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NZCER PRESS
New Zealand Council for Educational Research
PO Box 3237
Wellington
New Zealand

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ISBN 978-1-927231-43-2

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A catalogue record for this book is available from the National Library of New Zealand

Designed by Book Design Ltd (www.bookdesign.co.nz)
Printed by Printlink, Wellington
Distributed by NZCER Distribution Services
PO Box 3237
Wellington
New Zealand
www.nzcer.org.nz

Cover artwork: The cover features a painting by artist Donn Ratana of Ngāi Tūhoe. Donn's painting depicts a contemporary view of whānau inclusiveness. In this context, everyone, including tamariki, are involved in the everyday discussions or important decision-making around the wellbeing of any and all members of the whānau. Beginning from a relational and cultural position of connectedness, our collective questions and sense making

Working with Māori children with special education needs

He mahi whakahirahira

Jill Bevan-Brown, Mere Berryman, Huhana Hickey, Sonja Macfarlane, Kirsten Smiler and Tai Walker

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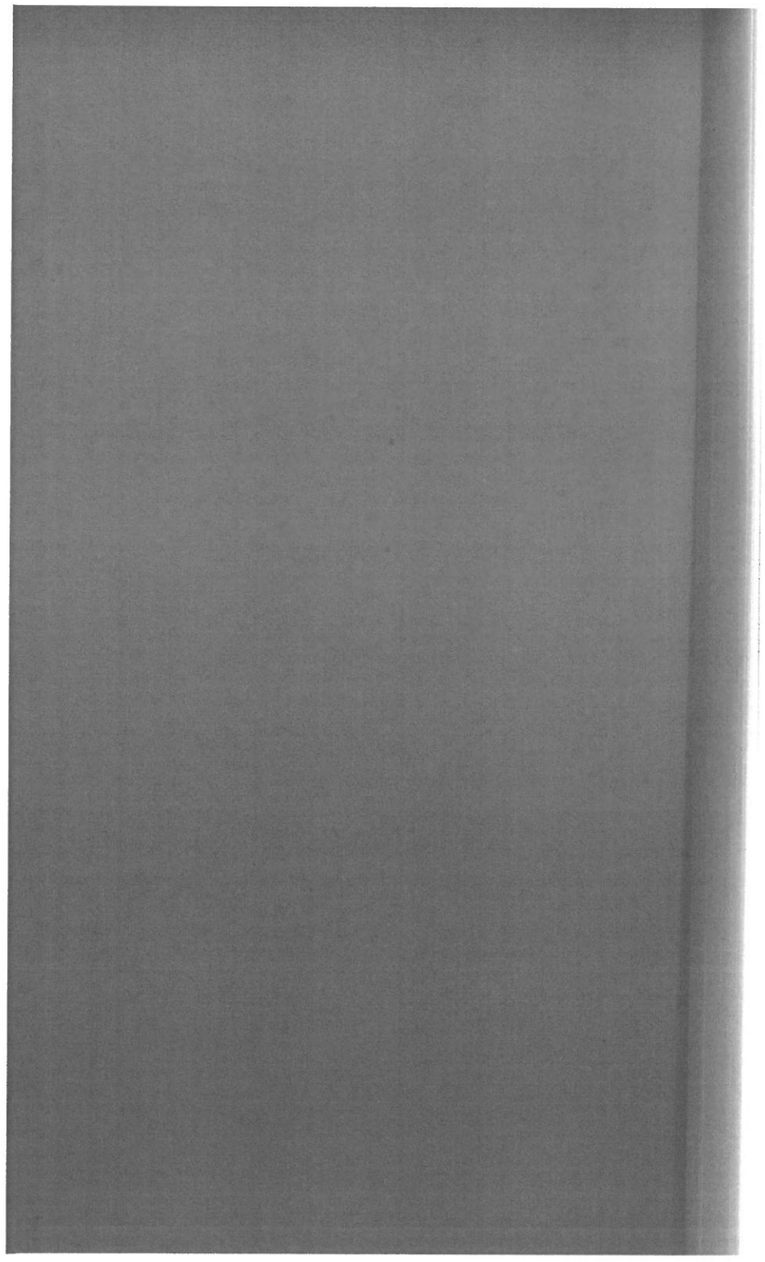
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state how this could be done.

4. A huge cause of distress for parents was seeing their children with ASD socially isolated. In educational and care facilities, what can people do to increase social interaction between children with and without ASD? What can parents and family members do to encourage and facilitate social interaction during out-of-school hours?

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Chapter 10

Hei Āwhina Mātua: A kaupapa Māori response to behaviour

Mere Berryman

Ko ōu hīkoinga i runga i tōku whariki,
Ko tōu noho i tōku whare,
E huakina ai ōku tatau ōku matapihi.

Your steps on my mat,
Your respect for my home,
Opens doors and windows.

Introduction

Hei Āwhina Mātua (strengthening parents and other adults), a kaupapa Māori research and development project, sought to capitalise on the strengths available within both whānau and teachers so that both groups could take joint responsibility for students' learning and behaviour. This required professionals trained in delivering learning and behavioural programmes for individual students working in culturally responsive and collaborative ways with adults, whānau,

to reconsider the key findings.

Parental involvement in education

In terms of parental involvement in their children's education, Durie (2006) contends:

> [f]or many whānau, contact with school only occurs when there is a crisis or a problem, or funds to raise or a hāngi to prepare. Parents are often placed in a defensive position which all too often leads to a deteriorating relationship with school. The crisis approach to whānau involvement is not one that will induce a sense of whānau enthusiasm for learning or for education. While it is important that parents are kept informed of difficulties, it is more important that parents are also able to work with schools to identify potential and then to jointly construct pathways that will enable promise to be realised. (p. 10)

More frequently, parents are participating either in fund raising, as assistants or other teacher-support activities, or participating as elected representatives on the school's board of trustees. Although important and worthwhile, these forms of participation do not provide effective or respectful contexts for sharing information about the behaviour and learning of individual students, nor do they provide collaborative learning opportunities for parents and teachers as a way to reinforce and build on learning that occurs in both home and school settings (McNaughton, 2002). Rather than co-construct potential pathways or learn from each other, it is more likely that students' learning and behavioural difficulties in one setting (home or school) are being too quickly attributed to the perceived inadequacies of the other setting (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). This can be even more problematic when teachers whose ethnicity is different to that of their students do not understand that, for all individuals and groups, culture counts (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Macfarlane, 2004; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). The teacher's culture counts, as does that of their students, but the impact of one culture on another is often determined by relationships and power.

Without prior connections or respectful relationships with families, teachers may too readily blame students' failure to learn at school on perceived inadequacies in students' home backgrounds, their cultural differences, their ethnicity and their parents' lack of motivation

or commitment to help them achieve (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003). Meanwhile parents may just as readily blame their children's low achievement and behavioural difficulties on teachers' ignorance of students' cultural and ethnic origins, and on teachers growing increasingly out of touch with the financial and emotional stresses and strains of contemporary parenting.

The genesis of Hei Āwhina Mātua

Hei Āwhina Mātua emerged when a group of Māori teachers and kaumātua expressed an urgent need for more positive and effective behaviour management strategies and educational resources focused specifically on the needs of students learning in Māori-language settings. In particular, teachers sought strategies and resources to work with whānau and children in their own communities to improve their own responses to students' behaviour.

Local special educators provided a professional development programme focused on how behaviour was learned and how to respond more appropriately to the most challenging student behaviours. The professional development programme was adapted from the Assertive Discipline programme (Canter & Canter, 1992a, 1992b) that was being widely used at the time in many mainstream schools. Following the intensive 3-day programme, evaluations from teachers expressed their need for further and continuing input into managing challenging student behaviours. Importantly, these teachers signalled that they had difficulty accepting the behavioural concepts, principles, rewards and sanctions as they were packaged in the Assertive Discipline programme, given there had been little or no regard for the cultural values and preferences of Māori students and their whānau.

Schools were also requesting support for teachers to help them work more effectively with Māori students and their whānau, and at the same time there was an urgent challenge to develop culturally appropriate and responsive learning and behaviour resources for these students. A small group of Māori whānau, educators and a Pākehā academic undertook to research and develop such a resource. Effective solutions to these challenges were seen to lie with increased Māori ownership and control of the research, as well as in the development of behavioural and learning programmes that recognised and incorporated Māori

values as essential components of the programme. This group won a Ministry of Education contract for the research and development of a collaborative behaviour management programme for teachers and whānau, and as a result established themselves as a research whānau known as Poutama Pounamu.

Participation by kaumātua ensured that appropriate Māori cultural values, beliefs and practices were followed in all aspects of planning and decision making. Adherence to kaupapa Māori principles ensured that the ownership and control of the research questions, methodology and procedures, the data generated, and how those data were understood and interpreted remained clearly within the research whānau. Critical power issues between the researcher and the researched—related to control over questions of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability (Bishop, 1996)—were thus defined and resolved from within frameworks that came from a Māori world view. This approach contrasted strongly with the majority of educational research at the time that sought to address the educational achievement of Māori students with solutions that were largely imposed from a Western world view. Hei Āwhina Mātua would aim to address these concerns by connecting directly to Māori at both the personal and the epistemological levels.

The research and development

Adhering to all of the ethical procedures required, the research whānau proposed to develop and trial a set of resources with teachers and their Māori community in one school, then further trial and test these resources in two other schools. These activities, in each of the schools, are discussed next.

School 1

School 1 was a large, urban intermediate, with over 300 students, of whom 30 percent were Māori. This school had a Māori-medium syndicate and two English-medium syndicates. The Hei Āwhina Mātua resources were developed with the three classes in the Māori-medium syndicate, where 90 percent of students were Māori and there were five Māori staff, including a kuia and a male kaiāwhina.

The first task for researchers and School 1 staff was to develop three

behavioural checklists to identify the:

- settings where students may get into trouble
- challenging behaviours that may be occurring
- positive behaviours to be most valued.

Data from the checklists in School 1 would then be used to produce the behavioural scenarios in a Hei Āwhina Mātua video resource.

Students as researchers

Inspecting the behavioural checklists as they were being drafted provided students with their first opportunity to reflect on what was happening in the research. Student input was sought to verify the street credibility of the language and item content in the checklists. The seriousness and depth of the students' responses to this invitation was impressive. Students affirmed and extended the colloquial language used in the checklists and identified important behavioural settings they considered to have been omitted from the 'settings' checklist. Their suggestions were welcomed and adopted by the research whānau, who soon came to appreciate that ongoing consultation with these experts (the students) would remain important if accurate information was required. From this point on these students were fully recognised as partners in the research. Students in this school had a clear understanding of the role of the checklists:

> It all began with filling out the checklists. There were three different checklists. One was about when and where we might get into trouble, the next one was about behaviour that bothers us, and the last one was about behaviour that we like. (Troy)

Whānau members responded to the checklists at a meeting called in the school hall to farewell one of their teachers. Students put on a brief kapa haka performance, ensuring a full turnout of whānau and kaumātua, who came to see their children perform, to farewell their teacher, to hear the Hei Āwhina Mātua project introduced by the research whānau, and to complete the three behavioural checklists.

Each of the checklist items allowed responders to rate how frequently specific behaviours and contexts were of concern to them. They rated each item on a four-point scale (0, never; 1, sometimes; 2, often; 3, always). Responses to the

for students, whānau and school staff. From the individual responses to every item, a mean score for each responder group (students, school staff and whānau members) was calculated. Item mean scores were then ranked from highest to lowest for each responder group.

The completed checklists from students, teachers and parents generated valuable information for collation and analysis. We identified the top 10 settings or situations in which problem behaviour occurred, the top 10 challenging behaviours, and the top 10 positive behaviours as selected by teachers, parents and students. These nine sets of data were then presented back to the students in their own cultural meeting space, within which students were able to set up an open and frank dialogue with the research whānau about their behaviour at school, at home and in the community. For example, they volunteered one after-school setting (a shopping mall) as a context for problem behaviour that neither their parents nor their teachers were aware of. Together with the students, the whānau determined which were the key settings and which were the specific behaviours that needed to be included in the video resource that was to be developed.

Next, 10 skits were devised to represent these behaviours and settings in the video. The skits were discussed with a wider group of students, together with the teachers of the immersion classes. Teachers and whānau encouraged students to role-play various situations to show how the specific behaviours occurred at home, at school and in the community, and how teachers and parents and other adults responded to these behaviours.

Role-playing assisted the gathering of language appropriate to the people and to the situations in the scripts. A clear example of this occurred when a dangerous head-high tackle during rugby practice was identified as a setting event for trouble. Students identified swearing as an essential part of this scenario, and that this language needed to appear in the video. The resulting skit shows a convincing outburst of swearing that has street credibility with many viewers. For the students who participated in this discussion, however, this was an important event in the research process. It affirmed for them that their views would be listened to and taken on board. For us, it was an invaluable lesson in the power of an inclusive culturally responsive learning and teaching process where the working relationship embodied genuine

participation and power sharing.

Draft video scripts were prepared. These were read and volu
actors negotiated specific roles for themselves. Although filming wa
the school holidays, there was an impressive voluntary attendanc
students. Students were not required to memorise and rehearse spe
dialogue. What was more important was to convincingly convey
messages contained within each skit.

> We found out what the checklists had identified as the problems. From here we talked about what would be in the skits and who would want to be in a video. (Troy)

> After the researcher listed the 10 main problem areas, the teachers, parents and kids were asked their ideas about the different situations, what we thought of the wording and how everything happened. (Bronwyn)

Following this meeting, skits were further developed and confirmed by a group of students and teachers. Students were encouraged to role-play various situations in order to show how specific behaviours occurred at home, at school and in the community, and how teachers, parents and other adults responded to these behaviours.

> We talked about the scripts and we were allowed to change whatever we thought didn't seem realistic ... We asked if we were allowed to swear in the video. (Tara)

> We were allowed to change some of the parts that we thought didn't seem real. (Danielle)

> We went through each script changing stuff we thought wasn't right. That was a good thing to do because some of the words ... used in the scripts would not have been used in real life. At least, not by most kids. So the skits we did in the holidays last year were based on what we thought about the problems ... We were the bosses and directors. (Bronwyn)

The research whānau heeded the students' advice and this is reflected in the *better but not perfect* approach taken in all of the alternative response versions of the scripts:

> It was our choice to decide to do this video because we held the meetings and did the acting during our holidays. And that was just hard luck giving that time up. But, I wanted to do the acting and all the hard work because I was excited about being a part of the skits. (Tama)

While not all students turned up at the time required for their assigned roles, there was always someone willing to step in. Students were given outlines of each skit just before the filming began.

> When I started to act I was just being my usual self, doing an everyday thing. (Tama)

> We were allowed to say whatever came naturally, so that it would be more realistic and therefore more helpful to those who would use it in the future. (Bronwyn)

The continuing process of consultation and collaborative production of the skits with the students ensured credible performances set in realistic scenarios. By now the whānau had really begun to understand the meaning of "participant driven" research (Bishop, 1996). The film production concluded with a shared meal to celebrate the outcome of months of successful planning, collaboration and learning.

Soon after, the first milestone report to the Ministry of Education advisory committee was due. Five students volunteered to write about specific aspects of the research project and to present their reports in person at this meeting. Their presentations were delivered so confidently and competently that the Ministry of Education provided additional funding to allow them to travel to Dunedin with the research whānau to participate in editing the video. There they viewed the many hours of videotape and they selected specific 'takes' as their preferred choices for use in each skit. Their contribution was essential to editing the video interviews as three of them were among those interviewed. While in Dunedin they were interviewed by local newspapers and featured as a news item on Southern Television.

On their return to Tauranga some of the students were again interviewed by the local newspaper and on talkback radio. They then helped to write and present information about Hei Āwhina Mātua at a national and then an international education conference. They rose

to the occasion every time, coming across as informed experts, capal
of expressing their own views, and knowledgeable about the proje
The strong and productive working relationship that was establish
between students and researchers ensured that the students continu
to offer their sound and constructive critique throughout the projec
and continued to do so. Without a doubt the research project benefite
from the voices of these students, which at the time (1996) was a ve
new research experience.

Assessing the programme

The next phase of our work involved assessing the effectiveness of th
Hei Āwhina Mātua concept and resources within a professional devel
opment programme for teachers and whānau members in two new
schools. The programme that had been developed, but not trialled, ir
School 1 comprised workshop activities based on exploring the data
collected in the research development phase. It also involved under-
standing 10 different strategies for changing behaviour evident within
the various skits presented in the video. Four of these were 'anteced-
ent' strategies, which change behaviour by altering the settings and
contexts in which it occurs. The remaining six were 'consequent' strat-
egies, which change behaviour through refining the timing, frequency,
positivity and cultural responsiveness of its consequences. Workshop
activities focused on matching behavioural strategies with particular
skits, and inventing and presenting new skits to demonstrate how the
strategies might be effectively applied in new situations.

The decision to match behavioural strategies to what was going on in the skits, rather than constructing the skits to demonstrate specific behavioural strategies, resulted from our interactions and discussions with the students in School 1. They convinced us that this approach would focus attention and learning on their actual behaviours in real-life contexts. This was a decision to move from observation to theory, rather than the reverse. The students' notes were incorporated into the training manual and workshop materials, along with the 10 behavioural principles they had identified as being best able to help others to consider ways to improve their own behavioural interactions. The 10 principles were:

1. model what you want

2. contingent positive consequences
3. get in early
4. a little and often
5. give clear instructions
6. take the time to plan ahead
7. change the setting
8. accept gradual improvement
9. find positive ways to reduce unacceptable behaviour
10. use effective sanctions for unacceptable behaviour.

Schools 2 and 3

Staff and whānau from both trial schools had connections with the research whānau and had volunteered their participation. School 2 was a small rural kura kaupapa Māori. Trialling the checklists in this kura required presenting the checklists in Māori. A member of the research whānau who was a native speaker undertook the challenging task of expressing the wide range of behavioural concepts in traditional Māori style through the use of appropriate metaphors. In this school four further resources were developed to complete the professional development package for teachers and whānau. These included a playground observation tool, a classroom observation tool, and Māori-language assessment tools for literacy and numeracy.

School 3 was a small, bilingual, semi-rural primary school. At the end of Year 6 students from this school transitioned to the intermediate school previously identified as School 1. This school therefore included many who were whānau to the first group of students.

Working with the kura and whānau

Hei Āwhina Mātua began in School 2 with a hui so that whānau and school staff could learn about the programme and the expectations for the research, then decide whether they would participate or not. Once each community had agreed to participate, they were asked to fill out the checklists. Next, time-sampled observations of 10 randomly selected students were gathered in each classroom. Playground observations, recording zone-by-zone, on a time sample basis, antecedent information (time, location, number and gender of students present, number of teachers/adults present), behavioural information

(categories of behaviour), and information on immediate consequences of the observed behaviour (if any) were also gathered. These observations were subsequently carried out after the implementation of the professional development and then after 10 weeks of the schools' maintaining the programme on their own. Assessments of reading, writing and maths performances were also made, with samples taken pre- and post-programme.

Developing relationships with teachers and whānau to involve them in the programme taught the research whānau a major and fundamental lesson. In the first school (the kura kaupapa Māori), the research whānau again chose to let the school staff lead the process. After reporting the checklist findings to the combined group, teachers suggested they would meet at the school while whānau members could work in their homes. At this point the historical protocols, procedures and power bases embedded in the school context had begun to dominate. Although Māori protocols (such as karakia and mihimihi) were followed, the research whānau had gone along with engaging the home and school community as two separate groups and without kaumātua guidance. This did not allow the time or space to acknowledge the mana and experience of each group of participants (parents, teachers and students).

Soon it was clear that rather than create a space to share information with and between the groups and thus learn from one another, this move had provided each group with a space to deficit theorise the other. In other words, the research whānau had cut across the important cultural relationships that connected these groups with each other, with their marae and with their kaumātua. This resulted in the professional development showing little attitudinal or behavioural change in the home or in the school, and the perpetuation of a situation where both groups were talking past each other.

After 6 months it was clear that the programme was not working in School 2; nothing had changed. The research whānau looked at their own processes to find where they had gone wrong. Rangiwhakaehu Walker, the kuia whakaruruhau for the research whānau and also to many in these school communities, advised that the professional development needed to begin again by working with staff and whānau combined, and also from the two schools

advice was simple and effective: begin the checklists and baseline work in School 3, then bring both groups together.

After the initial work was completed she called a hui of teachers, whānau and students from both schools. She called this hui on the marae of the kaumātua who had supported the initial development of Hei Āwhina Mātua in School 1. The hui was preceded by a traditional pōwhiri that was led by these kaumātua. The mana of all groups present was acknowledged and respected, as were their connections to this marae and to this programme. Kaumātua advice led to the workshop activities taking place in the wharenui itself. In this context a space was created where all concerns could be raised for discussion in a setting that was culturally safe and empowering for all.

Professional development on the marae

Accordingly, the two schools and their home communities met for the interactive professional learning sessions in the place where other important cultural events take place. Kaumātua, some of whom were grandparents of the students, helped to run the sessions. The 11 skits in the Hei Āwhina Mātua video were used to provide examples of problem behaviours and problem settings, and to illustrate more effective ways of responding to them. Supporting people to develop a clear understanding of the 10 Hei Āwhina Mātua principles underlying the specific procedures for changing behaviour was essential, as this understanding would be crucial if the attitudes and behaviours of parents and teachers were to change. Being able to theorise the new principles would ensure more effective behavioural change. This was illustrated in the following incident that occurred when one of the kuia sat watching breakfast being cooked by the mothers. She remarked that even though the gas cookers had been in the marae kitchen for quite some time now she had not yet learned how to use them. The mother quickly remarked, "Can't you see I'm modelling what you need", at which the kuia grinned and affirmed that the mum was indeed doing this, but she'd better keep on modelling because the kuia hadn't quite learned yet.

Throughout the training each of the principles was role-played in contexts where the problem situations or typical responses were presented. Each example was responded to with an improved response based on the 10 specific principles. Small groups presented their

role-plays to the workshop as a whole, and the whole group the
cussed and analysed these ideas. These discussions often generatec
more effective and appropriate ideas for responses. For example, i
instance, where a skit included inappropriate hitting, the wider g
was able to note the impact of this behaviour being modelled for
dren; it had been copied and applied by the children to their you
siblings.

Following the workshops, parents and teachers returned to t
homes and schools ready to negotiate and plan for more informed
effective collaborative behaviour change across both settings. Pare
and whānau at home and teachers at school would be implement
strategies based on the same 10 principles. Further, teachers and p
ents planned to share information on students' behaviour more oper
and regularly, with the encouragement and support of kaumātua.

Inside the wharenui, several generations had been present—gran
parents, parents, children and grandchildren—as well as their tūpun
who were represented in the carvings and photographs. Various distinc
groupings had participated in the workshop exercises. These include
kaumātua and kuia, teachers, parents and whānau members, students
researchers and trainers. However, whānau and whanaungatanga tie
binding these groups proved far stronger in this cultural context than
the occupational or generational ties within each group. These two
factors—strong whānau links and the marae context—ensured that
Māori language and cultural protocols prevailed, providing both a cul-
turally responsive and relations-based framework for all the learning
and teaching that occurred, some of which was planned and some of
which had emerged from the cultural contexts and settings.

In this culturally responsive conversational space, kaumātua and
kuia were able to assume their cultural leadership roles and assist any-
one who needed cultural support or guidance—even the senior teach-
ers present. Seeing a teacher being gently but clearly instructed by a
kuia provided a powerful cultural statement for students, parents and
researchers alike. Seeing teachers and parents inventing and acting in
skits in which they portrayed themselves getting things hilariously
wrong, and laughing at themselves, had a powerful and positive impact
on the students and on the researchers. Students came to see their own
behaviour in quite a differ

people. Working with groups together in appropriate and responsive cultural contexts had a pervasive and positive impact, and required a lot less time to accelerate the learning outcomes. All groups focused their energy and knowledge on improving the wellbeing of the students. There was learning by doing, learning by sitting and watching, learning by listening, and learning by laughing and crying. Learning was driven by the many intergenerational relationships opened up and validated in this indigenous Māori space. The experiential learning on this marae also served to extend and deepen the powerful cultural relationships.

Findings

After two terms, all measures (classroom observations; playground observations; reading, writing and numeracy) were repeated in both schools. These results showed that when parents, teachers and students exercised responsibility and ownership of the Hei Āwhina Mātua principles and programme, a range of positive behavioural and achievement outcomes occurred. The full set of behaviour and academic results for both schools is presented in the final report (Glynn, Berryman, Atvars, & Harawira, 1997), but this chapter presents the playground and classroom observation results from School 2 only.

The school playground was separated into two sections. Within each section all zones listed were clearly visible from one observation point. Table 10.1 shows the percentage of students actively and appropriately engaged in each zone and the number of teachers or adults present in each section, before and after the Hei Āwhina Mātua programme. Inappropriate and appropriate behaviours had been defined and agreed to by communities through the checklist activity. Inappropriate behaviours related to activities such as fighting, bullying, damaging property, arguing and swearing. Appropriate behaviours related to pro-social activities such as sharing, playing and working together, as well as caring for and listening to each other. Data in Table 10.1 are mean data across three separate pre- and post-observation samples within the same zones.

Table 10.1. Playground observation data

School 2	PRE		POST	
Section 1	% students appropriately engaged	Teachers interacting with students	% students appropriately engaged	Teachers interacting w students
Zone 1: Netball courts	50		100	
Zone 2: Big field	81	2	98	7
Section 2	% students appropriately engaged	Teachers interacting with students	% students appropriately engaged	Teachers interacting wit students
Zone 3: Right of the quadrangle	92		85	
Zone 4: Back verandah	60		100	
Zone 5: Left of the quadrangle	93		100	
Zone 6: Front verandah	55	4	99	15

Pre-programme observation data revealed a wide variation in appropriate student engagement, with three zones in particular showing low levels of appropriate student engagement. Higher rates were observed on the big field and at the right and left of the quadrangle. At pre-programme, only two teachers were observed interacting with students in section 1 and four in section 2.

Post-programme data showed an improvement in student engagement across five of the six zones, and, importantly, even though the same number of teachers remained officially on duty, there were many more observed instances of teachers interacting with students (from 6 instances at pre-programme to 22 at post-programme). Thus teachers had taken a proactive stance of playing with and being available to students at recess times.

Table 10.2 presents results from the observations of on-task behaviour in each classroom, with a mean on-task behaviour level as well as an individual on-task level for particular target students from the time sample. Pre and post data are averaged over three separate observations.

Table 16.2: Classroom observation data: School 2 on-task behaviour

classroom 1	PRE	POST
Class mean	76	76
Target student 03	80	100
classroom 2		
Class mean	43	86
Target student 01	20	60
classroom 3		
Class mean	68	93
Target student 02	63	73
classroom 4		
Class mean	77	82
Target student 04	40	70
Target student 05	97	*60
Target student 06	60	67

* Student going through change of medication for epilepsy.

Classroom 1 was a new entrant class with a long-term relief teacher. A reasonably high level of on-task behaviour was maintained from pre- to post-programme. The mean on-task behaviour of target student 03, which was already above the class average at 80 percent, rose a further 20 percent to 100 percent.

Classroom 2 was a junior class with a Year 1 teacher. The low class average at pre-programme, which indicates high levels of student off-task behaviour, had improved by post-programme to 86 percent. Furthermore, the average on-task behaviour of target student 01 at pre-programme also showed a marked improvement.

Classroom 3 was a middle-school class with a long-term relief teacher. This classroom on-task behaviour began at a reasonable level, yet improved to 93 percent by post-programme. The on-task behaviour of target student 02 began a little below the class average, and although his on-task behaviour had improved by post-programme, it was still below the class average.

Classroom 4 was a senior school class with a mature long-term relief teacher. Students' on-task behaviour improved slightly throughout the programme. Target student 04's on-task behaviour was well below the class average at pre-programme but improved by 30 percent. Target student 06 began well below the class average and remained below the class average. Target student 05 showed a major decrease in on-task behaviour between pre- and post-programme, which is most likely explained by a change in medication for epilepsy.

Even though the mean behaviour levels varied considerably across the classrooms, there were either marked gains at post-programme or reasonably high levels were maintained. On-task behaviour gains between pre- and post-programme were also observed for all but one of the target students. While the behaviour changes on their own were impressive, these improvements were further reflected in gains in learning across all literacy and numeracy scores. Although a direct causal link to Hei Āwhina Mātua cannot be made, these data are consistent with those that followed in School 3. Therefore, it seems highly likely that the programme may well have contributed to these positive gains.

New connections

As part of the Ministry of Education's work programme, Meyer, Taiwhati and Hindle (2011) undertook an evaluation of Hei Āwhina Mātua. Their report identified Hei Āwhina Mātua as a programme designed specifically in accordance with Māori cultural values that had the potential to be a school-wide framework approach consistent with Positive Behaviour for Learning (PB4L). They suggested, however, that additional supports to this framework would be required if it were to address students with severe behavioural challenges. Accordingly, in 2012 the Ministry of Education contracted the University of Canterbury to develop a kaupapa Māori intervention framework within the PB4L work. Working in partnership with Te Tapuae o Rehua, and extending on the principles of Hei Āwhina Mātua and Hui Whakatika, a programme called Huakina Mai was developed. Huakina Mai uses the four values of kotahitanga, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and rangatiratanga to guide the implementation within schools and classrooms, and in collaboration with whānau, hapū and iwi. This programme will be piloted and evaluated in two Hawke's Bay schools in 2014 and 2015.

Implications for others

Hei Āwhina Mātua has demonstrated the effectiveness of teachers, students, whānau and community working constructively and

collaboratively to address challenging student behaviours at school and at home. For these Māori students, their whānau and teachers, it was clear that effective solutions stemmed from activating culturally preferred values and practices for engaging school and community, and from establishing a more equitable sharing of responsibility, expertise and accountability among these groups.

Both schools confirmed the effectiveness of the school collaborating with its Māori community to resolve behavioural challenges in a culturally competent and responsive manner. Parents, whānau and teachers alike celebrated the improvements because they were seen as positive outcomes of their collaborative efforts. Instead of looking to blame each other for the behaviour of students at school, these whānau and teachers asserted collective ownership of both the problems and the solutions, and in the process learned to show increasing respect for the level of expertise and commitment of the other. While the voices and experiences of these communities defined the problems, they also generated the solutions.

After more than a decade, components of Hei Āwhina Mātua are being applied within a new programme. How power will be maintained, so that collaboration and culture can be truly determined by the very communities in which the programme is being introduced, is still the greatest critical questions.

Study questions

1. How were the Hei Āwhina Mātua behavioural principles legitimated in this context?
2. Schools are told that they should work with Māori whānau and their communities; what were the benefits of doing so in this study?
3. What can schools learn about engaging with whānau from this study? Why is power so important in these contexts?

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