

Kia matāra: Negotiating Challenges in Māori Development. Moderator -
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Māori and bicultural positions: Professional development programme for Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour

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While this paper reports on only two of the four RTLB courses, it attempts to explain the key
principles and intentions of the programme

The Ministry of Education has introduced a new and far-reaching policy initiative, Special Education 2000. One component of this policy is the provision of professional development for approximately 700 Resource Teachers [Learning and Behaviour (RTLB)]. These resource teachers will help schools to meet the needs of students experiencing mild to moderate learning and behavioural difficulties. An important aim of the professional development programme is to prepare RTLB to improve the quality of support to teachers of Māori students in conventional and Māori medium classes. The programme consists of four courses, one introducing key concepts, one focussed on class-wide interventions, one focussed on school and community, and the fourth being a professional practice folio. This paper describes the Māori and bicultural content of the first two courses within the RTLB programme. It assesses the extent to which the programme addresses critical questions (Bishop, 1994; Bishop, 1996) relating to the ownership and control of Māori content included in the first two courses.

As part of the New Zealand Government's Special Education 2000 policy, a new teacher development and support initiative was introduced to assist teachers of students experiencing mild to moderate learning and behavioural difficulties. Our team from Auckland, Waikato, and Victoria, universities was contracted by the New Zealand Specialist Education Service (now Group Special Education) to design and deliver a professional development programme for approximately 700 Resource Teachers Learning and Behaviour (RTLB). We have drawn on several different professional development positions: namely, consultative, collaborative, and reflective

practice, educational-ecological, applied behaviour analysis, and Māori and bicultural. This paper addresses the Māori and bicultural positions, as the other positions are examined separately elsewhere, (Brown, 1998; Macfarlane, 1998; Moore, 1998; Thomson, 1998; Timperley, 1998).

It is abundantly clear from existing research that the greatest ethnic-group representation among students experiencing learning and behavioural difficulties in conventional schools is Māori (Burgess, 1992; Clark, Smith, & Pomare, 1996; Kelly, 1990; Macfarlane, 1998). The rate of suspension and expulsion of Māori students is several times that for non-Māori

students. Only three or four of approximately 100 former Resource Teachers Guidance and Learning (RTGLs) were Māori. Similarly, the percentage of Māori RTLB in training and in schools is disproportionately low.

Therefore, it appeared highly unlikely, unless our programme offered specific training, that the majority of newly appointed RTLB would lack sufficient knowledge and understanding of Māori cultural positions on human development, and on learning and teaching to provide effective support for Māori students. Furthermore, the basis of training for many RTLB was the Mangere Guidance and Learning Unit model (Thomas & Glynn, 1976) dating from the mid-1970s. This model did not address specific structural and cultural issues impacting on the learning and behaviour of Māori students in conventional schools. This is of major concern in relation to our commitments, as education professionals, to the Treaty of Waitangi (Glynn, 1998).

In New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi defines the relationship, between Māori and non-Māori, which arises from their status as joint partners in founding the nation in 1840. While many non-Māori New Zealanders have come to regard the Treaty of Waitangi as an expression of principles such as partnership and equity, Māori have long regarded it differently. Māori have regarded the Treaty as a charter for power sharing in the decision making processes of government, for self-determination as an indigenous people, and as a guide to intercultural relations in New Zealand (Durie, 1995). The Treaty now occupies an important position of providing guiding principles for subsequent legislation, government policy, and administrative practices. The Treaty has particular implications for education professionals, (Glynn et al., 1997a; Macfarlane, 1998) as we will outline in this paper.

The most crucial article of the Treaty for educational professionals is Article 2 (a) by which the Crown ceded to the chiefs tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) over their lands, forests and fisheries, and all other taonga (treasures or resources). Durie notes that while the English

equivalent of tino rangatiratanga is contentious, there is considerable agreement that the essential meaning is carried by self-determination. Article 2 (a) implies that the Crown and its agencies must recognise the right of Māori to continue to define, protect, promote and control all of their treasures and resources. Included among those treasures and resources are all those things to do with language, epistemology and pedagogy - what counts as knowledge, and how that knowledge is to be preserved, transmitted, used and evaluated. Hence, Article 2 (a) addresses issues of curriculum development, teaching methods (including assessment and evaluation practices), and the control and conduct of educational research. We believed that the RTLB programme needed to honour all articles of the Treaty of Waitangi, but especially Article 2(a), and that this needed to be reflected in terms of its development and delivery.

In planning the content and delivery of the programme we sought the advice of a wide reference group of Māori educators and kaumātua from the Runanganui of the Specialist Education Service. Our teaching team includes Angus Macfarlane (Te Arawa), Wally Penetito (Tainui), Dick Grace (Ngāti Porou), and Timoti Harris.

Two hui were called, expressly to address Māori concerns about the content and structure of the programme. We were charged in no uncertain terms with the responsibility for ensuring that this programme would not end up as merely another programme with a token Māori content "add-on". Kaumātua expressed the wish that the programme would do justice to Māori positions on learning and teaching, and would respect the wairua (spirituality) of Māori students. Māori elders and educators indicated that the programme offered an important opportunity to "make a difference" for those Māori students experiencing learning and behavioural difficulties. They also made it clear that we should continue to report back to them as the programme progressed.

Two crucial questions, which arose in the context of these hui, have strongly challenged our efforts to protect the integrity, the distinctiveness, and the quality

of Māori knowledge and preferred pedagogy. They have challenged us to avoid capture of these components by non-Māori, whether intentionally or unintentionally (Smith, 1990). The first was whether to begin addressing Māori programme components from a bicultural partnership position, consistent with the Treaty of Waitangi, or whether to begin by introducing non-Māori RTLB to a Māori worldview, consistent with learning something about your Treaty partner in order to respect their position. The second question was concerned with finding an appropriate structure to honour Article 2(a) of the Treaty of Waitangi - whether to devote one of the four courses entirely to Māori cultural values and worldview, or whether to require Māori cultural values and worldview to permeate all four courses.

On the question of where to begin, we decided to start by offering RTLB a small window into the Māori world. We presented workshops providing examples of Māori cultural values, images and metaphors, preferred ways of learning and teaching, statements of cultural identity, and theoretical perspectives on human development and relationships between people and the land. We tried to present RTLB with the understanding that there is a depth of indigenous knowledge deriving from the ancestral inhabitation of Hawaiki and Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The programme began with what was, for many RTLB, a first look into a living and contemporary indigenous language and culture, containing different views and positions on issues facing New Zealanders. This provided a sharp contrast to the images held by some teachers of a pre-colonial Māori world, located in the distant past, but without a distinctive present or future orientation. Only after ensuring that RTLB understood this position did we focus the programme on bicultural issues and relationships. It was a case of first learn who your partner is, learn to respect their identity and their integrity, and learn not to continue to speak and act on their behalf.

On the question of course structure, arguments supporting the first position were in terms of it being easier to “hold together, in one place” Māori conceptions of human development, identity, theories,

metaphors, icons, and teaching and learning practices. Further, this position would make it easier to represent an authentic and holistic view of the Māori world. Māori teaching staff would be able to focus their efforts within one coherent domain, which was under their control.

Arguments supporting the second position were in terms of precluding students from adopting a “tick off and move on” or “been there and done that” approach, whereby once you have completed the compulsory Māori requirement, you “get on with the rest of the course”. It was argued that students would learn more from having to continue to think about Māori concepts, metaphors, icons, and values if they were encountered within every course throughout the programme. Students’ respect for Māori knowledge and culture would grow as a result. This is consistent with the view espoused by Hirini Mead that culture is not something to be put aside while the “real” educational issues are addressed (Mead 1997). Culture is not something that gets in the way of learning at school, and therefore needs to be discounted or be left at home: although this is indeed what happened to Māori language and culture over many years in the New Zealand education system. After lengthy debate among ourselves and with kaumātua and Māori educators we decided to go with the second option. This has proved much more demanding, but also more rewarding in terms of RTLB reflecting their new learning in their professional practice.

Te Ao Māori content in Course 1 (Te Kuhuna)

The first of the four courses, Te Kuhuna: concepts and ideas that underpin the entire RTLB programme. The Te Ao Māori section of the course aims to increase students’ knowledge and understanding of the Māori world, as a contemporary living culture. In order to facilitate this, Macfarlane (1999) outlined various dimensions of Māori culture: historical, functional, aspectual, operational, and psychological. These dimensions highlighted the central importance, and traditional values within the Māori world. They provided RTLB with an appreciation of a Māori holistic worldview, a worldview

that links the past and the present, the sacred and the secular, the physical and the spiritual.

Māori members of the teaching team shared from their own stories and

experiences to bring to life for the RTLB important sets of cultural concepts and their inter-relationships (Table 1).

Table 1.

Important Sets of Cultural Concepts and Their Inter-relationships.

Te Pō / Te Ao	Worlds of Darkness / Light
Te Ao Tawhito / Te Ao Hurihuri	Ancient World / Modern World
Waka/ Iwi / Hapū / Whānau	Canoe / Tribe / Sub -Tribe / Family
Mana atua / Mana whenua / Mana tangata / Mana motuhake	Mana of Gods / Land / Individual / People
Taonga tuku iho / Ngā mahi a ngā tupuna	Legacies / Traditional Practices
Tamariki –Mokopuna / Rangatahi / Pākeke / Kaumātua	Children / Youth / Adults / Elderly
Tuakana / Teina	Older Person / Younger Person
Pōwhiri / Mihimihi	Welcoming Ritual / Recognition Ritual
Karakia / Waiata	Incantation / Song
Pūrākau / Pakiwaitara	Legends / Mythologies
Tāpu / Noa	Sacredness / Purification
Manaaki / Tiaki	Pastorality / Guidance
Tika / Pono / Aroha	Justice / Integrity / Acceptance
āwhina / Tautoko	Help / Support

Learning about these sets of cultural concepts provided RTLB with a brief but powerful glimpse into the Māori world. This experience showed them how important it is to have appropriate cultural knowledge, so that they can appreciate the learning and behavioural difficulties encountered by Māori students in conventional schools. Interventions that ignore, or belittle, these cultural values and perspectives run the risk of doing further harm to Māori students. Interventions to improve learning and behavioural outcomes for Māori students need to take on board the message that “culture counts”.

For the first group of 56 RTLB from the Waikato region, the course focussed on aspects of Tainuitānga and on Kīngitanga in particular. Māori staff emphasised the role of Kīngitanga in the past and the present as a unifying movement within Māoridom. They referred to the central spiritual and cultural importance of Te Arikinui, Te Atairangikahu and the role of poukai in unifying many different Tainui marae. For the remaining 194 RTLB in other regions the focus was on local iwi, their histories and their current concerns.

Timoti Harris presented a session inside the wharenuī in which he discussed

the wealth of meaning underlying the human qualities and values represented by the carved pou, namely, whanaungatanga, manākitanga, aroha (including its painful as well as its joyful connotations), mana, ihi, wehi. RTLB were privileged to see and hear these concepts explained by knowledgeable Māori staff within the safety of the wharenuī. This enabled them to venture briefly into a Māori cultural context, and experience what was for many of them a new and different way of learning and teaching in the field of human development. RTLB students throughout the country have had similar input relating to iwi from their own region from local kaumātua and from Māori staff on the teaching team.

Course 1 also required RTLB to apply their new knowledge and learning. The Te Ao Māori assignment involved gathering and reflecting on information relating to the mana Māori in their schools. This assignment, worth 25% of the course mark, required RTLB to present a report about one school in which they worked and to include information on:

- the proportion of Māori students and Māori staff

- the different iwi represented among the Māori students
- the iwi holding mana whenua status
- Māori names for landscape features around the school
- a pūrākau (story or legend) relating to
- a description of resources for Māori students
- an assessment of the respect for mana Māori in the school

RTLB were also required to compare and contrast their findings with those of other RTLB colleagues and report on the extent to which mana Māori was respected across the four schools.

We were impressed with the quality of the assignments returned. There was evidence of careful and respectful consultation of kaumātua and Māori staff in their schools. There was evidence that kaumātua and Māori staff had been willing to share some beautiful pūrākau relating to mountains, rivers, and tribal ancestors in the greater Waikato region, including some references to both pre- and post-contact events. RTLB obtained some telling comparative information on the proportions of Māori students and staff in their local schools. They identified examples of careful collaboration between schools and their Māori communities over delivery of Te reo Māori programmes. They also identified examples where the language and cultural aspirations of strong and vibrant Māori communities had yet to be addressed in their local schools.

In endeavouring to assess the extent to which mana Māori was evident in schools, RTLB consulted with kaumātua, Māori teachers and Māori support staff, and ensured that these voices and positions were reflected in their assignments. RTLB were able to identify ways in which they could improve their own work in helping schools to meet the learning and behavioural needs of their Māori students. Most importantly, they learned the lesson that "culture counts" when it comes to devising effective ways to improve learning and behavioural outcomes for Māori students.

Bicultural content in Course 1 (Te Kuhuna)

In addition to their introduction to Te Ao Māori in Course 1, RTLB were introduced to an analysis of the Treaty of Waitangi: in terms of the responsibilities of education professionals, particularly those who are non-Māori. This analysis connects Article 1 with partnership responsibilities in terms of issues such as school governance and policy development. It connects Article 2(a) with the rights of Māori to define, protect, and promote their own knowledge, language, culture, and their preferred means of transmission of these. It connects article 3 with the responsibilities of educational professionals for ensuring equity of access and participation in education.

This analysis locates the principle of tino rangatiratanga firmly within the contexts of curriculum and pedagogy. It focuses on the need for majority Treaty partner to step aside and make space to allow the minority treaty partner to exercise greater autonomy over what Māori knowledge should be taught, who should teach it, and how it should be taught.

Workshop exercises explored the analogy between the effects of an imbalance of power and control in intimate personal relationships and the effects of an imbalance of power and control in our Treaty relationships. The same analogy was explored further in terms of strategies for redressing the power imbalance. Redressing this power imbalance is a central element of role of the RTLB and their schools in relation to Māori students, their whānau, and community. RTLB were challenged to take a proactive role in bringing about changes in the learning and behaviour of the more powerful Treaty partner, in order to improve the learning and behaviour of Māori students in conventional schools.

Te Ao Māori content in Course 2 (Te Putanga)

The Te Ao Māori section of Course 2 aimed to broaden and deepen students' knowledge and understanding of the Māori world. Two main themes are explored in this course, Growing Up Māori, and the connections between Māori Language and Māori cultural values.

In Growing Up Māori, classes focussed on the interaction of social, economic, and cultural factors in contemporary whānau and iwi life. Foremost among these factors is whanaungatanga, which was discussed in the context of its implications for cultural identity and for child rearing practices. The course stressed the importance of whanaungatanga for RTLB's understanding of the need for whānau support systems in schools, and for getting assistance in locating appropriate Māori people to approach when trying to assist Māori students. The course also explored Durie's analysis of the very real costs and benefits for Māori of practising whanaungatanga in contemporary New Zealand society (Durie, 1994). Practising whanaungatanga in contemporary New Zealand is not all sweetness and light.

A second major factor covered in Course 2 is the continuing and central position of the marae in defining, practising, and maintaining Māori language and culture (Roa, 1987). Issues discussed included the places of both traditional iwi-based marae, and contemporary urban "nga hau e whā" marae. The course stresses the importance for Māori students and their whānau in having links to their appropriate marae, as well as the importance of schools establishing working links with particular marae in their district.

Course 2 also focussed on the depth of the links between the Māori language and culture. The course presented a number of different whakatauki emphasising the high value Māori place on te reo rangatira. Connections between structural features of the Māori language and corresponding cultural values and practices were illustrated. One of these is the elaborate system of pronouns, which was linked to the complexity of relationships between the speakers and listeners. Another is the different markers of possession, which were linked to Māori positions on owing something and belonging to something. A third is the relatively simple set of time markers which was linked to the oral tradition in which stories and events from the past are given life in the present in the words of the story teller. Finally, the Te Ao Māori content of Course 2 introduced some structural elements of a simple mihi, such

as reference to mana atua, mana whenua, and mana tangata. These elements were linked to understanding differences between Māori and Pākehā definitions and expressions of personal identity, and what is more important in introducing oneself in a Māori context.

Bicultural content in Course 2 (Te Putanga)

The bicultural content of Course 2 introduces three intervention programmes, all aimed at improving the achievement of Māori students.

The first programme is Tatari, Tautoko Tauawhi (Glynn, 1994; Glynn et al., 1993a; Glynn et al., 1993b): a reading tutoring programme derived from the English language Pause Prompt Praise programme (Glynn, McNaughton, Robinsion, & Quinn, 1979; Glynn, 1995), but remodelled for use within Māori learning such as adult-child tutoring or tuakana-teina tutoring (Glynn et al., 1996). RTLB were presented with a summary and demonstration of implementation procedures from both Māori and English programmes. This enabled them to link their learning of Māori language examples of prompting (tautoko), and praising (tauawhi), to learning that was already familiar to many of them from their previous experience in using Pause Prompt Praise.

The second programme Hei Awhina Mātua (Glynn et al., 1997b), is a whānau-based approach to addressing behavioural and learning difficulties experienced by Māori students at home and school. Design and implementation of this programme involved detailed input from kaumātua, kuia, parents, whānau, teachers, and especially students, in identifying positive behaviours, troublesome behaviours, and the contexts in which these occur. The programme includes a video of eleven skits depicting home, school, and community contexts, in which problematic student behaviours occur, together with a workshop manual and course materials. We emphasised the need for RTLB to engage in full consultation with Māori teachers, Specialist Education Service Māori staff, and community members, if they intend to implement this programme effectively.

The third programme is the Hikairo Rationale (Macfarlane, 1997). The Hikairo Rationale is an approach to the management of students who are experiencing behavioural difficulties. It draws on both contemporary theories of human development and traditional Māori concepts and values. The Hikairo Rationale was first trialled at Awhina High School in Rotorua, where Angus Macfarlane was principal. The seven-step rationale is so named because of the way peaceful resolution was reached following the Ngapuhi encounter with Te Arawa on Mokoia Island in 1823. According to Stafford (1967), the Ngāti-Rangiwēwehi chief, Hikairo, displayed such mana that the aggressors, under the illustrious Tai Tokerau chief, Hongi Hika, declared that there would be no more hostility (ibid). On this occasion, assertive dialogue, fundamental assurances, and simple sincerity, brought about a change of attitude in the behaviour of those on both 'sides' of the issue. The Hikairo Rationale is appropriate for working with both Māori and non-Māori students and teachers, even though its guiding values, icons and metaphors come from within a Māori worldview. RTLB were introduced to the seven-step procedure, in the Hiakaro rationale, in the context of a discussion of the different meanings and understandings that specific student and teacher behaviours might have within Māori cultural contexts, and how these differ from meanings and understandings arising in non-Māori cultural contexts.

In Course 2 RTLB are also expected to apply their new knowledge and understanding. One assignment had them collaborating with a teacher in a class in where there were at least several Māori students. They had to seek out examples of Māori-preferred educational principles and practices, such as ako, learning through exposure (modelling), learning within groups, memory and rote learning and story telling (Glynn & Bishop, 1995; Metge, 1983). They had to utilise these examples in forming an assessment of the effectiveness of the classroom learning environment. This is consistent with the TIES II instructional environment assessment procedures (Ysseldyke &

Christenson, 1993). The postgraduate group were asked to produce an action plan to show how these principles and practices might be used to enhance the participation and learning of Māori students. All students were required to relate their findings to the Treaty of Waitangi.

Again, we were impressed with the quality of the assignments returned. The students showed commitment to the provision of culturally appropriate learning opportunities, as is needed if the spirit of the Treaty is to be honoured within conventional classrooms and schools. Such opportunities typically included tuakana-teina (cross-age) peer tutoring, interdependent cooperative group work, direct modelling of new learning, and increased opportunities for group, as well as individual, assessment of learning. Most assignments pointed out examples of such culturally preferred strategies in conventional classrooms. A number of assignments discussed how this type of culturally relevant pedagogy might address the major power imbalances in classrooms between Māori students and majority-culture teachers. In addition, a number of RTLB indicated how the experience of working through this assignment had led them to understand at a much deeper level the need to increase the number of Māori teachers who are strong in their language and culture in conventional schools. In short, they had come to appreciate in terms of their own lived experience, that "culture counts" in enhancing the wellbeing and achievement of Māori students.

Evaluation

To evaluate how effectively the RTLB programme is honouring the Treaty of Waitangi, and how well it is responding to Māori demands for self-determination, we employed an evaluation process based on four critical questions (Bishop, 1994; Bishop, 1996).

1. Initiation: Whose concerns, interests and methods determine the design and conduct of the programme? Traditionally educational programmes have been initiated and participants accessed in ways that are located within Western European cultural concerns, preferences, and practices. With respect to initiation, it is clear that Māori

educators and elders from the Specialist Education Service runanganui (National Council of Elders) have had considerable, and early, input into the design and delivery of this course. Their input was particularly strong in the debate and decision-making around the key questions of where to begin, and whether to adopt a separate or an integrated approach. The teaching team remains accountable to them for the delivery of the Māori material throughout the programme.

2. Benefits: Who will gain from the programme? Traditionally, benefits of many New Zealand educational programmes have been located within non-Māori cultural perspectives. Our reading of the Te Ao Māori assignments in Courses 1 and 2 suggests that not only RTLB themselves, but also that Māori teachers, Māori students, and whānau, are likely to benefit from this course. Content of the assignments completed indicate that delivery of Māori components of the course have increased the understanding and respect of RTLB for Māori language and culture, and their rightful place in conventional schools in Aotearoa-New Zealand. In the remaining two courses, we expect this to translate into further positive outcomes. These outcomes will help ensure that classroom and school learning contexts are both safe and beneficial for Māori students.

3. Legitimacy: Whose life experiences and social reality is depicted in the programme, and with whose voice? Traditionally, programmes have undervalued and belittled Māori knowledge and learning practices (Bishop & Glynn, 1992). They have often imposed positions and practices that deny the legitimacy of a Māori worldview. Māori members of our teaching team went to great lengths to share their own experiences as students, teachers, and teacher educators. They drew on their considerable experience in running programmes for Māori students who were at risk, or who had dropped out of conventional Education. Again, course work assignments completed by RTLB contain stories told to them by tangata whenua, providing them with histories of the district surrounding their schools that were quite different from the histories they

had learned themselves. Their assignments contained the voices of kaiako, kaiāwhina, and kaumātua. These voices identified anxieties and concerns about the need for schools to employ Māori people to uphold the Māori language and culture within their schools.

4. Authority: Whose authority is claimed for programme content and delivery? Traditionally, educators have insisted on interpreting and expressing the meaning of Māori concepts and cultural values in terms that are acceptable within a Western worldview. Within the RTLB programme, responsibility for ensuring the authenticity of Māori cultural content rests firstly with the Māori members of the programme development team. They are accountable to their own iwi, to their Māori professional colleagues, as well as to the Māori reference group described earlier. However, responsibility rests also with non-Māori members of the team, in terms of their Treaty obligation to promote and protect Māori self-determination. Throughout the courses we have tried to emphasise that the responsibility for changing school structures and practices, so as to improve the achievement of Māori students, rests with non-Māori and Māori alike. We have tried to share with RTLB our belief that they have an important role to play in this process.

Conclusion

Working on the RTLB professional development programme, with a teaching team from three universities has been fascinating and very worthwhile. In the present era of competitive market-driven tertiary education, opportunities for cooperation and collaboration are rare. It has been stimulating to be able to draw on the wide range of expertise and experience of Māori and non-Māori across three universities. We know that the programme we have put together charted new ground and posed considerable risks and challenges. However, we also know that the programme we have put together is potentially better than a programme any one university could have achieved on its own.

We would like to conclude with a whakatauki that captures the working

relationship among our team, and among the RTLB and their teacher colleagues. It also signals a positive working relationship between the two peoples of Aotearoa-New Zealand that is consistent with the Treaty signed in 1840. This proverb is a powerful statement about cooperation and inclusion.

*Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi
Engari taku toa i te toa takitini*

*My strength does not lie in working
alone
Rather, my strength lies in working
with others*

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