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**Tihei Mauri Ora: Negotiating primary school teachers' personal and professional identities as Māori.**

A thesis

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## Abstract

Colonial attitudes that positioned Māori language, knowledge and pedagogy as inferior and deficient continue to impact on 21<sup>st</sup> century primary school contexts in Aotearoa/New Zealand. They continue to impact particularly on the personal and professional identities and experiences of Māori teachers in contemporary English-medium schools. Just as, historically, Māori students were expected to leave their language and culture at the 19<sup>th</sup> century colonial school gates, so too are many contemporary Māori teachers in mainstream schools expected to set aside their language and culture and engage with the curriculum and pedagogy of the school where they work. Ironically, at the same time, these teachers are often expected to guide and assist their school to meet its requirements under Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi to ensure that its Māori students will succeed *as Māori*.

This thesis sought to understand how a small cohort of experienced Māori teachers, positioned within 21<sup>st</sup> century English-medium primary schools, perceived and negotiated the challenges to their personal and professional identities as Māori, and as Māori teachers. The thesis employed a qualitative participant narrative methodology, framed with kaupapa Māori theory. The teachers participated in individual interviews and in a series of hui kōrero (focused conversations) that assisted them to reflect critically on sociohistorical and educational factors that influenced the formation and maintenance of their identities as Māori.

The teachers' narratives that emerged from individual and collaborative hui kōrero revealed that (1) being raised within urban environments and being themselves educated in monocultural schools during the 1960s and 1970s strongly impacted on how their Māori identities were shaped and, (2) their teaching experiences within English-medium primary schools and classrooms were culturally isolating and destructive, and largely unsupportive of the diverse realities that exists for some Māori teachers.

I offer two key strategic responses to these findings. Firstly, I offer a self-identity continuum that seeks to respect and affirm Māori identity by taking into account the different levels and contexts of experience some Māori teachers may have with Māori cultural concepts and practices. Secondly, I assert the need for a culturally located and relational space within English-medium school contexts for Māori teachers to engage with, and draw on the support of other Māori teachers in order to affirm their varying personal and professional identities as Māori. Meeting this need is understood as a Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty-honouring response, required of all schools.

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Ngā mihi arohanui ki a koutou katoa. Tīhei mauri ora!

## Glossary of Māori terms

Āe	Yes
Aroha	Respect; compassion; empathy
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Atua	Deity
Awhi	Nurture
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Hononga	Connection; relationship
Hōhā	Hassle
Hua	Product; outcome
Hui	To meet; gatherings
Iwi	Tribe; tribal connection
Kapa haka	Traditional performing arts
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face
Karanga	To call; summons
Kawa	Protocols
Kaumātua	Elder or elders of Māori society
Kaupapa	Focus; Purpose; objective
Kaupapa Māori	Māori ideology
Kāwanatanga	Authority
Kia Ora	Hello; thank you
Kitenga	Perception; view; seeing
Kōhanga reo	Māori-medium early childhood centre underpinned by kaupapa Māori principles
Kōrero	To talk; discuss; speak
Koru	Spiral motif
Kura kaupapa	Māori-medium primary school underpinned by kaupapa Māori principles
Mahi	Work
Manaaki	Offer care
Manaakitanga	Hospitality; kindness; generosity; care for others

Mana whenua	Authority or knowledge of ancestral lands
Marae	Traditional tribal and family meeting place or complex
Māori	Normal; term to describe Indigenous of New Zealand
Māoritanga	Māori way of life
Mātauranga	Knowledge, philosophy
Mihi whakatau	Personal introduction and cultural connections
Neketanga	To move; shift
Noa	Common
Noho-Marae	To stay overnight at a marae in the whareniui
Pākehā	New Zealander of British/colonial descent and heritage
Papa-tū-ā-nuku	Earth mother; wife of Rangi-nui
Pito mai raro	The end or a final outcome
Pōwhiri	Formal welcome to visitors
Putanga	Emergence; opening
Rangi-nui	Atua of the sky, husband of Papa-tū-ā-nuku
Rōpū	Group of people
Rūmaki	Māori-medium
Tamariki	Children
Tangata Whenua	Indigenous people; people of the land
Taha Māori	Māori dimension
Tane-Mahuta	Atua of the forests and birds, a son of Rangi-nui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku
Taonga	A treasure
Tāpiri	Additional
Tapu	Sacred
Te hanga o te tangata	Typical physical characteristics of an ethnic group; phenotype
Te reo Māori	Māori language
Tikanga Māori	Māori values and beliefs; protocols

Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination, autonomy
Titiro	Look; to see
Tūpuna	Ancestor
Wairua	Spiriti; soul
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Whaea	Mother; aunty
Whaikōrero	Formal speech
Whakamā	To be ashamed, shy, embarrassed
Whakapapa	Genealogical connections, lineage, descent
Whakarongo	To listen; listen
Whakataukī	Proverb
Whānau	Family group; group with common interest
Whanaungatanga	Relationships; sense of family
Whakawhanaungatanga	Process of establishing relationships
Wharekura	Māori-medium high school underpinned by kaupapa Māori principles
Wharenuī	Main building located on a marae complex
Whare tūpuna	Ancestral house
Whare Wānanga	University; place of higher learning
Whenua	Land; earth



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## Preface

Tīhei Mauri Ora is the sneeze of life (H. Mead, 2003, p. 53)

Mythologies reflect the essence of cultural values and beliefs linking the past with the present. Storytelling is a way through which cultural messages are preserved and lessons learned across successive generations (R. Walker, 1978).

Māori<sup>1</sup> mythology retells a creationism perspective that begins with Rangi-nui<sup>2</sup> (Deity of the heavens) and Papa-tū-ā-nuku (Earth-mother, wife of Rangi-nui). Forcibly separated from each other's embrace by Tāne-Mahuta (Deity of the forests and birds, a son of Rangi-nui and Papa-tū-ā-nuku) "so that life (and knowledge)" could envelop the world, Tāne-Mahuta then "fashioned Hineahuone the earth-formed maid and gave her the breath of life" (R. Walker, 1978, p. 21).

Tīhei Mauri Ora or 'breath of life', serves as a cultural representation for "the new independence of the child, breathing independent of the womb and its support life line" (H. Mead, 2003, p. 53). A further representation is suggested by King (1978) as being "used on the marae to begin a speech: 'Now it is my turn, here I stand, I am about to speak, hear me'" (King, 1978, p.2).

Within this research context, Tīhei Mauri Ora serves as a metaphor for breathing and specifically, creating a 'space to exhale' and 'be heard' for a small cohort of urban-based Māori primary school teachers.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Māori' means 'ordinary' or 'usual' and was applied indiscriminately to describe the Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand as one racial-ethnic grouping. The term Māori however, fails to represent the tribal diversity amongst Māori.

<sup>2</sup>The translation and interpretations of Māori words and terms throughout this thesis do not capture the depth and full range of meanings. The translations of Māori words and terms apply to the contexts within this thesis.

# 1 Chapter One: Research Context

## 1.1 Introduction

This qualitative research study explored how a small cohort of experienced teachers negotiated their identities as urban Māori and as teachers in 21st century English-medium<sup>3</sup> primary schools and classrooms located in Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand. This study explored their narratives of experience as Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty partners with their predominantly Pākehā<sup>4</sup> and other non-Māori<sup>5</sup> school leaders and teachers.

This thesis argues that colonial attitudes towards Māori as “inferior” continue to exist within 21st century primary school contexts in Aotearoa/New Zealand. British colonisers attributed educational “failure” of Māori to Indigenous “inferiority” (Barrington, 2008). I contend that those notions of Indigenous “inferiority” from Aotearoa/New Zealand’s colonial past continue to influence some school leaders’ and teachers’ attitudes towards Indigenous Māori teachers within contemporary primary schools and classrooms (Bishop, 2003; Schimmel, 2007). These attitudes impact significantly on urban raised Māori teachers’ (and students’) cultural identities despite a government commitment for all state

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<sup>3</sup> In an Aotearoa/New Zealand context, English-medium refers to schooling contexts that are framed by Pākehā cultural ‘norms’ and where English language is the dominant language of instruction. English-medium is also referred to as ‘mainstream’ because of the high influence that non-Indigenous knowledge, values and beliefs have on teacher pedagogy, curriculum design and assessment frameworks. In the context of this thesis, I apply the term English-medium to differentiate from Māori-medium educational contexts. Māori-medium educational contexts are framed by Māori cultural values and beliefs and Māori language is the dominant language of instruction. Both English-medium and Māori-medium schools and classrooms are state funded education systems.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Pākehā is a Māori word and refers to white settlers (and successive generations of white settlers) in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Applied by some ‘white’ New Zealanders to define their own identity and ethnicity as an acknowledgement of the binary relationship between themselves and Māori, other ‘white New Zealanders feel the term is derogatory and may identify themselves as ‘European’, ‘New Zealanders’ or ‘Kiwi’.

<sup>5</sup> I use the term ‘non-Māori’ throughout this thesis as a pronoun to identify ethnic groups of people who have immigrated to New Zealand and may identify as ‘New Zealanders’ but are neither Māori nor Pākehā (of early settler heritage) New Zealanders. However, in the context of this thesis, all are understood as Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty Partners.



schools to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi principles through legislated educational policies.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi discourse framed this study. An Aotearoa/New Zealand Government commitment to biculturalism and Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi principles across contemporary educational contexts has expected all state schools' Boards of Trustees, leaders and teachers to enable Māori students' to achieve success 'as Māori' (Ministry of Education, 2012a). Recent government policy and resources encourage English-medium primary school leaders and teachers to consider Māori students' cultural identities in daily teaching relationships and practices. However, Māori students continue to experience lower achievement rates than non-Māori students despite these government expectations of leaders and teachers in state schools (Loader & Ryan, 2010; Ministry of Education, 2015b, 2015i).

Suspecting that teachers' attitudes towards Māori identities contributes to achievement disparities between Māori and non-Māori students (Bishop et al., 2001; Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003), I sought to explore teachers' attitudes towards Māori through Māori *teachers'* perceptions. Students are traditionally positioned as 'less' powerful by their school leaders and teachers (Bishop & Glynn, 1999a; C. Robinson & Taylor, 2007; Schneider, 1996). However, a shared professional status between Māori teachers and non-Māori colleagues might increase the likelihood of 'shared' power-relationships existing in 21<sup>st</sup> century schools and classrooms.

Chapter One presents an overview of this study's research context. First, I review the previous study that initiated this research project. Then I present my research questions and research rationale. I introduce the research participants and setting. Then, I suggest how this study may contribute to knowledge specific to Indigenous teachers positioned within predominantly non-Indigenous framed education contexts. Finally, I overview the following chapters presented throughout this thesis.

I have drawn predominantly from Māori scholarship throughout this thesis. Privileging Māori scholarship maintained a cultural lens that respected and honoured Indigenous worldviews from the onset of this research study. Where I have drawn from non-Indigenous scholarship, I have carefully selected those research studies that are relevant to this research kaupapa.

## **1.2 Past research study**

This study was designed to follow on from my Master's thesis 'Whakarongo mai!: Transformative teaching to support Māori identity and success in a mainstream school' (Gilgen, 2010). This was a retrospective analysis of a small group of Māori students' self-perceptions as students and as Māori as well as my experiences as a Māori teacher within an Auckland based English-medium intermediate (primary education) classroom.

A key finding revealed that some students had found it necessary to deny their Māori identity in order to fit with the majority culture of the school. One research recommendation included the need to raise the profile of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi principles of 'partnership', 'protection' and 'participation' in contemporary English-medium primary schools. Raising the profile of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi principles serves to affirm students' cultural identities 'as Māori' through inclusive and culturally responsive pedagogies. The difficulties the Māori students faced in order to sustain their Māori identities as learners in a school populated predominantly with non-Māori students led me to focus on Māori teacher experiences in English-medium primary schools and classrooms. My own personal and professional experiences as a Māori teacher contributed to my research interest to further explore how Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty partnerships 'looked like, felt like, sounded like' in these schooling contexts from other Māori teachers' perspectives. Did they feel enabled to teach 'as Māori'? Did they experience power-sharing relationships with Pākehā and other non-Māori teaching colleagues?

### 1.3 Present study and research questions

Ministry of Education statistics show that approximately 10% of all teachers in English-medium state schools identify as Māori (Ministry of Education, 2012c; Penetito, 2010). Māori teachers in English-medium state schools and classrooms are more likely to be the only Māori teacher working with predominantly Pākehā and other non-Māori school leaders and teachers. This study sought to understand how a small cohort of Māori teachers perceived their personal and professional identities in the context of their predominantly Pākehā and other non-Māori teachers colleagues. Participant narratives of experience examined self-perception of Māori identity as well as how these participants felt Pākehā, non-Māori and Māori colleagues perceived their identities ‘as Māori’ within their professional lives. Participant self-identities as Māori and the research questions influenced the research paradigm, methods and ethical guidelines employed. The research questions asked:

1. How do Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools perceive their own identities as Māori?
2. What tensions (if any) are experienced by Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools specific to their respective identities ‘as Māori’ and as classroom teachers?
3. What professional opportunities and resources are available to meet the needs of Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools and classrooms?

The rationale underpinning this study proposed that:

1. Being a Māori teacher in contemporary English-medium schools presents challenges to one’s cultural self-identity ‘as Māori’;
2. Confidence to teach ‘as Māori’ is influenced by how school leaders and teachers acknowledge and support diverse interpretations of Māori identity;

3. Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools and classrooms require access to professional learning opportunities that are responsive to their cultural realities.

Kaupapa Māori research theory guided this study's design. This Māori-centred approach to research enabled these participants to reflect critically on their Māori identities within a culturally safe research context. Their narratives were gathered, understood and analysed through cultural lenses that respected Māori cultural values and beliefs.

#### **1.4 Research participant cohort**

The participants were five Māori women and one Māori man teaching in different primary schools located in Auckland. Participant gender was not deliberately structured as part of this research study however the male participant offered a perspective that highlights personal and professional tensions different from those experienced by the women.

As a cohort, the research participants were born within a ten-year period. They grew up in second and/or third generational urban whānau (family/families) structures. Three participants were raised in Auckland, two in South Auckland suburbs and one in a Central Auckland suburb. The other three participants moved to Auckland as young adults, two with young families of their own.

Data from Statistics New Zealand (2015) demonstrate that Auckland is home to 33.4% of Aotearoa/New Zealand's total population. Almost one quarter (23%) of Māori live in Auckland but do not form the largest ethnic group in any one suburb (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). Pākehā, Pacific Island and Asian ethnicities form the dominant ethnicity for whole neighbourhoods (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). Consequently, Māori live in Auckland as a minority culture amongst diverse ethnic communities. Their minority status as teachers and as students is reflected in Auckland's English-medium primary schools and classrooms (Ministry of Education, 2015h).

During the research study, four participants were teaching in English-medium primary school classrooms. One participant was the only Māori teacher in the school while three participants were teaching in classrooms as one of two or three Māori teachers in their schools. Their responsibilities included teaching all curriculum areas to the same group of students for the whole school year. Two participants were experienced classroom teachers who shifted into special education roles as itinerant Resource Teachers of Learning and Behaviour<sup>6</sup> (RTLB). The RTLB comprised two Māori within a cluster group of 26 Pākehā and other non-Māori. Their responsibilities involved working collaboratively with school teachers, students and whānau (family/families) in both primary and secondary school contexts (Ministry of Education, 2015g).

Along with the six participants, my two university supervisors were also invited to attend and contribute to collaborative hui kōrero (focus group conversations). Individual and collaborative hui kōrero were the source of information gathering for this study and are explored in detail in Chapter Four (see sub-section 4.5). In this research context, the participants considered the supervisors' inclusion integral to the research process as 'faces to be seen'. Both supervisors accepted the invitation to attend the collaborative hui kōrero. One supervisor attended all three collaborative hui kōrero and one attended two.

Previous research studies with Māori teachers' experiences have contributed to understanding cultural tensions they had experienced within their own secondary school contexts (Bloor, 1996; Lee, 2008; Ministry of Education, 1999; Turner, 2013). However, fewer research studies have explored Māori teachers' experiences in teaching in English-medium primary schools and classrooms. I contend that exploring Māori primary school teachers' narratives of experience is important because primary schools are the first point of entry to compulsory

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<sup>6</sup> Resource Teachers: Learning and Behaviour (RTLB) are experienced teachers specially trained to work itinerantly across clusters of schools to support inclusive teaching and learning strategies with school-wide initiatives as well as individual teacher/s.

education for all students. Teacher attitudes in these schooling contexts can significantly influence how students' attitudes towards learning are shaped. I also believe that Māori teachers' narratives are of particular value because they provide insights to existing perceptions of Māori in these primary school contexts. These insights have the potential to shape all teacher attitudes towards Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty responsibilities particularly where Māori teachers and students are positioned as ethnic and cultural minorities in their own homeland.

### **1.5 Research contribution to knowledge**

This study has the potential to contribute to teacher education and professional learning opportunities for school leaders and teachers both nationally and internationally. Seen in a global context, this study aims to contribute to research related to the experiences of Indigenous teachers who choose to teach in state funded educational contexts (Behrendt, 1996; Lee, 2008; Santoro & Reid, 2006). Unrealistic expectations placed on Indigenous teachers simply because they are Indigenous, ignores the cultural realities and heterogeneity represented across Indigenous peoples and communities. Furthermore, reinforcing stereotyped perceptions impact on the way Indigenous teachers are able to work together, with non-Indigenous colleagues and students within state schools (Santoro, Reid, Crawford, & Simpson, 2011). The research findings might contribute to increased awareness of Indigenous teacher cultural realities, especially in school settings where non-Indigenous 'norms' assume priority.

This study does not claim to represent a single Māori perspective. Rather, it examines some of the existing tensions experienced by a small cohort of Māori teachers located within English-medium primary schools. The rejection of claiming a single Māori perspective challenges prevailing stereotypical views more commonly held of Māori, and instead highlights the diversity in which Māori identity and cultural values are represented within Aotearoa/New Zealand schools and classrooms.

The narratives of experience presented within this study have the potential to benefit both Māori and Pākehā/non-Māori educators in English-medium education

from early childhood through to tertiary education. This potential benefit is especially important in education settings where Māori teachers are a minority and are at risk of being marginalised when schools do not enact their education-wide bicultural commitment to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi principles of partnership, protection and participation.

## **1.6 Thesis structure: Overview of chapters**

Chapter Two contextualises contemporary education legislation by first reviewing colonial education policies and systems of Aotearoa/New Zealand state schools. This chapter centres on how Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi, as an historical agreement between Māori iwi (tribes) and British colonialists, continues to inform legislated policies and expectations of Māori, Pākehā and other non-Māori leaders, teachers, students relationships in 21<sup>st</sup> century education contexts.

Chapter Three reviews relevant literature backgrounding and informing this research study and frames colonial constructs within socio-historical and sociocultural perspectives. Focused specifically on Indigenous teacher identities chapter three includes a discussion of how British Imperialism fragmented Indigenous cultural identities through education systems of Aotearoa/New Zealand, U.S.A., Canada and Australia. Perspectives of white privilege and multiculturalism highlight existing barriers that continue to inhibit Indigenous communities from self-defining their Indigenous identities within their own respective homelands.

Chapter Four describes the methodology, research methods, research design and data analysis of the study. Framed by kaupapa Māori research theory (research underpinned by Māori cultural values, knowledge and beliefs), this study drew also from other qualitative research perspectives such as critical theory, narrative inquiry and grounded theory. Individual and collaborative semi-structured interview methods were used to develop ‘hui kōrero’ (focused conversations). Hui kōrero was a means of gathering and sharing participant information. The iterative analysis process reflected how first individual and then, collaborative hui kōrero informed the kaupapa (focus) of each successive hui kōrero. Coding processes

served to theorise the narratives of this cohort of Māori teachers. Issues of insider researcher positioning and reflexivity were explored to mediate issues of researcher subjectivity. Kaupapa Māori research strategies deliberately privileged Māori teacher narratives of experience because Māori cultural concepts guided our perceptions, expectations and behaviours. Māori identity was in this research context, normal.

Chapter Five presents this study's first set of research findings. It focuses on how these participants perceived their Māori identities and explores how urban realities have defined and shaped these identities.

Chapter Six explores the second set of research findings, namely cultural barriers these research participants experienced in their teaching roles and responsibilities. In a professional context, colonial interpretations of Māori identity continued to define and influence expectations of them. Inflexible definitions of Māori cultural values and beliefs held by non-Māori colleagues made it very difficult for this cohort of teachers to fulfil their teacher responsibilities 'as Māori'. Their prior experiences as urban raised Māori did not necessarily align with stereotyped perceptions school leaders and teachers held of Māori identity.

Chapter Seven presents the third set of research findings. This chapter discusses how the research process enabled these participants to experience whanaungatanga (relationships) and as such, engage in critical conversations together. The collaborative and collective benefits from engaging within a Māori centred research process included increased consciousness and understandings of their respective personal and professional identities.

Chapter Eight considers this study's learning and implications. I discuss a cultural self-identity continuum that may affirm diverse Māori teacher identities as well as consider the benefits of culturally located opportunities for Māori teachers, as Māori teachers. This chapter includes a post-script that share participants' experiences following the completion of the research process itself. The post-script also serves as a timely reminder that for many kaupapa Māori research



(underpinned by Māori cultural values, knowledge and beliefs) projects, relationships continue long after the audio recorder device is ‘off’.

## **2 Chapter Two: Background of Māori and Education**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Chapter Two contextualises the systemic cultural disaffection experienced by Māori since British formally colonised Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1840. This includes a review of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi and the impact it has had on education for Māori communities. I draw links from Aotearoa/New Zealand's colonial history to current education legislation, policy and resources. Current legislation includes the New Zealand's Education Act (1989), the National Educational Guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2015e), the National Administration Guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2015c) and the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007).

I overview the key resources provided by the Ministry of Education that support school leaders and teachers to achieve best student learning outcomes. These are the Best Evidence Synthesis series (Ministry of Education, 2015a), 'Ka Hikitia: Accelerating Success 2013-2017' (Ministry of Education, 2012a) and 'Tātaiako'. Cultural Competencies for Teachers of Māori learners' (Ministry of Education, 2011). These last two resources specifically seek to improve cultural understanding for all teachers of Māori students in 21<sup>st</sup> century state schools. Improved teacher understandings of Māori cultural concepts is perceived as a pedagogical strategy to redress the ongoing learning disparities experienced by Māori students in English-medium state schools (Ministry of Education, 2011, 2014a).

My own narrative of experiences as Māori (personal) and as an English-medium primary school classroom teacher (professional) weave throughout this chapter as reflexive accounts of key issues introduced. These reflections are italicised throughout this chapter.

### **2.2 Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi**

Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi sought to establish colonial relationships between Māori and the Crown (Orange, 1989; Tomlins Jahnke, 2011). According

to Barrington (1965), colonial attitudes towards Māori were expected to be less aggressive than the attitudes demonstrated towards the Indigenous communities when claiming North America and Australia as British colonies. He states that the Crown's decision to peacefully sign an agreement with Māori:

...had been strongly influenced by pressure groups in England such as the Church Missionary Society and the Aboriginal Protection Society. These group urged the Government to 'harmonise Christianity with Colonization' in New Zealand and thereby avoid the disastrous consequences for native races that had been the legacy of previous efforts of colonization. One result of this attitude was the strict mandate to Hobson to deal fairly with the Māoris and safeguard their interest. Another was the Treaty of Waitangi (pp. 4-5).

The document was signed in 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and over 500 Māori tribal leaders (Orange, 1989; Shields, Bishop, & Mazawi, 2005). Hastily written in English and then translated into Māori language in order to negotiate land acquisition to establish both a new British colony as well as to "civilise" Māori (preferably through the role of 'benevolent missionaries'), Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi provided a space though which "systematic settlement from Britain" occurred (Harker & McConnochie, 1985, p. 55). This document was described as "an agreement which defined the status of Māori people within the broader framework of British rule, and which sanctioned the presence of Her Majesty's Government" (Durie, 1989, p. 294). The three 'articles' defining colonial conditions were presented to Māori in both English and in multiple Māori language versions that many Māori chiefs signed (see Appendix A).

However, some Māori found the translation from English to Māori language contentious. Examples of contentions included the meaning of the term 'kāwanatanga' (authority). Kāwanatanga was written in the Māori translated version of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi's first article and attempted to convey the English term 'sovereignty' used in the English version. In this respect, Orange (1989) suggested that "the single word 'kāwanatanga' covered significant differences of meaning, and was not likely to convey to Māori a precise definition of sovereignty" (p.40). R. Walker (1989) claimed that if the term 'mana whenua'

(authority of ancestral lands) had been used instead of *kāwanatanga* then Māori chiefs would not have agreed to cede sovereignty over their lands in the first instance. A second issue is the use of the term ‘*tino rangatiratanga*’ (self-determination) used in Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi’s Māori translated ‘*Ko te tuarua*’ (Article the second). In reference to the word ‘possessions’ contained within the second article of the English version, *tino rangatiratanga* was understood more akin to ‘chieftainship’ and “in fact, it was a better approximation to sovereignty than *kāwanatanga*” (Orange, 1989, p. 41).

The years that followed Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi signing were highly destructive to the fabric of traditional Māori communities. Māori suffered significant land loss as immigration “from an overcrowded Britain” rapidly ensued (Durie, 1998, p. 176). Regardless of the Crown’s benevolent intentions towards Māori, subsequent early-settler governments were established from 1846 but failed to protect Māori land rights that Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi has promised (Orange, 2004). In this respect, “it is clear that the early colonial Government in New Zealand did not place the same importance on the Treaty as the British Colonial Secretary, or the British Government” (Durie, 1998, p. 295).

Signing Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi with Māori greatly benefitted early settler immigrants as their population increased. Simultaneously, Māori population decreased as a result of introduced disease as well as the impact of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s Land Wars of 1845-1872 (Belich, 1996; Orange, 1989, 2004). The 1850s in Aotearoa/New Zealand was the decade where Māori ceased to be the majority population in their own land and where Pākehā settlers, as colonial immigrants, became the dominant majority who framed the ‘dominant discourse’ (Orange, 2004; Sinclair, 2000). Māori were also educated within colonial framed schools. Schools were designed to distance Māori children and their communities from their own language and traditional cultural knowledges.

### **2.3 Māori and education: Deculturalisation agenda**

Schooling in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the first point of deculturalisation of Indigenous Māori. Early colonial educational policies in Aotearoa/New Zealand sought to

“civilise” as well as assimilate Māori communities to colonialist ‘norms’. L. Mead (1996) reminds us that within an Aotearoa/New Zealand socio-historical context that it is easy “to overlook the simple fact that it was [Māori] children, in the first instance, who were being colonised through schooling” (p. 257).

British missionaries first opened Christian-based schools and taught Māori children to read and write in the Māori language and also to read, write and speak English during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Simon, 1998). Early missionary schools initially employed Māori people as uncertified junior teacher assistants. Their role as assistants served to help Māori students to acquire the English language and “largely to provide a bridge between the community and the school” (Howard & Johnson, 2004, p. 61). Māori junior assistants, alongside Pākehā teachers, were expected to demonstrate ‘European’ standards of behaving towards young Māori learners and their communities. Such standards included being polite, abstaining from drinking alcohol and maintaining clean school houses and gardens (Simon, 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001).

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century settler governments established public schools to provide education to growing numbers of early settler children. Native schools were formally opened in rural areas populated predominantly by Māori communities (Belich, 1996; Smyth, 1931). There were government expectations for Māori teachers also positioned in Native schools to be “Europeanised Māori” (Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 72). Being ‘Europeanised’ referred to competence with “instrumental music and singing as well as household duties” (Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 72). Māori communities were expected to prioritise colonial living standards as well as English language into their daily lives (Howard & Johnson, 2004; Simon & Smith, 2001).

Through the Native school system, settler governments systematically encouraged Māori in rural communities to replace Māori language, culture and traditions with the language, culture and traditions of the coloniser that is, English language and British ‘European’ culture (Barrington, 1965, 2008; Simon & Smith, 2001). By 1936, Māori represented almost one third of all teachers in Native schools (Simon

& Smith, 2001). The number of qualified Māori teachers in Native schools had increased to approximately 48 percent by 1961 (Howard & Johnson, 2004). The government initiated the integration of Native schools into the public school system in order to respond to growing anti-apartheid sentiments during the 1950s (Simon & Smith, 2001).

Fear that Native schools may have potentially been staffed by more Māori teachers than Pākehā teachers was also thought to “deny many pakeha [sic] teachers an avenue for service for which many are equipped and suited by interest and experience” (Ritchie, 1963, p. 109). The government later opted to close Native schools to prevent perceptions of Aotearoa/New Zealand from being separatist and racist. It disestablished Native schools in 1969 and Māori teachers sought employment in urban public schools staffed predominantly by Pākehā teachers. That was challenging for these Native school teachers because often, they were perceived by teachers and parents of children in the public school system as underqualified and “inferior” (Ritchie, 1963; Simon & Smith, 2001).

What had been a separate schooling system designed by colonial governments to assimilate and “civilise” Māori children was then charged as supporting Māori separatism. As Simon and Smith (2001) reflect:

The decision more than a century earlier to establish the Native Schools system reflected nineteenth-century hierarchical understandings of race and civilisation and these understandings were to influence the direction of the system throughout its existence....in the demise of the Native/Māori Schools system....race-based arguments were employed by those outside the system to subordinate the interests of Māori to those of Pākehā ( p.274).

Other reasons which justified the closure of the Native schools system were the high numbers of Māori who had acquired English language proficiently enough to learn within the monocultural and monolingual public school system. Also, many Māori were forced to move from rural communities to urban cities throughout the 1940s and 1950s in order to seek employment (Simon & Smith, 2001).

### **2.3.1 Urbanisation: Monocultural public schools**

Urbanisation was the second significant decultralisation process of Indigenous Māori. Urbanisation, for many Māori, reinforced the colonial agenda of assimilation (Barcham, 1998). Where many Māori had already experienced inter-generational alienation from Māori language and traditions as students in mission and Native schools, rapid urbanisation of Māori post World War II exacerbated geographical alienation from tribal areas (R. Walker, 2004). Some members of subsequent generations of urban Māori shared feelings of deep whakamā (shame) because they lack an ability to speak Māori language fluently, lack knowledge of their whakapapa (genealogical connections), and lack access to their whānau marae (traditional family meeting place), hapū (sub-tribe/sub-tribes) and iwi (tribe/tribes) heritages (Borrell, 2005b; Metge, 1986; C. Smith, 2006; Woodard, 2008).

Conversely, some Māori families did manage to retain their cultural knowledge and connections to whānau marae (traditional family meeting place), hapū (sub-tribe/sub-tribes) and iwi (tribe/tribes) despite living in urban contexts. Furthermore, these families found ways to adapt their urban lifestyle to create environments that were conducive to retaining cultural knowledge and values (Durie, 1998; Gagne, 2013).

*My brothers and I were raised by our widowed mother of Waikato-Tainui tribal descent. Her commitment to her Māori identity ensured that we knew of our whakapapa [genealogical connections] and mana whenua [knowledge of ancestral lands] despite growing up in an urban Aotearoa/New Zealand city. In that respect, our mother rejected the cultural assimilation intent of early twentieth century social and educational policies of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Adams et al., 2000; Barrington, 2008; Simon & Smith, 2001). Her experiences during the 1940s of corporal punishment at primary school when caught speaking Māori influenced her decision to prioritise English language over and above te reo Māori [Māori language] as the home language. Our mother*

*spoke te reo Māori when she was amongst her cousins and with our grandmother. In contrast, our grandmother's home language was te reo Māori and her dog 'E-hoa' [friend] responded to my grandmother far easier than I could (Self-reflection, 2012).*

Second and third generations of Māori children were more likely to have experienced tensions from living 'as Māori' in urban homes yet learning in monocultural and monolingual public schools taught by predominantly Pākehā/non-Māori teachers (Houkamau, 2010; R. Walker, 1973; S Walker, 1996). The issue of Māori children being raised in urban settings and educated in those public schools backgrounds this qualitative research study. The study explores the impact past educational policies and attitudes towards Māori have had on a small cohort of Māori teachers who have returned to teach in the same educational settings as where they were 'taught'. The participants and I attended state funded public schools between mid-1960s and mid-1980s when access to te reo me onā tikanga Māori (Māori language and cultural protocols) was either completely limited or at the least, limited to tokenised forms of Māori identity and culture (Hirsh, 1990; Hōhepa, 2015; G. H. Smith, 1990; R. Walker, 1973).

*As a product of a monocultural primary school system of the 1970s myself, coupled with a mother who promoted pride in being Māori yet having English as my first language, I have experienced cultural tensions as an English-medium primary school teacher, Resource Teacher: Learning and Behaviour (RTL) and post-graduate tertiary student. For example, I have taught in urban English-medium primary and intermediate school classrooms full-time as well as a day-to-day relief teacher over the past 11 years. I introduce myself as Whaea [Aunty] and by doing so I acknowledge my identity 'as Māori' to Māori and Pākehā/non-Māori colleagues and students. Perhaps because I do not physically look like a 'stereotypical Māori' to some people, I may have presented as a person who can accept hurtful comments about Māori culture and people. I have been told at a private social gathering that the 'problem with Māori people is they don't want to do anything for*



*themselves to move from poverty'. I have been questioned by several teaching colleagues whether or not I am a 'real' Māori because I have fair skin; complimented by a teacher colleague on having 'nice jewellery for a Māori' and that I am indeed 'very intelligent for a Māori' (Personal conversations, 2007-2013). Further queries over the years have sought to know whether or not I have studied at a 'real university' (as opposed to a Māori tertiary institution), whether or not I was granted Māori scholarships ('don't you all get that special treatment?') and have offered genuine surprise to know that I have incurred a student loan debt. Conversely, I have been expected to organise school-wide pōwhiri [formal welcome following Māori cultural protocols] for visitors to a school, organise and teach kapa haka [traditional Māori performing arts] as well as being held responsible to school leaders for Māori student learning and behaviours (Self-reflection, 2012).*

The assumptions underpinning these views and challenges to Māori identity are laden with both stereotyped as well as deficit views some Pākehā/non-Māori and indeed, some Māori teachers have about Māori identity. Deficit perspectives locate learning or behavioural problems within a person, or from my experiences, within my cultural identity as Māori. Sleeter (2011) suggests that in mainstream school systems “deficit orientations persist as dominant groups attempt to maintain control over the education system into which minoritized students [or teachers] might assimilate” (p.7).

This study's kaupapa (purpose) reflects Hemara's (2000) understanding of how past social and educational policies have contributed to the formation of contemporary attitudes towards Māori in education. He suggests that in context of early Native Schools, the marginalisation of Māori in education can be traced historically and recounts that “where Pākehā began to outnumber Māori, Māori concerns were often subsumed by Pākehā demands” (p. 48). Similarly, creating ‘comfort zones’ for Pākehā teachers to understand Māori cultural concepts assumed nothing more than a ‘Māori friendly’ position (Johnston, 2001). For example, the ‘taha Māori’ (Māori dimension) strategy was the Department of

Education's attempt to add a Māori dimension to state school's curriculum during the 1980s (Bishop & Glynn, 1999a; Hirsh, 1990; McKay, 1985). G. H. Smith (1997) described the taha Māori curriculum strategy as "Pākehā capture" (p. 342) because the programme was designed by Pākehā, for the benefit of Pākehā but failed to address the high level of Māori underachievement in schools.

Hirsh (1990) noted in his report for the Ministry of Education on issues and factors relating to Māori children and education that the taha Māori programme's "major outcomes have been for the benefit of the nation from a Pākehā perspective" (p.39). Bishop and Glynn (1999a) also suggested that the strategy's failure to address high levels of underachievement experienced by Māori students was due to taha Māori being "designed to meet the aspirations of the Pākehā majority (to acquire knowledge of things Māori) and not those of the Māori people" (pp. 42-43).

*The limited level of te reo Māori I have acquired has been as a second language learner, despite attempts by Aotearoa/New Zealand's Department of Education during the 1980s to include a Māori dimension into state schooling with the 'taha Māori' strategy (McKay, 1985). In this respect, I feel that I represent the 'tail end' of a generation of Māori who otherwise would have experienced total cultural displacement were it not for our mother's own commitment to sustain her cultural identity, values and beliefs as Māori (Self-reflection, 2012).*

I suspected that a similar phenomenon akin to Pākehā capture of taha Māori continued to exist in English-medium state primary schools affecting how Māori teachers perceived themselves as Māori in this specific schooling context. I also suspected that stereotyped perceptions and deficit theorising about Māori people impact on Māori teacher capacities to teach as Māori and as Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi partners – in our own country. I questioned further to what extent a Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty-honouring position underpinned professional relationships and professional learning opportunities for Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools.

## 2.4 Biculturalism and education

Up until the 1970s, successive settler governments had viewed Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi as irrelevant to Pākehā and Māori relationships. As such, “Māori have always placed greater value on the Treaty than the Crown, and relationships between Māori and the state have largely been reflected in their differing attitudes to the Treaty of Waitangi and the varying levels of commitment” (Durie, 1998, p. 177). Biculturalism served as a political rhetoric to raise the profile of Māori as equal Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty partners with the Crown during the Māori renaissance of the 1970s and 1980’s. O’Sullivan (2007) claimed however that biculturalism’s “primary concern is with relationships among people in institutional settings and within and among bureaucratic institutions” (p.4). The aim of biculturalism was seen as redressing the unequal power relationships between Māori and the Crown (O’Sullivan, 2007).

The Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) established the Waitangi Tribunal which enabled a forum where non-statutory Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty grievances could be investigated, considered and redress sought by Māori whānau (family/families), hapū (sub-tribes) and iwi (tribes) (Durie, 1998). The Waitangi Tribunal assumed responsibility to determine the “meaning and effect of the 1840 agreement” (Orange, 2004, p. 144) and developed a series of principles arising from the claims processed through the Tribunal. Key principles identified in 1989 were intended to guide government actions of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi claims. They are summarised as:

- The Principle of Government/The Kāwanatanga Principle: the government has the right to govern and to make laws (Article 1);
- The Principle of Self-Management/The Rangatiratanga Principle: the iwi have the right to organise as iwi and, under the law, to control the resources they own (Article 2);
- The Principle of Equality: all New Zealanders are equal under the law (Article 3);

- The Principle of Reasonable Cooperation: both the government and the iwi are obliged to accord each other reasonable cooperation on major issues of common concern;
- The Principle of Redress: the government is responsible for providing effective processes for the resolution of grievances in the expectation that reconciliation can occur.

(Orange, 2004, p. 195; Ward, 1997, p. 493)

Despite there being no exhaustive list of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty principles, Aotearoa/New Zealand’s Ministry of Education has focused primarily on ‘partnership’, ‘protection’ and ‘participation’ (Ministry of Education, 2012b). These three ‘broad’ Te Tiriti/Treaty principles were drawn from the Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy (Richardson et al., 1988). The report noted that, “the Treaty acknowledged Māori sovereignty and, in so doing, recognised the status of indigenous people” (p.45). These authors’ further stated “...the Treaty is central to understandings of New Zealand society, its historical development and contemporary realities” (Richardson et al., 1988, p. 17). They viewed Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi as “a statement about the position of Māori in New Zealand and the relationships they have with other New Zealanders and the country’s institutions” (Richardson, et al, 1998, p.30).

Durie (1993) presented a visual example of how variances in understanding biculturalism and Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty principles could also be applied to Government systems (see Table 1). He represented a range of different bicultural positions along a continuum.

**Table 1: A Bicultural Continuum Structural Arrangements**

Unmodified mainstream institutions	A Māori perspective	Active Māori involvement	Parallel Māori institutions	Independent Māori institutions
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(Durie, 1993, p.28)

Both ‘Unmodified mainstream institutions’ and ‘Independent Māori institutions’ represent polarised positions of biculturalism and are reflective of either

‘monocultural’ (void of a Māori perspective) at one end, to Māori asserting tino rangatiratanga (self-autonomy) at the other.

Since the 1980s, educational policies have attempted to increase support for Māori culture in state schooling contexts as a Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty honouring partner to Māori. Examples of how a government commitment to ‘biculturalism’ continued to influence education policies and practices within Aotearoa/New Zealand’s educational contexts included:

- ‘A Māori perspective’ (representative in the ‘Taha Māori’ initiative of the 1980’s);
- ‘Active Māori involvement’ (representative of bilingual units in English-medium schools);
- ‘Parallel Māori institutions’ (representative of Māori-medium education such as Kohanga reo (early childhood language nests) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (schools underpinned by Māori cultural values).

(Durie, 1993, pp. 28-29)

Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi continues to be viewed by many as Aotearoa/New Zealand’s founding document (Bertanees & Thornley, 2004; Ministry of Education, 2007). It could be argued that the (re)development of Māori-medium schooling system alongside existing English-medium schools is how the Ministry of Education demonstrated an on-going *institutional* commitment to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi as Aotearoa/New Zealand’s founding document. The Aotearoa/New Zealand Government’s commitment to ‘biculturalism’ in education has aimed to (1) increase the number of fluent Māori speaking teachers for Māori-medium schools and (2) increase the cultural knowledge of non-Māori teachers in English-medium schools (Ministry of Education, 2008a).

The same Aotearoa/New Zealand Government commitment to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi principles within English-medium state schools are also reflected within legislated educational documents.

### ***2.4.1 The National Curriculum: English-medium state schools***

The national curriculum consists of two documents. ‘Te Marautanga o Aotearoa’ and the ‘New Zealand Curriculum’ (Ministry of Education, 2007, 2008c). Te Marautanga o Aotearoa guides Māori-medium learning programmes and The New Zealand Curriculum (NZC) guides classroom programmes in English-medium contexts. The Ministry of Education’s statement of official policy says “the two documents will help schools give effect to the partnership that is at the core of our nation’s founding document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 6).

The New Zealand Curriculum (NZC) requires all teachers in English-medium state schools and classrooms to develop teaching and learning programmes underpinned by Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty principles. The NZC’s ‘Vision’ is described as “what we want for our young people” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 8). The third of five vision statements expects schools to enable young people “who will work to create an Aotearoa New Zealand in which Māori and Pākehā recognise each other as full Treaty partners, and in which all cultures are valued for the contributions they bring” (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 8). Interrelated to the vision statements, the NZC names eight ‘Principles’ expected to guide leaders and teachers curriculum decision making. The eight NZC Principles are: ‘High Expectations’, ‘Treaty of Waitangi’, ‘Cultural Diversity’, ‘Inclusion’, ‘Learning to Learn’, ‘Community Engagement’, ‘Coherence’ and ‘Future Focus’ (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 9).

The Ministry of Education subsequently published ‘The New Zealand Curriculum Update’ (Ministry of Education, 2012b). The curriculum update encouraged English-medium state schools to develop competence in “understanding and enacting the curriculum principle of the Treaty of Waitangi” (Ministry of Education, 2012b, p. 1) in response to an Education Review Office report titled “Directions for Learning: The New Zealand Curriculum Principles, and Teaching as Inquiry” (Education Review Office, 2011). The Education Review Office report found that of a sample of 109 primary and secondary state schools, the New

Zealand curriculum principle ‘Treaty of Waitangi’ was the least evident in 43 schools and not evident in seven schools (Education Review Office, 2011). The Ministry of Education’s 2012 curriculum update confirm that English-medium state school leaders and teachers (90% of whom are Pākehā/non-Māori) continue to struggle to understand their responsibilities as Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty partners despite 25 years since the passing of the Education Act (1989), and the development of NEGs (Section 60A) and NAGs (Section 60A (c)). These are described in detail below.

Within the context of this research study however, Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty partnership is examined through the lenses of Aotearoa/New Zealand’s dominant discourse and not through the lenses of Māori students and teachers, as illustrated in my MEd research thesis (Gilgen, 2010). So, this research study intentionally privileged the narratives of Māori primary school teachers as Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty partners with their Pākehā/non-Māori primary schoolteacher colleagues.

#### ***2.4.2 Education legislation for 21<sup>st</sup> century state schools***

Educational as well as administration goals and guidelines are mandated through Aotearoa/New Zealand’s Education Act (1989). All state schools and their respective Boards of Trustees are expected to comply with Ministry regulations and policies. The following guidelines and goals are applicable to both English-medium and Māori-medium state schools. They are:

- the National Education Guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2015e);
- the National Education Goals (Ministry of Education, 2015d);
- the National Administration Guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2015c).

The National Education Guidelines are defined by Aotearoa/New Zealand’s Education Act (1989) as “all the national education goals, foundation curriculum policy statements, national curriculum statements, national standards, and national administration guidelines, for the time being in force under section 60A” (p.128). Section 60A informs school leaders of the expectations that the Ministry of

Education has of their responsibilities for school governance and management as determined by law. As such, 60A(1)(a)(i) states the National Education Goals (NEGs) to be “statements of desirable achievements by the school system, or by an element of the schools systems” and, (1)(a)(ii) defines the NEGs to be “statement of government policy objectives for the schools system” (pp.129-130).

The National Administration Guidelines (NAGs) are stated in Section 60A (1)(c) and (ii)(c) of the Aotearoa/New Zealand Education Act (1989). The NAGs are considered to be “guidelines relating to school administration and which may (without limitation)...set out requirements relating to planning and reporting including – broad requirements relating to schools’ consultation with parents, staff, school proprietors (in the case of integrated schools) and school communities, and the broad requirements to ensure that boards take all reasonable steps to discover and consider the views and concerns of Māori communities living in the geographical area the school serves, in the development of a school charter”.

School boards of trustees, school leaders and teachers are encouraged to work in partnership with Māori communities and whānau (family/families). Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty principles are located within two of ten Ministry of Education’s NEGs. NEG 9 and NEG 10 refer specifically to responsibilities expected of schools to engage with Māori communities as Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty partners. These two NEGs are:

- NEG 9: Increased participation and success by Māori through the advancement of Māori education initiatives, including education in Te Reo Māori, consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi;
- NEG 10: Respect for the diverse ethnic and cultural heritage of New Zealand people, with acknowledgement of the unique place of Māori, and New Zealander’s role in the Pacific and as a member of the international community of nations.

Similarly, two of eight National Administration Guidelines (NAGs), NAG 1(e) and NAG 2(c) refer directly to Māori and state:



- NAG 1(e): in consultation with the school's Māori community, develop and make known to the school's community policies, plans and targets for improving the achievement of Māori students;
- NAG 2(c): report to students and their parents on the achievement of individual students, and to the school's community on the achievement of students as a whole and of groups...including the achievement of Māori students against the plans and targets referred to in 1(e) above.

Despite the Aotearoa/New Zealand Education Act (1989) expectations of all state schools to specifically consider the learning needs of Māori students, global as well as national education statistics document existing educational achievement disparities between Māori, Pākehā and non-Māori students (Ministry of Education, 2008b, 2015i; Schleicher, 2011).

Global statistics analysed and reported by the 'Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) located Aotearoa/New Zealand's student achievement levels within the 'high student performance-low equity' quadrant of the diagram presented in the report 'Building a high-quality teacher profession: Lessons from around the world' (Schleicher, 2011). Current national achievement statistics confirmed the OECD's findings of low equity in reporting the disproportionate number of Māori students who continue to be over-represented within the tail-end of the achievement levels and at the upper end of school exclusion and absenteeism levels in contrast to students who are predominantly non-Māori New Zealanders (Mallari & Loader, 2013; Ministry of Education, 2015f).

There have been a number of research based documents as well as resources focused on implementing culturally responsive theories and pedagogies. These have sought to decrease the achievement disparities between Māori and Pākehā/non-Māori students through teacher based professional development programmes.

## **2.5 Increasing teachers' cultural competencies: Professional learning**

Professional learning and development programmes within schools are considered to be “effective in changing teachers’ achievement, skills and attitudes” (Hattie, 2009). Additional criteria that increases learning and development effectiveness include the support of leaders and providing expertise guidance and opportunities for teacher reflection (Hattie, 2009; Timperley, Wilson, Barrar, & Fung, 2007). Kane et al. (2006) found that an outcome of a report commissioned by the Ministry of Education ‘Perceptions of Teachers and Teaching’ revealed that “leadership within schools is a critical prerequisite to ensuring teachers are supported in the work they do” (p. xii).

The government has released a series of professional learning and development resources to all state schools specific to educational contexts in Aotearoa/New Zealand since 2003. The ‘Best Evidence Synthesis Iteration’ (BES) provides school leaders and teachers with evidenced based examples of how teaching practices may be implemented in teaching programmes across curriculum areas to achieve best outcomes for student learning (Ministry of Education, 2015a). In context of this study, BES documents ‘Teacher professional learning and development’ (Timperley et al., 2007), ‘School leadership and student outcomes: Identifying what works and why’ (V. Robinson, Hohepa, & Lloyd, 2009) and ‘Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling: Best evidence synthesis’ (Alton-Lee, 2003) informed government expectations of professional learning programmes for state schools. These expectations include Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty and its principles. Alton-Lee (2003) noted that the BES “Quality teaching for diverse students” provides information relevant to improving Māori students learning outcomes and as such “honours Articles 2 and 3 of the Treaty of Waitangi” (p.5). She continued that “through a focus on what works for Māori in every schooling context, this synthesis and other best evidence work has been designed to contribute to developing system capability to support Māori students to live as Māori and to actively participate as citizens of the world” (p.5). Timperley et al. (2007) noted in their research on teacher professional learning and development that there seemed to be a “general dearth of international

literature focusing on professional learning leading to improved student outcomes for indigenous people” (p. xi).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand English-medium school contexts, culturally responsive theories focus on strengthening Pākehā and other non-Māori teachers’ Māori cultural knowledge and practices (Bishop, 2011; Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2009). The Ministry of Education’s more recent response to address the continual student achievement disparities in state schools has also included the release of Māori education strategy documents ‘Ka Hikitia, Māori Education Strategy’ (Ministry of Education, 2008a), ‘Ka Hikitia, Accelerating Success’ (Ministry of Education, 2012a) and ‘Tātaiako: Cultural Competencies for Teachers of Māori Learners’ (Ministry of Education, 2011). Tātaiako provides all primary and secondary school leaders and teachers with cultural guidelines in support of the achievement aspirations for Māori learners outlined in the ‘Ka Hikitia’ documents.

The purpose of Ka Hikitia is stated as being “to transform the education system to ensure Māori are enjoying educational success as Māori” (Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 11). In 2012, the Ministry of Education then released ‘Ka Hikitia, Accelerating Success to all State Schools’ (Ministry of Education, 2012a) as an update of the 2008 document. These documents encourage schools to develop collaborative relationships with their Māori communities in order to promote Māori student achievement. Relational aspirations are clearly described by the Ministry of Education as “*Ka Hikitia – Accelerating Success 2013–2017* calls for focus and action from everyone who plays a role in education – students, parents, iwi [tribe/s], whānau [family/families], education leaders and professionals, businesses, government agencies, the Ministry of Education and other education sector agencies” (Ministry of Education, 2014b, p. 2).

Similarly, Tātaiako seeks to support classroom teachers to build genuine and productive relationships with Māori students to improve learning outcomes. Tātaiako encourages all teachers to “personalise learning for and with Māori learners, to ensure they enjoy education success as Māori” (Ministry of Education,

2011, p. 4). Tātaiako offers five cultural areas of teacher competencies for them to consider in their teaching practices. These areas of competence are also linked to the national registered teacher criteria as well as graduating teacher standards (Ministry of Education, 2011). The competencies are:

- Wānanga: participating with learners and communities in robust dialogue for the benefit of Māori learners' achievement;
- Whanaungatanga: actively engaging in respectful working relationships with Māori learners, parents and whānau [family/families], hapū [sub-tribe/sub-tribes], iwi [tribe/tribes] and the Māori community;
- Manaakitanga: showing integrity, sincerity and respect towards Māori beliefs, language and culture;
- Tangata Whenuatanga: affirming Māori learners as Māori. Providing contexts for learning where the language, identity and culture of Māori learners and their whānau [family/families] is affirmed;
- Ako: taking responsibility for their own learning and that of Māori learners.

(Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 4)

From a Government perspective, developing teachers' cultural understandings of Māori cultural competencies intends to reduce the learning and achievement disparities between Māori and Pākehā/non-Māori students in Aotearoa/New Zealand state schools. Also, the Government holds state schools accountable to meeting bicultural aspirations expressed through Ka Hikitia (2011) and further expect that Māori students should be supported to learn 'as Māori'.

## **2.6 Summary**

Māori and British representatives signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 as an agreement between them to establish a new colony. Education policies served as assimilation strategies to deculturalise Māori from traditions, language and knowledge and for them to assume British traditions, language and knowledge. Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty o Waitangi was ignored by successive

settler governments as numbers of British immigrants grew quickly and rendered Māori as minorities in their own nation.

Since the 1970s, and as an outcome of the Māori renaissance, assimilation policies in education shifted to policies underpinned by biculturalism. A renewed commitment to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi opened a pathway for schools to adopt Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty principles of ‘partnership’, ‘protection’ and ‘participation’ through education legislation and policies. The redevelopment of Māori-medium schooling alongside English-medium schools sought to offer Māori a system focused on Māori language and knowledge survival. For English-medium schools, the commitment for state schools to honour Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty principles was embedded within the New Zealand Curriculum document and policies.

Government educational legislation and subsequent resources recognise the existence of Māori cultural concepts through the NEGs, NAGs, ‘Ka Hikitia, Accelerating Success’ and ‘Tātaiako: Cultural Competencies for Teachers of Māori Learners’. These resources serve to guide school leaders and teachers to acquire knowledge of Māori cultural competencies. Further expectations of all teachers to support the ‘cultural locatedness’ of Māori students and the students’ whānau (family/families) may at the same time ignore the cultural locatedness of Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools and classrooms.

The following chapter reviews further literature that focuses on the impact colonialism has had on Māori and other Indigenous cultural identities. Shared histories of British Imperialism parallel contemporary education realities of Indigenous students and teachers in mainstream schools.

### **3 Chapter Three: (re)Negotiating Indigenous Identities**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

British Imperialism is an ideological worldview that informed colonialists' perceptions of Indigenous identities. Early colonial education policies underpinned enforced assimilation pedagogies and impacted negatively on Indigenous communities' cultural epistemologies and ontologies (Brayboy & Maughan, 2009; Royal, 2002). Our colonial histories have significantly fragmented Indigenous identities and disrupted how traditional knowledges and belief systems were understood, practised and passed on to subsequent generations. Within the colonial contexts of Aotearoa/New Zealand, U.S.A, Canada and Australia, this research study sought to understand how contemporary self-perceptions and attitudes of Indigenous languages and beliefs system are connected to these socio-historical and colonial legacies. (Mis)representation and (dis)respect of Indigenous Māori identities within educational contexts framed by the dominant discourse continue (Behrendt, 1996; Bishop & Glynn, 1999a; Brayboy & Maughan, 2009; L. T. Smith, 1999; Wexler, 2014). This literature review examines how those colonial attitudes impacted on successive generations of Indigenous Māori school teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The first section of this chapter reviews literature on cultural and ethnic identity. Culture informs perceptions and understandings of the world. Concepts of positive self-esteem and secure identity connect to the quality of the individual's engagement with knowledges and practices particular to their ethnic group. In this respect, Indigenous cultures have had to renegotiate their identities and knowledges in resistance to early colonial policies and actions.

The second section presents an in-depth view of colonial policies and decisions that deliberately disrupted Indigenous communities' ability to maintain their traditional forms of cultural knowledges and identities. I contextualise the formation of an urban Māori identity and explore an impact of urbanisation on Māori disengagement from cultural knowledges. I then explore two key barriers to Indigenous communities' reclamation and self-definition of cultural, social and

political rights as Tangata Whenua, First Nations, and/or Aboriginal peoples. The section on ‘Pākehā privilege’ is followed by a discussion on multiculturalism where multiculturalism is seen as a powerful rhetoric that deliberately sustains hegemonic self-perceptions and homogeneous perceptions of Indigenous cultures as ‘Other’.

Then, I present an overview of the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Right of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). UNDRIP is a global response to the multicultural rhetoric. It acknowledges Indigenous First Nation communities internationally. UNDRIP provides a platform for Indigenous communities to expect and assert political, social and cultural rights to develop educational systems underpinned by respective Indigenous cultural knowledges, values and beliefs.

Following this, I highlight cultural tensions experienced by some Indigenous teachers positioned in U.S.A, Canadian and Australian state schools. The personal and professional experiences of those teachers in different education contexts suggest that for Indigenous teachers, stereotyped attitudes towards Indigenous identity have been carried from early colonial schooling contexts into contemporary schools and classrooms.

The final section presents tensions experienced by this study’s cohort of Māori teachers. They are themselves “products” of mass urbanisation and experienced tensions that destabilise their own personal and professional identities as Māori.

### **3.2 Culture and ethnic identity**

The concept of culture refers to values and beliefs systems that govern ways in which individuals engage within particular groups of people (Gay, 2000; Macfarlane, 2007; Nikora, 1995; Rogoff, 2003). Ethnicity refers to the cultural experiences of belonging within a specific group of people and informs an individual’s sense of self or ethnic identity. Enculturation is the process by which individuals acquire group rules of engagement and in doing so, develop a sense of belonging as a group member (Nikora, 1995; Zodgekar, 2005).

The relationship between ethnic identity and self-esteem is discussed in detail by Phinney (1991). Her study found that a positive self-esteem was influenced by experiencing close connections within ethnic group membership and being committed to the cultural values and practises of the group. In direct contrast, experiencing a negative self-esteem is correlated with exclusion from ethnic group membership and little interest in common cultural values and practises. Durie (1995) also ascribes a secure Māori identity as being an outcome of engaging confidently within te Ao Māori (Māori worldview) cultural practices. Cultural knowledges are transferred from one generation to the next through language and shared practices. According to Rogoff (2003) ethnic based cultural knowledges are located within “a community’s history and relations with other communities” (p.12).

The cultural traditions and identities of Indigenous communities who experienced British Imperialism were negatively impacted because of their past experiences of colonialism. Colonialism reshaped Indigenous communities abilities to sustain and pass on traditional knowledges through enforced social, political and educational policies. Colonial policies left Indigenous communities culturally isolated and disconnected from traditional cultural groups and knowledges (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Weaver, 2001).

While pre-colonial, Māori identity was strongly bound within iwi (tribal), hapū (sub-tribal) and whānau (family/families), a ‘pan-Māori’ identity developed in resistance to colonial impositions to define, civilise and assimilate Māori over successive generations (Durie, 1998; R. Walker, 2004). The term ‘Māori’ itself became an imposed collective ethnic identifier and generalised to include all Māori as if Māori were one homogenised group of people. Māori as a homogeneous ethnic group was both a colonial construct defined by Eurocentric perceptions as well as an outcome of pan-Māori resistance within urban communities (Durie, 1998). Colonial attitudes towards Māori influenced many urban Māori to highlight “their common features, rather than tribal differences, if only [when] interacting with the settlers” (Durie, 1998, p. 53). Reconnecting with traditional Indigenous identities, knowledge and practices in 21st century societies



continues as an ongoing process of Indigenous resistance (Hokowhitu, 2010; Penehira, Green, Smith, & Aspin, 2014; L. T. Smith, 1999; R. Walker, 2004).

### **3.3 What is the “Native” problem?**

Some might ask this question: “Is there something wrong in fact with Native people?” The question is not what is wrong with Native people, but what has happened to them (Brokenleg, 2012, p. 9).

Many Indigenous communities have shared experiences of being disconnected from traditional cultural values and languages. Indigenous identity is understood within this research study as a shared identity among those communities of people who experienced societal marginalisation, cultural disaffection and reduced populations within their own homelands because of colonial attitudes and practices. Colonialist attitudes towards many Indigenous communities have stemmed from their own ethnocentric belief structures. Rogoff (2003) describes ethnocentric judgements underpinned by a community’s own cultural ‘norms’ as when “another community’s practices and beliefs are evaluated as inferior without considering their origins, meaning, and functions from the perspective of that community” (p.15). Notions of Natives as “inferior” typically underpinned Western-European colonial practices and educational policies (Barrington, 2008; Deloria, 1988; Godlewska, Moore, & Bednasek, 2010; Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2003; Metge, 1976).

Research from within the discipline of anthropology has contributed to global understandings of colonialism and the impact colonialism has had on Indigenous peoples (De Vos, 1975; M. Mead, 1975; Sissons, 2005). Many Indigenous communities have experienced cultural disaffection in countries where subsequent descendants of the ‘settler coloniser’ have significantly outnumbered the ‘Indigenous colonised’ such as Māori of Aotearoa/New Zealand, Native American communities of U.S.A., Aboriginal communities of Canada, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders of Australia (Chandler, 2013; Ogbu, 1992; Sissons, 2005; G. H. Smith, 1990).

### ***3.3.1 Assimilation: Deculturalisation at the ‘chalkface’***

Colonial educational practices deliberately targeted Native children in order to assimilate them to enforced British forms of ‘knowing’ to influence successive generations “but in the process children were required to leave their families, communities, language, and culture behind” (Armitage, 1995, p. 3). Colonial educational practices in the United States, Canada and Australia went as far as removing Indigenous children and placing them into residential schools far away from their families and communities (Crow Dog & Erdoes, 1998; Deloria, 1988; Haig-Brown, 2006; Wilson & Yellow Bird, 2005). Similarly, schools established by early British missionaries initially sought to civilise and ‘christianise’ Māori children in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Armitage, 1995; Simon & Smith, 2001).

Early colonial attitudes toward Indigenous languages and cultural knowledges considered residential and/or boarding schools to be an effective approach to assimilating the Native child into the coloniser’s language and culture. Native Boarding schools across the United States were designed to “solve the Indian problem...and were intended as an alternative to the outright extermination” (Crow Dog & Erdoes, 1998, p. 242). Similarly, residential schools in Canada sought to separate Aboriginal children from their communities and assimilate the children into the dominant white culture (Godlewska et al., 2010; Neegan, 2005). Australian Aboriginal children shared a similar cultural fate because mission schools, as well as separate Aboriginal schools, attempted to forcibly assimilate and civilise the Aboriginal children from 1880 until well into the 1960s (Santoro & Reid, 2006).

Common to many Indigenous experiences of British colonial school contexts was the use of corporal punishment to enforce the acquisition of the English language (Barrington, 2008). Corporal punishment discouraged and eliminated the use of Indigenous languages in Native schools and resulted in the decrease of language knowledge (and fluency) across successive generations of Indigenous communities (Crow Dog & Erdoes, 1998). Isolating Indigenous children from

their respective communities sought to expedite the colonialist agenda of assimilation (Godlewska et al., 2010; Sissons, 2005).

For Māori, early settler values and attitudes swiftly framed *the* dominant discourse which rendered Māori values, attitudes and practices as ‘barbarous,’ ‘irrelevant’ and construed Māori as people needing to be civilised (Barrington, 2008; Mikaere, 2011; Neegan, 2005). Kelsey (1984) asserts “arrogant and paternalistic notions of white supremacy are veiled behind such terms as ‘civilisation’” (p.21). Examples of ethnocentric judgements can be traced historically to Aotearoa/New Zealand’s early government education policies, ‘Education Ordinance, 1847’ and ‘Native Schools Act, 1858’ (Calman, 2014).

The Education Ordinance, 1847 and the Native Schools Act, 1858 were two specific acts of Parliament that established schooling conditions for Māori with an emphasis on compulsory English language instruction (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). Barrington (2008) notes the purpose of early educational laws in Aotearoa/New Zealand was to carry “out the work of civilisation among aboriginal Native race...the Māori tongue is sufficed for the requirements of a barbarous race, but apparently would serve for little more” (p. 19). Barrington (2008) further describes how early-settler attitudes viewed English as the perfect language and Māori language as “imperfect as a medium of thought” (p.20). While early missionary school teachers initially taught Māori children through the medium of the Māori language, the Native Education Act (1867) effectively closed mission based schools and instead determined English to be as the primary language of schooling instruction in both public and Native state schools (Barrington, 2008; Simon & Smith, 2001). The impact of monolingualism reduced the presence of te reo (language) and tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) in the lives for many Māori whānau (family/families) over successive generations (Hōhepa, 2014).

Another destructive impact of assimilative educational practices on Indigenous peoples has been how generations of students have experienced low educational achievement. Sharp (1990) suggested that notions of superiority remained

embedded within institutional policies and these notions of superiority are typically evidenced within the nation's social and educational statistics. He stated that "whilst personal and cultural racism may be described in their own right, institutional racism is to be observed from its effect...the effects were the statistics of inequality" (p.209). Sharp (1990) also argued that large achievement disparities between Māori and Pākehā students countered Aotearoa/New Zealand's claims to be a society underpinned by social justice, equality and fairness. By 1978, "67.1 percent of Māori...left [school] with no qualifications, compared with 28.5 per cent of Pākehā. Only 6.9 per cent of Māori attained...the University Entrance qualification, compared with 31.7 per cent of Pākehā" (Sharp, 1990, p. 184). By 2009, educational statistics demonstrated that 29 percent of Māori students achieved University Entrance compared with 54 percent of Pākehā and non-Māori students in the same cohort (Ministry of Education, 2015b).

Indigenous students continue to experience low achievement as learners in contemporary state schools (Adams et al., 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2006; Ortiz, 2009; Schimmel, 2007; Valenzuela, 2002). Institutional racism is reflected in Māori students' current achievement disparities and parallels the achievement disparities experienced by Indigenous American Indian/Native Alaskan students (Ministry of Education, 2015b; The Education Trust, 2013). American/Indian/Native Alaskan students are more likely to feature lower in the U.S. public school reading and mathematics achievement data compared with White and Asian/Polynesian Island students (The Education Trust, 2013). Native American students also feature disproportionately in 'drop-out' rates for 16–24 year olds from the U.S. public schools, in comparison with White students (Aud et al., 2012; Chapman, Laird, Ifill, & KewalRamani, 2011). Finally, the achievement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students in Australia closely resembles the educational achievement and school outcomes of Māori, American Indian and Native Alaskan students (Frigo & Adams, 2002). Indigenous student achievement disparities are an outcome of both systemic inter-generational Indigenous hegemony resulting from inter-generational attitudes and practices of Eurocentric superiority.

From a dominant colonial perspective however, Indigenous assimilation to colonial languages and cultural world-views *could* be perceived as being highly successful because Indigenous disaffection from Indigenous languages, cultural forms of knowing and understanding increased significantly over successive Indigenous generations (Brokenleg, 2012; Wexler, 2014).

### **3.4 Urban Māori identities: Contemporary realities**

Many Māori migrated from rural communities to urban centres following WWII (Durie, 1998; R. Walker, 1973). Between the early 1940s and 1980s as a result of the need to secure employment, 85% of the total Māori population had settled amongst Pākehā in urban communities (Durie, 1998; King, 2003). Bi-racial marriages increased and this in itself influenced how Māori and Pākehā/non-Māori perceived Māori as a cultural identity (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005; Rewi, 2010; Webber, 2008). Urbanisation impacted on how traditional cultural knowledge and te reo Māori (language) were (or were not) valued, practised and transferred from generation to generation (Hōhepa, 2014; Houkamau, 2010).

By the 1960s, most young urban Māori had already experienced similar monocultural school systems as had their urban raised parents. Many grandparents, on the other hand, were more likely to have been raised amongst whānau (family/families) and traditional cultural contexts in predominantly rural communities, despite themselves then migrating from rural to urban cities during the 1940s. Inter-generational colonial hegemony influenced entrenched ways of interpreting ‘being Māori’ culturally, socially and politically. These interpretations evolved from traditional Māori understandings to understandings (re)shaped by Māori and Pākehā living and working ‘together’ within urban communities (Houkamau, 2010). For some, urban Māori people “looked Māori” but were neither well versed in te reo Māori nor experienced in tikanga Māori. For other Māori, their defining whakapapa (genealogical connections) were lost, and without whakapapa, tribal identities and connections no longer existed except perhaps within a ‘dreamtime narrative’ (Gagne, 2013). Individual as well as collective feelings of whakamā (shame) developed “from a person’s own

perception of lower status” (Metge, 1986, p. 43). For some Māori in urban communities, a perception of being of lower status was influenced by colonial policies that deliberately imposed English standards of living onto Māori communities, thereby marginalising Māori within their own country (T. McIntosh, 2005; Metge, 1986; R. Walker, 1973). Many Māori living and/or raised in urban neighbourhoods also experienced “identity limbo” (Durie, 1997, p. 158). Woodard (2008) defined identity limbo as self-perceptions of cultural exclusion from both Māori and Pākehā contexts.

During the 1970s and 1980s, urban Māori groups began to assert their resistance to ongoing language and identity disaffection. These groups began to generate social and political pressures, insisting that the government revisit Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi as Aotearoa/New Zealand’s founding document as well as to raise the profile of te reo Māori (Sharp, 1990; R. Walker, 2004). The emergence of the Māori ‘cultural renaissance’ sought to remediate Māori disaffection from traditional values, tribal whakapapa and te reo Māori. The Māori renaissance of the 1970s and 1980s strongly influenced an increased recognition that those traditional cultural markers of Māori identity had been systematically suppressed since the early 19th century.

Influenced by the newly established Treaty of Waitangi tribunal in 1975, social policy-makers during the 1980s contributed to the development of their assertion of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi’s three core principles; ‘partnership’, ‘participation’ and ‘protection’ (Richardson et al., 1988). The newly reformed Ministry of Education of 1989 also legislated for Kura Kaupapa Māori-medium education. The reintroduction of a Māori framed educational system addressed the government’s bicultural commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi’s principles in educational legislation as well as within school policies and charters.

Nationwide, the Aotearoa/New Zealand government then entered into Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi negotiations with iwi Māori to address historical grievances to strengthen the (re)positioning of iwi Māori across the political landscape during the 1980s and 1990s (Barcham, 1998, 2002). Māori framed and

culturally based educational initiatives were filtered through (re)established iwi (tribes), hapū (sub-tribes) and whānau (family/families) organisations. Iwi, hapū and whānau tribal interpretations of Māori cultural markers (re)positioned and (re)prioritised te reo Māori in order to promote and increase access to Māori language. An urgency to increase the number of te reo Māori learners and speakers seemed to overshadow other cultural markers of identity such as whakapapa (genealogy) and experience with tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs).

Consequently, Māori cultural identities in 21st century Aotearoa/New Zealand include varying levels of engagement with iwi, hapū and marae affairs, varying levels of te reo Māori fluency (Māori language), as well as varying shades of skin tone and physical features or ‘phenotype’ (Borrell, 2005a; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; Webber, 2012). Maintaining cultural continuity within urban spaces created additional tensions of cultural maintenance *within* Māori communities themselves (Levine, 2005; Rewi, 2010). For example, ‘Māori identity’ categories emerged as a way to classify varying levels of engagement with Māori cultural values and language fluency amongst Māori individuals and/or communities. These categories are noted by Rewi (2010) as:

‘Plastic Māori’, Māori who have retained cultural practices only ‘superficially’, for example, those involved merely as cultural performers; ‘spuds’ or ‘riwai’, likened to a potato because they are Māori (brown) in the colour of their skin, but psychologically, ideologically and behaviourally Pākehā; ‘born again Māori’, Māori who, beyond their control, were deprived of any Māori upbringing and knowledge who now have a realisation of their Māori side and are zealously committed to reaffirming their lineage and their identity through culture and language; ‘radical Māori’, so called because they protested any compromise of culture; and ‘Māori tūturu’ (true Māori), consisting of Māori raised amongst peers with a strong affinity to culture and language as well as being heavily committed to the maintenance of these themselves (p. 72).

Gagne (2013) cited additional terms for ‘plastic Māori’ such as ‘Ngāti Tuppare’ or Māori having been ‘Pākehāfied’. These categories highlight the cultural divisions and fragmentation experienced by some Māori within Māori

cultural and social communities. However, measuring Māori identity within such ‘fixed’ categories risks being just as divisive within Māori communities as colonial interpretations of Māori identity have been within ‘mainstream’ society. Categorising levels of cultural authenticity are oppressive to those Māori who are not as experienced in te ao Māori (the Māori world) as others (Sissons, 2005). Essentialising processes that determine cultural authenticity against fixed cultural markers can position Māori raised and living in urban communities, such as Auckland, to be “invisible” and “their identity markers as Māori...misunderstood and as a result many are doubly marginalised” (Borrell, 2005a, p. 195) from engaging within te ao Māori (Māori world) and te ao Pākehā (Pākehā world).

Cultural essentialism (Levine, 2005) not only serves to affirm homogeneous perceptions of Māori identity but also influences Māori perceptions of cultural solidarity. The notion that all Māori share common characteristics of cultural values and belief systems while cultural values and belief systems are accessed and/or experienced differently from each other juxtaposes the complexities increasing numbers of Māori negotiate in order to either develop, reaffirm and/or sustain cultural identities ‘as Māori’. Despite the challenges of living urban lives amongst predominantly Pākehā populations, “ethnicity, cultural difference and the experience of being colonised impelled...Māori to dwell in the dual world of biculturalism or surrender to the Pākehā imperative of assimilation. While some Māori chose assimilation, the vast majority rejected it. That meant a commitment to cultural continuity” (Walker, 2004, p. 198-199).

For some urban whānau (family/families), resisting assimilation and fostering cultural continuity involved organising and participating in emerging pan-Māori associations such as Māori Women’s Welfare League, Māori cultural and/or sports clubs and church organisations (Durie, 1998; R. Walker, 2004). Pan-Māori associations fostered a level of cultural continuity and a sense of belonging amongst some Māori living within culturally diverse urban communities. Participation and engagement with Māori framed organisations is considered to support the development of a positive Māori identity. Drawn from a longitudinal study of 700 Māori households ‘Te Hoe Nuku Roa Framework’ (Durie, 1995,



1998), perceptions of Māori identity, access to Māori resources and corresponding implications to health and well-being suggested some key attributes that improve health and wellbeing outcomes for Māori and included:

- Identifying as Māori;
- Being part of a Māori network or collective;
- Participation in te ao Māori , and enjoying a closeness with the natural environment;
- Celebrating the use of Māori language;
- Possessing some knowledge of custom and heritage;
- Participating as a whānau member;
- Having access to Māori resources.

(Durie, 2011, p. 151)

Extending on this list of common attributes of a positive cultural identity, Houkamau and Sibley (2010) contribute to understanding Māori identity through subjective self-identification focused on individual efficacy as a group member. Drawing from the discipline of social psychology, Houkamau and Sibley (2010) framed Māori identity as inclusive of Māori who have a high level of engagement with te ao Māori (Māori world) as well as Māori who may not. Urban Māori identities have multiple levels of accessing and understanding te reo Māori and tikanga Māori. These researchers suggest further that “given the complexity of modern Māori society, models of Māori identity which account for the different shared dimensions that underlie identification as Māori yet embrace the rich complexities in the way individuals experience being Māori are certainly needed” (p.11). Within Māori ecology, Māori identity is dependent on the relationships with other Māori or “in Māori culture, an individual can be understood only in relation to their social and cultural contexts and relationships” (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010, p.12).

T. McIntosh (2005) also challenges imposed fixed labels that stereotype Māori identity and contends that “to be Māori is to be part of a collective, but heterogeneous, identity, one that is enduring but ever in a state of flux” (p.39).

She offers a response to understanding the complexities of Māori identity and names the inter-connectedness within Māori identity in one of three ways: ‘traditional’, ‘fluid’ and ‘forced’.

The ‘traditional’ or ‘classical’ Māori identity maintains strong links to prescribed cultural markers and more likely has a dominant position within Aotearoa/New Zealand’s educational, societal and political spaces. ‘Fluid’ Māori identity is a fusion between traditional cultural markers and contemporary social realities. To be ‘fluid’ is to be more likely to respond to contemporary realities of urbanisation. The challenge for fluid Māori identity is to “have to deal with outside perceptions and seek to destabilise negative readings at the same time as strengthening claims to be seen as a legitimate and centred Māori/Polynesian mixed identity” (T. McIntosh, 2005, p. 50). In contrast to traditional and fluid Māori identities, ‘forced’ Māori identity represents those Māori who experience extreme marginalisation and are over-represented in Aotearoa/New Zealand’s negative health, education and justice statistics. According to T. McIntosh (2005) “the forced identity is one that is predominantly based on the perceptions of the outsider group” (p.48).

Many Māori living and working within contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand society experience diverse cultural realities. However, when English-medium educational contexts fail to acknowledge and respect diverse Māori cultural realities then the well-being of Māori teachers and students teaching and learning within these predominantly ‘white spaces’ is negatively impacted (Milne, 2013; Moewaka-Barnes, Taiapa, Borell, & McCreanor, 2013).

### **3.5 Barriers to respecting Indigenous identities**

White privilege and multiculturalism are two phenomena that continue to sustain power imbalances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities in contemporary societies and schools (Hambel, 2005; Hickling-Hudson & Ahlquist, 2003). Colonial attitudes towards Indigenous communities have contributed to self-perceptions as well as societal perceptions of Indigenous identities in

contemporary societies (Brayboy, 2005; Consedine & Consedine, 2005; Deloria, 1988; Gray, 2012).

Notions of ‘white’ superiority has become an embedded societal and educational ‘norm’ (Milne, 2009, 2013). Stereotyped and deficit attitudes towards Indigenous cultures will remain as the ‘status quo’ unless white privilege at personal, societal and systemic levels are recognised, acknowledged and transformed. In the context of this study, ‘White’ privilege and multiculturalism are also explored in the context of researched experiences of Pākehā privilege within Aotearoa/New Zealand.

### ***3.5.1 Pākehā Privilege: A colonial legacy***

For dominant groups, particularly scholars and students accustomed to knowing and to having access to knowledge, a recognition (even acceptance) of one’s not-knowing, or of limitation, seems extremely difficult, even dubious (Jones & Jenkins, 2008, p. 315).

Superiority of knowledge has been systematically imposed in those countries who experienced British Imperialism. The consequences of systematic imposition of superiority on Indigenous identities have been more explicit than the consequences experienced by successive generations of non-Indigenous (Moewaka-Barnes et al., 2013). Where Indigenous people have been displaced to the margins of society and considered as if immigrant minorities in their own homelands, colonial populations have increased exponentially generation by generation and framed, dictated and protected their societal ‘norms’ through legislation (Consedine & Consedine, 2005). White cultural privilege is the invisible and inter-generational outcome of British Imperialism. Benefits of white cultural privilege in colonial societies are so ingrained into day to day life that power imbalances between those who are white and those who are not, are mostly invisible to white people themselves (Barnes, 2013; Choi, 2008; Consedine & Consedine, 2005; Gray, 2012; Haig-Brown, 1995; P. McIntosh, 1988).

Peggy McIntosh (1988) identified 46 ways her own ‘whiteness’ benefitted herself in her day to day life. Her seminal work on white privilege is particularly relevant

to this study's kaupapa (purpose). This study related especially to the following four assumptions McIntosh identified as invisible cultural and social benefits of being a white person in the U.S. She reflected:

1. "I can be pretty sure of having my voice heard in a group in which I am the only member of my race";
2. "I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to "the person in charge," I will be facing a person of my race";
3. "I can go home from most meetings of organisations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out-of-place, outnumbered, unheard, held at a distance, or feared";
4. "I can worry about racism without been seen as self-interested or self-seeking".

(P. McIntosh, 1988, pp. 6-8)

Racism is the "byproduct" of white privilege (Lund & Colin, 2010, p. 1). Inextricably connected to prejudice and discrimination, racism is considered as "prejudice plus power" (Sharp, 1990, p. 210). According to Spoonley (1988), prejudice is manifested through inflexible and stereotyped attitudes about 'race'. Gaertner and Dovidio (2005) found that since the 1960s, racism in contemporary U.S. society shifted from outward expressions "of bigotry" to "aversive" forms of expressions (p.618). They noted "aversive racists, in contrast to old-fashioned racists, endorse fair and just treatment of all groups, but they harbor feelings of uneasiness toward Blacks, and thus try to avoid interracial interaction" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005, p. 619). Aversive expressions of racism have also shaped stereotyped behaviours and attitudes towards Māori in an Aotearoa/New Zealand context.

Consedine and Consedine (2005) identified examples of the hidden benefits of white privilege they experienced as Pākehā in contrast to the racism their Māori colleague experienced. They observed:

The appointments I could secure for both of us (often after vouching for her competence and political reliability) that would not have been readily available to

her alone; the patronising way she was ‘tolerated’ in some groups; the way I almost never had to think about ‘being Pākehā’ in the way she had to think about ‘being Māori’; and the fact that I could worry about racism without being seen as ‘self-interested’. I could express alternative views and not be seen as speaking for all Pākehā; did not have to educate my children to be aware of how systemic racism may impact on their lives; was not singled out as a failure or a success because of my culture; and had always been free to criticise the government of the day without being seen as a demanding Pākehā seeking more benefits for my own people. I could have an argument with a colleague, or be late for a meeting, without ‘failings’ being attributed to my culture. Never once did I have to carry the cultural stereotypes of laziness, violence, trouble-making, poor parenting and living by ‘Māori time’ (Consedine & Consedine, 2005, pp. 199-200).

Relational patterns of ‘subordination-domination,’ ‘inferior-superior,’ ‘colonised-coloniser,’ and/or ‘oppressed-oppressor’ are more likely to be categorised by communities who perceive themselves as dominant and/or superior (Bishop & Glynn, 1999a; Freire, 1972; Jones & Jenkins, 2008; L. T. Smith, 2012). More often than not, it is the dominant and/or superior who are most *unlikely* to classify themselves because “those who have power frequently think of themselves as meta-cultural, as free of interest or bias, neutrally acting for the public good and [whose assumptions are] beyond the need of critical scrutiny” (McCreanor, 2005, p. 52).

Pākehā ideology continues to frame the dominant discourse in Aotearoa/New Zealand and subsequently, issues of racism, white privilege and ‘power’ continue to underpin Māori-Pākehā relationships in Aotearoa/New Zealand schools and institutions. Pākehā culture determines the worldview through which political, economic and educational decisions are understood as well as how ‘power’ is shared (or not) across all areas of society (Bishop & Glynn, 1999a; Consedine & Consedine, 2005). Glynn (2008) notes “As is often the case with problematic intimate personal relationships, it is the more powerful partner who needs to change, in order to create space and opportunity for the less powerful partner to find their voice and exercise autonomy” (Glynn, 2008, p.23).

In order for Pākehā to successfully negotiate space with Māori, Pākehā must first be committed to ‘vacating’ space (Johnston, 2001). Vacating space refers to Pākehā relinquishing self-perceptions of being sole experts (or ‘21<sup>st</sup> Century versions of ‘benevolent missionaries’) and/or on ‘fixing Māori problems’ such as on-going educational disparities. Here, Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 as well as its principles in 20th and 21st Century society continues to serve as a foundational document that attempts to mediate a shared balance of power between Māori, Pākehā and non-Māori teacher communities.

Whether a power balance between Māori and Pākehā is perceived as successful or not depends on whose lens one looks through. For many Pākehā, being in a powerful position as a dominant majority culture is an accepted normal part of daily life (Holmes, Marra, & Schnurr, 2008). Conversely, for many Māori, awareness of Pākehā ‘power’ is a normal part of daily life (Sharp, 1990). Again in this research context, ongoing disparities between Māori and Pākehā educational achievement demonstrates one way a power ‘imbalance’ manifests itself across state schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Bishop, 2003; Bishop & Glynn, 1999a).

Pākehā are less likely to claim their own cultural identity as Pākehā mainly because they are less likely to see themselves as even having a culture (Sneddon, 2005; Spoonley, 1999). Lack of a Pākehā cultural awareness primarily stems from long standing experience of being the key point of reference, culturally, socially, educationally and economically. While Māori have experienced 175 years of formalised colonisation since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, Pākehā have experienced 175 years of systematic dominance.

An increasing number of research studies completed by Pākehā, ‘as Pākehā,’ deliberately centre Pākehā cultural perspectives and challenged Pākehā themselves to reflect and/or interrogate their own attitudinal and behavioural ‘norms’. Research outcomes highlighted a need for Pākehā to critically scrutinize themselves as participants in the dominant culture of Aotearoa/New Zealand and as committed Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty partners (Barnes, 2013; Black, 2010; Brown, 2011; Hepi, 2008). For example, Brown’s (2011) doctoral study,

“Decolonising Pākehā ways of being: Revealing third space Pākehā experiences” located the responsibility of Pākehā interrogating Pākehā ‘norms’ within a ‘third’ space. He stated “I adopt the view that the third space experience seeks to break the ordinary positioning white/Pākehā hold over Māori by challenging Pākehā dominance and by challenging Pākehā claims to social order from a third space Pākehā perspective” (Brown, 2011, p.52). In context to Brown’s (2011) study, a ‘third space Pākehā perspective’ referred to a culturally located space for Pākehā to critique and understand their responsibilities to Māori as Pākehā in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Part of a Pākehā (re)culturalisation process involves Pākehā educating Pākehā (Brown, 2011; Hotere-Barnes, 2015). Overcoming Pākehā paralysis requires firstly for them to acknowledge the cultural privilege bound within the power they hold as the dominant majority. Conversely, Pākehā may deliberately avoid developing relationships with Māori altogether out of fear of the ‘unknown’ (Barnes, 2013; Tolich, 2002). Avoidance however “does not promote Treaty of Waitangi responsibilities” (Tolich, 2002, p.167). It is unrealistic to expect Māori researchers, educators and/or classroom teachers to assume sole responsibility for reducing ‘Pākehā paralysis’ within Pākehā teacher communities. Rather, it is a responsibility for emerging and experienced Pākehā researchers, educators and/or classroom teachers to support Pākehā colleagues to ‘unlearn’ their own taken-for-granted Pākehā cultural ‘norms’ (Barnes, 2013; Black, 2010; Consedine & Consedine, 2005).

Furthermore, Barnes (2013) suggests that “Pākehā must be prepared to explore our own research praxis with Māori, otherwise we run the risk of perpetuating research that is monocultural or monological” (p.28). To replace the term ‘research’ with ‘teaching and learning’ however, makes Barnes’s (2013) suggestion just as applicable to Pākehā/non-Māori school leaders and teachers positioned in English-medium state schooling contexts. A disruption to perpetuating monocultural and monological knowledge constructs highlights Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty-honouring possibilities open to Pākehā/non-Māori school leaders and teachers in English-medium primary schools.

### **3.5.2 Multiculturalism**

Systematic marginalisation left many Indigenous communities minoritised and culturally homogenised even within their own homelands. Shifting political ideology influenced the extent to which some Indigenous communities accessed and/or participated in decision-making within mainstreamed institutions. Multiculturalism as an educational ideology tended to ignore Indigenous histories and Indigenous status as First Nations or, 'tangata whenua' (people of the land). Indigenous students located within schools were more likely to be positioned as 'just another' competing minority amongst subsequent immigrant minorities in terms of accessing and developing mainstream education and resources (Hambel, 2005; Johnston, 2001).

However, unlike immigrant minorities, Indigenous communities cannot return to homelands where their cultural values, beliefs and languages are maintained (Hirsh, 1990; Kymlicka, 2000). According to Ogbu (1992), voluntary immigrants are more likely to assimilate to their host country's social 'norms' yet retain their own cultural "beliefs and practices...[and] are willing, and may even strive, to play the classroom game by the rules and try to overcome all kinds of schooling difficulties because they believe so strongly that there will a payoff later" (p.9). He termed this process as an 'alternation strategy'. On the other hand, Indigenous communities who experienced British imperialism had assimilation, integration and then imposed multicultural ideologies enforced on them. On the surface, it might appear that Indigenous and immigrant minorities share similar outcomes of cultural marginalisation within 'mainstream' society as well as educational contexts. However, unlike immigrant minorities, many Indigenous peoples did not volunteer themselves to be 'civilised', 'christianised' or willingly cede sovereignty of their own lands to a colonial power.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, government attempts to position Māori among a rapidly increasing milieu of immigrant cultures during the 1970s shifted perspectives of Aoteroa/New Zealand from being an integrated society to being a multicultural society (Consedine & Consedine, 2005; Hunn, 1960; Metge, 1976).



This repositioning largely dismissed Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi discourses that recognised Indigenous Māori as tangata whenua (people of the land). Instead, multiculturalism as an educational ideology positioned Māori as if it were merely one of many minority cultures in Aotearoa/New Zealand (R. Walker, 1973, 2004)

Multiculturalism as an educational ideology evolved from assimilative and then integrative intent in order to accommodate increased immigrant populations during the 1970s (Hunn, 1960; Irwin, 1989; Sullivan, 1993). For example, the ‘Report on Department of Māori Affairs’ (Hunn, 1960) defined integration as to mean “to combine (not fuse) the Maori and pakeha (*sic*) elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct...[this] implies some continuation of Maori culture” (p.15). Conversely, integration as a proposed ideology was “considered to be a less crude, less racist version of assimilation” (Irwin, 1989, p. 4). The greatest issue concerning integration was the question as to whose culture would integrate into whose. Pākehā culture into Māori culture or, Māori culture into Pākehā culture? Government policy later shifted from integration to cultural pluralism or ‘multiculturalism’, which implied a power-sharing approach in order to generate egalitarian outcomes for all ethnicities and diverse cultures. Multiculturalism supported diverse cultures to retain aspects of respective values and beliefs systems. Within a decade (1980s), the rhetoric of Aotearoa/New Zealand as a socially just and multicultural society was not evident within successive government policies because Pākehā power and control remained unchanged (Sharp, 1990).

Multiculturalism as a political ideology has commonly focused on race-relations as framed by the dominant majority. Fleras and Spoonley (1999) have described multiculturalism as being “concerned with the institutional accommodation of diversity” (p.237). According to O’Sullivan (2007), multiculturalism asserted in Aotearoa/New Zealand however “masked prejudice” and “ignored indigeneity as a basis of belonging” (p.19). Multiculturalism essentially devalued Māori as tangata whenua (Indigenous to Aotearoa/New Zealand) and as Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi partners with Pākehā. A multicultural lens and

multicultural rhetoric ignored colonial histories and Indigenous communities by positioning Indigenous cultural identities alongside immigrant minorities' ethnic identities as 'Other' in contrast to the dominant non-Indigenous majority (Sharp, 1990). For example, by the 1980s, Pākehā perceptions of equality continued to ignore Māori overrepresentation in education 'non-achievement' rates and instead compared Māori with:

Other cultures in the vivid, 'multicultural', mosaic which made up New Zealand, in which each culture was free to live out its own ways, in which individuals were free to stick with customary practices or not, and in which each man and woman had an equal chance of fulfilment...practice their own culture if they wish, others do, Dutch, Chinese, Indians, Vietnamese, all come here speaking little or no English and in a very short time by their own efforts...achieve high academic marks, own businesses, land and property, all while retaining their own culture, in their own groups, in their own time (Sharp, 1990, p.204).

Multiculturalism as a political and educational policy deliberately undermined Indigenous communities' abilities to assert their rights as First Nations, Aboriginal and/or Māori. Indeed, the term 'Indigenous' itself was problematised to differentiate between Indigenous Nations and 'national minorities'. National minorities, such as Quebecois, experienced British Imperialism as a developed non-Indigenous society alongside Aboriginal communities in Canada. Kymlicka (2000) notes that the difference between their experiences of the colonial process was that the national minorities were at least "contenders but losers in the process of European state-formation, whereas Indigenous peoples were entirely isolated from that process" (p. 221). Despite colonial intentions to civilise, assimilate and ignore the "Natives" through education, social and political policies to the point of near cultural 'extinction', Indigenous identities, ethnicities and cultures continue to exist in contemporary societies (Awatere, 1984; Brayboy, 2000; Deloria, 1988; Durie, 1998; Edosdi, 2008; Jackson, 1931; Weaver, 1998). Recently, Indigenous peoples have successfully sought global support to assert sovereign rights as Indigenous Nations within their homeland borders.

### **3.6 Raising the profile of Indigenous status: A global response**

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) provides Indigenous peoples an international forum where they are supported to develop systems that are identified, organised and designed for Indigenous peoples by Indigenous peoples.

The UNDRIP declaration was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2007. Even though the document itself is non-binding, a key goal of the declaration was to establish pathways for state governments to develop constructive dialogues with their otherwise ‘silenced’ Indigenous communities. Kariwayasam (2010) states:

The Declaration affirms states’ obligations to protect Indigenous peoples and their rights to maintain unique cultural traditions, and recognises their right to self-determination, including secure access to lands and resources essential for their survival and welfare. It also establishes standards regarding discrimination against Indigenous peoples, and promotes their full and effective participation in all matters that concern them. The Declaration aims to enhance ‘harmonious and cooperative relations between the State and Indigenous peoples, based on principles of justice, democracy, respect for human rights, non-discrimination and good faith’ through a strategy based on both self-government and participation ( p.1).

Despite the Declaration winning the confidence of 143 member countries, 11 countries chose to abstain from the vote. Aotearoa/New Zealand, U.S.A., Canada and Australia initially rejected the declaration despite having the highest Indigenous populations (Kariyawasam, 2010; Prasad, 2008). Representatives of those four countries claimed that sections within the document lacked clarity specifically to Indigenous access to land and resources (Prasad, 2008). In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the government of the day viewed Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi as an already existing agreement between Māori and the Crown (Armstrong, 2010, April, 20). However, following further discussions and influenced by changes within state governments, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia and Canada endorsed the UNDRIP declaration in 2010 followed shortly thereafter by U.S.A. Together, Te Tiriti o Waitangai/Treaty of Waitangi and the

UNDRIP declaration provide a framework that support power-sharing relationships for teachers, students and communities within state school contexts (Bishop & Glynn, 1999a; Hynds, 2008).

Article 14 of the UNDRIP declaration endorses power-sharing relationships between Indigenous communities and state governments within educational contexts and states:

Article 14, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.
2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination.
3. States shall, in conjunction with Indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for Indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language.

(UN General Assembly, 2007, p. 7)

Māori initiated Indigenous educational contexts such as Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, Wharekura and Whare Wānanga are examples of initiatives within Aotearoa/New Zealand's education system that embody the aspirations of the UNDRIP Article 14(1) and (3). Māori-medium educational institutions are underpinned both Māori ontologies and mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge).

Graham (2010) suggests however, that Article 14(2) refers to responsibilities state schools have to ensure that Indigenous students in 'mainstream' schools have:

The right to receive education to the same extent and of the same quality as non-Indigenous pupils. In other words, is the education Indigenous pupils are receiving

equipping them to participate in society on an equal footing with non-Indigenous pupils? (p. 17).

Despite their inclusion within UNDRIP as Indigenous peoples, Indigenous *teacher* rights to teach ‘as Indigenous people’ in ‘mainstream’ state schools are not specifically defined in the way Indigenous ‘*pupils*’ rights to education are. Indigenous theorising on pedagogy and research however, offers space for Indigenous teacher communities to reclaim cultural values and beliefs systems as a recognised and accepted ‘norm’. In this respect, Indigenous teacher communities may draw from counter-hegemonic practices and consciously work to transform some negative childhood self-perceptions resulting from colonial narratives that positioned them as “inferior”. Counter-hegemonic processes include ‘unlearning’ taken-for-granted white-framed perceptions of equality and fairness e.g. a ‘colour blind’ multicultural rhetoric (Choi, 2008). A colour blind multicultural rhetoric has left some Māori teachers in English-medium state schools having to work especially hard to decolonise their Indigenous selves from colonial versions of Indigenous values and beliefs (L. T. Smith, 2012). Freedom from systematic oppression is more likely to succeed when sought by and organised from within oppressed communities (Freire, 1972).

### **3.7 Indigenous teachers: Different era, same challenges**

School teaching is typically fraught with personal and professional tensions and challenges (Day, Alison, Gordon, & Sammons, 2006; Day & Gu, 2009; Nias, 1987). When teachers experience ongoing tensions without support and guidance from either school leaders or colleagues they risk teacher ‘burnout’ and may leave the profession completely (Howard & Johnson, 2004; Nias, 1989; Whitehead, 2001). However, when an Indigenous lens is applied on top of ‘typical’ teaching expectations then Indigenous teachers are more likely to experience higher levels of stress compared with non-Indigenous teachers (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993; Santoro, 2012; Santoro & Reid, 2006). This is especially so for those Indigenous teachers who, despite teaching in mainstream schools located within their homelands, are none-the-less awkwardly positioned by their respective country’s non-Indigenous dominant discourse. They may be subsumed with other

minoritised groups as ‘just another’ competing minority school teacher (Chandler, 2013; Hirsh, 1990). Indigenous teacher insights contribute yet another layer of understanding of how they mitigate difficulties, stress and burnout related to maintaining their cultural selves as teachers. Unlike non-Indigenous school leaders and teachers, Indigenous teachers have to negotiate how they contribute to both a non-Indigenous school’s learning culture as well as maintain their “ethnic group membership” as Indigenous (Wexler, 2014, p. 75). An additional challenge that some Indigenous school teachers positioned in mainstream schools face are the low numbers they represent in those schooling contexts.

The U.S.A’s 2011-2012 Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS) demonstrated that 81.9% of all public school teachers were ‘White’ teachers, greatly outnumbering ‘non-White’ (American Indian/Alaska Native, Hispanic, Black and Asian/Polynesian). ‘American Indian/Alaska Native non-Hispanic’ teachers represent 0.5% of public school teacher ethnicities (U.S. Department of Education, 2014). Similarly, Aboriginal teachers constitute 2.7% of teachers in public schools in Canada and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders constitute a very small minority of teachers in Australian public schools (Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli, 2009; Santoro & Reid, 2006). Statistical data may provide quantitative information about Indigenous teacher *numbers* but Indigenous teacher *experiences* in mainstream schools provide insights into how cultural identity is self-perceived and perceived by non-Indigenous teacher colleagues. Research studies that explore Indigenous teachers’ experiences within mainstream schools and tertiary contexts are emerging.

In an Australian context, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders were not employed as teacher aides or teacher assistants until the 1970s (Behrendt, 1996; Reid & Santoro, 2006; Santoro, 2013). As teacher aides, they were more likely to be employed by schools that had high Indigenous student numbers. Their responsibilities were primarily focused on communicating with Indigenous communities and/or administration duties (Santoro & Reid, 2006). Despite government calls for increasing the number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander teachers since 1980s, they continue to be grossly underrepresented

among the Australian teacher communities. For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders who are teaching in mainstream schools, there are powerful expectations of them to be cultural conduits between the school and Indigenous communities, role-models for students, cultural advisors to their non-Indigenous colleagues and implement professional learning programmes about ‘all things’ Aboriginal (Santoro, 2012, 2013). These expectations place huge stress on top of their day-to-day responsibilities as teachers (Reid & Santoro, 2006; Santoro & Reid, 2006).

In contrast, fewer research studies have explored Indigenous teacher experiences in contemporary North American public schools. However, the experience of being a Native teacher was captured within an autobiographical narrative that recounted a Shoshone teacher’s experience as a student (1923-1928) and then as a teacher (1929-1965) in U.S. federal schools (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). Esther Burnett Horne revealed that until the 1950s, she discreetly taught Indian culture to her Indian students and involved local Indian communities despite the strict restrictions forbidding “Indian-ness” in the curriculum. Her commitment to Indian students and schools motivated her teaching and her willingness to subvert and resist the colonising agenda that sought to assimilate the Indian child learning in 20<sup>th</sup> century federal schools. Indigenous teachers in Australia and U.S. state schools shared similar experiences as Māori teachers in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

### **3.8 Māori teachers: 1980s to 2010s**

The impact of early colonial attitudes to Māori teachers’ personal and professional identities in contemporary English-medium secondary and primary schools parallel experiences of Māori learners who were expected to leave their language and culture at the 19th century colonial ‘school gates’. Māori teacher narratives revealed personal and professional tensions they experienced working alongside Pākehā and other non-Māori teacher colleagues in predominantly mainstream secondary schools (Bloor, 1996; Ministry of Education, 1999; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993).

Marks’ (1984) reflections of her experiences as a Māori language teacher in an English-medium secondary school share similarities with the reflections of Māori

teachers positioned in both early mission schools during the 1840s, as well as with the reflections of Māori teachers in contemporary English-medium schools. She described state schools as being designed to “teach Pākehā, and middle class ones at that” (p.44). She also reflected that it seems as if “a Māori teacher...is compulsorily part of a system designed to treat her as if she is a Pākehā...if she shows signs of forgetting that, to treat her as someone requiring to be made Pākehā, to be assimilated” (p. 44).

Stereotyped attitudes toward Māori teachers by Pākehā and other non-Māori teachers have persisted. For example, personal as well as institutional racism was identified by a group of Māori women educators as a primary source of cultural tension (Tomlins Jahnke, 2001). Māori cultural concepts enabled these women educators to maintain a high level of personal safety as Māori. Strategies to respond to the racism they experienced as Māori educators and as Māori women included ‘Huihuinga’ (communal effort), ‘He kanohi kitea’ (individual face-to-face approach), ‘Hononga’ (forming networks), ‘Pūkenga’ (application of prior knowledge) and ‘Whai mātauranga’ (education and training) (Tomlins Jahnke, 2001, pp. 13-14).

Other challenges that Māori teachers have encountered within 20<sup>th</sup> century secondary and primary state schools have included school-wide expectations to assume the role as cultural brokers between their Māori students and Pākehā/non-Māori teachers and school leaders (Ministry of Education, 1999; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993; Tomlins Jahnke, 1996). Some Māori teachers have experienced cultural isolation, worked longer hours than Pākehā/non-Māori colleagues and suffered from high levels of stress (Lee, 2008; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993; Torepe, 2011). Māori teachers not only experienced marginalisation within their respective schooling contexts but were also expected to assume a high level of behavioural and cultural responsibilities for a school’s Māori students and their whānau (family/families) (Coffin, 2013; Gilgen, 2010; Lee, 2008; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993; Torepe, 2011). Additional responsibilities not expected of Pākehā and other non-Māori teachers included “being resource person; being the school



Māori, discipline of Māori children, counselling of pupils parents, and teachers, and the Māori club” (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993, p.61).

Some Māori male teachers have reported expectations of them to assume responsibilities for a school’s “te reo Māori, taha Māori, and Māori club; [to be the school’s] resource person on all Māori matters; discipline of all Māori children at the school; counselling of Māori children, Māori parents, and other teachers on the staff; contact person with Māori families on the school’s behalf; resident pōwhiri/mihi provider; and frequently considerable involvement with music, drama and sport” (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993, p.60).

The Ministry of Education’s (1999) ‘A report of workload issues for Māori secondary school teachers’ analysed questionnaires completed by two hundred and sixty-two Māori teachers. Section Five of the questionnaire asked participants what they thought may improve tensions they experienced as Māori teachers in secondary schools. Responses included reduced workloads and suggested that schools employ additional Māori staff such as Māori language teachers and/or counsellors to ease existing responsibilities. Another suggested schools should develop professional development programmes to educate Pākehā and other non-Māori staff “on Māori issues” (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 62). Most salient of all responses with respect to this research study was a teacher request for school leadership to provide “support of non-Māori staff, in my being Māori, thinking and living Māori, and delivering education to my students with the pedagogy appropriate to all” (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 63).

The ongoing expectations imposed on Māori teachers in English-medium educational contexts have remained consistent throughout the past 35 years. What have also remained consistent are Māori teachers’ personal commitments to their Māori students and to their Indigenous Māori identity (Coffin, 2013; Gilgen, 2010; Lee, 2008; Torepe, 2011). Past and present educational statistics strongly suggest that Māori teachers continue to experience unrealistic demands within English-medium education contexts.

### 3.9 Summary

Traditional interpretations of Indigenous identities have been impacted significantly by colonisation. Education and social policies purposely sought to assimilate Indigenous communities to “British” standards of living. Notions of colonial superiority contribute to contemporary educational statistics. Colonial superiority is evidenced by the disproportionate achievement disparities experienced by Indigenous students in mainstream schools.

Non-Indigenous communities, and in an Aotearoa/New Zealand context, Pākehā communities, are encouraged to address the invisible cultural privileges they experience through controlling the dominant discourse in 21<sup>st</sup> century education. Understanding how the experiences of power and prejudice impact on underlying self-assumptions opens up possibilities for developing power-sharing relationships with Indigenous communities, especially with Indigenous teachers and students.

Indigenous teachers’ experiences and reflections reviewed within this chapter have revealed similar tensions and challenges to their cultural realities within mainstream schools. Unrealistic expectations of them to assume responsibility as the school’s ‘cultural broker’ between non-Indigenous teachers and Indigenous families without relevant support, is an unreasonable expectation that has continued well into the 21<sup>st</sup> century school context.

Some Māori teachers in the studies reviewed drew support from each other to manage the challenges they experienced. Nevertheless, it appeared that during the 1980s and 2010s, school leaders and teachers within secondary and primary school contexts had yet to learn how to support Māori teachers located within English-medium state schools. This study sought to understand the level of support offered to a contemporary cohort of urban Māori teachers located within English-medium primary school contexts.

The following chapter presents the research design of the present study in detail and introduces the cohort of Māori teacher participants. Kaupapa Māori theory

and research principles framed my research methodology and methods. I drew from research traditions from critical theory and narrative inquiry. A grounded theory data analysis processes guided the way I analysed these participants' narratives of their experiences as Māori and as teachers in contemporary English-medium primary schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

## 4 Chapter Four: Methodology and Methods

### 4.1 Introduction

Chapter Four presents this study's qualitative research methodology, methods and analysis processes. Firstly, I discuss how this study's research design was located within cultural principles of kaupapa Māori theory. I drew from critical theory, narrative and grounded theories to gather and analyse the participants' narratives. Narrative inquiry and grounded theory protocols did not threaten the cultural integrity of the study because these qualitative research methods aligned easily with kaupapa Māori research principles and protocols such as 'aroha ki te tangata' (a respect for people) and 'tiro, whakarongo...kōrero' (look, listen...speak) (Pipi et al., 2004; L. T. Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori, narrative inquiry and grounded theories actualised Māori cultural principles of whakapapa (genealogy) and whakawhanaungatanga (establishing meaningful relationships) for and with these teacher participants.

Next, I overview the participant criteria, recruitment process and then introduce the research participants. I had existing relationships with four of the six participants. I had previously taught in the same school as two of the participants and I completed my own RTLB training with the two RTLB participants five years prior to initiating this study. Two participants were new connections. I have mediated potential issues of the insider-researcher positioning and research subjectivities by including entries from my own reflective research journal of the processes we engaged with and co-constructed as teachers, as research participants and as co-researchers.

I then discuss each phase of this research study and describe how I drew from narrative research methods and grounded theory to inform, as well as to analyse interview transcripts as the field research phases progressed. The research methods utilised first individual and then three collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversations) as the primary method to gather participant narratives. Hui kōrero can be seen as a transformative praxis and supported Freire's (1972) critique that "only dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating

critical thinking” (p.81). Furthermore, hui kōrero provided a culturally located setting for these Māori teachers to “disclose and challenge the reproductive role [that] schools play in political and cultural life” (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008, p. 23).

Finally, I have included a series of visual representations in the form of tables and figures in order to illustrate the data analysis progressions. The tables and figures reflected the analysis phases and provide details of how the initial categories, concepts and key research themes emerged from the participants’ narratives.

## **4.2 Research design**

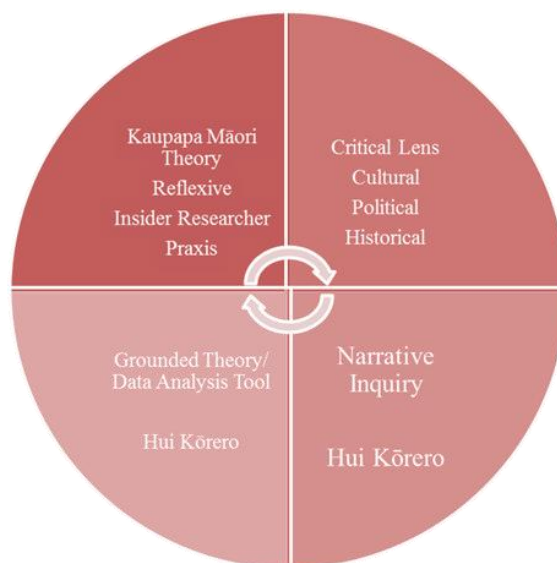
This qualitative research study is located as Indigenous research and framed within kaupapa Māori theory. Kaupapa Māori theory enabled a research space where tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) were negotiated and accepted according to participants’ individual as well as their collective needs ‘as Māori’. This study incorporated multiple layers of simultaneous collaboration between: myself (as researcher) and this small group of teachers (as research participants); myself (as researcher) and university-based research supervisors (as research mentors); myself and teachers (as participants) and research supervisors (as research mentors); myself (as researcher), teachers and research supervisors (as participants). These teachers (research participants) and supervisors (research mentors) feature within my own reflective research journal vignettes.

The principles underpinning kaupapa Māori theory include valid and natural ways of learning, teaching and researching ‘as Māori’ because knowledge creation is located within a Māori worldview. Kaupapa Māori theory ensured that the researcher and research participant relationships maintained a high level of respect because whakawhanaungatanga (developing and maintaining relationships) was central to the research process (Bishop, 1996; Bishop & Glynn, 1999a; L. T. Smith, 2012). Integral to kaupapa Māori is critical theory (G. H. Smith, 2000, 2012). This study sought to contextualise colonial understandings of Māori identity as a transformative praxis for and with these research participants. Transformative praxis involves both critical reflection and action in order to resist

accepted ‘norms’ imposed on Māori through colonial practices (G. H. Smith, 2012; L. T. Smith, 2012).

Designing a research approach that purposely aimed to “encompass Māori aspirations for autonomy and self-determination as a means to establish the forms and forums for Māori participation in research” (Johnston, 2001, p. 15), ensured space for all participants to safely share personal and professional experiences. In this research context, ‘safety’ refers to the ability to participate in conversations without having to clarify, justify, explain or defend culturally-influenced codes of talking and/or responding (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002).

Figure 1 presents an overview of how this research study wove both kaupapa Māori research theory with research methodologies and methods drawn from western research traditions. Although each segment of the circle in Figure 1 appears separated from the other, the respective segments are merely parts of the ‘whole’ and reflective of this research study’s design.



**Figure 1:** Research methodology and methods

As a research paradigm, qualitative research is more likely to be mis-understood as subjective (and therefore biased) because knowledge constructs are underpinned by explorative, descriptive and/or interpretive modes of

understanding social phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Denzin & Lincoln (2005) define qualitative research as “a situated activity that locates the observer in the world...qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (p. 3).

Researching from ‘within’ existing relationships continues to draw criticism from traditional and positivist based research paradigms. Positivism protects traditional research perspectives through quantitative analyses of predictability and generalisation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Guardians of positivist research tend to extol traditional research as the only way to capture ‘true knowledge’ due to an insistence on research being objective and neutral (Davidson & Tolich, 1999; G. H. Smith, 1997). Research objectivity typically assumes an outsider researcher position whereby the researcher is “able to observe without being implicated in the scene” (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 138). However, human phenomena are complex, and to claim to measure lived experiences ‘without bias’ or objectively is to ignore the multitude of influential ‘variables’ that impact lived experiences culturally, socially and/or politically.

Within Māori communities such as this cohort of Māori teachers, the insider researcher is accountable to the well-being of the research whānau (non-kinship collective family) as a collective whole. Our shared cultural identities as Māori, as teachers and our relationship as a research whānau privileged my position as an ‘insider researcher’ (Cavino, 2013). Jahnke & Taiapa (1999) note cultural implications of being a Māori researcher within Māori communities. An insider-researcher positioning cannot be assumed by Māori researchers because for some Māori communities “Māori researchers are differentiated according to iwi, hapū, or whānau links...age and gender may also be a factor in the research process” (Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999, p. 48). Similarly, L. T. Smith (2012) describes further challenges Māori researchers may face in the research field such as misunderstanding “protocols of respect and practices of reciprocity” (p. 137). An insider researcher’s attention to transparency is therefore, especially critical for indigenous researchers because “insiders have to live with the consequences of

their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more, and so do their families and communities” (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 138).

Researcher reflexivity mediated issues of my insider researcher position as well as my own subjectivities. I endeavoured to make transparent my positioning, thoughts and responsibilities to and with the research participant/s from the research project’s inception rather than retrospectively (Peshkin, 1988; Pillow, 2003). In doing so, I documented my thoughts and/or questions by both audio recording and maintaining a ‘reflective research journal’.

Reflexivity refers to how the researcher explores and understands his/her own positioning as a researcher. This required me to identify the inner beliefs and attitudes that underpinned my own motivation and purpose for the research study. Furthermore, reflexivity developed an understanding of how these personal beliefs may have affected the outcome/s of this research study for me as a researcher (Pillow, 2003). Researcher positioning relates to the researcher’s own perspective or world-view. Reflexivity is a process of meta-analysis and paved a way for this research study to maintain a high degree of integrity and ethical responsibility to the research participants from the onset (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Wellington, 2000). Short vignettes included in this chapter attempt to demonstrate my reflexive positioning as I participated within the research field with these research participants and research mentors.

Researcher subjectivity refers to the “personal biography of the researcher, who speaks from a particular class, gender, racial, cultural, and ethnic community perspective” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 21). Strauss and Corbin (1990) apply the term ‘theoretical sensitivity’ as a reference to “a personal quality of the researcher...the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn’t” (pp. 41-42).

Māori ontologies (what is known) and epistemologies (what counts as knowledge and how we access knowledge) defined a culturally located position of ‘knowing’. According to Henry & Pene (2001):



Kaupapa Māori is both a set of philosophical beliefs and a set of social practices (tikanga). These are founded on the collective (whanaungatanga) interdependence between and among humankind (kotahitanga), a sacred relationship to the ‘gods’ and the cosmos (wairuatanga), and acknowledgement that humans are guardians of the environment (kaitiakitanga), combining in the interconnection between mind, body and spirit. Taken together, these ethics inform traditional Māori ontology and assumptions about human nature; that is, ‘what is real’ for Māori. Traditional Māori ethics and philosophy also drive Māori epistemology; that is, to live according to tikanga Māori, that which is tika and true (p.237).

Tikanga Māori principles and protocols such as whakapapa (genealogical connections), whanaungatanga (relationships) and manaakitanga (care, kindness) were critical to this research project (Henry & Pene, 2001; Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999). Participants’ self-identities as Māori together with this study’s research questions and research rationale (see Table 2) influenced the research paradigm, methods and ethical guidelines. Kaupapa Māori theory guided *how* the research whānau (non-kinship collective family) explored this study’s research questions as Māori.

**Table 2:** Research questions and research rationale

	<b>Research Question</b>	<b>Research Rationale</b>
<b>1.</b>	How do Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools perceive their own identities as Māori?	Being a Māori teacher in contemporary English-medium primary schools presents challenges to cultural self-identity ‘as Māori’.
<b>2.</b>	What tensions (if any) are experienced by Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools specific to their respective identities ‘as Māori’ and as classroom teachers?	Confidence to teach ‘as Māori’ is influenced by how school leaders and teachers acknowledge and support diverse interpretations of Māori identity.
<b>3.</b>	What professional opportunities and resources are available to meet the needs of Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools and classrooms?	Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools and classrooms require access to professional opportunities that respond to their cultural realities.

#### **4.4 Kaupapa Māori: A culturally located research theory ‘as Māori’**

The struggle for the validity of indigenous knowledges may no longer be over recognition that indigenous peoples have ways of viewing the world which are unique, but over proving the authenticity of, and control over, our own forms of knowledge (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 108).

Kaupapa Māori is an indigenous research theory (Bishop, 2012; Bishop & Glynn, 1999a; Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008; G. H. Smith, 1991). Kaupapa Māori empowers Māori to research within their own cultural frame of reference so that knowledge constructs remain culturally meaningful and salient to the lived realities of Māori as Māori. Walker, Eketone and Gibbs (2006) state however, that what distinguishes kaupapa Māori research from research designed to be ‘culturally safe research’ or ‘culturally responsive’ research is that “kaupapa Māori research is about Māori control and focuses on Māori participation” (p. 333). The thoughts, visions and initiatives for change within Māori communities as tangata whenua (Indigenous) to Aotearoa/New Zealand are core to kaupapa Māori theory.

Framing this research project within kaupapa Māori theory required an organic research space that responded culturally, personally and professionally to the research participants as Māori primary school teachers. There was an accepted cultural expectation that the researcher and participant relationships were formed from pre-existing relationships. I assumed a high level of ethical accountability to the participants as did the participants to each other (Bishop, 1996; Bishop & Glynn, 1999a; L. T. Smith, 2012).

Many western (non-indigenous) research paradigms and traditions are positioned in stark contrast to kaupapa Māori research because western research paradigms typically privilege a society’s ‘dominant discourse’. Bishop and Glynn (1999) suggest “methods that have been selected and applied from and within the interests of the dominant discourse will have limited success in addressing Māori people’s concerns about research into their lives” (p.106) because knowledge constructs are interpreted from dominant discourse ‘norms’. Specific to this study, a dialogical research space was created in order to ‘hear’ and respect Māori

teacher voices and their experiences of teaching within predominantly Pākehā/non-Māori contexts. Consequently, within this present research context, being Māori was accepted as the ‘norm’ and thereby challenged western research traditions where being Māori is more likely referenced from, and positioned as, the ‘Other’ (L. T. Smith, 2012; S Walker, 1996), or outside the dominant scientific research discourse.

Guided by kaupapa Māori research principles and cultural ‘norms’, critical theory shares similar research lenses through which ‘space’ was sought for Māori teachers to critique, interpret and transform their lived realities from within a space located in a Māori worldview (Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; G. H. Smith, 2012; S Walker et al., 2006). Where qualitative research seeks to explore deeper understandings about human phenomenology (Best & Kahn, 2006; Cohen et al., 2000), critical theory seeks to inform “principles of social justice” (Lichtman, 2006, p. 29). According to Mayan (2009), critical theory represents “theoretical positions and/or perspectives...[that focus] on unequal relations of power” (p.26). In this research context, exploring unequal power relationships amongst teachers within English-medium primary schools was underpinned by Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi and colonial discourses.

#### ***4.4.1 Casting a critical lens***

This study drew from critical theory principles to create a dialogical research space for participants to explore the impact of existing hegemonies on their Māori teacher identities. Individual and collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversations) enabled a process through which we critiqued the “larger historical, political and cultural context” (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 6) that impacted on our cultural realities as Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools. L. T. Smith (1999) argues that “coming to know the past has been part of the critical pedagogy of decolonization” (p. 34). It was equally important that personal, professional and cultural connections amongst the research participants strengthened and trusting relationships developed.

Bishop and Glynn (1999a) argue that kaupapa Māori challenges existing colonial dominance within educational research knowledge and ensures a research methodology that is able “to give voice to a culturally positioned means of collaboratively constructing research stories in a culturally conscious and connected manner” (p.121). The kaupapa Māori research principles incorporated in this study enabled participants to achieve tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) from within Māori cultural frames of reference and understandings. Kaupapa Māori is to move beyond cultural expectations and socio-political ‘norms’ determined by the ‘dominant discourse’. Underpinned by the principles of critical pedagogy, kaupapa Māori theory responds to oppressive positions and offers a legitimate space for Indigenous communities to critique the impact culture, knowledge and power has had on their lived realities (Freire, 1972; G. H. Smith, 1997, 2012).

I contend that the cultural, political and historical intent of kaupapa Māori theory and the cultural, political and historical intent of critical theory created a pedagogical process where these Māori teachers, as tangata whenua (Indigenous to Aotearoa/New Zealand), could reflect critically about their own experiences as Māori teachers in predominantly Pākehā/non-Māori staffed primary schools. Within this study, critical theory purposefully operationalised the sociocultural as well as the socio-historical focus of kaupapa Māori theory. Contributing to the series of individual and collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversations) increased our cultural, social and political consciousness as we posed questions, responded to questions from which new questions and thoughts emerged (see Section 4.6, p.74 for detailed discussion on hui kōrero). Bishop (1996) describes this cyclical discursive process as ‘spiral discourse’ because dialogue “is continually coming back on itself yet at the same time moving forward” (p.211).

In transformative praxis, while reflective ‘dialogue’ is viewed as important, ‘action’ ensures that a transformational process occurs (Freire, 1972; G. H. Smith, 1997, 2012). Freire (1972) contends “within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed – even in part – the other immediately suffers. There is no true word that is not at the same

time a praxis. Thus to speak a true word is to transform the world” (p.60). The relationship between ‘speaking’ (word) and ‘action’ (reflective thought) is itself representative of the dialogical process this study pursued. Similarly, L.T. Smith (2012) reflected on the significance of critical theory to kaupapa Māori theory and argued that “critical theory is a set of ideas that foreground both action and theory: the (political) action of social transformation, and the theory, or idea, of structural analysis that informs the action” (p.11).

Kaupapa Māori theory and critical theory offered a space for these research participants to engage critically on their lived realities as Māori and as teachers in English-medium primary school contexts.

#### **4.5 Research participation**

I approached four teachers informally, either directly in person or by telephone, to propose what was at that time ‘a research idea’. A colleague also referred two teachers whom she thought might be interested in the proposed research. As I discussed the research ‘idea’ with each participant, we decided that research participants must:

1. Self-identify as Māori;
2. Be an experienced teacher working within English-medium primary school settings.

Formal contact was initiated with the six teachers following ethical approval of this research by the University of Waikato’s Faculty of Education’s Ethics Committee (January, 2012) as well as by my successful research proposal presentation (April, 2012). I emailed each teacher a copy of the research proposal and invited them to participate in the study. As each teacher responded to my request, I then emailed an introductory letter (see Appendix B) overviewing the proposed timing, participant and researcher responsibilities for the research study. We negotiated dates, times and venues to meet together after they confirmed their participation in the project (see Appendix C). With each teacher’s knowledge and consent, I also telephoned and emailed an information letter to their respective

school principal as a courtesy to inform them of the teacher's decision to participate with the research project (see Appendix D). The schools' principals were all supportive of the research project and of the teacher's research participation.

The following section provides a brief description of participants' personal and professional whakapapa (see Appendix E). The participants introduce themselves briefly. Their hapū (sub-tribes) and iwi (tribal) affiliations (see Appendix F), years of experience as teachers and their tertiary teaching qualifications are included in each personal introduction. The inclusion of their teaching qualification is to acknowledge their respective academic achievements. The italicised texts are drawn directly from the individual and/or collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversations) transcripts. Participants chose their own pseudonyms for the purpose of the research study.

#### 1. Ara

*Kia ora e te whānau, ka nui ngā mihi ki a koutou katoa. My father hailed from England, born in Clapham London. My mum, born and bred in Te Araroa te Tairāwhiti, her father was from Paeroa so when I talk about 'ōku iwi' I talk about Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Tamaterā. I was born in Taranaki, moved from there to Pōneke [Wellington] with my family, over then to Wairoa and finally to Invercargill.*

Ara is of Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Tamaterā descent. She is a Resource Teacher: Learning and Behaviour (RTL) and works itinerantly with classroom teachers and school leaders across a cluster of English-medium primary and high schools. Ara is the only participant who went straight from high school into tertiary studies. She is an experienced classroom teacher and has been teaching for 26 years. Ara completed a BA in Māori studies, and a Diploma of Teaching at the University of Canterbury. She then completed a Postgraduate Diploma in Education at the University of Auckland.

## 2. Rose

*I grew up in Auckland, my mother came from Hokianga and my dad from Rotorua and Te Puke. I was one of those little ones that when my nannies got together with my aunties, I sat there and would whakarongo [listen] to all the history that was going on. I still have a lot of memories of what they talked about when they were sitting in the sunroom in my nanny's whare [house], gathering together, having a kōrero [conversation] about the past.*

Rose is of Ngā Puhī and Te Arawa descent. She has been teaching in English-medium primary schools for 16 years. Rose completed her Bachelor of Education and Diploma of Teaching at the University of Waikato in the Māori-medium (rūmaki) initial teacher education programme. She enrolled and completed her teaching qualification as a mature learner.

## 3. Hugh

*I did grow up in Nuhaka. I was the last generation of kids who lived in the [name] homestead [before moving to board at an English-medium secondary school in a large urban town].*

Hugh is of Ngāti Kahungunu descent, raised in Nuhaka. Hugh has been teaching in English-medium primary schools for 20 years. He is also an RTLB who working across a cluster of primary and secondary schools. Hugh completed a Bachelor of Education at the University of Auckland as a mature student.

## 4. Mere

*Kia ora koutou te whānau, te mea tuatahi he mihi ki te whare e tū nei, ka nui te aroha i roto tēnei whare, whare aroha tēnei whare whaea me te whānau hoki... I come from Waingaro, my line over there is the [family name] line. I am Waikato and Maniapoto. I am a mother of five and a grandmother of seven.*

Mere is of Waikato and Ngāti Maniapoto Iwi. She has been teaching in an English-medium primary school for nine years. Mere entered tertiary studies as an adult student and completed a Bachelor of Education at Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa.

#### 5. Terina

*Mihi mahana ki a koutou. My dad's from Pipiwai in the North, my mum is from Rotorua, Te Arawa. I was born in Rotorua but I have lived in Auckland all my life.*

Terina is of Ngā Puhī and Te Arawa descent. Also an adult tertiary student, Terina completed her Bachelor of Education at the University of Auckland and has been teaching in English-medium primary schools for 13 years.

#### 6. Deb

*I always head to the north because that's where my mother comes from. My grandmother is from the [family name] line up there and my grandfather is a [family name]. He is half Tarara, Croatian, and half Māori. My father's tūpuna hail from Te Kuiti...my grandfather was Chinese and my grandmother was Māori from Te Kuiti.*

Deb is of Ngā Puhī and Ngāti Maniapoto heritage. She has been teaching full-time in an English-medium primary school for 13 years. Deb is the lead teacher for the school's junior syndicate. She completed her Bachelor of Education at the University of Auckland. With study leave support, Deb also completed a Postgraduate Diploma in Education at the University of Auckland.

Rose and Mere had taught in the same English-medium primary school prior to this research study and knew each other. The two RTLB Ara and Hugh, were positioned within the same cluster of schools and worked within a team of 26 other RTLB. Ange and Deb taught at different English-medium primary schools and did not know each other or any of the participants prior to this study. Similarly, Rose and Mere as well as Ara and Hugh were 'strangers' to each other



as well. All participants were positioned in schools located within the same Auckland region.

#### **4.6 Hui kōrero**

The hui kōrero phases drew from narrative inquiry. Narrative inquiry seeks to learn from lived experiences because personal and professional histories both shape and inform present realities (Chase, 2005; Connelly & Clandinin, 2000). Bishop (2005) terms narrative inquiry as a ‘collaborative storying’ process because participant perspectives are shaped and controlled by the participants and with the researcher. Respectful of Māori cultural protocols, participant-driven research (1) responds to preferred Māori cultural practices and understanding of Māori identity and (2) promotes ownership of the research process through collective negotiations between the researcher and researched, involving individual and collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversations) (Bishop & Glynn, 1999a, 1999b). Collaborative storying involves conversations as a ‘spiral discourse’. Spiral discourse is “a culturally constituted discursive practice found in many Māori cultural practices associated, for example, with hui” (Bishop, 2005, p. 122). Hui kōrero was the process through which the research participants were positioned as their own storytellers in the context of this study (Chase, 2005).

This project was organised in two phases. Each phase combined a mixture of both traditional Māori and contemporary urban spaces for hui kōrero (focused conversations). Hui (meetings) followed protocols particular to the kawa (cultural protocols) of traditional Māori contexts commonly practised on whānau (family/families), hapū (sub-tribe/sub-tribes) or iwi (tribe/tribal) marae (traditional family meeting place) (H. Mead, 2003). Hui also included meetings set in urban contexts such as homes and schools (Bishop, 1996; Bishop & Glynn, 1999a).

Phase One concerned the initial entry into the research field and sought to (re)connect relationships between each participant and myself. Individual hui kōrero (focused conversations) created space for the participants and me to (re)connect ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’ (face to face) as Māori and as Māori primary

school teachers and RTLBs, before proceeding to Phase Two of the research study. Phase Two sought to generate (re)connections amongst the participants and my university doctoral supervisory mentors. Phase Two also included members of our marae whānau (kinship family/families) who supported this research kaupapa as hosts to manaaki (care and support) our research whānau (non-kinship collective family). The term whānau (family/families) drew from both traditional as well as contemporary interpretations (Cram & Kennedy, 2010; H. Mead, 2003). Marae whānau refers to members of my family with whom I share whakapapa (genealogical) links. They included aunties, an uncle, my own children and my first cousin. In contrast, research whānau refers to the participants who shared a collective focus as Māori and as teachers in primary school contexts.

I began the research study with individual hui kōrero (focused conversations) instead of collaborative hui kōrero in the initial research design. I had found from my prior MEd research experience (Gilgen, 2010), that initiating the research process with collaborative hui kōrero had unintentionally provided a ‘hiding space’ for two participants who remained mostly silent throughout the group discussion in contrast with their comments during the follow-up individual interview. I felt strongly that for this research project, each participant should be given individual space to share their own narratives of experience before participating with collaborative hui kōrero for the first time.

*The term ‘interview’ suggests that I have a list of questions (regardless of whether or not they are ‘semi-structured’) to ask and each participant will answer. In contrast, I have sought to evoke thoughts and reflections. It wasn’t until I met with the second participant that I queried the term ‘interview’ itself. I didn’t want to be part of such a ‘formal’ process and by the time I arrived at the participant’s home, I was even more convinced to remove the term ‘interview’ and talked with her about my research concern. Together we bounced other terms which better reflected our impending research conversation and the participant suggested ‘hui kōrero’ (focused conversation). Ka nui te pai! (Excellent) A conversation, the kōrero (conversation) still needed to address some*

*key areas to ‘unpack’ however it was not restricted to the whole ‘question–answer’ interview ‘framework’. This felt right and has guided the remaining ‘hui kōrero’ since (Reflective journal entry, 16<sup>th</sup> May, 2012).*

It was a deliberate decision to rename the interview as ‘hui kōrero’(focused conversations) because I had a problem with the way the term ‘interview’ suggested that I (as the researcher) would ask set pre-determined questions to the participants (as the researched) expecting them to either confirm or disconfirm the question. For me, the term ‘interview’ implied an ‘expert model’ and had the potential to create an imbalance to the ‘power-knowledge’ relationship between the researcher and researched. It also had the potential to breach the way ‘hui’ is practised as a Māori cultural process (Bishop, 1997; Bishop & Glynn, 1999a). Previous experiences of interviews of either research participants or the researcher can impact on current interview behaviour because “all of us have ‘secret personal histories’ of being interviewed by ‘superiors’ (societal and institutional), at our request or at their requirement, who have something to reward and something to punish us with” (Wengraf, 2001, p. 18). In this research context therefore, hui kōrero was understood as a dialogical research space that served to mediate the hierarchical framing of the interview process.

Māori language and culture wove naturally throughout the hui kōrero (focused conversations) and guided our cultural protocols as we listened and/or responded respectfully to whomever was speaking. In this respect, hui kōrero provided a safe space where the cultural diversity amongst the research whānau (non-kin collective family) was honoured as opposed to being challenged and scrutinised for ‘validity’. Hui kōrero reframed the individual as well as collaborative focus group interviews as ‘focused conversations’ (Bishop, 1997; Burgess, 1984; G. H. Smith, 1997).

#### ***4.6.1 Phase One: Individual hui kōrero***

The first individual hui kōrero (focused conversation) was conducted in May 2012 and ostensibly served to pilot successive hui kōrero with the five other

participants (see Appendix G). The pilot hui kōrero served two purposes. The first was to reconnect the relationship between the participant and myself. The second was to listen, learn and kōrero (talk) with the participant to critically reflect on the relevance of the initial research questions as well as to observe and listen carefully before responding, talking, clarifying and/or further questioning. The initial research questions did not dictate or constrain the course of the conversation. Rather their purpose was to elicit participants' thoughts and reflections of experiences (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

The pilot individual hui kōrero proved to be the most lengthy of the many conversations. I found that the subsequent individual hui kōrero became less reliant on the initial research questions per se. In this respect, I found my own confidence to just 'tiro, whakarongo' (look and listen) for longer periods at subsequent individual hui kōrero increased. 'Tiro, whakarongo' is significant to the cultural context of this study. Focused listening enabled me to develop an understanding of their perspectives before I responded or sought clarification (Kennedy & Cram, 2010; L. T. Smith, 2012).

I also experienced an awareness of the diverse personal and professional identities with which each participant represented themselves, as Māori, throughout the individual hui kōrero process. The individual hui kōrero process enabled each participant, and me, to develop a deeper level of trust in each other compared to the day-to-day collegial relationship we had developed as teacher colleagues.

*The level or depth of the hui kōrero has been a humbling experience for me. Where I have had existing and on-going relationships with four of the six participants, they have required less 'lead in' to this mahi [work] compared with the two participants I didn't know as well. There was no holding back in terms of the kōrero [conversations] from the four known participants. However, I feel that initially, the other two participants required a higher level of assurance from me when we first met before sharing their respective thoughts more willingly. Participant insights regarding the individual hui kōrero process itself included: "I feel 'free';*

*I wouldn't even participate if I didn't know you the way I do; I trust you with this; This is quite an emotional experience" (Reflective journal entry, 26<sup>th</sup> June, 2012).*

All six of the individual hui kōrero were completed by July, 2012. I began transcribing the audio recordings and completed the first stage of the data analysis process of the participant narratives. The participants' individual narratives were analysed through an open coding process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Connections between the participants' individual hui kōrero narratives were categorised and presented back to them at the first collaborative hui kōrero (see sub-section 4.6.2 below).

#### **4.6.2 Phase Two: Collaborative hui kōrero**

Three collaborative hui kōrero were conducted following the completion of the six individual hui kōrero. The first collaborative hui kōrero was hosted by my whānau (family/families) members at our own whānau marae (traditional family meeting place) in October, 2012. The marae was a culturally safe place to introduce the participants to each other for the following reasons. Firstly, tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) framed the protocols and processes for the whānau, the participants and the research kaupapa (purpose). Secondly, our marae whānau included two of our kaumātua (elders in Māori society) who supported this research kaupapa and represented the mana (prestige) of our whānau marae, tūpuna (ancestors) and whenua (land) (J. Graham, 2009). Thirdly, our kaumātua ensured cultural protocols to welcome the participants onto our whānau marae for the first time were followed respectfully. Finally, my first cousin, daughter and youngest son were also present and together, offered their support by preparing the kai (food) to feed our guests at the conclusion of the collaborative hui kōrero. The support offered by our kaumātua, my cousin and children to initiate the collaborative hui kōrero were active expressions of whakawhanaungatanga (establishing connections and relationships), manaakitanga (care), ako (reciprocity) and aroha (respect) (H. Mead, 2003; Twiname & Tangihaere, 2011).

The five women participants and one of my university supervisors attended the first collaborative hui kōrero. Three participants chose to drive their own cars to the marae. Access to their vehicles served as a safety strategy to enable them to independently leave the marae should they have felt unsafe at any time during the collaborative hui kōrero. The participants met each other for the first time informally as we drove in convoy to the first collaborative hui kōrero.

*First collaborative hui kōrero, quite nervous as it was the first time to bring the participants together. I picked Terina up from her home at 9.00am. Then Deb, who followed in her car in order to 'get away' independently once the hui kōrero was completed. Ara also chose to meet us at a service station en route in her own car so she too had the freedom to leave independently if she needed to. Deb, Terina and I picked Mere up from her home. Each woman greeted each other as we moved south. Mere chose to jump into Deb's car. They ended up connecting straight away. Deb's uncle was Mere's teacher once – furthermore, it turned out, Mere's tane's mother is Deb's 'grandmother's sister' ...auē! (Reflective journal entry, 6<sup>th</sup> October, 2012).*

Cultural concepts of tapu (sacred) and noa (common) underpinned the protocols and expressions. Tapu and noa are core cultural principles integral to the pōwhiri (welcome) process, the mihi whakatau (personal introductions), collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversation) as well as the sharing of kai (food) (H. Mead, 2003; Metge, 1976). Metge (1976) states “though opposites, tapu and noa are not negations of each other: they are complementary opposites, pre-supposing and completing each other, incomplete and meaningless on their own” (p.60). In context of hosting the participants as manuwhiri (guests) on our whānau marae (traditional family meeting place), the pōwhiri and the manuwhiri (visitors) were considered tapu (H. Mead, 2003; Metge, 1976). The rituals of karanga (welcome call) from the whānau and the returned karanga from the manuwhiri group initiated the mutual exchange between each group.

*We could see the whānau (family) standing at the front door of our whare tūpuna (main house of marae) - they were checking on us and were waiting for us to make a move to the gate to be called...Rose arrived and together, we moved to the marae gate. I stated clearly that I didn't have enough te reo Māori fluency to 'call back' to the whānau and that there was NO pressure for anyone else to feel they had to 'call' either. Silence was acceptable. Well, Mere volunteered to represent us despite having talked about how annoyed she would become when it was just expected for her to do karanga (welcome call) for pōwhiri at school. Instead, Mere proceeded to 'wrap' a jacket around her waist to 'make' a skirt over her pants! We laughed together at her resourcefulness and moved to the gate to wait for the karanga (Reflective journal, 6<sup>th</sup> October, 2012).*

Once inside the whare tūpuna (main house of marae), my uncle began the formal introductions and karakia (prayer). This mihi whakatau (personal introductions) transitioned the tapu (sacredness) of the pōwhiri process and manuwhiri (guests) into a state of noa (common) (H. Mead, 2003). Once the introductions were completed, the whānau and guests enjoyed a short break to talk informally together over a 'cup of tea' and 'light refreshments'. Metge (1976) reflects, "there are four main ways of lifting tapu: by chanting traditional formulae, by washing or sprinkling with water, by the ritual action of a woman, or by ritual consumption of cooked food" (p.59). The sharing of kai (food) ensured the restrictions of tapu for the manuwhiri and marae whānau as tangata whenua (Indigenous to Aotearoa/New Zealand) were 'lifted'.

We then opened the collaborative hui kōrero with karakia (prayer). Mead (2003) notes "the tapu aspects of mātauranga Māori ties it firmly into the system of beliefs and values of the Māori people" (p.306). Our shared commitment to the study's kaupapa (purpose) and knowledge co-construction with Māori, as Māori shifted us into yet another form of tapu (sacredness).

Firstly, I presented the participants with an overview of the process I undertook in developing an open coded data analysis of the data from the individual hui kōrero.

The overview of emerging themes that I drew from their individual narratives guided the subsequent conversation at this first collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversation). Following two and a half hours of ‘concentrated conversations’, we began the closing process. The process of whakanoa (to lift the tapu, or make common) acknowledged and respected the research whānau (non-kinship collective family), the kōrero (conversations), marae whānau (kinship family) and our whānau marae (traditional meeting place).

*While eating the kai [food] our whānau had quietly prepared for us during our collaborative hui kōrero, more chatting continued and no one left quickly. No fast getaways...laughter, further connections were made. I asked the participants if they preferred if I were to meet with them individually or collaboratively as a ‘focus group’. They all agreed as a ‘focus group’ and we booked a date - 8th December, 11am. It was as if the collaborative hui kōrero had breathed fire into a collective ‘belly’. Scary for me...what do I do now as this research whānau (non-kinship collective family) of dynamic Māori teachers assume a collective commitment to this research kaupapa?! Hang on and record the ride? Kia ora whenua, kia ora tūpuna, kia ora whānau. Tihei mauri ora! [I acknowledge our traditional lands, our ancestors and our family who generously hosted our research participants] (Reflective journal entry, 06<sup>th</sup> October, 2012).*

Participants were emailed copies of the collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversations) transcripts as they were completed and prior to the second and third collaborative hui kōrero (see Appendix H). An alphabet letter was applied to the individual and collaborative hui kōrero transcripts in lieu of personal names to retain anonymity and confidentiality (See Appendix B). Participants were invited to review each transcription and either ‘respond, query or clarify’ their own narratives as they felt necessary. None of the six participants chose to clarify, query and/or withhold any part of their respective contributions to the transcripts.



Deb hosted the second collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversation) in her classroom at the urban school where she taught. In this space, the hui processes we followed were less formal than the processes of our whānau marae (traditional meeting place). However, we returned to the whānau marae for the final collaborative hui kōrero in April, 2013. Again, our whānau kaumatua (elders) and members of my immediate whānau (family/families) hosted our research whānau. At the final hui kōrero, a reflection schedule (see Appendix I) guided our conversations. Transcript releases (see Appendix J) were also presented and signed by the participants at each subsequent collaborative hui kōrero. However, signing the transcript releases proved to be little more than a formality. One participant stated to me “I already consented when I said ‘yes’ to participate”. The purpose of continuing transcript releases was underpinned by our belief that we entered into new conversations at each collaborative hui kōrero. Hence, formal permission was sought for each transcript. This was seen as ethical and fundamentally ‘good research practice’.

#### ***4.6.3 Challenges of collaborative hui kōrero***

All hui kōrero were held during school holidays, weekends and/or non-teaching time when the participants generously gave their own time to contribute with this study’s individual and collaborative hui kōrero. Subsequently, some participants were unable to attend all collaborative hui kōrero due to family responsibilities and/or other whānau (family/families) commitments. This required us to renegotiate ‘follow-up’ hui kōrero. For example, Hugh was absent from the first collaborative hui kōrero and so we met the following week when I debriefed him about what was presented and discussed. He responded further about his role as RTLB and the challenges he experienced as a Māori male communicating with predominantly non-Māori female colleagues.

Similarly, Mere and Terina were absent from the second collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversations). I met with them together the following week to debrief, present and respond to my summary of what had been discussed in their absence. Both Mere and Terina shared further insights of their experiences in their teaching

roles reflecting on kaupapa (purpose) that were discussed in the collaborative hui kōrero they had missed.

Hugh was again absent from the third and final collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversations) in April, 2013. Instead, we negotiated a time and venue to meet and debrief the hui kōrero. The kaupapa (purpose) that arose from the third collaborative hui kōrero served to enable Hugh to contribute further reflections.

All follow-up hui kōrero (focused conversations) were audio-taped, transcribed and attached to the hui kōrero transcriptions sent to participants for review and/or clarification. I applied pseudonyms in lieu of participant names to all collaborative hui kōrero transcriptions to maintain anonymity. I had also requested that the participants' respect issues of confidentiality in the information letter (see Appendix B) I emailed to them at the beginning of the research study.

#### **4.7 Te Kitenga: Initiating the data analysis process**

Te Kitenga (perception or view) related to the first data analysis phase of the participants' narratives. Grounded theory is a data analysis process that supported Phases One and Two of this study seamlessly because the series of collaborative hui kōrero throughout the second phase initially drew from an 'open coded' analysis of each participant's individual hui kōrero (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The initial data analysis process I applied to the participants' individual hui kōrero during the first phase of this research study involved what Strauss and Corbin (1990) termed as 'open coding'. Strauss and Corbin (1990) describe open coding as "part of analysis that pertains specifically to the naming and categorising of phenomena through close examination of the data. Without this first basic analytical step, the rest of the analysis and communication that follow could not take place" (p.62).

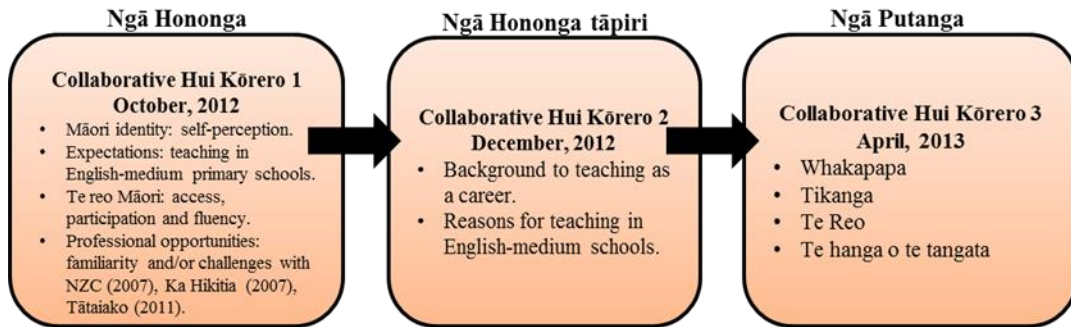
I transcribed audio recordings from each of the individual hui kōrero and cross-referenced notes to relevant literature throughout the transcription process. According to Connelly and Clandinin (1990), narrative inquiry "is a form of

empirical narrative in which empirical data is central to the work” (p.5). Strauss and Corbin (1990) also suggest that existing literature may serve as a secondary source to understand emerging categories sourced from participant narratives. These authors state “there should also be some searching out of the literature (but not just technical) during the research itself, an actual interplay of reading literature and data analysis” (p.56). This is an important defining feature of qualitative research.

Transcribing became a lengthy task because I shifted frequently between hui kōrero audio recordings and searching or reading literature as new queries emerged throughout the transcription process.

*I have completed typing the transcripts and had them bound. I have started going through the transcripts with highlighters and am scribbling my thoughts and notes as I read through each one. ‘Big ideas’ are forming from each respective transcript while ‘mini-ideas’ are intersecting and overlapping across them. My approach towards my initial analysis was to read through each transcript to identify key insights which linked to my research rationale. I am using the research rationale to maintain a focus. However, I do intend to review the transcripts from other perspectives i.e. to read ‘between the lines’ as well as explore comments that seem beyond the proposed research scope once all hui kōrero are completed (Reflective journal entry, 26<sup>th</sup> September, 2012).*

I found that sequential and collective participation with initial categories at each collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversations) encouraged a deeper level of reflection and reciprocation amongst the participants. According to LaRossa (2005), open coding involves “the formulation of categories” (p.842) and specifically that “categorization in GTM [grounded theory method] thus is not just about grouping concepts together; categorization is also about *arraying* concepts” (La Rossa, 2005, p.843). Figure 2 illustrates the progression of categories, additional categories and concepts.



**Figure 2:** Progression of initial categories to emerging concepts

*Ngā hononga* (the process of findings connections) refers to the relationships across categories that emerged during the initial coding process. Initial categories were identified from the similarities across the participant narratives found within the individual hui kōrero transcripts. *Ngā hononga* at this research stage (October, 2012) were:

- Māori Identity: Self-perception;
- Te reo Māori: Access, participation and/or fluency;
- Expectations: Teaching in English-medium primary school contexts;
- Professional Opportunities: Familiarity and/or challenges with the New Zealand Curriculum (2007) and policy documents Ka Hikitia (2008) and Tātaiako (2011).

Elaboration of these four initial categories was captured within the first collaborative hui kōrero. *Ngā hononga tāpiri* (the process of finding additional connections) refers to additional categories generated as I proceeded through an open coding data analysis process following the first collaborative hui kōrero (October, 2012) and preceding the next collaborative hui kōrero (December, 2012). Additional categories ‘background to teaching as a career’ and ‘reasons for teaching in English-medium schools’ were identified and presented to the participants for discussion at the second collaborative hui kōrero in December, 2012. *Ngā Putanga* (emerging concepts) refers to the cultural concepts that

encompassed the categories drawn from the first two collaborative hui kōrero. Four emerging core cultural concepts were ‘whakapapa’ (genealogy), ‘tikanga’ (cultural protocols of values and beliefs), ‘te reo’(language) and ‘te hanga o te tangata<sup>7</sup>’ (typical physical characteristics of an ethnic group, phenotype).

In this research analysis context, whakapapa (genealogy) represented knowledge of family relationships and connections as well as reflected historical recounts of past experiences that led each participant into teaching in English-medium primary schools. Tikanga (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) reflected the way the participants perceived Māori values and belief systems. More specifically, tikanga Māori responded to participants’ respective personal and professional experiences in light of their interpretations of Māori values and beliefs. Te reo Māori (language) represented how each participant perceived their own fluency with Māori language and the way te reo Māori was viewed as a tangible ‘cultural marker’ of Māori identity. Finally, te hanga o te tangata (typical physical characteristics of an ethnic group, phenotype) sought to challenge hegemonised assumptions and stereotyped attitudes that stemmed from essentialising race-based attitudes and behaviours to physical characteristics of a specific ethnicity.

#### **4.8 Neketanga: To move beyond initial categories and concepts**

The initial categories and emerging concepts served as a baseline from which I continued to reassemble these Māori teacher narratives. In the context of this study, ‘*neketanga*’ (to shift or move) refers to the process of reassembling the data. This process is named by Strauss and Corbin (1990) as ‘axial coding’ and describes how relationships across categories may “begin to fit the pieces of the puzzle together” (p.211). Unlike an open coding process where a key focus of data analysis is on identifying categories, axial coding is “the phase at which GTM

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<sup>7</sup> ‘Te hanga o te tangata’ is a collaboratively constructed term suggested to me by a Māori resource teacher whom I met during a university based seminar.

[grounded theory methods] begins to fulfil its theoretical promise” (LaRossa, 2005, p. 849). Figure 3 (see p. 87) illustrates the way this study’s categories have informed four core cultural concepts that have then shaped ‘*ngā hua*’ (findings, outcomes) or key research themes.

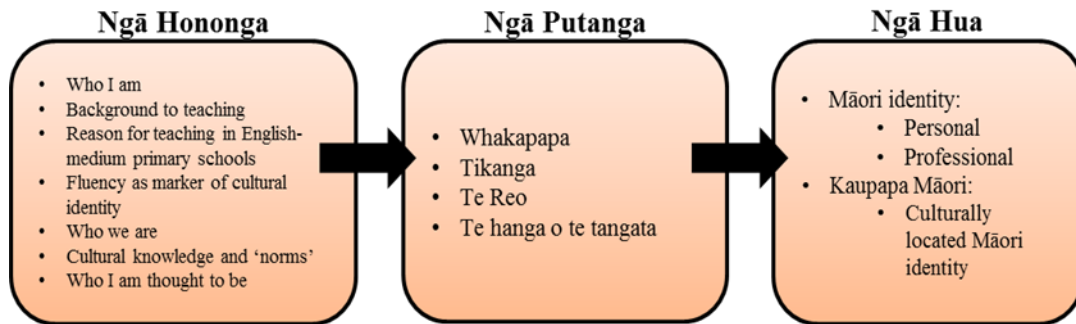


Figure 3: Concept relationship progression

This progression reflects the cyclical process employed throughout each research phase. A ‘constant comparison’ was applied to the analysis processes of these teacher narratives *in situ* throughout both phases of hui kōrero (focused conversations). Constant comparison is an iterative process that seeks to discover relationships within categories as well as relationships across categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Strauss and Corbin (1990) state “the analytical process itself provides...insight and understanding about a phenomenon increase as you interact with your data” (p.43).

#### 4.9 Pito mai raro: Revealing core findings

*Pito mai raro* (underlying core principles) as the final analysis process, required me to move frequently between my initial ‘open’ as well as ‘axial’ coding processes. This deeper level of data analysis sought to reveal the core themes within the participants’ individual and collaborative narratives. Part of this final analysis process included first organising participant’s narratives into shared categories, concepts and themes. I then reorganised shared themes into individual narratives in order to then reshape the participants’ collective story as Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools.

As I organised, reorganised and reshaped the participants’ narratives, I returned to the individual and collaborative hui kōrero transcripts to cross-reference

categories across concepts as well as within concepts. Strauss and Corbin (1990) note that in terms of open, axial and selective coding processes “it is important to understand...that these steps are not necessarily taken in linear sequence nor are they distinct in actual practice. It is only for explanatory purposes that we distinguish between them. In reality one moves back and forth between them” (p.118).

I created tables and diagrams as visual representations of this study’s theory progression. Strauss and Corbin (1990) state that “memos and diagrams show depth and complexity of thought that serve as mirrors of the evolving theory” (p. 217). They also suggest that diagrams are more likely to “show the density and complexity of the theory” (p.219). Attempts to represent the complexities reflected within these Māori teacher narratives as a ‘2D graphic’ (see Table 3, p.89) proved challenging and time consuming. The ‘graphic’ challenges that I experienced at this data analysis phase however seemed to ‘mirror’ the complexities these teachers experienced, as Māori, in English-medium primary school contexts.

Table 3 intended to array the analysis progression of the open, axial coding and selective coding processes and align the processes to subsequent categories, concepts and key research themes. The research categories: ‘who I am’; ‘background to teaching’; ‘reason for teaching in English-medium primary schools’; ‘cultural knowledge and ‘norms’’; and ‘fluency in te reo Māori as marker of cultural identity’ informed participants’ cultural concepts of whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) and te reo Māori (language). These concepts shaped their respective personal identities as Māori. Locating their individual perceptions within the socio-historical context of Aotearoa/New Zealand demonstrated how colonial hegemony defined and imposed stereotyped assumptions on urban raised Māori.

**Table 3:** Data table of categories, concepts and emerging theory progression

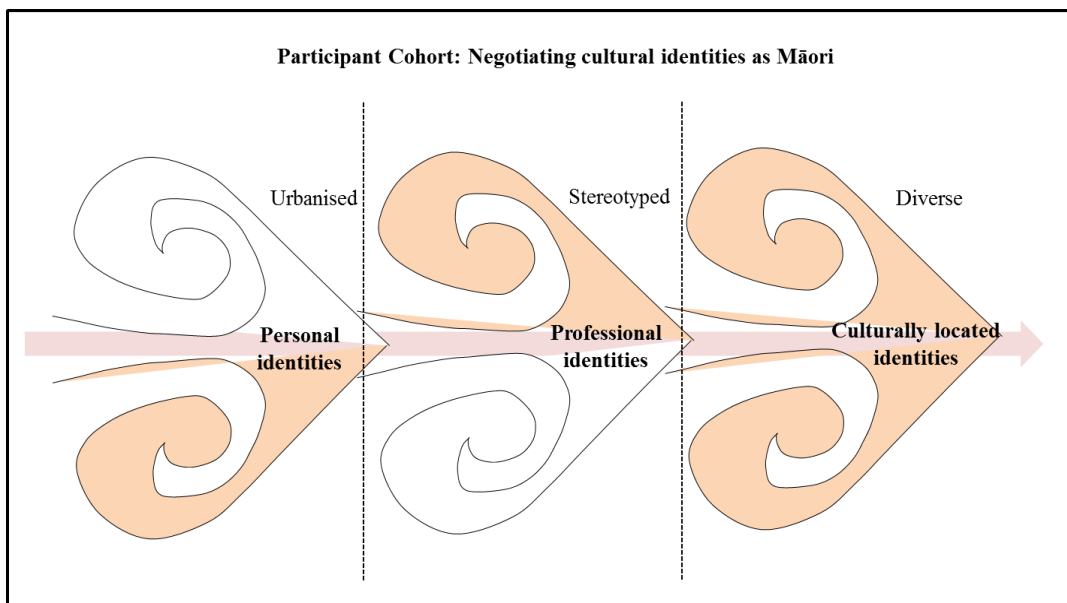
<b>Ngā Hononga</b> Categories	<b>Ngā Putanga</b> Concepts	<b>Ngā hua</b> Key Research Themes	
<b>Who I am</b> Self-description, ethnic self, cultural self, whānau connections	<b>Whakapapa</b> (re)connecting relationships  Connectedness and Personal Self-identity	<b>Personal identity</b>  ‘as imposed by “Others”’	<b>Culturally located Māori identity</b>  “Who I am” “Who we are”  ‘as self-defined’
<b>Background to teaching</b> Early whānau schooling and/or tertiary experiences & contexts			
<b>Reason for teaching in English-medium primary schools</b>  Own experiences and expectations as influencing decisions			
<b>Cultural knowledge &amp; ‘norms’</b> Self-understanding of own cultural ‘codes of behaving & responding’	<b>Tikanga</b>  spiritual and behavioural guidelines		
<b>Fluency as marker of cultural identity</b>  Self-measured and support with increasing fluency levels of te reo Māori (or not)	<b>Te Reo Māori</b>  Self-identity marker		
<b>Who I am perceived to be</b>  Physical characteristics that may or may not be ‘typically’ thought of as physical characteristics of ‘Māori’  Fixed Perceptions as ‘Other’	<b>Te hanga o te tangata</b>  Stereotyping and assumptions Impact on professional identity	<b>Professional identity</b>  ‘as defined by “Others”’	
<b>Cultural knowledge &amp; ‘norms’</b>  Time Restrictions Cultural Codes Deficit Theorising Professional Learning	<b>Ignoring Tikanga Māori</b>  Impact on professional identity		

Simultaneously, the categories: ‘culture knowledge and ‘norms’ and ‘who I am perceived to be’, highlighted tensions participants experienced collectively as teachers. These tensions shaped their professional identities as Māori. In these participants’ professional contexts, stereotypical assumptions of Māori identity



were reinforced through the actions and words of their predominantly non-Māori colleagues. In this way, the dominant culture in these schools framed and defined Māori identity. Kaupapa Māori theory, in this research context, enabled the participants' to reflect critically and self-define both their respective personal as well as professional identities as Māori individually and collectively.

I was not completely satisfied with Table 3 because it failed to reflect completely the fluidity of the categories and cultural concepts. I was concerned because non-Māori could potentially perceive these specific cultural concepts as 'fixed' and/or 'linear'. In response to this dilemma of 'boxed' tables however, I sought guidance from my supervisor who directed me to review diagrams within published texts to gain ideas of how other Māori academics presented cultural concepts as fluid and interactional. The guidance I received led me to apply a series of koru (spiral motif) (see Figure 4). The koru is a Māori cultural concept and represents the notion of movement that flows both outwards and inwards and is steeped in mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) (Henry & Pene, 2001).



**Figure 4:** Ngā hua: Contextualising key research themes

The series of koru shown in Figure 4 demonstrates the fluidity of these participants' self-perceptions of their personal, professional and cultural located identities as Māori (these key research themes are discussed in depth in Chapters Five, Six and Seven). The lack of colour on one side of each koru 'personal

identity’ and ‘professional identity’ is in reference to the full colour of the koru ‘culturally located identity’. The movement between each koru crosses self-perceptions and contexts. Limitations to these participants’ Māori identities are conveyed by the absence of colour to one side of the first two koru. In contrast, the full colour of the koru ‘culturally located identity’ represents how kaupapa Māori theory enabled them to resolve the challenges they experienced in their personal and professional contexts. Kaupapa Māori theory supported them to reframe their individual and collective cultural realities.

#### **4.10 Summary**

This research study sought to locate Māori cultural values and beliefs at its centre. A kaupapa Māori theory framework drew from critical theory and narrative inquiry research traditions. Critical theory and narrative inquiry supported this study’s Māori centred research design not only by affirming diverse Māori identities but also by evoking hui kōrero (focused conversations) that were reflective and transformative for all participants.

Individual and collaborative hui kōrero were an iterative process whereby participants determined the kaupapa (purpose) for subsequent hui kōrero. Initial themes drawn from an open analysis of the individual hui kōrero were collated and presented to the participants at the first collaborative hui kōrero. The initial themes revealed similarities to their personal interpretations of Māori identity as well as the difficulties they experienced as teachers. In this respect, data analysis processes drew from grounded theory in support of making meaning of unlying concepts and themes that emerged from subsequent hui kōrero.

The following three chapters present this study’s key research findings of ‘Personal identities’, ‘Professional identities’ and ‘Culturally Located identities’. These chapters reveal more of the participants’ own personal and professional histories as well as their perceptions of engaging in a kaupapa Māori research process.

## 5 Chapter Five: Personal Identities

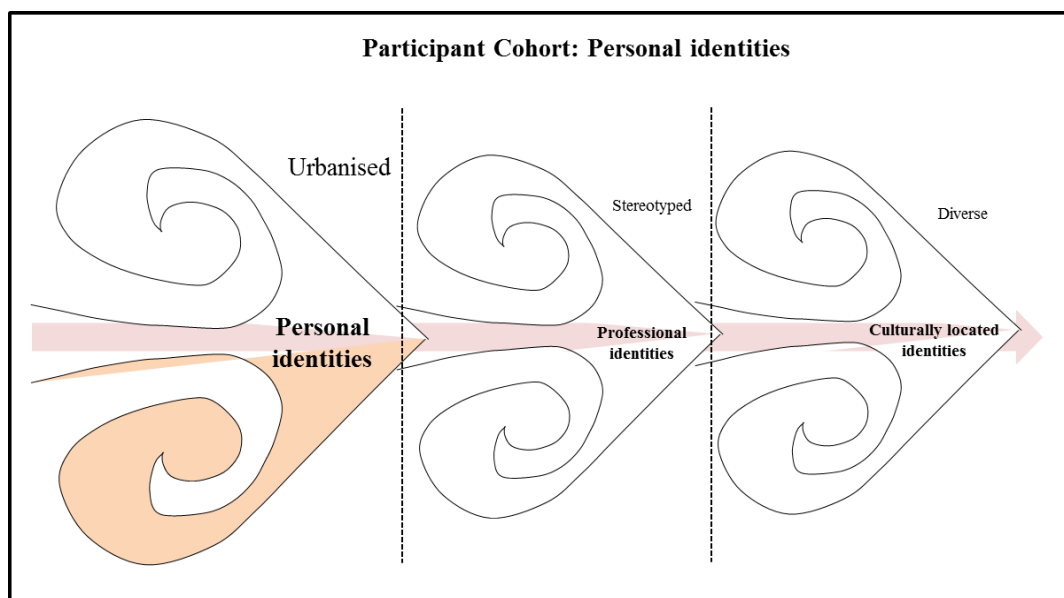


Figure 5: Urbanised personal identities as Māori

### 5.1 Introduction

Chapter Five presents the participants' perceptions of their personal identities as Māori (see Figure 5). Their reflections of growing up within urban communities and as learners in monocultural and monolingual public schools during the 1960s and 1970s influenced cultural self-perceptions. This chapter specifically explores participants' reflections of childhood and educational experiences that contributed to and shaped their Māori identities.

For example, when Hugh first enrolled into a teacher education programme, he had considered English-medium teacher training as having more value than Māori-medium teacher training (Hui kōrero, June, 2012). His attitude at that time was reflective of a past colonial perspective that viewed Māori cultural knowledge as "inferior" (Barrington, 2008). Additional examples of hegemonic discourses emerged from the participants' individual and collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversations). For example, Deb described how it was easier for her to attribute positive characteristics and qualities to her non-Māori heritage than to her inherited Māori characteristics. She noted that "I don't give it [Māori cultural values] enough credit because no-one else does" (Deb, April, 2013). As a child,

Rose interpreted her Māori identity as being connected to “going to church and eating Māori kai” (Rose, Dec, 2012).

The participants’ narratives are organised and presented in chronological order. Their reflections begin with childhood memories and then draw on their adulthood realities. Traditional and contemporary interpretations underpin the participants’ narratives and frame the first three of the four cultural concepts that emerged from the data analysis process. They are, ‘whakapapa: Contextualised connections of time and space’ (Section 5.2) ‘tikanga Māori: Feeling and doing what is culturally right’ (Section 5.5) and te reo Māori: A tangible and dominant cultural marker’ (Section 5.6). Some concepts relate to all participants and other concepts do not. Their personal narratives and differences across concepts represent the subsequent outcomes of urbanisation and highlights the diverse interpretations and perceptions reflective of Māori identities.

## **5.2 Whakapapa: Contextualised connections of time and space**

Whakapapa (genealogy) in this research context refers not only to kinship connections but also to contextualised connections of time and place (Te Rito, 2007). Specific to these participant narratives, ‘whakapapa’ was a defining cultural marker of Māori identity, referring to past and present whānau (family/families), hapū (sub-tribes) and iwi (tribal) relationships and connections (J. Graham, 2009). Participants’ connections of Māori identity are presented in the following section. These personal reflections of Māori identity are reflective of participants’ childhood experiences growing up in urban communities during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Their individual narratives reflect feelings of disconnection from Māori cultural values (R. Walker, 2004) as well as experiencing cultural insecurities or “identity limbo” (Durie, 1998; Woodard, 2008).

### **5.2.1 “You had to turn into a Pākehā”**

Rose’s narrative begins with an overview of her early reflections and perceptions of her own whānau (family/families). Specifically, she remembers her parents and

cousins negotiating Māori identity within a predominantly Pākehā society. Born during the late 1950s, Rose grew up within an large urban neighbourhood in Auckland.

*All our uncles were 'wharfies' and butchers in the freezing works and I had an uncle that was a baker. Even though my parents, in their own way, tried to live their culture, it was only in the realms of our property and with our whānau. That was where we could be who we wanted but outside of that, you had to turn into a Pākehā. I did it quite successfully but I didn't realise I was doing it because I didn't know much, you know when you're only growing up in a predominantly mainstream school that was predominantly Pākehā and there was nothing for Māori, then you don't know any different, even my own family didn't know...for years and years and years I didn't know what I would call myself as a Māori. I never had a picture about it, I couldn't actually say 'oh this is me as a Māori, and this is how [and] what Māori are like'...I thought being Māori was, you know, going to church, and eating Māori kai [food]...it's been a very hard thing to actually put into words, you're just living it and no one's actually put it into a box and said this is what a Māori should look like (October, 2012; April, 2013).*

### **5.2.2 "I want to be a good Māori"**

Mere shares her critical reflection of what 'being Māori' means to her. Whakapapa (genealogy) centres her interpretation of Māori identity. Whakapapa connects her to immediate whānau members, hapū members and to her tribal areas. Mere's commitment to learning and sharing her own whakapapa connections is part of what she believes is being a 'good' Māori.

*'What does it mean to be Māori?' I still ponder that all the time. I think it's the way we are as a people then I think well what does that mean? Constantly questioning myself about not growing up in the Māori world, being urbanised and not really knowing what life was like back on the marae or knowing that we had whenua here and we belonged to these*

*people and this is how we belong to those people. You know, our whānau [family] and things like that and all those connections. I think 'I want to be a good Māori, and I want to be a good role-model for our kids' I suppose (May, 2012).*

### **5.2.3 “Where the hell do I fit?”**

Ara shared some of the challenges she faced growing up in a bicultural home with a Māori mother and an English father. She witnessed her mother's 'cultural balancing act' as a Māori within the Pākehā world and then as a Māori within Māori contexts. Ara reflects on the cultural tensions she saw her mother face which she feels contributed to her own sense of belonging as Māori.

*I would see her [Mum's] whole demeanour change when she was in a Māori context and when she was in a Pākehā context...like she was two different people. I mean when we were in Māori contexts...such a strong woman, confident, happy...in the Pākehā world [she adopted] a subordinate kind of role, more so, I don't know...when I look at her life, marrying a Pākehā at a time when that was really frowned upon, going to get flats together and as soon as they saw her the flat was suddenly "gone", strapped at school for speaking te reo [language], working with dad, going into the kōhanga reo [Māori-medium early childhood language nest] and supporting that, what a roller-coaster of a life and the impact that would have on your identity. Well, I'm a product of watching all of that happen and I think that's a big part of why I don't know where my place is and when I say 'place', where I feel I fit comfortably with my identity as both [Māori and Pākehā]... I've been in contexts where they've been heavily dominated by Māori kaupapa [purpose] and my perspective of what's gone on is that I felt in those contexts quite inferior and then the same in the Pākehā context so it's like 'Where the hell do I fit? (May, 2012).*

#### **5.2.4 “I don’t know how to start a conversation about that”**

Terina spent the majority of her life in an Auckland suburb. She returned to live in the same Auckland suburb where she was raised. The low population of Māori living in Auckland compared with non-Māori influenced how Māori identity was shaped. In response to how Terina views Māori identity, she queries whether or not Māori defining Māori identity contributes to on-going stereotyping.

*I don’t know I could say what Māori looks like, what Māori is. I don’t know how to start a conversation about that, how to start a kōrero [conversation] about what Māori is. Do you think in trying to define ‘being Māori’ then we’re kind of stereotyping ourselves? Are we looking for an answer or are we just having a discussion about it because it evolves all the time. It’s not a hidden answer of what ‘being Māori’ is and it’s our job to find it, ‘oh here it is, ok, that’s done, this is what we are’ [laugh]... and it got some of us a bit lost if we didn’t fit the [traditional Māori] criteria. If you asked me ‘am I Māori?’ or ‘what makes me Māori?’ then my answer might be, ‘depends who’s asking and what do you want to know for’ [laugh] (Dec, 2012).*

#### **5.2.5 “That’s the way I’ve been trained and taught”**

Hugh explains his Māori identity as a third generation member of an organised religious community underpinned by Christian values.

*I’m going to introduce a new concept and that concept is from a religious point of view in terms of culture for me. My culture is the church first, then this [Māori]. For me, my grandmother spoke te reo (language) but she never identified that [Māori culture] as being more important than that [religious affiliation.] She said that [religious affiliation] guided her decisions so that’s the way I’ve been trained and taught (April, 2013).*

### **5.2.6 “I’ve grown up knowing that Māori were assimilated”**

Although Deb is of Māori, Pākehā and Chinese heritage, Deb identifies as being predominantly Māori. Being Māori was just a normal part of her upbringing and her understanding of her Māori identity was passed to her through her grandmother and mother.

*There are things that I learned through my nana, through my mum, through my whānau [family] of Māori things. I’ve grown up knowing that Māori were assimilated, that our Māori language was put down because I was always hearing it from my grandmother...so I kind of knew we weren’t second class citizens but you were different. I suppose when we were little we never noticed it...you had Māori, you had the Pākehā and a few Chinese and that was us growing up. When I grew up, and we had a few Indian children, there weren’t any demands, everyone got together. We were, I suppose, working class. When we were growing up we were all in the same suburb, the same people so we all had similar circumstances (June, 2012).*

### **5.3 Drop-outs and ‘push-outs’ as learners in urban schools**

The following reflections present the participants’ insights of their high school experiences. The examination processes from the 1940s to 1991 required high school students to pass School Certificate at the end of the third year of high school (fifth form) followed by Six Form Certificate as well as University Entrance at the end of the fourth year (sixth form). Successful progression to the next certification level was contingent on passing the end of year external examinations. However, consistent with the educational statistics drawn from student achievement data of the 1960s and 1970s that show many Māori students left high school without qualifications, five of the six participants in this study left high school in the 1970s and 1980s without School Certificate and/or Six Form Certificate and/or University Entrance (Else, 1997; New Zealand Commission on Education, 1962; Sharp, 1990).



### **5.3.1 “You’re never going to get anywhere”**

As a teenager, Rose attended high school during the 1970s. English-medium was the only choice for Māori students at that time in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Rose reflects on a conversation she had with her high school guidance counsellor who advised her to leave school instead of sitting her school certificate examination near the end of the fifth form year.

*I got called in by the principal or was it the guidance counsellor, might have been the guidance counsellor and she said to me, ‘you’re 15, you’re old enough to leave school, you’re never going to get anywhere and I advise you to leave school, there’s lots of trades going on out there, don’t sit your school cert’. You had to have university entrance to get to university. So, I went home and told my parents, they were down at the school ‘my daughter’s sitting School Cert’ and they [school] said ‘she’ll never pass’ blah blah blah and I did sit school cert and then I left school. I did find that there were plenty of jobs. I worked in offices and I waitressed...thought it was great. I never knew anything different. I actually believed that I’d never ever make it professionally, it was up there and way out of my reach and I already knew that I had to have university entrance to get there anyway (May, 2012).*

### **5.3.2 “Thought we were failures”**

Hugh perceived university to be beyond his academic abilities because he did not achieve his School Certificate and University Entrance qualification at high school. His self-description as a ‘failure’ connects to an educational history whereby monocultural education contexts systematically positioned Māori as ‘under-achievers’ because of Māori cultural, personality and/or economic deficiencies (Hirsh, 1990; Simon & Smith, 2001). Relatively few Māori students achieved high school qualifications compared to non-Māori students during the 1970s and 1980s (Sharp, 1990).

*All of my crew in my third year of fifth form thought we were failures because we were still doing fifth form classes and our peer group were doing seventh form. So we thought we could go forward into Watties, or Affco or Horotiu you know, go back to [name] freezing works in [name of city] and there's still some of my cohort that still think that they are failures (June, 2012).*

### **5.3.3 “I wanted to get some kind of qualification”**

Mere also left high school without any formal qualifications. Because she lacked high school qualifications, she did not think it was even possible to attend university. Instead, Mere returned to high school as an adult with young children to complete her School Certificate and, continued to participate with te kōhanga reo (Māori-medium early childhood language nest) until her youngest child was ready to begin primary school.

*I actually went back to high school, I went to go and resit my 5th form cert because I wanted to pass. I wanted to get some kind of qualification to do something, get somewhere in my life. I never thought teaching would be a possibility because I had it set that I wasn't travelling on 'those roads' to university and I wasn't going to be away from my kids while they were still babies. Going back to college I thought, that's it, I want to get a good job...got pregnant with [son's name] didn't I and didn't complete my exams but was supposed to be given a credit through all my paper work that I had presented that year, like an aegrotat pass. I don't know what happened but they didn't come back to me. I went through kōhanga [Māori-medium early childhood language nest] with [my son] and when he was moving on I thought 'what am I going to do now? Am I going to stay in this kōhanga all my life?' Which was ok but it wasn't enough (May, 2012).*

### **5.3.4 “I hated school”**

Terina reflects on the negative attitude she had towards her high school experience. Having passed two School Certificate subjects<sup>8</sup>, Terina left school and initially worked in a factory with her mother.

*When I got to high school, I felt as if my whole world had been pulled out from under me and then I became really introverted and it was a big blackness for me. I hated school, I hated everything actually...luckily I passed English and Typing and so I left and went to work at my mum's job, a factory job. It wasn't what I had aspired to, it wasn't what she had aspired me to do (June, 2012).*

### **5.3.5 “I only went to eat my lunch”**

Similar to Rose, Hugh, Mere and Terina, Deb also left high school without achieving her high school certification and began secretarial work.

*I left school because I only went to eat my lunch. I left with little qualifications so I just went straight into secretarial work, office work (June, 2012).*

## **5.4 Reframing perceptions as Māori learners: Teacher education studies**

With the exception of Ara who achieved her high school qualifications and then went straight into university, the other five participants completed their teaching degrees during the 1990s and 2000s as mature university students. Leaving high school without qualifications but still attending university as mature students was a shared experience for them. The following narratives recount the different pathways that influenced these participants' enrolment into teacher education

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<sup>8</sup> Students enrolled into 'fifth form' were expected to pass four subjects (including Mathematics and English) by at least 50% in order to achieve School Certificate.

programmes. This is followed by an overview of the teacher education programme they each completed. The participants also explain why they chose either English-medium or Māori-medium teacher education programmes.

#### **5.4.1 “There’s a university up the road... I’ve never looked back”**

Rose enrolled into teacher education at a state university as a mature student because of her proximity to the local university.

*In the 90s, my sister and I shared a house with all our kids and she said “Right, there’s a university up the road, you and I are going”. I trained as an older adult and it was the best thing that I was able to do and that was my opportunity [to attend university]. I’ve never looked back (October, 2012).*

Her enrolment into the university’s English-medium teacher education programme changed because she was approached by a staff member to consider Māori-medium despite having a low fluency level and knowledge of Māori language.

*I enrolled into the mainstream [English-medium pre-service teacher education] because of my own lack of the reo [language] and that’s why I didn’t choose rūmaki [Māori-medium pre-service teacher education] at that stage. Especially because there was a level of fluency that you needed to have to be in there...so when I put my application in, I got called up by the head of the rūmaki...she had my application passed on to her even though it went through the mainstream. She asked me to come in for an interview, just her and I, she said to me, ‘look I’ve just looked over your application and I know you had mentioned that you’re lacking in te reo but you know what? I’d really like you to come into the rūmaki’. I just went ‘oh no, I don’t know much at all, I only know ‘kia ora’ [informal hello or thank you]. I had just started getting into the research of my own whakapapa [genealogy]. I was going through a stage where I was trying to identify who I was, you know as a Māori and*

*she said 'we need people like you in there, you'll pick it up, you'll be able to do it and you've got experience from your family'. She said 'come in, I tell you what, give it a couple of weeks and if you don't think that you can cope with te reo [Māori language] then come and see me and we'll put you where you want, back into the mainstream.' So I went along and after three weeks I went to see her and I said 'I don't want to go, I love it' (May, 2012).*

#### **5.4.2 “My ears pricked up... I felt proud of that, making that achievement”**

Mere's hope of participating in tertiary education was initiated as a kōhanga reo (Māori-medium early childhood language nest) mother-supporter. She was presented with an opportunity to enrol in a Māori-centred teacher education programme as a mature student.

*A principal came to the kōhanga reo [Māori-medium early childhood language nest], came to a whānau hui [family meeting] and told us about a kura [school] that was going to start teaching us to be teachers at our school so my ears pricked up. I was a bit half-hearted about it, it was like 'No, I can't do it, I won't be able to pass, I'm dumb' and all the rest of it. Anyway, she was quite forceful; lovely forceful, never a mean word and she said 'you're going'. The [teacher training programme] initiative was called 'Te Rangakura'<sup>9</sup>. In the first year, something was happening with Whanganui<sup>10</sup> Polytech so Te Rangakura had a kōrero with Raukawa<sup>11</sup> to be the umbrella so we ended being certified for bi-lingual education by both Whanganui [Polytechnic] and Raukawa [Te Wānanga o Raukawa].*

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<sup>9</sup> Te Rangakura was a teacher training programme delivered by Whanganui Regional Community Polytechnic and developed by Māori to meet the need for trained Māori teachers.

<sup>10</sup> Whanganui is an iwi (tribe) as well as the name of an urban town and district situated south-west of Aotearoa/New Zealand's North Island or 'Te Ika-a-Māui.'

<sup>11</sup> Ngāti Raukawa is a Māori iwi (tribe) with traditional bases in the Waikato, Taupo and Manawatū/Horowhenua regions of Aotearoa/New Zealand. 'Te Wānanga o Raukawa' is an iwi tertiary provider that is Māori centred and draws from Māori philosophies and practices.

*If they didn't have it there I don't think I would have gone for it. I loved it, did three years there. Because it was on site, I didn't have to leave my kids, we finished school when they finished, we started when they started, so for me, I wasn't away from them and I was right there if they needed us. I felt proud of that, making that achievement (May, 2012).*

#### **5.4.3 “I was flabbergasted...It was an awakening”**

Hugh enrolled into a teacher education programme as a mature adult during the 1990s. He attributed his shift from being a professional musician to consider full-time university study to a conversation he had with a friend. Having learned that he could enrol into university as a mature student despite not having achieved high school qualifications, Hugh shared:

*I was flabbergasted and that's my message that I try to promote to any Māori or any student that will listen to me that are at that crossroads. That's my message. You don't need U.E. [university entrance qualification] to go to University if you are over twenty because that's about that time where they are actually up in the air about what they want to do with their life (June, 2012).*

Hugh chose to enrol into the English-medium teacher education programme at university because he had perceived English-medium to be of higher value than a Māori-medium teacher education programme. During his study however, Hugh developed an understanding of issues surrounding Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi that he hadn't been aware of in his previous schooling and life experiences. From his perspective, Māori identity had been closely connected to those cultural practices thought of as more typically Māori such as kapa haka (traditional Māori performing arts).

*I didn't go through rūmaki [Māori-medium] teacher training because I didn't think it had the same value as the Pākehā papers. I didn't think it was going to lead to any worthwhile job so I went through mainstream training. It was an awakening when I did that cultural equity class at*

*Teacher's College. They spoke about the Treaty in depth and the things that Māori had to put up with, and the land that was lost...that finally got me thinking 'what is this?' I never knew this. It was like as if in our secondary and through the early years of my schooling, to be Māori, the real history of Māori was not visible and I had to wait until I actually got to university when the whole picture was shown to me. Like we've only been given the token side, the kapa haka (traditional Māori performing arts) side. You know, the pleasantries, none of the political stuff and the 'movers and the groovers', the Harawiras and Bastion Point. Those kinds of things (June, 2012).*

#### **5.4.4 “I definitely had a brain... my initial focus in going to training college was education”**

Terina’s experience with teacher training was an improvement from her negative experience with high school. In contrast to ‘hating school’ (refer to Section 5.3.4), she instead persevered and balanced her role as a solo mother with her student teacher responsibilities successfully. Terina’s Māori perspective was secondary to her focus on education when she first began her teacher education training.

*I went to Uni as an adult student. Special entry you know [laughter] over 25 special entry. You didn't have to have any formal qualifications so I got in on that. You still had to follow a requirement and you had to do quite an intense interview. I applied twice. The first time I didn't get in, single mum, low self-esteem just following my kids to kura (school) you know...I loved it [teacher training] and I hated it all at the same time because I hadn't been successful at school the first time. That was cool going to teacher's college but it was so hard. I had a brain, I definitely had a brain but it was the self-esteem. I loved being in lectures and getting all that information and then I had to go home and still be a solo parent, just hard to juggle being a parent and running the home and keeping up with studies. I have to say that my initial focus in going to training college was education. I hadn't thought along the lines of a*

*Māori perspective or a Māori worldview or anything. I wasn't doing anything particularly stereotypical of Māori, whatever that is (June, 2012).*

Terina enrolled into the English-medium teacher training programme because she lacked fluency with te reo Māori. Wanting to develop her competency with te reo Māori while studying, she returned briefly and attended a night class run at a local high school. Terina shares some regret that she didn't participate in the Māori-medium teacher training programme.

*I did the mainstream teacher training [English-medium teacher training] - it was my lack of te reo [language]. Yeah I didn't have the reo and I tried to do night classes. Went back to high school and I got my [former] te reo teacher from high school and he said 'didn't you learn anything the first time' [laughter] and I ran away again. I don't know, I just didn't get it and it was frustrating me and everyone's going you know 'keep yourself in it and you'll get it' and I couldn't. I'm impatient anyway. It's still a bit of a hang up for me. I didn't even investigate it [Māori-medium teacher training] at all. I just thought 'I don't have the reo, I won't get there' and in hindsight I'm thinking that I missed so many opportunities that I should have just chucked myself in there you know (June, 2012).*

#### **5.4.5 “I don't like the way things are happening here”**

Deb's impetus to begin teacher education training stemmed from the experiences she observed when taking her children to early childhood centres. Influenced by her grandmother's teaching of the injustice experienced by Māori and the challenges Māori faced as tangata whenua (Indigenous people) in their own homeland, Deb applied to train as a teacher and was surprised she was even accepted as a mature student.

*I left [NewZealand] in 1985 so when I came back in 1994 to have my first child, I started noticing a bit more...you could hear this bicultural thing going on and people were talking about it and then all of a sudden...we*



*moved from bicultural to multicultural because we had all these other Pasifika whānau [Pacific Island families] coming across. We had to spread it [resources] out and I suppose that's what made me really aware of the demands that other people were making on our country, on our government, on our systems and realising 'oh hey, Māori have been trying to get these things for a long time and everyone else was starting to shout 'where's our piece?' The government was saying 'well we need to do this and we need to do that' and I'm thinking, you know, 'is something wrong here?' Māori have spent a long time asking for these things, asking for the right to be recognised, asking for the right to have their language spoken in schools and all of a sudden we've gone from bicultural to multicultural and Pasifika languages have sprung up everywhere...you just felt further down the chain line really - as Māori...as a young mum...taking my children to early childhood centres...I thought 'I don't like the way things are happening here'...I saw the favouritism that was occurring there even though there were all kinds of different children in the centre. I thought, 'I don't like this, if that's all you need to do to be a teacher, surely I could do this' and so I applied for training college. Unbelievably, they accepted me and away I went (June, 2012).*

Deb enrolled into an English-medium teacher training programme because she was unaware that a Māori-medium teacher training programme existed.

*I decided to go and train [teacher education training]. If it [Māori-medium teacher training] was there then I wasn't aware of it. I had no contact from any of Māori support services or people, none, no one contacted me. At that time I was under my married name of [Māori surname] so they would have known or should have known that I had some association with Māori using my surname. But no one contacted me, no one said 'hey, how are you doing, can we help you' and so it was very much like I was dependent upon the mainstream services that was*

*available for every student so, I sought that because I didn't know any better (June, 2012).*

#### **5.4.6 “I wanted to teach Māori”**

Ara completed a BA in Māori and Diploma of Teaching following her successful accreditation from high school. Seeking to acquire a high level of te reo Māori fluency in order to teach te reo Māori, Ara explained:

*I went to teachers college back in the 80s, the first year of Te Atakura<sup>12</sup> programme. I would have been at uni for 3 years by then and that was in my fourth year. So, I would have been about 20. Basically, it was a one year teacher training programme...there was a selection process and people who were fluent in te reo [language] and tikanga [cultural protocols of values and beliefs]...were selected. I was the only mainstream graduate going through the Atakura programme because I wanted to teach Māori language at high school (May, 2012).*

#### **5.5 Tikanga Māori: Feeling and doing what is culturally right**

The word ‘tikanga’ is based on ‘tika’ or ‘to do things in the right way’. “While mātauranga Māori [Māori knowledge] might be carried in the minds, tikanga Māori puts that knowledge into practice and adds the aspects of correctness and ritual support. People then see tikanga in action, and they do it, feel it, understand it, accept it and feel empowered through experience” (H. Mead, 2003, p.7).

Early education policies deliberately suppressed Māori language and knowledge systems. Suppression of language and knowledge impacted on generations of Māori and more so, for the many Māori who sought employment and moved themselves and/or families into the cities during the urban migration of the 1940s

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<sup>12</sup> Te Atakura was a government funded, one year te reo Māori teacher education programme which enabled competent Māori language speakers to teach in secondary schools.

and 1950s (Durie, 1998; Simon & Smith, 2001; R. Walker, 1973). Despite the growth of pan-Māori urban organisations to support and protect Māori identity in urban communities, inter-generational disconnection from mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and te reo Māori (language) left many urban Māori trying to capture and sustain what little they understood about tikanga Māori (Houkamau, 2010; H. Mead, 2003). H. Mead (2003) noted that “one’s understanding of tikanga Māori is informed and mediated by the language of communication” (p.2). This does not suggest that only te reo Māori speakers are privy to understanding tikanga Māori. Rather, Māori who do not speak te reo Māori begin their learning of tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) from a different entry-level compared with experienced te reo Māori speakers. Tikanga Māori is not fixed by a single definition or action. There are multiple ways through which tikanga Māori is practised either individually or collectively. For example, Deb reflects on how she negotiates tikanga Māori practices when visiting a Māori and Pākehā cemetery:

*If it's a tangi, always wash our hands at our urupa [tribal, sub-tribal or family cemetery], if it's a normal cemetery I won't bother. Lots of little tikanga things we do but other Māori may do it differently, or do it more than what I do so I kind of mix and match. I mix it with what I know. I don't see myself as Pākehā but I suppose I have very 'Pākehā-fied' habits in some respects but I think they're strongly influenced by my Māori side (June, 2012).*

Additional examples of tikanga Māori identified within the participants' narratives included the practice of whanaungatanga (developing positive relationships and connections with others); aroha (feeling and demonstrating empathy for others); wairuatanga (an innate connection of cultural beliefs and values beyond the physical) and māhaki (recognising, appreciating and feelings of humility). The following vignettes present the participants' personal reflections of how they experienced tikanga Māori. Tikanga Māori is multifaceted and weaves many cultural concepts as opposed to being practised as prescribed actions as singular definitions.

### 5.5.1 “You go to your graduation because I’m going to come”

The following narrative expresses the benefits Terina experienced having been encouraged and supported by her grandmother and then, by her fellow te reo Māori (language) classmate. Her reflection demonstrates how the cultural concept of whanaungatanga impacted positively on her.

*I didn't really want to go to the [te Ara reo] graduation because I don't know, I'm scared about graduations. I didn't even want to go to my teachers' college graduation because I hadn't been to one before. Not many people in my family had graduated from much...it's not the 'norm'. But my grandmother said 'you go to your graduation because I'm going to come' so I had to go my teachers' graduation. But I was happy not to go to the Wānanga [Te Wānanga o Aotearoa<sup>13</sup>] graduation...someone rang me up and said 'Are you going? Can you come and pick me up?', 'Oh ok' and I went and I'm sorry I didn't take it more seriously. I rocked up in my work clothes. I graduated level 2 the year before, didn't go to that graduation but I went to this graduation last Wednesday. It felt really good and if I had gone to my previous graduation then it would have prompted me to keep going and keep studying because there's some good stuff coming at the end of it. It's not all about work...being around all those successful Māori celebrating Māori, yes yes yes, and then the level 5's, because that's the highest they go in Te Ara Reo, they get to wear the gowns [and] the whānau is there. I got there and it was just so beautiful I was thinking 'you dumb dumb [own name], why are you not celebrating the things that you do more' you know. Why not? I don't know [laughter] it's all about get your head down, bum up and keep working and don't pat yourself on the back for anything (June, 2012).*

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<sup>13</sup> Te Wānanga o Aoteroa is a state funded tertiary institute underpinned by Māori cultural values and practices. This Indigenous tertiary provider was established to increase Māori participation with tertiary learning and promote cultural continuity.

### **5.5.2 “This is our country and we're the tangata whenua”**

A common Pākehā definition of the cultural concept ‘aroha’ is ‘love’ (Metge, 2010). Aroha however, encompasses more than this definition and involves demonstrating respect, compassion and/or empathy for others as well (H. Mead, 2003; Metge, 2010). Mere draws from her understanding of aroha and applies her understanding in context of how she believes positive relationships with new immigrant communities to New Zealand may be established.

*My belief is that it's our aroha, I suppose that's what makes us Māori, I don't know, that's a hard one, you know, how we are, how we do things. I feel a bit selfish because...I believe that our [Māori] kids should know who they are and even if they come from another culture [or] country, they should know who our people are and what we stand for and believe in solely because this is our country and we're the tangata whenua [Indigenous to Aotearoa/New Zealand]. I would feel the same if I went over to any other country. I would make it my business to learn about the other people so I'm not rude, insulting, you know, cross any lines. I mightn't learn everything straight away but you know what I mean eh? I'd make it my number one priority, before I'd even move to another country, to learn about the country...we've got [people from] all the different countries in New Zealand which is good, I like that. I like it for the fact that they keep coming here because they know that it is a good country and they know we are a good people (May, 2012).*

### **5.5.3 “It's the silence of listening to gain guidance”**

Ara expresses her interpretation of wairua (spirit; soul). She acknowledges the multiple ways through which wairuatanga (spirituality) may be understood within a Māori cultural worldview. Ara connects wairuatanga to her intuition.

*It's the silence of listening to gain guidance and where that comes from is debateable and depends on your thinking. You could go down the road that comes from your tūpuna...Io...God. One of the things that I've*

*become very aware of is that whole idea of 'when the time is right' and I've had several experiences of that throughout my life. When I've actually stopped and been 'still', it's like doors have opened...it's so easy to lose sight of what's really important and it's those times of actually balancing and stopping that allow the 'gut' to say 'this is the most important, go down this route' and never mind everything else (Ara, May, 2012).*

#### **5.5.4 “I would start to cry and get all emotional in here”**

Humility is an underrated personal and collective characteristic that is highly valued, appreciated and understood within Māori communities. Mead (2003) describes a person who embodies humility as 'he tangata māhaki'. Such a person is considered "...self-possessed, calm, quiet, mild mannered and humble" (Mead, 2003, p. 240). Rose expresses her experience of feeling overwhelmed with emotion as her understanding of her cultural identity developed.

*It wasn't until I went into the university that I started my whakapapa [genealogy], I started speaking te reo [Māori language], I started writing it, I started listening to people's stories and, I was just blown away. I couldn't believe that this was Māori culture because to me I thought I had it already. I felt that kind of feeling... you know that humble thing and I was going 'oh my God this is beautiful' then they'd sing a waiata and I would start to cry and get all emotional in here [gesturing to heart]. I was still trying to develop who I am as Māori...it has always been there and I think it has been for a lot of Māori but it's actually saying it in a Māori way, from a Māori perspective (May, 2012, December, 2012).*

#### **5.5.5 “You don't want to feel like you're showing off”**

Deb expressed her perspective of how she perceived Māori demonstrate humility.

*It's really hard to define for me 'what is Māori' other than how I feel so to put it into words is not easy. The thing is we're not vocal enough*

*either, sharing our successes. You don't want to rub anyone's nose in it and you don't want to feel like you're showing off so you sit back quietly and you do what you need to do and yet other people can quite happily stand up and boast and it's acceptable, but I think with Māori, well we don't do that (June, 2012).*

## **5.6 Te Reo Māori: A tangible and dominant cultural marker**

The participants considered the ability to converse confidently in the Māori language to be a highly valued tangible cultural marker of Māori identity. Early educational policies that enforced English language as the language of instruction in all Aotearoa/New Zealand public and Native schools contributed significantly to the dwindling numbers of native Māori language speakers that existed by 1970s (refer to Chapter Two). This cohort of research participants did not escape the outcome of assimilation and, similar to many urban Māori, had little or no ability to converse confidently in the Māori language as children of the 1960s and 1970s (Borrell, 2005b; C. Smith, 2006). Moreover, acquiring te reo Māori as a second language has not been easy for this cohort despite an increased access of te reo Māori and perceptions of te reo Māori fluency as a core cultural marker of Māori identity.

### **5.6.1 “We want you to be good little white people”**

Ara completed her teaching diploma in a Māori-medium university programme as a young adult. She reflects on how teaching and learning te reo Māori is not compulsory in state schools and suggests that teaching and learning te reo Māori in state schools is a Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty-honouring position.

*Te reo Māori [was] compulsory way back at the signing of the Treaty when our schooling system was there. Why was my mother strapped at school for speaking Māori when there's a Treaty in place with partnership, protection and participation? How come she couldn't go to school and speak te reo [language]? So, there's the compulsory bit...right there as a sign of honouring the Treaty, but no, what*

*happened? 'thou shalt not speak your reo because we want you to be good little white people' (May, 2012).*

### **5.6.2 “I need an interpreter”**

Learning te reo Māori in the context of teacher education proved to be highly challenging for Rose. The following narrative reflects Rose’s persistence despite the initial difficulties she encountered with learning te reo Māori as a second language.

*It was hard in rūmaki [Māori-medium] teacher training. I would sit in the classes and they'd be all speaking fluently because that was what you had to do. I had no idea what they were saying honestly, and then we had to write all our assignments in te reo [language]. I didn't know what the hell I was doing and I thought 'I need support in the language'. I just sat there silent, I couldn't speak. The rūmaki setting was very supportive during the whole year, they embraced you. I would say to the lecturers 'I don't know if I can do this, I don't really know what's being said, I need an interpreter' and they said 'you'll be alright, just hang in there, you'll pick it up, you'll hear it, whakarongo [listen], titiro [look]'. So, for the first year I didn't speak much at all. I just sat there, listened, and towards the end of the year that penny dropped and I was starting to hear it. I thought 'oh my goodness, I know what they're saying, I can understand'. When I had to do units and lessons, I had to write it all in Māori. Bloody hell man, I was getting the dictionary out and looking up words trying to convert them to English, trying to write sentences. I know what I was trying to do, you know, I had the idea in my head, but how was I going to write it?...the second year was way better for me so as that time went on, that was really good (May, 2012).*



### 5.6.3 “I felt that I was quite inadequate actually”

Hugh’s perceived lack of experience with tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) and te reo (language) meant he felt culturally inadequate to participate fully with pōwhiri or whaikōrero.

*I felt exposed when it came to tikanga Māori and when it came to pōwhiri [formal welcome protocols] because I don't know te reo [language] or the tikanga. I felt quite, you know, shy and whakamā [ashamed] that I couldn't get up to whaikōrero [formal speech]. So I had to rely on the other Māori staff at school. Because I am male and because I was the only Māori male in the school, they assumed that I would step up to that role. I had to actually stand back and let the female Māori staff who were versed in it to actually take over and organise the pōwhiri for other visitors so, I felt that I was quite inadequate actually. Now that I am amongst twenty-two others [RTL] and I'm still the only Māori Male, they all kind of assume to look at me, 'Oh he knows everything'. They come to me, 'I don't know!' [Laughter] 'Oh, but you're Māori', 'So?' [Laughter] 'Oh I'll get back to you'. I do work with an enrichment class at the moment and I think [that] as long as it keeps to simple greetings and that, I'm fine, but I try and respect the class itself, try to speak as little Pākehā as possible (June, 2012).*

### 5.6.4 “So I could learn the reo and my kids could learn”

Despite Mere’s awareness of her Māori identity growing up, she attributes supporting te kōhanga reo as a parent, as providing her entry to developing her understanding of te ao Māori. She was urban raised without knowledge of te reo Māori. However, her decision to enrol her children into a Māori-medium early childhood programme provided her a culturally safe space to explore her Māori identity alongside her children.

*I knew I was Māori or I knew I was something but I didn't [really] know who I was until I took my kids to kōhanga [Māori-medium early*

*childhood language nest]. I wasn't aware, well, never grew up like that. We grew up as a close family but it was just us and we only knew each other. We didn't know the wider world, the Māoritanga world, because our parents didn't share that kind of stuff with us. Why Kōhanga [for own children]? So I could learn the reo and my kids could learn and go on this journey together of learning who we are and you know what a Māori really is I suppose. I believe it was always in there, I just didn't know it (May, 2012).*

### **5.6.5 “I had nobody judging me”**

Since Terina first entered teacher training, her confidence to engage with te reo Māori (language) within the classroom increased. Her commitment to learn te reo Māori included challenging herself to teach te reo Māori and learn with her students. In a classroom context, Terina’s confidence to kōrero (to speak) Māori with the students increased.

*I need to build up my te reo [language]. In mainstream she says? [laughter]. It was ok because I was the only te reo Māori teacher there and I had nobody judging me. I was ‘it’ basically and I was able to develop in my own time and in my own class to try things... I was challenged by the kids to extend my reo. They’re loving it and they’re like sponges and made me want to go out and learn more...then I went to Te Wananga o Aotearoa did the Ara Reo courses. I just graduated the other night [Te Ara Reo, Te Wananga o Aotearoa] and I was supposed to do level 5 this year but I was having a rest this year...I’ve hung back with the reo so much now I think, I still keep plodding away but it bugs me that I haven’t got it. It bugs me because I’m just not getting it but I love being around it. I’m not shy to initiate it anymore like I used to be scared to say ‘kia ora’ in case they said ‘kei te pehea koe?’ [laughter]...making tiny tiny steps thinking ‘how long have I got’... In my classroom I can talk freely and I can model it, but when I’m with other Māori in a Māori setting ‘Oh no, shut up’ [laughter]...it’s sounds terrible eh, I would hold*

*back thinking that I don't know very much, well I didn't know very much... Definitely developing confidence, just have to get my skills to match up to it [te reo Māori] now (June, 2012).*

#### **5.6.6 “I have bits and pieces of it, snapshots of it”**

Deb's fluency with te reo Māori is limited to the basics even though she also participated with te Ara Reo Māori language course over two years run by Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. Despite her commitment to learning te reo Māori (language), not being fluent with te reo Māori did not negatively impact on her own Māori identity.

*I don't how other people describe themselves as being Māori I suppose having the reo [language], but I don't have the reo. I have bits and pieces of it, snapshots of it. I'd like to have more of it but it's not that easy to learn when you're not in a situation where it's constantly spoken and when you're not forced to speak it. You tend not to want to use it or when you are in that situation, like a student, clam up in case you make a mistake so you're in a catch 22 position. How do you become fluent at something if you're not willing to constantly put yourself on the line and practise it and make those mistakes at a certain age? I think when you're a kid it's not so bad, it's allowable, but when you get to a certain age it's 'you should know this by now'... ...the first year [of Te Ara Reo] we had a teacher who was quite hard and made us do things so we learnt how to do our whakapapa [genealogy] and whaikōrero [formal speech]. We learnt our basics and then we got to our second year. I don't think we learnt that much [during] my second year of Te Ara Reo...we passed the certificate...we came out with lots of resources and I thought maybe I could do it a third time, but the third time isn't free. I'm proud of the fact that my sisters are both fluent in it now and they're doing well, but maybe I'll get there and maybe I won't...it may change who knows, in ten years' time I may be in a different place and I'll be speaking fluently (June, 2012).*

## 5.7 Summary

This cohort of Māori teachers reflected the diverse ways through which ‘being Māori’ continued to evolve for them from their urban childhoods into their professional lives as Māori teachers in English-medium primary school contexts.

*Whakapapa* connected these participants to their Māori identities. Even though colonial definitions of Māori identity influenced how members of this research cohort interpreted their cultural identities as children, the narratives also demonstrated a personal commitment to Māori identity as adults. Some tensions these participants experienced between colonial definitions of, and personal commitments to Māori identity seemed to be mediated through knowledge of whānau, hapū and iwi connections passed to them by their parents and/or grandparents. In this respect, whakapapa affirmed these participants’ cultural belonging as urban raised children and as English-medium primary school teachers.

While access to *tikanga and te reo Māori* occurred at different points of time for each participant, a deeper level of ‘knowing’ developed as the participants enrolled into teacher education programmes and entered the teaching profession fulltime. A shared aspiration to engage and promote Māori identity seemed aligned with te reo Māori fluency. However, measuring themselves against their experiences and fluency with te reo Māori presented additional tensions to their identities ‘as Māori’. Self-measuring cultural identity against only one of many cultural descriptors, such as whakapapa and experience with tikanga Māori, reflected ongoing cultural tensions these participants experienced from childhood through to adulthood.

These narratives clearly demonstrate that reconnecting with cultural knowledge and language is an individual, personal and ongoing process. The following chapter presents these participants’ reflections and perspectives of teaching in schools and classrooms with predominantly Pākehā and other non-Māori teacher colleagues.

## 6 Chapter Six: Professional Identities

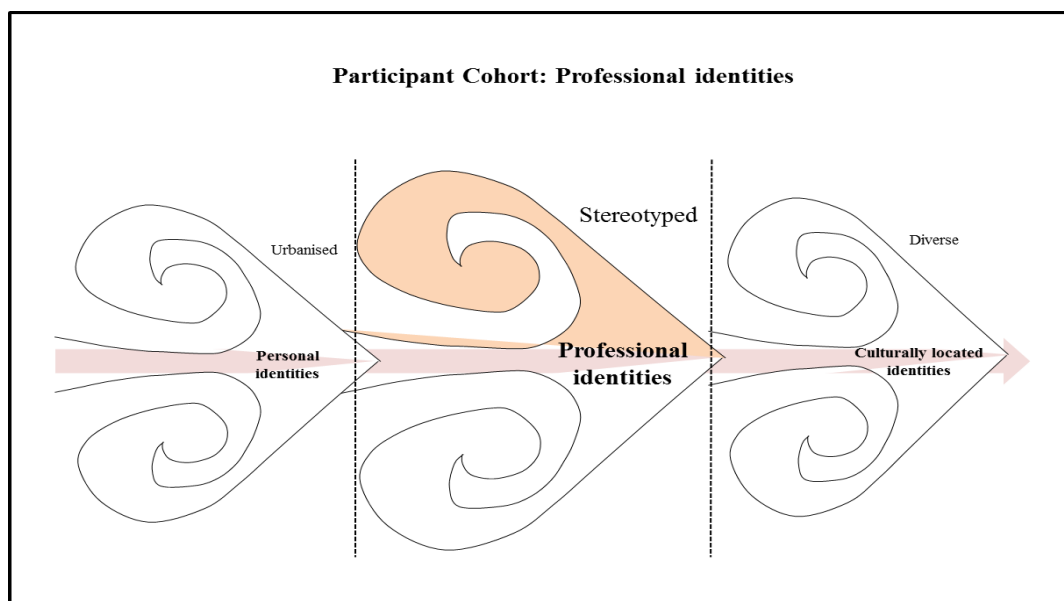


Figure 6: Stereotyped professional identities as Māori

### 6.1 Introduction

Chapter Six presents this study's second set of findings. It explores participants' professional identities as Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools and classrooms. This chapter focuses primarily on the impact of stereotyped perceptions of Māori identity on these participants' experiences as teachers in a 21<sup>st</sup> century context (see Figure 6). It is not that participants were **not** viewed 'as Māori' in their respective school contexts. Rather, they encountered stereotyped and perceptions of Māori identity that merely added to the complexities they already experienced personally (see Chapter Five). Caught between fixed definitions of Māori identity imposed from within the framework of the dominant discourse and then (re)framed through traditional interpretations of Māori identity further complicated the contradictions they already experienced during their upbringing.

Unrealistic expectations to be "expert" Māori were imposed on these participants irrespective of the level of experience and support they had with tikanga (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) and te reo Māori (language). For example, Mere reflected on expectations of her to perform karanga (welcome call) to visitors

despite being inexperienced with karanga “because you’re a brown face [it is assumed that] you automatically know what to do” (Mere, October, 2012). Similarly, positioned to assume sole responsibility for teaching kapa haka (traditional Māori performing arts), Rose shared the conflict she experienced between leading the kapa haka and job security. She felt pressured because “I knew very little about kapa haka and...[speaking] Māori language fluently...[but] I’ve got to do a good job here otherwise my job’s on the line” (Rose, October, 2012).

These examples reflected tensions of being stereotyped by Pākehā and other non-Māori colleagues who were at the same time, unaware of how tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) such as whanaungatanga (relationships), māhaki (humility) and aroha (empathy) underpinned the participants’ compliance to meet imposed expectations. The impact of Pākehā and other non-Māori being unaware of these tikanga Māori understandings is reflected in Ara’s statement in that “being Māori in mainstream means isolation...you sit there alone so you do the best that you can do” (Ara, May, 2012).

The first section of this chapter presents the stereotyped assumptions imposed on these participants that prevented them from positively affirming their Māori identity within their own teaching contexts (Section 6.2). The second section presents how participants encountered colleagues’ ignorance of Māori cultural values in their respective school contexts (Sections 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5). Colleagues breaching tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) has been both overt as well as subtle. The third and final section explores the reasons participants choose to remain teaching in these schooling contexts (Section 6.6). The narratives presented throughout this chapter demonstrate how these participants continually negotiated their positioning as Māori within contexts that are mostly unsupportive of their respective interpretations of tikanga Māori (values).

## 6.2 Te hanga o te tangata: Stereotyped assumptions and expectations

The research concept of ‘te hanga o te tangata’ (perceived typical physical characteristics of an ethnic group, phenotype) represents the ongoing stereotyping and assumptions held because of the physical characteristics that are thought of as ‘typical’ of ‘Māori’ identity (refer to Chapter Four, Section 4.7). However, Māori identity in 21<sup>st</sup> century Aotearoa/New Zealand is more than skin colour, and for many Māori, skin colour alone is no longer an accurate predictor of being experienced with traditional cultural markers of Māori cultural values and knowledges (Moeke-Maxwell, 2005; Webber, 2008, 2012). The following narratives expose how the participants encountered stereotyped assumptions in their respective teaching contexts.

### 6.2.1 “You must be the new caretaker”

Hugh’s awareness of the socio-historical contexts of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the impact on Māori identity increased when he started his first teaching position. Being mistaken for the school’s new caretaker by a Pākehā teacher colleague while he sat in the staffroom highlighted what was going to become an ongoing reality for him as a Māori male primary school teacher and then as an itinerant RLTB within a predominantly Pākehā, non-Māori and Māori female professional context.

*Being mistaken for the caretaker? That's just hilarious [Laughter]... My first day on the job, I was sitting in the staff room and one of the Caucasian teachers walked in, he said ‘Oh giddy chap, so how are you? You must be the new caretaker’. It's not a one off [Laughter]...So, even when I enter a school property, any school that I visit in my [RTL] mahi [work], I always make sure I have this [points to name badge]... Because I know that they're on the lookout. When they see me, they get these red flags being raised and because of this thing about Māori males...the stigma...it's even amplified more being in a career which is female dominated let alone a Māori male [finding himself] being outnumbered again (Dec, 2012).*

### **6.2.2 “Oh don’t mean you”**

Ara describes how insulted she feels when defending her cultural identity within her professional contexts. The underlying message conveyed by Ara’s non-Māori colleagues when they exempt her from their own definitions of Māori identity is viewed as arrogant and demeaning.

*The number of conversations that have been around ‘Māori are this and Māori are that’ and then I’ll go ‘I’m Māori’. ‘Oh don’t mean you, you’re not like that’. You know, that whole who is defining who? I find that incredibly insulting when someone is saying [to me] ‘you’re not Māori’ (October, 2012).*

### **6.2.3 “I don’t give it enough credit because no-one else does”**

Deb highlights the impact of negative assumptions towards Māori she experiences because her own educational and teaching success is typically attributed to her ‘non-Māori’ heritage. Her reflection is underpinned by the hegemonic and homogeneous discourses that existed professionally.

*Personally I think it’s a conditioning we get into and I think a lot of it is because when we do well and we’ve got something else in us other than Māori, people tend to say ‘that’s not your Māori side, that’s your Chinese side’ you know? So they look for all these other [cultures] other than Māori coming through as a reason for your successes and I think after a while if that’s all you’re hearing you get to believe it. You get to take that perception on board and because Māori being my predominant values in my life, I don’t give it enough credit because no-one else does (April, 2013).*

### **6.2.4 “A Māori that can’t sing and play a guitar”**

Rose shares an example of the expectations she has experienced by her Pākehā teaching colleagues. Questioned whether her identity is authentic because she



breaches a stereotypical perception of Māori as musical is not only impositional but also insulting.

*'You're Māori, you can play the guitar, you can sing' and I used to battle with that all the time and I'd say 'no I can't actually' and they didn't believe me, they honestly didn't believe that I can't sing and I can't play the guitar. Then when you're saying 'no I can't play the guitar' it's like 'eh, a Māori that can't sing and play a guitar'... 'You're not a real one' [laughter] or whatever their interpretation of how they see a 'real' Māori is mind blowing actually (October, 2012).*

#### **6.2.5 "I'm the only Māori teacher in the school"**

Mere shares her own experiences of being expected to perform karanga (welcome call) despite initially feeling inexperienced in that particular role.

*I wouldn't call it supported in this journey...when you get brought up around not much Māori tikanga [cultural protocols of values and beliefs] as well and because you're a brown face [it is assumed that] you automatically know what to do. That's really hard too and that's a challenge in the fact that 'hey just because I'm Māori doesn't mean I know everything to do with Māori or know all the tikanga.' I used to think they [school leaders] must have this template like, this is how they can tell us Māori teachers this is what we should or shouldn't be doing. I would say more being expected or having to do some of the things like I've had to do karanga [welcome call]. I'm relatively, well I'm not new anymore, but in the beginning I was new at it and I was asked to do things and I was scared and I tried it... [I'm] going 'oh, ok yes I'll do this' even though my heart is beating a million miles an hour...but I'll do it anyway because I'm the only Māori teacher in the school'...well what if I wasn't here? Who would do the karanga?...of course I'm going to jump in because that's how we are but, it's that expectation...(October, 2012).*

### 6.2.6 “It’s very hard to swim against the tide”

Deb reflects on the way her school’s leadership team adopted an acultural attitude in their school and viewed cultural responsive teaching approaches as redundant. In that context, the perception that ‘all children are the same’ and that ‘culture does not count’ attempted to encourage Deb to undervalue her own Māori identity as well as the Māori students’ cultural identities within her classroom. This attitude towards Māori identity highlights school leaders’ decisions to ignore government legislation to adopt Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty-honouring responsibilities in policy and practice. However, Deb explains how she maintained her own and her students’ cultural integrity within the confines of her own classroom.

*The argument I keep hearing in our own school is ‘well how come our Indian kids are doing so well? How come our Asian kids are doing so well?...there’s no difference to the way that they’re being taught so why is there a need to be culturally responsive to all these ethnic groups when these certain ethnic groups are actually achieving really well’. So you know that’s an argument that’s constantly put up and another argument is ‘well, we’re there for all the children, not one child is taught differently or given extra consideration, you know, this ethnic group is given the same consideration as this group so why is it that Māori and Pasifika can’t do as well? We’ve got this argument at senior leadership level [that] we don’t give any extra special treatment to them [Māori and Pasifika] so I know that in my class, my kids are treated how I would treat any child but in my way of being Māori. It’s very hard to define it... my way is how I was brought up...my tikanga [cultural protocols of values and beliefs] and everything that I know about my Māori side...that’s how I treat my children...with my Māori kids...I do treat them differently...especially when I know that their backgrounds are hard and that they’re going home and might not get a kai that night...what happens in my class happens in my class, close the door and I give each child what I think they need and if my Māori kids need more,*

*I give them more and that's how it is. But, it's very hard to swim against the tide if that's how leadership [and] their dogma goes through the rest of the school (October, 2012).*

#### **6.2.7 “I did things in my way”**

Rose reflects the expectations of her to take responsibility for Māori students' behaviour “problems”. The challenge and expectation to provide behavioural support for students without support from teacher colleagues is a way that Pākehā teachers can legitimately abdicate any responsibility from developing Māori cultural knowledge.

*You weren't, how should I put it, I didn't feel like I was supported as a Māori person being a teacher and there were Māori kids in that school and I had them in my class. There were high behaviour problems and it was 'you can fix it' because no other teacher in the school could. Although I did things in my way being a Māori teacher, there was still that Pākehā ignorance...in a way I think they meant well because they thought it was good for a Māori [student] to be with a Māori teacher and that's what you want but there wasn't the support [for me] because there was ignorance on Pākehā side of knowing Māori culture (October, 2012).*

#### **6.2.8 “There's just an expectation, you know”**

Deb reflects on the lack of support she received as the school's kapa haka (traditional Māori performing arts) coordinator and teacher. The expectation of her to be responsible for a culturally significant activity for Māori during non-teaching school hours such as ‘lunchtime’ or ‘after school’, reflects how school leaders fail to prioritise Māori identity in practice.

*They're [kapa haka practices] lunchtime, after school, at home doing those things...but there's no time preparing [during school hours]...you don't get any extra out of it either, there's no [management] units [additional remuneration] involved even if you're taking staff meetings.*

*There's just an expectation you know...so that's actually on top of what you do [as a classroom teacher and lead teacher]...there's only me really (June, 2012).*

### **6.2.9 “I don't know what the right words are”**

Additional queries asked to Rose by Pākehā teaching colleagues included questions about her teacher education providers and teaching qualifications. In this respect, unspoken assumptions about Māori tertiary providers as ‘second rate’ universities and non-Māori tertiary providers as superior are implied leaving Rose constantly having to justify herself.

*I've got that going to hui [in this context, meetings underpinned by non-Māori protocols] you know...there's one or two brown faces. For Pākehā it's important for them to find out what you do, that's how they open a lot of conversations...and with me being in a management position and I say ‘well, I'm a full-time teacher and I'm the assistant principal’ [they respond with] ‘but you're not a real one, where did you train?’ When you go further and say ‘actually I trained at University’, ‘oh, which one?’ you know, it's ‘which one’ because there might be one that's not very good that you might have come from. I struggle with coming up with the right kōrero to answer or I don't want to be answering these questions. What are the words that I would use to pull myself out of that and not get stuck? I don't know what the right words are (Dec, 2012).*

### **6.2.10 “The ‘foot’ has been on our shoe”**

Hugh shared his thoughts about the negative attitudes three Pākehā postgraduate RTLB colleagues outwardly demonstrated when they stayed overnight at a marae (traditional tribal and/or family meeting place or complex) as part of the postgraduate programme.

*When we had our Noho Marae [overnight stay at a marae] during our [RTLB] training, we had three Pākehā that just refused to learn their mihi [greeting], they read it out in Pākehā, and they were willing to be*

*failed for it. Then they argued 'why should we be failed? Is this a real part of our paper?' you know, so all of that, because [of] severe 'uncomfortableness', but they forget that with them, the foot has been on our shoe for a long time feeling uncomfortable amongst tikanga Pākehā (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) (June, 2012).*

### **6.3 Tikanga Māori: Impact of ignoring culture**

Some tikanga Māori concepts underpinned these participants' responses within respective professional contexts. For them, internal conflicts between their personal and professional identities increased when other professional colleagues misinterpreted, ignored and/or challenged the participants' own interpretations of tikanga Māori. Ignoring tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) made it easier for some Pākehā leaders and teachers to instead assert multicultural rhetoric such as 'we are all one people' (Consedine & Consedine, 2005; Sneddon, 2005). A multicultural perspective draws from the dominant monocultural perspective and positions Māori as just another minority culture and not as tangata whenua (Indigenous, people of the land). Positioning Māori as if they are just another minority culture breaches the government's commitment to biculturalism as well as expectations for school leaders and teachers to honour te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi principles in practice (Education Review Office, 2011; Ministry of Education, 2007).

Despite there being an emphasis for teachers to develop culturally responsive relationships with Māori students, the lack of whanaungatanga (relationships) they experienced as Māori teachers within English-medium primary school contexts impacted negatively on their cultural selves (Nikora, 1995). Ignoring the importance of developing culturally responsive relationships in these educational contexts served to reinforce existing tensions of cultural isolation they experienced within professional contexts.

### **6.3.1 “It’s not grounded in the reality of people”**

Ara discussed the frustrations she felt when meetings with other colleagues were determined by strict time schedules rather than firstly taking time to develop positive working relationships.

*I’ve actually participated in that myself, it’s like context driven. I think it’s part of the whole big wheel of ‘time driven’, that whole construct of time that’s imposed by the system. It’s like ‘we’ve got one hour to nut this out, let’s get on with it’ and actually people generally do. They knuckle down and get on with it but they forget that [the] kōrero [conversations] that comes out of that one hour meeting has no substance because it’s not connected to anything, it’s not connected to people and I find it frustrating about the meetings that I go to. It needs just a little ‘hey what’s on top for you at the moment, where are you at?’ and that might take half an hour but, so be it, let’s put it out on the table, let’s talk about it, let’s start on a clear path together which would actually be taken care of with karakia normally, and a bit of whakawhanaungatanga [establishing relationships] and then into the kaupapa [purpose]. I think about it as rats running around on the wheel, running so hard but not getting anywhere and it’s not getting anywhere because it’s not grounded in the reality of people (May, 2012).*

### **6.3.2 “You were just all one”**

Rose reflected on the how she felt when her cultural identity was blatantly ignored within an English-medium primary school. In this sense, any connectedness was determined by the dominant discourse and failed to acknowledge Māori cultural values.

*I can talk about what it was like at a Pākehā school. You got swallowed up...swallowed up means that I wasn't recognised as a Māori, you were just all one in that they had a mainstream way of running the school and it was Pākehā dominated (May, 2012).*

### 6.3.3 “The bell, that’s your master”

Asked whether or not he missed classroom teaching following ten years as an RTLB, Hugh reflected on the dependence to the school bell that he felt contributed to the stress he experienced as a classroom teacher.

*Yes and no, half of my ailments are because of being in front of a class, stress. You don’t realise it until you actually leave the classroom... ‘what the heck was I doing?’ To be able to carry so much because you’re always running to the master, the bell, that’s your master. That’s the thing, it’s so subtle (June, 2012).*

### 6.3.4 “I feel restricted”

An example of how Mere’s ongoing learning of her own Māori identity is reflected in the tensions she has felt attempting to balance her Māori values with her teaching practice and, curriculum priorities such as English and Mathematics.

*I feel restricted I suppose when you look at how we've got to fit our Māori thinking into this Pākehā world of teaching and how we fit into mainstream. How some of our things are limited and we can't do because this is it, this is how we have to do it and we fit all our teaching time in that and I think, ok, I've got find a way to integrate Māori, me, who I am. They [school leaders] tell me 'bring out your inner you [own name], there's a 'you' in there' and that kind of stuff. Then I feel that they restrict the 'you', you know, by 'capping' what we're allowed to do and what we're not allowed to do... I think it's like what I was saying about being 'capped', having an allocation of time to get these curriculum subjects out and when you think of reading, writing, maths, that's a good three hour solid block there. Then you've got the physical education, te reo Māori, the technology, the social sciences, arts as well - you've got to fit in there but our main priorities are reading, writing and maths (May, 2012).*

### **6.3.5 “It’s just black or white for some of our teachers”**

Deb chooses when she responds to colleagues’ deficit comments about Māori students. Her teaching practice is centred on developing relationships with her students and with the students’ whānau (families) however, she noticed her Pākehā and other non-Māori teacher colleagues are less likely to develop close relationships with their own Māori students’ or with whānau. They are more likely to maintain the same teaching practices regardless of students’ cultural heritages.

*I must admit [that] when I hear some of my colleagues talking about Māori, sometimes I’ll say something and sometimes I’ll just ignore it ...sometimes it’s ‘pick your battles’, let it slide...especially for our Māori kids...I know what kind of family backgrounds that they [classroom children] come from so [I] check to see what is happening in their lives because I know that will have an impact in the classroom, but I know that, that’s me...but the Pākehā teachers...the Indian teachers will have no idea how to do that because for them, especially our older Pākehā teachers, you do this and do that because ‘that’s what I did with my children and that’s how parents should be doing it’...[there’s] just no understanding, there actually might be something going on here and this is what’s happening and could impact on the children. It’s just black or white for some of our teachers, it is or it isn’t (June, 2012).*

### **6.3.6 “Being Māori in mainstream means isolation”**

Ara reflects on her experiences of 26 years teaching in English-medium secondary schools and as an RTLB in primary schools. Feeling isolated from cultural support critiques the value of existing resources that advocate support of Māori student identity when the same English-medium school systems ignore Māori teacher identity.

*The experience of what I learnt is being Māori in mainstream means isolation. [That] means opening yourself up to being isolated [because]*



*there isn't a lot of support there for Māori to be Māori. We've got all these curriculum documents and Ka Hikitia [for] our kids, Māori experiencing success as Māori, awesome. How do schools support Māori staff to have success as Māori? I recognise that this is an issue...but how can we empower Māori students to be who they are when we can't be who we are in the structure and systems that exists? It's that isolation in mainstream and you sit there alone so you do the best that you can do (May, 2012).*

### **6.3.7 “So you were left to do it on your own”**

Rose described how isolated she felt as ‘the’ school’s Māori teacher. She related feelings of isolation to Pākehā teacher colleagues’ ignorance of Māori cultural knowledge. Caught between a need to ‘perform’ well as a teacher yet lacking experience to teach kapa haka (traditional Māori performing arts) as a Māori teacher is explained.

*So you were left to do it on your own even though for me, I knew very little about kapa haka (traditional Māori performing arts) and...[speaking] Māori language fluently. That left me in isolation to cope. I thought ‘Well I’ve got to do a good job here otherwise my job’s on the line’ so yeah, there was a lot a pressure on me. It kind of takes away the decision of a Pākehā teacher taking responsibility so, let’s put the responsibility onto Māori teachers because ‘they are Māori and they’ve got the culture and they should know everything and therefore I don’t have to worry about it’ (October, 2012).*

### **6.3.8 “This is not just the Māori staff’s problem”**

Terina reflected on her role as ‘the’ Māori teacher for her school. Invited to participate with a professional development inter-school meeting focused on ‘Gifted and Talented’ Māori and Pasifika students, Terina observed that she was only one of three teachers who attended and all three were Māori. Terina questioned critically the absence of Pākehā and non-Māori teachers.

*Why is it just the Māori looking after [Māori students], this is not just the Māori staff's problem [it is the problem of] everybody in the profession, everybody in the school. They [Māori teachers] were the professional development and set goals for the school because it was supposed to be a school wide thing to then present to the staff. Where's the commitment from the staff...is it when you're setting goals? Commitment starts at the beginning when you set them [and] if they're not even there, what are the chances that they'll go through and do anything that was proposed in the meeting? (June, 2012).*

#### **6.4 Pōwhiri: Considerations of connections and timing**

Pōwhiri (formal welcome ceremony) is significant to establishing relationships and forming connections between hosts and guests (refer to Chapter Four, Sub-section 4.6.2). Pōwhiri enacts the process of whakawhanautanga (process of establishing relationships) between hosts and guests. Expressions of tikanga Māori concepts such as whakapapa (genealogy), manaakitanga (care), aroha (respect) and ako (reciprocity) are deeply embedded within pōwhiri (Barlow, 1991; H. Mead, 2003). The following narratives reflect how the participants were positioned to accept and support tokenised forms of Pōwhiri while in their English-medium primary schools. The following narratives reveal some of the queries and tensions they experienced of the pōwhiri process as both hosts (Mere and Terina) and as a guest (Hugh) in their respective schools.

##### **6.4.1 “There was no expectation on anyone else”**

Deb's Māori identity was convenient when the school leaders needed to develop policy to pōwhiri the visiting prime minister of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

*I did the pōwhiri booklet up because we had a pōwhiri with Helen Clark and there were no protocols in place. So they asked me to pull one together. This is Tainui tribal area [laughter] I need to get as much information as I can and speak to people to do this. So in the end I did that and I put a booklet together and then I had to take staff, another*

*Māori teacher who is also from the north, and go through the practices of how we would do this. So there was no expectation on anyone else but just [name] and I to do this and I needed to know that we were getting this right because we hadn't done that before. I go more to the north than from dad's side and [name] is definitely from the north, so we were constantly having to look up, reference, go online, ask kaumatua [Māori elders]. I had to ask dad [about] who could tell me...we did it and it went well and the fact that we created something that is now in the school policy is great but there was no help to do that. We had to seek that out ourselves (June, 2012).*

#### **6.4.2 “Shouldn't we all, as a school, know the protocol”**

Mere reflects on further tensions she experienced between her growing understandings of the tikanga (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) of karanga (call of welcome) and the English-medium primary school's timing of pōwhiri to formally welcome guests or new teachers and students. Mere's narrative reflects a high level of commitment to tikanga Māori and she viewed pōwhiri as a context where she could develop her own skills as well as developing student knowledge of tikanga Māori.

*If we're going to behave like Māori and have a pōwhiri [formal welcome process] when someone honourable or someone special comes into our school shouldn't we all, as a school, know the protocol or what to do? For myself, maybe it's just me, but stopping [us having] things like our pōwhiri? I know it can be a hōhā [hassle] for some teachers who want to get right into their work but I believe because we've stopped that [pōwhiri], that's why our kids don't know now. That's just happened in the last year and a half, maybe two years. We only had pōwhiri at the beginning of the month to welcome any new tamariki [children] and staff but once they're in the door it's no use going back and having a pōwhiri for them because they're already in there. For me it's like, I'm still trying to learn my tikanga, learn who I am. If they [school leaders] keep moving*

*the goal posts or closing off the goal posts, how am I going to learn? How are we going to succeed the knowledge? Who do we teach to do a karanga [formal welcome call]? If [student name] left tomorrow, who else would do a karanga? No one else would be there to do a karanga and they might play a bloody tape. That would insult me (May, 2012).*

#### **6.4.3 *It's taken three terms...to actually be welcomed officially***

Hugh recalls the delayed pōwhiri process that introduced and welcomed the new RTLB into the school environment. The RTLB themselves were situated at the school for three school terms before being formally welcomed. While some non-Māori RTLB may not require a formal Māori cultural process to welcome them into the environment, for Hugh, the delay was a significant breach of his tikanga of forming professional relationships. This is an example of the harm that can result when Pākehā leaders in schools determine the way Māori protocols are interpreted and/or practised.

*It's taken three terms...to actually be welcomed officially onto the school property using Māori tikanga [cultural protocols of values and beliefs]. That's how long it took for the principal, he said 'oh you guys were welcomed last year when you came to our school through our Māori bilingual unit'. But half of us weren't even there that day so my first day walking onto the job at [school name], I got 'red carded' because the teachers didn't know who I was but all they saw was a Māori male walking across the playground, scary...we used a kaumatua to help us...we gave ourselves a name, we had a Taonga [a treasure] to unveil, we used Māori protocol...the principal was kind of marginalised but only because... he couldn't speak te reo but he was still recognised... I gave the final mihi because we had new RTLB as well so the format that we used for that opening, we now use for any new RTLB...now we feel like we've been officially welcomed onto the site (October, 2012).*

#### 6.4.4 “It’s still not opened up formally”

The school leaders ‘opened’ a Māori bilingual unit within their English-medium primary school and employed a non-Māori teacher without following tikanga Māori protocols. Opening this bilingual unit without following Māori protocols ignored the significance of tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) in this English-medium context and demonstrated a blatant ignorance and disregard of the responsibilities Pākehā and other non-Māori leaders and teachers are expected to demonstrate as Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty-honouring partners with Māori. Deb shares the conflict she experienced to her Māori identity.

*We’ve opened a [Māori] bilingual unit, the first in [suburb name] cluster...we couldn’t find a Māori teacher so we’ve gotten a young PRT [provisionally registered teacher] in her second year of teaching...she’s not Māori but she has a Pasifika affiliation so that comes through. The unit...wasn’t blessed, wasn’t opened up, it’s still not opened up formally through the right channels and now our Māori community came to us...and said ‘we want this blessed’ and we [school board of trustees] said ‘yes, you have to get it blessed, we were waiting to get it blessed and nothing happened’...then they [Māori whānau] organised a kaumatua [elders] to bless it and that all fell through...[by term 3] I was thinking ‘what’s going on here? We handed across to our Māori whānau [family] to organise everything and it falls through...this is not a good look for us [as Māori]’...I’ve got a [school] board and there isn’t one other Māori member, the rest are Pākehā and one Indian and I’m thinking ok, as Māori do I go and get an apotoro [apostle] and get this unit blessed? Try and get all this organised or do I step back and let someone else take it and I’m really in two minds because I want the unit to succeed and I don’t want other people to have this perception that they handed it back to our Māori whānau to organise everything and then it fell [click fingers] apart...I’m on that fence...we’ve got to make sure ‘yeah we’re following this and keep our bilingual unit going and make it succeed but we’ve also got to meet the requirements that the system demands of us’*

*so for me it's always a tight-rope. I don't ever see it, I can't go to this side because there's always the other side to satisfy but getting everyone on board and on that same vision, on that same page, for me it's difficult (October, 2012).*

## **6.5 Te reo Māori: Some issues of access, confidence and reluctance**

The participants have acquired different levels of fluency and experience with te reo Māori (language). Within their respective school contexts, Ara and Rose reflected on some of the issues of accessing te reo Māori, Mere revealed her confidence to engage with other teachers using te reo Māori and Terina shared the compromise she made in order to deliver a professional learning programme to her non-Māori colleagues.

### **6.5.1 “If you opt for mainstream, you opt for ‘no reo’”**

Remaining in English-medium schools as an itinerant RTLB has provided Ara access to Māori students beyond one classroom. Despite additional Ministry of Education's resources such as 'Ka Hikitia' and 'Tātaiako' (see Chapter One, p. 16) which aim to improve all teachers' Māori cultural competencies, Ara reflected on her own recent observations and interactions with Māori students learning in English-medium schools. The following reflection demonstrates an on-going tension Ara experiences between the cultural intent of Māori-medium units situated within English-medium schools and the perceptions that Māori learners enrolled into English-medium schools have of engaging full-time in Māori-medium units.

*I am thinking about the [RTLB] context that I work in at the moment at the secondary school. If you're a Māori in mainstream there, you don't have access to the reo. The choice there is either you go into the bi-lingual unit or into mainstream....so if you opt for mainstream you opt for 'no reo' and the number of kids that I've spoken with want to learn the reo but they don't necessarily [have the skills for or] want to buy into the kaupapa of [Bilingual unit name] which is kapa haka [traditional Māori*

*performing arts], waka ama [traditional outrigger canoe skills], beautiful kaupapa [purposes]. But the kids that I've spoken with [and] when I've asked them 'what is it that made you choose mainstream instead of [Bilingual unit name] because you had the option?' They said '...we didn't want to be in kapa haka and we didn't want to be in waka ama and that's part of being there.' And it is. There's an expectation that you're part of the kapa haka team and you're involved with waka ama as well as the reo [language] and learning kaupapa Māori [philosophies]...I don't have a problem with that except when it excludes kids who want to have access to some of it (May, 2012).*

### **6.5.2 “We were [seen as] less Māori”**

Rose experienced cultural tensions even when teaching alongside Māori-medium teachers in an English-medium school. She perceived a colleague as being more experienced than herself with te reo Māori (language) and tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) and sought the cultural guidance she felt she lacked in order to respect Māori cultural protocols. Her deference to a Māori-medium teacher reflects the same expectations she herself had previously experienced teaching as the only Māori teacher in pre-dominantly non-Māori school contexts.

*You see Māori destroy their own because they say things, I've heard it in the school [they say] 'oh well they just put their [Māori] kids in the mainstream and [so] they're not allowed in the kapa haka [traditional Māori performing arts]'. It's all bullshit...at one stage we were predominantly Māori teachers [in the school], but [Māori teacher name] put himself up on this pedestal because he could speak the language [fluently] and so we were [seen as] less Māori because we couldn't speak te reo [language] fluently? So what were we doing? We were getting his ok, his blessing to do things in a particular way...he would say 'do it yourself' or 'you can do it'...but he wouldn't step up...he would say 'no*

*I'm not doing that' [or] 'why am I always picked on to do this' (May, 2012).*

### **6.5.3 “I change to English”**

Mere has acquired a basic level of te reo Māori (language). Her lack of confidence and whakamā (embarrassment) to use Māori language when speaking to fluent Māori language speakers means that she switches to English.

*I do know a little bit of reo and I've been in the kura kaupapa [Māori-medium] class doing a little bit of relieving...and then you get the Māori teacher who's fluent come in and I'm like, 'I caught a couple of those words' but having the perception that I've the basics of te reo that I can listen to anything [but] I can't...it depends who's speaking, how slowly or clearly they're speaking but some people are so fluent that it just rolls out like melted butter and I'm like 'oh, um, āe whaea' ...and I change to English so they realise that I didn't quite understand it all in Māori so there's another perception...because you speak a little bit of Māori you must know everything to do with Māori or you must know all your tikanga (October, 2012).*

### **6.5.4 “You know, you'll lose them before you even start”**

Terina shares her experience of organising professional development sessions for her non-Māori teacher colleagues. Rather than expect her non-Māori colleagues to participate in mihi whakatau (personal introductions) the way Māori would whakawhanaunga (process of developing relationships) with each other, she instead found a ‘middle ground’ that encouraged the Pākehā and other non-Māori teachers to form personal connections in a way that felt comfortable for them. However, this compromise from following tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) provided space for some non-Māori staff to avoid learning about a core Māori cultural protocol.

*I did PD [professional development] last year and they [school management] said I could have the whole term [ten weeks]...so I thought*



*everyone was going to go around and introduce themselves and say whatever they wanted and I ran it past someone and she said 'you know, you'll lose them before you even start'. So instead we decided that we'd just do two [introductions] each PD and two people would get up, they'd introduce themselves and I said 'if you want to have a little structure how to teach your kids then it's here in te reo Māori [language] otherwise however you want'. Some came and got te reo Māori, some just got up and spoke about themselves. From the very first person who got up [and] said 'my mum and dad didn't have much of an education so they worked really hard so that me and my sister could be well educated'...the staff instantly made that new connection with her and we thought we had known each other for years and years. We never knew these important parts about ourselves and they saw the power in making that sort of connection. It was really powerful. I didn't want to do te reo Māori I just wanted to push the 'making the connection' (April, 2013).*

## **6.6 Commitment to English-medium primary school contexts.**

These participants remained in English-medium primary schools despite the ongoing challenges and tensions they experienced as Māori teachers. Their commitment to English-medium rather than Māori-medium education has not only been influenced by their growing confidence levels with te reo Māori (language) but also their commitment to tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs). Nurturing the cultural identities of Māori children enrolled in English-medium keeps them in the very context they themselves experienced as children. The participants' conveyed the aroha (empathy) they felt towards the Māori students in their English-medium schools and classrooms.

### **6.6.1 "I'm a product of mainstream"**

Ara's 26 years of teaching experiences have been in English-medium school contexts and she reflects on the reasons she stayed in English-medium despite having completed a te reo Māori immersion teacher education programme. Her connection to student realities of being Māori in mainstream schools resonated

with her own childhood experiences and subsequent impact on her Māori identity. Her commitment to stay in English-medium is centred on ensuring Māori students' cultural wellbeing.

*I don't know why I didn't go to kura [kaupapa.] I guess an overwhelming feeling of not being good enough, the thinking at the end of the day that my reo [language] not being strong enough and I guess that also came from the days when I went to teachers college back in the 80s. I'm a product of mainstream so I understand, to a degree, the difficulties of being Māori in mainstream and I don't want that for our tamariki [children] and so it's like 'be in it to change it'. Also, the numbers are there, [there are] kura kaupapa [Māori-medium schools] and te kōhanga reo [Māori-medium early childhood language nests] and that's awesome, really cool, but what about the kids who aren't accessing that, what about the kids who are still Māori but aren't accessing those taonga [treasures] in that way? That doesn't make them any less Māori, it still makes them Māori and that's why I'm in mainstream (May, 2012).*

### **6.6.2 “I know what it was like for me”**

Rose began her first teaching position in a bilingual unit located in an English-medium primary school on completion of her rūmaki (Māori-medium) teacher education programme. Despite initially feeling confident with speaking te reo Māori, Rose struggled to apply te reo Māori (language) into her teaching pedagogy once employed full-time. She initially connects her reason to teach in English-medium primary schools with her inability to kōrero (speak) te reo Māori fluently. However, once in English-medium, she realised her role was to support her Māori students with learning more about Māori than she herself experienced as a child.

*[first teaching position] ...was in a bilingual unit in a mainstream school. I didn't like it at all but I did the year. I was finding that I was getting weak, weaker and weaker at using the language. I didn't think I was giving the kids enough quality Māori language so I didn't think I'd stay*

*there because of that. My English kept kicking in to explain things and when you're trying to do things quickly the dominant language kicks in and you end up speaking it. I didn't think I was doing justice for the kids. I didn't feel confident enough to go into a total immersion unit fully, so I had to say no to the total immersion unit. I didn't like the bilingual so I then went into the mainstream with the thinking that I was going to be a Māori teacher to help those Māori kids in the mainstream. I'm here for those Māori children because I looked at myself not having it, that was the break through, how could I not want to be part of that with Māori children in my class because I know what it was like for me, not knowing you know? So, that was my thing (May, 2012).*

### **6.6.3 “You educate a female, you save a generation”**

Hugh remains in English-medium school contexts as an RTLB following ten years teaching in an English-medium intermediate school. His concern for Māori students to achieve success is underpinned by his perceptions of the current system having been designed to prevent Māori success.

*So yeah, well you know, it's that whole story you educate a female, you save a generation...now that probably goes for males as well, you know, but once again it's the female that takes...most of the risk because of the kids and if the husband 'ups and carks' it or takes off, they're left with the little ones...so for Māori, even more so because looking at the statistics...aren't too hot in terms of the occupants of the prisons and especially with the female occupants of prisons, those are all the mothers of the next generation of kids that [are] going to be unleashed into a system that really is not geared up for them and are just going to fail and follow their parents, yeah being Māori? Comes with a lot of baggage (October, 2012).*

#### **6.6.4 “Who's there for our Māori kids in the mainstream school?”**

Following her successful completion of Te Rangakura teacher education training, Mere began her teaching career in English-medium. She attributes her developing fluency of te reo Māori (language) and ‘stronger’ grasp of English as to why she went to English-medium. Once in English-medium, Mere realised that Māori students are the responsibilities of predominantly Pākehā and/or non-Māori teachers and this realisation contributed to her commitment to English-medium. She also viewed her responsibilities and role as an English-medium primary school teacher as an opportunity to continue learning te reo Māori with her students.

*My teaching journey has been seven years in primary school. I didn't go straight to kura kaupapa [Māori-medium primary school] because I felt more stronger in English. So I went to mainstream classes and it was there that I realised ‘if all of us go to kura kaupapa Māori [Māori-medium schools], who's there for our Māori kids in the mainstream school? Who's going to teach our Māori kids how to be loved and our tikanga [cultural protocols of values and beliefs] and all of that?’ So really, I was aiming to be at kura kaupapa. I'm going to learn my reo [language] but I'm going to stay at mainstream schools and I'm going to try to teach them as much Māori as I know and if [that's is not enough] then learn more with the kids. You don't have to know it all because it's more fun learning with the kids (May, 2012).*

#### **6.6.5 “So that the Māori kid in the back of the room can be listened to”**

Terina’s empathy for Māori students in English-medium schools keeps her committed to teaching in this specific context despite the challenges she experienced professionally. She recollects a conversation between herself and the school’s principal following a school-wide professional development session on ‘deficit thinking’ as a barrier to Māori students to achieving success ‘as Māori’.

*I laminated and put them [examples of deficit comments] up on my te reo Māori [language] wall [in the staff room] and not long after that on the same day, the principal just called me over to the wall and said 'this is a bit of a sensitive topic...it might rub people the wrong way'. I just stood there, I didn't know what to say. I hadn't intended to do that I thought it was quite the opposite, I thought it was quite empowering [to view examples of deficit comments] and then he said 'come into my office'. I went in and he pulled out all these statistics to prove that Māori [students] were doing really well [and] he just put the ones that showed that they weren't [doing well] over there and said 'oh that's because they're coming from primary school blah blah blah'. I just sat there and I just started crying and at that moment I just felt like the Māori kid at the back of the room that's not being listened to...that's a picture that always comes back to me when I think 'what am I doing this for?' So that the Māori kid in the back of the room can be listened to (October, 2012).*

#### **6.6.6 “In order to make a difference, I have to be in a classroom”**

Deb viewed teaching as a pathway to transform a system by being within the system. She felt she would be more knowledgeable about education and as such, advocate for her own children and other Māori children to achieve success at schools.

*It [teacher education training] gave me the opportunity to be home with the kids when they were on holidays and it also gave me an opportunity to make sure that my children would go through the system without too much [hassle]because I could stand up for them...because in the earlier days when my eldest started primary school there was one Māori teacher, but she ran all the computer suites, and all the rest were Pākehā teachers...it wasn't a friendly school to parents...I thought to myself, 'I can see that in order to make a difference, I have to be in a classroom' ...if I want to make a difference, and I think that's more of a reason why I did it [was] to know that my children [will] be able to make*

*these choices because I could see that if they didn't have that opportunity, they wouldn't have much choice in life (June, 2012).*

## **6.7 Summary**

This cohort of Māori teachers was positioned within culturally unsafe English-medium primary school contexts. The participants were expected to assume additional responsibilities over and above classroom teaching in order to meet Māori students' and whānau needs yet were provided minimum access to culturally located support to meet their own cultural needs. Instead, these participants were continually having to negotiate their personal identities as Māori alongside Pākehā perceptions of Māori within their respective professional contexts.

*Te hanga o te tangata* reflected a level of cultural stereotyping and subsequent discrimination these participants experienced within their professional identities as Māori teachers. In this respect, their experiences of being culturally insulted exposed fixed perceptions and negative attitudes some Pākehā and other non-Māori teacher communities have of Māori. Such fixed perceptions and negative attitudes experienced by these Māori teachers in this research context are consistent with 19th and 20th century homogenous perceptions of Māori as 'uncivilised'.

Some *tikanga Māori* principles served as a cultural reference point for these participants. Tensions increased when they were expected to respond to comments, questions and attitudes towards them that were insulting and disrespectful. The most significant disrespect involved a disregard to the *tikanga Māori* value of *whanaungatanga* (relationships). Feelings of isolation, being told by school leaders what needed to be organised and then left unsupported to complete tasks, being formally welcomed into a school context months after already working on-site left these teachers feeling frustrated and culturally disempowered. Coupled with demands for some of them to lead *kapa haka* (traditional performing arts), write school policy as well as organise *pōwhiri* and deliver Māori focused staff meetings alone contributed significantly to feelings of

isolation. This was particularly evident for those participants who were and/or have been the only Māori teacher in an English-medium primary school.

The participants nevertheless shared a strong *commitment to Māori students* despite having endured conflicting attitudes that related to their cultural identity as if ‘all Māori are the same’. The level in which the participants advocated and/or cared for the well-being of Māori students was evident in the respective narratives. They identified with the cultural tensions they perceived Māori students experienced in these English-medium primary schools because of their own past and recent experiences as Māori teachers.

Disrupting cultural stereotyping and negative attitudes towards Māori teachers (and students) in 21st century school contexts is an ongoing challenge. As such, school leaders who are committed to delivering and resourcing professional development for teachers of Māori learners may also need to reconsider how best to support and resource Māori teachers who work in isolation from other Māori teachers. This study’s kaupapa Māori research approach and culturally located processes therein offered a framework that considered the needs of these Māori teachers who were located within English-medium primary school contexts.

The following chapter explores the benefits the participants experienced from having had a safe space to form personal relationships and develop professional connections with other Māori teachers, as Māori.

## 7 Chapter Seven: Culturally Located Identities

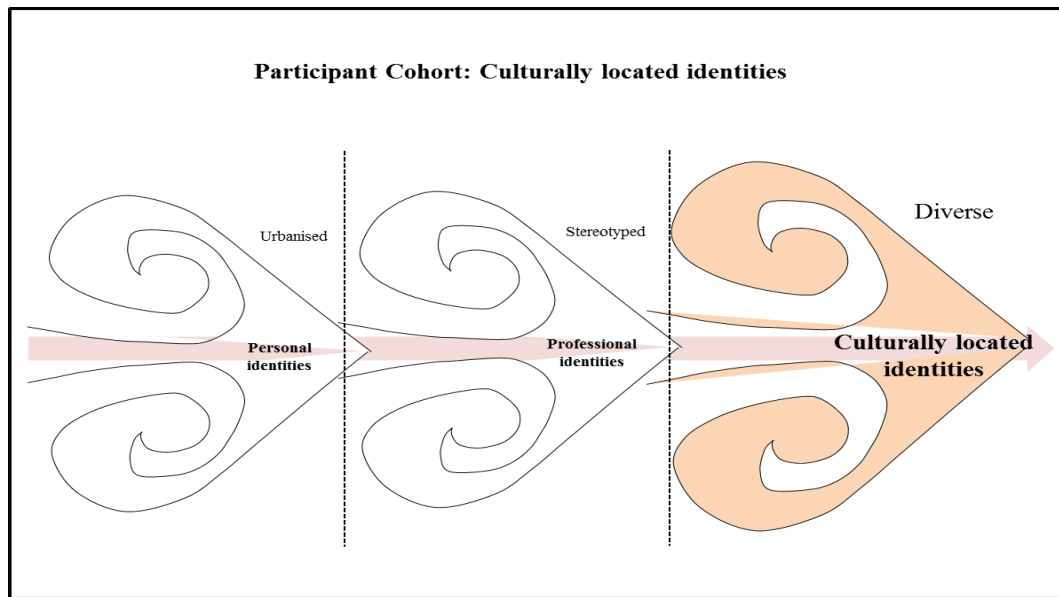


Figure 7: Diverse culturally located identities as Māori

### 7.1 Introduction

Chapter Seven presents the third set of the research findings ‘culturally located identities’. This chapter reflects participants’ perceived benefits of engaging with this study. Contrary to their experiences of cultural isolation, frustration and disempowered within respective schooling contexts, participation with this study provided space for this cohort of Māori teachers to collaboratively determine the discourse frame and the focus conversations. The opportunity to have space to culturally locate themselves as Māori and as Māori teachers was neither limiting or essentialising Māori identity (see Figure 7). Rather, the participants’ narratives and conversations about Māori identity reflected diverse interpretations and was fully inclusive of the different levels of experience with tikanga Māori (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) and fluency with te reo Māori (language).

Kaupapa Māori research theory and methodology supported Māori identity safely in this research context, and also enabled participants to reflect critically on their experiences as Māori, and as Māori teachers. Participation enabled these teachers to form new relationships and connect with each other in culturally safe ways. Kaupapa Māori as a research pedagogy created opportunities for them to engage critically in conversations centred on what they found to be important to them.



Two Māori cultural concepts frame the following narratives. The first cultural concept, whanaungatanga (relationships) (Section 7.2), represents the positive connections established as an outcome of participation with this research study. For example, Ara shared her perceptions of connecting with other Māori teachers “just being part of this rōpū (group) has been affirming in that it’s been an opportunity to ‘exhale in safety’” (Ara, April, 2013). Similarly, Terina found that “hearing everyone else’s stories made the job a lot easier and helped me to focus on what I was doing and why I was doing it” (Terina, April, 2013).

The second cultural concept, mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) (Section 7.3), reflects the critical thinking they experienced participating and contributing to this research study. Finding space to reflect and engage in collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversations) ‘as Māori’ was just the beginning of a transformational process for this cohort of Māori teachers (Freire, 1972). Praxis is the commitment to transform self-perceptions imposed by ‘others’ into perception that is self-defined and “unveils the world of oppression” (Freire, 1972, p. 31). For example, Rose shared “I’ve come to realise that I actually haven’t driven my own journey” (Rose, April, 2013) but her confidence to ‘speak out’ had increased. Deb found herself feeling uncomfortable during the first collaborative hui kōrero (focused conversations). Her reflection that “I’ve learnt that to be uncomfortable means I need to do some changes” (Deb, October, 2012) revealed a level of self-awareness that seemed opened to change rather than closed to new possibilities.

## **7.2 Whanaungatanga: Establishing safe relationships and connections**

Whanaungatanga (relationships) is the “heart” of both kinship and non-kinship connections. Whanaungatanga refers to how each individual contributes to a relationship, or relationships, with others for the benefit of all involved. Within relationships, mutual obligations to each other are considered of high importance (H. Mead, 2003; Metge, 1976). Strong commitments to honour individual and collective responsibilities in both kinship and non-kinship relationships demonstrates how “Māoris find it difficult to recognise and resist immoderate demands...it is extremely difficult for a Māori to say no to relatives” (Metge,

1976, p.126). Tikanga (cultural protocols of values and beliefs) that govern protocols of whanaungatanga tend to be underestimated and undervalued in non-Māori contexts such as the school environments where these participants teach. Therefore, initiating the first collaborative hui kōrero within my whānau (families) whare tūpuna (sub-tribal ancestral house) culturally located our increasing interactions with each other. The whare tūpuna offered space for us, as hosts and guests, to share and acknowledge our spiritual and physical connectedness to our tūpuna (ancestors), maunga (mountains), awa (rivers), moana (lakes and/or oceans), whenua (land), Papa-tū-ā-nuku (earth mother) and Rangi-nui (sky father and husband of Papa-tū-ā-nuku). These connections presented our respective whakapapa (genealogy) and linked our identities, as Māori, from our past to our present realities through the mihi whakatau (personal introduction) process we engaged to formally initiate our collaborative hui kōrero (refer to Chapter Four, Section 4.6.2).

This process not only respected our tikanga Māori as hosts and visitors but also affirmed our connections with each other. The following narratives demonstrate how the collaborative hui contexts enabled each participant to safely share their personal and professional perceptions of themselves.

### ***7.2.1 “I feel connected when I come to the group”***

Ara reflected on how she felt about her participation with this research process. Whanaungatanga enabled her to feel connected to the other participants and engage safely with the research process. Ara reflected:

*For me, I feel connected when I come to the group. We're connected by whakapapa [genealogy], we're connected by kaupapa [purpose] and we're connected by our isolation that we all feel...if there is something going down across several schools like a new structure, a new plan then you need time to locate yourselves as Māori [teachers]...like who is going to be the one that would speak and are they speaking for the group...I guess you're culturally locating yourselves...you can get really mokemoke [lonely] out there when you feel like you're one against the*

*world kind of thing. Just being part of this rōpū [group] has been affirming in that it's been an opportunity to 'exhale in safety' because I feel that out there it's kind of like [gasp as if taking a breath inwards] where here [inside whare tūpuna or ancestral house] it's kind of [breathe outwards] and we're all able to sit and exhale and really look at 'what is this actually about?' (December, 2012; April, 2013).*

### **7.2.2 “We’re relatively on the same wave length”**

Mere reflected on the collated initial analysis of the individual hui kōrero I had presented to the participants at the first collaborative hui kōrero. Her insights into how she positioned herself when meeting with Pākehā compared to her feelings of sharing within the collaborative hui kōrero reflected her sense of feeling culturally secure.

*We all [experience] the same [challenges]...and we're in our own world and I suppose being proactive and talking about this issue because get me in a room full of Pākehā teachers and yeah I'll be quiet...because I'm scared they know more than me. I don't know what background they've had but they've got to have had a better background than I have and lived better than I have you know, that's my thinking...I was really scared in a way...I get whakamā [embarrassed] but because reading this [initial feedback] and seeing that we're on the same wave length it's like 'oh, not scared of you guys anymore'. We come here...and you realise other people are thinking the same as you it's like, easy to share...I feel comfortable to talk and share things it's just how do we get our message out there for more teachers...hopefully this experience today will help us to share more (October, 2012).*

### **7.2.3 “Hearing everyone else’s stories made the job a lot easier”**

Shared narratives amongst the participants enriched and affirmed Terina’s understanding of her teaching focus.

*I was already quite highly motivated and into the whole thing but...hearing everyone else's stories made the job a lot easier and helped me to focus a lot more on what I was doing and why I was doing it...it's really nice to be back here [at whānau marae]...and to get that nourishment from everybody especially the tangata whenua [Indigenous] here. Thank you for welcoming us and making our stay so comfortable (April, 2013).*

#### **7.2.4 “I think meeting like-minded people for a change”**

The collaborative hui kōrero created a space for Deb to connect with Māori teachers, a professional experience she hadn't experienced in her school context. Realising she shared commonalities with the participants' experiences both personally and professionally, her insights reflect the positive benefits she experienced from connecting with 'like-minded' Māori teachers

*I kind of thought I was out there on my own really and when you see it all together you think 'oh wow, I'm really not out there on my own'...I thought my contributions wouldn't actually give any kind of picture but I'm surprised how there's some commonalities...and it's good to get the bigger picture than what I had because my picture was only little...I actually get more out of hui than the individual situation one-on-one because...it sparks off what someone else has said and...triggers something that you may have forgotten about or I wouldn't think of on a one-to-one basis...I love hearing everyone's conversations, it's beneficial to me...so from that perspective, it's been really motivating...and the networking opportunities that are now open as a result of being part of this rōpū [group]...I think meeting like-minded people for a change...bringing us together has been one of the positive experiences for me...it's also been motivating for me hearing everyone's kōrero [conversations]...so that's been good for me (October, 2012; December, 2012; April, 2013).*

### **7.3 Mātauranga Māori: Māori knowledge**

Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) in this research context, refers to the participants new learning as an outcome of contributing and participating in this research study's hui kōrero. Thinking critically about the shared conversations, the participants reflected on the shifts they experienced within their thoughts either about themselves or about their roles as Māori teachers.

#### **7.3.1 “‘Hegemony’, powerful, in what ways am I participating in that?’”**

Ara reflects on how she developed her thinking and how she questioned her own contribution to sustaining Pākehā hegemony by imposing assumptions on herself.

*In terms of developing my learning and critical thinking of experiences, this has been really powerful to encourage me to really look at that in more depth than I have been, the word... ‘hegemony’, powerful, in what ways am I participating in that? In what ways am I being pushed into boxes? In what way are we being pushed into boxes and all that kind of stuff about being able to unpack some of that? This rōpū [group] has been really powerful in providing space to do that and the value in that is just tremendous, the flip side of that is that I have a sadness or a sadness for others of us out there who are in the same positions that aren't having this kind of opportunity...that's been a big part of it for me (April, 2013).*

#### **7.3.2 “‘I've come to realise that I actually haven't driven my own journey’”**

Rose reflected on the learning shifts she experienced. Her realisation that she had little control in self-determining her decisions earlier in life served as a catalyst in learning to express herself assertively.

*I've grown in my journey and sharing my narratives of myself has been awesome because now I've come to realise that I actually haven't driven my own journey it's just that I've lived and things have dropped on my way and I've kind of picked it up and said 'oh golly, ok, I can't do*

*this'...It's been a huge movement for me as a Māori and as a Māori teacher... it still has its battles...the politics and all that behind it. Sometimes I get really angry and then the child comes out of me that I suppress, don't say anything, don't talk [but] I am getting better at being more outspoken and trying to put a voice out there...I get nervous and I get a bit shaky and sometimes I don't put out the words exactly the way I'm thinking but I'm still here and I'm still going and hopefully someone will hear it and make some sort of change (December, 2012; April, 2013).*

### **7.3.3 “Valuing myself I suppose”**

Mere's insights into her learning shifts involved increased confidence to express herself and to positively acknowledge her personal and professional achievements.

*I suppose it's us opening our mouths and maybe not being too radical but bringing these kind of conversations into our work place and getting a view... we know we beat ourselves up, we don't need anyone else to [do that] but when they do it hurts even more. We're our own enemies because we self-talk 'oh no, I could have been better' ...but realising that being part of this [research participation], a lot of the stuff that I actually endured could have been avoided and could have been better handled or better learnt instead of some of the ways we've had to learn and go through experiences to make us either fight for our rights or walk away...it's like I'm proud of who I am and what I do, nobody says 'oh you were brilliant because that's your Scottish side' because they can't see that in me [laughter] it must be my Māori...but the whole journey [research participation] here for me has just opened a new door to looking at things and...valuing myself I suppose and who I am as a Māori...everything I've heard, seen, felt in our journey here has, I believe, helped me become a much better teacher, a much better thinker...I don't just think about what's in front of me, I'm actually*

*reflecting about everything and how it could affect others...I've loved this journey... we don't need to sit in a lecture to get that goodness (October, 2012; April, 2013).*

#### **7.3.4 “All those things are forfeited”**

Hugh's learning shift has become more politicised than when he first enrolled into an English-medium teacher education degree. He reflects on what he has learned from his experiences of being marginalised and stereotyped as a Māori male teacher.

*The education system has been designed to actually stunt, slow down, take away the things from Māori learners because “you're in the mainstream now, you're not in a Māori world” so when you come up to mainstream, all those things are forfeited...I forget that they [my grandparents] too were exposed to social influences and the politics of the day (April, 2013).*

#### **7.3.5 “To be uncomfortable means I need to do some changes”**

Deb shared her insight of the learning shifts she experienced. Acknowledging her feeling of being ‘uncomfortable’ and thinking about how she can affect changes in her teaching responsibility reveals the ongoing tensions she continues to negotiate in her professional context.

*There were parts in this afternoon where I felt a wee bit uncomfortable and that's a good thing because I've learnt that to be uncomfortable means I need to do some changes...today has just brought me back to just touching base again with what I need to do in my class, what I need to do and share with my team. It's been great in knowing that I'm not the only one swimming against the tide but I'll still keep going, juggling those balls in the air...it made me think ‘yeah as a Māori teacher in a mainstream school what have I experienced? What does this mean and what could it have looked like?’...bringing an awareness to everything. (October, 2012; April, 2013).*

## 7.4 Summary

*Whanaungatanga* reflected new connections that positively reaffirmed the participants' personal and professional identities. Kaupapa Māori research and pedagogy provided a safe means for these participants to develop confidence to examine the type of imposition they experienced as urban raised children and as teachers in English-medium primary schools. This Māori-centred research context provided opportunities for and with them to learn and support each other as Māori, and as Māori teachers. The participants contributed to a collaborative process that respected their Māori identity and enabled them to reframe their personal and professional identities from negative and imposed definitions to identities that are liberating and empowering.

*Respecting tikanga Māori* (values) concepts of *whanaungatanga* (relationships) and *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) created space for these Māori teachers to form new connections as well as to engage critically in *hui kōrero* (focused conversations). The opportunity to form connections with other Māori teachers enabled them to reflect critically on their own lived experiences independently from any Ministry of Education expectations or expectations imposed on them by Pākehā and other non-Māori colleagues. Participation in this research process also offered them space to reflect on their own teaching relationships within their professional contexts.

The following chapter presents the learning and implications. I firstly offer considerations of a cultural self-identity continuum that may affirm diverse Māori teacher identities. I then assert that space for Māori teachers to locate themselves culturally with other Māori teachers within English-medium primary schools is a Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty honouring position.



## **8 Chapter Eight: Learning and Implications**

### **8.1 Introduction**

The participants' narratives suggest that it is not easy being a Māori teacher within English-medium primary school contexts. Their personal and professional narratives presented in this thesis convey important information that may otherwise not be available to Pākehā and other non-Māori school leaders and teachers.

Chapter Five, 'Personal identity' reflected the social and whānau (family/families) influences that shaped the participants' childhood self-perceptions of Māori identity as well as their self-perceptions as learners at both secondary school and then with tertiary studies. Chapter Six, 'Professional identities' revealed the assumptions and expectations imposed on them by Pākehā and non-Māori colleagues. The participants had encountered in childhood and formal education contexts similar stereotyped assumptions of Māori identity they encountered in their professional contexts as adults. Their narratives also revealed their shared cultural and professional commitment as teachers of Māori students in English-medium primary school contexts.

Chapter Seven presented the participants' narratives of experience with this research study and process. Connecting with other Māori teachers within a kaupapa Māori framed approach to research was perceived by them to be culturally respectful of their diverse realities as Māori and as Māori teachers. The opportunity to culturally locate themselves through a series of individual and collaborative hui kōrero affirmed their own childhood, schooling and teaching experiences as urban raised Māori.

This chapter presents this learning and implications for theory and practice arising from the findings of the study. The first section indicates possible solutions and responds to the study's research questions and rationale (see Table 4, p.155).

**Table 4: Potential strategies that respond to research questions and rationale**

Potential Strategy	Relevant Research Questions	Research Rationale
<b>1. Utilising a cultural self-identity continuum: A reflective tool</b>	<i>How do Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools perceive their own identity as Māori?</i>	Being a Māori teacher in contemporary English-medium schools presents challenges to cultural self-identity ‘as Māori’.
<b>2. Provisions of culturally located opportunities: Professional relationships ‘as Māori’</b>	<i>What tensions (if any) are experienced by Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools specific to their respective identities ‘as Māori’ and as classroom teachers?</i>	Confidence to teach ‘as Māori’ is influenced by how school leaders and teachers acknowledge and support diverse interpretations of Māori identity.
	<i>What professional opportunities and resources are available to meet the needs of Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools and classrooms?</i>	Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools and classrooms require access to professional opportunities that are responsive to their cultural realities.

The first potential strategy considers a cultural self-identity continuum (see Figure 8, p. 157). The cultural self-identity continuum offers to Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools a reflective tool that serves to respect and affirm diverse cultural realities as Māori (see Sub-section 8.3.1). The second potential strategy considers the benefits of providing culturally located professional opportunities for Māori teachers located in English-medium primary school contexts (see Sub-section 8.3.2).

Section 8.3 suggests further research possibilities regarding Māori teachers in English-medium education. Then, I share an update of the participants’ recent personal and professional reflections before presenting my concluding message (Sections 8.4 and 8.5).

## **8.2 Implications for theory and practice**

This qualitative research design was framed by kaupapa Māori theory and drew from critical theory. The participants’ perceptions of their own cultural identities and the research kaupapa (purpose) itself remained central to this research study. The advantages of applying kaupapa Māori theory principles in this study include the creation of a culturally located space that privileges and affirms the Māori identities of this cohort of urban Māori teachers.

Feeling affirmed however, was only one outcome of participation with this research study. The culturally located space to reflect critically about their roles and responsibilities as Māori and as Māori teachers in English-medium primary schools and classrooms empowered these participants to reframe and understand how the cultural tensions they had experienced should not be understood as personal or cultural deficits (Borrell, 2005a; T. McIntosh, 2005). Hui kōrero (focused conversations) in this study created space for them to define their cultural identities separately from the identities of Pākehā and non-Māori colleagues. The narratives revealed that for them:

1. Being raised within urban environments and being themselves educated in monocultural schools during the 1960s and 1970s strongly impacted on how their Māori identities were shaped;
2. Teaching experiences within English-medium primary schools and classrooms were culturally isolating and destructive, and largely unsupportive of the diverse realities that exists for some Māori teachers.

Existing cultural tensions experienced by these Māori teachers reflected cultural tensions reported by Māori teachers during the 1980s and 1990s (Marks, 1984; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). Similar to the experiences of Māori teachers from earlier studies, the participants' narratives also reflected a strong shared commitment to support Māori students' cultural identities within English-medium school contexts (Coffin, 2013; Gilgen, 2010; Lee, 2008; Torepe, 2011).

With approximately 85% of Māori students currently enrolled in English-medium state schools, a commitment to promoting Māori students' cultural identities and learning outcomes may present Māori teachers in English-medium contexts with its own challenges. This is especially so when some Māori teachers may feel that they are unsupported themselves to teach 'as Māori' yet are expected to ensure Māori students enjoy and achieve education success *as Māori* (Ministry of Education, 2012a), assume additional responsibilities for a school's Māori students, cultural activities and policies, as well as organise and deliver professional learning programmes for non-Māori colleagues about Māori cultural

competencies. These types of expectations may, for some Māori teachers, position them as ‘expert Māori’ who are highly experienced with extensive knowledge of tikanga Māori (protocols of values and beliefs) and te reo Māori (language) when indeed their confidence within mātauranga Māori (knowledge) may still be developing. It should not be assumed that all Māori teachers positioned in English-medium primary school contexts are experienced with whakapapa (genealogy), tikanga Māori and te reo Māori. Neither should it be assumed that their knowledge and experiences of core cultural concepts that underpin Māori identity is inadequate for supporting their Māori students to learn *as Māori*.

### 8.2.1 A Cultural self-identity continuum: A self-reflective tool

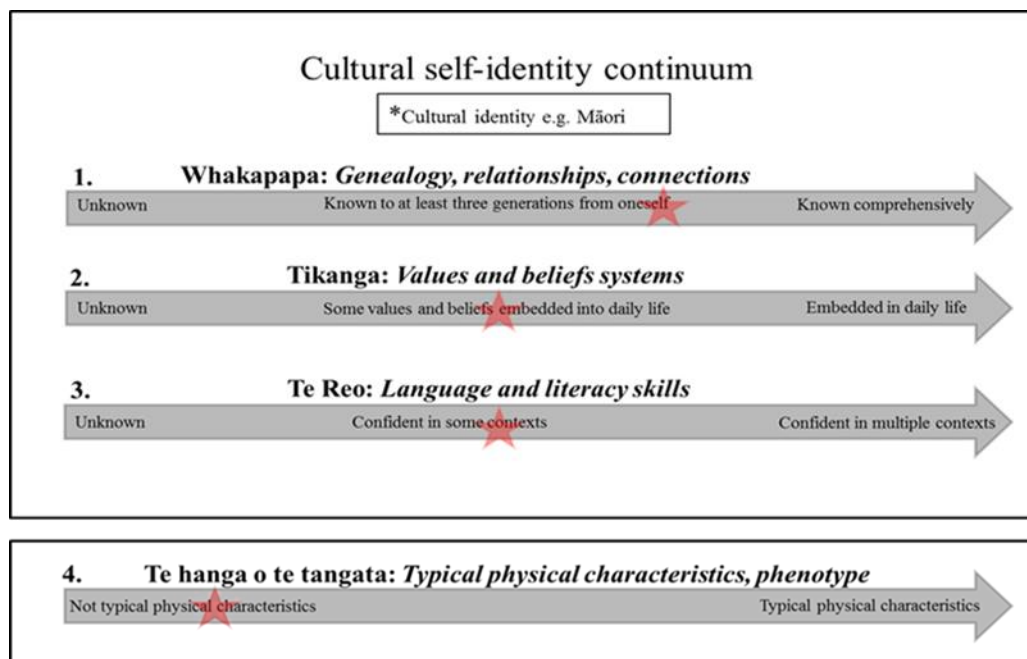


Figure 8: A cultural self-identity continuum<sup>14</sup>

I developed the cultural self-identity continuum (see Figure 8) as a strategy that may help affirm Māori identity regardless of diverse histories and levels of

<sup>14</sup> The red stars positioned on the cultural self-identity continuum provide an example of how it may be used as a self-reflective tool. The red stars in this example are placed on each dimension and reflect how I perceive my knowledge and experience of each Māori cultural concept.

‘knowing’ or engagement with te ao Māori (Māori world). Responding to the research findings, the cultural self-identity continuum seeks to demonstrate how Māori identity may be experienced at different levels for some Māori teachers (and students) who are teaching and learning in English-medium primary schools and classrooms. Different levels of ‘knowing’ influenced how I ordered each cultural dimension.

The first cultural dimension, ‘whakapapa’, reflects knowledge of respective iwi (tribe), hapū (sub-tribe) and whānau (family/families) connections. The second cultural dimension, ‘tikanga Māori’, reflects the level of experience with applying Māori protocols in day-to-day life. I positioned te reo Māori as the third cultural dimension because experience and fluency of te reo Māori alone does not in itself totally define Māori identity. Rather, knowledge of whakapapa and experience with tikanga Māori are cultural dimensions of Māori identity that for some Māori teachers, may take precedence over Māori language fluency. In contrast to the three cultural dimensions of whakapapa, tikanga and te reo Māori, the dimension ‘te hanga o te tangata’ is included in order to disrupt assumptions about Māori identity that are informed solely by a person’s physical characteristics.

The most salient function of the cultural self-identity continuum is to respect and affirm the diverse realities reflective of Māori identity in contemporary English-medium primary schools.

### ***8.2.2 Culturally located opportunities: Professional relationships as Māori***

Bicultural expectations for all school leaders and teachers to develop Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty honouring relationships with Māori students and communities are clearly communicated within the Education Act (1989). Government expectations of all teachers to demonstrate Māori cultural competencies in their teaching relationships are also communicated within additional resources such as Ka Hikitia: Accelerating Success: Māori Education Strategy 2013-2017 and Tātaiako. Cultural Competencies for Teachers of Māori Learners (Ministry of Education, 2011, 2012a). Formally including Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty principles in government policy in 1989 appears to have made little difference to

the professional relationships which the participants experienced in 2012. Participants' experiences strongly supported the findings reported by the Education Review Office (2011) that almost half of the English-medium schools reviewed did not apply Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty principles in policy or practice.

It seemed that for the participants, unrealistic expectations of them to assume additional responsibilities for all Māori students and their whanau focused initiatives above and beyond day-to-day teaching responsibilities needed to ensure Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty principles of partnership, protection and participation are applied within teacher relationships (Education Review Office, 2011; Ministry of Education, 2007, 2012b). The government of Aotearoa/New Zealand encourages all English-medium state school leaders and teachers to develop their Māori cultural competencies in order to improve Māori students' learning outcomes. This study argues that Māori teachers positioned in English-medium primary schools require an additional level of professional support that is separate from their Pākehā and other non-Māori colleagues. This is considered to be particularly important when they are the sole Māori teacher, or one of a few Māori teachers, located within an English-medium primary school.

In this context, culturally located hui kōrero for Māori teachers to engage in whakawhanaungatanga (process of establishing relationships and sharing experiences) with other Māori teachers located within English-medium primary schools can be understood as a bicultural Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty honouring strategy. Within such culturally located opportunities, some Māori teachers may find the cultural self-identity continuum to be an additional reflective tool that may help them to challenge some of the fixed assumptions held about Māori identity. Contributing to collaborative hui korero within such culturally located professional opportunities may enable Māori teachers to identify their personal, cultural and professional needs in a way that is empowering, transformational and culturally affirming.

### **8.3 Further research possibilities**

This study has focused on the narratives drawn from a small cohort of experienced Māori teachers positioned within English-medium primary schools and classrooms. The school contexts were located within the largest populated city in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The research findings are largely specific to this cohort's experiences and locations. This study has endeavoured to highlight the diverse interpretations and subsequent tensions through which Māori identity is experienced.

Subsequently, further research possibilities may include:

- Exploring the use and effectiveness of the cultural self-identity continuum with a larger cohort of Māori teachers positioned in English-medium primary school contexts;
- Exploring professional opportunities that are affirming of teachers' identities as Māori within English-medium primary school contexts.

### **8.4 Post-script: Beyond the scope of this research study**

This study purposely privileged a cohort of Māori teachers' narratives who have continued to teach within English-medium primary schools. The relationships and connections established between the teachers extended beyond participation within the research process. We have gathered intermittently and informally as a research 'whānau' at different stages of this project since 2013. Most gatherings involved participants in sharing updates of their own teaching positions as well as their experiences in the project itself.

I invited each participant by email to share a brief update of what they were doing in July, 2014. I had asked:

1. What are you currently doing?
2. Any there any shifts (positive or otherwise) with how you feel in regards to your personal Māoritanga (Māori way of life) within your practice?
3. Is there anything I haven't thought about and you have?

Three of the participants, Terina, Rose and Deb, responded to this request by email. In addition, I have had face to face and telephone discussions with Mere, Ara and Hugh since July, 2014.

All participants continue to teach and learn within school contexts that challenge their cultural ways of 'knowing', 'doing' and 'believing' as Māori.

Terina assumed a self-determined role as the school's Māori *advocate* (as distinct from teacher and service provider). She liaises with students, whānau (family/families) and the school's community kaumatua (elders) as well as other Māori teachers positioned within neighbouring English-medium primary schools.

Rose moved to teach in an English-medium primary school located in a different region. She felt that her identity as Māori was more respected within her new school environment than she had previously experienced in the school where she was located during this study.

Deb reported that expectations of her as the 'school's Māori' teacher have continued. She has initiated a new kapa haka (traditional performing arts) group for the junior students. Deb enrolled into a six month te reo Māori course at her own expense. She attends night classes that are additional to her day-to-day teacher responsibilities. She also expressed that her personal commitment to 'make a difference' for Māori students continues.

Mere had been teaching te reo Māori part-time at a secondary school and was recently employed as the school's Māori student support *advocate*. Similar to Terina, Mere's role involves liaising between the school, students and their whānau to achieve student learning success *as Māori*. Mere and Terina's re-positioning as advocates, rather than simply as teachers and service providers, appears to be a more equitable positioning in terms of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty principle 'partnership'.

Both Ara and Hugh are considering moving out of education completely. Ara expressed an interest to leave Auckland altogether and to live fulltime in a small rural town. Hugh is exploring a new career pathway.



## **8.5 Concluding message**

I drew from the whakataukī ‘Tīhei Mauri Ora’ or ‘breath of life’ to initiate this study. In this study’s context, Tīhei Mauri Ora was a cultural metaphor to create space for a cohort of experienced Māori teachers to ‘exhale’. Engagement with collaborative hui kōrero provided space for them to express themselves within a culturally safe context that was respectful and meaningful to their diverse identities as Māori.

The urban raised teacher participants in this research study shared first hand some of the experiences of many Māori children and whānau living and learning within predominantly non-Māori communities and schools. While living and learning as Māori is an important educational aspiration for all Māori, it presents particular challenges for urban raised Māori teachers located in English-medium state schools. This study offers some potential strategies for assisting such teachers to find affirmation and to define their own cultural realities ‘as Māori’ both personally and professionally. Responding to Māori teachers’ diverse cultural realities and affirming their diverse cultural identities needs to be understood as a Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty honouring response, expected of teachers and leadership teams in all schools.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: Articles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi, 6th February, 1840</b> (Orange, 1989, pp. 257-259)</p>
<p><b>English Version: Article the First</b></p>
<p>The chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole sovereigns thereof.</p>
<p><b>Māori Version: Ko te tuatahi</b></p>
<p>Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu – te Kāwanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.</p>
<p><b>English Version: Article the Second</b></p>
<p>Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forest Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.</p>
<p><b>Māori Version: Ko te tuarua</b></p>
<p>Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira ki nga hapu – ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te wenua – ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.</p>
<p><b>English Version: Article the Third</b></p>
<p>In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.</p>
<p><b>Māori Version: Ko te tuarua</b></p>
<p>Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.</p>

## Appendix B: Information Letter



Dear

Date:

I am currently undertaking a research project towards the completion of a PhD research thesis supervised by the University of Waikato.

The research project intends to contribute positively to the professional learning and development initiatives that effectively respond to the language, cultural values, practices and experiences of Māori teachers who choose to teach in English-medium schools. My thesis seeks to explore how Māori teachers make sense of their experiences *as Māori* in an English-medium school. As a participating teacher, your participation would include individual interviews to both initiate and then to reflect on the progress and outcomes of the research project. You will also collaboratively explore with other research participants how a relevant learning and professional initiative may be designed to affirm Māori teachers in a mainstream school to teach *as Māori*. The following table overviews the intended research dates and participant / researcher roles.

Dates	Participant	Researcher
Term 2, 2012 Weeks 1-10	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Semi-structured Interview guided by key prompts to gather your reflections focused on your own Māori identity and impact (if any) on classroom pedagogy.</li> <li>Follow up interview to clarify reflections post transcription.</li> </ol>	Listen and record individual reflection Facilitative role Transcribe interviews (pseudonyms) Analysis of interview data (pseudonyms) Identify common themes and/or trends from data reflections
Term 3, 2012 Weeks 1-10	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Participation in a series of four Professional Learning and Development discussions (40-50 minutes).</li> <li>Collective participation to develop personal, professional, pedagogical goals and related to the school's Māori values</li> <li>Prepare personal reflective journals with a focus on progress towards achieving personal, professional and pedagogical goals both individual and collective sessions.</li> </ol>	Present and review an analysis of the interview data with participants Co-facilitate PLD sessions with participants Document / record PLD sessions Development of collective personal, professional and pedagogical goals Co-facilitate journal sharing sessions focus on reflection / evaluation process Organise and cross reference to relevant literature
Term 4, 2012 Weeks 1-10	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Evaluative interviews to reflect on personal / professional experiences with research project.</li> </ol> Follow up interview to clarify reflections post transcription.	Listen and record individual reflection on individual and group goals Facilitative role Transcribe interviews Cross-comparisons with initial interviews Analysis of interview data Evaluate and present data

The research project aims to follow an inquiry process through a qualitative Participatory Action Research process and therefore personal and professional goals are not prescribed, rather they will emerge as we work collectively through the process itself. Any personal/professional information generated from the initial individual interviews may be used to inform an entry into our Professional Learning and Development sessions. I will apply pseudonyms throughout subsequent data transcripts to retain your privacy and you will have the opportunity to edit transcripts of your own interviews. I will avoid making / recording any personal reflections that may cause personal anxiety or harm to you, another teacher, parent and/or student. I would hope that we will respect each other's confidentiality as we contribute and interact during the collaborative PLD group discussions.

The information generated through the initial and evaluative interview and/or direct quotes will be part of the PhD's thesis and included in subsequent papers, articles and/or conference presentations thereafter. While all steps will be taken to ensure your privacy and confidentiality, your use of language *may* identify your input in the research findings. The completed PhD thesis will also be lodged in the University of Waikato's Digital Thesis database and will be accessible to a wider audience.

I will provide an 'Informed Consent form' for you to view and sign should you choose to participate.

Should you have any concerns or complaints, you can contact one of my research supervisors, Emeritus Professor Ted Glynn, [glynn@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:glynn@waikato.ac.nz) and/or Associate Professor Margie Hohepa [mkhohepa@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:mkhohepa@waikato.ac.nz) .

Kind regards

Renée Gilgen

[roth-gilgen@xtra.co.nz](mailto:roth-gilgen@xtra.co.nz)



### **Appendix C: Informed Consent, Teachers**

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

I have read the information letter and have been given the opportunity to seek further clarification and understanding of the research topic.

I understand that the research undertaken will contribute to a PhD thesis supervised by Emeritus Professor Ted Glynn and Associate Professor Margie Hohepa at the University of Waikato and will be available for reading by a wider audience when completed.

I consent that the information gathered and analysed by Renee Gilgen may be included in subsequent papers, articles and/or conference presentations thereafter and that the completed PhD thesis will be lodged in the University of Waikato Thesis (ADT) database.

I understand that all steps will be made to ensure confidentiality for the school, teachers, parents and students by the use of pseudonyms. All records, audio / video tapes and transcripts will be held securely in Renee Gilgen's home and kept for a period of five years.

Should I have any concerns or complaints that we cannot resolve firstly with the researcher, I can also contact the research supervisor, Emeritus Professor Ted Glynn, [glynn@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:glynn@waikato.ac.nz) and/or Associate Professor Margie Hohepa, [mkhohepa@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:mkhohepa@waikato.ac.nz)

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Full name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_ Email: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix D: Information Letter, Principal

Date:

School Address:



Dear

I am currently undertaking a research project towards the completion of a PhD research thesis supervised by the University of Waikato.

The research project intends to contribute positively to the professional learning and development initiatives that respond to the language, cultural values, practices and experiences of Māori *teachers* who choose to teach in English-medium schools.

The project aims to gather and examine narratives of experience from individual Māori teachers in order to understand:

1. how these teachers perceive their cultural identity, and the extent to which this is affirmed and supported in English-medium schools,
2. how their cultural identity, knowledge and experiences influence their teaching practices in English-medium classrooms and schools,
3. the nature of the difficulties they encounter, and the kinds of professional learning and development support they will need if they are to succeed *as Māori teachers* in English-medium classrooms and schools.

The research seeks *Māori teacher* perspectives and does not seek respective student and/or school information or data. Participation will not disrupt the teacher's day to day classroom and/or school wide responsibilities because the teacher is prepared to participate with this research inquiry in his / her own time.

I will apply pseudonyms to protect the teacher and his / her respective school's privacy. I will avoid making / recording any personal reflections that may cause personal anxiety or harm to them, their respective schools, another teacher, parent and/or student.

The information generated through the initial and evaluative interview and/or direct quotes will be part of the PhD's thesis and included in subsequent papers, articles and/or conference presentations thereafter. The completed PhD thesis will also be lodged in the University of Waikato's Digital Thesis database and will be accessible to a wider audience.

Should you have any concerns or complaints, you can contact me or one of my research supervisors, Emeritus Professor Ted Glynn, [glynn@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:glynn@waikato.ac.nz) and/or Associate Professor Margie Hohepa [mkhohepa@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:mkhohepa@waikato.ac.nz) .

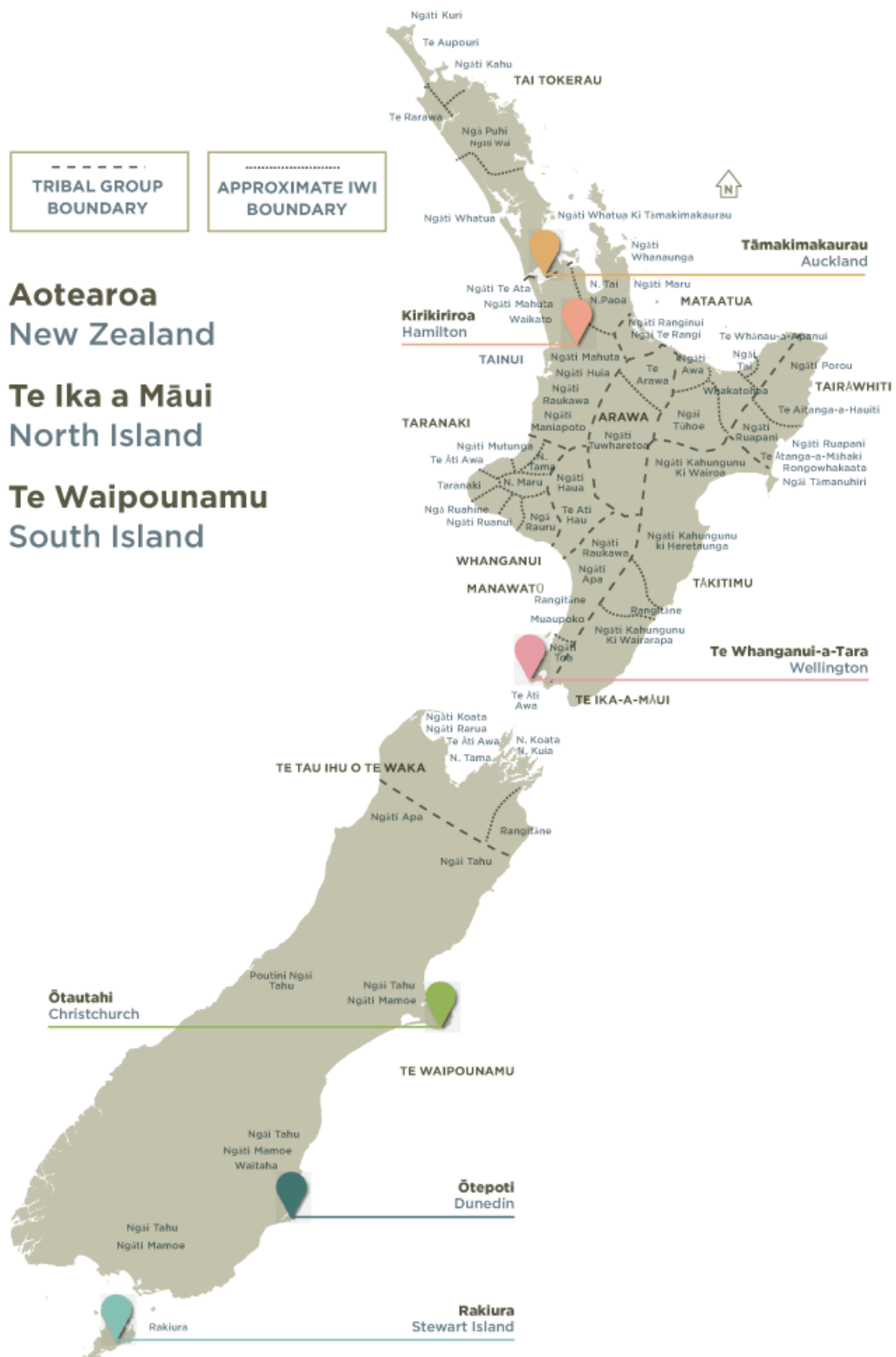
Kind regards

Renée Gilgen

## Appendix E: Participants' personal and professional characteristics

Name	Iwi/hāpū	Age	Years Teaching	Teaching Qualifications	Yr Level	Decile	Additional Responsibilities	Position status
Ara	Ngāti Porou / Ngāti Tamaterā	40s	26	BA: Māori Dip Tchg PGDipEd	Cluster-wide	n/a	RTLB	Full
Hugh	Ngāti Kahungunu	50s	20	BEd PGDipEd	Cluster-wide	n/a	RTLB	Full
Rose	Ngā Puhī / TeArawa	50s	16	BEd	0-2	1	Teaching Assistant Principal	Full
Mere	Waikato / Ngāti Maniapoto	40s	9	BEd	3-4, 5-6	1	n/a	Part
Terina	Ngā Puhī / TeArawa	40s	13	BEd	7-8	2	Te reo Māori teacher	Full
Deb	Ngā Puhī / Ngāti Maniapoto	50s	13	BEd PGDipEd	0-2	2	Senior Teacher	Full

## Appendix F: Map of Māori Iwi (approximation): Aotearoa/New Zealand



Source: <https://www.nzte.govt.nz/en/how-nzte-can-help/te-kete-tikanga-maori-cultural-kit/iwi-tribes-of-new-zealand/>

## **Appendix G: Individual hui kōrero interview schedule**

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Venue: \_\_\_\_\_

**Kaupapa:** To reflect on your perspective of your identity as Māori and your experiences as a Māori teacher in a mainstream school. While all steps will be taken to ensure your privacy, your use of language may identify your input in subsequent research findings.

1. How do you define the term ‘as Māori’?
2. Are there any systemic or professional factors you feel hinders or supports your ability to retain your identity ‘as Māori’ and as a Māori teacher within your teaching and learning pedagogy? If so, what are they?
3. How do you respond to any systemic or professional challenges?
4. Does achieving success as a teacher in a mainstream school compromise your identity as Māori in any ways? If so, what are they?
5. How do you relate the Ministry of Education’s documents: ‘Ka Hikitia’ and ‘Tātaiako’ to your own and/or in support of teaching pedagogy?

## Appendix H: Return of Transcripts

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Dear \_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for participating with the individual interview. Please find enclosed the transcript of the interview conducted on \_\_\_\_\_. The transcript is confidential to you and me. The transcribed text is saved on a DVD and backed up on an external memory pen drive. The DVD and external memory pen drive will remain securely locked away in my home when not in use. The information is not permanently stored on any computer.

The transcription is word for word except where I have removed any unnecessary repetitions. I have replaced your name and any other names mentioned within the interview with pseudonyms to ensure anonymity and to protect your privacy.

Please read through the transcript to review and amend any of your own contributions so that it accurately reflects your views. I will contact you to arrange a suitable date and time for us to meet again and clarify your views and opinions.

The final date for withdrawal from the research project will be **July 30<sup>th</sup>, 2013**. If you choose to withdraw your participation, then please indicate on the attached Transcription Release form.

Thank you for your ongoing support

Kind regards

Renee Gilgen

## **Appendix I: Reflection schedule**

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Venue: \_\_\_\_\_

**Kaupapa:** To reflect on your participation with the research project as a Māori teacher in a mainstream school.

1. Tell me about your experiences as a research participant?
2. In what ways has your participation influenced you personally and professionally?
3. Do you feel that your participation with the research project has influenced your approach to teaching and learning? If so, how?
4. What would you do differently to improve the research project's kaupapa?
5. Have there been any personal and/or professional shifts with how you respond to teaching and learning? If so, how?
6. How would you define 'as Māori'?

**Appendix J: Transcript Release**

Name of participant \_\_\_\_\_

I have received the transcription of the interview and have read it. The following ticked situation applies:

\_\_\_\_\_ The transcript is acceptable as raw data. I have made no changes.

\_\_\_\_\_ I have amended my contributions in the text of the transcript. My views are acceptable as raw data.

\_\_\_\_\_ I want to withdraw from the project. Please withdraw my contributions from the research project.

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_