Lessons for Teachers through Intergenerational Māori Experiences in Aotearoa's Education System

A thesis

submitted in partial fulfilment

of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Education

at

The University of Waikato

by

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2021

Abstract

The intention of this research is to serve as professional development for myself and fellow teachers who work with *tamariki Māori* (Māori children) within mainstream education contexts in Aotearoa. This research explores historical factors that have contributed to the academic disparities of Māori including colonisation, the doctrine of discovery and contention over the differing versions of the Treaty of Waitangi. This research then shifts from holding the coloniser at the centre of the narrative to positioning Māori at the centre as exemplary examples of relentless Māori resistance. More contemporary examples of educational policies are then presented and analysed as an attempt to better understand these contexts.

What is blatantly clear through the exploration of educational policies throughout Aotearoa's post-colonial history is the absence of Māori voice. For this reason, the findings of this thesis are centred on the voices of four wāhine Māori (Māori Women), across three generations, and their experiences with different teachers through Aotearoa's education system.

These stories provide invaluable lessons for all educators in Aotearoa.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost I acknowledge the four wāhine Māori who so graciously gave me their time and shared their educational experiences with me. I left our conversations inspired and it is my hope that I have done your stories justice through this written work. I consider your stories taonga from which we, as teachers, can all learn.

Next, I would like to acknowledge my supervisor Mere Berryman. Your relentless work for equity for tamariki Māori in Aotearoa has inspired me throughout my teaching career and I have been incredibly honoured to have your constant support and encouragement throughout this journey. Thank you.

To my Mother and Father, Throughout this journey I drew on the values you instilled in me of hard work and unapologetically standing up for what I believe in, it is in this way that you have both been part of this journey- -*Moe mai rā*

To my brother Scott, as I wrote this thesis, you battled for your life, won, then learnt to walk again. Despite the arduous challenges that lay ahead of you, you continued to consistently offer me support and encouragement in my studies. Although my teina, in many ways it is me that looks up to you.

To my husband Erwin who encouraged me and so often insisted on holding the domestic fort while encouraging me to write. Your calming nature, encouragement and belief in me kept me going. Vinaka va levu.

Lastly and most importantly to my beautiful children Mikayla and Kelevi. You are my reason why. I will continue to do my part to ensure that you are able to navigate your educational journeys proudly as Māori, and as Fijian.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Research Intent

This research serves as a learning opportunity for those who like myself, teach tamariki Māori within mainstream contexts. Within the intergenerational personal narratives of these participants are invaluable lessons that can inform our practice as teachers. For too long Māori have been told by non-Māori what is best for us in terms of education. This has occurred through recurrent Eurocentric curriculum policy and separate schooling systems founded on non-Māori assumptions of how we learn best. Within these assumptions is a clear absence of our voice. Bishop and Berryman (2013) address this absence in their book *"Culture Speaks"* which was presented through the voices of their research participants. I have sought to capture the voices of four Māori participants across three different generations to provide a Māori-informed position for reducing Māori educational disparities within education. What I have learned in relation to improving my professional practice can also be used by others.

Professional Context

I write from the context of a primary school teacher at a semi-rural mainstream school. Out of the 400 students in our school, 77 identify as Māori. For years I led Māori achievement in our school and sought to implement different approaches to reduce academic disparities between Māori and non-Māori. Our most recent report from the Education Review Office (ERO) (2017), states that "The school is not responding effectively to Māori children whose learning and achievement need acceleration." Admittedly this was something I already knew, my attempts at making change school-wide had been surface level at best. However, seeing this fact affirmed in writing was the cause of a significant amount of self-reflection. To me, this statement was clear and indisputable evidence of professional failure on my part. I knew I needed to do more and to do this, I knew I needed to learn more. This began the start of my journey to further my education with a focus on educational achievement for Māori.

Personal Education Context

My passion for this Kaupapa also stems from my own educational experiences and the positive change that being in a culturally responsive environment had on my own academic achievement. For the final two years of high school, I was taught in a Māori immersion unit for various classes and ventured into the mainstream for others. While at this school, I was in an environment where I experienced *whanaungatanga* (a relational environment) and *manaakitanga* (to be cared for). My Māori culture was woven through my learning experiences in a way that was organic and meaningful.

Prior to this schooling experience, I always felt somewhat misplaced. I was unaware at the time of the role that colonisation and assimilation had played in this. Despite having a Māori mother and a part Tongan father, with the exception of the occasional trip to Rotorua for tangi, Māori and Pasifika language and culture were absent from the childhood of my brother and I. Prior to this educational experience, I never quite felt Māori enough to deserve to identify as such though I never quite felt completely Pākehā either. I was only able to work through these cultural identity issues when I was finally able to connect to my Māori culture in my shift to a new school at Year 12.

My reports from my previous high school described me as quietly spoken, and someone who struggled to retain information. In this new culturally responsive and authentic environment these comments were replaced with adjectives such as lively and outgoing. My teachers would now speak to me of my potential and refer to me as clever. This experience has influenced my passion to help other Māori students. I have evidence in the form of my own lived experience that improving the current educational outcomes for tamariki Māori is absolutely possible. I also learned from personal experience and as a result of the many influential Pākehā teachers that I also had at this school, that you do not need to be Māori to help make a difference.

Rationale

Educational achievement disparities between Māori and non-Māori students is an issue in *Aotearoa* (New Zealand) that is both systemic and enduring. In reading the Ministry of Education's (2020) annual report, Māori students are shown to have the highest rates of absenteeism and the highest rates of leaving school without attaining the National

Certificate of Education Achievement (NCEA) level qualifications. According to the 2019's Annual Report, Māori aged between 25-64 have the second-highest rate of adults without formal education in Aotearoa with those of Pacific Island descent coming first (Ministry of Education, 2019).

Every three years the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) carries out international research comparing how well school systems around the world perform and prepare students for life after school. In countries participating in PISA, randomly selected groups of 15-year-olds are selected for analysis. In 2018, data from 6,200 students, from 194 different high schools in Aotearoa, were collated as part of this research. The research showed that Aotearoa had one of the largest achievement gaps between our top 10% of students and our bottom 10%. This is compared to other top-performing countries. This gap between our top-performing students and our lowest is evidence that although the quality of our education is high our education system is one of low equity. The Ministry of Education's reports on PISA's findings (May et al., 2019) also shows large gaps between socio-economically advantaged and disadvantaged students with Māori students and students from the Pacific Islands having lower average achievement. Within this study, Socio-economically advantaged students also reported higher academic support as well as more engaging and adaptive instruction from their teachers. (May et al., 2019).

The United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF) is an international agency working to improve the educational and health outcomes of children. UNICEF's research centre "Innocenti" conducts annual research aimed to improve the understanding and outcomes of children's rights. This is done by monitoring and comparing the performance of economically advanced countries and presenting their findings in what is called "The Innocenti Report Card" (UNICEF, 2020). In this report card, Aotearoa ranks 35th out of 41 countries in child well-being outcomes which include mental well-being, physical health, and skills. Alarmingly, Aotearoa has the second highest youth suicide rates in the developed world (UNICEF, 2020).

Bishop (2011) contends that "Given a different set of relationships we could have seen Māori people being full participants in the emerging economy and society of the new nation instead of marginalised and minoritised" (p.10). Bishop's reflection relates to Ladson-

Billing's (2006) idea of there being a metaphorical parallel between a nation's fiscal debt and what she terms education debt. The education debt is what is owed to indigenous people as a result of inequality and injustice. I believe the education debt owed to our Māori learners is the difference between the disparities for Māori we see today and what could have been if their land and other means for maintaining successful lives had not been deliberately stripped away by colonisation.

Durie (2003) discusses the link between poor educational experiences and poor life quality stating that a successful education "lays down the groundwork for a healthy lifestyle and a career with an income adequate enough to provide a high standard of living" (p.352). The consequences of having a poor quality education illustrate the urgent need for something to be done about this. The significance of this research includes an attempt of responding more effectively to the education debt that is owed to our ākonga (students) Māori who deserve much better.

This thesis contains six chapters. The first being a literature review that outlines my research questions and investigates the current literature pertaining to these questions. The next discusses the methods through which I gathered, collated, and presented the findings and made ethical considerations. The following chapter introduces the participants and the educational time frame through which their experiences are located. I then present these findings through the voices of the participants themselves. This thesis concludes by discussing these findings and linking back to relevant literature.

Research Question

My research question is:

What can the intergenerational voices of those who believe they have succeeded in education as Māori teach us in relation to raising the academic achievement and cultural identity of Māori, as Māori?

The term "as Māori" is taken from the document Ka Hikitia (Ministry of Education, 2013) meaning that, Māori students' culture is respected, valued, and embedded throughout their educational experiences. I wish to capture the experiences, voices, and stories of Māori,

who through a range of intergenerational timeframes and a range of educational settings within Aotearoa, believe they have had positive and successful educational experiences, as Māori.

My sub-questions involve asking participants to consider:

What specific examples or stories can you tell me that illustrate your positive experience?

What do you think other teachers could learn from your schooling experiences?

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter investigates published literature pertaining to academic achievement disparities for Māori. It begins by illustrating the already established and successful systems for learning that tangata whenua (original inhabitants of the land) had in place prior to the arrival of European powers. I then illustrate the educational policies over time that have attributed to the Education crisis we are faced with today; the poor educational outcomes for Māori. I conclude by highlighting examples of relentless resistance and the nobility of the outstanding Māori leaders who have spearheaded these examples of resistance.

Te Ao Māori Historical Pathway

Prior to European arrival, *Te Ao Māori* (The Māori world) consisted of thriving communities centred around *whānau* (family). This was a communal lifestyle with each whānau unit often consisting of three generations. *Kaumātua* (elder men) and *Kuia* (elder women) sat at the head of these respective whānau units and played a significant role in the raising and educating of their *mokopuna* (grandchildren) (Walker, 2004; Hemara, 2000).

For Māori, education started in utero as *oriori* (ancient lullaby) and *moteatea* (stories as songs) were sung to babies while in the womb. Although oriori are often translated in English as lullabies this translation fails to encapsulate the depth of cultural knowledge that sits within them. *Taonga tuku iho* (precious treasure passed down) are an authentic form of education where the knowledge of elders is regarded with deep respect to be passed down through generations. Oriori and moteatea contain ancient stories of *whakapapa* (genealogy) and *purakau* (stories) (Walker, 2004; Hemara,2000).

Walker (2004) provides rightful warnings for reading Māori history objectively. This is due to the many instances where Māori history has been recorded through a Eurocentric, colonial and at times, patriarchal lens. Walker (2004) suggests that balancing what we read within these accounts against the extensive ancient Māori knowledge that can be found within oriori and moteatea will help us to acquire a more accurate version of Indigenous "truths".

Berryman (2008) describes the communal nature of learning within traditional Māori society. Learning was not something that was done individually for oneself but instead something done for the greater good of wider whānau, iwi, hapū, and thus the wider society. According to Berryman (2008) everyone had their responsibility to learn though no one was expected to learn everything. Decisions around who would complete a particular task would usually be made by the elders of the group and this decision would be based on whomever they deemed to hold the most relevant knowledge and experience to complete the task.

Distributive leadership was an integral part of traditional Māori life which was true also within the context of deciding on who would learn what within a community. For some selected students this meant that their learning would take place in *whare wānanga* (houses of learning) (Berryman, 2008). There is uncertainty if these whare wānanga were physical structures or metaphors for the locations in which higher learning took place; I suggest they were probably both. Through these wānanga the skills of learners were fostered and taught as the knowledge of those more experienced was passed down (Walker, 2004; Hemara, 2000).

Each whare wānanga consisted of specialist skills including carving, building houses and waka, and traditional healing. Examples of higher learning are also recorded of individuals referred to as *tohunga ahurewa* (high priests), who would attend whare wānanga. Ahurewa would meet in the winter months over seven years, specialising in their craft and honing their skills (Walker, 2004). Whare wānanga would foster *tohunga* (revered experts in a particular field) and would help to retain the thriving communities of Te Ao Māori by ensuring that skills needed to contribute effectively to the community were fostered and valued.

Doctrine of Discovery

The end of the 15th century saw the commencement of the colonial era although this did not touch upon the shores of Aotearoa for some time yet. The extraction of wealth accumulated by way of conquest of America, Asia, and Africa paved a smooth path to rising power and saw capitalism become a worldwide system. Capitalism not only allowed a quick rise to power but also prevented any competitors to follow suit (Consedine and Consedine, 2012).

Stokes as cited in Ford (2020) describes colonisation as taking place in three sequential parts. The first being exploration and infiltration, the second being invasion and dispossession, and finally the consolidation of immigrant settlement.

The Catholic church played a key role in the deliberate dispossession of Indigenous lands through colonisation. Further control and power were able to be accumulated under the guise of evangelism. Various Roman Catholic Popes created a worldwide jurisdiction of Papal Bulls allowing the discovery and acquisition of "new lands". The Doctrine of Discovery was one such law that allowed European powers to take the land of Indigenous peoples. Land could be taken "legitimately" when European powers perceived there were no systems of authority or political or Christian organisations present in the "new world" (Consedine and Consedine, 2012; Ford, 2020). Support from the church was given to European powers to invade the land in return for the Catholic Church being able to "convert the natives" to Christianity (Consedine and Consedine, 2012, p.67). Jackson (2012) states that "The doctrine of discovery opened up the bodies and souls of indigenous peoples to a colonising gaze which only saw them as inferior, subordinate, and in fact, less human than them" (p.1). Captain Cook brought colonisation to Aotearoa in 1769 by claiming the land under the Doctrine of Discovery for King George III. Colonisation was quick to take hold as settlers from Europe soon began arriving looking for land and a new lifestyle. The Coloniser created the legal infrastructure that allowed for this to happen.

Declaration of Independence

In 1834 Busby assembled what he called The Confederation of United Tribes. This was an attempt to unite all Māori tribes to work together as one. The following year in October 1835 Busby held a *hui* (meeting) for this group. At this hui, he organised what was called the Declaration of Independence. This declaration assured sovereign independence for Māori asserting that all power would lie exclusively and entirely with Māori chiefs independent of European Powers (Wright, 2019).

A problem with this was that Eurocentric ideals were being pushed upon Māori with the inclusion of a flag and the use of the name *Nu Tirini* (A transliteration for New Zealand). Before European arrival, the Māori political systems were in the form of hapū, where several whānau groups functioned independently from each other. Placing all tribes under

one group disrupted this already established structure also stripping Māori of autonomy over how their political systems could work in ways that reflected Māori autonomy (Wright, 2019). Had Māori had more power, ownership, and voice within the creation of such declarations perhaps there would have been more success. The Treaty that followed gave even more power to the Crown.

Te Tiriti

The *Herald* with William Hobson on board arrived at Kororareka on Wednesday, 29th January, 1840. Hobson, nervous, due to having no legal training was ordered with the task of writing the Treaty. Hobson received input from missionaries and had help from his secretary to create initial notes. James Busby, in reading these notes decided they were insufficient and offered to take on the task of drafting the Treaty himself (Orange, 2015).

Missionary Henry Williams, with the help of his son, Edward, created the Māori version of the Treaty, now known as Te Tiriti o Waitangi on the evening of Tuesday the 4th of February 1840. (Orange, 2015; Wright, 2019). Current understandings of the events that followed come from the diaries and letters written by people present at hui in Waitangi. Wright (2019), warns that what was recorded in these letters and diaries are often summaries of events as opposed to verbatim accounts. He also warns that the way history is presented is often dependent on the historical context within which respective historians have written. Important to consider also, is whose side of the story has been privileged and therefore allowed publication?

On February 5[th,] 1840, there was much deliberation and discussion around the Treaty. A large gathering took place on the expansive lawn of Busby's home. An enormous marquee made from the sails of the *Herald* dominated this lawn. The sun was said to be shining and there was a festival feel to the affair. Proceedings moved from Busby's house to the marque where five hours of discussion took place. The discussions began with Hobson briefly addressing Europeans then turning to speak to Māori while Henry Williams translated. Hobson's speech ended with him reading the English version of the Treaty then handing it over to Williams to read the version written in Te Reo Māori. William's translation included a small speech where he addressed Māori attendees and described the Treaty as being a gift of love from Queen Victoria (Orange, 2015).

After these initial speeches, much debate ensued. Many Māori expressed their concern about what this Treaty may mean for their land and freedom to make decisions about the land. Māori were certainly not unanimous in whether or not they should sign the Treaty. After approximately five hours, a chief pretended to be in handcuffs while attempting a British accent. This drew laughter from both parties and was considered to be an ideal end to the hui. Both parties agreed to meet again on Friday (Orange, 2013; Wright, 2019). Māori stayed that Wednesday night with more discussion concerning the Treaty. Though it is unclear what exactly was said that night, by Thursday morning many Māori chiefs wanted to sign immediately instead of waiting until Friday as previously planned.

Due to the impromptu and therefore somewhat informal nature of this early meeting, Hobson declared that he would only be accepting signatures and there would be no discussion. The Māori version of the Treaty was read out once more. Bishop Pompallier interrupted to include religious freedom though this was not written/included as part of the Treaty. Just as prominent Māori chief Hone Heke was about to sign, William Colenso expressed his concern that perhaps Māori may not adequately understand what they were agreeing to. Hobson brushed off these concerns explaining that he had done the best that he could, and if there was still a lack of understanding then the fault did not lie with him. The chiefs then proceeded to sign (Orange, 2013; Wright, 2019).

Ford (2020) contends that four English versions of the Treaty existed. There was only one copy in Te Reo Māori and this version did not semantically match or align with the sense making of any of those in English. It has been said that the Māori version, known as Te Tiriti o Waitangi was a derivative of one of the versions in English. However, the locality of this parent document remains unknown. The illusiveness of this parent document led to suspicion that missionary Henry Williams may have altered some of the English words in translation with the agenda of making the Treaty seem more attractive to potential Māori signatories (Ford, 2020). For example, Orange (1987) discusses the way that the Māori version of the Treaty promised Tino Rangatiratanga which was understood by Māori as meaning total control over fisheries and forests as well as control over all their land. Orange further contends that the English versions were not specific about what Māori would have control over. The Māori version included the word "kawanatanga" which Māori understood as governance to the Queen but they retained control over their lands. The English versions,

however, used the word sovereignty which gave Britain total control of the land, thus putting them in the dominant position.

Following this signing, in February the Treaty was taken around Aotearoa to get more Māori to sign (Orange, 2013; Wright, 2019). Wright (2019) highlights the growing concern by 1842 that due to them not signing, there may be Māori who feel that the Treaty did not apply to them. For this reason, the "government deemed that all Māori were under crown authority" (Wright, 2019, p. 120). Wright (2019) draws parallels between the shared understandings of the Treaty and the physical journey that the document itself has been through. The Treaty was nearly destroyed in a fire in 1842, it was lost in the parliamentary basement until 1908 and was lost once more to then be rediscovered later in the 20th century torn and partially eaten by rats. On this final rediscovery, it was then preserved. The differing use of terms and their meanings used in both versions of the Treaty has continued to make mutual agreements between Māori and the crown especially difficult. The Treaty and how it is interpreted continues to play out in policy and education to this day.

Colonisation and Assimilation

Milne (2017) describes schooling as one of the "most powerful tools" (p.10) used by colonisers to assimilate Māori into European culture. An educational breach of the Treaty of Waitangi took place in the form of The Education Ordinance in 1847, only seven years after the Treaty's signing. This was an example of blatant dismissal of the Treaty of Waitangi's principle of partnership. The agenda of The Education Ordinance was to assimilate Māori through the Education system. The act itself was entitled "An Ordinance for Promoting the Education of Youth in the Colony of New Zealand" (Controller and Auditor General, 2012). The use of the word colony already in use, blatantly suggesting total European power over Aotearoa.

In 1852 the "New Zealand Constitution Act" was enforced and as such created Aotearoa's first Parliament. Māori land was communally owned and as voting was based on an individual title to land Māori were effectively excluded from political power. A far cry from the Treaty's promise of equal participation and protection. Native districts were created meaning parts of Aotearoa could be governed by Māori rule though settler governments refused to acknowledge these (Consedine and Consedine, 2012). The end of the 1850s saw

substantial Pākehā population growth. All Pākehā entering Aotearoa were expecting land yet were faced with increasing resistance from Māori. Settlers were now becoming a majority thus making the preservation of, *Te Reo Māori* (The Māori language), land, and Māori cultural knowledge more difficult for Māori to use and therefore retain (Consedine and Consedine, 2012).

1816 saw the opening of the first Mission School in Aotearoa. The purpose of these schools was to assimilate Māori and to convert Māori to Christianity. Te Reo Māori was the initial language of instruction in these schools. It could be argued that the purpose of this was to quicken the assimilation and conversion process without having to first teach a new language (Controller and Auditor General, 2012). In 1862, in line with the Doctrines of Discovery, it was positioned that Māori were not mentally capable to cope within a mainstream education system and that Māori were more suited to manual labour (Controller and Auditor General, 2012). This decision is an example of Darwinian racialised hierarchies inherent in the Doctrines of Discovery. Through Te Kotahitanga, Bishop and Berryman (2013), highlight the fact that deficit thinking towards Māori is still prevalent in schools today. The pathologising of Māori is deeply embedded and as will be shown through the younger voices of participants in this study, is still prevalent in education today.

In 1863 the New Zealand Settlements Act allowed land to be taken from any Māori who were perceived to be in rebellion to the crown. Approximately 1.3 million hectares of land were confiscated by way of this Act. Consedine and Consedine (2012) describe the way that lessons learned through the colonisation of previous countries were then replicated in Aotearoa. With Aotearoa being one of the last countries to be colonised, European Powers had assimilation practices well figured out. The New Zealand Settlements act is an example of what was implemented in previous countries of conquest. Those perceived to be in rebellion or resisting the power of the colonisers would be faced with the confiscation of their land and even death (Consedine and Consedine, 2012).

A Hierarchy of Races

Eley and Berryman (In press.) contend that the establishment of Aotearoa's formal education system was underpinned by beliefs inherent and explicit in the Doctrines of Discovery akin to Social Darwinism or a hierarchy of races. The hierarchy of races was the

belief that some races were superior to other races with Europeans being the most superior of all. It was believed by Darwin that through natural selection the more superior races would triumph over the races considered less intellectually and morally adept. A theory of the hierarchy of races was becoming prevalent, aspects of this becoming known in the 1870's as "Social Darwinism" (Williams, 2000).

This belief underpinned the educational policies of this time. Many ideas based on these theories were included in educational textbooks and compulsory reading texts such as school journals. The inclusion of these ideas within Aotearoa's education system asserted these theories as facts. Through Aotearoa's education system, Māori children learned that the coloniser's beliefs and ways of being in the world were superior to their own (Eley and Berryman, in press).

The Banning of Te Reo Māori

In the early 1900s, the banning of Te Reo Māori within schools was strongly enforced by way of corporal punishment. Edwards (1990) describes her experiences attending a Native School, she writes of the way she was caned for speaking Te Reo Māori. Edwards (1990) also describes the way she was unsure of how to say "I need to go to the lavatory" in English so was forced to choose between wetting her pants or being caned again. This example is included as it exemplifies the way that not only did the learning and culture of *tamariki Māori* (Māori children) suffer, so too did their dignity and self-esteem.

The corporal punishment for speaking Te Reo Māori is an explicit example of which language was superior through education in Aotearoa. Explicit examples of cultural erasure were apparent as *ākonga Māori* (Māori students) were stripped of their spiritual beliefs through the agenda of evangelisation and were unable to speak their language or express their culture. According to Bartholomew (2020) acts such as these played out as racism when ākonga Māori in Pukekohe were only allowed to use the swimming bath on the last day of the week just before it is cleaned and re-filled. These powerful messages negatively impact self-esteem and the way ākonga view themselves as Māori. Robbins, (2018) discusses what he refers to as "internalised racism". This being where these racist messages become so engrained that people belonging to the discriminated group start to believe themselves to be inferior and resent being a part of their own race as a result. These

examples of blatant racism created and perpetuated internalised racism for ākonga Māori. Although such practices have been abolished this is not to say that racism no longer exists. A more covert example of racism is alive and well in the education system today. Carpenter (2011) discusses what he refers to as the "Hidden Curriculum", this being the content students learn at school that is not taught explicitly. For example, what ākonga Māori learn about where they "fit" into learning and therefore schooling, through selection into the top and bottom reading groups at primary and then through streaming at secondary, may well be a part of this Hidden Curriculum. Internalised racism therefore, is a by-product of both explicit teaching and the Hidden Curriculum.

The Hunn Report

In 1960, the government published what is now known as the "Hunn Report". This report was written by the then Minister of Māori Affairs, J.K Hunn. According to Macfarlane (2015), the report provided a "quantitative analysis of the educational disparities experienced by Māori at that time" (p. 178). In 1961, the Māori Synod of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand published a book in response to the "Hunn Report" entitled "A Māori View of the Hunn Report". Embedded within this response, is the concern that this report intended to further assimilate Māori under the guise of "integration". Their response (Hunn & Māori Synod of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1961) stated that "While we are willing to join with the Pākehā in becoming New Zealanders we have no desire what so ever to become Pākehās [sic]. (p.10)

An Absence of our History

Despite the significant impact the history outlined above had on Māori and the many hectares and lives that were taken through colonisation, Aotearoa's history of such acts continues to be absent from the New Zealand Curriculum Framework and education policies in Aotearoa. While teachers could have brought this into the curriculum and taught it, the vast majority did not. For example, in my own schooling experience, apart from the brief mention of the Treaty every February at the start of the school year, the history of Aotearoa was not taught. This absence continued through my undergraduate teacher training. I was able to receive my teaching degree and walk into my first classroom as a teacher oblivious to much of the history of the very sector I was entering. The first time I heard the term

"Doctrine of Discovery" was in a postgraduate Māori Education paper at University as a 33 year old.

At present, within the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Ministry of Education, 2007) it is not compulsory to teach Aotearoa History. Many of us, through Aotearoa's schooling system were taught about the Crusades and Apartheid and our own History was not taught. Peters (2015) interviewed Michael Apple who refers to "mentioning" as where it is considered enough to merely "mention" the culture and the history of those who are considered to be the "other". Apple then goes on to describe the way that these "mentions" are often placed as somewhat of an afterthought, at the back of documents or as an "add on". History is incorporated within the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (NZCF) as part of the Social Sciences strand and is listed at the very end of this section. Aotearoa's History then is merely "mentioned" as an add-on within the NZCF (Ministry of Education, 2007).

To truly make a change for our *tamariki* (children) in terms of educational disparities, it is important that all New Zealanders know our history and understand the deep implications that colonisation and assimilation have had for Māori and how this has created deeply embedded systemic racism to the detriment of tamariki Māori. In addressing the audience at the annual Sir John Graham lecture, Sir Pita Sharples (Maxim Institute, 2015) stated "So I ask the question to you, why do you accept the world's history and not our own?" In Te Kete Ipurangi (n.d), Penetito states that wherever colonisation has taken place in the world, there is a shutting down of indigenous history, and in an interview with Radio New Zealand, Mere Berryman (Radio New Zealand, 2019) states that "Racism is something that we're not good at talking about in New Zealand". L.Smith, (2012) discusses the way that indigenous views of the world were considered too primitive so were therefore dismissed and kept from the narrative. Bartholomew (2020) states that "New Zealanders pride themselves on being the best if not *thee* best countries when it comes to relations with its ethnic minorities" (p.3). Freire (1972), discusses the importance of conscientisation. It is not enough to just identify the problem, we then need to do something about this. SooHoo (2004) supports this in the way they describe our ability to find problems though we are not yet skilled in the "fixing" part.

Resistance

In this section, I highlight examples of resistance by Māori in a quest to gain Mana Ōrite, the equal right to full participation in everything that was promised under the principles of the Treaty or the right to have our mana treated with equal respect. These included: protection of all things defined as being *taonga* (treasures) for Māori. Through these examples of resistance are two strong and re-occurring themes of Mana Ōrite and Whānautanga.

Mana Ōrite

Berryman et al. (2018) write of the way that the principles of the Treaty relating to relationships and partnership were defined by iwi representatives as Mana Ōritetanga. Mana Ōritetanga being a metaphor for relationships that are interdependent and maintain the responsibility to build the mana of each other.

Through the continual breaches of The Treaty of Waitangi, through the deliberate stripping away of land and culture, Mana Ōrite became more of a desire than a reality for Māori as the partnership relationships with Māori were dominated and defined by the Crown. It is important to highlight the strength of our people and the way that accepting unfair treatment was not met with silent acquiescence but was met as it continues to be met to this day, with determined resistance and enduring resilience.

Whānautanga

An important tenant of Māori resistance has been what Cranston (2018) describes as whānautanga. This is where people working towards a common goal become like a family through a shared determination as well as *manaakitanga* (caring for another) and *tautoko* (support). This next section of this review will highlight examples of resistance by Māori to reclaim Mana Ōrite through working together as a whānau. It is important to draw attention to the fact that the following examples are just a handful of a myriad of instances that have taken place and continue to take place in a quest for self-determination, Mana Ōrite, and social justice.

One of the earliest recorded examples of resistance by Māori took place in 1844. Ngāpuhi chief Hone Heke was the first to sign the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Heke, who himself became a Christian and had a positive and trusting relationship with the missionary Henry

Williams, sought his assurance that signing the Treaty would be beneficial in protecting the authority of Māori chiefs. Despite Heke being first to sign the Treaty he became disillusioned at the increasing British power, economic advancement, and control. As a display of peaceful resistance, Heke ordered the cutting down of a British flag in Kororāreka (now known more commonly as Russell). This flag was re-erected and thrice more cut down. With the final felling in 1845, signalling war between a group of Northern tribes and British Troops (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2019).

Moana Jackson (Kaiela Institute, 2018) tells another story of resistance that began when a group of Māori decided to journey to Geneva, Switzerland in 1923. This was as a result of the many breaches from the New Zealand Government against the Treaty of Waitangi. Before 1923, many expensive and time-consuming journeys to England had taken place. After World War One, the League of Nations was established in Geneva. In having no success in visiting monarchs in England, they decided to journey to Geneva. This journey to Geneva took the group four months. In eventually reaching the *Plais de Nations* (Palace of Nations) an Aotearoa representative of the League of Nations declined the group admission, informing them that they had arrived at the League of Nations and they were not deemed to be a Nation. This group then had no choice but to return home to Aotearoa. When this group returned, a kaumatua within the group was reported to have explained their fruitless return by stating that "The halls of the palace were not yet ready to hear our stories, the walls of that palace were not yet ready to hear our voice" (Kaiela Institute, 2018).

At the end of World War Two, the United Nations was established and occupied the Plais de Nations. Fifty years after the previous group had tried to enter the Plais de Nations another group of indigenous peoples, the majority of whom were from North and South America, travelled to Geneva for the same reason as our ancestors did before them; to air their grievances and tell their stories in the hope to be listened to and create change. This group, who arrived for the same reason as the 1923's journey, was turned away for the same reasons. They were not considered to be a Nation. In response to this rejection of entry, the group returned year after year until a small group within the United Nations announced that they could not continue to keep turning these indigenous peoples away year after year. As a result of this, an organisation called the Working Group on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was established. This organisation provided indigenous peoples around the world with a

place to travel to where they could share their common stories of colonial violence and dispossession of land. This group was responsible for drafting The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) an international document aimed at preserving the rights of indigenous peoples internationally (Kaiela Institute, 2018).

Yet another story of resistance began in 1858, when the Kīngitanga movement was established. According to Kīngi Tuheitia, Queen Victoria instructed Māori Chief Tamihana te Rauparaha to return to choose a King from amongst his people and it would be with this appointed King that she would converse (Maaka, 2018). The Kīngitanga movement proposed that this would be a Māori governing body that would run parallel to the New Zealand government. Settler governments however refused to accept the legitimacy of this Māori monarchy (Consedine and Consedine, 2012).

The invasion of Parihaka in 1881 is another example of peaceful non-violent resistance. As 13,000 troops invaded the Taranaki Settlement of Parihaka, Māori stood peaceful in defence. Two prominent chiefs Tohu and Te Whiti, led this resistance. Despite there being a media ban imposed, five newspaper reporters managed to gain entry and were given an empty house to observe from while remaining unseen. The reporters observed that "In the face of the troops, they [Māori] calmly chanted songs and spun tops. Behind them, groups of older girls skipping in unison made the second line of defence" (Scott, 2014, The March on Parihaka, para.3). The concealed reporters recorded that Tohu gave the following message to his people "Let none be absent. Stay where you are, even if the bayonet be put to your chest, do not resist". It was recorded that with great dignity and mana chiefs Tohu and Te Whiti stood cloaked in korowai and marched calmly to captivity. Tohu is reported to have said, "We look for peace but we find war. Be steadfast, keep to peaceful works, be not dismayed: have no fear" (Scott, 2014, The March on Parihaka, para.12).

Through these above accounts of colonisation, assimilation, dispossession, racism, and resistance, Jackson describes the "noble beauty" that sits within the sadness of these stories. "The nobility of survival, the nobility of resistance and the beauty of people who would never let their stories and their lands die" (Kaiela Institute, 2018). Despite all that has happened to the detriment of Māori this "noble beauty" is evidence that Māori should not be seen as people who stay quiet in acquiescence, silently accepting their fate. These stories

are evidence of the interminable persistence in the pursuit of self-determination by Māori, for Māori. One has to wonder why these powerful stories of resistance by Māori are less well known in our own country than the resistance stories of Ghandi in India and Nelson Mandela in South Africa for example?

Resistance in the 70s

Kaupapa Māori Movement

The 1960s and 1970s saw an emergence of international activism, this, according to Bishop (1999) coincided with post-war movements following World War Two. Ford (2020) describes the way that this time of activism saw Māori becoming more vocal, particularly in relation to the negligence of the New Zealand government of their obligations to the Treaty of Waitangi. This timeframe saw many examples of Māori resistance to inequity in Aotearoa.

In 1970, for example, The University of Auckland held a hui for young Māori leaders. After this hui, a group named *Ngā Tamatoa* (Young Warriors) was established. This group consisted of young, urban, and university-educated Māori who as a result of the continual breaches against the Treaty of Waitangi sought to influence change (Moffat-Young, 2019). Moffat-Young (2019) states that "Ngā Tamatoa was born into the core of modern Māori activism and had the Treaty at the very heart of its doctrine" (p.30). Ngā Tamatoa was also instrumental to the Land March in 1975 spearheaded by widely beloved matriarch Dame Whina Cooper. This land march started in the far north at Te Hapua, Aotearoa's most northern settlement, and ended in the government's forecourt in Wellington. The purpose of this march was to force the government to acknowledge their continual breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi (Stephens, 2020).

Dame Whina Cooper was 80 at the start of the land March with her now-famous phrase "not one more acre" she led the March for one month and one thousand kilometres staying the night at 25 different marae along the way. Stephens (2020) describes Cooper as having been "Clever, strong-willed and tenacious" further stating that "Whina haunted Māori and Pākehā bastions of male power with neither fear nor any likelihood of being ignored" (para. 14). This nobility described by Jackson (Kaiela Institute, 2018) is evident in the Parihaka invasion where it was reported by Scott (2014) who noted that "Even in that hour of trial, he [Te Whiti] was every inch a chief" (p.1). Nobility is also evident in the way that despite the

circumstances, Dame Whina Cooper kept her sense of humour. Despite the arduous task she was about to embark on at 80 years old. This humour is evident in her statement explaining her impending journey "*Ka haere au ki Poneke, ki te mirimiri i nga raho o te kawanatanga*" (I am going to Wellington to fondle the Government's testicles) (Stephens, 2020, para.3).

These stories are evidence of a relentless, intergenerational pursuit of Mana Ōrite and self-determination that continues today through extraordinary cases of Māori leadership. Next, I present more recent examples of resistance showing that despite having land and culture stripped away, Māori continue what Ranginui Walker (2004) describes as *He Whawhai tonu matou* (our struggle without end) in the title of his book.

Contemporary examples of Resistance through education

G. Smith (2003) describes the 1980s as being a time of change. He describes a shift away from discussion that put the coloniser at the centre of the narrative to a shift towards Māori making change for themselves as Māori, this discussion being one that allowed Māori to take a central role within the narrative as Māori. G. Smith (2003) goes on to describe this shift as a "re-awakening" of the Māori imagination that had been stifled and diminished by colonization processes (p.2).

Ngā Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori

The increasing decline in Te Reo Māori was a growing concern for Māori parents who had become concerned that their children would not be able to speak Te Reo Māori or have spaces to learn that encompassed Te Ao Māori. This growing concern drove the establishment of pre-schools called *Ngā Kōhanga Reo* (Māori language nests). Kōhanga reo provided the opportunity for young children to learn Te Reo Māori and gain cultural knowledge from Māori who were native speakers. These native speakers were often kuia and kaumātua who also gave students an experience reminiscent of the days of old where *taonga tuku iho* was passed down from the elders to their *mokopuna* (grandchildren) (Tocker, 2015).

According to Tocker (2015), academics Linda Tuhiwai and Graham Smith were among the parents whose frustration at the deliberate stripping away of Māori culture and language and the implications this had for their children were choosing to participate in pathways of

resistance. They stated that "The desire for a totally Māori education rather than an add on one in mainstream was not just about reviving the Māori language or about identity. It was also about Social justice" (Smith and Smith as cited in Tocker, 2015, p.30). The establishment of kōhanga reo was about resistance from Māori parents against the colonial education systems being the only option for their tamariki and mokopuna and a return to open up and revitalise solutions from a Māori worldview. Pihama (2019) discusses the way that kōhanga reo "challenged the fundamental underpinnings of a colonial mainstream Pākehā education system" (p.73).

From the success of the kōhanga reo came the establishment of primary schools that were also taught by Māori, for Māori, and in Te Reo Māori. This offered a continuation from kōhanga reo for primary aged children to learn within the context of Te Ao Māori. These primary schools are *called Kura Kaupapa Māori* (Schools within the context of Te Ao Māori). MacFarlane (2015) described these Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori as exemplary examples of resistance in practice.

Māori Boarding Schools

Patzer (2014) writes of the way that in Canada, indigeneity was seen, in itself, as a problem that needed to be fixed. It is interesting to note that Canada is another colonised country that underwent similar processes of "discovery" established through the Doctrines and Colonisation with the British. In Canada, Patzer (2014) describes residential schools as a "rationally planned form of social engineering that envisaged the elimination of Aboriginal difference itself" (p.168). Parallels can be drawn between this and Māori boarding schools. Māori boarding schools sought to assimilate Māori into more "civilised" European ways of being. Evidence of this is found in Alexander's (1951) book "The story of Te Aute College" where it is proclaimed that:

> Te Aute college is an institution with a rich and varied background, the nursery of leaders, whose main task was the uplifting of what appeared to be a dying race so that it took its place alongside a more progressive race with many hundreds of years of civilisation behind it (p.13).

The above quote is a blatant example of Eurocentrism where not only were Māori stripped of their culture and forced into another, it was presented as though this social engineering

was to the advantage of Māori as opposed to their detriment. McAllister (2016) discusses the way that the official view of the time was that Māori were more suited to manual labour as opposed to academia. It was believed that the best way that Māori could contribute to society was by way of manual labour in particular agriculture and domestic home help.

Irrespective of the government's view that an academic curriculum was not best for Māori, John Thornton principal at Te Aute College resisted and implemented an academic pathway for Māori to enter university. McAllister (2016) describes the way that this led to students at Te Aute College being able to thrive "academically, culturally and spiritually as Māori" (p.22). In the 1880s the first Māori to graduate from a university was one of these students who had been able to matriculate from Te Aute College. Regardless of this success and achievement for Māori, the school came under political pressure to change its curriculum to one that focused on Agriculture as opposed to academic success. It could be argued that the residue of the Doctrines or Darwin's evolution of man which led to others arguing a racial hierarchy, permeated from generations before, had continued to justify this decision. Although the intention of Indigenous Boarding schools in Aotearoa was to quicken the process of assimilation, in many ways, this also had the opposite effect. This is shown in the quote by this past pupil of a Māori boys' boarding school:

> When I went to school and even in my Father's time, we went to [boarding school] learn Pākehā things. We had our taha Māori at home and the idea was that we went to boarding school to learn Pākehā knowledge so that we could get a decent job……………. The ones that go to boarding schools now are the city kids. Most of them have been brought up in a Pākehā world and only speak English. They haven't had much of a chance to learn their taha Māori so when they go to the boarding schools they want their Māoritanga. It's totally changed around (G.Smith, 1996, P.11).

Other forms of Māori resistance to assimilation and racial social engineering include Te Kotahitanga as well as Ka Hikitia.

Te Kotahitanga
Te Kotahitanga was a research and development project that commenced in 2001. This was a collaborative effort between the University of Waikato and the Poutama Pounamu

research and development centre based in Tauranga, together with the research participants consisting of boards of trustees chairmen/women, principals, teachers, whānau members and at the very heart of Te Kotahitanga were Māori students themselves (Bishop and Berryman, 2013).

The first phase of Te Kotahitanga consisted of interviews with principals, teachers, Māori students, and their whānau. The collation and inclusion of Māori voices as the very starting point of the project could be seen as an example of resistance to the continual absence of Māori voice informing policy within education. These participant voices then became the catalyst for change informing the teacher development that ensued. Te Kotahitanga is an example of resistance in the way that it rejected deficit thinking and the pathologising of Māori. Resistance was also evident in the way that it rejected hegemonic curriculum delivery at the school and classroom level. Hegemonic curriculum delivery was rejected by way of incorporating socio-cultural views of learning such as constructivist, culturalist models of learning as well as Māori models of learning such as Tuakana, Teina.

Māori Education Strategies

In 1999, the first Māori Education strategy was initiated (Ministry of Education, 1999). As shown on The Ministry of Education website, this strategy had three goals;

- To raise the quality of English-medium education for Māori
- To support the growth of high-quality Kaupapa Māori education
- To support greater Māori involvement and authority in Education

This was the first strategy to recognise the collective responsibility of educational achievement disparities for Māori (Berryman and Eley, 2017). In 2005 it was reported that this strategy had been successful in creating some improvement in relation to Māori educational performance. The Māori Education strategy was re-published and according to Berryman and Eley (2017) reaffirmed the commitment to Māori Education from the Ministry of Education.

Ka Hikitia

In 2006 The Māori Education Strategy was in its first stage of renewal. The renewed version was "Ka Hikitia: Setting priorities for Māori Education". This document was published internally within the Ministry of Education. In 2007 Ka Hikitia - Managing for Success: The

Draft Māori Education Strategy 2008-2012 was released with some public consultation. In 2008 Ka Hikitia - Managing for Success was launched with another revival, Ka Hikitia Accelerating Success 2013-2017, being released in 2013 (Berryman and Eley, 2017).

Ka Hikitia Accelerating Success 2013-2017, was the Ministry of Education's (2013) strategy aimed at improving the educational success of Māori within mainstream educational settings in Aotearoa. The vision of Ka Hikitia being "Māori enjoying and achieving educational success as Māori" (p.10). The critical factors of Ka Hikitia encompass the need for strong leadership and teaching that is supported by effective governance as well as strong reciprocal relationships with the community. Ka Hikitia was described in the Controller and Auditor General's Report (2013) as "Sound Educational Research and Reasoning" (p.14). Māori researchers, working with community input, evaluated Ka Hikitia evaluated over several years. Effective consultation took place in this evaluation to ensure a reflection of Māori interests.

Despite the high hopes that were held for Ka Hikitia to succeed, as well as the identified potential for it to do so, the Controller and Auditor General (2013) contended that Ka Hikitia was unsteadily and slowly implemented, there was confusion around responsibilities, poor planning and project management. Also noted was ineffective communication which meant the intended prioritisation for Ka Hikitia did not take place within many schools. As a result, the Controller and Auditor General (2013) contended that Ka Hikitia did not live up to its potential.

There were high hopes for Ka Hikitia to create transformative change for Māori, though insufficient rollout has created what one could refer to as a devastating missed opportunity for Māori. In investigating Education Policies concerning Māori education right from the establishment of a European headed Education System to today, it could be argued that Māori voice is ignored and then when it is finally incorporated by way of sound consultation it is published though not given the prioritisation in schools and classrooms that it deserved.

 After more public consultation, the third phase of Ka Hikitia was released in 2020 named Ka Hikitia: Ka Hapaitia. This iteration is in the form of a strategic plan and includes guiding principles that encompass the vision set out by Ka Hikitia. The guiding principles include:

- Excellent Outcomes
- Belonging
- Strength-Based
- Productive Partnership
- Te Tiriti o Waitangi

(Ministry of Education, 2020)

Creating Māori Spaces

The above examples of resistance through education highlight the important pursuit of societal and educational spaces that encompass Te Reo Māori, Māori cultural knowledge, and Māori ways of knowing and being. It was resistance to the hegemonic, colonial "one size fits all" style of education being the only one available for the majority of *tamariki Māori* (Māori Children). These are examples also of the relentless pursuit by Māori for mana ōrite. An example of creating Māori spaces is found in Māori units that have been created within Mainstream schools. Two participants in this research attended Māori Boarding schools and the other two attended mainstream schools though were part of the schools Māori immersion units. A Māori space within mainstream contexts where they could learn "as Māori" albeit surrounded by the more powerful colonial mainstream.

Culturally Responsive and Relational Pedagogy

Culturally responsive pedagogy is a current phrase used within education in Aotearoa. It is the acknowledgment that we need to be more responsive to the culture of our tamariki Māori in response to the academic disparities between Māori and non-Māori students. Berryman et al. (2018) warn that there are seemingly just as many definitions for what culturally responsive pedagogy means as people who are writing about it. In the beginning stages of Te Kotahitanga Māori dates went up on the board and teachers increased the visual Māori iconography. Berryman et al. (2018) write of the need to dig deeper than this. Edward T. Hall (1976) describes this "digging deeper" by drawing metaphorical parallels to an iceberg. Māori dates on boards and increased iconography would constitute a part of the iceberg's tip whereas truly incorporating Māori culture in teaching practice and digging deeper into the "unseen" part of the iceberg includes the need to incorporate more interactive and dialogic power-sharing models that are inclusive of Māori ways of knowing.

Through the support of facilitators, Te Kotahitanga taught teachers how to dig below the superficial level of culturally responsive and include the following models of learning. These models of learning included constructivist and culturalist models of learning as well as Māori models of learning. This encourages teachers and learners to work and learn together by valuing the learners' own prior knowledge and experiences within a Māori framework. In many respects this pedagogy is a form of resistance to the more traditional "one size fits all" top down transmission learning because it actively rejects a Eurocentric and hegemonic form of the teacher as the sole leader in curriculum delivery.

Modern Day Barriers to Achievement

Although there have been exemplary examples of resistance, through examining the data presented in the introduction of this thesis it is clear there is still much work left to be done to uplift educational outcomes for Māori. This next section suggests a range of implications that may be the reason for the continual negative educational statistics we continue to see, year after year for Māori. These implications include cognitive, political and socio-cultural implications.

Cognitive Implications

Robbins (2018) suggests that:

> The emotional, cognitive, and physical energy it takes to cope with an unfriendly and intolerant environment will drain even the best and brightest from their potential. The stress will eventually take its toll in the form of inefficiency, poor performance, absenteeism, and even declining health (p.7).

Robbins (2018) describes the way that treating people equally does not always equate to treating people fairly. When educators apply a one size fits all or a "we treat all our students the same" approach to education our ways of seeing the world, inclusive of our own opinions and bias become the vehicle through which we implement the curriculum. Robbins (2018) highlights the importance of adapting the environment to suit the child as opposed to expecting children to adapt to suit the environment. A way to adapt learning environments to suit the child is to be more inclusive of the differing ways people may think as opposed to creating one way of learning steeped in our own epistemologies rather than those of our students.

Centrifugal and Centripetal Cognitive Styles

Mason Durie (2011) writes of differing cognitive styles. He describes the way that our cognitive styles are dependent on factors that include our physiological and biological make-up as well as environmental factors that include our relationships with others and connections to the outside world. Durie writes of two different cognitive styles: centrifugal and centripetal. Although Durie acknowledges the existence of exceptions he suggests educators can develop valuable insight into the way students may be thinking differently to teachers, by considering these concepts of centrifugal and centripetal as applicable to our practice. Durie (2011) describes the way that Western science is often about compartmentalising data and analysing smaller parts to draw conclusions. This energy flow is referred to as centripetal. Durie describes the way that Māori and other Indigenous peoples tend to have a more centrifugal cognitive style. A centrifugal cognitive style is more prone to looking outwards and observing how outside factors connect and inter-relate. Within a centrifugal cognitive style, conclusions are drawn from making wide connections often through observation as opposed to breaking things down into smaller component parts.

An example of this is the way that we as Māori gain an understanding of those we are in the company of through their wider whānau connections and the land they connect to. These connections take place through what we refer to as Whanaungatanga. Within Māori contexts such as hui, this is often the very first item on the agenda. Explaining who we are by way of connecting to the land that we consider home is how we make connections to each other as Māori.

Political Implications

Maaka (2019) discusses the way that Aotearoa has been a democracy since the mid-1800s which coincided with the beginning of representative government in Aotearoa. G. Smith (1996) writes of the way that this form of rule was an adapted version of a Westminster model of democracy. Maaka (2019) states that "Democracy is not an abstract system that can be dropped into any new context and be expected to function" (p.6) although this is exactly what happened with colonisation in Aotearoa. This form of government rule was brought from its British context and planted in Aotearoa without consideration of what this may mean for Māori. G. Smith (1996) contends that within a democratic rule Māori, as a

minority group are "without a level playing field" (p.14) and this is certainly what has played out.

Education is undeniably political. Leading to elections political parties will present their proposed policies and what they will implement, retain or eradicate if elected to power. To acquire the majority vote, these policies will be aimed at the majority of voters. The implications of this being that societal issues that affect those in the minority are not given priority. Thrupp (2016) describes this in his extensive work about what he refers to as "middle-class privilege" drawing parallels between middle-class advantage and Al Gore's movie about global warming entitled "An Inconvenient Truth". This political advantage is something that most are aware of though it is an inconvenience to acknowledge as it is easier for people to benefit from this advantage without having to investigate the moral implications of doing so.

Distractions and Assumptions

Hattie (2015) writes of a series of "distractions" that stand in the way of "fixing" educational problems. Instead of investigating or acknowledging the political implications that create systemic educational issues, outside factors are blamed instead. Hattie (2015) refers to these as "distractions" due to them not being the actual cause despite continuing to be the sources through which funding is placed. These distractions described by Hattie (2015) include the need to appease parents. What this means for Māori is that the parents who are being appeased will belong to the majority group as they comprise of the majority of voters. Hattie (2015) describes the incessant need to appease parents as one of the biggest explanations as to why policies do not tend to make a difference. This again highlights the power of political gain and the way that the political nature of education and a need to appeal to a majority vote stands in the way of making change. This appears to be especially relevant with the current educational outcomes for Māori.

Eisner (2008) writes of the way that society holds embedded assumptions concerning what education should look like. Examples of these assumptions held by society are the need to introduce competition between schools to attain more effective school reform, the need for children to arrive at the same place at the same time academically. The increasing importance of public voice and opinion, the closer Aotearoa gets to election time. What this

again means for Māori is that their voices, as the minority continue to remain unheard as their voice does not garner majority votes.

An example of public assumptions infiltrating curriculum policy in Aotearoa was the introduction of National Standards. Earl and Swanson (2017) describe National Standards as the "rallying cry of the National party". This is reflective of the first "distraction" described by Hattie (2015). National Standards emphasised the importance of students reaching the same standard at the same time and also promoted the hierarchal nature of subjects enforcing the importance of the "core curriculum" being Numeracy and Literacy. This put pressure on teachers to ensure success in these curriculum areas, which often meant subjects such as The Arts and Languages were seen as being of lesser importance. Encompassing popular assumptions within the National Standards policy ensured public interest.

Although National Standards have been abolished many schools are still using the language "below average" and "well below average" to label their students. Schools also continue to stream their classes based on these labels sending a clear message to those in the lower classes, many of whom are Māori that they are inferior, although there has been an increasing outcry against streaming recently.

Socio-cultural Implications

Along with the political implications on Māori educational outcomes, there are also Socio-cultural factors that play a part in reducing educational opportunities for minority groups. One of these Socio-cultural factors being Zoning. This is another aspect of education that helps to keep higher-performing schools from having to recruit students from lower socio-economic areas. Christian schools are also able to reject students from lower socio-economic under the guise of this being due to religious preference. Schools can draw up their zones with very little input needed from the Ministry of Education. Zoning can then remove the rights of many parents to choose higher quality places of education for their children, thus perpetuating cycles of poor education and reducing employment options or university entrance for poorer students. The more rigorously schools limit their intake to low socio-economic students the easier it is to maintain a socially privileged student intake (Salesa, 2017; Thrupp, 2016).

The decile system is another example of socio-cultural influences that negatively impacts on Māori educational opportunities. The decile system is where schools are rated from 1-10 based on what the average earning is of the school families. Schools will then receive funding based on their decile systems. This decile system is described by Thrupp (2016) and Salesa (2017) as detrimental to the academic opportunities of students living in low socio-economic areas. There is a common perception that a higher decile equates to higher quality education. Lower decile schools have a higher turnover of teachers, with teaching posts and positions not being as secure. It is for these reasons that middle-class education settings attract more experienced teaching staff and find it easier to fill teaching vacancies. (Thrupp, 2016). Zoning and decile ratings work together with many Māori families living within zones where lower decile schools are their only option. The government is currently working on a new funding model that will potentially remove the decile system for one based on student need within schools.

SooHoo (2004) describes the way that we as a society can identify societal problems concerning social justice and inequity. She further contends that we are proficient in raising awareness. However, where the focus needs to be is on the "doing" part. SooHoo (2004) states that "There is a great deal of work that needs to be done to advance the necessary tactics to enact these principles" (p.199) This is relevant to my own experience and my reasons for embarking on this study. I have been effective in identifying the problems, I believe, in my workplace, I frequently raise awareness of these problems. However, it is the most important part, the "doing part" that is still missing.

Walker et al. (2016) state that "Today, in spite of political and public policy rhetoric that Māori have equal political, cultural and linguistic rights, they have remained disproportionately poor, sick and disadvantaged in all areas of New Zealand society" (p.332). This could relate also to the way The Treaty of Waitangi is referred to within policies. There are many places where honouring and giving mana to The Treaty of Waitangi is written. To suggest that The Treaty of Waitangi has been honoured is to suggest that there is equality between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa, though it doesn't take much wading through the statistics to reveal the disproportionate disadvantage that Walker et al. (2016) refer to.

The Treaty of Waitangi is commonly referred to as the founding document of Aotearoa, now being one of the eight principles within The Zealand Curriculum Framework (NZCF) (Ministry of Education, 2007). The NZCF (Ministry of Education, 2007) itself states; The curriculum acknowledges the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the bicultural foundations of Aotearoa stating that "All students have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of Te Reo Māori me ona Tikanga Māori" (p.9). The Treaty of Waiangi is the first principle outlined in the Aotearoa Curriculum Policy Ka Hikitia Accelerating Success (Ministry of Education, 2013) and it is a guiding principle in the third iteration of Ka Hikitia: Ka Hapaitia (Ministry of Education, 2020). For teachers to gain or renew teacher registration in Aotearoa, evidence of adherence and implementation of six teaching standards must be provided. The first of the six standards pertain to The Treaty of Waitangi. Teachers must provide evidence of understanding and recognition of the following concepts; tangata whenua, history, heritage, language, and cultures of partners to The Treaty. Teachers must also provide evidence of practicing and developing the use of Te Reo Māori and Tikanga Māori (Education Council, 2017).

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the methodology and methods for gathering and analysing the data. I also introduce the participants, the time frame within which their educational experiences sit and how I went about finding this information.

My Positionality as Researcher

My decision to align this research with culturally responsive methodology came from the reflection of my positionality as a Māori researcher and teacher, within the context of this research about Māori learners in education. Next, I further discuss this positionality then come back to the explanation of what culturally responsive methodology is and the theoretical foundations from which this methodology is derived.

Rangahau (n.d) rightfully warns that "just because you are Māori, or your topic and/or participants are Māori doesn't necessarily mean you are conducting or engaging in Kaupapa Māori research" (Rangahau, n.d, para 6.). This is something that I made sure to take into consideration. What I needed to be mindful of is that I also brought to this research the fact that despite being Māori, I come from two very western contexts. I am both a University student and a primary school teacher at a mainstream primary school and I have been assimilated by both of these education systems. Pihama (2019) describes University as "An institution that has it's foundations deep within colonial philosophical traditions and that has benefited from the oppression of indigenous peoples" (p.64). L.Smith (2012) discusses the way that even "the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism"(p.1). This illustrates that regardless of being Māori and having an understanding of Te Ao Māori, I may still be regarded as an outsider and should at no point assume my position as any different.

The second western context from which I arrive at my research is the position of a mainstream primary school teacher. It is not lost on me that my research aim is to contribute to improving the educational outcomes for Māori yet I come from the very institution responsible for the problems I seek to fix. Furthermore, I arrive from a school

currently not meeting the potential or needs of Māori as explained in my introduction. Last year I was a recipient of a Teach NZ study award. An expectation of having this award is that I take my learning back to my workplace and implement this throughout my professional context. In doing this, I will be taking my research from the Māori context within which it is couched back to my mainstream, predominantly European workplace. This being another cultural aspect in need of reflection concerning my positioning as a prospective Māori researcher. As a result of my critical reflection of positionality and taking into account the possible dichotomy of the two worlds I am attempting to intersect, I have decided that culturally responsive methodology is the best fit for my proposed research.

Culturally Responsive Methodology

Culturally Responsive Methodology brings Kaupapa Māori and Critical theories together as a new methodological foundation. Berryman et al (2013) describe Culturally Responsive Methodology as "the conjoined work of both the researcher and participant of carving out a liberatory research pathway toward mutual respect and freedom from domination" (p.4).

Kaupapa Māori research provides a space to revitalise all things in connection to Te Ao Māori. A way to gain self-determination where Māori are in control of how their own stories are told and the lens through which they are told and presented. Kaupapa Māori research has been described by Bishop (1997), as a complete rejection of "the continuance of researcher hegemony over peoples' lives through control over the methods, methodology and the very projects being in the hands of the researcher" (p.30). Within Culturally Responsive Methodologies, participants are treated as equal partners and researchers must show deep respect and cultural awareness. For Kaupapa Māori research this means that consistent reflection by the researcher should take place at every step of their research journey in relation to how well their work is aligning with Kaupapa Māori principles.

Culturally Responsive Methodology encompasses all of the principles of Kaupapa Māori research including self-determination and revitalisation of all aspects of the participants' view of the world. This methodology is described by Berryman et al (2013) as being "A research stance where establishing respectful relationships with participants is central to both human dignities and the research" (p.1). This means that the culturally responsive researcher must create spaces to arrive as a culturally responsive visitor, researching in

ways that foster equal and reciprocal relationships of trust. This requires being more critical of my actions as a researcher. The other theoretical foundational lens that forms culturally responsive methodology is critical theory. Critical theory encourages reflection on the positioning and influence of power relations within the relationship between researcher and participant. Baum (2015) describes this as a way to analyse social structures which result in the oppression and domination of others describing critical theory as a way to, for example, "analyse the role of racism in shaping socially and politically structured relations of inequality and domination" (p.420).

Methods

Interviews as Conversations

The type of interview I chose to employ was interviews as conversations. I believe that the nature of these interviews best align with culturally responsive methodologies. This alignment lies within the way that these interviews take place as close to a natural conversation as possible. Bishop (1997) describes interviews as conversations as encouraging of a "Reciprocal dialogic relationship based on mutual trust" (p.33). This style of interview helps to create a relationship between researcher and participant that is void of power structures and you converse as respected co-participants. Interviews as conversations, underpinned by the values of culturally responsive methodologies, ensure that the culture and world view of the participants are valued by the researcher and the presented story is "collaborative". A story that is then transcribed, brought back to be checked, and agreed upon through an ongoing dialogic process involving participants as equal partners.

While there were times in these engagements when the actual conversations with participants veered off topic, this was able to happen and subsequently allowed content to surface that I had not anticipated. I also endeavoured to create a comfortable environment that would mimic a natural conversation by ensuring hospitality through the inclusion of food and/or drink. I did have questions prepared in case the conversations stalled though I found that once I used a pre-prepared question this then led on to a natural conversation.

For the first participant, Hine, I was aware that having a student who they had never met before in their house, who they only knew through a mutual friend, may have been a strange experience. For this reason, I took *kai* (food) along and tried to start our conversation through whanaungatanga as we discussed our mutual acquaintance before we started recording. For participants two and four, Rachael and Manaia whose house was also the interview setting, having me in their homes was not new to them. In their case, I tried to create natural conversations by way of suggesting we sit on the couches as we normally would, I also began by explaining that this would be more of a chat as opposed to a formal interview. I believe that keeping the interviews as close to a normal conversation as possible and with the inclusion of food and hot drinks created a comfortable environment which seemed to make the participants feel comfortable in sharing their experiences with me. Participant three is Melita and the interview setting was, at her invitation, in a common area at her university.

My initial interview sessions with participants consisted of whanaungatanga where we spent time building trust and making connections to mutual acquaintances. I spoke a little more about this research and the purpose of this. I aimed for transparency, explaining exactly who I am, why I am there, and what my intentions are for the following interview session. I allowed time for them to ask me any questions they wanted to ask. This continued until I felt I had created an environment of mutual trust and gauged from body language and facial expression that all was well and that they felt comfortable in my presence. Only then did I make any attempt to acquire data. Once relationships were established or re-established I encouraged the participants to tell their stories from their own experiences without imposing my own or expecting them to meet me halfway concerning any cultural understandings.

Due to the uncertainty around Covid-19 alert levels at the time, I was mindful of the fact that this may have changed the way I conducted these interviews. There was the chance that these would have to be done via electronic meetings such as Skype or Zoom. *Kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) is an aspect of importance when seeking to develop relational connections in research and it is a concept that I thankfully was able to honour.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed. Transcription is an imperative part of maintaining research quality according to Cohen and Manion (2018) who explain the way that transcription "can provide important detail and [be] an accurate verbatim record of the interview" (p.646). To help me to do this accurately I audio recorded the interviews. I also made sure to transcribe the interviews the day after these took place. I then returned these transcriptions to participants to ensure I had correctly interpreted their voice. I made the decision, mostly due to potential levels of obstruction, that I would not use video recordings.

Grounded Theory

Once I gathered the experiences of these four women, I used thematic analysis to place their voices into themes. Grounded theory was the means through which I analysed these voices and arrived at these themes. Oktay (2012) describes Grounded theory as being "designed to create theories that were empirically derived from real-world situations" (p.2). What this meant in terms of this research was that the themes or theories derived as a result of these interviews were derived from the voices of the participants themselves. The themes or theories through which I categorised my data were formed and therefore grounded in the participants' stories. I did not approach my research with pre-established themes in mind as this, I believed, would not align with culturally responsive methodology and ran the potential risk of trying to force data to fit into pre-set categories to prove one's agenda. Themes such as Mana Ōrite were concepts I was not aware of before the completion of the interviews and I learned about after. Grounded theory encourages the organic co-construction of genuine themes that are present within the data. Again, giving mana to and honouring the voices of the participants. Any theories, conclusions, or themes that I came to were born of the real-life stories of these participants and therefore, grounded in the voices of these participants.

Oktay (2012) contends that "because grounded theory creates theories that are derived directly from real-world settings, it has the potential to produce theories that can be used by social workers to guide practice" (p.3). Although Oktay is referring here to social work, one could argue that the same could be said for research that guides teaching practice. The most significant purpose of this research was to inform my teaching practice and better the educational outcomes for Māori students in my class. Therefore, grounded theory allowed

me to get the most I could out of this process as I put my colonised teacher epistemology to the side whilst learning as much as I could. Coming to the research with preestablished themes and trying to fit voices into these themes would have been counterproductive to gaining insight that could inform my teaching practice.

Research Participants

Within this section, the participants who were interviewed are referred to by pseudonyms to protect confidentiality. The following is a table that gives a brief description of who these participants are and the timeframe within which their educational experiences are couched. All participants are women.

Table 1 *Participant Description*

Participant	Description
Hine	Hine attended an all-girls boarding school in the 70s
Rachael	Rachael attended an all-girls' boarding school in the 90s
Melita	Melita attended an all-girls' school as a day student and was part of a Māori unit within the mainstream school in the 2010s
Manaia	Mania attended a co-ed school as a day student and was part of a Māori unit within the mainstream school in the 2010s

Hine spoke of her experiences in the 70s and Rachael spoke of her schooling experiences in the 90s. The final two participants Melita and Manaia spoke of their schooling experiences in the 2010s. Education through Māori spaces had been central to their educational experiences from an early age. Melita attended a single-sex high school in the 2000s and Manaia attended a co-ed high school in the 2000s as well. After interviewing Melita, I realised that although she attended a co-ed primary school and intermediate most of her story was about her single-sex high school meaning that all three of my participants were speaking from their experiences of single-sex high schools. I believed that I needed another voice from the perspective of a Māori space within a co-ed high school so I sought out and interviewed Manaia.

Research Procedure

The first participant I spoke with was Rachael. This is someone I have known for a decade and am in contact with regularly. I spoke with her about this project kanohi ki te kanohi and they were happy to participate. I had intended to speak with a person who was from the generation prior to Hine and who was 93 years old. I had seen a recent photo of him along with a caption that alluded to his declining health, and after an unrelated phone call to a family member where his health came up in conversation, I decided that although someone of this age would have been a wonderful addition to this research, it was not ethical to even approach him. No longer having anyone from this older generation came up in conversation with Rachael who suggested someone we both knew of, who she thought would be a great choice and happy to help. I emailed Hine and heard back from her within a couple of hours saying she would be happy to contribute. Hine lives three hours away from me so I arranged a time that suited her for me to drive to their hometown. Hine kindly suggested we meet at her home.

The interviews with Hine and Rachael took place in their homes. With Rachael, we sat in her sitting room, I felt the environment was relaxed as we sat on couches and sipped fizzy drink as we spoke. I attempted to keep the conversation relaxed and resemble a chat we may normally have together in any other situation as friends. With Hine, our conversation took place at their dining room table looking out to the ocean with muffins and cups of tea. We started with a karakia and spoke a bit about Rachael and whanaungatanga took place naturally by way of making connections to our mutual friend. When the interview finished we made more connections as I recognised someone in her photo on the wall. Whanaungatanga and making connections continued to take place even after we had stopped recording.

I returned transcripts to these women, educated from the 90s and 70s, and offered them the opportunity to make changes. I returned Rachael's transcript to her in person and we met at a café and spoke about this again afterward when she told me they were very happy for me to use what was written in this thesis. Due to distance, I returned Hine's transcript via email. The return of transcripts to participants gave them the chance to go into the document and make changes to a few things I misheard. They also clarified a few things further on the document. Hine then sent her transcript back informing me that they felt this

was a true account of our conversation and that if I needed anything else they were happy to help.

Next, I spoke with Melita. This person is the younger sister of a friend of mine. Both her and her sister are involved in academic study that relates to equity for Māori so I understood this person would be happy to help. I received her number from her older sister and got in touch with her. As she is a student we agreed to meet at her university between classes at a time that suited her. We met in a common area of the university. As with other participants this interview began with whanaungatanga as we spoke of their family and how they were. After we spoke we went to a café and drank coffee and she gave me a tour of her campus. Melita then took me through the Te Ao Māori part of their university where she was going to complete some study before going home. I returned her transcript and she let me know she was happy with this.

My final interview was with Manaia who is a relative of mine. We know each other well and as a teenager I had lived with her and her family so she was quite comfortable and used to having me back in her house. Our interview conversation took place sitting on couches in her living room and involved food and coffee that her Father had prepared. I returned her transcript via email and she let me know that she was happy with it.

Ethical Considerations

The main ethical concern for this research was that one of the people I had really wanted to interview is a relative of mine in his 90s. This would have been a big ask on my part and would have involved the need for a support person. This was taken into careful consideration by the University Ethics committee and myself. Nearing the time where I was to start the interview process, I had asked after this person's wellbeing in an unrelated conversation with a family member and realised from this conversation that this interview should not go ahead.

The other consideration I had was that one of the youngest voices is a relative of mine. I needed to make sure that they were ok to do this interview and wasn't just doing this because we are relatives. I made sure that in every piece of conversation we had pertaining to this research that I added that they did not have to do this. I also highlighted on the information sheet the part that said that there is no pressure and there is no consequence if

they did not want to be a part of this. A few days after this interview I rang her to again reiterate that even though the interview was finished it was still fine if she decided that she did not want their voice to be a part of this research.

All ethical requirements, as specified by the University of Waikato were followed during this research. Written consent was acquired from each participant and, at every stage of this research up until the point of their transcriptions being accepted, I reminded each that their participation was entirely up to them.

Collaborative Storying

Bishop (1997) discusses the way that in the past, researchers have collected indigenous peoples' stories and presented them in ways that submerged their stories within Western ways of knowing. He states that "these stories are then retold in the language and culture determined by the researcher" (p.29). Collaborative storying is where the experiences are agreed on by both parties. The researcher records what has been said and the participant can make adjustments to this where they may see fit. Both researcher and participant arrive collaboratively at an account that is considered to be true by both parties. This truth is then presented in an organic way that is not taken out of context or manipulated to suit any agenda other than to present their experiences, as previously shared with the researcher.

In the next chapter of this thesis, I have presented in the findings, their experiences just as they were told to me. I have not in any way twisted their words nor have I exaggerated to emphasise any points. What you see within my findings section is what was shared with me, and in the words of the participants. Bishop and Berryman (2013) also state that "In collaborative storying, the meanings that the interviewees themselves give to their own experiences in a series of in-depth, semi-structured 'Interviews as conversations' are the meanings that feature in the final narrative" (p.10). In this thesis, I have made sure that the participants' voices were not only checked by them but also presented exactly in their own words. I have not attempted to take sentences out of context in any way to better suit themes. I have also been careful not to add any assumptions or try to further explain what participants are saying. Rather, I have let their voices tell their story. In this collaborative story I have worked to ensure that my thesis contains the experiences of my participants,

recorded and presented in a way that is true to their own stories rather than in a way that is reinterpreted and owned in any way by myself as the researcher.

Chapter Four: Findings

Introduction

This chapter presents the experiences of these four participants through collaborative storying. This collaborative story is told using the common themes that were revealed through an analysis of the participants' transcripts and through the voices of the participants themselves. In this collaborative story, all names, those of the participants and those used by participants, have been replaced with pseudonyms to protect anonymity.

Themes that Emerged

All four participants talked about how influential their teachers had been for them. Sometimes these influences were of a negative nature; for example, Melita recalled a number of events that had influenced her negatively including remembering clearly an example where deficit theorising was present and she was told that she was dumb:

I've had so many teachers before who would be like you're dumb because I was naughty, silly and loud. I knew I was smart, that's the thing, I had that in my family. They told me I was smart and I just knew it and I knew it growing up around education so when teachers told me that I was dumb, I would just be like well you don't know me and then I'd fight to do better.

Taken aback from hearing Melita say that she was told she was dumb I asked if she remembered the context within which this was said and if she could elaborate on this. She replied:

They would say you're not going to pass or you just muck around, you're going to fail, you're dumb! I've had "you're dumb" quite a lot [said] to me. I just thought it was funny but looking back, if they're saying it to me they are probably saying it to a lot of students and a lot of the students don't think it's funny.

They [the other students] may not have had the privilege of being around education all the time like I did and having the support of your family to know that you're smart. Kids are hearing a lot of negative things and you hear teachers saying it and I don't think that teachers should be saying that to students.

The professional learning to inform teaching practice within Melita's recollection is the power that our words can have and the way that these words can be long lasting. Throughout our discussion, Melita referred to herself many times as being "naughty" and she describes this "naughtiness" as the catalyst for the teachers' perception of her as being "dumb".

Melita then gave examples of the teachers exerting power over other students:

But you know students don't say anything they won't tell on the teacher because you know, teachers are right.

[Teachers were] being overly strict on things that they don't need to be. I understand that kids are naughty and they talk and they laugh at assemblies that's just being a kid.

Melita then raised the issue of "power play" and over exertion of power. An important lesson for us as teachers to be mindful of.

They single us out within our class like they set one person up as an example. Like use us as examples to show the rest of the class how not to be bad but you know we weren't even being that bad.

Melita then simplified the actions of these teachers by saying:

[The teachers were] Just being really mean. Just unnecessarily mean.

Melita also discussed institutional racism in the form of inequity in resourcing for Te Reo Māori as a subject:

[We had] gone through school with crappy Te Reo Māori teachers. It was a subject that was not the greatest. We didn't have resources, the teachers didn't have support so obviously you could see institutional racism exactly like that within the classrooms so we know all that and we knew it was like that.

Melita also discussed an instance when due to a teacher's unprofessional practice they were not prepared for their end of year NCEA assessments. This became such an issue that one student, in order to be heard, rang the Principal whilst pretending to be a parent. The lesson here in relation to using these voices to inform teaching practice is the need to reflect on

how well we are communicating with our students, not just as teachers but also as a school. Are students able to find an avenue to have their voices heard at the top? Are they aware of what this path is? Melita explained:

It got to a point where after the exams we were still doing our assignments, one of my friends called [the Principal] and pretended to be a parent because they wouldn't let students call the principal and then she handed the phone to me and I said, I'm a student and we haven't received our grades, we haven't received anything.

Melita then went on to describe the way that through this process of trying to get their voices heard, it became apparent that the school Board of Trustees were unaware of there even being a Māori unit within the school. This is evidence that their unit was not visible, prioritised or even discussed at the governance level. Melita explained this in her own words:

Then I also found out that the Board of Trustees, the Board for the whole school didn't know for ages that there was even a Māori unit in the school.

Later in the conversation Melita spoke of resistance to this obliviousness to the existence of their Māori unit by there being a push to get Māori voices on the Board of Trustees. Melita explained:

I do know that in my last year in high school we did a big push to make sure that we voted for a lot of our parents to make sure we had Māori parents on the board and we all voted, all of us and a couple did get in. Yeah, that was a big move when we left.

Melita made a point that stood out to me, because it linked to the absenteeism statistics presented in the introduction of this thesis. Melita said:

We would have uniform checks and, you know, we would be having anxiety and some kids would come to school with no shoes not because they were poor... well maybe they were poor.

I was always like "well at least we're here" I think that's the thing sometimes, at least we are here and at least we are trying to learn. You don't know what they've gone through to get to school so just like relax a little bit.

This raised the question for me in relation to teaching practice, how much of what we focus on is draconian and irrelevant to our learners' educational success? This is not to suggest that uniforms are not important but before we get into a confrontation about adherence to uniform rules, can we first look at ways of checking things whilst at the same time preserving the mana of our students? Sometimes pointing out who has the correct uniform and who does not can also be the very public pointing out of " the haves and have nots". This is especially relevant in teenage years where approval of peers can be so important, such an exercise can be deeply humiliating.

This also brings about the issue of equity versus equality. If obtaining uniform is very difficult for a student yet the pulling up of this may lead to absenteeism for a particular student, are we able to weigh up, at that moment at our own discretion, which of these issues is more important or are we too persistent in ensuring "one rule for all". Equality in this sense does not equate to equity when it is clear that not all students (Māori and non Māori) start on a level playing field in terms of access to resources.

Although negative examples of teaching practice were most prominent in Melita's experiences, there were also some examples in Manaia's story of her peers being influenced negatively by their teachers. Manaia described one of these teachers in the following way:

I think she was just a bad teacher in general but I think specifically too…. I think there were three of us from the Māori unit in it [this teacher's class] and she would never kind of talk to us she would just help the Pākehā kids. Like a week before I had to hand in my assignment a new teacher came in and said to me "you're going to fail." So I had to do a full year [catch up] in one week.

I asked her what she meant by the teacher saying: "you are going to fail," as I needed to clarify if this was deficit theorising or because the previous teacher had neglected to prepare them for the impending assessment. Manaia confirmed the latter:

Because the other teacher didn't really care for us, the pervious teacher wasn't there to support us and I did see her there supporting the Pākehā kids quite a bit. She definitely did favour the Pākehā kids.

Manaia was careful to say that these negative experiences were often observations of her peers' experiences as opposed to her own experiences:

In year 11 I know one of my friends had a bad experience with her teacher …. She still talks about it to this day saying "the teacher is racist." I didn't experience that but I do think there was less support for the Māori kids and favouritism to the Pākehā kids.

Manaia then spoke of the follow-on effect that this lack of support had and how absenteeism eventuated:

And it kind of made the Māori students not even want to turn up for class so it started that cycle [of not coming to class]. I did notice the amount that they [students] cared completely diminish, then they didn't really care about what grade they got or [if it was] pass or not. They didn't care to turn up for class as there was no care or support, from that specific teacher or those certain teachers.

I asked if the support that was present within the Māori unit helped them with this and she replied:

I think the classes we had in the Māori unit is what saved them [the Māori students], academically.

Rachael said:

We had very little tolerance for teachers who couldn't say our names and we made their life difficult, the behaviour became an issue in those classes because of what felt like teachers being dismissive of their students.

But it [the behaviour] did manifest by, you know, not doing what the teacher wanted, disengagement from their subject and I think in general those teachers didn't stay long.

The presence of negative influences or deficit theorising by teachers of Māori students are present throughout the literature and have been present over multiple generations. These voices thus far reiterate the harsh lived experiences of many Māori students in education and indicate to teachers what we must avoid. However, due to the main objective of this research being to positively inform my teaching practice I was also very interested to hear

about the teachers who participants remembered as being positively influential to their growing confidence to become the person they would one day become. These are the other aspects of their conversations that will help me to understand what I can do to be more effective and subsequently answer my research question:

What can the intergenerational voices of those who believe they have succeeded in education as Māori teach us in relation to raising the academic achievement and cultural identity of Māori, as Māori?

The following themes all sit within this aspect of positively influential. They include: Teachers who just get us; teachers who help us be strong in our cultural identity; Teachers who help us academically; Teachers who help us believe in ourselves as Māori; and Teachers who help us to build resilience when they are no longer there. These themes have been written in order of frequency, meaning that the themes which came through most frequently are presented in order from most to least. Few other themes were present.

Some Teachers Just 'Get Us'

Teachers who really understood the participants were evident in these stories. Through the retelling of these experiences it is intended that positive lessons can be learnt. Other teachers, myself included, can acquire insights into what these teachers did that made the students feel like they as students were being really understood, and as a result students felt valued and empowered.

Manaia described the way that her teacher carefully contextualised learning tasks to allow for the fact that she had problems with anxiety. Instead of forcing Manaia to get up and say her speech, she was given the opportunity to express her ideas through her strength in visual arts. She explained this by saying:

I definitely had teachers who were there to support me as I had pretty bad anxiety and they were there to help me with that and the assignments, like instead of doing speeches I got to do like an art focused [response to the set task].

Manaia also spoke of the way that supportive teachers allowed her to leave a class she was having troubles in:

I had bad experiences in my Māori class and, in my final year, in the end they pulled me from that class so I did the assignments on my own and I just sat in Whaea's office.

Rachael discussed the way that behavioural problems were dealt with by teachers who "got them". This was done in a positive, supportive way without an over assertion of power on the teacher's part. While Rachael's parents were told that there was a problem, it was made clear that the purpose of the concern was to help Rachael. She recalls one such teacher in the following way:

I do recall striking a problem with one of the teachers so I think that the concern was relayed immediately or very quickly but I think again the teacher was Māori and I think the difference was that although she was relaying a concern about my behaviour at the time it was ... never as if the end of the world was coming. It was just a… letting you know I'm having a bit of resistance [from your daughter] and I want you guys to know. Then I kind of had that conversation with my parents who just said "you need to sort it out" and it was OK.

Rachael also identifies the timeliness of these reminders. Issues were not left to worsen and were picked up quickly and effectively:

It was still low stakes enough for my family to respond and for me to respond as well. So I think the early response [was important] and also there was a generosity I think about the way in which the teacher described it as being… early signs. That relationship thing here with me [the teacher suggesting] "It doesn't seem like she's the kind of student that this would be normal for so I want to signal that this is something we might need to watch."

Melita spoke of a teacher from Iraq who she remembers fondly. She remembers him for what she describes as "the little things". The learning we can take from this as teachers is that sometimes it is the small acts of kindness and understanding from us that the students appreciate and remember. A lesson within Melita's recollections is also that we don't need to be Māori to connect positively with Māori students:

I had one [teacher] in intermediate and he taught hard tech because we were the "naughty kids" of the school so we were always really bad and he was the hard tech teacher and he was from Iraq. He was really just like calm and really nice and would really encourage us to

do things you know, like whoever read out the roll got a lolly and it was just like little things just like it was fun and we were like learning.

Melita also went on to explain that positive behaviour from other students ensued as a result of this kindness and understanding. They felt respected by this teacher so in return, respect was reciprocated.

Like he was calm and he wouldn't pull us up on the little things so then we wouldn't be as naughty because of it. We would never be super bad in there. He would kind of put it on us that it was our responsibility to be good and then if we were good we got to listen to music and then it was his like, flamenco guitar music and so it was weird for all of these Māori kids and we were like "what?" [laughs] but we still enjoyed it, it was still cool and so we were open to different things.

He respected us and we felt it.

The idea of appreciating being respected by teachers was reiterated through Rachael's voice. It appears that the lesson for teachers here is that genuinely trying to pronounce Māori words and respect the student's culture, and who they are, is noticed, appreciated and remembered.

We definitely had other non-Māori teachers who couldn't pronounce their [Māori students'] names correctly but you could see a genuine effort to try and do the best that they could. They also were the same teachers who were responsive, who when we said "we don't get Shakespeare" or whatever the content was of their material, they didn't make us feel stink about it and tried to really understand. "What don't you get about this?" Instead of saying that there was something sort of inherently wrong with us as Māori for getting say Witi Ihimaera's work but struggling to connect to Shakespeare.

Manaia made comparative comments in relation to the teachers in mainstream and the teachers within the Māori unit. She described the way that her teachers in mainstream didn't really seem to know her, and that she had a much better rapport with the teachers in the immersion student. The professional learning here being the importance of relationships with students and getting to know each one whatever and wherever they are being taught.

Yeah, more of a personal relationship with students because I did feel like at [school] with mainstream teachers, they didn't really know me. They would just teach the class and maybe help you if you needed it. But in the immersion unit you actually had a relationship with your teachers and they were like friends. Teachers, but friends as well.

Rachael discussed the importance of having someone that gets you. As a teacher this raised the question for me, how much importance is put on cultural responsiveness in the employment process? How do schools ensure that there will be teachers who "just get you". Do we ask previous employers for references on how well teacher applicants related to minority groups? Are there questions around this in the interview process? Rachael explained the importance of having teachers that "get you" by saying:

There was a culture in the school. I'd say our whānau teachers we were with were very good, we would raise those concerns and so that was nice. I think even the presence of whānau teachers. I think that's so critical for Māori learners, I think at that secondary level to know that as Māori learners you've got someone who gets you.

Rachael then went on to explain the correlation between behaviour and respect by saying:

I think listening to your students is also another thing but when we didn't sense that response from the teacher that they were genuinely trying to learn and that ako for our names, the behaviour did manifest.

Hine discussed the way that although programmes could have been more relevant to Te Ao Māori, they were good teachers:

Their programmes could have been more relevant but they weren't, but they were good teachers anyway, most of them were good teachers and we never felt any sort of negative vibes from them.

Rachael discussed the importance of teachers going the extra mile. Although Rachael is the only participant to explicitly refer to going the extra mile, there are examples from all participants of teachers positively influencing students by going that extra mile or going beyond the call of duty within all these stories. Rachael stated:

[The positive teachers were] just totally invested in us. I think it's that extra mile that many of them had and this belief that we were worth it.

Melita made the point that sometimes teachers do get it wrong. She explained though how valuable and memorable it is when teachers make this admission. She described a teacher who yelled at them, went away, calmed down and then returned to apologise for yelling. This event was memorable for Melita and she appreciated that the teacher was able to see that she had made a mistake. The professional learning that I took from this for my own teaching practice is the reiteration of the need to show our students that we too are not perfect and that we too make mistakes but that we can be big enough to own our mistakes.

A big one is even just apologising to your students, you know. If you get it wrong or if you got angry. Because I had a teacher in year 9 and we were being naughty and it was a drama teacher and we were being naughty and she yelled at us, and then she left the room and then she calmed down and then she came back and she apologised for getting angry. I remember this because I was like what? I can't believe a teacher is apologising to us for yelling at us because we are so used to being yelled at and then we were like, she actually apologised and said "no matter how angry I am I shouldn't yell at you, I really apologise." And I was like "oh Miss, you don't have to say sorry."

I asked Melita here if this apologising on the teacher's part may have led to reflection on their part on their behaviour that may have led to the teacher getting angry. She responded:

Yeah, hard out because then you realise that actually yes we were being naughty and that's why she yelled and you're used to getting yelled at so when she apologised it did sort of highlight to us that maybe we were being a bit bad.

Melita described the enduring nature of this event but suggests that this may not be something that her peers remember:

Yeah I don't know if anyone else remembered that but I really remembered that because I had never had a teacher apologise to me before. You know, we make mistakes, so realising that that goes both ways [was important] I guess.

Within the stories of these participants it was clear that there were teachers who just really understood them. In an attempt to find what it was about these teachers that made the students feel understood, I looked closely at their experiences. Melita and Rachael both described the way that these teachers helped them to explore things that may have been out of their comfort zone. This exploration was founded on mutual trust that these teachers had built with their learners. Teachers that just "got them" had earned their respect and as a result, they trusted them to introduce them to learning and extend the learning outside of their comfort zones. What is clear in some of these experiences is the reciprocal nature of relationships. There are examples where respect is shown by teachers, therefore respect is reciprocated by students. The self-reflection of Melita's teacher when she apologised, then led to Melita's realisation that perhaps she too was potentially in the wrong.

These teachers also used their discretion and seemed to reject a "one size fits all" in their implementation of the curriculum. This was evident in Manaia's story, when her problems with anxiety were taken into consideration and she was given the opportunity to express her speech through her strength in visual arts. The teacher was aware that making her do what everyone else was doing would not be beneficial to her educational success. This teacher instead drew on Manaia's strengths and allowed her to convey the same message through a different medium. While teachers have the power to make different decisions, many won't.

Within the practice of the teachers that "just get us" was an absence of imposed power structures. These teachers were effective in guiding their learners but they didn't do it in a ways that belittled them. There were times when teachers had to re-align behaviour but it was done in a way that preserved the mana of their learners, and in turn for their learners the mana of their teachers was also able to be preserved. Speaking with students was done firmly but respectfully and with the intention to help them and see them succeed.

Some Teachers Help us to be Strong in our Cultural Identity as Māori

There were two Māori teachers at Hine's school and she spoke of the way that these teachers taught Pākehā staff members how to be culturally responsive and how to respect tikanga. In linking back to my research question there were lessons for my own practice. At my current school there are also only two Māori teachers. Myself being one of these. In

listening to Hine recall the work these teachers are expected to put into teaching non-Māori staff members about things Māori, I was reminded of the importance of my own responsibility. We have to share our cultural knowledge of Te Ao Māori with our colleagues and perhaps communicate better with them in terms of what they may want/ need help with. This is an important additional responsibility and should be recognised as such by school leaders, however, in some schools, this is neither recognised nor appreciated.

Hine described the way Māori teachers ensured Pākehā teachers were able to learn about being culturally responsive:

The Māori teachers had a lot to do with spending time working with the staff around cultural responsiveness and how to be relational with students. You know, to help them understand that these girls come with a whakapapa, they come to represent their whānau their hapū and their iwi. So they've not just been sent here to be educated, they have been sent here because of their whakapapa because of their whānau, hapū, iwi links to get a better education and to be taught respectfully as young Māori women.

And that's what they expect from you as kaiako and so I have a feeling that those teachers were very strong in helping the staff because we could see some changes in the ahua (vibe) of the other kaiako.

Rachael discussed the importance of relationships with whānau. Providing the opportunities for parents to get to know each other and creating a whānau environment. What was also evident were the long lasting relationships as a result of this.

I think that we were lucky to have parents who were invested in [developing] those relationships with the school. I actually don't know how that works I mean I know a lot of it tended to be more around the boarding side of things. I recall fundraisers, they're incredibly valuable for whanaungatanga and you know they were, the way in which we not only developed that financial support for the school, it wasn't [all] covered by our fees, but that enabled our parents to bond with one another and get to know the teachers in the school.

The benefits however were reciprocal.

I think in the same way that helped teachers also get to know our parents. I still have teachers who say I remember your mother. You know a lot of those relationships were formed around those camp meetings. When I say camp they were marae trips, we didn't go on regular camping trips but those kinds of things were that those teachers were emotionally smart enough to recognise those as opportunities to get to know our parents and leverage off that.

In relation to my research question this reiterated the importance of not only creating connections with individual whānau but also the importance of creating opportunities for whānau members to connect with each other.

Several times throughout our conversation, Rachael linked back to the importance of pronunciation. In relation to the research question and my intention of finding professional development within these voices, she is reiterating the importance of correct Māori pronunciation. Although I am able to pronounce Māori names, should I be asking my Chinese student on the roll, with the English version of his name, if he would rather I learnt his Chinese name as opposed to referring to him with a name for my convenience that he may be uncomfortable with? Rachael said:

Pronunciation, can't go past it you know. My third form intake was 40 students, so it was a small school but I guess looking back you had a mixture in my form of names, girls with Māori names and girls with English names like myself. The thing that strikes me about it was the importance of getting those names right. As students because we were the norm at that school, we were all Māori, 100% Māori, we had very little tolerance for teachers who couldn't say our names and we made their life difficult. The behaviour became an issue in those classes because it felt like teachers were being dismissive of the importance of names. So I think we tried politely. Yeah, yeah, like the caring for each other like whanaungatanga. Whanaungatanga, Manaakitanga all of that.

Rachael spoke of the way that once she felt her culture had been respected she and her peers were more inclined to be open to things, as she puts it "wider than Māori". Rachael recalled:

What kind of eventuated was an appreciation that we developed [our learning] for things wider than Māori and I think that that's again a thing that the school did really well, we got to learn from our own culture as the base first before widening out.

Rachael described the many opportunities that were presented for students in relation to what she describes as "The Māori calendar" these opportunities included Kapa Haka trips and festivals. She gives examples of what she referred to above as things that went "wider than Māori". The learning here for teachers is that the more we meet our students in their worlds the more they may trust us to guide them through things less familiar to them. Rachael stated that:

[We had] enormous opportunities to go to things Māori, anything on the Māori calendar whether it was the Coronation of the Māori King, or Queen at that time, Taitokerau festival just right across the events on the Māori calendar really. We attended those and it's because of that and being able to be immersed in that space it was easy for us when our teacher said right we're going to go and see "Porgy and Bess.'' Or annually we went to the University Shakespeare productions. It was easy for us to kind of manage those even though they were quite foreign we were far more receptive to them and to learning about that because we were strong in our own culture first. They filled both worlds as opposed to only one of those, which is I think something that we [as educators] still miss the boat on. Certainly in English medium schooling we tend to not value…. I called them the events on the Māori calendar but the experiences of Māori that are important to us beyond Matariki. I mean it's great we do Matariki absolutely but… You know?

Rachael spoke of the way that although the predominant language at this school was English, Māori culture still permeated throughout the school by way of tikanga Māori and the whānau environment that existed within the boarding side of school, by way of living together. The professional learning here was that although we may be in mainstream contexts where English is the predominant language, by permeating tikanga Māori throughout the school we can still create environments that are encompassing of Te Ao Māori and culturally responsive. Rachael suggested:

To be honest I think it was more Māori than I knew it, then I'd experienced. But I would think that like by the time I reached fifth form, so two years into my schooling there [at the

boarding school], we started getting kids who were graduates of Kōhanga and Kura Kaupapa Māori. There were currently no whare kura and I think they would answer differently because the reo wasn't permeating through everything that we did you know? Like whether it was Kapa Haka or the dining room conversation even Karakia. I think English was the predominant language and Te Reo Māori was still a subject, but I think the tikanga of the place largely was Māori. Yeah students at that time, we only had one weekend every term that we were allowed to be at home aside from your school holidays. So yeah we lived with each other hugely during their time [at school].

Hine spoke of the way that she worked recently in a mainstream context and the school values, on paper, were encompassing te reo Māori and Māori metaphors yet they were not present as the shared lived experience. This highlights the importance of knowing what these metaphors mean and also making sure that if we use these *kupu* (words), we must make sure they are lived values throughout the school as opposed to being tokenistic rhetoric. Hine recalls:

You know I have recently been in a mainstream school, one of the schools I work with and they have those words all over the place, Aroha, Whanaungatanga, Manaakitanga and Pono … but you can't see it though, in practice, you can see it in the Māori department but you can't see it school-wide

Aligning directly to my research question I asked for advice for teachers who, like me, work in a mainstream context where Māori are the minority. Hine gave the following advice:

Firstly, they need to understand what whanaungatanga and manaakitanga, what those words mean, they need to dig deep to be able to understand what those words mean. Definitely those things were instilled in us by our Te Reo Māori teachers, some of our matrons and definitely our senior students knew how important those things were even though we were educated by mostly Pākehā we insured that it was important for us that they pronounced our names properly. Just simple things like that and that they understood where we come from and how we do things as Māori.

Melita discussed the importance of creating a whānau environment:

I liked it. I think it was good for me it was good because it was very much a whānau

Hine also spoke about the importance of a whānau environment:

Whanaungatanga was a very important part of being in the school. Manaakitanga as well, we had our senior leaders who were responsible for a group of junior students so we were well looked after.

Manaia too spoke of this by stating that:

The whole whanaungatanga and community thing, it all functioned around being a community and working together. Like events and things were all whānau and then if there was an issue or a particular thing then it involved everyone because everyone worked together as one.

She then went on to explain the way that relationships had helped her to come out of her shell:

When I came a bit more out of my shell there was more that relationship with everyone So again, community [was essential].

Rachael spoke of the way that being Māori was not something she considered herself to be before arriving at this school. She saw Māori as something that her parents were but had not, prior to this educational experience, identified as Māori herself:

Yeah, I definitely think it did [acknowledging self as Māori] I've said this to you before in another conversation I think it was major, a positive disruptor to the path that I was on. Prior to this I didn't really see myself as Māori 'cause in my previous school, which was eight years of schooling at the same primary school, being Māori meant being different 'cause we were the minority. So for me, coming to this [realisation was important]. So prior to that I would have enrolled to take French a whole bunch of other stuff. I had absolutely no interest in Māori, Te Reo Māori or Kapa Haka so I was on my Kiwi kind of pathway at that point I kind of just saw myself as a New Zealander.

Melita explained the differing ways that cultural identity was fostered at her school:

Karakia, waiata and all that stuff. We had to take Te Reo Māori in all our years as a part of the school.

We would go stay in marae and go off and learn different activities in the area so I think we must have gone to, oh I can't remember, but it was way over in Taupo, Rotorua or Whakatane. I've done these at many different schools.

We were always together so we would always foster Te Reo Māori, Tikanga Māori.

Rachael also spoke of the way cultural identity was fostered. She describes the natural organic nature of this and the way the incorporation of knowledge from Te Ao Māori was never questioned. This raises the importance of normalising the incorporation of Te Ao Māori knowledge within our schools. This also raised the question for me, of how we do this? How can we naturally weave Te Ao Māori through our mainstream contexts to a point where it just feels natural? Rachael recalls:

I think it was so easy and natural. I never thought about it at the time but I recall going to tangi. I didn't think too much of it in my third form about the fact that I was going to a tangi and I didn't know the person. But looking back I realised that if it was someone at school whose whānau member had passed away, then anyone from that region, a van load of us would go and represent [the school] at that tangi, so that's the kind of tikanga that they were enabling. I wasn't aware at the time, I don't think it was ever sort of outwardly, you know, explicitly stated as such but it was a very easy thing. When I say easy, it was never questioned.

Rachael recalls how these experiences provided understandings that became normalised as a teacher:

Looking back particularly to my experiences as a teacher I appreciate how normal that seemed to be at that school. It was just a thing that didn't have, well certainly from a student's perspective, it didn't seem to have so many layers of bureaucracy around it. It was just a given that it was the right thing to do. I can remember going to [a tangi] I think it was [a relation of] a good friend of mine so I had no iwi affiliation but I was selected. I went because she was a close friend so I was allowed to go and I remember learning a patere (chant) from the area on the way down. So again it's just that cultural kind of intelligence that we were going to this rohe (place belonging to a different iwi) so then our school repertoire doesn't apply here. This van load represents people better from this region so it's

appropriate we would use this particular kind of thing [patere]. It's those kinds of things I think I look back on.

She continued by describing how these experiences had continued to influence her role as a teacher:

I think as a teacher in English medium those are still experiences that I hold as being kind of like the benchmark for how things could be. Particularly if they are absent in the school or the setting where I am, those experiences I hold as being a really good example of what it should look like for Māori.

English was the predominant language and Te Reo Māori was still a subject but I think the tikanga of the place largely was Māori.

In relation to travelling back to tangi when a close whānau member of a student passes away and the importance of teachers being able to do this too brought up new professional learning for me. In a school, culturally responsive practice is not solely about our students but also about respecting the culture of staff. Hine stated:

 That's our culture, that's our tikanga.

Hine gave an example of this in practice:

I actually brought the Kapa Haka group back to Rūātoki for a weekend. And we used to take the group back if there was a death in the girl's family we would go to that. That is all part of it. And we had asked, I had asked if we could do that sort of thing because that's really important.

Hine spoke of the way that these teachers implemented Te Ao Māori into the school in a way that was gentle, authentic and without confrontation. Not only did she describe what these teachers did, she explained the way in which they went about it:

Yes, and I think the fact that they did it quietly without any ruffling of anybody's feathers. It was really important, and they were behind the kapa haka. They saw how important that was to bring everyone together and the different tribal groups, so that was really awesome.

Melita discussed the positives of going through what she describes as "weird phases" as a teenager while being surrounded by other Māori girls. The whānau environment created by the school meant there was a level of comfort that may not have been there without this sense of whānau.

The cool thing about this unit and being all girls, we were all Māori girls and we were all able to express ourselves. However, we kind of go through weird phases and [being together meant it could] just be comfortable.

Hine discussed the way that through her schooling experience Te Ao Māori was embraced. Hine arrived at this school already knowing Te Reo and Tikanga Māori as this was taught to her by her Grandparents. This school provided her with an educational context that she could arrive at with her Te reo Māori and Tikanga Māori intact and leave with her Te Reo Māori and tikanga Māori strengthened. Hine said:

Ok, so I went to [this school] in 1971 until 1974 and Te Reo Māori was very much embraced. We had really good Te Reo Māori teachers and Kapa Haka. Kapa Haka obviously at an all-girls boarding school so those things instilled in us the importance of our reo and of our tikanga.

It was clear that for some participants, the advantages of being Māori had been removed through mainstream education to the extent that one of the participants did not see herself as Māori. It is clear that teachers who helped them be strong as Māori were therefore very important.

What was evident in these stories was the nurturing of all four participants' Māori culture. There was an emphasis on creating whānau environments and tikanga was adhered to. Students were able to attend tangi, go on marae trips and celebrate events on what Rachael referred to as the "Māori Calendar". All four participants' educational contexts were inclusive of strong Māori character. For Hine and Rachael, this meant total immersion in a Māori boarding school whereas for Melita and Manaia, this meant learning within a Māori immersion unit within a mainstream school.

Māori staff within the school ensured that Pākehā staff were aware of and implemented Tikanga Māori. Hine who was strong in her own Māori identity and who was educated in the

70s at an all-girls boarding school, explained that education in this school context was able to ensure that students who had been alienated from their own culture in mainstream settings were able to be strengthened back into their Māori culture.

Some Teachers Help us to Succeed Academically

Throughout these stories are examples of the positive influence teachers had on these participants by way of helping them to succeed academically.

Rachael spoke of the way that the teachers contextualised the curriculum to be relevant to Māori girls. She left this school in her final year for a school that had begun accepting female students and when there, she realised how much her previous school had contextualised the curriculum. She recalled two teachers who were particularly influential to her:

Yeah, I think all of them [teachers] were fantastic but I think I have two favourite teachers, one was non-Māori and she was the one that represented a number of them who contextualised the curriculum hugely to us as girls in the first instance and also as Māori girls. I don't think I ever appreciated that until the following year when I went to what was [previously an] all boys school. In the same way that teachers had contextualised the curriculum to boys there was all that prior knowledge and experience and being a girl I didn't understand some of the contexts. Looking back at the last four years in an all-girls school I realised that many of the contexts were set up for girls which is why I think we were really successful.

I asked if there were any particular teachers that stood out. Rachael spoke of two in particular:

The other teacher I'm thinking of was Māori and what I appreciated about him as my Te Reo Māori teacher was he also understood how to teach Māori to second language learners. Although he was a native speaker he knew how to teach kids who were not native speakers. I think it's that, the difference in their approach is not marginalising the learner further by saying "don't you get this?" or you know, he got that we didn't get it in the way that a native speaker would and so he adapted the way in which he taught Te Reo to suit the majority of us. The majority of us were second language learners. I think kōhanga came after our year

group really. Also, certainly the way in which he taught us was responsive to our needs so that was really cool.

Rachael also spoke of the way that that learning took place around the events she refers to as being on the "Māori calendar." She spoke of the way that teachers would work around these timeframes academically and offer extra tutorials around these times to lighten the load and strengthen the learning. In doing this, students were able to be involved in cultural events while still being able to complete their academic responsibilities. She explained:

Polynesian festival was huge and there were other little other house competitions all of that, they were huge in the school speech competitions and our teachers knew the that those things were important, kind of worked around those sort of timeframes and commitments. They would run extra tutorials to lighten the load around those events and then sort of bring it back up in terms of extra tutorials after those times so that we could manage commitments across those different things.

Manaia said that she had teachers who were able to help her navigate the education system in a way that worked for her. She also mentioned the way that her teachers were understanding and taught them as individuals:

Yes, there were definitely teachers who were amazing to me and who helped me navigate the system to make it work for me.

*They were just understanding and just wanting, **actually wanting** each individual to succeed rather that "teaching the masses" thing.*

Rachael spoke of the way that her teachers exhibited effective communication with her parents. She said:

I think the timeliness of information was always appreciated. If I was struggling in something that was communicated and the avenues of support that the school were providing as well as saying if there was anything else that I thought the family could do to support. I think those conversations were always really clear, come and hence my parents were able to kind of respond and say OK here we probably do need to get some extra tutoring in maths.

Hine said:

It was all about learning. All about assimilation for some for some who didn't have the reo but were Māori and were keen to learn the reo. At that time we had some really good girls. They were really good girls and really keen to learn.

Melita spoke of the way that those, like herself, who were interested in Science were given encouragement to pursue this. She said:

Well, I think because in our unit we only really had three teachers and they were always all really supportive of us anyway, in general like, they were always rooting for us. Then in the mainstream I think I was lucky. I got along with teachers and there weren't many Māori students in science, that said there was a big push to get Māori students into science so we were always given a lot of opportunities to go to things to do with science and a lot of push to really get us to do science at uni and to pursue that career and those ideas.

Being strong as Māori was important but on its own, but it was not enough. These women wanted to achieve academic success and gain qualifications. Teachers who positively influenced these women allowed them the space to both gain strength in their cultural identity and also promoted their academic success. While this was especially important when there were cultural events to attend such as tangi or events on the Māori calendar, for many teachers, work missed because of attendance at these cultural occasions would not be taken into account and the work would never be covered. Rachael gave an example of receiving extra tutorials in these times which meant she was able to attend these cultural events as Māori and also achieve academic success.

Academic success did not mean having to compromise who they were. For teachers who helped them to achieve this, it often meant their being prepared to go beyond the call of duty. Some offered tutorials after hours, some went and collected resources for them to help them on their prospective career pathways. It could be said that teachers who did things like this were treating the students as though they were their own children and thus acting as whānau.

Some Teachers Help us Believe in our self as Māori

Evident in these stories are examples of teachers positively influencing participants by helping them to believe in themselves and ultimately realise their potential. Through these examples were teachers who rather than deficit theorise their students, they genuinely believed these girls could be successful and did everything they could to help them be successful.

Melita spoke of the way that some of her teachers helped her and her peers to believe in themselves as Māori. An example of this is shown in the way that a teacher believed in their prospective career paths and would guide them on their path by gathering resources or helping them to know which subjects they would need to focus on in order to be successful in this subject. Rachael explained:

I've had so many teachers that have just been so supportive especially [in the way that] we always got offered opportunities. One of my teachers in science, man she was the cutest she was like this little white lady like you know, sometimes you hated her because she was so old old school and would yell at you but she also had just this really caring heart. If you were interested in nursing she would go off and print you off all these different things and say "well if you're interested in this, here's some stuff that will help you go off to uni and do it," you know?

Melita spoke of the way that her teacher never made them feel that any dream was too big but the teacher did let them know that it would take hard work and guided them towards programmes that would help them to achieve this. She recounted this story while simultaneously giving advice to other teachers:

*A big thing in high school is if they [students] have wacky dreams, actually just as a teacher be like "you can do it" and saying that they can do it but also giving them resources of **how** to do it and pointing them in the right direction. Showing them for example, if they want to be a rapper show them that they need to work on their writing and you have to work hard and you have to practice and read, and stuff like that to get better. It's not something that you can just do. If you're passionate and really want to do it, then do it but don't just say I want to be a photographer and just go out and take photos. Actually, work at it when you do*

it and say well here's some programmes that are being run that are free and you can achieve.

Rachael spoke of the way that the school made sure to display positive Māori role models and the way that this was beneficial. The lesson here in terms of letting these experiences inform my teaching practice was a realisation of the importance of letting children see role models who they can relate to:

We used to have this wall in our dining room which had successful Māori women who graduated from our school. We had the likes of Mira Szászy, Ruia Morrison, Ngāpare Hopa. One of the most iconic photos was when Princess Diana visited and that was from the Herald. All of us were inspired by those photos, we used to check those out all the time and we used to think, one day that will be us. Regardless of what we've chosen to do, there is a respect for each other that we are part of something bigger and better than ourselves and there is always someone out there that would have your back and would help you in whatever way.

Rachael went on to talk about the way that this school moulded young Māori women towards the self-realisation that they too can make a difference:

The acknowledgement of the contribution of Māori women to society and the moulding of us towards making a similar positive contribution. The knowledge that we were capable of that was an incredibly positive thing to grow up around.

For two of these women, teachers who positively influenced them helped them to believe in themselves as Māori women. Rachael described this as Mana Wāhine. Many teachers were effective in helping them to believe that one day these role models could be them. Rachael also spoke of the way that this belief in themselves was strengthened by the support network consisting of her peers. She refers to this as a "sisterhood". She discussed the way her teachers made her feel like she could be successful. Within this belief was an absence of deficit theorising by her teachers. The curriculum was contextualised to young Māori women who were made to feel that they could be successful.

The woman who went to the co-ed school said that although she never felt disadvantaged by being a female she didn't have the same experience with female Māori role models and

Mana Wāhine. Hine said that Mana wāhine was not an aspect that needed to be taught to them as this sense of being strong as a Māori woman was already there from childhood. She said "*I arrived with Mana Wāhine, tikanga Māori and Te Reo Māori already intact and I left this school with all of this still intact*." Having come from a community steeped in tikanga Māori would have strongly supported her positioning.

Some Teachers Help us to Build Resilience for when they are No Longer There

The positive influence that teachers had on these participants encompass aspects that have been long lasting. The formative nature of these educational experiences are shown in the way that they have helped to guide their paths as adults.

Hine explained the way that that self-discipline was taught in the boarding side of her schooling experience. Hine believed that timetabling had instilled self-discipline in her:

I think one of the things that made me feel good was their [teachers'] reliance, their desire for me to lead. I remember a lot of things that were really good, even from the hours we had to wake up. What I really liked was the strictness and the discipline of boarding school life. Having rules. [We had to] Get up at 6'o clock, bed made, and be showered by 6:30 am work duties between 6:30 and 7 and you've got breakfast at 7:30, it taught me self-discipline.

Manaia spoke of the way that she has retained the values instilled in her through her experiences. At the same time, she acknowledges that this is a mixture of what her parents have taught her as well as these experiences:

Yeah, definitely values wise and everything, well from them too (Points to her Dad who was standing in the kitchen while referring to her parents) but everything that the Māori side, the focus on Te Ao Māori has given me.

Melita spoke of the way that the value of Mana Wāhine was instilled in them at their school. She describes the way that she came to realise the strength of this value and the way that she had retained this after she left the school. She explains:

A big one was Mana Wāhine. They really pushed that for us. You were surrounded by Mana Wāhine and you had this different kind of strength that developed. You don't realise it until

*you leave and then you'll go into a space [where you may feel nervous] and be like "oh ok nah I **am** strong."*

Rachael also spoke of Mana Wāhine:

Something that I remember fondly is everyone that was put in front of us kind of emphasised that whole pride in being both Māori and a Māori woman. Growing into a Māori woman so that whole mana wāhine status.

Rachael spoke of the way that her educational experiences led her to her teaching career within English medium contexts. She spoke of the importance of there being Māori teachers in front of those students and the way that she could help them to discover their culture earlier than she had. She said:

I think [this learning experience did influence me] it led me to teaching in English medium, knowing there are other kids out there like me who are Māori. I wanted them to have Māori teachers in front of them who hopefully could help them experience school and learn about our history as Māori within the curriculum. I never got to [learn this] until I'd reached secondary school. I wanted to be, as a primary school teacher, someone who could do that for them in an English medium space .

Rachael also explained the way that the whānau environment was created through the boarding school due to living with each other. She referred to this as a sisterhood and discussed the way that these relationships still exist more than twenty years on. She described this sisterhood in the following way:

 I think being part of a sisterhood as well [at the boarding school] I think we've all reflected that despite it being 20 years since we left school there is still a strong, strong bond that formed because of the boarding situation. What is left, as a result of it, is that huge knowledge that in addition to your own whānau links you have a sisterhood.

Rachael alluded to the fact that her and her peers are still in contact to this day and still encourage each other in their respective career paths.

That has been really reassuring and in terms of work as well seeing the things that people have forged ahead and done professionally.

Rachael spoke of the way that the whānau environment extended also to the parents of her peers. She referred to them as Aunties and Uncles and discussed the way that all these sets of parents helped to look out for them. She described this as creating an environment where they were able to test those teenage boundaries safely:

You never had just one set of parents, you had everyone else's sets of parents too. [It was as if they were] Aunties and Uncles who were always looking out for you. When I look at today, where we are, I think we're fortunate to have that sense of family. [There were times when] you were at a party with your mates and everything, but you had all these Aunties and Uncles who are also looking out and making sure you're safe. When I watch TV, the news, some of the situations our young people, our rangatahi find themselves in, I think we kept ourselves safe. I'm sure things may have happened but in general I think it was an incredibly safe place for us as young women becoming adults really, to test those boundaries safely.

In speaking with these participants, it was evident that this time periods during which they were at school were incredibly formative in terms of their adult lives. Manaia spoke of the way that she has retained the values that were instilled in her within this educational experience. Rachael spoke of the way that this experience guided her path into being a teacher herself. She identified the belief that there needed to be more Māori teachers within English medium contexts. Interestingly, students also spoke of excellent non-Māori teachers.

Hine spoke of the way that the boarding experience taught her self-discipline. The residual effects of Hine's educational experiences are evident in the way that she did not have to put aside her Māori culture in order to learn therefore the connection she already had to Te Reo Māori and Tikanga Māori upon entry to this school this was able to remain intact. As explained in more detail in the literature review, this unfortunately was not the case for many others as the education system for some meant the stripping away of Māori language and culture. One of the younger women has just completed a double major in Science and Te Reo Māori and is currently involved in working actively for Māori self-determination across a number of social issues.

Chapter Five: Discussion

Introduction

The chapter shows how the teachers who were most influential to the schooling of these four women participants were demonstrating deep relationships of respect towards their students which I will describe as mana ōrite and deep relationships of care which I will describe as whānautanga. Within the stories of these participants were examples of teachers creating learning environments where students knew they were believed in and cared for. It is clear in listening to their voices that these relationships had a long-standing influence that have endured and remain with them into adulthood.

Overview of Participants' Voices

Within the stories of these participants, it was clear that there were teachers who just really understood them. In an attempt to find out what it was about these teachers that made the students feel believed in, respected and understood, I listened closely to their experiences. To begin with, I heard about teachers who didn't want to know who their students were as individuals, nor did they care who they were. I learned how the deficit theorising and words of these teachers were influential in negative ways that are forever etched in their memories. Although I did not set out to investigate their negative experiences it was important to include them in the findings out of respect to the authentic experiences of the four women who participated. Their inclusion is also in alignment with collaborative storying where I present their stories in a way that does not omit parts for my own gain. These negative parts of their experiences also serve to highlight the teachers who showed that they cared for their learners and chose to engage in more relational and professional ways. Due to the intention of this research being to examine the positive examples of these women's schooling experiences in order to answer my research question, I acknowledge that not all of their experiences were positive and that we must also learn from their negative experiences as well. However, I also acknowledge that the majority of their recalled experiences were with influential expert teachers who positively influenced and impacted their educational success, as Māori.

These Wāhine Māori spoke of the way the educational contexts provided by their more positive teachers, for the most part resisted colonial power structures in education by placing equal emphasis on the support or implementation of Māori cultural knowledge and activities. Through Te Reo Māori, kapa haka, waiata Māori, events on the Māori calendar as well as school camps on marae, it was clear that these teachers provided responsive and meaningful opportunities for their learners to connect to their culture throughout their learning. However, these teachers also ensured that the activities which allowed them to celebrate their own culture and who they are as Māori, in no way interfered or compromised their ability to also experience academic success, in fact their cultural identity as Māori, was often the platform to their academic success.

The voices of these women also presented examples of how some teachers gave them the confidence to resist deficit theorising. This was shown in the way that teachers genuinely believed in their students' potential and went out of their way to ensure their success. Some teachers guided them as they decided on prospective career choices while others offered visual representation of Māori, female role models for them to aspire to. Some went beyond the call of duty by making sure their learners felt they were worth their time and that they knew that had potential to succeed both while they were at school as well as once they had left. These women did not see these opportunities as being extended only to themselves, but they were also extended to other learners like them. Often these qualities were found in the same teacher.

The reinforcement of Māori culture through relevant and authentic actions, together with the promotion of academic success by way of rejecting deficit theorising and believing in their learners, by some of their teachers across the schools they attended, were effective in creating a whānau environment. Often this involved bringing their whānau themselves into the school and into the learning of their children while at school. The participants brought up this whānau environment with many mentioning the long-standing nature of these relationships established amongst peer groups. Many are still in contact today and are considered by one participant as a "sisterhood". Through this whānau environment emerged reciprocal relationships of trust.

In aligning the literature review and my findings with my research question, this next part of this chapter will discuss the following concepts: resisting colonial power structures; resisting deficit theorising; whānautanga and mana ōrite. In so doing, I intend to illustrate how when these elements are implemented working interdependently and in combination what can occur is Māori enjoying education success, as Māori.

Resisting Colonial Power Structures

Resisting colonial structures means we need to first understand what about our education system is perpetuating Western ways of knowing and being supported by dominant power structures. Once we are aware of the wider social repercussions of disparities for some and privilege for others, we have a choice to resist and stop doing some things the way we are currently doing them or we can ignore what is happening in society and continue to perpetuate the status quo. For many teachers understanding the potential harm they might be doing when some students continue to benefit and others do not, can be the beginning of a heart and mind reset to do things differently with students, in their schools and classrooms.

Examples of resisting colonial power structures can be seen in the way that teachers who have influenced these participants positively have resisted these structures by contextualising the curriculum within Māori ways of knowing. While our curriculum document allows us to do this, many people do not. Examples of resistance within these voices show a number of teachers who demonstrated a deep respect for Māori knowledge and who sought opportunities to meet students within their own view of the world as opposed to assuming that their Western world view was more important and beneficial to them, or that there was only one way to view the world.

In describing teachers who influenced them negatively, these learners speak of the destructive, long-lasting, and deeply embedded effects that colonisation has perpetuated for Māori. Within these experiences there was also a lack of autonomy over their learning as deficit theorising of their academic abilities was being reinforced. This is reminiscent of what L. Smith (2012), discusses as the paternalistic views from colonisers towards the colonised where they believed they know better than us. Within their negative experiences are evidence of the long-standing views of others deciding what was best for Māori. Within

some parts of these stories, it was evident that these paternalistic views toward Māori ways of being, continue to be present within the structures of colonisation including in education. It is important to realise that within their negative experiences are lessons for teachers as to what doesn't work and how what we say and do can have long-term residual negative consequences.

Importantly, within the majority of these women's respective stories were positive examples of influential teachers who rejected deficit theorising and developed positive relationships through which whānau-like environments, paved a pathway to learn and succeed as Māori. The creation of Māori spaces within mainstream contexts as evident in two participants' respective voices are examples in education of resisting the traditional colonial, hierarchical power structures. Resistance to these colonial structures were also evident within the boarding school contexts of the other two women. The initial intention of Māori boarding schools was to assimilate Māori into European ways of living, however, for these women, the opposite was true. Boarding schools gave them the opportunity to either hold on to their knowledge of Te Reo Māori and strengthen this cultural knowledge or they were introduced to positive aspects of their Māori culture and identity as wāhine Māori and able to extend their knowledge.

All of these women, in mainstream and boarding school settings, describe the strong presence of Māori culture within their schooling experiences. This presence took place in the form of being able to attend tangi of friends and family and go to cultural festivals with the emphasis put on learning Te Reo Māori and adhering to tikanga Māori. Rejecting the colonial structures of education for these participants, for the most part, meant they were able to weave their cultural ways of knowing seamlessly through the majority of their educational experiences. A fostering of Te Reo Māori and Tikanga Māori was also evident within all four respective experiences. It was also noted within one woman's experience that within her Te Reo Māori classes there was learning about colonisation and the contention surrounding the differing versions of the Treaty. She noted that at her current university many Pākehā were not aware that there were two versions of the Treaty of Waitangi. This woman also spoke of the way this learning helped her to understand how colonisation has affected us and what this means for us, as Māori today.

As discussed earlier, SooHoo (2004), describes the way that problems are easily identified, yet effective solutions to these problems are often not identified. These findings leave the questions: how do we, as educators, start to decolonise education to ensure that tamariki Māori have educators who "just get them?" And, how do we play our part in decolonising the education contexts within which we work? L. Smith (2012) suggests five conceptual domains are needed within the process of decolonisation. The first of these she labels "critical consciousness." Critical consciousness can also be defined as concientisation (Freire, 1972). Within the work of Kia Eke Panuku Concientisation is described as "understanding the part we play in perpetuating the status quo of inequality" (Kia Eke Panuku, n.d). The many examples of relentless resistance by Māori have been born of Māori realising that change needs to happen and that this has not come from the coloniser, therefore, it needs to be self-determined and led by Māori.

Critical theory and Kaupapa Māori Research as essential foundations of my chosen methodology, Culturally Responsive Methodologies are examples of the realisation by researchers that more participatory actions are needed to resist the Eurocentric ways in which research has taken place and has been "done to" indigenous peoples instead of "with" indigenous peoples. Work by Bishop and Berryman (2006) along with their team in Te Kotahitanga (Bishop et al. 2014) and the Māori strategy Ka Hikitia (Ministry of Education, 2012) are inclusive of Māori voice and cultural knowledge. Each is providing evidence that concientisation is important and beginning to be more present within some parts of society including the education sector.

Resisting Deficit Theorising

Deficit theorising is seen in the belief that students are inherently incapable of achieving academically to a high standard. It is the belief that they cannot be helped and that the reason for the negative statistics lie with the children themselves or outside factors such as the home and beyond the control of educators and educational contexts (Bishop and Berryman 2006). It is a discourse that has been prevalent about Māori since Hunn's report in the 1960s, but it is also a discourse deeply embedded in the Papal Bulls and the Doctrines that led to the discovery and dispossession of Indigenous lands across the globe. (Kaiela Institute, 2018).

Deficit theorising was present within the experiences where the teacher's influence was negative. Discourses were evident of teachers referring to a student as dumb and telling them that they were going to fail. This was also present more covertly in the way that teachers gave more attention and help to non-Māori students or did not provide additional catchup support when Māori students were away attending important cultural events. However, couched within the collective experiences of these participants is the positive influence of teachers who rejected such deficit theorising. These women's experiences also negate the idea of reasons for enduring academic disparities lying within contexts that are outside of the teacher's agency. These experiences suggest that both the cause and solution lie within the practice of influential teachers who resist deficit theorising and replace it instead with what I believe is encapsulated by the Māori concepts of Whānautanga and Mana Ōrite. Factors outside of school were barely mentioned by participants as a reason for their academic success as Māori, which shows the influence that teachers can have on their students can be long lasting and can also be both positive and negative. Teachers who choose to work with the students' whānau for positive things and where whānau have real power to be the decision-makers can greatly enhance what is happening in the school. This is very different from the more traditional response of calling parents in to tell them about their child and the problems they are causing in the school, a more fix them up positioning.

The positive influence of teachers who rejected deficit theorising helped to guide the career paths of most of these women. For one of these women, this meant becoming a teacher who wanted to make the same difference for tamariki that was made for her by influential teachers. She was a teenager before she connected to her Māori culture so wanted to help other Māori students connect earlier with this side of who they are. She now works across a range of schools helping other teachers to be culturally responsive and influence their tamariki Māori positively within mainstream settings.

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Whānautanga

Whānautanga is described by Cranston (2018) as the emergence of whānau-like relationships as a result of working closely together for a common purpose. Within the context of these stories this common purpose is the educational success of Māori as Māori.

Teachers and the students with whom they worked with, in many instances became like a whānau as they worked together with mutual trust and respect thus invoking the emergence of whānautanga.

For two of these women, teachers they recalled as positive influences helped them to believe in themselves as young Māori women and their potential and strength was affirmed and emphasised. This was evident in the way that two participants spoke of Mana Wāhine being at the heart of their experiences. The word "sisterhood" was used to describe this whānau environment. There were visual representations of strong and successful Māori women role models on the dining room wall of Rachael's boarding house. Many teachers were effective in helping them to believe that one day these role models could be them.

These teachers also used their discretion and seemed to reject a "one size fits all" approach in their implementation of the curriculum. This was evident in the way their teachers understood and their practice showed that sometimes what is best for most students isn't always beneficial for all students. Teachers who influenced these women positively were seemingly aware of what each student needed, whether it was academic, social or cultural help, and they differentiated their teaching practice accordingly. These teachers also had very high expectations of the students' potential to succeed when the appropriate teaching support was extended, whenever and whatever that needed to be. Examples of this were evident when problems with anxiety were taken into consideration; when learning missed due to events on the Māori calendar, was made up for by way of extra tutorials; and when the teacher was aware that making learners do what everyone else was doing would not be beneficial to the educational success of some individuals.

There were examples of whānautanga where teachers took students into their own homes. This was in one case to offer outside of school tutorials and in another instance to allow a participant a place to stay on exeat weekends due to her boarding hostel being so far from her home. These are both examples of going beyond the call of duty and forming relationships of care where students were treated as if they were their own children. While within my own mainstream, predominantly European workplace such an exercise on my part would be seen as inappropriate, even to have students in my own house. What can be

implemented though is the idea of going the extra mile for our students and differentiating our teaching to cater for individual potential rather than just a focus on needs.

Whānautanga was also spoken of as not only being between teachers and students but also being extended to the families of the respective students. One participant refers to the parents of her classmates as Aunties and Uncles who helped keep her safe through those teenage times of experimentation and testing of boundaries. Opportunities for parents to meet each other and bond through school fundraisers was also mentioned as a way that whānau environments were formed and maintained. Some teachers not only knew their students well they made it their business to have a relationship with the parents of their students as well.

Another example of creating and maintaining whānautanga was the way in which behavioural problems were dealt with. In the examples where some of these women spoke of being pulled up on their behaviour by the teachers who were positively influential, there was a sense that this was done in a way where their mana was left intact. These teachers did not belittle them or shame them in front of their peers. They got their message across and in some instances when parents had to be invited in this was done in mana enhancing ways with the same respect, calmness and kindness. The students' wellbeing was the motivation for the realignment of behaviour. This is an important point for us as teachers to reflect on and ask ourselves, do we deal with behaviour in a way that is just enough to realign behavioural problems or do we possibly go too far in an attempt to assert our position of "boss". Do we leave our students with their mana and self-worth intact or have we put in motion a gradual erosion of self-esteem and worth by way of our need to be seen as "in charge"? These stories can teach us as educators that there is a way to get our point across and change our students' behaviour positively without the need for yelling or over exerting our power as teachers. These stories also tell us that when we do preserve our students' mana, it is appreciated and remembered.

Examples of whānautanga were also evident within comparative comments of the women whose educational contexts were within Māori units at mainstream schools. One of these women spoke of the way that the mainstream teachers didn't really know her very well yet the teachers within the unit were effective in making students feel comfortable and in a safe

environment. This same young woman spoke of the way that these positive relationships and community played a real part in helping her to come out of her shell.

These above examples encompass strong relationships of care and for their students as if they a whānau. Teachers who were invested in their future, knew that their cultural strength and wellbeing as Māori was important, as was their academic success. When these students felt cared for they trusted their teachers and reciprocated the respect that they felt their teachers were extending to them, thus demonstrating relationships of Mana Ōrite.

Mana Ōrite

The relational partnership aspect of the Te Tiriti was referred to by Māori as Mana Ōrite (Berryman et al. 2018). Within these experiences are strong relationships of mutual respect and trust. The strength of the relationships between teacher and student emerged from students feeling that their culture was respected and that their teachers genuinely cared about them, respected them, believed they could succeed and wanted them to succeed. Berryman et al. (2018) state that Mana Ōrite "Brings responsibilities to both groups to maintain the mana of the other, and understand the mana of both as `ōrite (equal) " (p.4). When students respond positively to the teachers in reciprocation for being responded to positively and with respect by their teachers, Mana Ōrite is present.

What is clear in some of these experiences is the reciprocal nature of relationships. There are examples where respect is shown by teachers, therefore respect is reciprocated by students. The self-reflection of Melita's teacher when she apologised, then led to Melita's realisation that perhaps she too was potentially in the wrong. Reciprocal relationships of respect, evident in the experiences of these women, were a result of whānautanga and the relationships of care that were shown by these teachers and boarding school staff members. When students felt cared for and respected they reciprocated this respect. Evident too was when a student felt like their teacher was being respectful of their world, in return, they trusted the teacher to guide them into their world through exposure to things, even when they were outside their comfort zones.

The examples within the voices of these participants exemplified true and genuine examples of giving mana to and honouring this relational part of The Treaty. There seemed to be

genuine motivation behind this partnership as Mana Ōrite was established from a belief in the students' potential and a genuine want on the teachers' part for them to succeed. The motivation behind the establishment of Mana Ōrite within these stories was not to serve the teachers themselves for registration purposes or status, the motivation was to help their students succeed.

Examples of Mana Ōrite were also shown in the way that reciprocal relationships of trust and respect were extended to parents. Parents were told immediately when there may be a problem and the way this was approached was in a way that showed the learner they were all there to help them as a *rōpū* (team), as opposed to being there to pass judgement or "growl'' them. There was a sense of mutual respect between teacher, parents and student and the issue was dealt with together and without punitive outcomes. Another of these women also spoke about the way issues were dealt with as a rōpū and referred to this as the community working as one. These aspects are all evidence of positive relationships encompassing of Mana Ōrite.

Through relationships of respect, Mana Ōrite was born, where regardless of the teachers' race there was organic and genuine respect between teacher and student. When students felt respected by teachers they in turn respected them.

The resistance of colonial power structures and deficit theorising paved the way for the emergence of whānautanga and Mana Ōrite. The presence of whānautanga and Mana Ōrite were instrumental in ensuring these women were not only able to succeed academically but to do so, as Māori.

Māori Success as Māori

Māori success, as Māori, refers to tamariki achieving academically and this success must not be at the expense of their Māori language or culture. Being strong in their cultural identity was vital to the positive experiences of these women but this on its own is not enough. Māori succeeding as Māori also encompasses the need to achieve academic success but not at the expense of your cultural identity. It is a simultaneous flourishing of both culture and academic achievement. Academic success as Māori allows students to have autonomy over the way they make sense of their learning, this being through their own cultural lenses and by drawing from their own epistemology. Within these experiences, this was about

attaining success without having to concede to Eurocentric ideals thus resistance to colonial power structures. For some participants, this meant weaving their cultural knowledge and understanding seamlessly through their learning. For one this meant a new-found connection to their culture and identity as Māori. A connection she has now retained into her adult life.

Some teachers respected the importance of attendance at whānau tangi as well as events on the Māori calendar and refused to let their students' learning suffer as a result of this attendance by offering extra tutorials. This showed the students that these events were important and were respected by their teachers. This experience encouraged reflection of my own practice. Poukai, where the Māori king visits different marae around the time of the *koroneihana* (Coronation) is an important event for many of the Māori students at the school I teach at. I came to the conclusion that I had not effectively gone out of my way to make up for the lost learning when some students were away for this significant cultural event. Perhaps, we as a school, should be doing more to attend significant cultural events on the marae of our mana whenua so that this becomes an important part of our learning intentions for all of us. This is something I will change as a result of hearing these voices.

What was clear within these voices too was that Māori culture was part of their education in a way that was organic and natural. An example of this is evident in the way Māori values come up frequently within the stories as an authentic part of their lived experiences. In one experience there was the comparison between actual lived values and the values that are written everywhere but not seen in practice. The values that these women have retained were shown, modelled and lived as opposed to just written. One woman recalled that due to the Christian nature of her schooling context the *official* values would have probably been along the lines of *aroha me te pono* (love and honesty). Despite the existence of *official* Christian values, the values she remembers are manaakitanga and whanaungatanga because these were modelled, encouraged, experienced and seen in practice by people she respected. This was important for my own teaching practice. I am currently part of the team that are re-establishing our school values and her thoughts on this reiterated the importance of making sure that the values we choose are values that can be seen in practice, not just on fancy signs around the school.

Conclusion

These voices have shown the way that resistance, by some of their teachers to colonial power structures has allowed for educational experiences in mainstream schooling to be inclusive of and experienced through Māori epistemology. The rejection of deficit theorising has meant that some teachers have demonstrated a belief in their students and their way of being, which in turn created mutual respect. This mutual respect built the foundations needed to ensure whānau environments thus reciprocal relationships or mana ōrite. The cumulative nature of these elements within these voices were successful in allowing these wāhine Māori to succeed, as Māori.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

Introduction

I conclude by aligning what I have learned from my participants to two existing frameworks, one that comes from critical theory and one that comes from kaupapa Māori theory. Within both models are opportunities to work seamlessly across these theoretical frames and there are examples in the literature where this has happened. I use Freire's (1972) Pedagogy of Hope and Berryman and Eley's (2017), Ako: Critical Contexts for Change as the findings within this research reflects contexts found within both these models.

Pedagogy of Hope

In education disproportionate numbers of Māori students continue to be failed by our education system setting up systems through which Māori continue to be oppressed. From a critical theoretical position, Freire (1972), suggests

> "the oppressed are not marginals, are not men living "outside" society. They have always been inside - inside the structure which made them "beings for others". The solution is not to integrate them into the structure of oppression but to transform that structure so they can become beings for themselves". (p.48).

The process for bringing about a pedagogy of hope begins with a belief in both our hearts and minds that our tamariki can and will be successful. This can be achieved through the simultaneous nurturing of both cultural and academic strength. It must continue by resisting the practices that support the status quo of inequity and replacing them with pedagogy that is transformative and more socially just.

Pedagogy in Practice

The pedagogy of hope presented above, aligns closely with the findings in this thesis. Influential teachers were effective in creating learning environments that encompassed, nurtured and strengthened their students' cultural strength and academic strength. These teachers rejected deficit theorising and believed in the success of their students using their learners' cultural identity as a platform to ensure academic success. Learners' culture was

not compromised at the expense of their academic success and likewise their academic success was not hindered by there being a simultaneous focus on culture. These teachers had both the hope and belief that their learners could and would continue to be successful. Teachers aligned cultural knowledge of their students with effective and deliberate acts of teaching that ensured this was true.

Similar learning contexts were noted in Berryman and Eley's (2017), Ako: Critical Contexts for Change model where they describe key elements for success as, "culturally responsive and relational practices in all aspects of school life; deliberate professional acts applied with adaptive expertise, and home, school and community collaboration" (p.102). They continue by saying that with "a focus on simultaneous success trajectories - both a student achievement goal as measured by success in national qualifications and the policy context goal of succeeding without compromising the learner's language, culture and identity" (p.102) the learners' success can be accelerated. These ideas which come largely from Kaupapa Māori theory, align with the findings of this thesis and the recollections by these women of teachers who fiercely believed in them and had a genuine desire for them to succeed. There are lessons to be learned about what this pedagogy might look like in practice. Cultural strength and academic strength, the two essential elements.

Cultural Strength

All four Wāhine Māori spoke of the way cultural strength was a tenant of their educational experiences. One of these women spoke of her educational context as a place that allowed her connection to Te Ao Māori to remain intact while another spoke of this educational context being an introduction to her cultural identity as Māori. Cultural strength was both attained and maintained by influential teachers who were aware of the importance and effectiveness of weaving their learners' culture through their classroom implementation of the curriculum. Māori values were modelled in a way that was organic and natural and as such have been remembered into adulthood giving them pride in their Māori heritage and identity.

Academic Strength

Although cultural strength was strong within these experiences the teachers who were positively influential were aware that building cultural strength was crucial although they

knew that, in isolation, this was not enough. In order to attain success as Māori, cultural and academic strength must be viewed as "simultaneous success trajectories". I would argue that these trajectories must be interdependent if success, as Māori, is to be attained; without the other, success as Māori would not be possible. Teachers who were recalled as positive influences were also effective classroom teachers who knew that earning their respect across all aspects of their profession were crucial in earning their learners respect and trust. These teachers did not deficit theorise about their learners or families rather they helped them to realise that they were worth their time and able to succeed academically. In incorporating these womens' culture, as well as promoting their academic success, these teachers were honouring the promises inherent in The Treaty in ways that were organic and meaningful as opposed to token gestures or rhetoric.

Implications for other Indigenous People

This thesis is written from the context of achievement disparities for Māori within Aotearoa's education system. However, it is important to note, that this is not a problem exclusive to Aotearoa. There is evidence within other colonised countries such as Australia, Canada and America, that the introduced colonial education system that was forced on indigenous learners has not served them well. Educational beliefs, policies and practices that have failed indigenous students have happened on a global scale.

What is also evident is that examples of resistance to these colonial structures of power are also happening globally. There is an alignment with Aotearoa's Ka Hikitia Māori Strategy in Australian documents such as *Guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies* (Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 2021). Through Archibald's (2008) work on the First Nations people of Canada, it is evident that educational issues in need of urgent address lie at the intersection of Colonial Education structures and Indigenous educational knowledge. I believe there to be an element of transferability in this research where extending the scope of research to include the voices of indigenous learners from around the world could provide valuable knowledge. Careful consideration would need to be given to ensure we don't paint a picture of all indigenous people being the same as each is unique. It could be said though, that there is a sense of comradery with those whose cultural strength and academic strength have simultaneously fallen victim to social

engineering and cultural genocide. A camaraderie as such can work together to claim back autonomy over what once was theirs.

Both Freire (1972) and Jackson (Kaiela institute, 2018) speak and write of an element of hope that lies within the many stories of oppression. Indigenous people all over the world continue to suffer the dire consequences of colonisation. This is both undeniable and irreversible for those who are no longer with us. Perhaps though, in aligning with Jackson's idea of finding the "noble beauty" (2018) that sits within, that is hard to face, this can also mean that we as indigenous researchers could work as a team on a global scale. Through academic activism we could start to unravel the colonial fabric that oppressive and Eurocentric curriculum policies are sewn from. Resistance could continue, together, through whānautanga and mana ōrite on a global scale.

Limitations of the Research

A limitation of this research is that only female voices were present. It is my belief that this did not hinder my findings and speaking to other wāhine Māori was incredibly inspiring. However, in order to gain a wider collection of experiences and a clearer picture of Māori experiences through Aotearoa's education system it could be beneficial in a future study to include the schooling experiences of male voices. The absence of *tane Māori* (Māori men) from this thesis was not intentional which raised the question of why some tane Māori, some of whom were relatives and who are quite comfortable speaking with me on other *kaupapa* (topics), did not wish to speak about their educational experiences. This is something I believe to be worthy of investigating in potential further research.

Another limitation of this research is that only four experiences were included. I believe there is far more to be learnt through the voices of Māori and the inclusion of more voices would more accurately answer my research question. The scope of this research could be extended too, with most of these participants attending school in Auckland, it could be beneficial in future research to include the voices of Māori who went to school in the South Island or in more rural settings to see if their experiences differ from or reiterate the voices present in this research.

In examining the negative statistics, the disproportionate effects for Māori are clear. What is clear too is that Pasifika peoples feature heavily within these negative statistics as well.

What could be useful in future study is the inclusion of Pasifika voices as well. Aotearoa's colonial history may not apply in the same way, although racist policies such as the Dawn Raids show that colonisation has not worked for Pasifika and have taken their toll on Pasifika peoples too.

Wider Implications

Given that Aotearoa is a colonised country and our disparities are far reaching and are evident across the range of social sectors this research has the potential to be transferred to other sectors. For example, Māori also feature within negative statistical indices in Aotearoa's health system as well as statistics surrounding poor housing conditions within low socio-economic areas (Salesa, 2017). The transferable nature of this research lies in the need to hear from Māori voices themselves. Māori voices that tell their own stories about why the health sector may not be working for us. Their own voices as to why our life expectancy is shorter than for non-Māori. The absence of our own voice results in Māori once again being told by Non-Māori what works best for us and how our problems are best solved. Adapting the research question to ask what the intergenerational voices of Māori can tell us about disparities and solutions in Aotearoa's health care system could be useful further research. Researchers from different sectors could also work on the same project to acquire a communal understanding of Māori disparities. Working on research together as opposed to as independent silos could be effective in gaining a clearer understanding of how transformative change could take place across all of the different systems that impact on Māori.

Conclusion

What was found within the experiences of these four wāhine Māori was the resounding fact that teachers are influential. As teachers, we are influential within the formative lives of our learners. What we think in our heads and hearts, what we say and what we do, all work to shape the way our learners view themselves as well as the world around them. Teachers' influence can be either positive or negative and it is our responsibility to reflect on our own teaching practice to identify which of these we are imposing. This crucial self-reflection of our teaching practice includes the need to look at how we may be negatively influencing our students. Important to note too is the fact that acquiescing to the deeply embedded status

quo of an education system that has clearly failed to serve indigenous children well is also worthy of our reflection. This active reflection is what Freire (1972) refers to as concientisation. Consientisation is needed for collective resistance to take place against the colonial power structures of education. These same colonial power structures that have influenced Eurocentric curriculum policy throughout Aotearoa's educational history thus leading to the achievement disparities that Māori face today.

Although reflection of our professional practice as teachers is crucial, in isolation this is not enough. Once we have identified what it is that we need to change, we need to take action, if we are to achieve the transformative change required for a more socially just society. There is an element of irony to research in that the more we search for answers, the more questions seem to emerge. Examples of new questions in this context are; is it possible that we as teachers are reluctant to see ourselves as part of the problem? By our very definition as teachers we are meant to hold knowledge that we then teach. Does the act of questioning our own knowledge then impose a perceived threat to our ego as educators who are supposed to be holders of knowledge? If this is the case, can we learn to put this aside for the sake of our tamariki? Concientisation, resistance and transformative change can only happen when we are collectively willing to see that we may be a part of the problem.

The intergenerational voices of these four Wāhine Māori who have succeeded as Māori have taught me of the enormous and long lasting influence we as teachers can have on our learners. They have taught me that whether our influence is to be negative or positive is our choice and is dependent on how willing we are to reflect on our practice and accept that our actions or lack thereof may be a part of the problem. The intergenerational voices of these four Wāhine Māori have taught me that the simultaneous nurturing of our learners' cultural strength and academic strength is needed to ensure that tamariki Māori are able to attain academic success as Māori. If we are to be on the right side of the changes that are needed it is important to understand that our agency lies within us, that is, what is in our heads and our hearts about our learners and about learning.

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Appendices

Information Sheet

No Rotorua ahau
Te Arawa tōku waka
Ngongotaha tōku Maunga
Ngāti Pikiao me Ngāti Whakaue ōku hapu
Rotorua tōku Roto
Ko Katie Virtue ahau

Tēnā Koe _____,
My name is Katie Virtue and I am a student at The University of Waikato. As part of my work towards a Masters in Education I will be carrying out research for my thesis. My passion and the kaupapa of my study is Māori education and investigating ways to improve educational outcomes for Māori, as Māori. The term "as Māori" meaning that your culture was respected, valued and embedded throughout your educational experiences. I wish to capture the experiences, voices and stories of Māori, who through a range of intergenerational timeframes and a range of educational settings within Aotearoa, believe they have had positive and successful educational experiences, as Māori.

What would being a part of this research entail?

Being a participant in my research would consist of a half hour initial discussion to give you this information sheet and answer any questions you may have. I would then appreciate a 1 to 2 hour interview with you to discuss your educational experiences. You may also choose to have a support person present as we speak. I will then transcribe and summarise what we have said in our conversations and return this to you for you to check that I have accurately represented your voice through the transcription. If this is not the case, I will meet with you again to make amendments and ensure that I more clearly and accurately represent your educational experiences. Checking of this transcription should take around 1 hour. In total, I will be asking for around four hours of your time.

Right to decline, right to withdraw

There is no pressure to be a part of this research. However, if you do decide to be a part of this research and later you decide that you no longer want to be a part of it, you have the right to withdraw from this research up until the point at which you approve the transcriptions of our interview. No disadvantages or repercussions will result from withdrawing from involvement in this research.

Justification for the study

A significant and long enduring issue in Aotearoa's education system is that there is a significant disparity in educational achievement between Māori and non-Māori. I am wanting to investigate the exceptions to this experience and have conversations with Māori who believe they acquired success through Aotearoa's education system without compromising their Māori identity.

Confidentiality

While every effort will be made to protect your anonymity in this research, this cannot be guaranteed. I will make every effort to ensure your privacy and confidentiality by keeping your name and the name of the schools we speak of confidential.
Your identity will be safeguarded by removing all identifiable features from your transcript. Where necessary, pseudonyms will be used in write up of my thesis.

Please note that due to Covid-19 there is a potential for contact tracing to take place. In this instance I will need to register you as someone I have interacted with. This does pose a potential anonymity and confidentiality issue where people outside of this research will be aware of your connection to this research.

If you have any concerns about this research, please contact me on
kav7@students.waikato.ac.nz or 0273751146.
Should there be no resolution, or a dispute arises please contact my supervisor;
Professor Mere Berryman
07 5773567 DD
07 577 3560 Office

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter
Ngā mihi tino nui Katie Virtue.

Consent Form

Tēnā koe _____ ,

If you agree to be a part of this research please tick each statement to confirm that you understand what being a participant in this research entails. Please don't hesitate to contact me on 0273751146 or kav7@students.waikato.ac.nz if you have any questions at all. I would like to emphasise that there is no pressure in being a part of this research and you are able to decline involvement without any form of repercussion or ill feeling.
Thank you for
yourtime
Ngā mihi tino nui
Katie Virtue.

- I have read the information form and am aware of the purpose and intentions of this research ☐
- I agree to being interviewed about my educational experiences ☐
- I agree to my voice being recorded during this interview ☐
- I understand my right to decline involvement in this research ☐
- I understand that I can withdraw from involvement up until the point where I accept the transcription ☐
- I understand that due to Covid-19 there is a potential for contact tracing to take place. In this instance I will have to register you as someone I have interacted with or you will have to register me as someone who you have interacted with. This does pose an anonymity issue where people outside of this research will be aware of your connection to this research ☐
- I understand that every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality and anonymity ☐

- I understand that all data collected will remain confidential and secure. All hard copy data will be scanned, backed up digitally, and shredded ☐
- I understand that If I have any concerns or questions about this research you can contact me on kav7@students.waikato.ac.nz or 0273751146 ☐
- I understand that should there be no resolution, or a dispute arises please contact my supervisor you are able to contact my research supervisor Professor Mere Berryman on 075773567 DD or 075773560 office ☐

I _____ have read and understand the information sheet provided. I am aware of my right to decline involvement as well as my right to withdraw my involvement from this research up to the point where I accept that the transcription of my interview with Katie. I understand that every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality and anonymity.   I _____ do/do not (please circle) give Katie permission to include my educational experiences in her research thesis.
Signed _____