Māori culture through powhiri and kapa haka, the ambassador must also ensure that Māori interests were considered in every forum and aspect of the school, which included participation in several committees and interest groups. Appearing on a PPTA video, *Te Huarahi Māori* (Melbourne, 1999), about Māori secondary school teachers, Chris Selwyn reiterates the importance of this role:

The work of Māori teachers is quite manifold, in terms of the roles we have to play. Whether it's kapa haka, teaching in the classroom, delivery of the curriculum, running a unit, looking after a whānau class – we feel responsible, whether you are rewarded or appreciated, or whether you just take it on yourself. Having to be on the various committees so that a Māori 'voice' is there, whether it be the curriculum committee, or staffing committee, or the EEO (Equal Employment Opportunities) committee. There's a need for us as Māori teachers to be on all those committees so we have our voice, so that we ensure in all aspects of the school that the school is living up to its obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi (Melbourne, 1999).

Accordingly, representation on school committees is seen as an integral part of effectively forwarding a Māori agenda. The IRI (1999) report found that 'being a Māori representative' consumed 9.5 hours per week, the third highest (in time spent) duty after classroom teaching (20.8) and administrative duties (10.1) (p. 50).

However, trying to represent Māori issues as an individual Māori teacher was also burdensome. All three previously mentioned reports about Māori teachers (Bloor, 1996; IRI, 1999; H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993) recognise the taxing nature of teaching as Māori. 'Cultural taxation', a term used by Tierney and Bensimon (1996) refer to the extra work that university academics from ethnic minority groups in the United States do, is also applicable to Māori teachers. Similar to Hooks' (1994) term the 'native informant', cultural taxation includes the non-recognition by the institution

itself of the sorts of work minority educators do. Padilla's (1994 cit. in Tierney & Bensimon, 1996) definition of 'cultural taxation' follows:

... 'cultural taxation' is the obligation to show good citizenship toward the institution by serving its needs for ethnic representation on committees, or to demonstrate knowledge and commitment to a cultural group, which may even bring accolades to the institution but which is not usually rewarded by the institution on whose behalf the service was performed (p. 115).

Like Māori teachers, these minority faculty members at university found that they were often a lone voice in predominantly white departments. Their representation of minority and Indigenous issues constantly confronted manifestations of the institutionalised racism, which often left them feeling as if they were the token Other. Tierney and Bensimon (1996) argue that these minority academics who felt overwhelmed by these responsibilities and expectations, ended up forfeiting their careers.

Cultural taxation on Māori teachers who act as cultural ambassadors (or as Māori would refer to as the *kānohi* [face] of Māori culture) is undeniable. Bloor (1996) found that Māori teachers (in middle management positions) worked on average 72 hours per week, and Māori 'assistant teachers' (teachers without management responsibilities) worked on average 62 hours (p. 19). The IRI report also confirmed that the average hours Māori teachers worked per week was 61.7 hours (1999, p. 49). According to Bloor (1996), this extra time "represents time to perform the culturally appropriate and "often invisible" tasks expected of Māori teachers, *as Māori teachers*" (p. 23, emphasis added). Like minority university faculty members in the United States, the 'taxation cost', to Māori teachers' lives is significant. Bloor (1996) found that over half of the Māori teachers interviewed recorded that the workload had a negative impact of their physical health (54.6 %), emotional wellbeing (65 %), *wairua* (54.3 %) and *whānau* life (65 %) (pp. 52-3). Similarly, the IRI report (1999) recorded 54% of Māori teachers experiencing a large amount of stress (p. 52).

Another feature of Tierney and Bensimon's (1996) concept of cultural taxation is the commodification of race and ethnicity. For instance, they argue that the inclusion of an African American person in the Faculty is a manageable solution to the issues related to race, ethnicity and culture and, makes the institution look as if it values

African Americans. Kaiako are also cognizant of this dilemma. The severe under-representation of Māori on most school staff, however, means that the role of the (usually) lone Māori teacher in the school was a risky one. Maiki Marks described the position as ‘delicate’ because while the Māori teacher works to uphold the mana of Māori, most evident in pōwhiri and other public displays of culture, they are merely tokenistic symbols of inclusion. In this sense, Māori teachers are in an ambivalent position. On the one hand, they are trying to support Māori students and expose aspects of Māori culture to the school usually with little assistance, and on the other hand their work is then used by the school to show that it is “doing something” for Māori students or fulfilling its taha Māori or Treaty of Waitangi obligations – thereby negating the political points the Māori teachers are trying to achieve. Maiki Marks (1984a) warns:

The Māori teacher is likely to find it easier to take on protective ‘colouration’ by adopting or pretending to adopt her Pākehā colleagues’ views and attitudes towards students in general, and Māoris in particular (p. 43).

While Māori teachers might adopt a ‘protective colouration’ in order to survive as a member of staff at school, Marks calls on Māori teachers to be explicitly political.

Kaiako as kanohi kitea fulfill an important political role as Māori representatives across the school. It is, however, a demanding role that goes above and beyond their duties as a classroom teacher. In their endeavour to be cultural ambassadors and advocates, they inadvertently rescue the school from what H. A. Mitchell and Mitchell (1993) call “the inconvenience of teaching Māori children” (p. 63).

Kaiarahi: Cultural conductors and coaches

Arahi means to guide or lead, the kaiarahi (guide) as kaiako foregrounds the coaching role of the Māori teacher. In Ladson-Billings’ (1994) study of successful teachers of African American children she describes teachers as conductors and coaches. Ladson-Billings (1994) employs the term ‘culturally relevant’ for the pedagogies teachers employ that connect with, and effectively engage their black students. Ladson-Billings (1994) describes culturally relevant teaching in the following way:

Culturally relevant teaching is the antithesis of the assimilationist teaching ... rather than aiming for a slight improvement or maintenance, culturally relevant teaching aims at another level –

excellence – and transforms shifting responsibility into sharing responsibility (p. 26).

To distinguish ‘culturally relevant’ teachers from others, Ladson-Billings extends Winfield’s (1986 cit. in Ladson-Billings, 1994, p. 21) cross-classification system of four possible teacher behaviour patterns (as tutors, general contractors, custodians or referral agents) to include conductors and coaches.

The metaphor of the conductor suggests a teacher who is central to the quality of the work (musicianship) that the students produce. Although heavily reliant on the style, passion, knowledge, and instruction of the conductor, the students are also powerful in the performance – without the students the ‘music’ cannot be heard. Similarly the image of the coach committed to team success is another way Ladson-Billings (1994) conceptualises culturally relevant teachers. Teachers as coaches, she argues, understand that teaching and learning is not an intellectual technical skill devoid of energy, emotion, spirit and social relations, rather that the coach continues to encourage, support and teach from the front as well as the sidelines or in the background. Reflecting on and analysing past performances is an important function of the coach in order to improve the skills, abilities, and attitudes and to meet the aspirations of the team. Ladson-Billings’ (1994) culturally relevant teacher, coach or conductor are politically astute and teachers understand teaching as a contribution back to the community.

The notion that kaiako act in roles similar to a conductor of an orchestra or a sports’ coach is also useful to illustrate the various roles Māori teachers play. First, Māori teachers are literally the conductors and coaches. Usually in charge of the kapa haka group, the Māori teacher is responsible for the teaching and learning of Māori waiata and orchestrating kapa haka performances. The conductor’s role here is not merely to stand in front of a group of students waiting for instruction. The tutelage of kapa haka extends far beyond the technical musicianship and choreography to enable the group to exude a sense of confidence and pride in their performance. Participation in kapa haka is not merely a performance, but viewed by many Māori as an expression of ‘being Māori’. In the 1930s Māori leaders including Sir Apirana Ngata and Te Puea Herangi understood the importance and power of waiata and haka, and encouraged the revitalisation of this genre of Māori oral literature and performance in Māori

communities as well as schools. Today the New Zealand National Qualifications Authority (NZQA) recognises the importance of kapa haka and awards credits¹⁰⁶ in Māori performing arts that can contribute to a secondary school qualification such as the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA).

In order for kaiako to encourage students to exude the confidence and charisma they need in kapa haka, a lot of behind-the-scenes support and help is required. For instance, to prepare for major kapa haka performances or competitions, groups spend weeks rehearsing. These practices usually take place after school hours and during the weekend. Live-ins (overnight stays) in the school or local community marae is commonplace for secondary school groups to hold their intensive practices. Māori teachers are intimately involved in writing the waiata, choreographing the performance, selecting the kaea (leader/s) and students who will perform (and the position of each person), completing all the administrative work to ensure the necessary permission forms are attained by parents, ensuring the adult-to-student ratios are met for overnight stays and fitting (and making) all the uniforms. They are also engaged in feeding the children and adults, which means buying the food, collecting money, fundraising and so forth. The logistics of organising a kapa haka performance is similar to organising a school musical or school play, except with less teacher and school support and a minimal financial budget.

Second, ako is clearly reflected in the role of the conductor and coach. As a co-operative venture, teacher and learner are inseparable for team or group success. One cannot exist without the other, conductor and orchestra, coach and team – teaching and learning are in continuous exchange in an effort to reach success. As Ladson-Billings (1994) also points out, in this model the teacher rejects deficit thinking; teachers believe that all of their students can succeed. Notions of deficiencies, too, do not restrain ako. While some children may be recognised as gifted in particular areas, there is an emphasis on teaching and learning for the benefit of the whānau group. Furthermore, culturally relevant teachers not only use cultural practices that are relevant to their students, but encourage students to challenge issues such as structural

¹⁰⁶ There are two types of assessment standards used in secondary schools, ‘unit standards’ and ‘achievement standards’. Each standard is worth a certain amount of credits that, when achieved, count towards NCEA or other national certificates.

inequality, racism and other forms of social injustice. Like *ako* there is a collective commitment to success and improving conditions (a political endeavour) - for those who engage in teaching and learning.

Kaiako: Māori teachers as cultural workers

Although Māori teachers are promoted as ‘role models’ for Māori students by the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, 2002a, 2007i) as teachers who might inspire students to believe they too were capable of high achievements, *kaiako* have been more interested in modeling Māori roles. For Māori, educational success is not only based on academic achievement, but includes cultural considerations, in particular a knowledge of and confidence in *te ao Māori* (Macfarlane, 2003; Mataira, 1989; McKinley, 2000; Mead, 1997; Penetito, 1996; G. H. Smith, 1997). Within an *ako* framework, what I have referred to here as *kaitiaki* (cultural caretakers), *kaiawhina* (cultural conduits), *kanohi kitea* (cultural ambassadors), and *kaiarahi* (coaches and conductors) are part of our responsibilities as *whaea* (mother or aunty), *matua* (uncle or father), and *whānaunga* (relations) – *as Māori*. Demonstrating and practicing caring and compassion for Māori students, teaching Māori language and culture to the younger generation, representing Māori so that the *mana* of *tangata whenua* is upheld, and understanding teaching and learning as a collaborative endeavour is all part of *ako* in action.

The Freirean notion of the teacher as cultural worker is another useful way of thinking about how Māori teachers work. Paulo Freire, regarded by Indigenous people as one of the most revered thinkers of the twentieth century (G. H. Smith, 1997), articulated many of the oppressions suffered by systematic colonisation, and connected with the constant tensions experienced in the transformation process. According to Freire and Macedo (1987) the ‘cultural worker’ or ‘pilgrim of the obvious’ is a teacher/educator who is concerned with understanding and overcoming that which exploits and subordinates people. McLaren (2000) clarifies:

His [Freire] theoretical world comprised a “narrative space” or discursive economy with its own catalogue of terms out of which he could fashion himself as a public intellectual and cultural worker – what he would call a “pilgrim of the obvious” – whose guiding interest was rooted in overcoming domination and exploitation through a revolutionary education praxis (p. 155).

According to Freire (1987), the teacher (or ‘pilgrim’) must create opportunities for learning and teaching new and alternate ways for their students of seeing, knowing, reading, and naming their own world through the use of theories based on everyday lived experiences. Similarly, Māori cultural notions in an ako framework always underpin the work of Māori teachers; concepts of tiaki, āwhina, kanohi kitea and arahi form a part of a theoretical basis for Māori to engage in interpreting the Māori world.

Freire (1987) argues that the role of the teacher is not only pedagogically, but politically charged. The process of becoming literate (which he also refers to as ‘praxis’), whereby there is continual to-ing and fro-ing, coding and decoding, viewing and re-viewing, requires political interpretation and formation in order to make sense of the world. Freire recognised the reproductive nature of schools as socialising institutions that reflect the unequal power relations found in the culture of the greater society. Teachers as cultural workers need political clarity to work towards change to guard against the relegation of particular groups of students to a subordinate status, and the maintenance of the status quo.

Ako both converges with and diverges from Freire’s notion of the cultural worker. Like the cultural worker Māori teachers are also thrust into the political sphere because the nature of their work challenges the dominant culture’s worldview that positions Māori language, knowledge and beliefs as of lesser status and importance. Upholding the mana of Māori in schools requires that Māori teachers not only teach Māori curriculum content, but operate in ways that are consistent with ‘being Māori’. According to Freire (1987), the ‘walking the talk’ aspect of the teacher as a cultural worker is critical, he states:

When the teacher is seen as a political person, then the political nature of education requires that the teacher either serve whoever is in power or present options to those in power. The teacher who is critical of the current power in society needs to lessen the distance between the speeches he or she makes to describe political options and what she/he does in the classroom. In other words, to realize alternatives or choices, in the day-to-day classroom, the progressive teacher attempts to build coherence and consistency a virtue. It is contradictory to proclaim progressive politics and then to practise authoritarianism or opportunism in the classroom (p. 212).

Teachers *as Māori* understand that teaching is a political act that challenges rather than supports the status quo in schools. Kaiako as cultural workers draw attention to the ways in which cultural, pedagogical and political ‘work’ is closely intertwined.

Not all Māori teachers however, necessarily choose or have the necessary skills to ‘work’ as kaiako. As I stated at the outset (in chapter one) Māori teachers are just as culturally varied as any other ethnic or cultural group. This study, however, is preoccupied with those Māori teachers who are committed and able to actively employ their Māori cultural knowledge, worldviews and values in their work as teachers. As one Māori teacher in H. A. Mitchell and Mitchell’s (1993) study points out, to retain one’s identity *as Māori* is not necessarily an easy decision:

Māori teachers have a problem with integrity. They must ask themselves whose interests they are addressing. Many Māori teachers do not know how to handle the Pākehā system and they are not strong in their own value system (p. 83).

Kaiako require Māori cultural knowledge, a critical understanding of the nature of a mono-cultural school system and how it operates, and most importantly, need to make a deliberate decision about whose interests they serve. Choosing to work as a kaiako will often be incompatible with the Pākehā school system. For those kaiako who choose to remain *as Māori* in their role as a teacher, the act of ‘walking the talk’ or connecting the pedagogical to the political, is not a choice but an irrepressible obligation.

Ako diverges from Freire’s notion of the cultural worker, however, precisely because ako is, and located within, a Māori cultural framework. Linda Mead¹⁰⁷ (1997) points out that while a Freirean critical pedagogy approach privileges the relationship between the teacher and student, Māori relationships, practices and cultural conditions override the primacy of this relationship. Whereas Freire argues for more equitable relationships between the teacher and learner, Māori relationships are determined by more complex demands. Ako situates the notion of teaching and learning, and teacher and learner, within a wider web of whakapapa relationships that determine the roles we are to play. This idea is most obvious in the terms of address used by Māori children for their Māori teachers. Chris Selwyn is referred to Pā (short for Pāpā, meaning father or uncle); women are usually referred to whaea or kōkā (both terms

¹⁰⁷ Note Linda Tuhiwai Smith also uses Linda Mead.

mean mother or aunty). When the teacher is seen as the uncle or aunty, and students as nieces and nephews the classroom dynamics drastically change. Teachers practice more than an ‘ethic of care’, but a familial responsibility to their students and their respective parents and whānau.

My own experiences as a Māori teacher at secondary school included teaching a Māori adult student alongside my 14-year-old students. While I was officially responsible for teaching this woman te reo Māori, in Māori terms she was also my tuakana.¹⁰⁸ Our relationship was not limited or defined by our teacher-student relationship; rather our cultural codes positioned us simultaneously in multiple roles. In reciprocal relationship, she (and her whānau) would often participate and provide support to a variety of Māori activities at school. Similarly I would often be responsible for teaching the children of my whānaunga, as a whaea to their children and teina to their parents. I was placed in both a privileged and obligatory role. My role as the teacher was subsumed and shaped by my role *as Māori*. According to Mead (1997) the Māori teacher / educator must be viewed in the wider Māori political context:

Māori educators are simply one part of a larger struggle. We are sometimes simply the secretaries for our people, sometimes, if they allow us, we are their voices, sometimes we clear the paths and sometimes we are simply witnesses. All of these prescribe a role of humility (p. 13).

Kaiako are part of a larger group of Māori ‘cultural workers’ that exist within and outside of the boundaries of school.

Summary

Maiki Marks’ and Chris Selwyn’s pūrākau remind us that ako does not exist in a vacuum. For Māori teachers in secondary schools, ako is not disconnected from the everyday realities of Māori life and schooling system. Māori teachers’ work is both symptomatic of ako and the conditions of the school context. Caught between the commitments to Māori cultural aspirations and their duties to the profession, many kaiako make a deliberate decision to teach *as Māori*, and in doing so, also engage in a purposeful political act.

¹⁰⁸ Tuakana literally means older sibling of the same gender, however the term is often used as a sign of respect between Māori.

Maiki's pūrākau emerged during a period of widespread dissatisfaction with the education system by Māori, accumulating in the rejection of existing schooling options and the beginning of Māori-determined Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. The 1984 Māori Educational Development Conference held at Turangawaewae Marae represents a significant political moment for Māori teachers. Ako became a pedagogical-political project, made clear by Māori teachers who felt their role extended beyond the classroom, *as Māori* they were committed to improving their students schooling experiences and life *as Māori*. Being a Māori language teacher, in particular, was not a technical grammatical exercise or neutral activity, but a political act.

Despite the increase in the number of Māori teachers and the introduction of Māori language and taha Māori programmes, the large majority of secondary schools remained monocultural. Disproportionate Māori underachievement continued, with few secondary schools able to boast more than one Māori teacher. Subsequently the pressures placed on Māori teachers dramatically increased. For Māori people, the taha Māori policies and the Tomorrow's Schools reforms of the 1980s not only highlighted the deficiencies of monocultural Pākehā teachers, but the advantages of Māori teachers, and the influence they could exert. Māori teachers were beginning to realise the potential power they possessed as Māori teachers, to critique the systematic disadvantage of Māori in secondary schools, as well as the political dimension to their 'work'.

Chris' pūrākau follows on from the political beginnings of ako in schools in the 1970s, and highlights the politics of 'teaching *as Māori*' in the 1990s to the present day. Usually referred to as the 'extra' workload of being a Māori teacher, Chris' pūrākau reframes the role of the kaiako within ako. Māori teachers are involved in teaching Māori language and culture, as well as acting as kaitiaki of kaupapa Māori in the school, contributing as kaiawhina to support any Māori programme developments or activities, practicing kanohi kitea by representing Māori at school meetings and decision-making processes, and leading as kaiarahi. Their 'work' as a 'cultural worker' is not divorced from the broader issues of the struggle to assert the legitimacy of Māori language and knowledge, tino rangātiratanga and power, and a redistribution

of resources. Hence, the politics surrounding their school roles always caused some friction for Māori as teachers.

Māori teachers who utilise ako require a political clarity. Activating ako not only requires an understanding of Māori language, culture and knowledge – it is not purely concerned with the replication of traditional knowledge. Rather ako relies on Māori theories to engage and make sense of the world, and in turn, to reconstruct Māori knowledge and culture relevant to contemporary circumstances. Ako as pedagogy responds to, and is shaped by the political conditions in order that Māori survive, live, and prosper, *as Māori*.

Chapter Six

Māori teachers disappear in ‘diversity’

Introduction

Diversity is an intrinsic feature of a globalised society, people are more internationally transient and are daily required to negotiate modes of diversity whether it be ‘face to face’ or through electronic forms to virtual environments. In every country around the world cultural and linguistic diversity is increasing (Kalantzis & Cope, 1999). Aside from this literal increase in diversity generated through global population movements and technological advancements, ‘diversity’ has recently entered the educational lexicon as a popular term used to think about students. In education, ‘diversity’ is being used to characterise differences amongst school children not always ‘visible’ or previously of interest.

In New Zealand schools there has been a visible demographic increase of ethnic minority groups in New Zealand schools. The largest ethnic group, Pākehā¹⁰⁹ has declined from 83.1% of the population in 1996, to 67.6 % of the population (Statistics New Zealand, 2007b, p. 7). In contrast, the Ministry of Education (2005b) notes that between 2001 to 2005, the number of Māori, Pasifika and Asian students in schools increased (by 9%, 13%, and 38% respectively). According to the 2006 Census, Māori make up 14.6% of the population, Asian make up 9.2% and Pacific peoples make up 6.9% and other ethnicities make up 11.2%¹¹⁰ (Statistics New Zealand, 2007b, p. 7).

¹⁰⁹ The term ‘New Zealand European’ was used instead of Pākehā in the 2006 Census.

¹¹⁰ ‘Other ethnicities’ consists primarily of New Zealander responses but also includes 1,491 responses for other ethnicities, such as Mauritian, South African Coloured and North American Indian.

In New Zealand much attention is being paid to student diversity, in particular, how to best teach the ‘diverse’ learner. Increasing ethnic diversity in schools is made more challenging in schools by the longstanding disproportionate educational achievement outcomes experienced, in particular, by Māori and Pasifika students. Given the over-representation of Māori and Pasifika students in negative indices, it is with some trepidation that demographers predict that in 20 years 40 percent of primary school-aged children may be of Māori and/or Pasifika descent, and that by 2051 it is likely that Māori and Pasifika students will be the majority (Fancy, 2004b).

In an educational context where cultural difference is recognized, one might expect the concept of diversity to extend to teachers as well as to an interest in ‘diverse’ pedagogical frameworks such as *ako*. On the contrary, teacher diversity, in this case Māori teachers, seemed to have faded from view altogether, and *ako* makes only a brief appearance as a strategy for better teaching. This chapter seeks to examine the way in which Māori teachers and *ako* are engaged – or, more accurately – not engaged in the current educational context of diversity.

Like the previous three chapters, this chapter begins with a *pūrākau*. Awa Hudson tells of her experiences as a *kaiako* working in a large, urban, ethnically diverse secondary school. However, this *pūrākau* is not woven through this chapter, rather it stands in sharp contrast with official educational literature about how to teach ‘diverse students’ in schools. Whereas Awa views Māori teachers as central to acknowledging, respecting and working with ‘diversity’, the dominant discourses of diversity do not include Māori teachers or *ako* in any meaningful way. The rhetoric of, and policy ideals for, recognising and catering for diverse students is at odds with the reality of what diversity means to Awa at the chalk face. While diversity in the mainstream literature displaces Māori teachers and their work, Awa’s *pūrākau* challenges dominant educational discourses by offering a portrayal that recentres Māori teachers and *ako* amidst the diversity that exists in schools.

This chapter is broken into two sections. The first section investigates the way diversity is officially defined in education in the New Zealand context and how Māori are positioned within diversity in the literature, especially government-led research and reports and official documentation. In the second section I argue that the

discourse of diversity in New Zealand education, like multiculturalism, is often incoherent and colludes with the 'effective' and 'quality teaching' literature that serves to maintain a 'mainstream' approach to education despite explicitly espousing the valuing of difference, especially Māori.

Pūrākau of Awa Hudson

The centrality of Māori in diversity

When I arrived at Awa's home in Massey this morning, she had just returned after three days of participating in the 2005 Takutai Hīkoi.¹¹¹ Given the nature of the protest march, I was amazed at her level of energy and enthusiasm. I had joined the Hīkoi (march) for four hours, marching across the harbour bridge with our children in the rain – and was thoroughly exhausted. Awa, on the other hand, had helped behind the scenes in the kitchen preparing food at the marae in Wellsford, met early the next morning at Hato Petera College before the crossing of the harbour bridge, then continued to Orakei Marae followed by a hui at Hoani Waititi Marae in the evening. She hadn't returned home till late into the night.

Awa greeted me with warmth and kindness, and embraced me with the same aroha I had experienced as her student at Massey High School twenty years ago. She seemed exactly as I remember, soft brown skin, black curly shoulder length hair, sparkling eyes, and smiling face. She was always beautifully groomed. Today she wore a deep maroon long sleeved shirt and comfortable black pants. As she led me up the stairway in her house, she apologised for the unpacked bags in the hallway. Since her retirement (which had begun three weeks ago) she had not only been travelling domestically with the Hīkoi, but abroad to Melbourne, Australia to attend her niece's graduation in medicine. Despite her busy schedule she had prepared lunch for us and immediately made a cup of tea. She brought out thick healthy club sandwiches on a beautiful glass plate and sweet poppy seed cake with jam and cream. We sat at a table in her lounge that was filled with comfortable seats, and brimming with whakairo and woven harakeke hanging on the walls, beautiful trinkets, and photos of her whānau and friends. As I looked around with interest, she laughed and told me it looked like a museum.

¹¹¹ The Hīkoi was a nation-wide Māori-led protest against government legislation that proposed the seabed and foreshore be vested in Crown ownership. The legislation also denied Māori rights to due legal process and ignored the consultation process whereby iwi had rejected the extinguishment of customary title. The Hīkoi was the impetus for the formation of the Māori Party in 2005.

Before we began the interview proper Awa formally greeted me in te reo Māori following the tikanga of whakatau (welcome) and manaaki, and told me she felt humbled and honoured to be participating in this mahi. The years between us in age, and the long time spent apart disappeared as we chatted like old friends in a quick-fire fashion about a whole range of things. Our conversation traversed many aspects of her life and the points of commonality between us as we renewed our connections. She spoke of her friends she had served with in the New Zealand Air Force in Singapore, our families, our friends, places she had recently visited, and politics. As a student, I had always been in awe of the way she mediated her generous nature and genuine interest in everybody, and her strong political views about the rights and status of tangata whenua and the struggle for Māori language and culture. She spoke with an energy and passion, frequently spiced with humour and laughter – it was all coming back to me. It was as if I had returned to my role as a student. I remembered her pedagogical style as a teacher – her all-encompassing warmth and total commitment to the kaupapa of Māori education. I had come to collect pūrākau and I could tell there were going to be many, the kōrero was to come thick and furious. The challenge was to catch them all.

Turangawaewae: Her (back) ground

Ko Māhuhu ki te rangi te waka. Ko Tarawera te maunga tapu. Ko Kaipara te moana. Ko Otakanini te pā maioro, te pā mataara. Ko Otakanini, arā ko Haranui te turangawaewae, te ukaipō. Ko Ngā-tai-i-turia-ki-te-maro-whara te whare tūpuna. Ko Manawanui te tari o te ora. E kiia ana ko Ngāti Whātua Tuturu, ko Ngāti Whātua Nui Tonu, ko Ngāti Whātua Whānau Iti Nei te iwi. Ko Mihiwira Rapana rāua ko George Henry Hill ngā tūpuna. Ko Devon, England me Ayreshire Scotland ngā whenua tauwiwi.¹¹²

Ko Mātaatua te waka. Ko Hokianga te moana. Ko Ngāpuhi te iwi. Ko Ngāti Kaharau, ko Ngāti Hau, ko Te Roroa ngā hapū. Ko Omaniaia, ko Waimamaku ngā

¹¹² Māhuhu ki te rangi is the canoe. Tarawera is the sacred mountain. Kaipara is the sea. Otakanini is the fortified village. Otakanini, Haranui is the ancestral land. Ngā-tai-i-turia-ki-te-maro-whara is the ancestral house. Manawanui is the dining room. Ngāti Whātua is the tribe. Mihiwira Rapana and George Henry Hill are the ancestors. Devon, England and Ayreshire Scotland are the foreign lands.

*ūkaipo. Ko Tāpikitu, ko Wherohia ngā wāhi okiokinga. Ko Wiremu Haretuku, ko Hemoata Paniora ngā tūpuna.*¹¹³

Awa was the fifth and final child born in her parent's two-bedroom whare in Haranui built by her grandfather, George Hill. Shortly afterwards another family home was built on the site where all fourteen children were raised. All Awa's younger siblings were born in maternity hospitals in Auckland at St. Helens and in Malolo Hosipital, Te Awaroa, Helensville. All attended the local primary and secondary schools in Helensville and Parakai. While her family was always supportive of schooling, she recalls that the cost of school uniforms, texts books (students were required to purchase texts in most curriculum areas) and school stationery, as well as additional material costs and fees, were a major expense - especially for large families. Growing up in the 1940s meant families were affected by the impositions and rationing caused by WWII, and the impact of mate kōhi (tuberculosis epidemic), rewharewha (influenza) and mate rora (polio epidemic) in their district, caused schools to close and families to be confined to their homes. Awa remembers studying by correspondence school for nearly a year.

Awa's working life began as a junior clerk in the office of the Kaipara Dairy Company in Te Awaroa, Helensville. On a trip to the South Island (to watch Canterbury vs. Auckland Ranfurly Shield challenge), she encountered several Air Force recruits that got her thinking about a career in the Air Force. Several years later she joined the New Zealand Air Force where she met her late husband, Maurice Hudson. They spent several years overseas. Awa describes her time in South-East Asia as a period in which she became more conscious of the political, economic and social issues related to mana whenua.

In the late sixties the family returned from Woodborne Airbaed, Blenheim to Whenuapai Airbase. This shift enabled Awa to become involved in the Māori renaissance movement of the 1970s, in particular, formally learning Māori language.

¹¹³ Mātaatua is the canoe. Hokianga is the sea. Ngāpuhi is the tribe. Ngāti Kaharau, Ngāti Hau and Te Roroa are the sub-tribes. Omaniaia and Waimamaku are the ancestral lands. Tapikitu and Wherohia are the sacred resting places. Wiremu Haraetuku and Hemoata Paniora are the grandparents.

She began attending night classes tutored by Kahu and John Tapiata and Te Wharehuia Milroy, which led to sitting examinations, attending hui and wānanga and The University of Auckland. She became proactive in Māori educational issues. Awa and others in her class were encouraged to consider entering teaching during a time when there was a strong Māori lobby for mātauranga Māori inclusion in the mainstream. The Department of Education approved a one-year teacher training course at Auckland Teachers' Training College for secondary school teaching. She was one of the fourteen Māori speakers from throughout the North Island to participate in the inaugural intake of this special course. Her major subjects were Māori, English, Social Studies and Commerce/Economics. She remembers with admiration her te reo Māori tutor, Whaea Maxine Tamahori. Not only did she tutor in Māori, but also English, French, German, Russian and Spanish languages. She says, "He wahine maia, he wahine tino toa rawa atu tenei wahine Māori no Ngāti Maniapoto me Te Arawa!". Awa began teaching in 1975.

Teaching within a 'diversity' environment

Awa has seen many changes occur over the thirty years at Massey High School (MHS), but none more apparent than the increasing number of cultural groups. The ethnic diversity of the student body is the first issue Awa chooses to talk about and returns to many times during our conversations. When Awa began teaching at MHS, its ethnic makeup consisted mainly of Māori and Pākehā; the school population was around 650 pupils. At that time MHS was a predominantly Pākehā school. She explains "there were very few Chinese, Tarara (Croatian), Samoan and Indian students". Today, Awa believes, there are more than 100 ethnic minority groups within the school of approximately 2600 students. According to the school's website, the ethnic composition is: European 43%, Māori 20%, Pacific Island 14% and Asian 23% (Massey High School, 2007). Awa acknowledges that the diverse multicultural nature of the students has created a "totally different environment" which has brought with it new challenges and pressures to teaching.

Awa believes, however, that ethnic diversity has served to strengthen the status and rights of Māori as the Indigenous people in schools. She explains, "that stress [ethnic diversity] has been a revelation also, it has been a journeying, a whole journeying that Māori will always be the tangata whenua, no matter what ... Māori

have a prominent role to play and it's never been more evident than it is today". When there are new immigrants, overseas visitors or esteemed guests, Māori are the group that is called on to provide the formalities of welcome. The Māori Department advises and consults staff, and organises powhiri for these groups and others who are interested in Māori culture and the protocols of the marae, based on the tīkanga of manaaki and aroha. Through the practices such as powhiri, Awa understands that Māori not only reinforce their position as the Indigenous hosts but establish, during the sharing of kai and informal conversations, an important relationship with others. As a result, ethnic minority teachers, students and community members are more likely to feel an affinity to Māori. She says, "They (ethnic minority groups) see Pākehā as the power, the officialdom. They see Māori as a link to themselves ... They see Māori as a cultural link ... The first thing they want to know is who are the mana whenua". According to Awa it is Māori that encourage a sense of belongingness and a place to stand for other ethnic groups at school.

However, she is saddened (though not surprised) that many of her colleagues have not appreciated the potential richness that ethnic diversity provides; few teachers have made the effort to learn about Māori. "They [Pākehā teachers] haven't grown, they haven't reached out to other ethnic groups ... how are they to understand all the different ones if they don't understand and have never taken the time to understand us [Māori], to learn the reo". Based on three decades of experience, Awa estimates that only about 5% of the teachers were ever actively involved or promoted multicultural events at school or in their classroom. She chuckles, "In the main, from my observations, only a small number of non-Māori teachers made themselves available ... they [the rest of the teachers] talked about it, but they did not practise it".

According to Awa the rhetoric of multiculturalism also masked teachers' unwillingness to become more involved in Māori issues. Awa exclaims, "... they [Pākehā teachers] have used multiculturalism as a way to negate things Māori ... as a means to ignore, to stifle the obvious Māori issues". Most teachers did not participate in either Māori or other ethnic minority cultural activities, let alone show an active interest in issues or pedagogies. Often only superficial attention was paid to Māori things at school. For example, she refers to the way many teachers were

only interested in Māori language when an Education Review Office visit was approaching, as a “sham”.

Awa greatly admires the staff who have taken a genuine interest in advancing Māori culture and caring for Māori students at school. Several teachers, in particular, have made extraordinary efforts to learn Māori language and Māori culture, and support kaupapa Māori initiatives at school. Without the assistance of these non-Māori colleagues, Awa’s work would have been so much more difficult. She also acknowledges key whānau and parents who have supported the kaupapa over the years. Before ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’, at a time when it was not common for the ‘whānau’ (Māori community) to be involved in school activities, and since then, there have been some strong Māori and non-Māori parents who have pushed for change. Some of the results of working with collegial and parental support included organizing wānanga at her marae in Haranui and elsewhere, establishing the school whare ‘Te Mahanhana’, and setting up the whānau unit. She has nothing but praise for the teachers that went “above and beyond their call of duty”, and parents political and practical support.

During Awa’s teaching career, she considers “tane Pākehā” (Pākehā men) the main “obstacles” to progressing Māori education and supporting Māori students. Many tane Pākehā had little regard for, or interest in Māori language and culture in the school. One of the strategies some of these teachers employed involved co-opting (and then delegating) someone else (usually a Māori male who was not a teacher or another ethnic minority male) to do the work that involves “things Māori”. Awa describes these as uncaring acts. In her analysis, the unwillingness shown by some teachers to be involved with Māori and other ethnic minority group at school is consistent with teachers’ personal interests. Awa explains, “The teachers who did not engage in multiculturalism did not interact or socialize with other ethnic groups on a daily basis. So it becomes almost hypocritical, I suppose, if they made the effort. Because normally they don’t go to a marae, they don’t go to a tangi, they don’t go to Diwali, they don’t go to Chinese celebrations, they don’t go to Māori or Polynesian festivals”. She ends, “There are lots of verbal expressions of goodwill, however this is not supported by their attendance at these multicultural occasions”.

As well as a general state of teacher apathy towards ‘multiculturalism’, teachers were often blatantly negative about Māori students and Māori education. She often recalls removing herself from the staffroom in order to “refuel the wairua and hinengaro so that you could be sharp” - sustaining the spirit and intellect was part of her self-preservation as Māori. To do otherwise was to be at risk of “giving up”, and incorporating the stereotypical views of the others so that you also begin to think, “that your people are hopeless and useless”. To Awa, each Māori child who was miseducated by the schooling system because they were not able to access Māori language, knowledge and beliefs, “did not only represent one child, they represented generations who were deprived of their soul, their wairua and their knowledge”.

Many Māori students also entered secondary school feeling negative and without confidence. In Awa’s words, they were “disengaged from themselves, they [Māori students] are disconnected”. She feels that primary schooling has dismally failed to not only teach basic Māori language and knowledge, but also instill a sense of excitement about learning. She says with a real sense of sadness, “at the end of primary school they [Māori students] should be soaring like the birds, but they are crippled by standard four, many of them are having problems”. Amidst this adversity Awa became more determined in her resolve to advance Māori education, in particular to rebuild their sense of identity and reignite Māori students’ desire to learn at secondary school.

In a context in which Māori (as well as other minority cultural groups) were undervalued, Awa became increasingly conscious of the necessity for Māori teachers at secondary school. While acutely aware of the barriers, she was highly energised by the opportunities to participate in the education of Māori students. Everyday she says, “I was mindful, and every morning I awoke I used to say a little, quiet karakia and I became so excited to be at school”. She viewed her Māori students as tomorrow’s “agents of change” and was spurred on by the chance to engage students in learning about their cultural identity – Māori language and culture was at the heart of her enthusiasm to teach. She believes that “Māori want reo and tīkanga. Reo and tīkanga are the things that are going to propel our people into all different journeys, positive journeys and progressive journeys that this nation will benefit from”.

The importance of Māori teachers

One of my strongest memories of being a student in Māori language classes with Awa was the time she spent finding out about each of us. In an effort to glean information about our tribal, sub-tribal and whānau affiliations, there would be an onslaught of questions about our parents, our grandparents, and our relatives. Where did we live, where did they live, where did they grow up? If we didn't know the answers, these questions constituted homework. Until all these questions were answered, teaching and learning really couldn't begin. Having a basic understanding of one's whakapapa is fundamental to Māori education. She explains, "Māori people [teachers] acknowledge who they [Māori students] are. ... [Māori teachers] address some basic areas that education has neglected for years, for generations. Because who you are is number one for any human being in the world. Number one. They [Māori students] don't know who they are. They don't know who their nanny is. In a Pākehā way, you know who you are if you can say your name. From a Māori viewpoint you are illiterate if you just know your name. You must know where you come from, and if you don't know your grandparents then it is vital we must find out". Listening again to Awa speak in a familiar, passionate lecturing style, I recall she was the first teacher to acknowledge my ethnicity, let alone my tribal affiliations. It was Awa who encouraged and quietly demanded that we were able to do more than just say "I am Māori", she wanted us to know what it meant to identify as Māori.

In Awa's view the secondary school structure is not conducive to a holistic approach to education. She explains, "The system has created a disjointed engagement, a spasmodic, a pepper potted ... it's not cohesive, and we need that cohesiveness". She regards the work of the kaiako is to engage Māori students in learning in a Māori, holistic way. She identifies whanaungatanga as the umbrella that enables teachers to establish relationships and identify the relatedness between all people and things that take place at school. The practice of eliciting whakapapa extends well beyond teaching students to recite their tribal connections, or establishing familiar or friendly relationship with the students. It constitutes, for Awa, the point of difference between Māori and non-Māori teachers.

As a Māori teacher, Awa believes that she should not only know the tribal affiliations of her students, but also practice what it means to be able to connect through

whakapapa to each other. She explains, “There isn’t a school, be it Kura Kaupapa Māori, be it single sex, be it mainstream, be it private, church or otherwise, that ... I [as Māori] can’t connect up with as whanaunga (relations). St Paul’s here, I could go there, Massey High School, Massey Primary, Don Buck – you name it, all the way up North, in every school is someone. I have kith and kin, and that makes us Māori different”. Understanding and practising whakapapa in this way not only distinguishes Māori from other ethnic groups, but also repositions Māori teachers as critical in all issues and processes in schools. Awa is emphatic, “We [Māori teachers] don’t have a conflict of interest, we have more than a conflict of interest – put that aside – we have a vested interest in our whakapapa in this country. So how can we be left out? How does one feel ... when someone who has only got two cousins in New Zealand comes and tells me what ... [to do?]. How does one feel? Look, I wouldn’t dare go to England and tell them (even though my grandfather and my tūpuna come from Devonshire), I wouldn’t dare to!” In her opinion all Māori children are “tino taonga”. She laughs, “they [Pākehā teachers] get a shock when I say that our children and mokopuna are as precious as the mokopuna of the Queen of England, I say that at assembly”.

In Awa’s experience, few non-Māori teachers have been capable of meeting the needs of Māori students. Regardless of the number of degrees and qualifications teachers have gained, or whether or not they had been “born and bred in New Zealand of several generations”, if they cannot relate to and engage Māori students, Māori are “not getting a fair share”. Awa reiterates, “in all the years that I have taught, I can honestly say that very few of them [non-Māori teachers] have sparked the wairua of the Māori”. In contrast, Māori teachers offer a cultural knowledge based on lived experience. She argues, “They [Māori teachers] bring with them knowledge or a sense of knowledge of their identity. We spark them with their whakapapa, we spark them with their maunga and moana in our oratory. Do Pākehā teachers even do that in English? Do they say ‘sacred mountain keep on standing or keep on talking. Rivers keep on flowing’? Because that’s an introduction to what comes after and that whets their appetite, their intellect. And the kōrero about their mountain, their research, their journey that comes later to understand themselves because places are all part of the tātai (recite genealogies), their whakapapa, their journey through life, their educational journey, their turangawaewae. So you are sparking in them all the

time, its okay to know your mountain, your hapū and iwi – its okay to be exactly what you are”.

Awa’s tone lifts again when she talks about the two Māori teachers and one kaiāwhina that have been appointed to fulfill her position at her former school. “Just three ... and what that is going to do to the school – there are going to be miracles created ... we have nearly 500 Māori students, so we need Māori teachers. There is only one rongoa for our people, it is to give them their people”. She continues, “we still need our tamariki to be daily touching bases spiritually, intellectually and physically with their people”. In Awa’s view, to deny Māori students access to Māori teachers is to extend the gap between Māori and the dominant group. She explains, “There is still a great void, an individual void and collective void, an individual neglect and collective neglect - of the Māori students. Because they are not having their own [Māori teachers] deliver and be a normal part of what is supposed to be the most important component that is imposed upon us, education. They are not having their own people”.

Māori teachers need training and support

The championing of Māori language and culture has not been an easy task. As a lone Māori voice, Awa was the only Māori teacher (or Māori on staff) at this secondary school for fourteen years, and from my memory she was often the one teacher whom many Māori students and parents felt any affinity with. I feel the deep sense of the ‘struggle’ Awa has endured over thirty years at this school. She has developed a critique of schooling that rests on an intellectual and personal understanding of colonisation, the status of Māori as a Treaty partner, and a belief in the power of reclaiming Māori language and culture. The dual oppositional forces experienced during teaching, her marginalisation and her power as a Māori teacher, have shaped her politics.

As one of the longest standing Māori secondary school teachers in the Auckland region, Awa fully appreciates that Māori teachers not only need special training, but on-going support to prepare and sustain them for their role as Māori in secondary schools. Firstly, Awa argues that Māori teachers must have a socio-historical understanding of Māori education that reveals the processes of colonisation. She states, “Real power begins with empowering others with the truth. It’s not the

untruths that have been stated, it is the truths that have been withheld". Secondly, Māori teachers need to understand the political nature of being a Māori teacher. "Māori teachers need to understand their tangata whenua status. And that requires a big shift in thinking, no matter what the situation, how roles change in society, how political movements change - whatever the changes, Māori are always going to be tangata whenua. Despite the political climate, successive principals, Boards of Trustees, and staff, they have to understand that they have to remain constant and proactive. It's our responsibility to our own people and our responsibility to our communities. It's a commitment. Māori has to be to the fore - it cannot be erased".

Awa suggests that one of the ways Māori teachers (regardless of whether or not they teach within the Māori language department) can promote kaupapa Māori by using Māori culture and language in their everyday practice. She exclaims "The more favoured the activity is, the more one should use the reo. The more courageous you must be ... Māori themselves have to be liberated from their colonial thinking to use Māori language like 'kia tere tamariki ma', 'hurry up' using both [languages]. Just because you are not part of the Māori department doesn't mean to say that they [Pākehā] have your soul as well!" Normalisation of Māori language, Māori culture throughout the school was always one of her key goals. While Awa fought hard to establish Te Mahanahana (the school marae), she resents the attempt by others to prevent her or her students from 'being Māori' in other parts of the school. "We are still denied the ability to express who we are at school. [They say] 'You've got a space; you do it [Māori customs and cultural practices] down there in the whare. But you don't do it anywhere else'. Well I beg to differ. I say, because we are the Indigenous in Aotearoa we do it wherever we are"!

While Awa is fervent in her views that Māori must be given voice and made visible outside of the Māori department, to sustain such a stance as a Māori teacher is exhausting. That is why Awa believes that Māori teachers need to have clarity of purpose "if you lose sight of that you will be absolutely ineffective to yourself, and most of all to those ones you purport to be a part of". She believes Māori teachers need to know about our history to understand our present context. She says "We want to know our Indigenous past of Aotearoa, and our colonial past – then we can move forward with some stability ... and know where we have been, where we are at, and

where we want to go. But the system doesn't allow for that ... the system thrives on our inadequacies that are in the main borne from our insecurities, our lack of knowledge of who we are. The system dictates what we should be, instead of us determining what we could be. Education has got to be the vehicle that will carry our aspirations into the future and the knowledge of our struggle. It's got to be about struggle and achievement, and that's a continuous pathway". Awa argues that regular wānanga for Māori teachers are required to enable teachers to prepare themselves appropriately and to combat "new forms of colonialism" that can render the Māori teachers' work as "kore wairua – soul-less". In Awa's opinion such wānanga are vital and would "whakakāngia te wairua, whakakahangia te wairua" (illuminate the soul, strengthen the spirit).

Final words

There is a constant moving between the positive and the negative aspects of secondary schooling for Māori that characterises Awa's conversation and the nature of her work. She exclaims, "every day I could be grieving and every day in the same minute I could be celebrating – we saw lots of reasons to grieve and to celebrate". After 30 years of teaching in secondary school, Awa's spirit has not been dampened. Her genuine interest in and care for people, in particular Māori, and their diversities (in all their forms) has been the reason she persisted during the periods in which the struggle was the hardest. Her unwavering belief in the language and culture as foundational to identity, which in turn is a prerequisite for confidence and desire to learn, has been central to her philosophy of teaching.

Working from a Māori cultural framework characterises Awa's approach to teaching. Operating from Māori values and beliefs means that whanaungatanga, āwhina and tautoko is not only relevant to Māori students, but is played out in a variety of ways in the school setting that extends to those of other cultural groups. Tikanga and whakaaro Māori (a Māori way of thinking) are the basis for wanting to share, teach and learn about one's own and others cultural knowledge, beliefs and values. "I think it's important to take time out to share thei [culture] and share ours – that's aroha. Because you can't talk about rangatiratanga if you are not prepared to give of yourself and share some of theirs. It's got to be principled. People come out humbled

by the experience. That's the only way. They [other ethnic groups] will only respect you and love you for how you embrace them too".

Section One: Definitions of diversity

Although ethnic diversity amongst the student population in secondary schools such as Massey High School has undeniably increased, what ‘diversity’ means in New Zealand education remains unclear. An early official reference to the term ‘diverse students’ can be found in a speech by former Secretary for Education, Howard Fancy, to a group of School Middle Managers in Waikato in 2000. In his address, Fancy (2000) emphasizes that the focus in education has shifted from administrative-type concerns to educational achievement. In his opinion, one of the key drivers of this change is the increase of diverse learners. With reference to the diversity amongst the students, he said:

More students have special needs or have behavioural problems that act as major barriers to their learning. More students and their families want to see their culture and identity better reflected in education (Fancy, 2000).

According to Fancy, diverse students are those who experience difficulties at school, the ‘special needs’ or ‘at risk’ groups as well as ethnic minority students whose culture is largely excluded from school settings. Deemed to be diverse because of the difference they represent requires some form of special educational attention or extra cultural considerations; these students are viewed as problematic.

Although Māori are not directly mentioned by Fancy (2000), demands by Māori for the inclusion of Māori culture in the classroom, and the continued rates of Māori underachievement, mean Māori might qualify at the top of the list of diverse students. Māori as an unnamed diverse student represents a significant ideological shift from an overt focus on improving Māori educational achievement to *all* the diverse students (of which Māori only make up one part), all of whom add stress to the schooling system.

The notion that diverse students are those who are challenged and/or are challenging, was reinforced in a later presentation delivered by Fancy to the Education Review Office (ERO) in 2004. In his discussion of the results of OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), which showed that in comparison to other countries with a similar average student performance (such as Canada, Australia, Korea, Ireland, United Kingdom and Japan), New Zealand has one third more

students in the lower levels and an immense disparity between the highest and lowest achieving students (Fancy, 2004a). Diverse students are again identified as one of the three factors affecting the low levels of achievement. He refers to diverse students as, “especially those [students] from poor socio-economic backgrounds or who are Māori or Pasifika or who have disabilities or special needs” (Fancy, 2004a). While Fancy discusses teacher effectiveness and the formation of school strategies as targets to improve the disparity of educational outcomes, the diverse student is associated here with low achievement, the category to which Māori students are this time clearly designated.

The disclosure that Māori (alongside Pasifika and students from financially disadvantaged homes) are the most affected diverse group is tempered by the focus by the Ministry of Education on the achievement of “all students” (Fancy, 2004a, original emphasis). At this point, the definition of the diverse student begins to take on a double meaning. The connection between diverse students and *all* students is made in the following statement:

Today and into the future the only thing the same will be the realities that individuals are different. Recognising and taking account of those differences are important if we are to have a system that succeeds with all students (Fancy, 2004a).

Diversity becomes the common bond in which we all share in schooling. However the common sense explanation that every student is different and therefore diverse, moves away dramatically from a reference to particular groups needing attention or assistance. If ‘diverse’ refers to ‘everyone’ it equally refers to ‘no one’ - it is essentially meaningless.

While the diversity discourse begins to swing between the idea of “diverse students are low achievers” and “all students are diverse”, the specific inclusion of gifted children to the diverse student category in Fancy’s (2004a) paper creates further confusion. The statement reads:

The education system needs to become more responsive to diverse cultures and a wider range of students’ needs and aspirations. It needs to provide and support a range of learning pathways that cater for the gifted, those with disabilities, and special education needs, to ensure that individuals can participate fully in society.

The inclusion of gifted students means that diverse students are no longer limited to low achievers. Gifted children become members of the ‘diversity club’, because they too have special needs.¹¹⁴ While ‘gifted’ students (like all students) should excel and be extended, their inclusion as diverse students who require extra attention further diverts the focus from the serious crisis surrounding the inequitable educational and social outcomes experienced by Māori (and other groups). In this regard diversity and difference is never linked to issues of power, but promoted as an attribute that calls for equal respect and tolerance for all. Macedo and Bartolome (1999) view an appeal to tolerance as an approach that enables the powerful to hide their own privilege while appearing as if they are addressing the issues of cultural difference. By engaging in a discourse of mutual respect, the dominant group feels comfortable to enter the diversity discussion although simultaneously limiting and controlling the discourse to what the dominant group can tolerate. Discourses of diversity can ignore a colonial history of oppression, the unequal social and economic development of particular groups and the ways in which the dominant culture is structurally embedded in institutions such as schools.

Diversity as a broad descriptor for a range of student differences in New Zealand education is showcased in the Ministry of Education’s BES *Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling* (Alton-Lee, 2003). The synthesis aimed at presenting ten evidence-based characteristics of quality teaching for diverse students reviews relevant research in primary, intermediate and secondary schools. Quality teaching, using Alton-Lee’s (2003) definition, should engage heterogeneous groups in learning that is related to curriculum goals. Alton-Lee (2003) states:

Diversity encompasses many characteristics including ethnicity, socio-economic background, home language, gender, special needs, disability, and giftedness. Teaching needs to be responsive to diversity within ethnic groups, for example diversity within Pākehā, Māori, Pasifika and Asian students. We also need to recognise the diversity within individual students influenced by intersections of gender, cultural heritage(s), socio-economic background and talent (p. v).

¹¹⁴ The National Administration Guidelines (NAGs), were amended in 2003 to include for the first time ‘gifted students’. NAG 1 (iii) states “on the basis of good quality assessment information, identify students and groups of students: c) who have special needs (including gifted and talented students)” (Ministry of Education, 2007j).

The concept of diversity developed here extends beyond the common educational distinctions usually employed in the New Zealand education sector (i.e. gender, ethnicity and social economic status) to differentiate between students. Differences related to ethnicity, language, social class, gender, disability and giftedness (or talent) are all identified as dimensions of diversity. Heterogeneity in every group of learners is acknowledged and promoted as the norm. Furthermore, within each diverse group every individual student is different; the intersection of social class, ethnicity and gender (amongst other categories of difference) influences individual worldviews, practices and experiences. Diversity purports to recognise a plethora of intersecting diversities, the diverse student represents every person as a uniquely different individual. Diversity as individual identity that is multi-layered and multi-dimensional produces complex and limitless manifestations of human diversity, it resists stereotypes and the essentialising of ethnic and cultural group members to a predetermined set of attributes or qualities. In its broadest sense, diversity acknowledges the infinite range of difference that exists within humanity and potentially presents an interminable litany of descriptors (Kalantzis & James, 2004).

While Alton-Lee's (2003) definition of diversity positions Māori as only one part of the mosaic of difference, it simultaneously attempts to accord Māori a primary place. The synthesis reads:

It is fundamental to the approach taken to diversity in New Zealand education that it [BES] honours Articles 2 and 3 of the Treaty of Waitangi¹¹⁵ (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 5).

Unsurprisingly, exactly what the Treaty of Waitangi is supposed to mean, given the ways diversity is espoused in the BES, is not clarified. Despite the reference to the Treaty of Waitangi, the inclusion of some research about Māori, and acknowledgment of the three Māori educational goals expressed at the 2001 Hui Taumata Mātauranga (Durie, 2001), Māori do not appear to be foregrounded in the approach to the overall synthesis. Māori (students, teachers, parents) inevitably fade into the diverse surroundings alongside all other groups and 'different' individuals. Instead, the focus is clearly on better teaching to improve student outcomes for all (diverse) children.

¹¹⁵ In short, in Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi (Māori version), the Queen of England guarantees Māori tribes their 'tino rangatiratanga' (the absolute chieftainship) over their lands, homes and treasure possessions (including culture and language). In Article 3, Māori are accorded all the rights equal to those of the people of England.

The dual focus of reducing disparities and recognising diversity (of all students) set out in Fancy's (2004a) speech is continued in the Ministry of Education's (2004a) *Statement of Intent - 2004 to 2009*. This document identifies five 'gaps' between the highest and lowest achievers that need to be closed. Within the discourse of diversity these differences are dispersed so that Māori (and Pasifika, and students from low socio-economic backgrounds) are only one of the five groups (or 'gaps'). The other four groups are:

- truancy, suspension and participation rates which identify groups who are disengaged from our education system
- young children missing out on the opportunity to participate in quality early childhood education
- too many learners leaving schools and tertiary education without qualifications
- learners with special education needs and people for whom English is a second language are other groups which evidence suggests are achieving at a lower level than they ought to (Ministry of Education, 2004a, p. 12).

Yet a closer look at the other four 'gaps', show that Māori are indeed also over represented in these categories. *A report on New Zealand student engagement* (Ministry of Education, 2005b) examined data on: school rolls; school leavers; disciplinary events like stand-downs and suspension; early leaving exemptions; and attendance and absence. Based on these sets of information the report found Māori (alongside Pasifika and those from low socio-economic backgrounds) are least engaged in schools. For instance Māori still have the highest rates of suspensions¹¹⁶ and stand-downs¹¹⁷. In 2006 the suspension rate for Māori students was 15.6 students per 1,000, 1.4 times as high as Pasifika students and 3.8 times as high as Pākehā students. Similarly, the stand-down rate of 59.8 students per 1000 was 1.3 times as high as Pasifika students and 2.7 times as high as Pākehā students (Ministry of Education, 2007d). In reference to the children missing out on early childhood education, Māori (and Pasifika children) are less likely to participate in an early

¹¹⁶ Suspended students are not allowed to attend school until the BOT either lifts the suspension (with or without conditions), extend the suspension or expel the student from the school.

¹¹⁷ The school principal is able to stand-down a student from school (not allowed to attend) for up to five school days, after which the student is able to return to school.

childhood centre than Pākehā children (Ministry of Social Development, 2007).¹¹⁸ In relation to low achievers (school and tertiary leavers without qualifications), Māori feature again. The 2006 NCEA results show that only 42.7% of year 11 Māori students gained the literacy and numeracy requirements for NCEA level 1, as compared to 64.9% of non-Māori students who gained the same qualification (Ministry of Education, 2007a, p. 158). While the number of Māori participating in tertiary education has increased, both the retention and completion rates for Māori students were lower than for non-Māori in Bachelor degrees and higher qualifications (Ministry of Education, 2005a).¹¹⁹ Finally, Māori are also over-represented in the last group identified by the Ministry of Education, learners with special education needs (Bevan-Brown & Bevan-Brown, 2001) and those students experiencing learning and behaviour difficulties at school (Macfarlane, 2003).

The de-emphasis on Māori students by focusing on the ‘gaps’ between *all* the highest and lowest achievers (which aligns with a promotion of *all* students as diverse) attempts to locate the problem in the teaching of *all* students. Diversity used in this way refers to Māori, but at the same time disguises the extent of the educational disparities and needs of Māori, masking the reality of poor educational outcomes and the social inequalities that exist.

Māori become disguised and displaced as diverse students. According to A. Jones (2005), diversity is the “new code” (p. 10) for addressing inequality, the latest way to describe the students who require specialist educational programmes, services, and extra attention. The code of diversity to refer to Māori and Pasifika students in particular, who have long experienced systemic failure in education, is exposed in the *Report on the Compulsory Schools Sector in New Zealand, 2003* (Minister of Education, 2004). Under the subheading ‘Effective teaching for diverse students’, only two groups of students are mentioned, Māori and Pasifika students. ‘Diverse students’ is the only category in which a brief discussion of Māori underachievement

¹¹⁸ In 2006, 98% Pākehā children attended an early childhood service compared to 90% of Māori and 84% of Pasifika children (Ministry of Social Development, 2007).

¹¹⁹ Since 2002, Māori have had the highest rate of participation than any other ethnic group in New Zealand. Since 1999 there has been a dramatic growth in the number of Māori students attending public wānanga, more than any other sub-sector of tertiary education. However the largest number of qualifications completed by Māori has been at the level of certificates (levels 1 -3, which is equivalent to senior secondary school).

can be found, and the tone of diversity that is being developed here is clear: diverse students are underachieving.

In sum Māori are now ‘diverse’ but the definition of diversity in New Zealand education is fragmented. Either as a disguise for describing inequalities, or in an effort to recognise student difference (as equal attributes), both interpretations do not bode well for Māori. The dilemma for Māori is not so much about which is the best definition (recognising difference amongst and within groups is to be applauded), rather that the discourse of diversity developing in New Zealand education subsumes Māori needs and dismisses the Indigenous status of Māori and cultural being within the grand mosaic of difference – which Awa’s pūrākau reminds us, is already under threat. Although diversity purports to recognise difference, it simultaneously neutralises Māori to a state of ‘sameness’ (because we are *all* diverse) – an assimilation of kind takes place, resembling the drive for multiculturalism in education previously experienced by Māori.

Mimicking multiculturalism

Māori suspicion of diversity is reminiscent of the debate about multiculturalism popularised in the 1970s in New Zealand education. Although diversity sets a broader agenda (of recognizing a greater assortment of differences), multiculturalism could be regarded as the forerunner centred on ethnic and cultural distinctiveness. Spurred on by the increasing numbers of Māori and Pasifika children attending schools, multiculturalism in education reflected an emerging multicultural society (Simon, 1990).

On the surface, multiculturalism was advantageous to Māori because it endorsed Māori culture as a legitimate culture to be celebrated (not assimilated or integrated as previously advanced). Māori cultural views, practices and beliefs were to be acknowledged in a context that would foster cultural pluralism. The *Review of the core curriculum for schools* (Department of Education, 1984a) endorsed that “multicultural education aims to promote mutual understanding and respect among people of different cultures” (p. 34). Multiculturalism advocated an acceptance and tolerance of cultural difference and cross-cultural understanding and relationships. In the same way diversity seeks to acknowledge the multiplicity of differences that exist

between and within cultural groups, multiculturalism was also a positive advance from ignoring and/or stereotyping cultural members into essential ethnic identities.

However, like diversity, there was also confusion about exactly what multiculturalism in education actually meant (Bullivant, 1981). In New Zealand, educators and politicians employed multiculturalism in wide ranging ways, from purely descriptive forms to prescriptive models that supported education for a successful multicultural society (Simon, 1990). The debate surrounding the definition of multiculturalism ranged from whether or not New Zealand was a multicultural society at all, to the rights of minority cultural groups to their own legal, political and economic institutions (Irwin, 1989).

Whatever the definition, many critics agreed that multiculturalism as an educational approach was flawed. With an emphasis on cultural and ethnic identity, teachers tended to present cultural groups and their knowledge as exotic or highly idealised. Despite admirable efforts by some educators, Māori culture was generally incorporated into the curriculum and classrooms in an ad hoc manner (Johnston, 1998) or not at all (as Awa's pūrākau reports). When Māori content was incorporated, it was more likely to constitute traditional arts, crafts and rituals rather than current Māori issues, politics or cultural practices. In many New Zealand mainstream classrooms there was (and still is) a conspicuous absence of any Māori content reflected in the curriculum, classroom practices or school organisation. Understandings of contemporary Māori culture might elude a student altogether for his or her entire primary and secondary schooling (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

Presenting Māori language, knowledge and culture in such a piecemeal way meant that the content was usually void of any political contextualization. A multicultural approach that only focused on celebrating cultural differences and social harmony, also failed to address structural issues and inequalities (S. May, 1994). Multiculturalism in practice did not take into account factors such as socio-historical issues, socio-economic analyses, structural and institutional constraints, and unequal power-relationships. Neither did multiculturalism acknowledge the inequitable allocation of power and resources to Māori, the status of Māori as tangata whenua, or the resulting educational and social outcomes.

Māori critics rejected multiculturalism as a device (like diversity) that diverted attention away from Māori-Pākehā Treaty of Waitangi-based issues. Angus Macfarlane (2003) points out that any multicultural approach in New Zealand that is not based on bicultural partnership runs counter to the Treaty of Waitangi. Described as a “Pākehā cop-out” and “mask for Pākehā hegemony” by Māori commentators (Verbitsky, 1993, p. 45), multiculturalism concealed the operation of the dominant group’s culture as if it was just a universal cultural norm. S. May (1999) concurs that multiculturalism in education that obscures the power and the culture of the dominant group produces a “charade of universalism and neutrality” (p. 31). While studying other cultural groups, the dominant culture was the major frame of reference for interpreting difference that remained hidden, yet thoroughly embedded in every sphere of schooling (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

Diversity, too, dodges the issue of the powerful and pervasive presence of the dominant culture by including and identifying Pākehā as a diverse group, as if their difference is insubstantial. Alton-Lee (2003) argues that diversity explicitly rejects the notion of a ‘normal’ group and other minority groups of children. While a discursive shift in language occurs, it is only superficial because diversity is not a characteristic in itself, but draws meaning from relationships of difference. These relationships are neither neutral nor equal; they determine how differences are framed. Diversity provides an ideological mask to hide the privilege of the dominant group because it ignores institutional and cultural structures and power. The glaring disproportionate and persistent numbers of Māori underachievers clearly illustrates that some markers of difference are more negative than others. Māori too are often racialised, stereotyped and portrayed in harmful ways whether it is in institutions including schools, or via the media. The seemingly invisible benchmark becomes more transparent when diversity is used (although inconsistently) to refer to groups of students that are deemed to require more educational expertise or resources than the cultural majority, middle-class Pākehā children.

Despite which definition of diversity one adheres to, discourses of diversity (like multiculturalism) tend to homogenise cultural and other identities in a way that is manageable (by the dominant group) and reduces differences to a collective level of

essential sameness. In a parallel argument about multiculturalism in the New Zealand media, Spoonley and Trlin (2004) argue that:

Multiculturalism has come to mean cultural homogeneity, a proliferation of unicultures into which all their disparate and diverse voices, interests, views, identification and practices dissolve into a formless mass of stereotyped essences (p. 12).

In relation to education, A. Jones (2005) describes this process of diversification as the collapsing of difference into the familiar – “a contradiction”, she says, “which is misunderstood for equality” (p. 13). The discourse of diversity as a panacea to the problem of difference, based on the idea that everyone is an individual and therefore also diverse, conceals relationships of power and does a disservice to the differences that impact negatively on people’s lives. The notion that ‘we are all one people’ (in diversity) is the same rhetoric of multiculturalism (and integration and assimilation) that again echoes in diversity. However all cultures or differences are not equal in terms of their political and economic status, the value of each group is determined by the group with the greatest power.

Partly in response to the multicultural drive, bi-culturalism was forwarded by Māori based on the principles of partnership envisaged in the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori demanded that meaningful inclusion of Māori language and culture in all spheres of schooling that led to positive educational outcomes for Māori students was to be secured before entertaining multicultural ideals. In comparison, diversity manages to sidestep the call for bi-culturalism because the discourse of diversity reduces difference to the level of personal attributes and extends beyond the bounds of culture. The logic of attaining bi-culturalism as a way to reach multicultural ideals no longer makes sense within this discourse. Even when the Treaty of Waitangi is acknowledged within Alton-Lee’s (2003) BES report, the promise that Māori as tangata whenua is “fundamental” to diversity is not evident, and an explanation of how diversity honours the Treaty is not provided. In this respect, diversity represents a dangerous discourse for Māori. Māori become barely visible as Indigenous people, and the unique relationship and responsibilities of the Crown to Māori, as guaranteed in the Treaty of Waitangi, becomes blurred.

Discourses of diversity abroad

Just as multiculturalism was an approach first popularised overseas, so too has diversity been developed in other countries. In some quarters, diversity signals a descriptor of the complicated reality of identity, a social agenda and/or a term that refers covertly to low achievers.

In the United States, diversity in education came to the fore as the proportion of the population of people of colour increased. In the classroom, ethnic diversity became more pronounced when compared to the mostly white, monolingual, female teaching corps (Zeichner, 1993). The genesis of ‘diversity’ in the United States has its roots in attempting to deal with issues of cultural difference (multiculturalism) and disproportionately low educational achievement amongst ethnic minority groups including Native Americans, Black Americans and Latinos. Although the discourse of diversity is viewed as still occupying relatively marginal status in mainstream educational literature in the United States (Sleeter & Montecinos, 1999; Zeichner, 1993), it has developed into a discrete discourse, a distinctive branch of multiculturalism. In an effort to achieve more equitable educational outcomes for all students (with a focus on students of colour), various approaches (that also differ in pedagogical and conceptual design) can be categorised in the diversity category. These include culturally relevant (Ladson-Billings, 1994), culturally responsive (Gay, 2000), culturally congruent (Au & Kawakami, 1994), as well as diversity pedagogy (Sheets, 2005) and others. Proponents of these approaches recognise the centrality of social and cultural factors implicit in teaching and learning, and aim to modify classroom culture to align more positively with the culture of the home, and develop culturally responsive content, processes and practices in an effort to ensure equity and excellence for all students (Phuntsog, 1999). The focus is on ‘cultural diversity’ or diverse cultures of the home.

In Canada, talk of diversity in education is closely linked to ‘integrative inclusivity’ or ‘inclusive schooling’. There are again, however, multiple explanations of what constitutes a diversity approach. According to Dei, James, Karumanchery, James-Wilson, and Zine (2000) literature related to theorisation of inclusive schooling can be described in two main categories “diversity as a variety perspective” and “diversity as a critical perspective” (p. 14). The first approach is focused on valuing difference

through fostering co-operation, tolerance and respect for Others. According to Dei et al. (2000):

This approach to inclusion does not lead to equity, nor does it challenge power identity or representational issues in education. In fact, the approach fails to rupture difference as the context for power and domination in schools and society (p. 14).

Similar to the ideals and experiences of multiculturalism, “diversity as variety” acknowledges and even celebrates difference, but creates no real change nor does it make any advances for subordinated groups.

The second approach falls within the purview of diversity as the critical examination of difference and power. Power and domination are used as a key to understanding and interpreting social and structural relations. Instead of essentialist or romanticised versions of the Other, this perspective purports to enable an exploration of different histories and experiences of oppression in plural communities, as well as cover issues such as identity, equity and representation. Dei et al. (2000) writes:

The dynamics and relational aspects of difference (race, class, gender, sexuality, language and ability) are critically explored to illustrate how difference and power converge and intersect to shape the schooling experiences of minority youth. The emphasis is on transformative educational practices, which would ensure that students are equipped to challenge and resist dominance and oppression in the multivariant forms of racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism and abilism (p. 15).

Diversity goes beyond acknowledging students’ diverse realities to problematising the social disparities that are transmitted via schools, diversity attempts to intervene through various pedagogical practices.

In a similar vein, Australian educationalists Kalantzis and James (2004) argue that, “Difference, the insistent reality becomes diversity the agent of change” (para. 7). Diversity is promoted as inevitable, unavoidable and normative. In doing so, it becomes a mobilising site where difference forms the basis of a social programme that seeks equitable outcomes – the redistribution of power, wealth, and resources underpinned by ideals of social justice, pluralism and equality. From this perspective the aspirations of diversity encourage ideals of inclusive schooling and align with other social movements such as critical multiculturalism that aims for emancipatory educational politics (S. May, 1999). Diversity is presented as not just an acceptance

of difference, but a frame for analysis of existing social structures that includes power relationships to advance social justice for all. Kalantzis and Cope (1999) describe this approach as a culturalist, pluralist form of multiculturalism (or ‘postprogressive’ pedagogy), one in which an explicit pedagogy for inclusion and access is advanced and multiculturalism is considered a core social and educational value.

Despite the growing body of educational literature in response to the increasing demographic diversity experienced in schools, there is no clear agreement about what diversity in education means either nationally or internationally. Mimicking multiculturalism, discourses of diversity are often confused and incoherent. Whether diversity is expressed as an aspiration (to recognise all diversity) and/or problem (to solve disparities), approaches differ in both their social, cultural, structural and pedagogical depth and range.

Regardless of which diversity design one supports, in the New Zealand context Māori are positioned as only one of the many diverse groups. This is not to say educational approaches that recognise the centrality of culture in teaching and learning is not useful in helping Māori and other learners. Bishop and Glynn (1999), for instance, utilise a kaupapa Māori response to develop a model that seeks to address power relationships in the classroom and in the school, as well as establish strong learning relationships to better engage students in learning.¹²⁰ However, in a ‘diversity’ setting all groups are equally valued, and treated with equal status. Māori merely become another group contesting for recognition, acknowledgement, access, and social equity. Furthermore, Māori educational aspirations are not limited to achieving better results within the curriculum or improving self-esteem and confidence. Rather, Māori are also interested in Māori language and culture – learning what it means to ‘live as Māori’.

For Māori the notion of diversity in education is inherently political. It is not a neutral descriptor but represents an ideological shift with its own implications, away

¹²⁰ Bishop and Glynn (1999) use kaupapa Māori metaphors that emphasise self-determination as set out in the Treaty of Waitangi. These metaphors include; tino rangatiratanga; taonga tuku iho; ako; kia piki aki i ngā raruraru o te kainga; whānau; kaupapa; whakawhanaungatanga; and hui. These metaphors are promoted because they are participatory (compared to traditional metaphors that focus on transmission of knowledge), and encourage learning contexts where the culture of the learners is valued.

from Māori as the Indigenous group with a unique relationship with the Crown and special status in New Zealand. For Māori, diversity must take into account, what S. May (1999) terms as, “historical and cultural situatedness” and “cultural specificity” (p. 31). The issue of power-relationships in the classroom, and at the level of school management, governance and policy, Māori require such a discourse to respond effectively and fairly to Māori educational needs, aspirations and entitlements. While Māori acknowledge diversity amongst students, Māori inevitably destabilise the politics of diversity (whether it is used to refer to inequalities or all students) by asserting tangata whenua status as set out in the Treaty of Waitangi. The privileging of Indigenous rights in New Zealand over other forms of difference represent a division in difference that challenges the common bonds of diversity.

Section Two: Effective and quality teaching

Closely aligned to the present emphasis in New Zealand education on the importance of the teacher, evidence-based education and ‘diversity’, ‘quality’ and ‘effective teaching’ is now considered the key factor in improving student outcomes for *all* students, including those students who need the most assistance – Māori.

There is a raft of national and international studies about quality or effective teaching. At the 2002 NZCER Conference *Teachers make a difference: What is the research evidence?* Hattie’s keynote address presented findings about excellence among teachers. His synthesis included more than half a million research studies on student achievement in America. Hattie and Jaeger identified five dimensions of the expert teacher (as distinguished from the experienced teacher). These dimensions are:

- identify essential representations for the subject;
- guide learning through classroom interactions;
- monitor learning through classroom interactions;
- monitor learning and providing feedback;
- attend to affective attributes;
- and influence students outcomes (Hattie, 2002, p. 10).

These categories can be further broken up into sixteen prototypic attributes of the effective practitioner. The list of attributes that Hattie provides resembles other lists that have been produced about effective teachers. The difference, according to Hattie,

is that this analysis is based on evidence, large-scale studies and a “rigorous and extensive assessment process” (p. 22).

Similarly, Alton-Lee’s (2003) *Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling*, draws on the ‘best evidence’ from both national and international research. Alton-Lee also generates a list of ten characteristics of quality teaching, each with its own subset of points. The ten key characteristics are:

1. Quality teaching is focused on student achievement (including social outcomes) and facilitates high standards of student outcomes for heterogeneous groups of students.
2. Pedagogical practices enable classes and other learning groupings to work as caring, inclusive and cohesive learning communities.
3. Effective links are created between school and other cultural contexts in which students are socialized, to facilitate learning.
4. Quality teaching is responsive to student learning processes.
5. Opportunity to learn is effective and sufficient.
6. Multiple task contexts support learning cycles.
7. Curriculum goals, resources including ICT usage, task design, teaching and school practices are effectively aligned.
8. Pedagogy scaffolds and provides appropriate feedback on students’ task engagement.
9. Pedagogy promotes learning orientations, student self-regulation, metacognitive strategies and thoughtful student discourse.
10. Teachers and students engage constructively in goal-oriented assessment (Alton-Lee, 2003, pp. vi-x).

The indicators of quality teaching are purposefully broad, and the report acknowledges the way in which contextual factors may impact on the above characteristics. However the synthesis aims to identify the pedagogical processes that improve (diverse) students’ outcomes as a guide for policy makers, practitioners, educators and researchers to progress rates of achievement.

The purpose of citing these two analyses here is not to explore the merits, attributes or differences of each study. Rather, I wish to argue that while such studies may offer Māori teachers and schools strategies for better teaching and learning, they collude

with a diversity approach that produces (in different ways) a supposedly universal, neutral set of cultural values that further de-emphasises Māori *as Māori*, in particular Māori teachers.

In Hattie's (2002) meta-analysis of the expert teacher, there was a glaring absence of any reference to culture or difference in any of the dimensions or attributes identified. The closest any of the dimensions came to recognising cultural difference or diversity, was the brief discussion on the contextual nature of teachers' work. Attribute A1 states that "expert teachers have deeper representations about teaching and learning" (p. 10). Hattie (2002) argues that:

Experts possess knowledge that is more integrated, in that they combine new subject matter content knowledge with prior knowledge; can relate current lesson content to other subjects in the curriculum; and make lessons uniquely their own by changing, combining, and adding to them according to their students' needs and their own goals (p. 10).

This point suggests that expert teachers are deeply aware of context. They have knowledge of the ways in which the teaching of a subject can be crafted to integrate and connect with other curriculum areas and the students themselves. While I do not dispute that the attributes described by Hattie (2002) may indeed have an impact on student achievement, there is no recognition of the way in which culture, for instance, impacts on the "context". To neglect salience of ethnicity, the advantages of cultural capital, structural relationships of power and so forth, severely limits one's understanding of the context.

In contrast, in Alton-Lee's (2003) study, culture is considered an important factor in quality teaching. Alton-Lee cites a range of research that challenges Hattie's (2002) findings by arguing that culture matters.¹²¹ Alton-Lee (2003) contends that the cultural mismatch between home and schooling is a significant barrier to raising levels of achievement of students from "different ethnic and social class groups" (p. 34). This BES report features Graham Nuthall's (1999) study (among others) that

¹²¹ Other New Zealand educational studies that argue culture is central in teaching and learning include: Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999); Hohepa (1990); Irwin, K., Davies, L., & Carkeek, L. (1996); Macfarlane (1997); Smith (1987); Walker, (1973).

analysed students learning experiences based on 3, 217 concept files.¹²² One of the findings of his study was that social, cultural and cognitive processes are inextricably linked in the learning process. He concludes that:

Whether a student learns or not reflects the students' understanding of classroom tasks, management of social relationships, and the extent to which the students shares the cultural understandings and background knowledge of the teacher and other students. Ability appears to be the consequence, not the cause of difference in what students learn from their classroom experiences (p. 213 cit. in Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 34).

Teachers are urged to develop shared cultural understandings to make better connections with student learning. Teachers are encouraged to mediate the links between different cultural contexts through an “inclusive pedagogy” (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 34) that seeks to include the learners' culture in the curriculum, in classroom practices, in learning contexts, and relationships.

Another characteristic of quality teaching advanced by Alton-Lee (2003) is the setting of high expectations of all students, alongside appropriate pedagogical approaches. The cultural ignorance and misunderstanding of teachers towards Māori students in particular, results in low expectations, inappropriate assessments of, and/or lower levels of praise for Māori students in English-medium classrooms (Alton-Lee, 2003). In Fancy's (2004a) aforementioned speech that identified three factors (including diverse students) for the disproportionate number of students in the tail end of the achievement statistics, the deficit thinking of teachers was also identified.

A deficit approach that seeks to explain underachievement as a problem that can be attributed to the student or their families is not new to Māori. An Education Review Office (1995) report that analysed policy documents from 272 schools about barriers to learning, found that it was not out of the ordinary for teachers to think about student failure in a deficit way. As Pihama (2001) points out, Māori students' lack of ability, poor English language competencies, limited resources at home, insufficient child rearing practices, no preschool education, little family support, and restricted cultural capital – all utilise deficit theorisation to explain Māori disadvantage. These include the following studies: Lovegrove (1966) blamed the ‘deprived nature’ of the

¹²² Concept files include the pre-test, post-test, interview data and record of classroom experience relevant to the concept (1999).

Māori home; Harker and Nash (1990) argued that it was the limited number of literacy resources available in the Māori house; Nash (1993) criticised the lack of material resources to include cultural resources; and Chappel, Jefferies and Walker (1997) went even further, stating that these “educational disparities begin at birth” (p. 4). In effect, a deficit approach accords ‘deficiencies’ and shifts the blame to Māori themselves.

The *Te Kōtahitanga* research conducted by Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and Richardson (2003) of year 9 and 10 Māori students in mainstream classrooms shows that teachers’ deficit views, stereotypical ideas and low expectations of Māori students remain strong. By analysing the narratives of principals, teachers, students and parents, the research team developed a professional development intervention program that included an ‘effective teaching profile’ (ETP). One of the key findings on which the ETP was based was the impact of the negative views of teachers towards Māori students. The report states:

This deficit theorising by teachers is the major impediment to Māori students’ educational achievement for it results in teachers having low expectations of Māori students. This in turn creates a downward spiralling, self-fulfilling prophecy of Māori students’ achievement and failure (Bishop et al., 2003, p. 2).

Both the “engaged” and “non-engaged” Māori students experienced the ways in which teachers operated from deficit approaches (p.1). Students felt as if they were being treated as “dumb” because they are Māori. Often viewed as unintelligent and incapable, Māori culture was also considered as unimportant. One student complained:

I’m a Māori, they should ask me about Māori things ... I’ve got the goods on this but they never ask me. I’m a dumb Māori I suppose. Yeah they asked the Asian girl about her culture. They never ask us about ours (p. 49).

In sharp contrast to Hattie’s (2002) a-cultural effective teaching research, Bishop et al. (2003) contend that a vital component of the professional development programme is attitudinal change in the teachers, in particular, the understanding and valuing of Māori culture, Māori students and their families.

Although Bishop et al. (2003) and Alton-Lee’s (2003) BES research point out the detrimental features of deficit theorising, both *Te Kōtahitanga* and the *Quality*

teaching for diverse students stop short of examining the connection of culture to deeper structural and institutional issues. Tanya Samu and Leonie Pihama note, "... like multiculturalism, diversity [in BES] does not make the power relations that exist within society, between diverse groups of learners, explicit" (2007, p. 40). Alton-Lee's (2003) study does not delve into discussions that reveal the subordinate or dominant positions of culture, knowledge and practice. Neither does it include an analysis of power relations between teacher-student, school-home, Pākehā-Māori and so forth. While different cultural contexts and pedagogical practices are observed, a diversity approach again treats all cultural groups as if they have the same status. Māori are presented as no more disadvantaged than any other group, ironically reducing cultural difference to a generic element of diversity.

Unfortunately, recognising difference can also turn out to be another expression of the cultural deprivation model. Deficit theorising through the normalisation of difference and a focus on pedagogical change, is difficult to rebuke when research, such as that by Alton-Lee (2003) and Bishop et al. (2003), explicitly seeks to challenge teachers' racist notions about Māori and provides strategies for teachers to improve student academic outcomes. Pihama (2001) notes, however, that the problem arises when:

Cultural difference assumes there is a 'norm' that acts as a yardstick against which 'other cultures' are measured, with the 'norm' being that of the dominant group within society (p. 14).

When the discourse of cultural difference is limited to an individual level (students, teachers and parents) including improving the way teachers work, as if the school organisation and structure, curriculum content and so on, are not culturally-bound nor exist within a structure of power-relations, the image of a neutral schooling system remains unchallenged. The invisible nature of the dominant group's frame of reference in diversity makes deficit theorising more difficult to decipher.

Within Alton-Lee's (2003) 'quality' and Hattie's (2002) 'effective teaching' studies, the deficit approach persists. While an a-cultural approach is unaware of the ways education is culturally embedded, discourses of diversity can also forget that the schooling system (not just teachers) is a cultural institution. From the outset, the aim of assimilation via schooling in New Zealand deliberately centralised Pākehā culture and excluded (or narrowly selected aspects of) Māori culture. Donn and Schick

(1995) describe state institutions as “cultural artifacts” of the dominant group; mainstream schools are fundamentally centred on western knowledge, values, practices and beliefs. The mono-cultural curriculum, assessment and pedagogy, originally based on British culture, was elevated and legitimised to be the standard for New Zealand schools.

The diversity approach is more sophisticated than the overt assimilationist policies, so-called integration policies or the multicultural approach. Assimilation attempted to address the issue of cultural difference between Māori and Pākehā by erasing diversity and advancing a level of homogeneity whereby English language, knowledge and skills became the standard from which all were to be assessed, and located people within the social hierarchy. Integration superficially acknowledged Māori culture by incorporating selected aspects into the curriculum in a way that did not disturb or detract from the inculcation of Pākehā culture, knowledge, values and worldviews. Multiculturalism rarely extended beyond celebrating the dress, food and festivals of cultural minority groups. Apart from aiming to encourage tolerance and raise the self-esteem of ethnic minority students, there were few educational gains for Māori and other groups. All of these approaches do not deviate from the monocultural nature of schooling or change the imbalance of power between Māori and Pākehā. Neither do these approaches to diversity attempt to annihilate anything other than the most superficial expressions and experiences of culture.

In conjunction with quality and effective teaching, diversity continues to rely on the idea that ‘what works for one, works for all’. *Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling* (Alton-Lee, 2003) is premised on this notion of quality for diverse students; it states:

The research reviewed throughout this synthesis shows that high gains are possible for low achievers, high achievers, students of different socio-economic backgrounds and ethnic heritages, and students with special needs within the same class grouping. This principle is taken as definitional of quality teaching. Quality teaching is not effective for just some learners but is effective for *all* learners (Alton-Lee, 2003, p. 16, emphasis added).

Alton-Lee (2003) suggests that whereas ‘effective teaching’ is seen as limited to a particular group of learners (dominant group), ‘quality teaching’ has a universal appeal, a sort of pedagogical perfection that can be attained regardless of purpose,

place and people. While this may be the case (and Māori are desperate to improve the educational disparities that exist), both quality and effective teaching approaches fail to recognise that schooling does more than manage diversity – as if culture is independent and separable from the institution.

Māori are acutely aware of the impact of schooling (as part of the colonisation process) in the subjugation of Māori culture and people. While schools aim to cater for diverse students, schools also establish what it means to be a diverse student through its curriculum content, pedagogies and everyday practices. For many years schooling denied access to Māori language, culture and knowledge. Whether it is the intention of the teacher or school, what it means to be or to live *as Māori* will be learned (rightly or wrongly), reinforced or negated through the process of schooling. ‘Quality teaching’ does not promote teachers who possess bi-lingual and bi-cultural attributes who can advance Māori cultural aspirations, but is based on better or more effectively teaching the same content – it is largely, ‘business as usual’. No matter what differences a discourse of diversity may seek to recognise, if it relies on effective and quality teaching that concentrates primarily on improving student achievement outcomes, diversity will only come part way to addressing Māori educational goals that include reclamation of Māori language, culture and identity.

Ako as an educational framework is not enacted, enhanced or enabled through a diversity approach. There is a kind of cultural disjuncture that occurs whereby culture is meant to matter, but only insofar as it impacts on ‘quality teaching’. Ako as quality is not considered; creating conditions for teaching and learning based on *cultural* codes of conduct, concepts, curriculum and so forth is not foregrounded in a diversity discourse. Māori teachers are not distinguishable as teachers who bring their Māori cultural selves to the classroom. Rather, just like other teachers they are installed as professionals sensitive to the diversity of students.

The cultureless teaching professional

While the discourse of diversity encourages teachers to be cognizant of cultural compatibility between students and teachers, teachers and home, and students and learning activities, in many of the New Zealand studies the ethnicity and culture of

teachers themselves is rarely mentioned. The omission of teachers' diversity stands in stark contrast to the emphasis on all the differences and peculiarities of students.

The lack of ethnic and cultural difference that presently exists within the New Zealand secondary school teachers' workforce may be one of the reasons diversity amongst teachers does not feature in the discourse of diversity. According to the Ministry of Education's 2005 statistics, the great majority of teachers at secondary schools are Pākehā (77.5%) (B. Long, personal communication, May 14, 2005).¹²³ Māori teachers make up the next largest ethnic group at 7.2%. Indian teachers constitute 2.2%, Pasifika teachers¹²⁴ make up 1.9% and Asian are 1.7% of the overall secondary school teaching corps.¹²⁵ The ethnic characteristics of the secondary teaching workforce are quite dissimilar to that of its student body. According to New Zealand school rolls collected at July 1, 2007, Asian students made up 8.4% of the students (years 1 – 13), Pasifika students make up 8.3% and Māori make up 21.9% (Ministry of Education, 2007f). The Minister of Education's *Report on the Compulsory Schools Sector in New Zealand* (2004) shows that Māori and ethnic minority group students already make up half (49.7%) of all students in Auckland (p. 72), the most populated region in New Zealand numbering 1,303,068 people (Statistics New Zealand, 2007a). In comparison to the growing ethnic diversity amongst the student population, Māori and ethnic minority teachers are severely under-represented in New Zealand schools.

Another reason that the diversity of teachers is not recognized within quality or effective teaching literature is the concept of 'colour blindness' often employed to describe the way teachers view children in an effort to treat children 'equally'. Simon (1984) found in her study of 13 principals and 44 teachers in New Zealand schools that Pākehā teachers commonly held views that denied cultural difference. One such expression of this 'colour blind' perception was "I don't think in terms of Māori or Pākehā – they are all children to me" (p. 37). As Simon (1984) points out, these teachers were often motivated by intentions to be egalitarian by catering for all

¹²³ B. Long is a Research Analyst, Demographic and Statistical Analysis Unit, Ministry of Education.

¹²⁴ Included in this group are Cook Island Māori, Fijian, Niuean, Samoan, Tokelauan, Tongan and Other Pacific Island peoples.

¹²⁵ Another category termed 'Other' constitutes a further 2.7%. (B. Long, personal communication, May 14, 2005).

children in the same manner – operating from and within a Pākehā cultural framework. Instead of acknowledging obvious racial markers of difference amongst students, teachers attempt to avoid issues of race and ethnicity altogether with the view that they are neither prejudiced nor discriminatory in their practice. Ignoring the culture of Māori students (as if there is no difference) in favour of egalitarian ideals served to advantage Pākehā children (because their culture was the norm at school) and reinforced the notion of Māori culture as unimportant. Not seeing racial, ethnic and cultural difference results in Pākehā cultural dominance, that extends to teachers, as ‘colourless’, invisible and therefore, unquestionable.

The “optical delusion” (Rosenberg, 2004, p. 257) of colour blindness in education not only supports the normalisation of what many academics in the United States refer to call ‘whiteness’, but a denial of the existence of racism in schooling. McLaren and Torres (1999) explain:

Within the discourse of colour blindness, blackness and whiteness are seen as neutral and apolitical descriptions reflecting skin colour, and unrelated to social conditions of domination and subordination and to social attributes such as class, culture, language and education. In other words colour blindness is a concept that symmetrizes relations of power and privilege and flattens them out so that they appear equivalent (p. 54).

The metaphor of colour blindness represents a failure to see or distinguish between the social meanings and outcomes attributed to the shades of difference. In short, to not see colour in education, is to not see racism. The discourse of diversity swings dangerously close to the same sort of colour blind logic that treats all students as diverse (and therefore ‘the same’) and all teachers as neutral professionals. ‘Colour blindness’ neglects the socially and historically constructed nature of difference, the way ‘whiteness’ is implicated in the imposition and maintenance of power, and inequitable educational outcomes that can be clearly seen as markers of racial and ethnic difference.

Whereas colour blindness usually refers to the *neutralising* lens of the teacher in relation to their students, overlooking the teacher’s ethnic and cultural backgrounds in current educational literature is made more prominent by the sharp focus on student diversity. In New Zealand the predominance of mono-cultural Pākehā teachers in secondary schools, the inclination of well-meaning Pākehā teachers to deny cultural

difference in pursuit of egalitarianism, and the history of deficit theorising in education, makes the colour-blind phenomenon highly likely. Teachers' own diversity, the socio-historical, economic and political arrangements that have shaped their realities, appear to be of little importance in the local educational literature. Māori teachers are not recognised *as Māori* or 'cultural workers'; rather there is an attempt to see all teachers as 'professionals'.

Neglecting teacher diversity, in particular, the culture and ethnicity of teachers, enables a 'technical-rationale' approach to teacher effectiveness, whereby "teaching entails a series of technical decisions made by experts who have a claim to authority" (Sleeter & Montecinos, 1999, p. 116). Teachers as professionals transcend the unseen boundaries of race, ethnicity and difference, and are elevated to a level in which they can apply various strategies and techniques to improve students' learning. In an article about quality education published in the *New Zealand Listener* featuring an interview with Hattie, he is reported as saying:

Teacher ethnicity and gender are not major factors ("This will get me in trouble, I know, but I don't see any evidence that having a teacher of the same ethnicity is better or worse") (in Welch, 2004, p. 18).

Teacher ethnicity (or gender) can be discounted when 'evidence' for improving student achievement does not, and cannot see the ways in which race and ethnicity are implicated in the structural and cultural conditions of schooling. Teaching is reduced to management whereby teachers act as facilitators careful not to impose their point of view (or culture) on students' learning. Such an approach ignores (or forgets) the history of Māori education in which the culture of the teacher has always been paramount; furthermore it fails to understand that schooling for Māori is a contested site of cultural reclamation. Māori educational aspirations include achieving cultural competencies, and therefore require teachers to bring these intrinsic worldviews and values (as well as teaching skills) to the classroom through their pedagogical practices.

The non-recognition of the cultural bias of schools correlates with the inclination by Pākehā to view themselves as 'non-ethnics'. According to Paul Spoonley (1988), Pākehā often struggle to define their ethnic boundaries, many reject the label Pākehā and frequently view themselves without a culture. This results in a nameless

normalisation of their identities. Spoonley (1988) writes, “This dominant culture is unmarked and unacknowledged, and is something that is taken as a ‘natural’ way of organizing the social world compared with the ‘unusual’ practices of minority groups” (p. 64). Similarly, Avril Bell explains:

Pākehā are certainly a hybrid people, migrants from diverse European locations and cultures. However, Pākehā hybridity is not the same as that of minority migrant groups since, as colonizers, Pākehā set out to ‘remake’ this country in an Anglo-Celtic form. Consequently, present-day Pākehā generally do not have to negotiate between a culture of origin and a different, dominant culture (Bell, 2004, p. 131).

Bell argues that it is the Māori struggle for recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi and the development of a range of autonomous Māori developments that has motivated many Pākehā to explore what it means to be Pākehā. However, it is easier for Pākehā as the dominant group in New Zealand, to ignore the history of colonisation and contemporary articulations of racism in New Zealand society today.

Christine Sleeter (1993) writes about the dominant group in America, “whites so internalize their own power and taken-for-granted superiority that they resist self-questioning” (p. 167). McLaren and Torres (1999) also refer to the process that facilitates the ‘naturalisation’ of the dominant culture in the United States as ‘whiteness’. They write:

... ‘whiteness’ operates by means of its condition as a universalising authority by which the hegemonic white bourgeois subject appropriates the right to speak on behalf of everyone who is non-white, while denying voice and agency to these ‘others’ in the name of civilized humankind (p. 56).

McLaren and Torres (1999) argue that the covert elevation of whiteness as a discursive strategy creates a racelessness that ignores overt difference including colour. Moreover, it denies links between race and ethnicity and oppression.

Similarly Michelle Fine (2004) calls the denial of racism and emphasis on the diversities of the individual as an “institutional design of whiteness” (p. 254). She describes the ignorance and resistance of the dominant group to recognise the ways in which culture is manifest in all levels of schooling as a discourse that simultaneously denies racism but emphasises individual diversities as embodiments of race, ethnicity

and difference, that ultimately results in whites succeeding. Whiteness like all colours is manufactured through school arrangements. She explains:

Schools do not merely inherit or manage racial and ethnic identities; they create and enforce racial meaning. School, as contested spaces, structure the conditions for the embodiment, performance and/or interruption of sustained and inequitable racial formations (Fine, 2004, p. 247).

She points out that if people succumb to the idea that cultures, ethnicities, and diversities are distinct, separable, and independent rather than institutionally produced, coupled, and ranked, then the status quo whereby most white students will continue to succeed and most students of colour won't, will persist. Schools manufacture whiteness, or being Pākehā in New Zealand, as normal in ways that make the 'colour' of the dominant group invisible. The imaginary neutrality of teacher ethnicity (or 'colour') in New Zealand diversity discourse is a product of an 'institutional design of whiteness' or racism.

Even when teachers' ethnicity (for example) is recorded in New Zealand research studies it is not considered a major factor in the process of effective teaching. For example, *Making a difference in the Classroom: Effective teaching practice in low decile, multicultural schools* (Hill & Hawk, 2000) is based on a Ministry of Education funded project called the Achievement in Multicultural High Schools Project (AIMHI). In short, AIMHI aimed to improve outcomes in poor schools with 'multicultural' (Māori and Pasifika) students through the implementation of 'effective' teaching. This report identifies (among other things) the characteristics of twelve effective teachers of a range of subjects from year 7 to 13, who were selected by their colleagues and students, for the 'quality' of their classroom management and instruction, social interactions and teaching and learning interactions. However, the ethnic and cultural background of the teacher is paid only a cursory glance as part of methodological process.

Teachers' ethnicity is included as part of the statistical information in Hill and Hawk's (2000) report. Similar to that of gender, the subjects taught, or the type of pre-service training teachers received, ethnicity is just another general factor rather than an influential or significant one. While the researchers acknowledged that

students often commented on the teachers who understood and respected their cultures, Hill and Hawk (2000) state:

... the age, gender, socio-economic status and/or ethnicity of teachers were not what mattered to students. Teachers' attitudes were what were important (p. 15).

The study provided a list of the attitudes and attributes the effective teacher possessed. These were identified as:

- positivity
- optimism
- hard working
- philosophy
- reflective practitioners
- motivation
- being part of whole school (Hill & Hawk, 2000, pp. 10-14).

While I do not dispute these qualities are key for effective teachers in 'multicultural' schools, there is no mention of the way the teachers' culture or ethnicity may impact on the above attributes, the teacher-student relationship or other pedagogical approaches. Instead of valuing the cultural expertise, experience and understanding that Māori, and Pasifika teachers might bring, schools were encouraged to establish recruitment processes for teachers to ensure that new teachers "have the appropriate attitudes and qualities as well as the skills required for teachers in these schools, or at least, the strong potential to develop them" (Hill & Hawk, 2000, p. 4). The negation of teachers' ethnicity and culture renders the effective teaching professional 'cultureless'.

In another report by Hawk and Hill (1996), *Towards making achieving cool: Achievement in multi cultural high schools*, based on the AIMHI project, the ethnicity of a small number of the teachers is mentioned. The ethnicity of these teachers, however, is only relevant in relation to senior teacher / principal workload and responsibilities. The study notes teachers' ethnicity under the sub-section 'Leadership', and a further sub-heading entitled 'Appointments based on ethnicity'. Unfortunately, the ethnic congruence between the senior managers and their students and the school-wide community is not viewed as a positive factor.

According to this research report, two of the four senior managers (presumed to be Māori or Pasifika, although the ethnicity of these teachers is not clarified) were appointed as principals, despite their limited experience and training. Hawk and Hill (1996), state, “These people were put into positions beyond their level of coping, without any training or ongoing and formalised access to professional coaching and support” (p. 119). Given the title of this subsection, the researchers suggest the reason these teachers were promoted to their senior positions was due to their ethnicity. Whether or not there were (any) other applicants with more experience or qualifications is not clear. The report suggests, however, that to appoint Māori and Pasifika teachers on the basis of ethnicity is unwise. Although the authors blamed the lack of professional training and experience of these senior managers (which may have been the case), the challenges they encountered were as Māori and Pasifika teachers. Hawk and Hill (1996), explain:

The data also shows that their ethnicity created some special difficulties for them and for their schools. They were under pressure to reciprocate favours to whānau and their extended whānau group. This impacted on such things as staff appointments ... They were put under pressure to promote people from their own ethnic group. If they did, they were perceived to be biased and were criticised and alienated by other groups. If they didn't they were sidelined. Similar criticisms were made about the allocation of resources (p. 120).

The authors suggest that the cultural values derived from the ethnicity of these principals were a disadvantage to their leadership. The section solemnly ends by noting that all four senior managers have left these schools.

As I have argued in chapter five, choosing to be a kaiako Māori is inevitably political. An increased workload, the cost of ‘cultural taxation’ (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996) by the institution, and high expectations from the whānau and community are all part of the ‘work’ of Māori teachers. It is not surprising that the senior managers and principals in Hawk and Hill (1996), study faced similar intense pressures. The exiting of all four Māori and Pasifika senior managers, however, should not be blamed on their lack of ‘professionalism’ or their ethnic communities. Rather their departures raise questions about policies and procedures, governance and management, support and mentoring networks and so on. This report implies that had these senior managers been cultureless – they may have been more successful. The idea that Māori and Pasifika ethnicity is a barrier for teachers in leadership positions is further highlighted

by the omission of the ethnicity of the four principals at the other schools, and a conspicuous silence around Pākehā as an ethnicity. Questions about how their presumably Pākehā culture impacted on their leadership of a decile 1 school within predominantly Māori and Pasifika communities are not raised. Rather Māori (and Pasifika), senior managers and their communities are seen as the deficit; the school structures remain unchallenged and the dominant culture of schooling continues to be normalised.

Effective teaching for Māori students: Te Kōtahitanga

Te Kōtahitanga is a professional development programme developed from a research project.¹²⁶ This one is specifically aimed at improving the educational achievement of Māori secondary school students. As previously discussed,¹²⁷ *Te Kōtahitanga* (along with other New Zealand studies) emphasises the centrality of Māori culture in the teaching and learning process, in opposition to the a-cultural effective teaching literature espoused by Hattie (2002). *Te Kōtahitanga* foregrounds the importance of culture in relation to the students' and parents' ethnicity, but also stops short of analysing the ethnic and cultural identities of the teachers.

By comparing the discourses generated by narratives from Māori students and parents, teachers and principals, about the experiences and influences on Māori students' educational achievement in mainstream secondary schools, *Te Kōtahitanga* contends that there are some key discrepancies between each group's ideas about what constitutes effective teaching. The most obvious divergence in thinking is between Māori students and their teachers. Whereas Māori students considered the relationship with their teachers as the major influence on their achievement, teachers identified factors outside of the teacher-student interface as the problem. The majority of teachers strongly believed that student-home deficiencies were the cause

¹²⁶ The professional development programme consisted of three steps: firstly, the research team met and held both formal and informal discussions with schools to introduce the parameters of the project. Secondly, a four-day hui was held in a place such as marae, whereby teachers and whānau members were exposed to strategies for changing classrooms to make a positive difference for Māori students. Finally, three in-class observations followed, in which researchers were able to provide feedback and feed-forward and teachers were able to discuss new directions for their teaching (Bishop et al., 2003, p. 120).

¹²⁷ Refer to pp. 105-6 for an overview of the scope of *Te Kōtahitanga*.

of educational underachievement, a view that positioned teachers with little responsibility or agency to effect change.

In contrast, the students considered that positive relationships with their teachers were the most influential factor of achievement in the classroom. If students felt valued, supported and comfortable with their teachers in class, they were more likely to be engaged in learning activities. Often however, Māori students felt ignored, isolated and insecure. One student says:

The problem is they have expected most of us to be pains since our first day in class. So we ... oblige (Bishop et al., 2003, p. 50).

Bishop et al. (2003) found, (like the Māori teachers in this thesis portray), for most of the Māori students, being Māori in a mainstream secondary school is an overwhelmingly negative experience.

From the qualitative data collected in *Te Kōtahitanga* the research team developed a professional development intervention based on an 'Effective Teaching Profile' (ETP). As I discussed in chapter three, it is in the ETP that ako makes a brief appearance, alongside other Māori cultural concepts. *Te Kōtahitanga* posits that 'effective' teachers of Māori students create culturally appropriate and responsive contexts for learning by demonstrating understandings of the following concepts:

Manaakitanga	Caring for the person
Mana motuhake	Caring for performance
Ngā tūranga takitahi me ngā mana whakahaere	Creating a secure, well managed learning setting (i.e. Management issues)
Wānanga	Effective teaching interaction
Ako	Strategies
Te Kōtahitanga	Outcomes (Bishop et al., 2003, pp. 95-116).

Māori concepts provide the basis for each of the above characteristics, which are expanded into discrete sets (or lists) of descriptors and supported by a specific narrative from Māori students.

Te Kōtahitanga professional development programme aims to reduce the deficit views teachers held of Māori students, change teachers' behaviour to encourage positive interactions with Māori students, create power-sharing relationships and promote pedagogical strategies whereby the culture of the child is central to learning. The research that followed found that Māori student educational outcomes had improved. Bishop et al. (2003) reported that overall, Māori students were more engaged in their work, work completion levels increased, and attendance and short term achievement rose. *Te Kōtahitanga* reinforced that major in-service work continues to be required for teachers to address racist and stereotypical views, deficit theorising and poor quality teaching.

Te Kōtahitanga takes seriously the narratives of Māori youth (in particular) and predicts that by reducing the degree of “talking past each other” (Bishop et al., 2003, p. 31) between the teachers, principals, Māori students and their parents, educational outcomes for Māori students will improve.¹²⁸ Identifying a cultural mismatch between teachers and students (and their parents), however, is not new. At a presentation of the *Te Kōtahitanga* project (prior to the publication of the first report) during a Māori and Indigenous Research Institute (IRI) Conference at the University of Auckland in 2002, the narratives of teachers portraying their prejudices and deficit-based explanations of Māori student achievement were shared with a group of mainly experienced Māori women educators. Invariably the women were not surprised, but made comments such as “nothing has changed” and “we already know this”. Cultural misunderstanding, in particular Pākehā teachers' ethnocentrism, has long been considered by Māori and recognised by the government (as argued in chapter four), as an obstacle to the success of Māori students at secondary schools (Walker, 1973).

One of the key strategies of *Te Kōtahitanga* to overcome ‘talking past each other’ and improve Māori learning experiences is to engage teachers in “narrative pedagogy” (Bishop et al., 2003, p. 17), an approach that emphasises the active participation of students in the creation of knowledge. Bishop et al. state:

¹²⁸ In the New Zealand context the phrase of ‘talking past each other’ usually refers to a lack of cultural awareness between different groups that results in misunderstanding and miscommunication. The phrase was popularised by well-known social anthropologist Joan Metge in a book entitled ‘Talking past each other: problems of cross cultural communication’ (1984), brought the issue of cultural difference, in particular the idea of cultural misunderstanding, to the fore.

Narrative pedagogy in this sense is therefore a means of creating interaction patterns that position teachers and students within co-joint reflections on shared experiences (the narrative as stimulus) and co-joint constructions of meanings about these experiences (narratives as meaning constructions). From this interaction, the stories of the classroom participants merge to create new stories and understandings (2003, p. 18).

Teachers are encouraged to listen to the ‘stories’ of their students as well as expecting the students to engage with the ‘stories’ of the teacher. However, in this scenario it appears that the ‘stories’ of Māori teachers are rarely mentioned. A small section within the analysis of teachers’ discourses, ‘Difference between Māori/non-Māori teachers about Māori academic expectations and aspirations’ (pp. 87-88) and one small part of a sub theme ‘Issues and respect for cultural knowledge and aspirations’ (p. 87) included the narratives of Māori teachers. Like previous studies about Māori teachers (Bloor & Harker, 1995; IRI, 1999; H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993), Māori teachers here expressed their frustrations with the low expectations held by their non-Māori colleagues about Māori students. The following comments were recorded:

Too many teachers don’t expect enough from Māori students.

If there’s a negative culture about being Māori in the school ... then you’re fighting that culture before you’ve even done anything wrong, and before they’ve done anything right or wrong (Bishop et al., 2003, p. 88).

These Māori teachers were also acutely aware of the pessimistic attitudes towards things Māori in schools. They were conscious of the way deficit views resulted in negative learning contexts for Māori students and difficult working environments for Māori teachers.

However, apart from this small subsection including the views of Māori teachers, there is a general inattentiveness in *Te Kōtahitanga* to the culture and ethnic identity of the teachers. The ethnicity of the 80 teachers (from whom the narratives were initially recorded) is not identified. It is easy to mistakenly assume that, because the cultural clash between teachers and Māori students is highlighted, the teachers in this study are mainly non-Māori. However, one of the most distressing findings of the report, in my view, is the quiet revelation that many of the teachers involved in *Te Kōtahitanga* study are Māori.

Of the eleven teachers involved in the professional development trial phase, I found in the small print of the professional development table, that seven of the eleven teachers were identified as Māori (Bishop et al., 2003, p. 193). The report concludes:

From the classroom experiences of the students themselves it was clear that teachers firstly needed a means of addressing their own deficit theorising about Māori students and their families and that this needed to precede all other change elements. From the researchers' experience these teachers are just as likely to be Māori as non-Māori (Bishop et al., 2003, p. 202).

There is no explanation or exploration in *Te Kotahitanga* as to why Māori teachers might hold deficit views, nor is there an exploration of their roles as Māori teachers. By downplaying the fact that many of these teachers are Māori, inadvertently strengthens the idea that teachers are “the same” – in this case, cultureless and prejudiced.

As previously stated, we know that Māori teachers are not necessarily ‘effective’ teachers by virtue of their ethnicity. All teachers can (and should) continually improve their teaching practice to encourage and enable learners to achieve better results. Māori teachers should not be excluded from learning new teaching approaches, such as narrative pedagogies, problem focused methodologies, co-operative learning strategies and curriculum integration included in *Te Kotahitanga*.¹²⁹ We also know that neither do all Māori teachers share a strong sense of cultural identity. Some Māori teachers may hold deficit views about members of their own ethnic group. However, the comments of Māori teachers in *Te Kotahitanga* (that recognise being Māori at school is viewed as a negative) are somewhat inconsistent with the deficit views expressed in the teachers’ narratives in the same report. Furthermore, research literature specifically about Māori teachers (Bloor & Harker, 1995; IRI, 1999; H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993) discussed in chapter five, strongly

¹²⁹ In brief, ‘narrative pedagogies’ is an inclusive pedagogy that aims to involve the learner as an active participant in the construction of knowledge. The students as well as the teachers co-jointly construct ‘narratives’ (as experiences and meaning). A ‘problem focused methodology’ centralises the learner in identifying the problem, finding the ‘answers’, as well as assessing and evaluating the learning they have achieved through this activity. ‘Co-operative learning strategies’ incorporate a range of approaches but all encourage the learners to work co-operatively in teaching and learning. ‘Curriculum integration’ promotes the integration across the curriculum to enable students to explore their own learning themes. *Te Kotahitanga* uses these approaches together as a strategy to better engage Māori students in learning. See *Te Kotahitanga* pp 17-22 for an explanation of each of these teaching approaches.

suggests that Māori teachers understand that they operate from a Māori cultural basis, and in turn, recognise the cultural challenges that confront Māori (especially students and their parents) in the school system. These studies show that much of Māori teachers' work is created because they are trying to mediate issues arising from that cultural conflict or to make changes in the system itself. To teach *as Māori* is to take a challenging stance, a position that often placed them at odds with the schools in which they serve.

If the extent of Māori teachers' deficit theorising is serious, it signals (rather alarmingly) that Māori teachers also require specialist pre-service and in-service professional development so that they can fulfill their role, not only as 'effective' teachers but as kaiako. An audit on the quality of teacher training in New Zealand, undertaken in 2001, whereby the views of teacher trainees (180), graduates (18) and academic staff (140) and principals (18) and Māori parents (40) was sought, reinforced that better teacher training is needed.¹³⁰ *The quality of teacher training for teaching Māori students* (Ministry of Māori Development, 2001) reported (consistent with the findings of *Te Kotahitanga*), that principals frequently complained of the low expectations of, and deficit views about, Māori students held by new teachers. In turn, teacher graduates were critical of their pre-service training. The audit states:

Some beginning teachers told the audit they were experiencing "culture shock" because they were being exposed to facets of society that they had never encountered before. They believed they were unable to cope well with the realities of the lives of some Māori pupils (Ministry of Māori Development, 2001, p. 21).

Furthermore, Māori trainees (along with their non-Māori counterparts) did not feel confident about teaching Māori students after graduating from their pre-service training course. The graduates identified that their anxiety about adequately catering for Māori students came from a lack of knowledge of Māori language and culture.

While international multicultural educationalists readily admit that minority teachers (like any other teacher) will always require teacher education (Foster, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Ministry of Māori Development, 2001; Sheets, 2005; Sleeter, 2003), they do not necessarily advocate for a cultural or ethnic group specific programme. It

¹³⁰ Views from these groups of people were sought in different ways, such as individual interviews, focus groups and meetings.

would appear that such a programme for prospective Māori teachers would be valuable if the findings in *Te Kotahitanga* (that shows Māori teachers are ‘ineffective’ and hold deficit views of Māori students) are common to Māori teachers in other secondary schools. Given the particular pastoral and cultural roles Māori teachers are expected by Māori communities to fulfill in schools (above and beyond the teaching of their curriculum subjects) adds weight to the idea that the training of Māori teachers should be different from that of other teachers. Just as Awa suggests in her pūrākau, Māori teachers require a different type of training to sustain them *as Māori* at secondary school. Whereas special teacher training programmes already exist for teachers preparing to work in Kura Kaupapa Māori or immersion units at the primary level, no such training exists for Māori entering mainstream primary or secondary schools.

It is not surprising that some Māori teachers (like other teachers) also work from a deficit model. The monocultural machinery of schooling not only produces the universalisation of dominant cultural norms, and a belief in the neutrality of professionals, but reflects the pervasive ideologies perpetuated in dominant mainstream society to which Māori are relentlessly exposed. Part of the impetus for writing this thesis was to encourage Māori teachers to remain *as Māori* in their work, and explore what this means. Ako was never premised on a deficit way of thinking; rather it sought to capitalise on the learners’ strengths, and enthusiasm, as well as the requirements of the collective whānau. I would argue that if Māori teachers are to fulfill the educational aspirations articulated by Durie (2001), Māori teacher education for mainstream secondary schools should be underpinned and driven by ako. If not, Māori teachers may learn to teach more ‘effectively’ but fall short in preparing Māori students to live *as Māori* in a changing society.

In researching some of the international literature about minority teachers I found that just as Māori teachers are difficult to identify when subsumed within the New Zealand effective teaching literature, so too are racial minority teachers in American literature. In a review of the education literature, Foster (1995) points out African American teachers are rarely distinguished in educational research in the United States. Apart from minority teachers being advanced as role models, studies are unlikely to consider the influence of ethnic background on teaching. Foster (1995)

investigated the place of African American teachers in three main bodies of educational research. Firstly, within the substantial body of research on effective teaching there were no records that included effective or successful African American teachers.¹³¹ The effective teaching literature reviewed did not differentiate between white American teachers and teachers of colour. The second area of research Foster (1995) reviewed was that on ‘teacher thinking’ including ‘wisdom of practice’ studies that focus on the ways that the previous life experience of teachers (backgrounds, identities, cultures, critical incidents in their lives and so forth) influences their teaching practice. While there was a limited amount of research comparing African American teachers to white American teachers, Foster (1995) found that most of the ‘teacher thinking’ studies do not seriously consider the significance of racial identity of teachers on their belief systems. The third body of educational literature is concerned with the sociological and anthropological approaches to teaching. In general, there were few studies that presented a balanced portrayal of Black teachers; more often than not these teachers were characterised as insensitive, authoritarian individuals who supported the status quo and were not particularly effective in teaching African American students.

In a seminal study by Rist (1970) in the United States that showed the significant negative impact of deficit approaches held by teachers towards their students most of the teachers studied were black Americans. The research showed teachers’ expectations and treatment of black children from low socio-economic families in the United States was significantly different to ways in which middle-class children from backgrounds similar to the teacher were viewed and treated. The students accorded lower status were those from lower-class families; these students were considered deficient, stigmatised as ‘slow learners’, which became the primary catalyst for the self-fulfilling prophecy of educational failure. While this research shows the black teachers can hold deficit views about their own ethnic group based on class, studies such as these also outweigh the number of studies that show successful black teachers working positively and effectively with students. Foster (1995) concludes as a result of such negative studies of black teachers, “researchers have perhaps unwittingly

¹³¹ Although there were 7,018 entries of the ERIC data base on effective teachers in 1991 and 5,887 separate entries on African American teachers in 1991, there were no entries that included both (Foster, 1995, p. 574).

through omission, distortion, and excessively negative portrayals, conveyed the idea that African American teachers are indifferent, uncaring and unsympathetic” (p. 574).

Other studies point out that racial minority teachers do experience their work as teachers differently from white (majority culture) teachers. It has been well documented that teachers’ experiences of race influence their worldviews, which in turn impact on their practice (Fine, 2004; Foster, 1995; Simon, 1990; Sleeter, 1993). A study of teachers in the Toronto Board of Education conducted in 1994 and 1995 by Klassen and Carr (1997), showed that white and racial minority have very different perspectives and understandings about ‘race’ and need for anti-racist education. In this study 20% of the secondary school teachers in that Board responded (70) to random sample questionnaires, of which 86% were White. Twenty-five questionnaires were received from racial minority secondary school teachers and in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty-two racial minority teachers. A further eleven minority teachers were targeted to increase the number of responses from this group. According to Klassen and Carr, 24% of all racial minority secondary school teachers responded to the survey or were interviewed. This study found that racial minority teachers showed a much greater awareness of the impact of racism in education. Many of these teachers felt that discrimination was commonplace, whereas most white teachers did not believe that racial minority teachers faced any more barriers than themselves. White teachers downplayed the importance of anti-racist education, while racial minority teachers were committed and actively involved in anti-racist educational activities. The study emphasised the extent to which the viewpoints of racial minority and white teachers differed in relation to issues of ‘race’ in education.

Similar research studies report that white teachers in the United States prefer not to teach in urban schools with high-density populations of Black and Latino students (Foster, 1995). Nieto (1999) too contends that teachers of diverse racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds in the United States are less likely to take a colour blind view that fails to acknowledge cultural differences. Instead they understand culture as significant and seek to value and include the cultural differences of their students in their pedagogical approach. Foster’s (1990) study of 16 African American teachers found that these teachers own experiences of racism through schooling provided an

understanding of the structural constraints of race, which ultimately shaped and influenced their teaching practice and pedagogy. Foster (1990) argues that their continued experiences of marginalisation as African American teachers resulted in a greater understanding of racism than restrictions imposed by gender and class.

An autobiographical study of Lloyd, a Japanese Canadian teacher (Butt, Raymond, McCue, & Yamagishi, 1992), reported that his Japanese culture was central in his pedagogical approach. His own personal experiences of discrimination as he was growing up had a profound impact on his motivation to be the “best damn teacher in the world” (p. 70). He says:

Our quest for respectability was not an easy one. At that time there were very few Japanese Canadians willing to reside in Lethbridge for they were like ‘bananas’ – yellow on the outside and white on the inside – and were not able to hide from the glaring eyes and sharp tongues of some bigoted people. I am certain that my sensitivity towards students of visible minority groups – like native Indians, Vietnamese, Japanese, Chinese and Pakistanis – is a direct result of the many instances of discrimination I personally faced some twenty years ago (p. 68).

His struggle to learn English and cope with classes as a young boy, as well as his family’s economic deprivation also contributed to his outlook on teaching with patience and understanding and commitment to his socio-economically disadvantaged students. Butt et al. (1992) argue that Lloyd’s personal and cultural history was influential in the sort of teacher that was sensitive to difference and the various roles he played.

A. Mitchell (1998) argues that African American teachers’ understanding and knowledge of their African American students’ backgrounds meant that their role as teachers extended beyond teaching and learning conventional curriculum subjects. In an effort to work effectively with their African American students their roles included: teacher as mediator (someone who attempted to mediate between the needs of the home and school); teacher as activist (someone who supported student rights and acted as an advocate on certain issues); and teacher as supporter of student growth and development (intellectual, social and political). African American teachers’ bicultural knowledge informed their teaching practices. In her interviews with successful African American teachers, Foster (1990; 1995) also found that these

teachers shared cultural and community norms with their students which was reflected in their classrooms. These teachers challenged negative attitudes and helped students understand the significance of academic achievement in the context of past and present African American struggles for social equality.

Set against some of the international literature about minority teachers that show that their ethnic identities impact on their work, and taking into account that Māori students identified that ‘being Māori’ was the most significant factor related to their negative experiences at secondary school (Bishop et al., 2003), it is surprising that ‘being Māori’ appears to be relatively unimportant if you are a teacher. *Te Kotahitanga* research diverges from much of the effective teaching literature by drawing on some (Māori) cultural concepts in the ‘Effective Teaching Profile’ (ETP), but it remains focused on classroom practice. While teachers are expected to move beyond their deficit theorising and see the students’ Māoriness as a positive attribute that can be incorporated into teaching and learning, the ETP resembles other effective teaching catalogues where the culture of the students is incorporated in particular ways to facilitate better teaching. In the same vein as a ‘culturally responsive’ (Gay, 2000) approach, *Te Kotahitanga* emphasises responsiveness to the culture of the learner.

A closer look at the strategy employed in *Te Kotahitanga* sees that Māori cultural content amounts to less than the (ideal of) taha Māori approach of the 1980s. While taha Māori faced a strong barrage of criticism focused primarily on the lack of time allocated, resources available and positive impact of Māori students (detailed in chapter five), for all its weaknesses, it was a holistic endeavour that aimed to foreground Māori students (teachers and parents) *as Māori*. *Te Kotahitanga* may appear more sophisticated because it includes (among other things) a level of self-reflection and incorporation of new teaching strategies (and not least, improved achievement outcomes), but it does not insist on the incorporation of a whole ‘Māori dimension’ to teaching and learning. In comparison, taha Māori intended to affect every aspect of schooling (from the design of the school to the daily routines) with Māori culture. In-service courses to show teachers ways in which they could incorporate taha Māori were held where complex models and theories showing the

relationship between Māori and Pākehā values and cultural concepts were promoted (L. T. Smith, 2005).

While Māori teachers became overworked, they were acknowledged as central to the implementation of taha Māori because it was based on Māori language, culture and knowledge. L. T. Smith (1986) points out that the success of such a programme rested on the way in which the concepts were experienced. She says:

Wairua (spirituality), aroha (love) tikanga (ways of believing), tapu (restrictions), manaaki (hospitality) are all concepts, which have to be lived and practised. They cannot be separated from each other, nor taught from a blackboard. They are the basis of a different type of REALITY (L. T. Smith, 1986, p. 7, original uppercase).

It was Māori teachers who offered an alternative perspective and different type of reality. While much criticism has been levelled at the ineffectual implementation of taha Māori, it was a bold attempt to legitimise and value Māori language, culture, knowledge and Māori people themselves. In contrast, *Te Kotahitanga* aligns more closely to a diversity approach that focuses primarily on the characteristics and strategies of the ‘effective’ teacher being culturally responsive to students - its success, however, is in teaching the (same) curriculum more effectively.

If *Te Kotahitanga* requires teachers to change their practice (attitudes and strategies) and address the power imbalance between teacher and student so that Māori student achievement is improved (not to be considered a small challenge either), taha Māori has greater potential to teach Māori how ‘to live *as Māori*’ through the opportunity to learn about Māori culture in every aspect of the curriculum. I am not advocating for a return to taha Māori (it has reaped few benefits for Māori students), rather I wish to draw attention to the subtle but significant difference in approach and the implications for meeting the aspirations of Māori. Although shifting the negative attitudes and behaviour of teachers is vital and necessary, it mainly tackles ‘deficit’ at an individual level. Bishop et al. (2003) write:

... the professional development [Te Kotahitanga] ... should not consist of ways of “relating to” and “connecting with” students of other cultures without there being a means whereby teachers can understand, internalise and work towards changing the power imbalances of which they are a part. In particular, those power imbalances that are manifested as cultural deficit theorising and support the retention of traditional classroom patterns (pp.7-8).

Te Kotahitanga is only part of the solution in addressing Māori educational aspirations. Unless teachers, principals and others begin to critically interrogate the way deficit theories are part of the wider ideologies of race that construct and rank categories of difference, and the ways schools manage and produce ‘difference’, then they will fail to understand the way macro-level disparities are also due to structural inequality and stratification.

Furthermore, if all other aspects of schooling remain the same, for instance the dominant language is English, school buildings, systemic routines and structures, governance and management matters, curriculum content, assessment methods are largely unchanged – ‘effective’ teaching practices might improve Māori students’ schooling experiences as well as their achievement outcomes, but it will have a limited cultural impact. More importantly, if the teaching profession doesn’t change, Māori teachers remain a small minority who are subsumed within the ‘diversity’ discourse and culturally ‘neutralised’ by ‘effective’ teaching approaches, and/or adopt deficit attitudes and forgo their Māoriness, neither will Māori teachers provide the quality teaching that includes cultural aspirations that Māori desire.

Summary

It is indisputable that diversity is a feature of our modern society and current educational context. However, exactly what diversity means in its multiple forms in New Zealand schools is often unclear, the dominant discourse of diversity swings between a disguise for describing inequalities, and recognising all forms of student difference as equal attributes. Despite its ill-defined usage in this country, it still poses a dangerous discourse for Māori because its simple logic and easy-to-learn rhetoric serves to displace Māori rights, needs and aspirations as *tangata whenua*. In many ways diversity mimics multiculturalism by diverting attention away from Māori, and Treaty of Waitangi based issues. While it is laudable that student diversity is recognised, if ‘quality’ or ‘effective’ teaching is the remedy a ‘business as usual’ approach (albeit with better teaching practices) will continue. S. May (1999) contends that discourses such as diversity need to do more than merely recognise difference, but situate cultural differences within a wider nexus of power relations. In doing so,

the invisibility of Pākehā cultural norms that underpin the reproduction of the systemic failure of so many Māori students begins to be unmasked.

It is not by accident that Māori teachers only appear briefly at the end of this chapter. Purposely shifting Māori teachers to the peripheries in the structuring of this chapter accurately reflects the way Māori teachers are located (or rather, hidden) within the current context and literature of ‘diversity’. Māori teachers (and teachers’ ethnicity in general) clearly do not feature in either the diversity, effective or quality teaching discourse currently in vogue in New Zealand; discourses that purport to advance, among other things, improving Māori educational outcomes.

Awa Hudson’s pūrākau is not drawn on throughout this chapter (as in the previous chapters) because her experiences of diversity and the official discourse of diversity barely converge. Rather Awa’s pūrākau is juxtaposed with dominant discourses that promote the enduring characteristics for effectively teaching *all* students. In her thirty years of teaching she has found that most teachers are not very interested in (personally or professionally) Māori, let alone other cultural groups. From her experience of the failed forerunners of ‘taha Māori’ and ‘multiculturalism’ it seems highly unlikely that teachers who remain ignorant and resistant to Māori (as the Indigenous people of New Zealand) will be able to cater for ‘diversity’ in their classrooms (whether it refers to Māori and Pasifika students or *all* students).

Even if the characteristics of quality teaching, and strategies of effective teaching, assist teachers to improve Māori students’ academic results and retention rates, and provide positive experiences in the classroom, Awa suggests it will not be enough. Awa wants teachers to ‘spark’ the wairua as well as the intellectual self of the Māori student through learning about Māori language, culture and knowledge. Pursuing aspirations of te reo and tikanga Māori for Māori students in the mainstream not only challenges the pedagogy of the individual teacher, but the institutionalisation of Pākehā cultural dominance through policy, governance, management and curriculum. To work as Awa has, involves challenging the systemic nature of unequal power relationships. Enabling Māori students to learn to ‘live as Māori’ requires moving beyond better teaching and requires a political engagement with the monocultural framework on which teaching rests.

Awa's pūrākau provides a counter-perspective about her lived experience of diversity in schools, in which she considers Māori teachers to be crucial. In her view Māori provide a point of entry and connection for others ethnic groups to the land, the school and people. Awa also recognises Māori have a shared bond with other ethnic minority groups in challenging racism. The increase in ethnic diversity has not sidetracked her focus on Māori educational issues; on the contrary it has strengthened her resolve to assert the tangata whenua status of Māori at school. Whereas the diversity literature treats every group with equal status and reinforces the notion that there exists an a-cultural, universal type of teaching professional, Awa argues, Māori teachers matter more. Māori teachers are a necessity for Māori students and the 'diversity' that exists at school.

However, Awa points out that not all Māori teachers are able to teach *as Māori*. She proposes that Māori teachers need specialist training, like regular wānanga designed to decolonise, understand one's role as tangata whenua at school, and clarify one's political purpose. She issues a challenge to all Māori teachers to begin to teach *as Māori* by simply incorporating everyday Māori language in their practice. She rejects that Māori language and culture should be only the domain of the Māori language teacher; rather things Māori should be a 'norm' throughout the curriculum and school. Awa also warns against 'new forms of colonialism', like dominant discourses of multi-culturalism and diversity that negate the cultural work of the Māori teacher and render them kore wairua – without spirit, without hope, without their Māoriness.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

In chapter one, I identified that my guiding research question is based on an investigation of the way ako – as a practice and philosophy – is used by Māori teachers in secondary schools. While this may seem a simple question, for many reasons there is not a straightforward answer or easy conclusion – after all, that is not the style or pedagogy of pūrākau.

Many people would expect a study of ako to produce a list or model of pedagogical strategies, or at least a definition of Māori ‘learning styles’ to better teach Māori students. These people will be sorely disappointed with my account of ako. At a time when teachers are considered the key variant in a student’s success, studies that provide teachers with practical guidance to improve teaching, such as *Te Kotahitanga*, are desired, and important. This thesis, however, has not sought to prescribe strategies or provide models of ako. Rather, it aims to provide a (pūrākau) way of talking and thinking about ako in relation to Māori teachers’ roles in secondary schools.

In my attempt to address my rather broad research question, one of the difficulties I had was trying to get the right balance between hearing from Māori teachers (practitioners of ako) and interrogating the theoretical idea(l) of ako. This dilemma arose from the interdependent nature of the relationship between the two. While Māori teachers are the actors, ako is the educational framework that they employ (although they might not name it as such) that enables them to teach *as Māori*. Without people, ako only exists at a theoretical level; similarly without ako, ‘Māori teachers’ revert to teachers who *just happen to be Māori*. Therefore the foci of this thesis has been twofold, I have argued that Māori teachers and ako co-exist in an intimate relationship. Ako and Māori teachers are culturally bound; they are not just

the bearers of language and knowledge but also have the capacity to shape and inform culture.

Driven by kaupapa Māori, this thesis has sought to challenge dominant discourses that marginalise Māori people, in particular, Māori teachers. Māori teachers were introduced in chapter one as a small and severely under-represented group in a context of increasing numbers of Māori students who experience a disproportionate rate of underachievement at secondary school. The small body of literature specifically about Māori teachers' workloads produced in the 1990s (Bloor, 1996; IRI, 1999; H. A. Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993) concur that Māori teachers work longer hours than other teachers, and often suffer from high levels of stress. The effort to address the levels of stress suffered by Māori teachers and to redistribute the responsibility for Māori students to *all* teachers, resulted in a de-emphasis on the role of Māori teachers.

It has been my intention to recentre Māori teachers for Māori learners. It was important to clarify at the outset the group of Māori teachers targeted in this study. Māori secondary school teachers are not a homogenous group. This study is not about *all* Māori teachers (an impossibility anyway), but a group who consider that being a Māori teacher is not just a matter of ethnicity, but also involves a reclamation of culture, politics and identity – those who can and choose to teach *as Māori*. My interest in Māori teachers extends beyond the ways they use Māori culture in their classroom practice but, to use Durie's (2001) phrase, the ways Māori teachers fulfill Māori aspirations to 'live *as Māori*'. This phrase is used throughout the thesis to reinforce that Māori *as Māori* are not only interested in achieving academic outcomes, but also enhancing cultural revitalization through schooling.

Once I understood that *ako* simultaneously shaped Māori teachers' work, and was shaped *by* Māori teachers' work, the challenge was not to analyse what teachers did in the classroom, but how they thought about what they did – the challenge became methodological. Encouraged by Indigenous scholars using 'decolonising methodologies' and Māori writers extending kaupapa Māori theories, pūrākau as research methodology has been developed to study *ako* and Māori teachers. In chapter two, I argued that as an Indigenous bricoleur it was not only important to

draw on our own traditions, but also to negotiate the methodological landscape. This included critiquing the way research (in particular, the collection of pūrākau) as a process of colonisation had been used in the past to de-legitimate Māori knowledge. The demotion of pūrākau from treasured knowledge to ‘myths and legends’ by Pākehā (and some Māori) researchers shows that research is never neutral but can be framed as fact or fable, evidence or hearsay with devastating consequences for the ‘researched’. The mythologizing of pūrākau by researchers disrupted traditional social systems and created cultural disarray.

The development of pūrākau as methodology also needed to respond to the current orthodoxy in the research context in education: ‘evidence-based’ research. While empirical evidence is highly valued by the New Zealand’s Ministry of Education (and many other educational researchers) as the ‘best’ aspect of scientific research that offers ways to improve education for *all* students, the voices of Māori teachers (and teachers in general) have been silenced. The *Best evidence synthesis* (Alton-Lee, 2003; Anthony & Walshaw, 2007; Biddulph et al., 2003; Farquhar, 2003; L. Mitchell & Cubey, 2003) series recognise the educational disparities experienced by the Māori learner, but the Māori *teacher* and the cultural knowledge and pedagogy they bring to teaching remains absent.

Pūrākau has been purposefully chosen and developed as a culturally appropriate methodology because of its close relationship to ako. The practice of pūrākau in traditional Māori society and its development in contemporary settings provided some clear guidelines for how pūrākau can be progressed as research. A pūrākau approach to narrative inquiry includes the following tenets:

- pūrākau should be written in ways that engage the audience
- pūrākau take many different forms, pūrākau may be diverse in style and content and serve multiple purposes
- pūrākau not only belong to the individual but the whānau or group to which they belong, and by whom they are moderated
- pūrākau are central in the cultural sustainability of Māori identity
- pūrākau provide valid and legitimate sources of Māori knowledge and explanations of the world
- pūrākau are inherently pedagogical

Pūrākau as research in this study has not developed in a linear way from Māori tradition to Māori research, but has also been influenced by the qualitative narrative inquiry methods of life history and portraiture. While there are points of convergence and departure of pūrākau to life history and portraiture, all show the complexities of inquiry and representation and share a commitment to better understanding the richness of people's experiences in a social and cultural context. The pūrākau of Māori *as teachers*, which can also be read as narratives of ako, intend to make the cultural notions and aspirations implicit in teaching *as Māori* visible. The stories of Māori teachers are not merely to inform, but to stimulate further pūrākau and to inspire Māori teachers to think more deeply about their work *as Māori*.

Ako is employed to understand the multi-faceted work Māori teachers do and the roles they play for Māori students and their whānau in secondary schools. While ako has developed an impressive reputation, particularly in the Ministry of Education literature, its definition is focused primarily on the co-operative endeavour 'to teach and to learn'. In chapter three I argued that ako is saturated with a multiplicity of meanings, outlined in ways ako operated in traditional Māori society. The process of ako rested on everyone being responsible for the educational needs of the children and the reproduction of culture. Education was considered life-long and without boundaries (apart from the knowledge deemed to be sacred). Ako was based on intergenerational transmission of culture, knowledge and skills through an array of pedagogical practices that included narratives such as pūrākau. Ako spanned the pedagogical spectrum, located within a Māori cultural framework and reliant on the interaction of Māori cultural concepts, values and beliefs.

A discussion of ako in traditional Māori society showed the depth and breadth of the ako as an educational framework, as well as the extent to which it was determined by the social, economic, cultural and political conditions and aspirations of whānau, hapū and iwi. Ako was based on Māori values that included aroha, whānau and whakapapa. One of the common misunderstandings about ako, as illustrated in the narrow definitions (or more accurately, lack of definition) awarded to it in much of the current educational literature about teaching, is that ako (as Māori pedagogy) is fixed, is a series of methods or techniques, and easily transferable. Instead, ako is highly dependent on people, place and purpose. As a 'culturally preferred pedagogy'

(G. H. Smith, 1987) ako can include the latest technologies as well as traditional practices. At a conference for Māori teachers involved in information and communication technologies (ICT) at schools,¹³² key-note speaker Moana Jackson reminded the audience that the activities, resources and technological tools we use to engage students in learning always sit within a cultural and political framework. He urged us to remember that the value of any tool is how deeply we are able to source it in who we are as a people. The pedagogical practices that are utilised by Māori teachers are not necessarily unique or exclusive to Māori, however, as ako they are located within a Māori cultural framework brought to life (or lived) and given new meanings by Māori teachers and learners.

Instead of summarising each of the thesis chapters, in conclusion I want to draw on some of the pedagogical points from across the pūrākau. I have not attempted to provide an in-depth analysis of each of the pūrākau. That was never the intention of pūrākau as methodology. Pūrākau encourages the listener and reader to be attentive to the often-inchoate lessons that are implicit in the story, especially when it is lessons about cultural aspirations. The titles of two books *Kia hiwa ra! Listen to culture: Māori students' plea to educators* (Macfarlane, 2004) and *Culture speaks: Cultural relationships and classroom learning* (Bishop & Berryman, 2006), signal the way readers should not only listen to the stories of Māori schooling experiences, but for the stories. Like Archibald (1997) and other Indigenous writers using traditional narrative approaches, I have tried to mediate the tension between the implicit pedagogical nature of the pūrākau and the explicitness expected in academic writing by drawing on aspects of each pūrākau in the respective chapters. Sometimes the pūrākau serve to evoke an emotional response or prompt further questions, which is different from the response generated by reading 'academic' writing. At other times (or 'readings') the pūrākau provide a unity to academic discussions about history, politics or educational discourses, such as diversity, which are inherently complex, especially the dynamics of human experience. Awa Hudson's pūrākau about her everyday reality of diversity is set against the official discourse of diversity in education.

¹³² This was 'He waka eke noa: An annual kaupapa Māori ICT conference'. This particular conference was held in Rotorua 26-28th April 2004.

The pūrākau that feature in this thesis do not sit neatly together, neither do they try to cover all elements of ako. Rather they can be read as evocative individual stories as well as an important illustrative part of chapters that focus on particular dimensions of ako. These pūrākau bring to the fore the realities of Māori teachers' work and delve more deeply into the complexities of engaging ako in the monocultural context of secondary schooling. While each pūrākau is unique, situated with its own teaching-learning points and pedagogical function, the themes and messages of the pūrākau are not discrete, but blend together to teach about ako.

Awi Riddell is part of the long history of Māori teachers' participation in New Zealand schools. His pūrākau is a depiction and product of Māori schooling in his era. Although he did not attend a Native School, schooling in the small rural and Māori community of Te Puia, taught the same western-based curriculum and was led by a Pākehā teacher of Scottish ancestry. Awi credits his success and enjoyment of learning at primary school to his highly effective teacher, Ailsa Corrie-Johnstone, a woman who was completely dedicated to her students and community. Despite her 'effectiveness', the gap in his learning identified by Awi himself, was Māori language and culture. On reflection, he says:

We could quote lines and verse of English poetry and sing well-known English songs. How much richer might we have been had we also been exposed to our own language, culture, and heritage. We would have received a more balanced education in terms of acknowledging us as Māori.

The cultural gap that exists between non-Māori teachers and Māori students has been known since the inception of schooling, recognised by both the government and Māori communities. It is ironic that currently one of the ways to close this 'gap' is more 'effective teaching', that is, 'more and better' of the same.

The present preoccupation with the importance of the teacher is not a recent phenomenon. As argued in chapter three, the government has always been aware of the influential nature of the teacher in the classroom, the school and the community - in particular, the capacity of the Māori teacher *as Māori*. This meant that sometimes the government viewed the culture of the Māori teacher as a disadvantage (to assimilation), and at other times their cultural competencies were considered useful insofar as they could advance the government's educational policies (different

versions of assimilation). Teachers were meant to exercise a ‘beneficial (civilising) influence’ on Māori students; the expectation of Māori teachers by the government was no different. Given schooling was seen as a key part of the process of colonisation, it is not surprising that ako was not encouraged, and only able to surface in limited ways. Yet many Māori teachers retained a strong sense of their cultural selves in their pedagogical practice.

Expressions of ako were articulated in Awi’s pūrākau in his experience as a learner, and in his philosophy as a teacher and principal. His grandmother and mother’s commitment to send Awi’s uncles and aunties, himself and his siblings to Māori boarding schools, by-passing the local Māori district high school, points to the desire for a particular type of secondary schooling for their children – an education that was not limited to a manual or industrial curriculum, and one in which ‘being Māori’ was more accepted. While it is important to remember that Awi was one of the small minority of Māori able to attend and then teach in Māori boarding schools, he was exposed to ako as a student, and able to incorporate ako as a teacher at a time when the government policies of the day were overtly assimilatory. Awi’s pūrākau also portrays the unspoken outcomes of church boarding school education. Awi’s strong sense of his Māori identity is coupled with an appreciation of English etiquette and manners, English language, order and routines – hallmarks of early Māori boarding schools. While the Māori boarding schools were successful in transmitting values of ‘civilised’ Pākehā society, these schools also managed to incorporate aspects of ako through their whānau-type living arrangements, and the close relationships between Māori parents and communities, and Māori teachers.

In chapter five, Maiki Marks’ pūrākau which expressed her frustrations as a Māori teacher during the 1980s is in contrast to Awi’s schooling experiences. While Maiki’s pūrākau is a depressing story about Māori students at secondary school, it is underpinned with a steely resolve to make a difference as a Māori teacher. Originally a paper presented at the Māori Educational Development Conference in 1984, her pūrākau reflects the radicalism of its time. It was written when the entry of Māori teachers to secondary schools (mostly as Māori language teachers) was part of the exciting educational initiatives (such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori) formed as a result of the Māori political activism begun in the 1970s. Māori teachers

were to be the vanguards of Māori language, culture and students in secondary schools.

By the mid-1980s the ‘taha Māori’ policy was beginning to be taken seriously by the Department of Education, but as Maiki points out, the implementation of a taha Māori programme was usually left to the Māori teacher. One of the reasons for this was because the ‘gap’ between non-Māori teachers and Māori cultural knowledge was too wide. She simply says, “*what the teacher is, is what the student gets*”. Maiki urged Māori teachers to capitalise on their Māori cultural knowledge and not only teach Māori language (as a subject) or ‘taha Māori’ (as a programme), but be a living manifestation of taha Māori.

Ako requires enacting Māori cultural values and beliefs, drawing on Māori knowledge and worldviews in order to care and cater for Māori students at school. In Maiki’s experience employing ako in secondary school means to work dialectically between two (Māori and Pākehā) often oppositional and competing ideologies. Māori teachers who adhere to ako are not only teaching for individual and academic success, but teaching for cultural survival of the whānau, hapū and iwi. Ako has a double agenda that legitimises Māori knowledge but also seeks to provide access to western knowledge. Noting this doubled agenda, Maiki acknowledges that teaching *as Māori* is not an easy task in a school system that is Eurocentric in design, curriculum and practices. Maiki recognises the vulnerability of the Māori teacher and describes working in this situation as a “delicate” position to be in. She knows that Māori teachers often take on a “protective colouration” to enable them to move between the two ‘worlds’. In Maiki’s view it is inevitable that Māori teachers’ work will be in opposition to ‘mainstream’ educational practices, and therefore the role of the Māori teacher resides in the political realm. It is here that Maiki’s pūrākau meets the pūrākau of experienced Māori teacher, Chris Selwyn, and brings the social and political history of Māori teachers to the present.

Chris deliberately uses the term ‘kaiako’ (the person responsible for engaging ako) to describe the work he does that distinguishes himself (and other kaiako) from the work of the conventional classroom teacher. Chris regards the kaiako as being an inherently political role because he or she is never working with only his or her own

interests in mind. Rather as the pūrākau of Awi and Maiki also tell us, it is to be of service to, and for the benefit of, Māori students and their whānau. The heavy workload this entails (already seen in both of the previous pūrākau) is evident. Chris' supervision of Māori students (whom he describes as those required to repay the school community with 'service') during the school holidays when few staff are on campus, speaks of the sort of 'extra' work a kaiako does. For Chris, teaching *as Māori* is like working from an invisible teacher appraisal page – in other words, working from a (other) Māori framework – ako. Using this framework, Māori teachers are not merely role models, but model Māori roles *as Māori*. These roles include: kaitiaki (cultural caretakers); kaiawhina (cultural conduits); kanohi kitea (cultural ambassadors); and kaiarahi (coaches and conductors). I have argued that kaiako can be viewed as 'cultural workers' (Freire's term) because they have a political motive and cultural obligations *as Māori* to ensure the regeneration of Māori language, culture and identity.

In comparison with the despondence that characterises much of the literature about Māori teachers' workload, Chris speaks with pride about what has been achieved and the success of his Māori students. He has a positive and determined outlook. The establishment, maintenance and development of the reo rūmaki unit 'Te Puna o Waiorea' in his school is a testament to the vision and strength (and political manoeuvring) of Chris, his colleagues and the whānau, as well as those Māori teachers and others that have gone before him. To create Māori 'space' in a secondary school is a notable achievement. Few secondary schools can claim they have a bi-lingual unit, let alone a total-immersion Māori language unit with its own marae. The large, new premises adjoining to the marae, situated at the front of the school, not only signals to Māori the value the school accords to Māori culture, but the political ground Māori teacher/s and supporters have won.

Chris' pūrākau also draws attention to the 'cultural gap' between teachers and Māori students, presently being addressed by 'effective teaching' professional development initiatives. However, the gap he emphasises is between non-Māori teachers and Māori parents. He asks:

...do those whānau that come in [to the school] want to talk to those Pākehā teachers? Actually, they want to look for the kaiako, the Māori. So even though you (a Pākehā teacher) may mihi to them,

greet them and do a fantastic job at it – do they really want to talk to you at the end of the day?

In his view, acquiring ‘effective teaching’ practices will only take the non-Māori teacher so far with Māori parents (and students). He reminds us that teaching Māori cannot be reduced to a technical activity that allows one to merely ‘tick the boxes’, according to Chris, to be ‘effective’ for Māori requires more than knowledge, but a cultural understanding and commitment. The pūrākau of Maiki and Chris emphasise that teaching *as Māori*, is never a politically neutral undertaking.

Awa Hudson’s pūrākau also illustrates this theme of the politically-charged Māori teacher, but draws attention to what this means in a schooling context where the student population has become more ethnically and culturally diverse. Her pūrākau sits as a counter-story to the current (somewhat confused) discourses of diversity in education (discussed in chapter six), not merely because it is from a Māori perspective, but because it is premised on, and underpinned by *ako*. Awa’s pūrākau reveals the ‘gap’ between theory and practice; she offers an alternative interpretation of what actually happens to ‘diverse’ students and teachers.

Awa unveils the racism that still exists in schools. The lack of interest, concern or care shown by some non-Māori teachers for Māori students, the tricks teachers use to give the appearance (to ERO and others) that teachers are responding to Māori, the views that Māori culture should be confined to the school marae – all portray ways Māori are seen as the ‘other’. Awa continues to assert that Māori knowledge is just as important as any other curriculum subject and goes further to argue language and culture must extend beyond the subject area, classroom and marae. Awa’s sense of cultural isolation, as the only Māori on staff for fourteen years, heightened her political perceptions. Although she received some strong support from a small core group of non-Māori colleagues and key whānau in the community, she witnessed the general apathy towards trying to improve the education of Māori students. She also saw the power and privilege enjoyed by the dominant majority. Awa is acutely aware that teaching exists within a system of power, and that teaching *as Māori* involves challenging the institutionalisation of that power.

Awa is not bitter or resentful at the growing numbers of ethnic minority students; rather she attributes her political clarity of the centrality of Māori teachers in schools, to this scenario. Regardless of government policy, research ‘evidence’, or popular educational approaches, new Board of Trustees or school management (aimed at improving Māori students achievement), Awa says adamantly “Māori will always be the tangata whenua”. Māori not only connect new staff, students and their families to the school, but to the land and others around them. Guided by values including whakapapa and tino rangatiratanga, it is her duty as Māori to welcome new people according to Māori protocol. While Awa feels enriched by sharing in the culture of other ethnic groups, and recognises the common bonds they share with Māori in challenging institutional and structural bases of racism in the schooling system, she also is clear that Māori have particular rights (and responsibilities) as the Indigenous people and partners to the Treaty of Waitangi.

Despite the struggle Awa has endured over three decades at school to assert Māori language and culture, she continued to demonstrate an extremely positive outlook. Each morning Awa began school; she prepared herself with a karakia, knowing the pedagogical difference a Māori teacher can make for Māori students. To her, it is important that Māori students are able to interact daily with Māori teachers to “touch bases spiritually, intellectually and physically with their people”. Whereas the current educational trend is to produce the characteristics or a profile of ‘best’ teaching practice for teachers, Awa (like the pūrākau of other Māori teachers) considers Māori cultural knowledge fundamental in the education of Māori children. To Awa, now (in a ‘diversity’ context) more than ever, understanding who you are and your relationship to others and the world around you is vital to one’s educational development.

As well as cultural knowledge, Awa believes Māori teachers (and students) need to know the “*truths ... that have been withheld*”. She is referring to Māori history, the processes of colonisation and systems of oppression. Her desire is that Māori teachers to not only culturally survive at school, but to engage in decoding and demystifying systems such as racism for their students. To engage ako and prepare students to live *as Māori* includes teaching students to think critically, understanding the politics of power and participating in improving conditions for whānau, hapū and

iwi (and others). Furthermore, Awa's pūrākau encourages all Māori teachers to be self-critical. She (like other teachers in this study) does not simply posit Māori as 'good' and Pākehā as 'bad' teachers. Rather, she distinguishes between Māori teachers who are committed to cultural regeneration, Māori teachers who confine themselves to their curriculum subject, and those Māori teachers who succumb to the negative stereotypes of Māori and "give up" – something that Awa refused to do.

Finally, to return to my own pūrākau about the incident with the kuia who told me that the criterion she was using to assess oral Māori language competency was something you knew "in your heart". It has taken me a long time to learn from this pūrākau that she was teaching me about ako. To the kuia, this was not simply a technical exercise of writing achievement outcomes, but was an activity shaped by bigger cultural imperatives – to reassert language and knowledge, and reclaim Māori cultural ways of doing things (like assessment). The 'answers' lay in the heart because cultural identity is not just something you know, it is not static or easily reduced to descriptors or categories – being Māori is something that you must feel.

As Nepe (1991) pointed out earlier, one of the most important functions of ako in traditional Māori society was the transmission of knowledge that would "develop the child's intellect to 'think Māori' as well as to nurture the child's wairua to *feel and be Māori*" (p. 31, emphasis added). All the pūrākau in this thesis include the importance of *feeling as Māori* in teaching and learning. Awi Riddell described success at Te Aute College as a collective achievement; he says "You know when you have got it right, when the whole school feels good about itself". Chris Selwyn referred to the things he carries "in his heart" that drives what he does for Māori students, and Awa Hudson talked about sparking the wairua of students. Maiki Marks sums up Māori educational aspirations and makes the connection between the importance of cultural identity (feeling Māori) and schooling when she says:

...the school is most unlikely to have changed itself so that it actually FEELS good to Māoris and actually works to give them an equal chance. Not an equal chance at Pākehā education only, but the same chance that Pākehā students get for their culture for their own culture (Marks, 1984a, p. 43, original emphasis).

To engage ako is more than making Māori children 'feel good' by raising self-esteem, or improving their achievement results. Māori teachers make Māori students 'feel'

Māori precisely because they bring with them cultural expertise and create cultural conditions for ako - teaching, learning and living *as Māori*. This is not to say that Māori teachers are the only teachers able to successfully instruct Māori students in the classroom, but in relation to advancing Māori knowledge, culture and politics, Māori teachers are critical and must be at the helm.

Pūrākau of Māori teachers are not limited to their work as teachers but contain, what Lawrence-Lightfoot (2003) refers to as ‘generational echoes’ – the stories of hope and vision, excitement and achievement, as well as the struggle and hardship of Māori (across generations) in schooling. These pūrākau are part of a cultural tradition, a source of knowledge that seeks to deepen learning conversations and stimulate the telling (and teaching) of more pūrākau so that Māori children in secondary schools are better able to shape their futures *as Māori*. It is crucial, however, that these pūrākau do not remain as ‘just stories’, or that the phrase *to live as Māori* be empty rhetoric. It is a Māori teacher’s right and responsibility to engage ako and not only teach Māori students how to ‘read’ and ‘write’ their own pūrākau, but to live them.

Glossary of Māori Terms

This glossary provides simple definitions for Māori terms used in this thesis. In most cases these Māori terms have been already indicated in the text or discussed in full. For further reference see Williams, H. W. (1985). *A dictionary of the Māori language* (7th ed.). Wellington, New Zealand: Government Printer.

āhuatanga	character
akoranga	lesson/s
aroha	love, compassion
atua	deities
āwhina	help
haka	a particular type of Māori dance
hapū	sub-tribe/s
hui	meeting/s, gathering/s
iwi	tribe/s
kaea	leader/s
kaiako	Māori teacher/s
kaiaarahi	guide
kaiawhina	helper
kaimoana	seafood
kaitiaki	guardian
kainga	home
kapa haka	Māori song and dance
kākahu	clothes, costumes
karakia	incantation/s, prayer

karanga	calling
kuia	old woman
kaumātua	elder/s
kaupapa	subject or purpose
kōkā	mother or aunty
kōhanga reo	early childhood Māori language nests
kōkōwai	red ochre
kōrero	talk
kōrero tawhito	traditional narratives
kōwhaiwhai	traditional paintings to adorn dwelling
kura	school
kura kaupapa Māori (KKM)	Māori immersion primary schools
manaakitanga	respect, kindness, or hospitality
mana	authority, control
mana motuhake	self-determination
mana whenua	tribal authority over land
marae	traditional Māori meeting area
matua	uncle or father
mate kōhi	tuberculosis epidemic
polio	epidemic
mauri	life force
mihi	greeting, welcome speech
mōteatea	traditional song
ngāhere	bush, forest
ngārara	reptiles
noa	ordinary
oriori	lullaby
paepae	the speaker's domain (usually on the marae)
pā harakeke	flax bush

Pākehā	White New Zealander
papakāinga	homestead
patupaiarhe	fairy-like people
pōuri	sadness
poutama	a traditional lattice weaving design in a shape of a staircase
pōwhiri	formal Māori welcome
puna	spring (of water)
pūtake	reason or cause
pūwaha	mouth or entrance
rewharewha	influenza
tahā	calabash
taha hinengaro	intellectual side
taha Māori	Māori side
taha tinana	physical side
taha wairua	spiritual side
taniwha	creatures
tamariki	children
tapu	sacred, restricted
tangata whaiora	mental health clients
tangata whenua	people of the land
tangi / tangihanga	Māori funeral
tātai	recite genealogies
tautoko	support
teina	younger siblings (of the same gender)
te ao mārama	the world of light
te kore	the void
te pō	the darkness
te reo	Māori language

tikanga	Māori cultural practices
tohunga rongonui	famous expert/s
tuakana	older siblings (of the same gender)
tūpuna / tīpuna	ancestor/s
waiata	song
wairua	spirituality
waka	canoe
wānanga	learning forums
whaea	mother/aunty
whaikōrero	speechmaking
whakairo	carvings
whakapapa	genealogy
whakatau	welcome
whakatauki	proverbs
whakawhanaungatanga	forging kinship relationships
whānau	family
whanaunga	relations
wharenuī	meeting house
whenua	land

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