



## Bicultural challenges for educational professionals in Aotearoa<sup>i</sup>

**Ted Glynn**

School of Education  
The University of Waikato

### Introduction

As educational professionals in New Zealand at the approach of the twenty-first century, some 158 years after the Treaty of Waitangi, we face some major challenges in examining our bicultural goals and achievements. In this paper I explore some of these goals and achievements which I believe must be addressed in our pedagogical practice and in our educational research.

Underlying both of these endeavours is the relationship between the two peoples whose representatives signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Mason Durie concludes that, although the precise terms have yet to be worked out, there is a high level of agreement that the Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of New Zealand and has profound implications for the way in which Māori participate as full citizens in the economy and in the education system (Durie, 1993). In the summary of the Orakei Report, the Waitangi Tribunal states that the Treaty:

... was not intended merely to fossilise the status quo but to provide a direction for future growth and development. It is not intended as a finite contract but is the foundation for a developing social contract. (Waitangi Tribunal, 1987)

While many non-Māori have come to regard the Treaty as an expression of principles such as partnership and equity, Māori have long regarded it 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.

I believe that the most critical article of the Treaty for educational professionals is article 2 (a) by which the Crown ceded to the chiefs *tino rangatiratanga* 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 (Durie, 1995). 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 pedagogy and epistemology—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. Our greatest challenge as Treaty partners and educational professionals lies in learning to understand

---

<sup>i</sup> Inaugural Lecture, University of Waikato, 11 September 1997



this principle of *tino rangatiratanga* and how to create opportunities for Māori to exercise it within our professional domain.

Despite the promises of the Treaty, the history of the relationship between Māori and Pākehā people in New Zealand has not been characterised by partnership and power sharing. Rather, it is a history characterised by political, economic and social control by the majority. Our history has progressed through armed struggle, biased legislation and successive educational policies and initiatives that have imposed English language and Western European knowledge codes at the expense of Māori (Bishop & Glynn, 1997a).

Central government educational policies have ranged through assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and biculturalism. The cumulative effect of these policies has been to require Māori to sacrifice more and more of their language, culture, and educational aspirations to the needs and aspirations of the majority culture. Gloria Ladson-Billings, reviewing research on academically successful African American students in the United States, concludes that the students' academic success came at the expense of their cultural and psychological wellbeing (Ladson-Billings, 1995). In the New Zealand context, it would seem that participation in mainstream education has come for Māori at a cost of their own language, culture and identity.

It is ironic that New Zealand educational professionals acknowledge that recent refugees and economic migrants are entitled to have their language and cultural practices recognised within our schools (Holmes, 1990; Wong-Fillmore, 1991). Instruction via the medium of students' first language, and valuing of students' cultural differences are seen as crucial for the educational and psychological well-being of individual students and their families, and consequently for the well-being of the host society. In a review of New Zealand and overseas literature, Keegan (1996) observes that for a number of indigenous peoples immersion education in their own language has become essential not only for language maintenance or revival but also for maintaining and enhancing indigenous culture. New Zealand educational professionals are much slower to recognise that the language and cultural practices of indigenous Māori people are just as crucial as those of refugee and migrant groups, and for the same reasons.

Māori educational aspirations, Māori-preferred approaches to learning and teaching, and Māori perspectives on educational research are barely visible within mainstream New Zealand education. *Tino rangatiratanga* in these contexts is at best only dimly understood. However, the concept gains in stature and strength within the context of international rights of indigenous peoples, as expressed in the Coolongatta statement of 1993:

Indigenous people have the right to all levels and forms of education. They also have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions, providing education in their own language. (Article 14, Coolongatta Statement, 1993)

The Coolongatta Statement notes that one of the greatest challenges confronting indigenous peoples in the final years of the twentieth century is how to promote, protect and nurture indigenous cultures in an ever-changing modern society. In the context of the Treaty of Waitangi, is not this also one of the greatest challenges facing both Māori and Pākehā educational professionals in New Zealand? How are we to address this challenge?

Māori education professionals are addressing the challenge by adopting a critical perspective described as *Kaupapa Māori*, a grass roots theory of social change and resistance, the "Māori way of doing things; Māori control; Māori autonomy" (Smith, 1990). *Kaupapa Māori* is at the same time both a proactive "self-determination initiative" concerned for language and cultural survival, and simultaneously a reactive resistance initiative" concerned to respond to domination by the majority (Smith, 1995). *Kaupapa Māori* initiatives have enjoyed a very high profile in New Zealand Education since the first *kohanga reo* (Māori language nests) appeared in 1982. Contemporary Māori Education initiatives include well over 800 language nests, approximately 40 *kura kaupapa Māori* (Māori

immersion primary schools), four *whare kura* (Māori medium secondary schools), as well as three *whare wananga* (Māori tertiary institutions).

While acknowledging the principle of *tinu rangatiratanga* in these Māori initiatives, non-Māori education professionals need to address this challenge also. There is a great deal to be done in terms of adopting into mainstream education pedagogical strategies that are consistent with Māori-preferred practices.

## Pedagogy

Educational professionals and the wider New Zealand community have been slow to acknowledge the importance of culture and cultural differences, as key components in successful learning, particularly with respect to Māori (Gerzon, 1992; Simon, 1993). Assertions that we are all New Zealanders, that Māori and non-Māori have equal educational opportunities, and that teachers should treat every individual the same, all fail to address two major concerns.

First, this position does not begin to acknowledge *tinu rangatiratanga*. Treating everyone the same does not address Māori aspirations for their children's education. Māori aspire for their children to succeed at school in all areas of the curriculum, but also to learn about their own culture, history, and contemporary society. Further, many Māori want to achieve these aspirations through the medium of their own language. Māori achievement in the mainstream education system should not have to occur at the expense Māori language and cultural aspirations.

Second, as a minority, Māori continue to have minimal power to effect cultural change within the mainstream education system. This lack of power stems not only from their minority status, but from the cumulative belittlement of language and culture over generations of institutional suppression (Bishop & Glynn, 1992). Currently, not only do Māori children struggle to succeed in the mainstream system, but many of them do so without the support of an adult community that is strong in its own language and culture (Glynn & Bishop, 1995).

The mainstream itself needs to change, and non-Māori educational professionals need to initiate this process. How? Joan Metge (Metge, 1983) challenges us to adopt those pedagogical principles and practices which are recognised as characteristically Māori by Māori who strongly identify as culturally Māori. She describes a series of educational principles and practices which form a coherent educational pattern, and have an underlying holistic perspective on learning and teaching.

### 1. *Ako*

As introduced by Rose Pere (Pere, 1982), the term *ako* does not clearly distinguish between teaching and learning, or between the teacher and the learner. *Ako* refers instead to a "unified cooperation of learner and teacher in a single enterprise" (Metge, 1983). This is beautifully exemplified in the *Atarangi* method of language learning pioneered by Katarina Mataira and Ngoi Pewhairangi. The concept *ako* offers a distinctly different cultural perspective on the interchangeability of teacher and learner or tutor and *tutee* roles. It identifies a Māori cultural context for understanding research which reports learning gains for both tutors and *tutees*, for example in learning to read (Medcalf & Glynn, 1987; Wheldall & Mettem, 1985).

### 2. Modelling: Learning through exposure

Metge describes this as a learning and teaching process which is informal, semi-continuous, and embedded in the life of the community. The exposure strategy covers a wide range of applications, both those that take place in the context of daily living (language learning, housekeeping, child care)

and those that occur on dramatic occasions such as hui on marae. Modelling is a naturalistic strategy in early language teaching and learning, in both Māori and non-Māori learning contexts. However, in the Māori world, active listening, looking and learning, without always having an immediate opportunity to perform is expected in contexts such as powhiri (formal welcomes) or tangihanga (funeral ceremonies). Educational professionals face the challenge of extending our use of modelling and imitative learning strategies within our mainstream educational settings.

### 3. Learning in groups

Māori preference for learning in-group contexts over individual contexts reflects their everyday interaction in whānau processes, including the benefits and responsibilities that go with living and working as a whānau. Whānau is used here in its metaphoric sense (Metge, 1990; Smith, 1995) in that while kinship is the traditional basis for whānau formation, whānau now form around needs to address common goals with members coming from a variety of tribal areas, but currently living in the same locality. For example, Metge (1983) discusses a preferred strategy for incorporating new learners into pre-existing groups which may contain individuals who have a wide range of levels of expertise. Kapa haka groups rarely start off anew, but successively place new learners among experienced members. New learners progress through mastery of more advanced tasks, including the teaching of further new members.

Different perspectives on the ownership of knowledge call for different assessment strategies. In some group learning contexts, the learning outcome is itself a group performance, as in a performance of a lengthy moteatea (chant). Does it make sense to assess the group's performance of a long moteatea by assessing the performance of each individual separately?

From a Māori perspective, contributing to the physical and social wellbeing of the group is as important as achieving the task goals set by the group. Therefore, in addition to measuring task achievement, assessment of group achievement faces the challenge of employing culturally appropriate criteria such as tautoko (support) and manaaki (hospitality). Fortunately, these concepts are usually embodied in observable behaviours and interactions in culturally safe contexts. For example, observational studies of language use in kohanga reo settings (Hōhepa, G. Smith, L. Smith, & McNaughton, 1992; Tangaere, 1992) provide a useful guide to culturally competent strategies for observing and recording language interactions. Also the hui itself can be understood as a powerful context for the assessment and evaluation of new initiatives and proposals, embodying Māori-preferred processes of problem solving and decision making (Bishop & Glynn, 1997b).

### 4. Memory and rote learning

Māori people continue to place a high value on the accurate memorisation of knowledge, to a level of complete mastery. Knowledge may be transmitted through the planting of information in the puna mahara (memory) of young children through exposure to a wide variety of oral literature (Royal, 1993). Children later continue to elaborate their understanding of the information received through continued exposure and group performance in culturally appropriate, and often tribally specific, contexts. Arriving at a complete understanding of the meaning of some moteatea, tauparapara (incantations) and karakia may take a lifetime. However, to ensure the protection of certain knowledge, accurate and safe transmission with total mastery is vital. Observing and listening to whaikorero, waiata, and other forms of oral literature presented on any marae demonstrates convincingly that such rote learning strategies are not associated with trivial or surface learning, but rather with learning that is both complex and deep. The challenge here for educational professionals is to appreciate the degree of social and contextual support, as well as the learning and teaching strategies which continue to make such feats of learning possible.

## 5. Story telling

Story telling is both a culturally appropriate and effective teaching and learning strategy capable of transmitting sophisticated and complex information (Glynn & Bishop, 1995). Stories may convey tribal information on whakapapa (genealogy), cosmology, geography and history. Stories of famous journeys by major ancestors might include the origins of place names, prominent landscape features, description of tribal boundaries, location of key resources, and waiata and karakia as instructions for accessing or preserving those resources. One fascinating example is the story told by Apirana Taylor (Taylor, 1992) of the cultural contexts in which a contemporary koro (grandfather) gradually instructs his mokopuna (grandson) in the use of the taiaha, in response to persistent demands initiated by the boy. The telling of this story reveals structural links between past and present actions, events and locations which facilitate the recall and retrieval of language and cultural information by the grandfather exactly as it is needed to move the boy along to the next step in his learning. This was a powerful learning context for both koro and mokopuna, and evidenced all the characteristics of a responsive, social context for learning (Glynn, 1985; Glynn & Glynn, 1986). These characteristics include learner-initiated interaction with a more skilled person with whom there is an enduring positive relationship, responsive (rather than simply corrective feedback), and reciprocity in learning. Reciprocity was evident in that the koro relearned tauparapara (chants) and waiata he had long forgotten, while the moko progressively learned not only skills to wield the taiaha but also the spiritual and cultural knowledge that surrounds and protects those skills. Story telling of this calibre challenges us to assess and appreciate the range and quality of information that can be learned and retained with this deceptively simple narrative approach to pedagogy.

## Kaupapa Māori research

Educational researchers traditionally have generated research questions about Māori performance and achievement, from non-Māori cultural perspectives. This has resulted in harmful distortions or oversimplifications of Māori history, Māori culture and in particular Māori perspectives on learning and teaching (Bishop & Glynn, 1992). These distortions and oversimplifications have lent support for majority culture education professionals to invoke deficit models to explain under achievement by Māori students, for example, Lovegrove (1966). Deficit models seek to account for under-achievement in terms of perceived deficiencies in students' family, social and cultural backgrounds, requiring students to undergo more intensive remedial programmes. However, uncritical implementation of such 'remedial' programmes may undermine the capacity of minority cultural groups to maintain their own language and culture. This is likely to have a further negative impact on achievement (Wong-Fillmore, 1991).

It is not surprising that such research has been slow to engage the interest of Māori educators, and slow to contribute to the learning of Māori children. Bishop and Glynn (1997b) argue that these problems have arisen because researchers have neglected to address issues of locus and power, control and ownership. So long as ownership and control of the research remains with the researcher, research questions and research processes preferred by Māori may continue to be ignored. These issues of power, control and ownership can be summarised as a series of critical questions for researchers to address.

*Initiation:* Whose concerns, interests and research methods determine the design and conduct of the research? Traditionally, educational research has been initiated and participants accessed in ways that are located within Western European cultural concerns, preferences and practices.

*Benefits:* Who will gain from the research? Research participants do not always benefit from research projects. Research has often served to advance the interests, concerns and methodologies of

researchers, and benefits have been located within the researchers' cultural perspectives. This has not worked well for the betterment of Māori in mainstream education.

*Representation:* Whose life experiences and social reality is depicted in the research, and with whose authority? Traditionally, research has misrepresented Māori knowledge and denied the authenticity of Māori experience and voice.

*Legitimacy:* Whose authority is claimed for research texts? Traditionally, research has undervalued and belittled Māori knowledge and learning practices, and imposed positions and practices that deny the legitimacy of a Māori world view.

*Accountability:* To whom are the researchers accountable? Who controls the initiation, procedure, construction and evaluation of knowledge generated by the research? Traditionally, Western researchers have insisted on interpreting and expressing the meaning of findings in terms of criteria acceptable within a Western worldview.

Tino rangatiratanga is at the heart of kaupapa Māori approaches to educational research. Māori means of accessing, defining and protecting knowledge existed before European contact (Bishop, 1996a). Kaupapa Māori research is currently being revitalised and legitimated within the Māori community. Māori-preferred cultural values and practices are being incorporated into the research process. These values and practices are expressed through concepts and ideas carried through the Māori language and culture. Māori approaches to educational research are permeated by concepts such as taonga tuku iho (ancestral traditions), whakapapa (genealogy), mana (legitimation and authority), wairua (spirituality), manaaki (kindness), tiaki (caring) and whakawhānaungatanga (establishing relationships and networking). Further, kaupapa Māori approaches ensure that ownership and control over the entire research process, from framing research questions and selecting appropriate paradigms and methodologies, to presentation and dissemination of information, is located within Māori cultural perspectives.

Within a kaupapa Māori framework, research groups constituted as whānau (a metaphoric use of the concept of extended family) can form relationships and patterns of organisation similar to those applying within a traditional kinship whānau (Bishop, 1996a). One such research whānau has been established, based on the Specialist Education Service Poutama Pounamu Education Research Centre in Tauranga (Harawira et al, 1996). This research whānau has taken up some of the pedagogical and research challenges I have presented earlier. Members of the Poutama Pounamu Research Whānau have been an integral part of the four examples of research which follow. They focus on improving the achievement of Māori students, and also validate the cultural identity and tikanga (culturally appropriate processes) followed by its members.

## 1. Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi reading tutoring

*Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi* is a set of one-to-one oral reading tutoring procedures to assist students experiencing reading difficulties derived from previous research in South Auckland (Glynn, McNaughton, Robinson, & Quinn, 1979). In a Māori language reading tutoring study at Mount Maunganui Intermediate School, 26 tuakana-teina (tutor-tutee) pairs and eight control students in Māori medium and mainstream classes took part. From a Māori perspective the tuakana-teina relationship carries with it more than just the connotation of peer tutoring or buddy support. It also carries cultural meanings to do with the relationship of an elder sibling towards a younger sibling, and the rights and responsibilities that each has towards the other within a kinship whānau.

Our teina (tutee) students gained between 1.5 and 2.0 years in reading level, increased their correct reading rate by 15 words per minute and lowered their incorrect rate by almost two words per minute. Tutees also increased their comprehension scores by between 20 and 46 per cent. Our tuakana (tutors) also benefited from participating in the tutoring role. They gained between 0.5 and 1.3 years in reading

level, increased their correct reading rate by seven words per minute, and lowered their incorrect rate by 0.8 words per minute. They also increased their comprehension scores by between 19 and 41 per cent.

In this study all our students read exclusively Māori language texts, and the *Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi* procedures were implemented predominantly in Māori, yet gains were made by both teina and tuakana on measures of reading in English. Tutees gained 1.0 year in English reading level and 20 per cent in English comprehension. Tutors gained 0.5 years in reading level and 25 per cent in comprehension. Important cultural learning also took place. Students learned to understand and value the tuakana-teina relationship and its two-way responsibilities, thus highlighting the inseparable linkages between language learning and cultural learning.

While *Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi* strategies have proved to be highly effective for Māori students learning to read in Māori medium classrooms, the great majority of Māori students are in mainstream classes, and many of them require additional support when learning to read in English. Our Research whānau decided to train a group of volunteer adults who were members of the Māori Women's Welfare League, many of them grandparents, to tutor low progress Māori readers using the English language Pause Prompt Praise reading tutoring strategies. These senior Māori women were matched with individual Māori students. Being able to relate to their readers from within a Māori cultural perspective enabled the tutors to establish and strengthen their whānau connections with the students, as well as to implement the *Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi* strategies. This ensured that the readers were working within a responsive, social, and culturally safe learning context. The positive reading gains made by all the students in this study were reported to the Ministry of Education.

## 2. Hei Awhina Matua

*Hei Awhina Matua* is a whānau-based project which addresses behavioural and learning difficulties experienced by Māori students at home and at school. Tino rangatiratanga was recognised through the research whānau dealing with Bishops critical questions of ownership and control within a Māori cultural context (Bishop, 1996a). Design and implementation of the project involved kaumatua and kuia, parents, whānau and teachers from three schools in Tauranga Moana, all of whom have a strong commitment to Māori medium education.

In the first phase of the *Hei Awhina Matua*, students, parents, and teachers recorded and prioritised behavioural and learning difficulties and the home and school contexts and settings in which they occur, using three behaviour checklists prepared in both Māori and English (Glynn et al, 1997). From the behaviour checklist data it was clear that both whānau members and students agreed that arguing and fighting with brothers and sisters were the top ranked items. Other problem behaviour items shared between student and whānau member lists, were shouting and yelling, not listening, teasing, taunting, not following instructions, tantrums, 'packing a sad' and hitting. These were clearly related to arguing and fighting with siblings. The findings provided a strong focus for the home setting skits on a *Hei Awhina Matua* video which was developed to demonstrate alternative positive approaches.

Students and teachers also gave high ratings to school sports, fitness, playtime, and other outside activities, as contexts in which problem behaviours occurred. These data suggested supervision of playground and sporting activities were concerns that teachers needed to address. They also identified a need for skills on the part of students and teachers in negotiating and following rules for playground games. Two behaviour skits were developed around these concerns, and ways to resolve them.

While we had planned extensive consultation with students in this project, we were surprised and delighted when the students themselves sought and provided valuable input into the project at various stages (Glynn et al, 1997). Students contributed to writing behavioural checklists and assisted in prioritising behaviours and settings of greatest concern. They wrote and acted in eleven video skits

which portrayed those behaviours, and the home, school and community settings in which they occurred. They assisted in producing and directing the video skits which present parents and teachers with constructive ways of responding to student behaviour. Some students joined with the research whānau to present a progress report to the Ministry of Education and travelled to Dunedin to help edit the video. It is clear from their own comments that the students had a firm grasp of the purpose of producing the video skits, and their role in the process:

The teachers thought that if they had written the scripts themselves nobody would have believed what was happening. We all agreed. It would have seemed that we were just kids doing a video because we had to, and we didn't know what we were doing. I thought it was good for us that way. (Bronwyn, 12 years)

We went through the skits and were told we were allowed to have a say in writing any of the scripts. I thought that was neat because we had people my age saying how people my age are talking. Not people the teachers' ages saying what they would have said when they were as young as us. (Troy, 13 years)

The students took control and moved the project from one of management of student behaviour by teachers and whānau to one which incorporated student self-management strategies. Students discussed ways of coping with peer pressure urging them to steal from the local shopping centre, which was one of the challenging contexts they opted to include in the video. They decided that the best strategy to employ in this situation was to choose carefully which friends to go with before entering the shopping centre and then to enlist their help in saying no" to invitations from others to steal. Self managed behaviour change strategies are likely to be more effective in the first instance, as well as more enduring in the longer term.

After the *Hei Awhina Matua* video was completed, we developed an accompanying trainers manual. The next phase of the research had two objectives. The first was to assess the effectiveness of the manual and video within a marae-based professional development workshop for Māori teachers and parents. The second was to evaluate the impact of *Hei Awhina Matua* and accompanying staff development materials in two further Māori immersion schools.

### 3. Kia Puawai ai te Reo

*Kia Puawai ai te Reo* comprises a video and accompanying training and assessment resources to support teachers and parents in improving students' writing in Māori. It was developed and trialed at Mount Maunganui Intermediate, Matapihi and Maungatapu primary schools and Mount Maunganui College. The video makes connections between contemporary writing and the rich variety of Māori oral literature, for example, waiata, whakapapa (genealogy), tauparapara (chants) and pakiwaitara (story telling). The video also makes connections between writing and other material forms of recording and transmitting important information, whakairo (carving), and raranga (weaving). It shows how teachers can motivate children to write by increasing their knowledge and experience with the physical environment, drawing on both traditional and contemporary Māori stories and events.

The video provides examples in Māori of good practice in teaching writing. Teachers and students working in tuakana-teina (tutor-tutee) pairs engage in whakaputa whakaaro (brainstorming) and kohikohinga (word-grouping techniques), prior to writing their stories. Also, parents, kaumatua and kuia demonstrate a procedure known as *tuhi-atu tuhi-mai*, whereby students regularly receive written content feedback (Jerram, Glynn, & Tuck, 1988). A supportive reader who has a positive relationship with the writer acts as an audience" and responds, in writing, to the thoughts, ideas, feelings or messages conveyed by the writer. This type of feedback does not focus directly on correction of language structures or spelling, although the responders may well model a correct version of a specific structure used by the student in their writing back to that student. We are now exploring a means of

assessing the quality of students' writing, by means of holistic ratings of each sample by groups of Māori teachers, kaumatua, parents and students. We have been careful to involve teachers and kaumatua in devising these assessment procedures.

#### 4. Training of resource teachers (guidance and learning)

This ongoing project is concerned with the work of itinerant resource teachers (Guidance and Learning) in meeting the behavioural and learning needs of Māori students. Phase 1 of this research project involved conducting structured interviews with principals (or nominees) in each of 14 local schools where Māori students comprise 25 percent or more of the roll. Data were collated within each school on the proportion of Māori teachers and support staff, on Māori content taught within the curriculum, on resources available to assist Māori students, and on the nature of any extended family support systems in place. These data were used to prioritise tasks and goals which the two itinerant resource teachers needed to address in order to assist each school to meet the behavioural and learning needs of its Māori students.

Among the findings from Phase 1 of this project were that all schools had some form of Māori language and cultural input to the curriculum, ranging from one to two hours per week of Māori enrichment through to varying numbers of bilingual and immersion classes. However, all schools had a very low level of liaison with iwi (tribal) agencies, and most of them were unaware of the services provided for Māori students and families by the various Māori agencies that operated in their communities. All schools required urgent assistance with the assessment of literacy within their Māori immersion classes and programmes.

Phase 2 involves a systematic analysis of a sample of the casework and interventions initiated within the schools by the two Resource Teachers. This analysis will establish the range of behavioural and learning difficulties encountered by Māori students in mainstream schools, and identify some culturally appropriate strategies for dealing with these difficulties. At this early stage, whakawhānaungatanga (establishing supportive networks) has emerged as a powerful intervention strategy. Resource Teachers have been able to help Māori students greatly by connecting them to their wider whānau, hapu and marae contacts, or with appropriate kaumatua (elders). In many instances, this in itself is an effective intervention, as it leads to providing the child with whānau support in helping overcome both school-based and home-based problems. Our data analysis will also focus on how the Resource Teachers can promote tino rangatiratanga through establishing whānau-based support systems to help Māori students within each school.

### Conclusion

Kaupapa Māori approaches to pedagogy and research embody the essence of the tino rangatiratanga principle within the context of education. Kaupapa Māori is alive and well within the Māori-initiated and Māori-controlled early childhood, primary, secondary and tertiary institutions which have flourished in recent years, despite huge odds against them. These institutions have the enormous challenge of recreating and restoring a culturally relevant pedagogy of education for Māori in their own country at the approach of the new millennium. Such a pedagogy has the best chance of emerging in institutions which operate totally within a Māori world view, in which it is safe for the language and culture to be nurtured and to flourish.

However, the large majority of Māori students attend mainstream institutions where the majority of educational professionals are working. What is their responsibility to the treaty partner in the mainstream? What of tino rangatiratanga in this context? There is still a very great deal of work to be done by educational professionals in the mainstream. In order to increase the academic success of Māori students all educators need to develop and deploy a culturally relevant pedagogy. Educators do

not have to be Māori to work on this. The range of research initiatives and teaching and assessment resources that have been developed by members of the Poutama Pounamu research whānau suggest one way to begin the journey towards such a pedagogy. Essential travelling companions for this journey are tino rangatiratanga, reciprocity, and connectedness .

**Ehara tenei toa i te toa takitahi  
Engari ko tenei toa te toa takitini**

Power does not belong to individuals alone.  
Rather, it resides within the whole community.

## References

- Bishop, R. (1996a). Addressing issues of self-determination and legitimation in kura kaupapa Māori research. In B. Webber (Ed.), *He paepae korero: Research perspectives in Māori education* (pp. 143–160). Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Bishop, R. (1996b). *Collaborative research stories: Whakawhānaungatanga*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1992). He kano ki te kaiti: Conducting and evaluating educational research. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 27(2), 3–13.
- Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1997a). Achieving cultural integrity within education in New Zealand. In K. Cushner & R. Gagliardi (Eds.), *International perspectives in intercultural education*. New York, NY: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). Researching in Māori contexts: An interpretation of participatory consciousness. *Journal of Indigenous Studies*, 20(2), 167–182.
- Coolongatta Statement. (1993). *The Coolongatta statement on indigenous rights in education*. Paper presented at the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference, Wollongong, Australia.
- Durie, M. (1993). *Māori and the state: Professional and ethical implications for a bicultural public service*. Paper presented at the Public Service Senior Management Conference, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Durie, M. (1995). Tino rangatiratanga: Self-determination. *He Pukenga Korero*, 1(1), 44–53.
- Gerzon, R. (1992). Justice, equality, respect for differences. *Network*, 2(1), 14–19.
- Glynn, E. L., McNaughton, S. S., Robinson, V. R., & Quinn, M. (1979). *Remedial reading at home: Helping you to help your child*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Glynn, T. (1985). Contexts for independent learning. *Educational Psychology*, 5(1), 5–15.
- Glynn, T., Berryman, M., Bidois, P., Atvars, K., Duffull, T., & Horne, J. (1997). Involving children in research: The Hei Awhina Matua Project. *Children's Issues*, 1(1), 17–22.
- Glynn, T., Berryman, M., Harawira, W., Bidois, P., & Atvars, K. (1997). *Bilingual behavioural checklists: Initiating a student teacher and parent partnership*. Unpublished paper, Poutama Pounamu Education Research Centre, Tauranga, New Zealand.
- Glynn, T., & Bishop, R. (1995). Cultural issues in educational research: A New Zealand perspective. *He Pukenga Korero*, 1(1), 37–43.
- Glynn, T., & Glynn, V. (1986). Shared reading by Cambodian mothers and children learning English as a second language: Reciprocal gains. *The Exceptional Child*, 33(37), 159–172.
- Harawira, W., Stockman, T., Gear, P., Walker, R., Reweti, M., Berryman, M., ... Glynn, T. (1996). The poutama pounamu research whānau: Relationships and outcomes. Māori Keynotes address at the NZARE 18th Annual Conference . Neslon, New Zealand.
- Hohepa, M., Smith, G., Smith, L., & McNaughton, S. (1992). Te kohanga reo: Hei tikanga ako i te reo Māori: The kohanga reo as a context for language learning. *Educational Psychology*, 12(3 & 4), 333–346.

- Holmes, J. (1990). *Community languages: Researchers as catalysts*. Paper presented at the Second National Conference on Community Languages and English for Speakers of Other Languages. Wellington College of Education, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Jerram, H., Glynn, T., & Tuck, B. (1988). Responding to the message: Providing a social context for children learning to write. *Educational Psychology, 1*&2, 31–40.
- Keegan, P. (1996). *The benefits of immersion education. A review of the New Zealand and overseas literature*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Education Research Journal, 32*(3), 465–491.
- Lovegrove, M. (1966). The scholastic achievement of European and Māori children. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 1*(1), 15–39.
- Medcalf, J., & Glynn, T. (1987). Assisting teachers to implement peer-tutored remedial reading using pause prompt and praise procedures. *Queensland Journal of Guidance and Counselling, 1*(1), 11–23.
- Metge, J. (1983). *Learning and teaching: He tikanga Māori*. Wellington: New Zealand Department of Education.
- Metge, J. (1990). Te rito o te harakeke: Conceptions of the whānau. *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 99*(1), 55–91.
- Pere, R. (1982). *Ako: Concepts and learning in the Māori tradition. Working paper No. 17*. Hamilton, New Zealand: Department of Sociology University of Waikato.
- Royal, C. (1993). *Te haurapa: An introduction to researching tribal histories and traditions*. Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books Limited.
- Simon, J. (1993). Cultural identity—Whakamana tangata: A resource for educators. *National Education, 66*(4), 37–44.
- Smith, G. (1990). Taha Māori: Pākehā capture. In J. Codd, R. Harker, & R. Nash (Eds.), *Political issues in New Zealand education*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- Smith, G. (1995). Whakaoho whānau. *He Pukenga Korero, 1*(1), 18–36.
- Tangaere, A. (1992). *Te puawaitanga o te reo: Ka hua te ha o te potiki i roto i te whānau. Language transference from te kohanga reo to home: The roles of the child and the family*. Auckland, New Zealand: University of Auckland.
- Taylor, A. (1992). Mana. In W. Ihimaera, H. Williams, I. Ramsden, & D. Long (Eds.), *Te ao marama: Contemporary Māori writing* (Vol. 1, Te whakaahuatanga o te ao; Reflections on reality). Auckland, New Zealand: Reed Books.
- Waitangi Tribunal. (1987). *Orakei report*. Wellington, New Zealand.
- Wheldall, K., & Mettem, P. (1985). Behavioural peer tutoring: Training 16 year old tutors to employ the Pause Prompt and Praise method with 12 year old remedial readers. *Educational Psychology, 5*(1), 27–44.
- Wong-Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing a first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 6*, 323–346.