

Cultural Sustainability: Maori Teachers in 'Mainstream' Schools.

Jenny Lee (Ngāti Māhuta)
The University of Auckland, New Zealand

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Introduction

This year Maori celebrate twenty years since the first Kura Kaupapa Maori (Maori language immersion and philosophically based primary school) was formally established in New Zealand. Today there are 439 Kura Kaupapa Maori, Maori immersion, and bi-lingual schools and classes throughout New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2004a, p. 205), in which 26, 676 Maori students attend (Ministry of Education, 2004a, p. 116). Derived from the ‘flax roots’ of Maori communities driven by a commitment to Maori language, culture and educational achievement, Kura Kaupapa Maori represent a symbol of Maori aspirations for education. Aspirations that include the social, political, economic and cultural sustainability of Maori as a people.

While kaupapa Maori schools and programmes¹ have been able to make dramatic changes to the philosophical, cultural and structural underpinnings of how teaching and learning operates, ‘mainstream’ schools have been constrained by the preferences and policies of the dominant group, resulting largely in the status quo. Many ‘mainstream’ schools, in particular secondary schools, have made little progress in improving Maori educational outcomes and advancing Maori educational aspirations. Often schools have little interest and/or limited resources to incorporate Maori knowledge, culture and perspectives in and outside of the curriculum. This struggle to include Maori culture in meaningful ways in the curriculum is compounded by few Maori teachers.

Whereas much of the popular ‘effective teaching’ literature in New Zealand at present tends to ignore the potential of Maori teachers to progress Maori achievement, I argue that they are key to fulfilling the Maori educational aspirations in ‘mainstream’ schools. In a local educational context that purports to value ‘diversity’, this paper seeks to

¹ These include Kura Kaupapa Maori, bi-lingual and whānau type schools, classes, units and programmes.

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explore the cultural capacity of Maori teachers to advance Maori aspirations in schooling by providing an historical overview of the participation of Maori teachers in state schooling sector, in particular, 'mainstream' secondary schools.

Early Maori teachers

More than fifty years prior to the establishment of the state schooling for Maori children in New Zealand in 1867, Maori were already involved in schooling. Initially as students in missionary schools, first begun in 1816, and then as Maori teachers. The missionaries encouraged the building of self-supporting Christian communities and Maori teachers were envisaged as a central ingredient to the development of schooling (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). By the 1830s through to the late 1850s the spread of literacy and numeracy skills amongst Maori was rapid, Maori were successfully learning and teaching each other (alongside and often under the guidance the Pakeha teachers) in mission and their own schools. Maori academic, Kuni Jenkins (2000) points out that although official reports of mission schools often failed to mention the contribution of Maori, that included roles as assistants and teachers, Maori were highly involved in ensuring the success of such schools.

In these early years, Maori-led schools also developed within Maori communities. Run by Maori teachers and parents, the schools received no government funding or assistance. In 1862 when Inspector Govenor Gorst visited these schools in the Waikato region, he was impressed with many of these independent Maori-led schools. One school, in particular, headed by Wiremu Tamihana in Matamata, where three young Maori men were the teachers, was favourably noted in Gorst's report. Gorst writes:

All the children read Maori perfectly. All wrote down Maori 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 Maori 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

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number of 'twopences' to pounds. All the arithmetic is done in English (AJHR, 1862, E-4, 5).

Although reports by visiting inspectors note that some Maori teachers struggled in the Maori village schools (often due to lack of resources), there were also outstanding, highly competent and effective Maori teachers leading their own schools.

Missionary-run secondary boarding schools became the institute where small numbers of Maori had an opportunity to attend secondary education as well pursue a career in teaching. The notion of Maori teachers for Maori students was not only accepted, but actively encouraged by the church and at that stage, by the state too. However, the 1860s was a turbulent time for Maori, schools were generally deserted as Maori turned their attention to issues of sovereignty, played out in the New Zealand land wars. Mission schools fell from favour, and had failed to turn out enough Maori teachers.

Teachers as cultural workers

The active involvement of Maori as teachers in these early schools is not to say that Maori did not desire to be taught by Pakeha teachers. Early on, Maori not only recognised the salient role of the teacher, but the cultural contribution that Pakeha teachers could make to the technological transformations that Maori wanted to occur in their communities. Maori recognised that Pakeha teachers were not only able to offer their technical skills and curriculum knowledge, but their cultural expertise. In 1877 a petition was presented by Wi Te Hakiro with 336 other requesting that teachers of Native Schools be ignorant of Maori language and culture (Ramsay, 1973, p. 40). At a time when Maori were still the numerically, culturally, politically and economically dominant in all social spheres, Maori were keen to learn about Pakeha beliefs, behaviours and cultural norms in order to enhance their way of life. Maori realised that through understanding western knowledge and cultural ethics, they could better cultivate relationships with Pakeha, position themselves advantageously in relation to land dealings, trade or inter-tribal politics.

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The state too was beginning to recognise the importance of teachers and the powerful nature of their work amongst Maori communities. In 1863 Inspector Taylor questioned the competency of Maori teachers as the state moved towards a state schooling system for Maori students. 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 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 Maori teachers had demonstrated in mission-run schools and in independent Maori schools, the state was beginning to reconsider whether Maori teachers were the most ‘appropriate’ teachers in light of the agenda of assimilation and the role schooling was intended to play in the colonisation process.

By the time state schooling for Maori was launched in 1867, the state was explicit in its aim to assimilate and ‘civilise’ Maori. Key to this process of assimilation was the replacement of *te reo* and *tikanga Maori* with Pakeha knowledge, not only through a selected narrow curriculum but the appointing of ‘suitable’ teachers. Alongside the exclusive medium of English language and the physical structures of English culture embedded in the buildings, Pakeha teachers were seen as a crucial part of this ‘educative’ approach because they would not only instruct, but be culturally influential as well. The 1880 Native Schools Code clearly laid out who the Native Affairs Department considered to be the most ideal people to teach Maori children to be teacher-certificated, married, Pakeha men (AJHR, 1880, H-1F, pp. 1). Teachers were expected to be “direct exponents of the new culture” (Ball, 1940, p. 277) and agents of assimilation, Maori teachers were to be excluded.

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The reality, however, was that there were not enough 'suitable' teachers to fill all teaching positions in Native Schools. By 1867 the severe staffing crisis saw it impossible to locate enough certificated or uncertificated Pakeha males or females (particularly in the more remote areas). As a result a special provision was created so that Maori could enter the teaching profession (Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 327). Although not the preferred applicants, Maori entered teaching early on in the development of state schooling for Maori.

Maori as cultural transition teachers

Under the special provision that enabled Maori to apply for positions as teachers, it was Maori women who entered the classrooms in the role as junior assistants. Although primarily responsible for assisting the younger children of the school, junior assistants' work could range from carrying out specific tasks to being fully involved in life of the school (Simon and Smith, 2001). Despite the junior role of Maori teachers as assistants, their Maori cultural competencies were quickly recognized. They were able to help new entrants (who came from Maori language immersion home environments) transition to a English immersion and culturally foreign learning context. Beyond the role of inducting Maori children into an English language and cultural context, some Maori teachers continued to speak Maori to Maori children in and outside the classroom regardless of the official policy². The oral narratives of former pupils and teachers of the Native Schools report that Maori language was sometimes included to learning programs and used to mediate disputes between students in the playground (Simon & Smith, 2001).

Another feature of Maori teachers was their cultural connectedness to the communities. Their familiarity with the local people meant that Maori teachers not only acted as the intermediary between junior Maori students and the school, but between the communities and the Native School system itself. Teachers of the Native schools (Maori and non-

² The 1880 Native Schools Code specified that although Maori language should be "dispensed" with at school, in the junior level "Maori language may be used for the purpose of making the children acquainted with the meanings of English words and sentences" (AJHR, 1880, p. 1).

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Maori alike) often played multiple roles in the local community, including Registrar of Births and Deaths of Maori and Postmaster. Maori teachers often belonged to the whanau, hapu and iwi of the areas where they taught, the children and their families may have been the Maori teachers' own kith and kin. Therefore these Maori teachers were not only able to provide insights into the family environs, but their connections to the community through *whakapapa* also provided access to what Nepe (1991) calls *kaupapa Maori* knowledge: Maori cultural knowledge that enabled teachers to draw on Maori frameworks, such as whanaungatanga (extended family relationships) and ako (pedagogies).

The extent to which Maori teachers explicitly utilised their Maori cultural competencies in the Native Schools, though, is difficult to ascertain. Former students of Native School have described their Maori teachers as “bringing a different style to their teaching” (Simon, 1990, p. 103). According to these former students, some Maori teachers spoke te reo Maori at school, built close relationships with their communities and incorporated aspects of Maori culture in their teaching practice (Simon & Smith, 2001, p.82). Judith Simon (1991), who conducted an extensive study on Native Schools, contends that the Maori teachers (junior assistants) frequently served the interests of the Maori children more effectively than a certificated Pakeha teacher. Not all Maori, however, utilised their cultural knowledge in their work as teachers, some Maori are reported to have explicitly rejected Maori cultural values and beliefs in their teaching practice (Simon and Smith, 2001), understandable in a schooling system that set out to on a ‘civilising mission’.

Maori teachers then, were precariously positioned. The inclusion of Maori teachers in Native Schools was, to a large extent, a last resort. However, they proved to be competent and effective teachers who were also able to use their Maori language and culture to enhance their teaching practices. Unfortunately, their cultural expertise was only sanctioned as permissible in order to transit Maori students to a ‘civilised’ life and hasten the assimilation process. The idea though, that a Maori would fully participate in advancing the assimilation of their own people through teaching was short sighted.

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While Maori teachers operated in the schooling system, many also 'worked' to subvert the assimilation process by maintaining Maori language and culture in their pedagogical practices.

Cultural constraints: Closing Maori schools

When the state began to modify the policy of assimilation in 1930 by requiring Native School teachers to include in the school curriculum selected aspects of Maori culture, usually 'arts and crafts' types of activities, Maori teachers were still few in number. In 1910 there were only three Maori head teachers (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974, p. 151), Maori teachers in the main, remained in the role of assistants. It wasn't until the end of the 1950s Maori teacher numbers began to increase. A special Native School teaching course begun at Wellington Teachers' College in 1939, marked the beginning of a Maori teachers quota. In 1961 Maori teachers had grown and now made up 48% of Maori School teachers (Maori Report of Commission on Education, 1962 p. 423). By the end of the 1960s, Maori teachers had begun to make their mark in schools, namely Maori Schools³.

Maori Schools continued to be dominated by Maori students, they often featured Maori teachers and the schools themselves were increasingly seen as part of Maori communities (Simon and Smith, 1990). Many families had developed a history of an on-going relationship with these Maori Schools and teachers. In some cases, tribal land had been given for the buildings and their elders had helped establish the schools - there were strong emotional attachment to the schools. Some Maori Schools were seen as effectively incorporating Maori culture into the curriculum and successfully responding to the interests and needs of Maori students and communities (Simon and Smith, 2001).

³ In 1949 Native was removed from all official government language, henceforth the Native Schools became known as Maori schools.

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Not only were Maori schools beginning to reflect the interests of their Maori communities, as Linda Smith argues, “Maori schools had also come to be seen as the only hope for Maori cultural survival” (Simon and Smith, 1990, p. 7). Whereas over 90% of the children beginning primary school could speak Maori in 1900, by 1960 only 26% of young Maori children retained their mother tongue (Walker, 2004, p. 147). In 1970s the first nationwide survey about the use of Maori language was undertaken and found that Maori language was ‘endangered’ (Benton, 1978). Of 33, 638 Maori sampled, only 15% of the Maori youth, who constituted 50% of the Maori population at that time, could speak Maori with fluency (Walker, 2004, p. 238). Maori too were becoming increasingly urban dwellers, the demographic shift from tribal rural areas to the city meant that large numbers of Maori were faced with dislocation from their familial and cultural surroundings. Walker (2004) argues that urbanized Maori were faced with the prospect of surrendering to the “Pakeha imperative of assimilation” (p. 198), the majority though, chose to retain their cultural difference and identity. Schools were one of the sites (along with churches, Maori organizations and urban marae) that provided some cultural continuity in the urban milieu.

Beyond the school grounds, the presence of a growing ‘critical mass’ of Maori teachers began to put pressure of educational policies. The National Advisory Committee on Maori Education (NACME) first set up by the Department of Education in 1955, and re-established in 1969 with 50% Maori representation made some important recommendations for Maori education. The 1971 NACME Report included the following resolutions:

1. That cultural differences need to be understood, accepted and respected by children and teachers.
2. That the school curriculum must find a place for the understanding of Maoritanga, including Maori language
3. That in order to achieve the goal of equality of opportunity, special measures need to be taken (cit. in Walker 2004, p. 240).

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The directives articulated by this committee helped advance the push for the inclusion of Maori language, culture and people in more meaningful ways in education as well as Taha Maori policies (to be discussed later). A clear indicator of the importance of 'Maoritanga' in education was the establishment in 1971, by all seven Teacher Education programmes in New Zealand⁴ of Maori Studies type courses (Walker, 2004, p. 241). Walker (1990) argues that the presence of significant numbers of Maori teachers in the profession began 'transforming the education system' (p. 240).

Just as Maori teachers became more prominent in their positions in Maori Schools, and beginning to have an effect on the school practices and pedagogy, the Maori School system drew to a close in 1969. According to Linda Smith,

Maori 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 Maori and redefinition of the site of struggle. Maori schools had become a site of Maori resistance and of Maori counter-hegemony. This resistance needed to be marginalised and brought under control (Simon & Smith, 1990, p.2)

The value of Maori teachers in terms of their cultural attributes, knowledge, pedagogies was never fully realised in the Maori Schools. Just as the presence of Maori teachers began to be felt, Maori teachers were sidelined when the Maori School system came to an end. With the disestablishment of Maori schools, many Maori teachers now entered the primary Board schools or 'mainstream' as minority teachers.

Maori secondary school teachers as cultural conduits

In the secondary sector, Maori teachers were much more scarce, they did not really feature in secondary schools in any significant number until Maori language was introduced as School Certificate examination subject option. Although gazetted in 1934⁵, Maori language was not introduced as a subject until 1945 (cit. in Smith, 2002, p. 205). Maori language, though, did not find popularity as a secondary school subject

⁴ Teacher education programmes were previously run by Colleges of Education.

⁵ National Education Gazette, 1934, Oct 1

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immediately. With only small numbers of Maori actually at secondary school⁶, and Maori language and culture generally regarded by Pakeha as low status or a non-academic subject option (ref), few students learnt the language and in turn few teachers were required. By 1970 there were still only ten secondary schools in total teaching Maori language as a subject option (Walker, 1984, p. 35)

With the emergence of the Taha Maori policy in the 1970s and its augmentation in the 1984 Curriculum Review Report that expected all schools to develop Taha Maori, Maori teachers were needed. According to the Department of Education⁷ Taha Maori in education was:

A 'Maori dimension' which is meant to permeate the school: in murals, artifacts and language about the school, through its curriculum, and in the school practices and activities (Department of Education, 1984, p. 23).

At many secondary schools, where the structured nature of the timetable and compartmentalization of teachers into specialist subject areas, the Taha Maori programme resided with the Maori teacher. Usually the Maori language teachers became the repositories of Maori language, culture and knowledge in mainly Pakeha mono-cultural institutions. Often Maori teachers were solely responsible for the implementation of Taha Maori (International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education, 1999) .

The impact of Taha Maori policies coupled with a push from Maori to revitalize the language and demands from Maori activist groups for more Maori language teachers, saw the numbers of students studying Maori language at secondary schools grow from 4,423 in 1971 (International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education, 1999, p. 33) to 15,000 by 1979 (Walker, 1984, p. 35). Nearly half of those students learning Maori in secondary schools in 1979, were non-Maori (Walker, 1984). As a result of more schools wanting to offer Maori language and cultural studies, Maori teachers were

⁶ In 1936 there were not more than 8.4% of 13-17 year old Maori students at secondary school, in 1951 this proportion had only risen to about 30% (IRI, 1999)

⁷ Department of Education is now called the Ministry of Education in New Zealand.

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in high demand. In the 1974 a special training program, that came to be referred to as 'Atakura', was established to provide more Maori language teachers. The one year teacher training program recruited native speakers of te reo and prepared them for teaching Maori language in secondary schools. By 1984, more than 170 Maori teachers had been trained through Atakura (Walker, 1984, p. 34).

Increasing the number of Maori teachers at secondary schools was central to forwarding Maori education. At a Maori Education Development Conference in 1984, W. Renwick, the Director General of Education, promoted that "One of the main ways of building respect for Taha Maori is to change the composition of the teaching profession" (1984, p. 8). To a certain extent, the dramatic increase of Maori teachers did serve to legitimate Maori language and culture in secondary schools. Visible signs reflecting the emphasis on Taha Maori appeared in the form of bi-lingual school signage, Maori arts and designs strategically placed in key parts of the school, the establishment of school marae or whare wananga, and so on. While there were some major shifts towards the incorporation of Maori language and cultural practices in some schools, it was the commitment and passion of the Maori teachers and Maori families (with the support of others in the school) who were pivotal in progressing these developments. In most cases, however, Pakeha teachers continued 'business as usual', the responsibility for advancing Taha Maori fell on their Maori colleagues. From the outset through to the implementation, Maori teachers entering the secondary school teaching profession were expected to provide cultural knowledge, share their cultural expertise and act as cultural conduits for the students.

Maori in 'mainstream' secondary schools today

The initial influx of Maori as language teachers into secondary schools could have been the start of a trend to increase the number of Maori teachers. In 1984 Rewick boasted

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that 6.8% of secondary school teachers were Maori and Pasific Island teachers⁸ (Renwick, 1984, p. 9). However, twenty years later, despite various recruitment campaigns, the number of Maori entering the teaching profession, generally, remains the same. In 2005 Maori teachers make up 7.25% (and Pasifika 1.96%) of all secondary school teachers⁹ (Long, 2005). The most recent profile of Maori teachers produced by New Zealand Council for Education Research (NZCER) in 2003 from a survey of 566 teachers (representing around 47% of all Maori teachers) show that more than half of all Maori teachers work in school with high Maori populations (more than 30%)¹⁰ and a third teach in low socio-economic decile 1-2 schools¹¹ (NZCER, 2003, p. 24). Although only 42% of the Maori teachers surveyed, teach te reo Maori as a subject option (NZCER, 2003, p. 24), 68% have some responsibility for cultural teaching, such as kapa haka, at school (NZCER, 2003, p. 25). In addition, 59% of Maori teachers are also involved in the counseling of Maori students (NZCER, 2003, p. 25). The results of the survey (NZCER, 2003) confirm that Maori teachers are still heavily involved in teaching Maori language and culture and/or working with Maori students.

In contrast to the stagnant numbers of Maori teachers in secondary schools, the numbers of Maori students, continues to increase. Presently, Māori students make up 16.9% of secondary school students (Ministry of Education, 2004b, p. 106). Demographic reports predict the Māori population will increase 27.9% in less than twenty years (Ministry of Education 2004a, p. 11). By 2020 Maori students are expected to account for more than one third (35%) of the secondary school population (Ministry of Education, 2003, p. 8). However, the high numbers of Māori is not a new phenomena to many secondary schools around the country. Regions with high Māori population density already have a higher proportion of Māori students at secondary school. In 1999, the Ministry of Education recorded that in areas such as the Far North, Whakatane, Gisborne and Ruapehu districts

⁸ At this time it was common for Maori and 'Pacific Islanders' (peoples mainly from the Pacific Islands of Samoa, Tonga, Niue, Cook Island, Tokelau, and Fiji) to be grouped together for statistical and policy purposes.

⁹ These statistics include Maori (and Pasifika) teachers in Kura Kaupapa Maori and kaupapa Maori programmes such as immersion, bi-lingual and whanau schools, classes and groupings.

¹⁰ NZCER, 2003, p.x

¹¹ In contrast only 5% worked in decile 9-10 schools (NZCER, 2003, p. 24)..

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Māori students make up half of the school rolls (Ministry of Education, 2001, p. 8). In Kawerau, Opotiki and Wairoa Māori students make up approximately three quarters of the school roll. As the Maori student population continues to increase, the small number of Maori teachers becomes more apparent.

It is not only the stark difference between the numbers of Maori teachers and Maori students that calls for more Maori teachers, the serious issue of poor levels of Māori underachievement at secondary school continues to be of paramount concern and is central in the discussion about the role of Māori teachers. The disproportionate rate of Māori underachievement is widely known and has been explicitly documented since the 1960 Hunn Report. The most recent educational statistics continue to show negative Maori outcomes in secondary schools. In 2002, 38.3% of Maori boys and 31.8% of Maori girls left secondary school without any formal qualification¹² (Ministry of Education, 2004a, p. 114). At the other end of the achievement ladder, Māori were under represented. At the other end of the achievement ladder, Māori were under represented. In 2002, 3.1% of Maori boys and 4.6% of Maori girls achieved University Bursary¹³, in contrast 19.5 % non Maori boys and 25.4 of non-Maori girls achieved the same qualification in that year (Ministry of Education, 2004a, p 114).

'Effective Teaching' of Maori students

At present in New Zealand, the Ministry of Education is promoting 'effective teaching' as one of the key ways to intervene in the negative outcomes experienced by Maori students at secondary schools. Various reports have recently produced include; 'evidence-based' research of the top ten characteristics of 'quality teaching' for 'diverse learners' (Alton-Lee, 2003); the profiles of 'effective teachers' in low decile and multicultural schools (Hawke, 1996) and; professional development programmes that

¹² Included in this figure are students who gained less than 14 credits at Level (Ministry of Education, 2004a, p. 114)

¹³ University Bursary was the university entrance exam sat in the final year of secondary school. University Bursary has now been replaced by NCEA Level 3.

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encourage teachers to better serve Maori students (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003). Discourses of 'effective teaching' collaborate with the renewed focus on the importance of the teacher to foreground pedagogical practices.

In relation to the 'effective teaching' of Maori secondary students, the research report 'Te Kotahitanga: The experiences of year 9 and 10 Maori students in mainstream classrooms' (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and Richardson, 2003), is most relevant here. In short, the project compared the discourses generated by narratives from Maori students', parents', teachers' and principals' about the influences on Maori students' educational achievement. Based on an analysis of these discourses, a special in-service professional development programme was developed. Based on an interventionist approach that begins with teachers to critically reflecting on their own deficit theorisation of Maori students educational achievement, teachers are exposed to a 'discursive' mode of pedagogy that includes an 'effective teaching profile' (based on Maori cultural concepts) and co-constructivist type activities. The results of the 'Te Kotahitanga' research collated and analysed so far, show positive results. Maori students academic engagement improved, Maori student work completion levels increased, there were higher rates of Maori student attendance and short term achievement rose (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and Richardson, 2003, p. 195).

While the results of the 'Te Kotahitanga' project are praiseworthy and 'effective teaching' measures will no doubt improve Maori achievement (even if it is a minor improvement), Maori cultural aspirations in education and Maori teachers are largely excluded from these discourses.

Maori educational aspirations include Maori teachers

Te Kohanga Reo (Maori early childhood language nests) begun in 1982, marked the beginning of a mass movement of Maori to reclaim and revitalize Maori language and culture. Maori commitment to kaupapa Maori educational initiatives reflected the desire

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for Maori knowledge, values and beliefs to be accessible in and through the education system. Although there is less than 15% of Maori children presently attending kaupapa Maori schools or programmes, Maori in the 'mainstream' still want and have a right to access to Maori language and culture. The AIMHI report (Hawke, 1996) sampled 100 Maori parents and found that they were clear about what they wanted schooling to deliver. The report states:

Maori are tangata whenua and as a foundation culture of Aotearoa, parents want to be supported by our education system. There has been a clear call from these parents for a return of their children to Maori cultural values and beliefs in order to provide a base to rebuild self esteem, self image, confidence, pride, an ethnic and personal identity...Parents are clear that there has to be an emphasis on stronger programmes of teaching and learning Maori language, knowledge, traditions, values and beliefs. (Hawke, 1996 p. 4).

Maori parents also expressed a level of distrust about the education system itself (including research) and were frustrated with the lack of inclusion of Maori language, culture and issues at school and the non-recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi and tangata whenua status. The often quoted Maori educational goals, first articulated by Prof. Mason Durie at Hui Taumata Matauranga¹⁴ in 2001, sum up Maori aspirations for education. These are:

To live as Maori
To actively participate as citizens of the world
To enjoy good health and a high standard of living (Durie, 2001, pp. 4, 5)

Integral to achieving these goals, and fulfilling the wishes of Maori parents (as documented in the aforementioned AIMHI report), are Maori teachers.

The importance of Maori teachers to the Maori community is further evidenced in Sheridan McKinley's (2000) study, in which she asked teachers, principals and *whanau* to identify what they would change for the betterment of Maori children in schools if they possessed a 'magic wand'. One of the five most popular choices was 'to have more

¹⁴ The *Hui Taumata Matauranga* follows in the tradition of *hui* (meetings) that examine *Maori* development held in *Turangi* since 1853. Today the *Hui Taumata Matauranga* is an annual meeting to discuss specifically issues of education (Durie, 2001).

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Maori teachers, both Maori speaking and non-Maori speaking' (p. 110). Maori people view Maori teachers as being integral to the success of Maori students in schools.

Maori teachers are not only necessary in schools because, as the Ministry of Education acknowledges, they provide role models for Maori students. Rather, Maori teachers are able to inculcate Maori culture in their teaching. They possess the linguistic and cultural knowledge that Maori parents want their students to access at school. In addition Maori teachers bring their ethnic and cultural knowledge, skills and understandings to the 'work' they do as teachers. A pedagogy that cannot be reduced to strategies or techniques that amount to 'effective teaching', but an approach that influences all spheres of who they are and what they do as teachers. Maori teachers not only enable Maori children to 'live as Maori' at school, but are responsible for teaching and exploring what it means 'to be Maori'. Through Maori teachers, Maori students can learn to 'live as Maori' as opposed to a 'live and let live' approach of someone who 'happens to be Maori'.

It is important to clarify here, that not all Maori teachers can be considered culturally connected. Many Maori teachers are not culturally confident or fluent in Maori language, neither may they be particularly interested in advancing Maori educational goals. It is disturbing that the 'Te Kotahitanga' research found that Maori teachers are just as likely to hold 'deficit' views of Maori children as their non-Maori counterparts. Therefore, the Maori teachers I am referring to as 'cultural conduits' are those teachers committed to kaupapa Maori education. Maori teachers who want to make a difference to Maori educational achievement, including Maori cultural competence. I do not assume that these Maori teachers I have characterized are automatically 'effective teachers', all teacher can improve the art and craft of teaching. I argue, however, that Maori teachers are necessary in the creation of cultural sustainability, a crucial Maori educational aspiration.

Conclusion

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Throughout the history of Maori teachers participation in state schooling in New Zealand, they have been viewed by officials and Maori alike, first and foremost, as **Maori** teachers. Whether their cultural knowledge has been valued or actively devalued (through assimilation policies) in schools, Maori teachers have continued to act as advocates of Maori culture and Maori students.

As Kura Kaupapa Maori reach a milestone in Maori education providing a legitimate schooling option in Maori language and based on a Maori philosophical and conceptual curriculum, Maori in the 'mainstream' continue to assert their rights to access Maori culture in schools. This paper has sought to foreground the importance of Maori teachers in secondary schools lest they be subsumed by discourses such as 'effective teaching' that neglects the 'work' they do satisfy the goals of Maori education. This paper also serves to remind Maori teachers of the expectations of Maori students, families and communities of their role as teachers 'who are Maori. For Maori teachers working in the 'mainstream' its often a risky business, yet the responsibility of teaching of Maori language and culture is not diminished if we are to fulfill the educational aspirations of our people not only for social, economic stability but cultural sustainability.

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Glossary

ako	Māori pedagogy
hapu	sub-tribe
hui	gathering
iwi	tribe
Kohanga Reo	Early childhood Māori language nest
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Maori language immersion and philosophically based primary school
mōteatea	traditional Māori song
ngāhere	bush
Papatuanuku	Earth Mother
powhiri	Maori welcome ceremony
pū	base or foundation
pūrākau	stories
rākau	trees
take	reason or topic
taha hinengaro	intellectual side
taha tinana	physical side
taha wairua	spiritual side
taha whānau	social side
tino rangatiratanga	self determination
whakapapa	genealogies
whaikōrero	speech making
whakatauki	proverbs
whānau	family
Wharekura	Kaupapa Māori secondary school
Wānanga	Maori university

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