

The Cultural Taxation of Māori Teachers:

Māori Teachers reflect upon their teaching experiences

in the Waitaha (Canterbury) region, New Zealand.

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## Abstract

This thesis draws on data from a research study that investigated the lived experiences of six Māori teachers who had recently graduated from the Hōaka Pounamu (Graduate Diploma in Immersion and Bilingual Teaching). The primary objective of this research was to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experiences and various challenges confronting this group of Māori teachers working in English medium primary and secondary schools. These schools were all located in the Waitaha (Canterbury) region of New Zealand's South Island. Each of these schools was, to varying degrees, dominated by what appeared to be a Eurocentric institutional culture of schooling. This research, accordingly, focused closely upon the challenges that these teachers faced as they sought to incorporate mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge that validates a Māori world view) into their teaching praxis in that culture of schooling.

This study is distinguished by qualitative research methodology underpinned by a kaupapa Māori narrative research philosophy. The study's findings support and strengthen those of previous studies. However, while these teachers' accounts echoed the sentiments of teachers in previous research studies (Bloor, 1993; Ministry of Education, 1999; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993) this research ensures that the narratives of the participants are at the fore of the thesis rather than lost in a sea of quantitative data. As a result, it offers fresh insights into the challenges Māori teachers face, today, in English medium, state-funded schools.

A number of key themes emerged in the participants' accounts of their teaching experiences. These themes are related to relevant research and academic literature. Most notably, these themes draw close attention to Padilla's (1994) concept of 'cultural taxation'. The findings are related to the Articles of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) and the United Nations' (2007) *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* and considered in relation to their national and international policy implications. Finally, recommendations for future research are proposed to assist all stakeholders to shape better experiences for Māori teachers in primary and secondary schools in New Zealand.

## Glossary of Māori terms

<i>ākonga</i>	student
<i>hapū</i>	sub-tribe
<i>hīmene</i>	hymn
<i>Hōaka Pounamu</i>	Graduate Diploma in Immersion and Bilingual Education
<i>hui</i>	gatherings/meetings
<i>iwi</i>	tribe
<i>kaikaranga</i>	women who carry out the <i>karanga</i>
<i>kaikōrero</i>	speaker
<i>kapa haka</i>	Māori culture group
<i>karanga</i>	ceremonial call of welcome
<i>kaumatua</i>	elder
<i>kaupapa Māori</i>	Māori ideology
<i>kaupapa</i>	plan, objectives
<i>kawanatanga</i>	governorship, rule, authority
<i>kīwaha</i>	idiom
<i>koha</i>	gift
<i>Kohanga Reo</i>	Māori language pre-schools
<i>Kura kaupapa Māori</i>	Māori medium school
<i>kura raumati</i>	summer school
<i>kura reo</i>	week long Māori language immersion classes
<i>mana</i>	authority, power, status
<i>manu kōrero</i>	speech competition
<i>Māori</i>	native, indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand
<i>marae</i>	complex of buildings where Māori gather
<i>mātauranga Māori</i>	Māori knowledge
<i>mihi</i>	speech, greeting
<i>Ngāi Tahu</i>	tribal group of much of the South Island
<i>Ngā kaiako Reo Māori ki Waitaha</i>	Māori language teachers in Waitaha
<i>noho marae</i>	marae stay
<i>Ōtautahi</i>	Christchurch

<i>pā</i>	fortified village
<i>paepae</i>	orators' bench
<i>Pākehā</i>	New Zealander of European descent
<i>pōua</i>	Ngāi Tahu word for grandfather
<i>pounamu</i>	greenstone, nephrite, jade
<i>powhiri</i>	traditional Māori welcome ceremonies
<i>rohe potae</i>	tribal area
<i>rūnanga</i>	tribal council
<i>tamariki</i>	children
<i>taonga</i>	something prized, treasure
<i>tautoko</i>	support
<i>Te Huarahi Māori Motuhake</i>	Māori members of the Post Primary Teachers Association
<i>te reo Māori</i>	the Māori language
<i>Te Waipounamu</i>	South Island of New Zealand
<i>tikanga Māori</i>	correct Māori procedures
<i>waiata</i>	song
<i>Waitaha</i>	Canterbury region
<i>wānanga reo</i>	te reo Māori workshops
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy
<i>whakataukī</i>	proverb
<i>whānau</i>	family
<i>whanaungatanga</i>	relationship, kinship, sense of family connection

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# 1 NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Tōku rangatiratanga na te mana-mātauranga

*Knowledge and power set me free*

## 1.1 Introduction

This thesis explores the lived experiences of six Māori teachers, who recently graduated from Hōaka Pounamu – Graduate Diploma in Immersion and Bilingual Education (Year 2009), and were working in the Waitaha region of Te Waipounamu. It aims to bring about a greater understanding of the overall realities of Māori teachers teaching in English medium schools, particularly in this region. Accordingly, this research examined the challenges this group of teachers faced as they attempted to incorporate mātauranga Māori into their teaching praxis, after returning to the English medium teaching environments of their schools that, in turn, reflected the prevailing Eurocentric ethos of the wider New Zealand society.

The present study provides a range of cross-sectoral insights into the practical challenges faced by a group of Māori primary and secondary school teachers as they strove to introduce Māori epistemologies and ontologies into their schools to give meaningful effect to the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the Crown's (1989) Principles for Crown Action on the Treaty of Waitangi (Hayward, 2009); not to mention the United Nation's (2007) *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. It also contributes to a small body of literature that attempts to identify and address the unique workload and cultural pressures that are placed upon Māori teachers by their Boards of Trustees, principals, colleagues and wider community.

## **1.2 Contextual background to this study**

Māori education has often been an area of contention between Māori and the Crown and at different times highly politicised. Most recently this has been evident in the aftermath of the public release of the Waitangi Tribunal's (2011) report on Indigenous Flora and Fauna and Cultural Intellectual Property (WAI 262). Amongst other things, the Wai 262 claims report recommended that the responsibility for nurturing and delivering mātauranga Māori in the New Zealand education system should be shared between Māori and the Crown. This, in turn, would necessitate the establishment of appropriate partnerships between the two parties at various levels of the education system (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011).

This recommendation would indicate that societal values and beliefs have evolved since the demise of colonial assimilations and this is reflected in recent legislation and government initiatives such as the Crown's (2007) strategy for Māori education, *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2008-2012*. Though the expectations of fulfilling government policy guidelines for Māori are placed on all teachers, it is widely accepted, consciously and subconsciously, that Māori teachers have greater expectations placed upon them by the schooling system and Māori communities to deliver policy outcomes in the field of Māori education. This is certainly the case in “mainstream” schools dominated by the English language and a Eurocentric ethos (Bloor, 1996; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993).

As a minority group within the schooling system, Māori teachers have, and still are, often marginalised (Archie, 1993; Bloor, 1996; Livingstone, 1994; Marks, 1984; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). Therefore the wellbeing of Māori teachers is an issue worthy of research. However, despite numerous government initiatives, legislation and strategies to raise the academic achievement levels of Māori students, there is only a relatively small body of research that specifically addresses the real needs and wants of Māori teachers, as a distinct group within the teaching workforce. This research, accordingly, adds to that small body of literature by drawing upon the contemporary narratives of six Māori teachers and reviewing reports written about the experiences of other Māori teachers during a fifteen year period (1984-1999). The literature review clearly suggests that there is (a) an overwhelming consensus that Māori teachers face significant professional and cultural challenges and, (b) that these same challenges are not experienced by their non-Māori colleagues. This review also reveals that there is very little recent qualitative research available, nationally, on Māori

teachers; let alone about the challenges facing Māori teachers in the region where this project was conducted (Waitaha/Canterbury, located in the Ngāi Tahu takiwā). While much research has focused on raising Māori student achievement levels, the voices missing in these projects seem to be those of Māori teachers themselves. To this end I have decided to follow six Māori teachers who have graduated from the Hōaka Pounamu programme and listen to their narratives after returning to their respective schools and classroom settings.

### **1.3 Purpose of the study**

Much of the impetus for this research has come from my own observations of the growing confidence of a cohort of Māori teachers during their participation in Hōaka Pounamu. Hōaka Pounamu is a one-year full-time Māori language immersion programme. It is delivered and facilitated with a kaupapa Māori philosophy in which these teachers extend their proficiency in te reo Māori as well as knowledge on second language teaching, language revitalisation, Treaty of Waitangi, and Mātauranga Māori specific to Ngāi Tahu.

As an educator of both pre-service and in-service primary and secondary teachers I have been drawn to question the experiences that Māori teachers face in their classroom and also in their school. My particular interest in this study is largely driven by my professional interactions with the cohort of teachers involved in this study. Prior to entering into Hōaka Pounamu, these students attended a two week preparatory summer school, which I have taught for the last three years. The primary objective of this summer school is to increase participants' proficiency in te reo Māori. Given my role as the lecturer responsible for delivering the summer school programme I was well-positioned to engage with course participants in discussions as they learned te reo Māori and attempted to define (and in some instance reclaim) their identity as Māori and/or as members of various whānau, hapū and iwi. My professional relationship with these teachers has led to mutual trust and open communication essential for the qualitative kaupapa Māori methodology central to this project.

This research is significant in the sense that, historically-speaking, there have been few studies that have addressed the wellbeing of Māori teachers in New Zealand English medium speaking schools. Research carried out in 1993 sought to determine the factors influencing why Māori teachers leave the classroom (Mitchell & Mitchell). The following

year a Wellington regional survey was conducted (Livingstone, 1994) and while not specifically focused on Māori teachers, one comment from a Māori immersion teacher about work pressures was recorded. A couple of years later another survey was conducted that examined the workloads of Māori Secondary School Teachers (Bloor, 1996). This research found that Māori teachers in addition to their teaching were expected to fulfil cultural tasks and requirements without formal recognition.

A more recent report authored by Judie Alison (on behalf of the NZ Post Primary Teachers Association) examined the introduction of the new secondary school qualification, the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) introduced in 2002 (Alison, 2005). While this report appears thorough in its examination of the impact of NCEA on secondary school teachers, it does not extrapolate data specific to Māori teachers or their experiences. Had this information been available it would have provided a significantly more recent profile of the experiences of Māori teachers in the secondary sector.

The most recent research into the specific workload issues of Māori secondary school teachers was a report by Gardiner and Parata, which was commissioned by the Ministry of Education (1999). This research aligned with the results from the earlier studies and provides remarkably similar data on workload pressures to Bloor's (1996) survey findings. Whereas the Mitchell & Mitchell study (1993), drew primarily upon qualitative research methods (including semi-structured interviews), all subsequent research has drawn extensively on quantitative surveys and questionnaires. Therefore, this research is unique in the sense that it allows the individual voices of the participants to be 'heard' in ways that would not be possible if the participants participated in a larger-scale research project dominated by quantitative data collation procedures.

#### **1.4 Significance of the study**

The primary objective of this research is to (a) document the lived experiences of six Māori teachers who have graduated from Hōaka Pounamu programme and to (b) enable greater understanding of the dilemmas facing Māori teachers working in English medium schools. Anecdotal evidence suggests that graduates of the programme often emerge with high aspirations for their continued engagement with their newly acquired teaching praxis. Of specific interest, in this study, will be how these Māori teachers, on leaving a kaupapa Māori

te reo immersion environment, transition back into English medium primary and secondary schools. This study will discuss the challenges they face as they attempt to incorporate kaupapa Māori into their teaching praxis, whilst working within English medium teaching environments reflecting the prevailing Eurocentric ethos of their schools.

This research is not merely an academic study to fulfil the Performance Based Research Funding (PBRF) requirements placed upon me as an employee of the University of Canterbury College of Education. Rather, it is prompted by genuine concern for the wellbeing of my students and of all Māori teachers in general. This research seeks to contribute insights to the field of indigenous education in different ways. Firstly, it will provide insights into the practical challenges faced by Māori teachers introducing Māori epistemologies in mainstream schools in ways that might give effect to the principles of ‘partnership’, ‘active protection’ and ‘participation’ that the Crown has (since 1989) deemed to be implicit within the Treaty of Waitangi (Hayward, 2009). To further consider the national and international implications of this study, the concluding discussion will briefly draw upon the Articles of the United Nations’ (2007) *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Ideally, this study will contribute to a national and international discourse that seeks to develop a deeper understanding of the workload and cultural pressures that are specifically placed upon Māori teachers by their school and wider community.

## **1.5 Research Design**

This research was driven by the following research questions:

1. What goals did this group of teachers set for themselves and why?
2. What challenges and opportunities did these participants face both professionally and personally after they returned to school?
3. What strategies did they use to negotiate these challenges?

A qualitative methodology is underpinned by an eclectic adoption of kaupapa Māori philosophy and narrative research techniques consistent with that philosophy. Methods employed in this study include a pre-interview questionnaire and semi-structured interview. The methodological framework which supports the study is described in greater depth, later in Chapter Three.

## **1.6 Organisation of the thesis**

The research study is divided into six chapters. Each chapter begins with a concise overview outlining its intent and structure. A précis of the main points are summarised at the conclusion of each chapter and links are established to the following chapters.

The first three chapters of this thesis describe the background relating to this study. Chapter One introduces the study and provides an overview of the subsequent chapters. This is followed by a review of relevant literature (Chapter Two) which informs this research study. This literature review provides a historical and political backdrop to the contemporary schooling system. This backdrop relates to literature addressing Māori teachers' experiences in English medium schools. The literature also discusses Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Model of Human Development. This has been deemed necessary because Bronfenbrenner's systems approach provides a coherent contextual framework for the organisation of the literature review.

Chapter Three describes the research methodology underpinning the study as well as the methods of data collection that have been used. It also describes and validates the methods and procedures used in this study. A discussion of the different phases of the data collection and analysis procedures ensues. Chapter Three concludes by addressing the limitations of this research. Chapter Four, in turn, provides a profile of the teachers who participated in this study. It summarises some of their key responses gathered during the collection of data and discusses factors that may have influenced their teaching experiences on their return to the classroom. This chapter will also introduce the key themes to be discussed in Chapter Five which examines the narratives of the participants and provides a description of their experiences returning to the classroom. The concluding chapter of this thesis (Chapter Six) will summarise the research findings as well as offer recommendations for future research. It then closes this research with a pertinent whakataukī.

## 2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Titiro ki muri, kia whakatika ā mua  
*Look to the past to proceed to the future*

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews seminal literature relevant to the lived experiences of the research participants, following their return to their schools after completing the Hōaka Pounamu programme. It begins with a brief overview of relevant historical and political events that have shaped the schooling system in New Zealand today. This is followed by a brief description of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) 'systems approach', embedded within his 'ecological model for human development'. His model provides an overarching framework for the organisation of the following sections of this chapter which reviews the small body of pre-existing research recording the experiences of Māori teachers. International literature recording the experiences described by other Indigenous or minority educators and academics is also considered. This helps to illuminate the significance of this thesis project by positioning it in relation to a wider international context. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key messages arising from the literature review.

### 2.2 A Historical Overview

To appreciate the nature of the current teaching environment, it is necessary to consider the historical and political trends that have directly and indirectly impacted upon New Zealand teachers in general and Māori teachers, specifically. Understanding past and present education reforms and policy illuminates the political 'minefields' that Māori teachers are operating in. The focus in this section is an examination of the political context that has shaped our education system until today. More specifically, this section will examine key legislation and initiatives that have impacted upon Māori, Māori education and undoubtedly on Māori teachers. This should not, however, be confused with an attempt to provide a definitive historical or political overview of Māori schooling and/or the historical or political status of Māori teachers. Rather, it serves to provide a contextual synopsis that, in turn, helps one make sense of more recent policy and legislation developments. This

includes the Crown's most recent strategy, *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2008–2012* (Ministry of Education, 2008).

Since the arrival of the European colonists the New Zealand education system has been shaped and controlled by Pākehā in a way that has perpetuated the views of this majority and reflected cultural hegemony (Awatere, 1984). As a result, Māori have been marginalised within the sector by Pākehā decision making with government policies and legislation determining what is best for Māori.

Over the years the schooling system has done little to value Mātauranga Māori, including te reo Māori, Māori pedagogies and tikanga Māori (Smith & Smith, 1995). As early as 1847, the Crown systemically implemented legislation that sought to assimilate Māori into the dominant culture. Colonial legislation such as the Education Ordinance Act (1847) and the Native Schools Act (1867) sought to weaken Māori communities and diminish the use of te reo Māori. Later the Tohunga Suppression Act (1907) outlawed tohunga and their practices which, by their very nature, required the use of te reo Māori. In the mid twentieth century (1940s-60s), social policies underpinned by goals of assimilation and integration, such as the 'pepper-potting' of Māori families within predominantly Pākehā suburbs and communities (Benton, 1997), continued the trend of politicians seeking to dilute the Māori population and undermine their ways of being and knowing (Tauroa & Tauroa, 1993; Salmond, 2004). These attempts to undermine the social cohesion of Māori society were also accompanied by renewed attacks on the status of the Māori language.

Successive New Zealand government educational reports, like the Hunn Report on Māori Affairs (1960), described the Māori language as "a relic of ancient Māori life that would be difficult to keep alive" (Harris, 2004, p. 44). The Currie Commission's Report two years later was also significant in the marginalisation of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga. In an attempt to bridge the disparity between Māori and Pākehā students, the report urged the dismantling of Native Schools. The subsequent transfer of these schools to the then (provincial) Education Boards further contributed to the process of assimilation and integration.

In 1986, however, The Waitangi Tribunal supported the thrust for the revitalisation of te reo me ōna tikanga Māori when it stated that:



The education system in New Zealand is operating unsuccessfully because too many Māori children are not reaching an acceptable standard of education. For some reason they do not or cannot take full advantage of it. Their language is not adequately protected and their scholastic achievements fall far short of what they should be. The promises of the Treaty of Waitangi of equality in education as in all other human rights are undeniable. Judged by the system's own standards Māori children are not being taught, and for that reason alone, quite apart from a duty to protect the Māori language, the education system is being operated in breach of the Treaty. (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 44)

The education system in New Zealand has undergone a period of profound change since the 1980s. The election of the Labour government in 1984 brought about monumental public sector reforms. The education reforms, informed by neo-liberal ideologies, focused on the decentralisation of administrative responsibilities from government agencies to individual schools. This allowed schools to act with greater levels of autonomy and legal responsibility. The reforms also focused on increasing partnerships between home and school as well as improved educational opportunity and attainment for children from lower socio-economic homes including Māori children.

Emerging from the Review of the Core Curriculum in 1984 was the Taha Māori programme, a bicultural curriculum initiative to integrate Māori culture into state schools. Taha Māori was defined as:

... the Māori [...] dimension or literally the Māori [...] side. In the education process, Taha Māori [...] is the inclusion of aspects of Māori [...] language and culture in the philosophy, the organisation and the content of the school. In the curriculum it is not a separated out compulsory element. Pupils should not go to a classroom to 'do' taha Māori. Aspects of Māori language and culture should be incorporated into the total life of the school – into its curriculum, buildings, grounds, attitudes, organisations. It should be a normal part of the school climate with which all pupils and staff should feel comfortable and at ease. (Smith, 1990, p. 186)

The expectation of the taha Māori programme was twofold. Firstly, it could endorse te reo me ōna tikanga to the wider non-Māori New Zealand population and secondly, it could increase Māori students' sense of self worth and cultural identity as well as potentially improving their educational success (Hirsh, as cited in Bishop & Glynn, 1999). However, according to Smith (1990) Taha Māori was “a Pākehā defined, initiated and controlled policy” (p. 183) which was in fact “a rearrangement of the same traditional and existing liberal education policies which act to maintain the status quo and produce the same inequalities” (p. 186).

The (1988) Picot Report included a number of recommendations that, in turn, stimulated the Labour Government's more watered-down 'Tomorrow's Schools' policy framework (1989). A number of significant changes were made following the introduction of 'Tomorrow's Schools'. Financial and administrative responsibility was devolved from centralised agencies to individual school Boards of Trustees. The function of the Department of Education (renamed the Ministry of Education) was reduced and the Regional Education Boards were abolished. Boards of Trustees took on responsibility for employing school principals and teachers and were accountable to the government for school budgets. As a result of these reforms, teachers experienced a considerable increase in their workloads (Baker, 2002; Bloor, 1996; Bridges, 1992; Wylie, 1992).

The Tomorrow's Schools legislation, moreover, assumed that the needs and interests of Māori under the new education reforms would simply be met through the election or co-option of Māori parents or community representatives onto each school's Board of Trustees. Johnston (1997) argues that this assumption ignored the fact that Māori, as a numerical minority, had never been able to compete on a level playing field with the dominant Pākehā culture. Whereas Tomorrow's Schools was expected to give Māori a greater say and control of education by involvement in school Boards of Trustees, the numerical advantage and dominance of the Pākehā population effectively limited Māori voices. As Mitchell and Mitchell (1993) observed:

There appear to be difficulties for Māori community representatives on board of trustees in some areas, especially where the Māori representative is the only Māori person on the board (and often is an appointed member, rather than an elected member). (p. 79)

The authors also noted that the contributions of the Māori representative may be:

misinterpreted or misunderstood, [their] concerns expressed are frequently not really discussed or overlooked entirely, and that the Māori board member may be lumbered with the entire organisation of anything with the faintest Māori flavour to do with the school. (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993, p. 79)

Tomorrow's Schools also required schools to develop charters which were to include compulsory Treaty of Waitangi statements in relation to equity issues. The inclusion of such statements was assumed to ensure that the interests of Māori would be met. Simon (1986) however had already demonstrated that previous initiatives to introduce te reo Māori into the classrooms, such as Taha Māori, were undermined in a variety of ways which suggested that glib charter statements would not necessarily provide a guarantee that schools would adhere to them.

In 1991, the newly elected National government quickly removed the compulsory requirement for schools to include Treaty affirmation statements in their charters. Local school zone requirements were also removed, encouraging competition between schools in a quasi school market system. Hence the neo-liberal (ideological) notions of parental 'choice' and 'competition' were introduced to Māori parents as a way to acquire a form of consumer sovereignty which neo-liberal ideologues sometimes likened to rangatiratanga. The consequences of a 'competitive school model' (Baker, 2002) are significant. Those parents who could afford to actively sought schools based on the preferences and priorities of the family. As a consequence of parents exercising this choice, some schools (often in wealthier suburbs) were faced with burgeoning schools rolls while other school rolls (usually in low income communities) declined. Increased parental choice, notably, contributed to "ethnic and socio-economic polarisation" (Wylie, n.d.). Put simply, Wylie's research suggests that Pākehā parents were more likely than Māori parents to get their first choice of school (Wylie, n.d.).

Māori, however, have not sat passively with regards to pursuing their educational aspirations for their tamariki since the Tomorrow's Schools reforms. A significant development for Māori under the Education Act (1989) was the establishment of Kura

Kaupapa Māori. A provision in the act gave communities the opportunity to set up schools that displayed a ‘special character’. For Māori, this meant being in control and determining the processes that would best fit Māori needs and aspirations. Finally, Māori had the ability to determine what they wanted and were able to exercise agency which was only limited, to some extent, by ongoing Crown funding and administrative requirements.

The discontent that Māori felt with Crown policy directives had already prompted the establishment of Kohanga Reo in 1982 and three years later the emergence of Kura Kaupapa Māori (1985). Kohanga Reo were developed in response to the growing concern for the survival of the Māori language. The philosophies of both Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori largely reflect Māori cultural practices, values and beliefs and are underpinned with the aim of revitalising the Māori language. As Pihama noted:

... the emergence of Te Kohanga Reo as a positive and successful alternative to Pākehā pre-school institutions has shown the capability of Māori people to educate our own and provide alternatives to mainstream education. (Pihama, 1991, p. 25)

In 2000, the Labour government reintroduced school zoning to remedy the negative effects of a ‘quasi’ educational market. After reviewing the previous curriculum, the Ministry of Education (2007) published *The New Zealand Curriculum for English medium teaching and Learning in Years 1-13*. Though this document acknowledges Te Reo Māori as one of the three official languages of New Zealand, the decision to teach te reo remains at the discretion of individual schools. This is somewhat ironic given that this curriculum document stated purpose is also to “help schools to 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 ambiguity of this treaty statement, according to Manning’s doctoral research (2008), means that “effectively Māori children and communities are at the mercy of teacher agency whereby teachers retain the right to determine ‘what’ they will teach as part of ‘their’ curriculum (pers. comm. Manning, 29 July, 2010).

As Manning (2008) concluded, this situation contravenes the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and in turn undermines the provisions of the *National Administration Guidelines*

(2011b) and the *National Education Goals* (2011c), not to mention the Treaty of Waitangi affirmation and equity statements embedded within the New Zealand Teachers' Council Professional standards for primary and secondary school principals, published by the New Zealand School Trustees Association (2011a, 2011b). Likewise, this situation undermines the Treaty of Waitangi affirmation statement, and equity provisions, prescribed in the professional standards for registered teachers (New Zealand Teachers Council, 2010).

Another recent Ministry initiative, worth considering in relation to equity issues emerging from acts of teacher agency, is *Ka Hikitia - Managing for Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2008-2012* (Ministry of Education, 2008). This strategy provides a vision and direction, the aim of which is 'Māori enjoying success as Māori' (Ministry of Education 2008, p. 18). *Ka Hikitia - Managing for Success* is centered on four focus areas within which the government is committed to ensuring change. Focus area three seeks to ensure that Māori students can access the Māori language education options they want, build mātauranga and knowledge of tikanga Māori, see the broad value of te reo Māori in society and develop quality reo Māori through proficiency, accuracy and complexity (Ministry of Education, 2008).

While these objectives are honorable and strongly supported by kaupapa Māori research within the Waitaha region (Macfarlane, 2008, Cooper, Skerrett, Andreotti, Manning, Macfarlane and Emery, 2010), they still appear to be undermined by loopholes that can easily be found in non-prescriptive official curriculum policy guidelines (see above). These loopholes enable teachers to continue to pick and choose what they wish to teach without having to provide evidence (to the Ministry or the Education Review Office) that they are giving effect to the Crown's principles for action on the Treaty of Waitangi (Manning, 2008, 2010).

### **2.3 Bronfenbrenner systems approach—A theoretical framework**

In order to provide a theoretical base for this research, I have drawn upon Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Model of Human Development. Using an adaptation of Bronfenbrenner's systems approach has provided a coherent framework for the organisation of the literature review. Bronfenbrenner's model is centred on the premise that there are four interlinking

systems that surround or encapsulate a child. Each of these systems represents ‘interactions’ between the child and various social elements of society. According to Bird and Drewery:

The microsystem refers to interactions with people in the child’s immediate environment, such as members of the family or classroom. The mesosystem refers to a system of connections that links microsystems together. The exosystem refers to larger social systems, such as public media, communities and neighbourhoods. The macrosystem of large cultural patterns includes social class and the political system of the country. The chronosystem refers to the way that all these processes emerge over time. (Bird & Drewery, 2004, p. 24)

This literature review has already discussed some of the relevant chronosystem and macrosystem trends relevant to this study, by illuminating the ideological assumptions underpinning successive government assimilation and (later) integration policies. The exosystem settings of Bronfenbrenner’s model can also be related to historical literature about Māori education policy formation over the years. The literature review, and discussions in following chapters, will also be related to the lived experiences of Māori teachers in various the meso- and microsystem settings. It is these that have had the most direct impact on the participants.

## **2.4 A review of literature related to Māori teacher experiences**

This section reviews literature relating to the experiences of Māori teachers. The literature has primarily been confined to the experiences of Māori teachers employed within the primary and secondary sectors, given that these sectors represent those of the research participants. After extensive library searches, it became evident that research in this area has been primarily commissioned by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, teacher unions and the Ministry of Education. The majority of this research was undertaken during a six year period from 1993 through until 1999. The proliferation of reports, one could surmise, was an outcome of the significant change experienced by the New Zealand education system during this period. In 1990, the newly elected National government brought about major curriculum reforms which in turn resulted in increased workload for teachers. In 1991 the *National Curriculum of New Zealand* was released, followed by the

*New Zealand Curriculum Framework* two years later in 1993. Each theme in the following section is ordered according to the Bronfenbrenner's systems approach.

#### **2.4.1 School: A Eurocentric institution?**

Since the arrival of early British settlers, New Zealand's schooling system, continues to reflect the cultural ideals and values of the dominant Pākehā culture. Despite recent government attempts to adopt initiatives and policies to ensure Māori succeed within this system, significant educational disparities still exist for Māori students.

For some Māori teachers the conflict between maintaining their own identity and culture whilst working within a Pākehā system and framework is demanding (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). In essence, the manner in which New Zealand schools operate often requires Māori teachers to operate in a non-Māori manner. This finding is not unique to New Zealand. Australian research conducted by Santoro (2007) also suggests that:

Teachers of difference are frequently marginalised in white 'mainstream' education communities. The different cultural understandings and expectations of learning and teaching that they bring to their work are not always valued by students, colleagues and parents. If their potential to productively engage with students of difference and their contributions to cross cultural teaching are not valued, many are at risk of resigning prematurely from the teaching profession.  
(p. 92)

The hegemonic nature of the schooling system in New Zealand has not necessarily supported the Māori language or Māori teachers either. Some schools do not recognise te reo Māori as an academic subject or value its presence in the school's curriculum (Whitinui, 2007, 2010). This can be illustrated by the ongoing pattern of unsympathetic and often unreasonable timetabling of classes with other academic subjects or against subjects considered to be more attractive to students (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993).

Some research suggests that Māori language teachers often appear to find themselves positioned in language departments with little support from their heads of department, who have little knowledge or understanding about the indigenous epistemologies and ontologies

required for the teaching of te reo Māori. Inevitably, in these situations, Māori teachers receive little collegial support and carry out the role of Head of what is otherwise a Māori language Department, without any financial recognition or acknowledgement (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). However, this research was conducted in 1993 and it seems timely to revisit these issues.

#### **2.4.2 Additional cultural expectations**

Many studies document the additional cultural expectations and duties that are placed on Māori teachers and teachers of te reo Māori. Irrespective of whether Māori teachers are employed in the primary or secondary sector, or in mainstream or Māori medium environments, the extra responsibilities placed on them does not diminish.

Many Māori teachers expressed the notion of ‘a sense of duty’ somewhat akin to being an “ambassador-at-large” (Bloor, 1996, p. 19) or being “The School Māori” (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993, p. 59). These additional duties are diverse and frequently the teachers are not trained or resourced to undertake such responsibilities. Often Māori teachers are expected to deal with any matters relating to Māori children, particularly difficult children or behavioural problems (Archie, 1993; Bloor, 1996; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993; Ministry of Education, 1999). This too, is echoed in international research where Santoro (2007) comments that the responsibility for ethnic minority and Indigenous students should not be placed solely on Indigenous educators.

Māori teachers are also often called upon to fulfil numerous cultural (e.g. ceremonial) requirements for school-related activities. Organising school hui, and powhiri, coupled with the expectation to liaise with the schools’ Māori families in a pseudo social worker role, are all tasks that Māori teachers are often asked to perform. These same teachers are also often involved in professional development programmes to educate their non-Māori colleagues and are expected to provide support and advice when consulted by these colleagues (Bloor, 1996; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). According to Reid & Santoro (2006) and Santoro (2007), this merely “absolves ‘mainstream’ teachers of the responsibility to work towards developing strategies to teach for difference and diversity” (p. 93).



As suggested previously, additional cultural expectations being placed on Māori teachers is not unique to New Zealand schools. Research in Australia (Reid & Santoro, 2006; Santoro, 2007) revealed that minority teachers are burdened with tasks which they are expected to perform purely on account of their ethnicity. In matters of Indigenous education and social issues, these teachers are considered the “expert” (Reid & Santoro, 2006).

Furthermore, indigenous interviewees in an Australian study (Reid & Santoro, 2006) commented on:

the expectations placed on them in their workplaces because of the generic ‘Indigenous Teacher’ label, and raised other issues related to how Indigenous teachers are often expected to fill the gaps in the knowledge of White teachers about Indigenous education and issues”. (p. 150)

Similarly, Padilla (1994) has documented the phenomenon of the overburdening and overtaxing of ethnic minority academics in the United States of America. Among other things, Padilla explores the idea of responsibilities constituting a form of cultural taxation based primarily on a teacher’s ethnic or cultural background. Latterly, other authors have explored this idea of cultural taxation (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2008; Samano, 2007), which according to Padilla (1994) can best be defined as:

the obligation to show good citizenship toward the institution by serving its needs for ethnic representation on committees, or to demonstrate knowledge and commitment to a cultural group, which may bring accolades to the institution but which is not usually rewarded by the institution on whose behalf the service was performed. (p. 26)

Some of the more easily recognised forms of cultural taxation identified by Padilla (1994) include being asked to provide expertise in matters of diversity within an organisation and being asked to educate individuals of the majority group on such matters. Minority academics may also be asked to serve on committees or act as a liaison between the organisation and the ethnic community, even though their own personal views may not align with the institution’s stance or policies. Finally, being asked to provide translation services as well as being asked to act as a mediator for any socio-cultural differences within an

institution are all illustrations of cultural taxation. Frequently, those persons asked to fulfil these various tasks or roles may not feel (culturally) equipped to do so. These duties are often not listed in minority teachers' job descriptions, nor are they recognised or given the status and monetary recompense that would normally accompany additional responsibility that sits beyond the scope of a teacher's stated contractual obligations.

### **2.4.3 Collegial cultural misunderstanding**

Given what international research tells us about the experiences of Indigenous and ethnic minority teachers operating in Eurocentric institutions, it was unsurprising to discover that research in this country suggests that Māori teachers often experience varying degrees of conflict with non-Māori colleagues (Archie, 1993; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). Some of the discord stems from a general lack of cultural understanding and ignorance and some from intolerance and judgemental attitudes. A number of former teachers in the Mitchell & Mitchell (1993) study reported antagonism from some colleagues, who viewed Māori language as a "sop to keep whingeing Māori quiet" and who believed that "there was no place for things Māori in the education system" (p. 72).

### **2.4.4 Professional Isolation**

The sense of isolation experienced by Māori teachers is a well-documented phenomenon (Archie, 1993; Livingstone, 1994; Marks, 1984; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). Respondents in the Mitchell and Mitchell study shared feelings of isolation and loneliness when they were the sole Māori teachers on staff. A number of participants in this same study described the feelings of isolation and loneliness as a result of cultural affinity, the feeling of not belonging or not being in one's own 'milieu' as opposed to animosity or indifference from colleagues. This isolation was most clearly articulated by a respondent in Livingstone's survey (1994) on the workloads of primary and intermediate school teachers in the Wellington region. His respondent stated:

As well as the stresses of mainstream classroom teachers I often feel "alone" in as far as there are no other staff who are able to give me the kind of specialised guidance I need to develop professionally as an immersion teacher. I spend a

great deal of time trying to devise activities and specific assessment techniques for learning and teaching in te reo Māori. (p. 40)

A Māori secondary school teachers' workload study, (Ministry of Education, 1999) also noted the sense of professional isolation felt by Māori teachers. Consistently, the respondents indicated that their main source of personal support came from whānau, and to a lesser degree, community groups, friends and colleagues. Marae committees, rūnanga, hapū and iwi were also mentioned as providing some support (Ministry of Education, 1999). At a professional level, the establishment of a support system involving a mentor from neighbouring schools to provide supervision and support was considered as important, particularly for younger/less experienced Māori teachers.

#### **2.4.5 Workload**

The increased demands placed on teachers since the Tomorrow's Schools reforms (1989) have manifested in a number of ways (Ministry of Education, 2011). Bloor & Harker (1995) found that secondary school teachers worked an average of 54.3 hours per week. In 1996, a national survey on the workload of Māori secondary school teachers was commissioned by Te Huarahi Māori Motuhake. The survey was conducted to look at the teaching experiences and workload issues specific to Māori as well as providing comparable data with the earlier Bloor & Harker general study. Bloor (1996) found that, on average, Māori secondary school teachers now worked 76.89 hours per week, an increase of over 40% since the previous study had been completed in 1995. Archie earlier proposed (1993) that a juggernaut of educational reforms had created new pressures and, additionally, that a Māori teacher's "workload escalated because you were Māori". Thus Archie proposed that the expectations and duties of Māori extend well beyond what would be considered the ordinary roles and functions of 'general' teachers.

In addition to their teaching role, Māori teachers often felt a sense of obligation and responsibility for Māori students (Bloor, 1996) and were frequently called upon in a disciplinary role (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). Mitchell & Mitchell (1993), for example, observed that, "[the] Māori teacher's class became a dumping ground to rid other teachers of difficult Māori pupils" (p. 609). Archie (1993, p. 80) similarly concluded that, "any Māori problems in the school end up on your plate".

For teachers teaching in bilingual and immersion environments the workload and accompanying stress increases exponentially. The increased demands for these teachers include developing and delivering programmes that serve the expectations of the school and the wider community. These teachers also face having to justify continually the importance and value of bilingual and immersion learning as well as the need to overcome negativity from staff and some sectors of the community (Cooper et al, 2010a; Robinson, Hohepa & Lloyd, 2009). This also needs to be acknowledged.

#### **2.4.6 Lack of resources**

During the 1990s a body of research indicated that there was a tremendous lack of teaching resources in both the primary and secondary sectors for Māori teachers (Archie, 1993; Livingstone, 1994; Ministry of Education, 1999; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). The development and maintenance of quality resources resulted in additional lesson preparation and consequently an increased workload. Mitchell & Mitchell (1993) commented:

A number of former teachers told us of working to midnight almost every night just to have enough materials to operate in the classroom the following day – converting maths gear and exercises to Māori, creating stories in te reo, games, charts, and so on were almost daily tasks. (p. 59)

Likewise, an immersion teacher who participated in the Livingstone survey said:

I spend a great deal of time trying to devise activities and specific assessment techniques for learning and teaching in Te Reo Māori (my second language) to children whose first language is really English, although they have been to Kohanga Reo. (Livingstone, 1994, p. 40)

Quality resources are not, however, limited to text books or language learning material. For many teachers having access to fluent speakers of Māori in the classroom, as well as involving and utilising the skills of kuia and kaumatua are as significant as having material resources (Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Macfarlane, 1998, 2004; Manning, 1998, 2008). In a report published by the Ministry of Education (1999), 16% of respondents identified that

having more Māori language teachers, resource people available in the classroom, more Māori on staff, as well as full time Māori counsellors, would make a positive difference to their teaching. Additional resources came second only to the reduction of workloads and structural changes. Given these findings it seems to be an opportune time to conduct a contemporary study that, amongst other things, can explore the resource needs of Māori teachers, today.

#### **2.4.7 Expectations from Māori**

Research suggests that the additional expectations and unwritten tasks required of Māori teachers are not limited to the schools themselves. The sense of duty to, and expectation from, their local Māori community is also present. These teachers often express a sense of responsibility for the overall education and well being of Māori students (Bloor, 1996; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). These tasks include serving as a positive role model, facilitating the use of te reo Māori and providing counselling functions, though typically the teachers are not trained or resourced to do this.

In a national survey of Māori secondary school teachers, Bloor (1996) found that 58% of the participants expressed that Māori teachers felt their sense of responsibility to the community was similar to the expectations from school parents, i.e. being a positive role model. Many of these expectations are repeated at a higher and somewhat more political level. Māori teachers, particularly those who work within their own rohe potae, are often expected to contribute at a hapū, and/or iwi. This may include attendance and involvement at hui as well as holding formal committee roles at one's own marae (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993).

#### **2.4.8 Stress**

The relatively small body of research central to this review suggests that many Māori teachers are affected by job-related stress (Bloor, 1996; Ministry of Education, 1999, 2008b, 2011; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). The research also indicates that this stress is greater for teachers working in bilingual and immersion environments than those in mainstream classes (Livingstone, 1994). This stress is the culmination of (i) heavy workloads, (ii) the additional expectations placed on Māori teachers by the schooling system and the community, (iii) the lack of resources, (iv) the feelings of isolation, absence of professional support and the need

‘to be everything for everyone’. All these demands contribute to levels of stress and the condition known as ‘burn-out’. Not surprisingly, one of the paramount reasons given (by respondents in a workload survey) for Māori secondary school teachers leaving the teaching profession was stress (Ministry of Education, 1999).

Research in Australia describes one of the greatest sources of stress for Indigenous teachers as being the expectation from the education system, colleagues and the wider school community that they will be responsible for all issues pertaining to indigenous students and indigenous education (Reid, 2004; Reid & Santoro, 2006; Santoro, 2007).

#### **2.4.9 Opportunities for Professional Development**

Professional development or up-skilling is widely regarded as essential for any profession and teaching is no exception. The increased workloads and administrative duties that have emerged since the 1989 reforms have not diminished nor have the ‘above load’ duties and expectations place upon Māori teachers. The literature encountered during this review suggests that these teachers often feel drained and have little or no time to recharge themselves, let alone take opportunities to further their own language development and up-skill (Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). Mitchell & Mitchell (1993) identified a number of needs felt by Māori teachers. There was a need to develop their own language proficiency and understanding of tikanga Māori, as well as having training in second language teaching methodologies. Specific training for teachers working in bilingual or Māori medium environments was also recognised as a need. Lastly, the opportunity to network with other Māori teachers to develop resources and share ideas on curriculum and assessment was also acknowledged. In a more recent study professional development was seen as one of seven factors affecting job satisfaction and support for Māori secondary school teachers (Ministry of Education, 1999).

### **2.5 Summary**

In this chapter the historical and political educational environments that teachers work within has been contextualised. After countless legislative acts of parliament, reforms, policies and strategies, instigated by various governments, the education system in New Zealand still does not adequately cater for Māori children and their whānau, or the teachers

tasked with educating Māori and other children. It seems evident that the New Zealand education system has fashioned a hidden curriculum assuming and defining what will be taught. This key finding recalls Macfarlane (1998) who alluded to the functions of schools as ‘assimilation agents’ perpetuating the beliefs, values and traditions of Pākehā culture through teacher role-modelling, curriculum content and institutional processes.

The literature review has also examined the experiences of Māori teachers in the compulsory primary and secondary sectors. International literature was also examined to gain an understanding of other indigenous and ethnic minority educators’ experiences. A number of themes have become apparent and are generally consistent throughout the national and international literature reviewed. Many of the themes highlighted in this chapter relating to Māori primary and secondary teachers are consistent with the research of Māori and other international ethnic minority academics within the tertiary sector. However, for the purposes of this research the literature on tertiary educators was excluded to maintain consistency and comparability to the research participants in this study.

Another prevalent theme throughout this literature review is that the education reforms of the 1980s onwards have imposed new demands and pressures on all teachers. However, the workload for Māori teachers still far exceeds what is expected of their non-Māori teaching colleagues. The demands and expectations placed on Māori teachers by the Māori community, the school and wider community are significant. Māori teachers are expected to assume tasks and responsibilities which frequently are not financially remunerated or formally acknowledged. The next chapter will now discuss the methodology and design of this research project.

## **3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata.

*What is the most important thing in this world? It is people, it is people, it is people.*

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter outlines the research objectives and the methodology underpinning the overall data collection process. The approaches used in this research are supported by academic argument from research exponents. The research objectives and methodology fundamental to this project emerged from ongoing discussion with colleagues, mentors and friends over a 12-month period. Dialogue with potential participants and key stakeholders was undertaken concurrently, an approach that is crucial to kaupapa Māori research methodologies and will be discussed later in the chapter.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section presents an overview of the kaupapa Māori and narrative research methods employed and provides a justification for the methods and procedures used in this research. The second and third sections detail the study's data collection methods. Phase one consisted of the collection and analysis of a detailed questionnaire while phase two allowed the participants to share their experiences and knowledge orally in the form of a semi-structured interview. The fourth and final section outlines the perceived limitations of this research, including the restrictions of a small-scale project.

### **3.2 Research methodology**

The methodology used in this research project reflects a flexible fusion of qualitative and kaupapa Māori procedures.



### **3.2.1 Qualitative methodology**

Qualitative research methods provide “a way of understanding people and their behaviour” (Burns, 2000, p. 391) and the means to collect data that is “... rich in description of people, places and conversations ...” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 2). One reason for adopting a narrative approach was because of the well-documented accounts of oral histories, traditions and story-telling that exist within ‘Maoridom’. The use of narrative inquiry in this study aligns with the works of Bishop & Glynn (1999), who state that “story [telling] was and remains a strongly culturally preferred method of imparting knowledge” (p. 179). Clandinin and Connelly (2000) also claim that narrative is a way to understand experience, whereby experience reflects the stories that people live and tell. In employing this narrative approach I have followed the seven steps typical of narrative research identified by Cresswell (2008). The first of these seven steps involves identifying a phenomenon that addresses an educational problem. The second step involves purposefully selecting an individual or individuals from whom one can learn about the phenomenon. The researcher then collects the story from that individual and/or retells it. After collaborating with the participant-storyteller, the researcher then writes a story about the participant’s experiences. The seventh and final step requires the accuracy of the report to be validated.

### **3.2.2 Kaupapa Māori methodology**

As a Ngāi Tahu researcher working with Māori participants from different iwi backgrounds, I wanted to develop a methodology within a kaupapa Māori framework that is consistent with the works of Te Awēkotuku (1991), Bishop (1992, 1996), G. Smith (1992, 1992b), L. Smith (1999), Irwin (1994) and Kana and Tamatea (2006). Smith (1999, p. 120), for example, lists seven culturally appropriate practices that Māori researchers should be mindful of when conducting kaupapa Māori research. These practices or principles include: ‘Aroha ki te tangata’ (a respect for people), ‘Titiro, whakarongo ... kōrero’ (look, listen ... speak), ‘Manaaki ki te tangata’ (share and host people, be generous), ‘Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata’ (do not trample over the *mana* of people) and ‘kaua e mahaki’ (don’t flaunt your knowledge and underpin the idea of respect in the researcher – participant relationship). The notion of ‘kanohi kitea’ (‘the seen face’, that is to present yourself to people ‘face-to-face’) represents the idea that it is important to maintain contact and keep the bonds of the relationship strong. This principle is also associated with whanaungatanga

where considerable value is placed on maintaining contact with extended whānau and hapū. Finally as a researcher employing a kaupapa Māori framework, the idea of ‘kia tupato’ (be cautious) requires addressing where one needs to be alert and manage ethical and customary obligations within the research paradigm.

Kana and Tamatea (2006) have also identified key understandings that embody kaupapa Māori thoughts and values. These six understandings include mana whenua, whakapapa, whanaungatanga, ahi kā, kanohi ki te kanohi and kanohi kitea. In relation to research settings, Kana and Tamatea propose that the notion of ‘mana whenua’ or political control or authority over land would imply that researchers should return to where their research projects are located to better enable them to appreciate the stories shared by research participants and/or to form stronger links to the ancestral landscapes often central to their participants’ narratives.

Kana and Tamatea suggest that researchers and participants should be aware of, and accept, each other’s whakapapa. Furthermore, researchers should be required to have a continued and open dialogue with participants and practise whanaungatanga. This concept is about the relationship and the values of trust, loyalty, dedication, commitment and aroha, or respect earned and reciprocated between a researcher and the participants. This idea aligns and supports Smith’s (1999) initial principle of ‘Aroha ki te tangata’ or a respect for people, as noted previously. Walker (as cited in Kana & Tamatea, 2006, p. 43) describes the implications of ahi kā or the ‘well-lit fires of the home area’. The concept of ahi kā applied in a research setting involves the participants and their whānau referring to the stories of their ‘home fires’ and inevitably, senses of place and identity. Given the significance of ahi kā, and the sense of place-attachment, it is important that researchers continually return ‘home’ to contribute to their ‘home fires’ and to keep them ‘lit’.

Kana and Tamatea’s account of kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face), meanwhile, is embodied in the whakataukī ‘He kitenga kanohi, he hokinga whakaaro’ which means: ‘when a face is seen, after a period of absence, memories associated with that face return’. This idea allows the participants to share their stories in a manner where trust and integrity is already understood. Thus, kanohi kitea (the seen face) can be signified by a researcher participating, or being seen, in the participants’ community and thus being accepted by the participants.

### **3.3 Negotiating the research design: Building trust with participants**

Purposeful sampling was used in this study in the form of maximal variation sampling. Purposeful sampling is used by researchers to “intentionally select individuals and sites to learn or understand the central phenomenon” (Cresswell, 2008, p. 214). Patton (2002) observes that purposeful sampling “focuses on selecting information-rich cases whose study will illuminate the questions under study” (p. 230). I favoured this method because the sample represented a cohort of people who firstly, suited the purpose of this study and secondly, were conveniently accessible to me. As described earlier in this study, the participants have low levels of proficiency in speaking and comprehending te reo Māori but remain committed to learning te reo and teaching it effectively.

The participants in this study had all attended Kura Raumati, which I taught, as a condition of their entry into the Hōaka Pounamu course. This made these participants distinctive from all other Hōaka Pounamu participants in the programme that year. While one acknowledges the diversity of these research participants, representativeness of Māori as a group was not a primary concern for this study. Therefore ‘Whaihua Tatau’, a random stratified sampling method, was not appropriate for use in this study (Fitzgerald, Durie, Black, Durie, Christensen, & Taiapa, 1996). Despite this, these participants still provide an extensive range of contemporary professional realities, incorporating socio-economic circumstances, cultural experiences and professional and personal variances.

Participants were recruited using professional networks and relationships built over a period of 13 months during the course I taught and the months following it. A high level of trust and respect (whanaungatanga) was established prior to a formal approach. This assisted my request for individuals to participate in the study and was the result of kanohi kitea or the ‘seen face’. It seemed necessary and a cultural prerequisite, that a sense of whanaungatanga be established prior to my formally approaching individuals to participate in any study (Bishop, 1996; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; L. Smith, 1999).

Further to the idea of whanaungatanga, a Collegial Research Reference Group was also established to enhance the quality assurance processes central to the smooth development of this research. This group comprised my supervisory team, colleagues who had a vested or significant interest in the research and also colleagues who were able to provide research

mentorship. Irwin (as cited in Smith, 1999, p. 184) comments that mentorship is one of the characteristics of kaupapa Māori research being enacted in a ‘culturally safe’ manner.

While identifying research problems, objectives and methodologies in collaboration with friends and contacts, I continued to meet informally with participants to discuss the project and gather ideas that they had for inclusion in this study. Participants were also invited to attend a conference where my tentative research objectives and methodology were outlined (Torepe, 2008).

### **3.4 Ethical Considerations**

A formal thesis proposal was developed which was reviewed by the Collegial Research Reference Group for comment and feedback. The proposal was then submitted to the University of Canterbury’s College of Education Human Ethics Committee. This proposal was approved by that Committee on 9 September, 2009.

#### **3.4.1 Ethical considerations in relation to the methodology and risk management strategies**

Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007) advise that researchers must always find the balance between the rights of the participants and the demands that are placed upon them with the responsibilities and expectations of the researchers. This concept is known as the ‘costs/benefits ratio’. Consequently, this study was subject to the rigours of the University of Canterbury College of Education Ethics Committee. Moreover, as previously mentioned, the tikanga (ethical principles) of a kaupapa Māori framework also underpinned this research, and its principles were enacted accordingly.

Within a Western research paradigm there was also a requirement for written information to be given and consent to be obtained. Consequently an information sheet (see Appendix 1) clearly detailing all potential risks were explained and a consent form (see Appendix 2) were forwarded to participants outlining the details of the study. This documentation clearly outlined and explained issues around participants’ anonymity and the use of pseudonyms to diminish any possible risks of identification. An information sheet (Appendix 3) and consent form (Appendix 4) was also sent to the principal of each school where the

participants taught. Additionally participants and their schools were also advised that the research was being conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the University of Canterbury College of Educations Ethics Committee. All precautions to protect the privacy of participants and their schools were taken. All statistical data relating to each participant and school was also aggregated to minimise the risk of identification.

My research topic may be classified as being ‘sensitive’ by some, especially given the nature of the relatively low student intake into Hōaka Pounamu each year, coupled with the relatively small size of the local Māori community that they operate within. It is possible that people may speculate about who said ‘what’ or which schools participated. I have therefore taken appropriate steps to protect the identities of participating schools, and the confidentiality of participants.

Throughout the research period data collected during the study was securely stored (including electronic data in password-protected form) and was viewed only by myself, a transcriber and my supervisors. All data gathered was and will be used only for the purposes of this study and/or any related conference papers or journal articles. Participants were fully informed about the project and their rights and responsibilities, including the right to withdraw from the study or withdraw any information they had provided, at any time, without penalty. Koha was given to the participants to acknowledge their generosity in choosing to participate in this research project and sharing their time and experiences with me.

### **3.5 Research Process**

The research questions that were developed following discussions with interested practitioners included: What goals did this group of teachers set for themselves and why? What challenges and opportunities did these participants face both professionally and personally after they returned to school? What strategies did they use to negotiate these challenges? The research process was underpinned by two overlapping phases of data collection.

### **3.5.1 Phase One: Questionnaire**

Phase one of this research consisted of the collection and analysis of a detailed written questionnaire. The questionnaire, according to Cohen, Manon & Morrison (2007), “is a widely used and useful instrument for collecting survey information, providing structured, [and] often numerical data” (p. 317). The questionnaire used in this research project contained a combination of factual, dichotomous and open-ended questions. Cohen, Manon & Morrison (2007) state it is the open-ended question that “is a very attractive device for smaller scale research or for those sections of a questionnaire that incite an honest, personal comment from respondents”. Responses to open-ended questions “might contain ‘gems’ of information that otherwise might not be caught in the questionnaire” (p. 330). Participants were sent an 18-page questionnaire (see Appendix 5) seeking demographic information and information about influential learning experiences that participants had encountered on the Summer School and Hōaka Pounamu programme that they might wish to transfer into their classrooms. The questionnaire also sought to elicit information about the participants’ use of te reo Māori prior to and after completion of the Hōaka Pounamu course and also information about their participation in cultural activities within their respective whānau, hapū and iwi settings. This information provided a foundation for discussion during the second phase of the data collection when individual interviews were carried out.

### **3.5.2 Phase Two: Interviews with participants**

The second phase of the data collection process was carried out using a semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix 6). This provided a more in-depth investigation of data collected in the first phase and enabled the identification of additional sources of data. The objectives which guided this second phase included a further investigation of the significant challenges and opportunities the interviewees identified after a year in the classroom, and a consideration of the strategies they used to negotiate these. The goals that these teachers had, set for themselves were considered and reflected on.

These semi-structured interviews enabled participants to share their experiences of the first 12 months back at school. Burns (2000) suggests that such “illustrative data provides a sense of reality” (p. 423) that indicates what an informant feels and perceives in a specific point of time. The interview technique also allowed participants the freedom to comment on

specific content of the research without being confined by overly structured wording or format.

I chose to interview the participants because, as Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) suggest, the interview process provides a “flexible tool for data gathering” and because “the order of the interview may be controlled while still giving space for spontaneity, and the interviewer can press not only for complete answers but also for responses about complex and deep issues” (p. 349). More specifically an elite interview or ‘key informant interview’ according to Anderson (1999) is valuable when directed at a respondent “who has particular experience or knowledge about the subject being discussed” (p. 191).

As Smith (1999) and Hemara (2000) suggest, the opportunity to *kōrero ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’* (face-to-face) is often found embedded within the broad framework of kaupapa Māori methodologies. This, accordingly, allowed me to conduct this research in a culturally-responsive manner. Interviews were conducted at a suitable time and venue of each participant’s choice and took approximately 60 minutes to complete. With the permission of participants, all interviews were audio-taped with the assistance of a *Sony ICD-UX60 IC Recorder*, transcribed and returned to the participant for verification and correction. This process, known as ‘legitimation’ is important because as Bishop (1998) suggests:

The kaupapa Māori position regarding legitimation is based on the notion that the world constitutes multiple differences and that there are different cultural systems that legitimately make sense of and interact meaningfully with the world. Kaupapa Māori research, based on a different world-view from that of the dominant discourse, makes this political statement while also acknowledging the need to recognise and address the ongoing effects of racism and colonialism in the wider society. (p. 12)

The focus of the interviews was twofold. Firstly, I focused on a deeper investigation of the teachers’ pedagogical experiences after they had returned to the classroom, as well as the challenges they faced incorporating kaupapa Māori into their teaching environment. I also sought to investigate the strategies that these participants used to negotiate the challenges they faced. The interview schedule (see Appendix 6) consisted of seven questions.

Each interview was audio-taped, recorded and transcribed for thorough data analysis. To conduct this analysis, I read each transcript and noted patterns of recurring themes among the transcripts. I then compared the findings and identified a number of dominant themes in the interview narratives.

### **3.6 Data Analysis**

Data analysis, according to Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2007) is “making sense of data in terms of participants’ definitions of the situation noting patterns, themes categories and regularities” (p. 184). To assist this process of “making sense”, I adopted a strategy that Miles and Huberman (1994), refer to as “cross-case analysis”, the function of which is “to enhance generalizability” and “to deepen understanding and explanation” (p. 173). Full interview transcripts were developed, and lists of quotes extracted from the interview transcripts were given to the research participants to check in accordance with the principles of *utu* or reciprocity and *whakapono* meaning integrity. These transcripts assisted the participants to reflect upon their answers to questions during the interviews and enabled them to make any amendments they deemed necessary in hindsight. I also drew upon Creswell’s (2002) advice and utilised a colour coding system for identifying any emerging themes and sub-themes from the interviews and pre-interview questionnaires.

To further assist my interpretation of this emerging data, I developed a matrix framework inspired by Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model of human development (discussed in Chapter Two). This helped me to further identify the key issues and themes and to place them into their appropriate socio-ecological contexts for discussion.

#### **3.6.1 Transcriptions**

The initial step in the data analysis process was to transcribe the six interviews. This transcription was completed by a person, unknown to the interviewees, who had signed a statement agreeing to respect the confidentiality of the interviewees and their schools (see Appendix 7).



### **3.6.2 Data management**

The analysis of the data was a three-step process. In the initial stage of analysis the data was organised by the repetition of themes and patterns were identified and recorded from each of the participants' transcripts. Such an approach "automatically groups the data and enables themes, patterns and similar to be seen at a glance" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 466). The transcripts were then reread numerous times in order to gain familiarity with the data and common themes voiced by each participant were charted under the already identified themes, along with the participant's pseudonym. This two-stage process allowed the comparing of themes without the voice of each participant being lost. The final stage of the data analysis process involved selecting the five dominant themes that were most commonly voiced by the participants for further in depth discussion in the following chapter.

### **3.7 Limitations of the research**

The main limitation imposed on this study has been the constraint of university demands around a Masters degree. Factors of time and project size, in particular, have been largely dictated by academic concerns. Given the nature of the research it was important that the individual voices of the participants in this project were not lost through the amalgamation of data but indeed given the respect that they demanded. Furthermore, while there were no issues with the research process, it is conceivable that if the teachers' experiences were documented over a longer period of time, the challenges and experiences may have been somewhat different.

The teachers who participated in this research project were employed in either state primary or secondary schools that resided within the research geographic boundary. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the narratives from the teachers employed at secondary schools told a different story from those employed in primary schools. This may be attributed to the different roles that secondary school teachers fulfilled in specifically being a teacher of te reo Māori, whereas teachers in the primary sector are expected to teach in a variety of curriculum areas. Therefore it may have been useful to have limited this research project to teachers working specifically in one sector. However, this study does provide a useful basis for future research within both educational sectors.

The research sample was also limited geographically to Canterbury in the South Island of New Zealand which has a smaller population of Māori teachers than other regions of New Zealand. While it is important to acknowledge that Māori teachers cannot be categorised as a homogenous group, and while it may be difficult to speculate about other parts of the country, it is possible that if this research was replicated in provinces with a similar demographic, the same narrative may be echoed throughout New Zealand.

### **3.8 Summary**

In this chapter I have explained the methodology that was used in this study. A narrative approached underpinned by a kaupapa Māori methodology framework is used to examine the experiences of six Hōaka Pounamu graduates returning to their classrooms and schools. The ethical issues relating to this study have been outlined, as have the data gathering methods. In the following chapter I present the findings of the research, identifying patterns of dominant and recurring themes from the data that was collected.

## 4 RESEARCH FINDINGS

He moana pukepuke e ekengia e te waka

*Choppy waters can be navigated*

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a synopsis of the data collected in Phase One and Phase Two of this research project. The first section of this chapter will provide a general overview of the participants as a collective, including demographic information addressing the average age of participants, tribal affiliations and teaching experience. The following section then reintroduces each participant, briefly describing their background and outlining some of their key responses collected during the data collection. Any significant factors that may have influenced their teaching experiences during the previous year will also be discussed. Finally, this chapter will introduce the key themes that were identified during the analysis of the data which relate to Padilla's (1994) concept of 'cultural taxation'. These, in turn, will be discussed in greater depth later, in chapter five.

### 4.2 Profile of the Participants

This section introduces the teachers and their schools by providing a description of their personal and professional backgrounds. Six of the seven participants who had initially expressed their interest in participating in this research returned the completed questionnaires. All respondents identified with at least one Iwi (tribe) and listed at least one hapū (sub-tribe). The age distribution was represented by four participants in the 25-39 age bracket and two participants in the 40-59 age bracket. One male participant was represented in each of the age brackets. The numbers of years of teaching experience ranged from five to 22 years.

All of the participating teachers taught at schools that were located in Waitaha. Five schools were located in Christchurch, one in North Canterbury and another was situated in Mid Canterbury. This group of schools included two primary (one contributing and one full primary) and four secondary schools. Of these six schools, five were state co-educational, and included one upper decile (8-10) school, three middle decile (5-7) schools and two

lower decile (1-4) schools. Included in these participating schools was a school that offered a bilingual programme to its students and wider community. The participants in the study affiliated themselves to the following iwi: Ngāi Tahu (3), Te Ātiawa (1), Waitaha (1), Kāti Waewae (1), Ngāti Kahungunu (2), Tainui (1), Ngāti Raukawa (1) and Wharekauri (1). All teachers were interviewed in December, 2009 at a place of their choice. While there appeared to be no direct correlation between the participants' language proficiency and where they were born and raised, it was apparent that the participant who now lived and worked within his rohe potae had the strongest connections to his hapū and iwi.

In order to protect the privacy and anonymity of the participants and their schools, pseudonyms have been used. The pseudonyms selected reflect the names of various types of pounamu. The reason for this is that pounamu relates to the qualification linking these participants (Hōaka Pounamu). The types of pounamu used as pseudonyms are Inanga, Kahurangi, Tangiwai, Raukaraka Kawakawa and Totoweka.

The first teacher interviewed was identified as Inanga. She was interviewed at her secondary school on the 10<sup>th</sup> December 2009 and had six years of teaching experience. She was brought up with 'Pākehā values' and her school 'really reinforced those Pākehā values as the only ones that were important to have'. Inanga studied te reo Māori until she left secondary school and then recommenced her studies to '300 level at Massey University'.

Kahurangi was the second teacher interviewed and taught in the lowest decile school. She was interviewed at the University of Canterbury College of Education on the 14<sup>th</sup> December 2009. Unlike all the other teachers interviewed, she was working in a contributing primary school that provided two Bilingual classes. Kahurangi had been a teacher for nineteen years. She attended Wellington College of Education and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, a kaupapa Māori tertiary institution. Kahurangi grew up in an environment where te reo Māori me ōna tikanga was not practised. Unlike all the other teachers interviewed, she attended and completed an undergraduate degree at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi where she established a foundation of te reo.

The third teacher was identified as Tangiwai. He had been a teacher for 22 years and was interviewed at a local High School on the 15<sup>th</sup> December 2009. During his formative years Tangiwai had few experiences in the usage of te reo Māori in familial or community

settings. He only heard te reo spoken by the Māori language teacher at his secondary school, though he did not study the language. Tangiwai attended the University of Canterbury and graduated with his teaching qualification from the Christchurch College of Education.

Raukaraka was the fourth teacher interviewed and was the Teacher in Charge of Māori at a state secondary school. She was interviewed at her secondary school on the 16<sup>th</sup> December 2009. Like Inanga, she had been a teacher for six years. Unlike all (of) the other teachers, she attended a small, country, bilingual primary school where Māori cultural practices and customs were considered normal. It was not until secondary school, however, that she 'became aware of the colour of my skin' and felt 'a bit shy about things in a cultural way'. Though te reo was not spoken fluently in her familial surroundings, many Māori words and phrases were used and heard, particularly in social settings. Raukaraka studied te reo Māori to School Certificate level at secondary school and to 200 level at the University of Canterbury.

The fifth teacher was identified as Kawakawa and was interviewed at her home on the 17<sup>th</sup> December 2009. She had taught for thirteen years. Kawakawa was not brought up in a strong Māori community where te reo was used or heard. Most of her initial encounters with Māori cultural practices occurred at secondary school where she studied te reo at School Certificate level. She later completed 100 and 200 level te reo at the University of Canterbury and also studied 'traditional [Māori] society papers' in her undergraduate degree to stage three.

The sixth and final teacher was identified as Totoweka, the only teacher born outside of New Zealand. He was interviewed at the offices of Te Puni Kokiri, Christchurch, on the 21<sup>st</sup> December 2009. Like Kahurangi, Totoweka also taught in a school that was located in a low socio-economic status area. He had five years teaching experience. Totoweka, like Raukaraka, grew up in an environment that nurtured and fostered cultural customs and traditions. Growing up next to his pā, there was a clear continuity between his experiences of being not only Māori, but Ngāi Tahu, and these attributes were fostered at school despite having teachers and lecturers from other tribal affiliations than his own. During childhood, Totoweka heard ceremonial language spoken at pōwhiri at his marae, the centre of traditional Māori community life. He advised that after the initial mihi, and small whakataukī, speakers would always return to speaking in English. Very rarely would

members of his whānau who could speak te reo do so, and then only quietly to others who could also converse in Māori. Totoweka stated that, ‘my Pōua spoke to me once in Māori. I got a real fright when I heard him’. At secondary school Totoweka studied te reo Māori to Sixth Form Certificate level. As an adult, he is actively involved in whānau, hapū and iwi affairs.

### **4.3 Participants’ Narratives of Recent Teaching Experiences**

#### **Inanga**

Inanga taught in a state secondary school, a school with one of the higher decile ratings in this study. Inanga had been a teacher for six years. She was brought up with “Pākehā values” which were reinforced through her primary and secondary education. However Inanga studied te reo Māori at both secondary school and then again at university. Inanga had set a number of goals for herself for the year of her return to teaching after the completion of her Hōaka Pounamu course. Like the other participants, one of her goals was to raise the language proficiency of her students. She said:

I knew the benefits of being in immersion for learning so I tried to create the classes where the kids knew that when they walked in at the beginning of each lesson that it was te reo Māori for a certain amount of time and that would vary from day to day or week to week depending on what we were doing but they quickly got used to knowing that I wasn’t going to be speaking English in probably the first 10-15 minutes of every lesson, so yes, yeah there was a conscious effort by me to try and improve proficiency

When asked about some of the challenges that she faced during the year, Inanga made the following comment which typified the cultural and professional isolation she experienced as a teacher of te reo Māori:

I knew that it was going to be quite lonely. And that was one of the things that I noticed the most about changing curriculum areas was that I’d gone from a really collaborative, quite close department who socialised together, even on weekends or in holidays, that had, ... that shared the same philosophy and we

team taught quite a lot. Coming from that to being over here by yourself, ... so [you] definitely felt lonely and isolated quite a lot.

When further describing the challenges of being a Māori teacher in a Eurocentric institution, Inanga made the following response which exemplified her frequent feelings of cultural and professional isolation (and cultural taxation):

A staff member felt left out because the pōwhiri was in Māori and they didn't understand what was being said, and you know, I try not to take it personally but you can't help it when people make those comments, you feel a bit gutted and you think "oh my gosh, we really are still in the dark ages" and people, not that it's the dark ages, but just that there is such a lack of awareness and understanding.

A further illustration of the notion of cultural taxation was the expectation that Inanga undertake the cultural responsibilities within and on behalf of her school. The pōwhiri held at the beginning of the year to welcome new students highlighted this. "You are [just] expected to do that". Furthermore when there were issues around Māori students' behaviour it was expected that the school would "send them to her [Inanga] to sort out". There were two significant factors, however, that prevented Inanga's teaching experience from being intolerable (following her return to school after completing the Hōaka Pounamu course). Firstly, when Inanga returned to her school, she left her teaching position in another curriculum area to become the school's Māori language teacher. Whilst this (te reo Māori) was a new curriculum area for her, Inanga was fortunate to have already established a rapport with some supportive colleagues, the principal and senior management team.

Secondly, when Inanga commenced this new position there were no schemes of work, resources or unit plans for any of the three classes that she was teaching. As a result, Inanga worked hard to maintain her ties with other Māori teachers whom she had met on the Hōaka Pounamu course. One such colleague became her mentor and 'buddy' during the course of the year. They met fortnightly, alternating meetings at each other's school. This relationship was vital for Inanga throughout the year and led to their schools collaborating on the design of assessment and noho marae activities. Though Inanga's Principal gave her the option of returning to her previous curriculum area at the end of year if she chose, she decided to take

“another bite at the apple”. Inanga believed that “it’ll be easier next year [2011] and in many ways I’ll be a lot more aware, especially the teaching, the teaching programme”.

### **Kahurangi**

Kahurangi taught in a local, contributing primary school. The school provided two bilingual classes though it was not registered with bilingual status. Kahurangi had nineteen years teaching experience and had experience in teaching in English medium and bilingual learning environments. She had taught in North and South Islands schools. Kahurangi had a strong background in Māori education, having completed an undergraduate degree at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi. Given her depth of experience working in schools throughout New Zealand, the following comment was quite poignant with regard to the unique challenges facing teachers of te reo Māori located in Ōtautahi and, indeed, the Waitaha region:

I think moving from the North Island to Christchurch Ōtautahi it was quite a culture shock going in to a school and whereas up north, even within the main auraki mainstream there is a lot more acceptance, that’s my own experience. Whereas coming down here what some people [...] think of bilingual education is a lot different to my thoughts and what my experiences have been.

When discussing support strategies that Kahurangi employed to overcome the challenges of teaching te reo in Christchurch, she frequently mentioned the support that she received from some of her Hōaka Pounamu colleagues. She stated, amongst other things, that “I’ve been able to talk to them [Hōaka Pounamu colleagues] and that’s probably where I’ve had the most amount of support to be honest”. In terms of the kaupapa that she had set for the year, and despite the challenges she faced, Kahurangi felt she had made progress and she particularly felt satisfied with the growth of her students’ grasp of te reo Māori.

The children have been awesome. I’ve watched them grow, I can hear them kōrero and that’s been my biggest thing. I’ll sit there and go, ‘wow’, they’re not often, but they do, and they follow my, whatever level of reo I teach them, but they follow it.

Kahurangi moved to Christchurch to complete Hōaka Pounamu. She applied for, and won, a teaching position at a local primary school. The school had a reputation for being whānau-



based and was underpinned with a strong sense of tikanga. This was highly attractive to Kahurangi. However, the school had undergone significant structural changes in the months leading up to Kahurangi's appointment. Changes in the management and leadership of the school coupled with the absence of key people whom Kahurangi viewed as pillars of support, resulted in a very challenging year for her. Coming into the school with a strong sense of tikanga Māori, Kahurangi was saddened when there was no pōwhiri held at the commencement of her appointment. Somewhat ironically however, Kahurangi "was 'made' to karanga every new person after that".

The decline of Māori leadership within the school and the increase in her own critical awareness during the Hōaka Pounamu course greatly impacted on the experience that she had during the year. For Kahurangi the expectations that she had of the school were by no means synonymous with her teaching experiences. Kahurangi has since resigned from her position and returned home to be with her whānau (in the North Island). She is actively seeking a leadership role within a local school, a goal she had set for herself at the beginning of the year. She is also investigating pursuing further academic study and retraining in the secondary education sector.

### **Tangiwai**

Tangiwai is a secondary school teacher with over twenty years of teaching experience. He did not grow up hearing te reo Māori being spoken, nor did he experience tikanga Māori in his familial environments. One of the key priorities for Tangiwai, after completing the Hōaka Pounamu course, was to increase the community involvement in his school and particularly to engage more with his students. Throughout the year, Tangiwai was fortunate to gain support from a local kaumatua who came into his Year 9 te reo Māori class. Tangiwai said:

To me, it's an overall plan of trying to pull the community in. It's not just because he's matatau, but he's a kaumatua and he can say things I can't say to the kids and stuff like that, so he pulls in all his personal experience.

In relation to the staff and management of the school, Tangiwai acknowledged that attitudinal change and critical awareness can take time. While he acknowledged that a programme like Te Kotahitanga could not be implemented in his school, because of low

Māori student numbers, he believed that a professional development programme would still be hugely beneficial. He suggested that:

If these teachers were interested [in Te Kotahitanga] and you took them away for a few days to a marae and did tikanga and reo stuff like that and they made an extra effort, they might come back in to the class and they'd see some benefit.

Tangiwai added that:

You should be able to sit down with the children's names on a real simple level and just say 'you know this is how you say the student's name' and you go, go through and say it properly and the children will notice won't they?

While on the Hōaka Pounamu course, Tangiwai decided to look for a new teaching position that required a higher level of proficiency than required in his current position. Coming from a curriculum area where only basic commands and phrases were used, Tangiwai wanted to use his new language and teaching skills more fully. He was successful in applying for a position at another school where he taught in his established curriculum area but also had a year 9 te reo Māori option class. Not only did this new school allow Tangiwai to teach a reo Māori class, but it was also stronger in kaupapa Māori, as was its school community.

Tangiwai commenced this position in Term 2 the year following the Hōaka Pounamu course. A significant benefit of this new school was that there was already a Māori language teacher employed. Consequently Tangiwai was not as affected by feelings of professional isolation as were some of the other participants. Since interviewing Tangiwai, the former Māori language teacher has left the school and Tangiwai has now won that position. While not affected as much as the other participants by the additional cultural expectations placed on him, Tangiwai still comments, in relation to leading professional development within his school: "There is a bit of PD to be done with them ... that is one thing that will happen next year. I think, we didn't get around to it this year... but that's just been [due] to time constraints".

## **Raukaraka**

Raukaraka, a teacher with six years of teaching experience, was employed at a co-educational state secondary school in Canterbury. Unlike any of the other participants, Raukaraka attended a small, country, bilingual school (North Island) where tikanga Māori was considered the norm. While te reo Māori was not spoken fluently in her familial surrounds, she did hear occasional use of te reo, predominately at social occasions. Raukaraka studied te reo Māori at secondary school and also at university. One of the challenges that Raukaraka anticipated facing after leaving Hōaka Pounamu and her reo Māori speaking peers, was that not only would her reo Māori regress but also that she was leaving a strong kaupapa Māori environment.

I knew that not being around other speakers that my reo would go backwards. I was a bit worried that I might lose motivation in a way. I was just worried about heading back into mainstream, because I knew there's just that resistance, especially in Christchurch.

She added that:

You know I came out of Hōaka feeling really quite ready and I felt quite confident and then I realised when I got here, a lot of that confidence was in fact my colleagues from Hōaka, because they were all very confident people.

When reflecting on the year that followed her return to school (after completing the Hōaka Pounamu course), Raukaraka remarked:

I was a bit of a doormat this year and so I do know that, but at the same time just knowing that's not the way that it's going to stay. But I had to envision where it is that I want to end up. Because you know I had to work that out for myself because [you've got to] choose your battles and I wasn't sure what was worth fighting for... As I said, this year was a real experience and so I think an accomplishment ... is knowing more of the direction I want to head. How to set goals, like what my goals are and sort of knowing who I'm going to use and creating networks and people, friends of the school, friends for me.

On the completion of Hōaka Pounamu, Raukaraka returned to her school as the Māori language teacher, having previously taught in a different curriculum area. Not only did Raukaraka face the challenges of teaching a new curriculum area but she also held the position of whānau class liaison as well as maintaining a leadership role in her former curriculum area. The expectations that the school placed on Raukaraka, following her return, were significant and typical of the forms of cultural taxation experienced by the teachers who participated in this research. Raukaraka, when questioned on these additional responsibilities commented: “It’s just the expectations attached to the role, you know those unwritten ones... you know someone is coming to the school [though] I have no idea why and yet at the last minute I am asked to do something”. In addition to her teaching, Raukaraka developed a staff cultural support manual, ran professional development sessions for staff at her school and was responsible for the implementation of Ka Hikitia. While she was not compensated financially for the responsibility of Ka Hikitia, her principal did allow a number of non-contacts to instigate this programme. Raukaraka also experienced occasions when she felt like she was the ‘school Māori’ but learnt not to take it personally. She spoke of the staff negativity around Māori students. “Every time something goes wrong with a student who happens to be Māori...I can’t and I don’t have time to be there for every single [Māori student]”. Also when talking about her experiences and the difficulties of working in a mainstream school she said: ‘I didn’t anticipate just how much you have to fight for things. I was a wee bit of a doormat. I was giving more than I was getting from the school’.

Throughout the year Raukaraka had to re-evaluate her goals and priorities in order to maintain a manageable workload. As mentioned earlier, Raukaraka maintained relationships with, and sought strength from, her fellow Hōaka Pounamu peers. The collaborative support from her peers was significant for herself personally and also professionally.

### **Kawakawa**

Kawakawa, a teacher with 13 years of teaching experience, was employed at a high decile, full primary school. Not growing up in a Māori community, she encountered most of her cultural experiences when she was studying te reo Māori at secondary school. She completed further te reo Māori papers as well as ‘traditional Māori society’ papers in her tertiary undergraduate degree. One of the goals that Kawakawa had set for herself during the year was to increase the level of te reo and tikanga Māori in her classroom. Amongst other

things she said: “I think that it is such an integral part of me, of myself as a teacher, of me as a person, but also, it’s an integral part of what I think should be an integral part of our education system”.

She also wanted to increase her own level of te reo Māori proficiency as well as usage. This was evident when she said:

I’ve got the confidence to pronounce names in front of people who are close friends, who say Akaroa (mispronounced) instead of Akaroa (correct Māori pronunciation) and all those sorts of things. I don’t bat an eyelid, I say “Hei konā” at the end of a phone conversation so it’s, so much more natural for me.

Though some of Raukaraka’s goals for the following year have shifted, the use of te reo me ōna tikanga is still very important to her. With regard to her future aspirations, Kawakawa shared that,

I’m really keen. I’ve got so many ideas and I want to go, the problem with me I need to āta haere (slow down) because I get excited about what possibilities there are... One of the things I would eventually like to do is either start a bilingual unit at x School or be employed in a bilingual unit when I feel my reo is up there’.

For personal reasons, Kawakawa was only employed part-time during the year following Hōaka Pounamu. In terms 1–3, Kawakawa was employed to cover teacher release. During this time, she was able to introduce kīwaha, waiata and hīmene to the four classes that she worked with. The teachers that she was releasing were highly supportive of her and any kaupapa Māori that she wanted to introduce.

One incident that Padilla (1994) documents as an example of cultural taxation was experienced by Kawakawa. The incident was generated by a colleague who handed her a document to be translated. Much to Kawakawa’s dismay, her colleague was not at all interested in the translation process nor was the colleague interested in the correct pronunciation of the Māori words, despite the material having implications for all staff and in fact the whole school. Fortunately for Kawakawa she had a supportive principal and these incidents were very rare. In term four, Kawakawa was appointed to 0.7 of a full-time position where she was able to establish her own routines and expectations with her class.

She has the backing of a supportive principal and to date has not encountered any resistance from colleagues or the wider school community.

### **Totoweka**

Totoweka, a teacher with five years of primary teaching experience, taught in a school that was located in a low socio-economic status area. He grew up in an environment that cultivated and fostered his tribal traditions and customary practices. Totoweka heard ceremonial language spoken around him as a child but te reo Māori was very rarely used outside of this context. As an adult, Totoweka was actively involved in whānau, hapū and iwi affairs, and often represented his rūnanga on the paepae. One of the significant challenges that Totoweka faced during the year were the students of Māori descent who had little or no awareness, or understanding, of their Māori identity:

The real challenge that I have is dealing with Māori students that don't want to do Māori, or dealing with Māori students who have never been to their marae or dealing with Māori students who, know that they're Māori but don't know which tribe or iwi they are, or dealing with Māori students who struggle being Māori and they know that they're Māori. They like some aspects of being Māori but they don't like other aspects of Māori. That's been a real challenge. I realise that our children come from homes, where they know they're Māori but don't really know that essence of being Māori or they haven't stood in their own marae or their tūrangawaewae or really been surrounded by their own kaumatua.

Moreover, he explained that:

Māori at this school are doing fine, look at the test results, but when you look at some of the children at school, they're Māori faces, they really lack any sort of identity. Like they're really good at being a Pākehā in the system, and I think they're not too sure how to be a Māori or how to achieve successfully as a Māori and be proud of it.

One goal that Totoweka wanted to achieve during the year was to develop the critical awareness of his colleagues and the school community about the sense of place and the unique history of the school surroundings. He said:

Just teaching people like where the school is sitting and how that site is significant to Māori and the people that were there. It is that critical awareness and it does enhance the people and the history of the community and we're just trying to make a good strong, healthy community for everyone.

Towards the end of Hōaka Pounamu, Totoweka, a primary trained teacher, won a permanent position at a local secondary school where the school was looking for a year 7/8 teacher as well as a Māori language teacher. The challenges of starting at a new school were compounded by the fact that Totoweka was also teaching in the secondary sector. Totoweka had to quickly familiarise himself with a new secondary school structure as well as the Ministry of Education's requirements around NCEA (National Certificate of Educational Achievement). Furthermore, as teacher in charge of 'Ka Hikitia', the responsibility for implementing this programme was also his. In taking on this role, Totoweka also felt responsible for informing and reminding his colleagues about the Treaty of Waitangi and what it meant to the school.

While Totoweka agreed to this additional role of implementing 'Ka Hikitia', he did not receive any financial compensation or recognition for doing so, thus highlighting the additional cultural taxation placed on him by his school or its leaders. Furthermore, prior to a visit from the Education Review Office, Totoweka's school realised that they lacked any real policies and procedures regarding Māori achievement or Māori attainment. Perhaps, given the experiences of the other participants in this study, it is not surprising to note that the responsibility of implementing the 'Ka Hikitia' programme fell on him. This responsibility also required Totoweka to be the interface on behalf of the school with the school's Māori whānau and the wider school community.

The reality of being the sole Māori teacher within a school was a challenge, but Totoweka was fortunate to have his networks of Hōaka Pounamu colleagues to draw upon for mutual support. He sought support from two colleagues in particular throughout the year, and when able to, went to their schools and observed different lessons. This collaboration and networking was significant in helping overcome the cultural taxation he experienced and any feelings of cultural and professional isolation (and loneliness).

#### **4.4 Analysis of Findings**

It is interesting to note that during the year that the participants were enrolled in Hōaka Pounamu, a level of self-reflection about professional goals took place. This resulted in a number of significant changes in teaching positions and successful applications at new schools. All three participants who were employed in secondary schools, changed curriculum areas and began positions as Māori language teachers, one of whom who was employed at a new school during the year. One primary teacher remained at her school and another remained in kaupapa Māori education. The third primary trained teacher moved to a new school that allowed for Year 7/8 teaching as well as the opportunity to teach te reo Māori at the National Certificate in Education Achievement (NCEA) level.

Not surprisingly these changes significantly influenced the experiences of the participants as they settled into new schools, routines, schemes of work and also the requirements of NCEA. The most significant challenge encountered by all of the participants was the professional isolation that they felt within their schools. They were more often than not, the only Māori language teacher within their school, but also the only teacher of Māori descent. Consequently, the participants were not able to work collaboratively in a team, nor were they able to seek advice on curriculum matters as sole members of a department. Feelings of isolation and loneliness were common. Notwithstanding this, some teachers had support from various individuals within the school and wider school community including colleagues, Board of Trustee members, parents and their own Māori whānau.

All participants noted that their Hōaka Pounamu colleagues were the most valuable forms of support that they had during the year. This was evidenced in the form of a te reo Māori language group that met during the year. One participant had a Hōaka Pounamu ‘buddy’ and the pair met regularly each fortnight to collaborate and moderate assessment together. One participant who had grown up in a very strong Māori community and continues to operate within his wider whānau, hapū and iwi environments expressed significant support from within these local networks. This was undoubtedly an advantageous support mechanism that other participants did not have.

Another challenge that was identified by the participants was the additional cultural expectations that were placed on them simply because they were Māori. It was not



uncommon for participants to be expected to organise school pōwhiri, facilitate professional development for staff and take leadership and responsibility for the schools' implementation of the Ministry of Education's current Māori education strategy 'Ka Hikitia'. As well, there was an expectation from school staff that a visible bicultural or kaupapa Māori interface within the school be developed during an Education Review Office visit. These additional expectations are all examples of Padilla's (1994) notion of cultural taxation. Furthermore, a higher than normal workload was also identified by the participants. Irrespective of their years of teaching experience, the cultural taxation placed on these participants, the incredibly high, and often unrealistic expectations, that they placed on themselves, meant that all the participants suffered from varying symptoms of emotional and physical 'burn-out'. The factor **most frequently** identified as the biggest cause of 'burn-out' was the participants' desire to maintain their own high professional standards whilst trying to meet the demands of their non-Māori colleagues. Fortunately, the participants were able to recognise this and employ strategies to try to remedy these tensions.

The strategic goals developed by the participants were primarily centred on supporting each other to increase their respective levels of language (te reo Māori) proficiency. Participants also wanted to provide quality teaching of te reo Māori and to increase the use of te reo in the classroom. Other strategic goals noted by the participants included raising the profile of things Māori within the school and staying linked with other educators who taught in the te reo Māori curriculum area. Reflection on a very busy year and the frustrations that some teachers encountered within their schools, led two participants to reconsider their professional goals for the future. For these participants this meant significant change in their careers including retraining in secondary education, seeking leadership and management positions and potentially leaving the teaching profession. The experiences that the participants recorded were often indicative of the quality of the professional relationships that they had with their senior management team, colleagues and the wider school community. All of the participants commented on incidents that challenged their (Māori) world views and influenced their experiences within their school. Cultural misunderstandings and ignorance, scepticism, lack of critical awareness and constant questioning of the cultural practices and pedagogies by non-Māori colleagues was rampant and frequently indicative of cultural taxation.

## 4.5 Summary

The six key themes that emerged in the data analysis all relate to the concept of cultural taxation and include the challenges of being Māori and working in English medium teaching environments that also reflect the prevailing Eurocentric ethos of the wider New Zealand society. A workload with too many responsibilities, coupled with additional cultural expectations and responsibilities, also put demands on their workloads. Cultural misunderstandings and ignorance of things Māori on the part of non-Māori colleagues also placed increased demands on Māori teachers as they were called upon to educate their peers or lead Crown policy initiatives on behalf of their school. Another consistent theme was the feeling of professional isolation from other Māori colleagues. More often than not the teachers interviewed were the only Māori language teacher (in the instance of secondary school teachers) or in fact the only Māori staff member within their school. Finally, all of the participants were consistent in their acknowledgement that their former Hōaka Pounamu peers provided the greatest source of professional support during the year.

As suggested previously, all of the six key themes (outlined above) relate to the concept of cultural taxation. Accordingly, the following chapter (Chapter Five) will examine these key themes, and their relationship to the concept of cultural taxation, in greater depth.

## 5 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Kei a tātau tēnei ao; kei a tātau hoki ēnei iti kahurangi.

*This is our world; these are the challenges we must strive to overcome.*

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes recurring themes that emerged from interviews with the research participants. These themes are related to relevant research and academic literature and draw further attention to Padilla's (1994) concept of 'cultural taxation'. As stated elsewhere, the primary objective of this research was to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experiences and various challenges confronting a group of Māori teachers working in English medium primary and secondary schools. These schools are all located in the Waitaha region of New Zealand's South Island. Each of these schools was, to varying degrees, dominated by what appears to be a Eurocentric institutional culture of schooling. This research, accordingly, focused closely upon the challenges that these teachers faced as they specifically sought to incorporate mātauranga Māori into their teaching praxis in that culture of schooling. Hence the methodology underpinning this research was designed specifically to record the narratives of these teachers and was driven by the following research questions:

1. What goals did this group of teachers set for themselves and why?
2. What challenges and opportunities did these participants face, both professionally and personally after they returned to school?
3. What strategies did they use to negotiate these challenges?

Before discussing the five major themes that emerged from the data in response to the questions above, it is pertinent to share the following two observations. Firstly, it was quite evident that all these teachers, irrespective of their age, levels of teaching experience, or proficiency in te reo Māori, were personally committed to assisting their students to enhance their competence and confidence in the use of te reo Māori. Secondly, the exceedingly high professional expectations that these teachers placed upon themselves, as Māori teachers, was significant. Their desire to do the very best that they could for their students, coupled

with the multiplicity of roles and responsibilities that they fulfilled, often led to high levels of stress and self defined 'burn-out'.

## **5.2 Themes**

Six themes emerged from the data. These included (1) the challenge of teaching within Eurocentric institutional cultures; (2) additional cultural expectations; (3) collegial cultural misunderstanding; (4) professional isolation; (5) sources of greatest support and (6) workload. These findings, discussed below, align with research conducted elsewhere in New Zealand and also with international literature describing the experiences of indigenous teachers and ethnic minority teachers. However, unlike the studies conducted by Bloor (1996) and the Ministry of Education (1999) who used surveys and questionnaires to collect their data, this research project used both a pre-interview questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. When data is collated from surveys and questionnaires the individual voices of participants are often lost. The qualitative approach that underpinned this research has, alternatively, provided rich data on the personal experiences of a group of Māori teachers and allowed their voices to be heard.

### **5.2.1 The challenge of Eurocentric institutional cultures**

A number of issues were raised by the participants that related to the Eurocentric environments that they worked in. While some participants emphasized challenges associated with the attitudes and beliefs of staff, students, and the wider (non-Māori) community, others were more focused on the ramifications of their respective schools' institutional systems and structures. This is not surprising given Smith & Smith's prior observation (1995) that:

New Zealand schools facilitate (produce) as well as reflect (reproduce) the processes of domination found in wider society. Schools actively protect the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) of the dominant group and maintain their privileged position of power and control by creating then upholding the integrity of the accepted cultural capital. (p. 177)

For Inanga, something as rudimentary as entering events onto the school calendar was difficult. Returning to school, after completing Hōaka Pounamu, she found there had been no forethought given to scheduling significant Māori events such as the noho marae and manu kōrero. Consequently, she had to ‘fit’ her programme around everything else already timetabled and with little support to do so. As a result of the school’s inflexible timetabling system, plus a lack of internal communication (from senior colleagues) about a change in exam dates, Inanga’s students attended a noho marae the week before their exams commenced. Inanga’s experience was not unique. Manning, for example, also reported frequent instances of teachers participating in his doctoral research complaining about the difficulty of ‘fitting’ Māori content into a rigid, ‘mechanical’ school timetable (Manning, 2008, pp. 225-226).

Totoweka, meanwhile, found that a lack of funding provided him with a challenge as he needed to develop a te reo Māori programme in a school that was poorly resourced and in need of materials. A lack of funding also limited his opportunities to engage and model appropriate tikanga Māori. Totoweka said:

Budget wise, I only had \$500 to implement, design a te reo Māori programme in the school that’s quite under resourced and you know I need dictionaries, I need koha for visitors, I needed, I would have liked to have had a budget where I could do some kai based activities and just a lack of funding which was a barrier.

Totoweka spoke of his use of texting and phone calls as a way of communicating with his students’ parents. He suspected that the school found his means of communication quite intrusive and appeared concerned that he might want his own school phone or to be financially compensated for his calls and texts. Feelings of internal conflict, or of being of being at odds with the ‘system’, were often shared by all participants and most strongly articulated by Kahurangi and Totoweka. For example, when talking about kaupapa Māori in her school Kahurangi said: “Where I’m at the moment, it just feels like an add on”. Totoweka added, “a challenge [for me] was being in a system where tikanga Māori and Māori values is not a priority. It’s pretty much bottom of the list kind of stuff”.

The research participants felt that protocols and practices that are inherently Māori (i.e. tikanga Māori) and an intrinsic component these teachers’ senses of identity, were not

valued in the schools. Thus a conflict existed between these teachers' senses of culture and identity and the systemic constraints of their respective schools' Pākehā institutional cultures. Consequently, these teachers felt culturally alienated. This finding recalls an earlier New Zealand study that looked at Māori teachers who left the teaching profession. Mitchell and Mitchell (1993) noted that: "School demands meant that they were required to operate in a very Pākehā way, Māori values were disregarded, there was no Māori dimension to the organisation or climate of the school" (p. 75).

The alienation of indigenous teachers is not unique to New Zealand. Santoro (2007), for example, conducted two different studies investigating the experiences of Indigenous teachers and ethnic minority teachers in Australian schools. Santoro found that the cultural knowledge, experiences and expectations of learning and teaching that these teachers possessed were often not respected by their peers and/or the wider school community. Furthermore, Santoro (2007) commented that Indigenous and ethnic minority educators were often marginalised in Eurocentric institutions. Like Santoro's study, my research findings suggest that when 'whiteness' (i.e. Pākehātanga) is consciously and unconsciously reinforced by school management, colleagues and the wider community, then 'white' (i.e. Pākehā) attitudes towards the ethnic 'other' (i.e. Māori) can have a significant impact on the tone or wairua (spirit/ethos) of a school. This, inevitably, determines what occurs inside its classrooms and why.

The concept of pumanawatanga used by Macfarlane in his 'Educultural Wheel' (2003) refers to "school tone, classroom morale, and teacher attitude" (2004, p. 96) and links with Santoro's notion of school 'tone'. The importance of pumanawatanga to Māori teachers, students and whānau should not be underestimated. Ideally, ensuring a healthy institutional culture of pumanawatanga should be at the core of all schools' strategic plans and classroom teaching plans.

For teachers who taught subjects other than te reo Māori, the difficulties of implementing kaupapa Māori in their classroom and school seemed to be much greater. Attempting to incorporate te reo into wider curriculum subjects, for example, often proved challenging. In some instances, a level of justification was required as students challenged the use of te reo Māori in non te reo Māori subjects. This problem was best described by Tangiwai who explained that:

You have to have a certain amount of justification for certain children, because they start to challenge it ... you'd get one or two kids that want to know why are we doing it [te reo Māori] in Māori, why aren't we doing it in English?

The desire to work in an environment that physically reflected biculturalism was another recurring theme to emerge from the data. Inanga, in particular, wanted to initiate this bicultural element, though some colleagues proved resistant to the idea. This was because Inanga wanted to erect bilingual signage that was visible to the community as they drove past the school. According to Inanga, the principal made comments that, 'reading between the lines', felt to her as though he did not want to portray the school as being 'too Māori' because the wider community would not necessarily perceive this as a 'good thing'. After some critical reflection, the principal was later forthcoming with an apology to Inanga and he agreed to support her call for the development of bilingual signage. The logic underpinning the participants' shared desire to see cultural icons and an environment reflecting the Treaty of Waitangi partnership was often similar to that outlined in the key findings of a study conducted by the Ministry of Education (1999).

The Ministry found that such initiatives contributed to increased motivation and morale amongst both students and staff. Additionally, such initiatives were widely considered to be pivotal to creating positive "cultural and environmental changes in school environments" (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 64). Mitchell and Mitchell's (1993) research also suggested that it is the principal who possesses the greatest potential to influence the ethos of the school and to model appropriate values and behaviours in cross-cultural settings. If his or her attitude towards cultural inclusion is indecisive or questionable, then this allows teachers to relinquish their responsibilities also. Mitchell & Mitchell (1993) state that "the role of the principal is crucial in determining the school's priorities, how it operates, and how it is regarded" (p. 79). Many of the former (Māori) teachers interviewed in the Mitchell and Mitchell study stated that one of the most significant determinants for leaving was the "behaviour, attitudes, and personality of the principal" (p. 79).

Their research also indicated that discrepancies between the levels of support and approval shown by the principal impacted upon the retention of Māori teachers within the teaching profession. So, too, did conflicting cultural beliefs (i.e. Māori teacher vs. principal) and

management decisions that undermined programmes that were critical to Māori aspirations. Undoubtedly, the professional and personal influences that a principal brings to his or her role within a school, particularly in shaping the tone a learning community, *are* critical to the recruitment and retention of Māori teachers. Thus it seems only logical to conclude that the dominant Pākehā culture's reproduction of institutional processes can affect the experiences of Māori teachers just as much as they impact upon Māori students (Bishop & Berryman, 2006). However, whilst much research has examined how the reproduction of Pākehā cultural capital impacts upon Māori students, little research has addressed the implications of institutional racism confronting Māori teachers. Ignorance of Māori culture, insufficient resources, questionable support, unsympathetic timetabling and indifferent attitudes to kaupapa and tikanga Māori often left the Māori teachers I interviewed feeling marginalised and vulnerable. The Ministry of Education (1999) drew similar conclusions and, most notably, also found that the indifference of school management towards Māori teacher aspirations, when planning timetabling te reo Māori against academic subjects, was highly problematic. Totoweka epitomized this view when (referring to the value his school put on things Māori) he remarked:

I'm at a school where they're [senior management] just picking what they want to do. Without realising how if it's [curriculum planning] not done properly, you take away its integrity and you water down [te reo Māori], and you filter down what it [te reo] really means. That's the challenge I have to face.

Given that Māori represented only 9.7% of principal, senior and middle management and teacher positions nation-wide as at April 2011 (Education Counts, 2011) it was not surprising to discover that, with regard to ceremonial cultural roles, the expectations of school management teams, and teaching staff, placed too many expectations on too few teachers. Inevitably these teachers are Māori teachers and their performance of these customary tasks is often non negotiable and/or not remunerated.

### **5.2.2 Additional cultural expectations**

Bloor's (1996) study of the workloads of Māori secondary school teachers explored the additional responsibilities associated with being a Māori teacher. In addition to their usual teaching responsibilities, Bloor reported that Māori teachers were expected to develop and



organise hui and pōwhiri as well as design and facilitate professional development activities for the benefit of their non-Māori colleagues. These teachers were also expected to facilitate communications between the school, its parents and whānau and also the wider Māori community. Bloor's teachers felt a deep sense of duty for the academic progress and social wellbeing of the Māori students within the school. They also felt that they were expected to cater for so-called 'problem Māori' students. Additionally, Bloor's study highlighted the sense of obligation that Māori teachers felt to undertake the role of "ambassador-at-large" (p. 19), having to advocate for anything deemed 'Māori' in the school.

While the participants in my research (2011) did not literally define themselves as being the 'one-stop-Māori-shop' in their school, as described by Bloor (1996), their narratives suggested that this was indeed the case. Clearly, a cluster of cultural expectations were attached to each of their roles, as Māori teachers, in each of their schools. These roles involved additional tasks, (addressed later in this chapter) which took many forms and often went unrecognised either financially or by way of acknowledgement. The cultural expectations of non-Māori teachers emerging from this research clearly align with previous studies conducted in New Zealand (Archie, 1993; Bloor, 1996; Manning, 2008; Ministry of Education, 1999; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993). They also coincide with literature from Australia (Reid & Santoro, 2006; Santoro, 2007) and America (Hirshfield & Joseph, 2008; Padilla, 1994; Samano, 2007). Manning's research (2008) drew attention to the dependence of non-Māori history teachers in the Wellington area on their Māori colleagues. For example, one of the teachers interviewed by Manning explained:

I think I'm a bit affected by my reliance upon the Māori teacher to be doing the communicating with the local [tribal] community for me. But as you know, often those teachers, well, they're from outside the [local tribal] community so they'll have their own personal contacts, their own tribal networks and that may by-pass the local [Te Ātiawa] people right outside our doorstep (p. 233).

All-too-often, the participants in this thesis research stated that they were conscious of an unwritten expectation within their schools that Māori teachers should fulfil the dominant culture's perceptions of what constitutes (indigenous) cultural requirements. This, they concurred, results in a 'dial-a-pōwhiri' school culture identical to that described by Manning (1998) and Whitinui (2007, 2010). Participants in this research repeatedly recounted that

they were often expected to organise and facilitate ceremonial roles such as kaikaranga or kaikōrero in pōwhiri that were often truncated or restricted by the requirements of mechanical time and/or mechanical school timetables. Further, the pressure of these additional tasks was often exacerbated by the frequent lack of communication from school management teams. Māori teachers were often informed of pōwhiri and/or other customary events at the last minute, thus denying them adequate time to prepare.

Another task frequently identified by the participants in this research was the expectation placed upon Māori teachers to up skill their non-Māori colleagues in relation to official Māori education policy guidelines and/or Treaty of Waitangi related (legal/ethical) matters. Inanga, for example, stated that:

I'm kind of reluctant to do everything, to run, to do critical awareness on stuff that should actually be senior management's job and I guess this year, I have done most of the things, not because I thought I should but I knew that if I didn't, I knew that nobody else would and I knew that other people weren't ready to run stuff or didn't have the skills or the confidence to say well this is what happens in a pōwhiri.

Manning (1998) recorded similar sentiments being shared by the Māori teachers participating in his study of the post-colonial politics surrounding the development of a secondary school Polynesian club. One of the teachers interviewed by Manning said:

I spent so much time trying to improve the cultural awareness of Pākehā colleagues that I got sick of it and I thought in the finish, 'stuff the Pakeha', why should we always be trying to improve the cultural awareness of Pakeha.  
(p. 114)

All of these findings coincide with an Australian study conducted by Santoro and Reid (2006). According to Santoro and Reid the majority of interviewees commented that:

The expectations placed on them in their workplaces because of the 'generic Indigenous teacher' label, [...] raised other issues related to how indigenous teachers

are often expected to fill the gaps in the knowledge of white teachers about indigenous education and issues. (p. 150)

Padilla (1994) identifies this practice as a form of cultural taxation, whereby ‘ethnic’ and ‘indigenous’ educators are called upon to educate their non ethnic (white) counterparts. Further to the previous discussion (see chapter four), the concept of cultural taxation suggests that situations are often imposed upon indigenous and ethnic minority teachers by school management teams who assume that ‘ethnic’ and ‘indigenous’ teachers are best suited to perform specific cultural tasks because of their assumed cultural knowledge (Padilla, 1994). As Padilla stated:

Often I, like many ethnic scholars, have responded to these and similar situations out of a deep sense of ‘cultural obligation’. However I have experienced annoyance about having to take on these responsibilities, which tend to be very time consuming and often emotionally draining, when my non-ethnic colleagues are seldom affected by similar obligations. (p. 26)

Smith (1990), interestingly, criticized traditional Pākehā notions of biculturalism in a way that resonated with Padilla’s (1994) definitions of cultural taxation. This was most visible when Smith claimed that:

Biculturalism can be regarded as a ‘two edged sword’ for Māori aspirations. At one level the indigenising of Pākehā people needs to be supported, but at another level, it appropriates already limited resources away from the priority concern of Māori needs... Once the protections and assurance of cultural survival has been addressed issues such as educating the dominant Pākehā group will be better able to proceed and will more likely be successful. (p. 189)

Another form of cultural taxation identified by Padilla, and experienced by participants in this research, was the tendency of school management teams to expect ‘ethnic’ and ‘indigenous’ teachers to translate documents. Such an incident was highlighted by Kawakawa, who was asked by a colleague to translate an monogram to be used by the school. Her (Pākehā) colleague had no interest in understanding the translation nor was he interested in being able to pronounce the Māori words associated with that anagram correctly. His focus was purely on the completion of the task. Unfortunately when

expectations are placed on a limited number of Māori teachers, not only does the subsequent workload fall on these teachers' shoulders, but others (i.e. non-Māori teachers) are absolved of the responsibility to become knowledgeable in te reo Māori, as expected in the New Zealand Teachers' Council's guidelines for registered teachers and school leaders. Consequently this trend contributes to continued cultural misunderstandings and consolidates the entrenchment of institutional racism.

### **5.2.3 Collegial cultural misunderstanding**

All the Māori teachers who participated in this study had felt compelled to challenge ignorant attitudes from their non-Māori students and teaching colleagues after completing the Hōaka Pounamu course. Smith (1990), Archie (1993), Manning (1998) and Whitinui (2007, 2010) have all described similar conflicts in which Māori teachers have faced resistance from non-Māori colleagues following the application of tikanga Māori during pōwhiri and other cultural rituals. Inanga remarked that she experienced negative comments and antagonism after a female member of the school's senior management team was required to sit in the second row at a school pōwhiri. Some of Inanga's colleagues felt that this senior colleague's status at the school deserved a front row position. There is much literature addressing Pākehā notions of feminism, particularly with regard to the view that women are denigrated by not being able to speak during the initial rituals of encounter typical of pōwhiri (Awatere, 1984; Salmond, 2004; Tauroa and Tauroa, 1993). According to Tauroa and Tauroa (1993) this (Pākehā feminist) misunderstanding arises from a difference in cultural values:

In the Pākehā context, one defers to the "office" of a person – such as principal, a board chairperson, or a mayor. In the Māori context, the "person" is placed before the office they hold. Tapu and mana are related to the person not to any prestigious position that they may hold. (p. 59)

Inanga added that some teachers felt "left out" as they did not understand what was happening and suggested that, "it's just a fear of not really understanding what going on, it [is] not so much that they don't support it but they can't understand why it is done that way".

Similar incidents were reported in studies by Bloor (1996), Mitchell & Mitchell (1993) and the Ministry of Education (1999). In her study, Bloor found that racism was a barrier to the way that Māori teachers viewed their quality of work. One of Bloor's research participants concluded that a "minority of non-Māori teachers accept and appreciate Māori tikanga – others discretely look at Māori cultural activities as unnecessary and a waste of time" (p. 28). Mitchell & Mitchell (1993), meanwhile, reported that the antagonism of non-Māori colleagues, coupled with the questioning of things Māori in the education system, affected the relationship that Māori teachers had with their non-Māori colleagues. Conversely, it was not always non-Māori staff who challenged the practices of the teachers in my study.

Raukaraka reported that it was the only other Māori staff member, at her school, who was always the first to criticise ideas and initiatives that she proposed during the year. With regard to Raukaraka's frustrations with the perceived racism of non-Māori colleagues, she said, "that's [the way it's] always going to be. I just need to get thicker skin". As suggested by this, and other, research, Māori teachers working in a mainstream, Eurocentric environment will often encounter colleagues from dominant cultural backgrounds who are dismissive of their Māori (minority) values. This, predictably, leads to feelings of professional isolation.

#### **5.2.4 Professional isolation**

Feelings of professional isolation were a major finding in this research project. The participants' feelings typically tended to stem from: (a) the lack of opportunities they had to team teach with other Māori teachers; (b) the lack of opportunities to use and further develop their own language (te reo) proficiency and (c) the difficulty of maintaining positive social interactions with many non-Māori colleagues. Irrespective of the participant's gender, size of the school or their school's decile rating, the notion of isolation and loneliness was consistently shared by all participants. One factor that appears to have compounded these teachers' feelings of professional isolation was the year spent on the Hōaka Pounamu course amongst like-minded Māori teachers, who shared a passion for learning and teaching te reo Māori. Whereas the participants agreed that the Hōaka Pounamu provided a mutually supportive kaupapa Māori environment, they all claimed that their school workplace environments provided a stark contrast.

They were also unanimous in acknowledging feelings of isolation and loneliness resulting from being the sole Māori language teacher and/or sole teacher of Māori descent on staff. Furthermore the feelings of loneliness shared by this group were compounded by not having anyone of 'like mind' to be able to discuss ideas or concerns with. The following comment, made by Inanga, is typical of the participants' feelings of isolation:

I have missed being able to just go next door to the classroom and say "oh hey, I'm just stuck on this" or "I'm having trouble teaching this" or "the kids aren't understanding, how did you teach it to your class" or, "have you got a cool activity that would", ... "a cool resource or game" or "a way that you teach this"?

However, feelings of isolation were not limited to the performance of professional duties. The inability to be able to speak te reo Māori outside of the classroom posed cultural challenges. Being the only te reo Māori speaking teacher in the school meant that their reo was limited to the classroom conversations with students who were normally responding with a beginner's level of proficiency. Consequently the ability to further develop their own language proficiency was limited. Another issue fuelling feelings of isolation was the lack of ongoing positive social interactions with colleagues. An incident that best highlighted this situation was shared by Inanga. In summary, Inanga had her school's staff photo. Despite being at school on the day, her absence went unnoticed. It was not until she looked at the school year book, later that year, that she realised what had happened. Raukaraka, meanwhile, said that due to her workload and the negative talk that often took place in her school's staffroom, she often avoided the staffroom. This however, only served to further isolate her from her colleagues. The loneliness experienced by Māori teachers participating in this research was not unique. Mitchell and Mitchell (1993) also found that Māori teachers often experienced feeling of loneliness. However, they concluded that this was not specifically because of the unfriendliness of their non-Māori colleagues. Rather, they identified cultural differences particularly a sense of not belonging, as being *the* major contributing factor in creating a widespread feeling of professional isolation amongst the Māori teachers they encountered. Similar sentiments were shared by participants in this research. Totoweka, for example, said:

I felt really lonely. I had no other teachers who are Māori, [teachers] to kōrero te reo Māori [with]. I had no one who I could talk to ...there was no one there who I could really look up to or talk to for advice within the school setting.

Affirmation and support is critical for the wellbeing of any person and given the isolation experienced by the Māori teachers I engaged with in this study, it would appear that support is especially crucial in order for Māori teachers to remain in the teaching profession. It does not seem plausible that the current government's efforts to raise Māori student achievement levels in mainstream schools will be realised if many of these students' Māori teachers are frequently left feeling isolated, unsupported and 'burnt-out'. Much anecdotal evidence, plus a small body of research undertaken in New Zealand during the period 1993-2011, suggests that Māori teachers frequently choose to leave the teaching profession after experiencing cultural taxation, professional isolation and limited collegial support. This ongoing trend has the potential to seriously undermine the Crown's goal of seeing "Māori enjoying educational success as Māori" (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 18). To identify strategies to help remedy this trend, it seemed logical to explore the sources of support that were identified and valued by the Māori teachers who participated in this research.

### **5.2.5 Source of greatest support**

All the research participants felt some degree of professional isolation within their own schools. Clearly, support from principals, schools senior management and colleagues and the wider school community varied considerably. However, the participants reported an overwhelming sense of relief emanating from the support of their same-cohort peers who completed the Hōaka Pounamu course. According to Kahurangi, the support provided by her peers following the completion of the programme had "been the biggest benefit of the Hōaka Pounamu course". This statement, like many others collated from the data, identified the overwhelming importance of the relationships developed and maintained during the course of the programme. A study by the Ministry of Education (1999) also suggests that Māori teachers receive more support from other Māori colleagues both within their school and through professional and personal networks.

For the participants, an informal local network, developed 'by' and 'for' them, fulfilled the need for much support. The participants suggested that this network helped them to alleviate

the feelings of isolation they were experiencing within their respective schools. This informal network provided the opportunity to collaborate with peers, to seek guidance and share resources. Most importantly, this network enabled this particular cohort of Māori teachers to continue to speak te reo Māori outside of the classroom, long after they had completed the Hōaka Pounamu course. Participants worked to maintain these relationships by meeting socially, organising a te reo Māori language group which met periodically throughout the year, and by acting as moderators for each other's NCEA internal assessment procedures. The support that this group gave to each other both professionally and personally cannot be underestimated in terms of maintaining local Māori teacher retention rates.

### **5.2.6 Workload**

It is widely accepted that an increase in teacher workloads has occurred since the education reforms of the 1980s (Alison, (2005); Baker, 2002; Bloor, 1996; Bridges, 1992; Wylie, 1992). However, the added workload expectations placed upon Māori teachers often appears to be overlooked or underestimated in educational literature. This additional workload is first noted in a report published as early as 1993 (Mitchell & Mitchell). Nearly two decades later, Cooper, Skerrett, Andreotti, Manning, Macfarlane & Empery (2010) also recognised this dilemma. They stated that “teachers and leaders who work for the benefit of Māori have a hard job to do. When these [Māori] teachers and/or leaders have to please two different communities, their workload increases and they face challenges on both sides” (p. 23). This finding was similar to research conducted by Robinson, Hohepa and Lloyd (2009) who noted that:

Māori educational leaders are expected to establish positive relationships with a variety of institutions, communities, sectors, and iwi and to move easily between past, present, and future systems of knowledge. Durie sees effective Māori leadership as that which is expert in navigating within Te Ao Māori and exploring Te Ao Whānui (wider society). Māori educational leadership has a significant role to play both in ensuring that Māori students acquire universal knowledge and skills and in supporting them to realise the aspirations held by Māori. There is an opportunity cost in trying to meet such expectations and demands. Māori teachers find that the expectation that they participate in Māori



cultural affairs in the school community as well as in the school inevitably increases their workload. The workloads of Māori educational leaders are likely to be affected in the same way. (p. 110)

Increased workload, coupled with the additional demands placed on Māori teachers equates to these same teachers identifying high levels of professional stress. Not surprisingly, Bloor's (1996) research reported that it was an increase in workload demands that had an adverse effect on the health and well being of Māori teachers. Similarly, the Ministry of Education (1999) reported that unique workload demands contributing to high levels of stress and burn out, were the primary reason for Māori teachers deciding to leave the teaching profession.

Despite an additional thorough literature search, there appeared to be no statistical data available documenting the attrition levels of Māori teachers in New Zealand schools. Although the Ministry of Education (2008b) published a report on teacher loss rates 2007-2008, the analysis was limited to details such as teacher loss rate by age, region, designation and school decile. While this data provided insightful information on the general trends associated with teachers leaving the profession, it did not extrapolate and provide data specifically on Māori teachers' attrition levels. This is somewhat problematic for researchers wishing to take an accurate snapshot of Māori teachers' attrition levels and/or professional needs. The unique workload pressures facing Māori teachers in New Zealand schools is similar to that experienced by indigenous teachers abroad. Santoro (2007), for example, observes that the marginalisation of ethnic minority educators in mainstream institutions "can result in these in these teachers resigning prematurely from the teaching profession" (p. 92).

All of the teachers interviewed in conjunction with this research identified feelings of exhaustion and 'burn-out'. These feelings of extreme fatigue coincided with earlier research produced by Mitchell and Mitchell (1993), Bloor (1996) and the Ministry of Education (1999). It was, therefore, quite disturbing to discover that examples of 'burn-out', documented as early as 1993, were still posing a major barrier to wider Māori educational aspirations some 18 years later. The ongoing trend of 'burn-out', described by this group of Māori teachers, seems to contradict the stated intent of contemporary policy statements which emphasise that the Crown, via the Ministry of Education, is committed to supporting

“Māori enjoying educational success as Māori” (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 18). How this objective can be realized without healthy, happy Māori teachers playing a leading role is beyond this writer’s comprehension.

All the participants in my research commented on the desire (and importance) of further developing their levels of proficiency in te reo Māori. However, the opportunities for teachers with an intermediate grasp of reo were extremely limited within the Waitaha region. The participants, accordingly, often make the effort to attend Kura Reo held during each of the four term breaks throughout the year. While beneficial for their reo, the participants were overcome with feelings of guilt for leaving their families during the term holidays coupled with feelings of overwhelming tiredness which they frequently described as ‘professional burn-out’.

Therefore it is significant that the Ministry of Education (1999) reported that Māori teachers would benefit greatly from attending wānanga reo with other teachers. According to the Ministry, these “vibrant and quality” professional development opportunities would enhance their teaching experiences (p. 62). Previously, Mitchell & Mitchell (1993) also identified professional development as an area of significant concern for Māori teachers. While respondents in the Mitchells’ research identified a number of needs in relation to professional development, such as developing their own te reo Māori proficiency, a number of teachers felt that, when they were teaching, they were, “caught up on a treadmill which drained their emotions and their resources without any opportunity to develop their skills, to put themselves back together, or to recharge their batteries” (p. 74). Undoubtedly, the feelings expressed in this quote, extrapolated from the Mitchells’ research align with the narratives of the teachers I encountered during this project.

There were a number of other factors contributing to these feelings of fatigue, many of which were additional to the teachers’ workload. As Mitchell & Mitchell (1993) noted, ‘burn-out’ can result from the way schools often require Māori teachers to make contact with Māori families as well as the wider Māori community. Schools also expect Māori teachers to organise and facilitate the ceremonial procedures associated with tikanga Māori within their schools, as well as dealing with matters like the disciplining of Māori children. Bloor (1996) also observed that Māori communities can sometimes place unrealistic expectations on Māori teachers to ensure that they act as appropriate role models for the

students, as well as being strong advocates for Māori student and community interests in schools that are not always receptive to these interests.

Teachers acting as role models for students of the same ethnicity are also consistent with findings from an Australian study. Santoro (2007) reported that Indigenous teachers are widely viewed as being well positioned to serve as role models for students, given they are often the most highly qualified people in their community. An earlier study by Reid & Santoro (2006), moreover, mirrors the findings of Mitchell and Mitchell (1993). In this particular Australian study, Aboriginal teachers were expected to look after “all things Aboriginal” (p. 151) as well as maintaining the relationship with the wider Aboriginal communities. Research conducted by Manning (2008), in the Wellington district of New Zealand, also highlighted this issue. A participant in his study refers to a Māori teacher friend being expected to teach te reo with minimal knowledge. The participant said:

A good example of the “risks” involved is what’s happening to a friend of mine who is [viewed by his colleagues as] a “Māori”. He’s from Taranaki, but he’s only got a limited understanding of te reo Māori. He joined one of the local high schools to be a PE teacher, but he was the only Māori teacher in the school. So, he instantly became the social studies teacher and then they made him responsible for taking the third form [year 9] te reo Māori classes, just because he’s a “Māori”! Now that’s totally irresponsible. It’s, like, worse than giving a science teacher, who just happens to be English, an English literature class to teach. (Manning, 2008, pp. 220-221)

Manning’s participant added:

I mean, that teacher is there primarily to teach science, so what a science teacher knew about English literature unless she or he specialised in that subject? You need to have a specialist teacher teaching te reo just like any other subject matter and you need to have a Te Ātiawa expert teaching about te Ātiawa. Now, I think that’s a real issue because I know that sort of thing is commonly happening throughout schools in the Wellington region. Just because they’re Māori teachers, they’re expected [by their non-Māori

colleagues] to be these all-knowing “Māori” cross-curriculum experts and they’re not. (Manning, 2008, p. 221)

Familiarity with the curriculum and recent changes in employment also impacted upon my research findings. All four participants who taught at the secondary school level (Inanga, Tangiwai, Raukaraka and Totoweka), were new to teaching te reo Māori as a distinct curriculum area. Therefore they had to adapt to its specific curriculum delivery, assessment and course evaluation procedures. Further compounding matters was the fact that two of these teachers (Tangiwai and Totoweka) had recently gained positions in new schools while one participant was new to secondary school teaching altogether. As a result, these teachers were busy familiarising themselves with unfamiliar curriculum documents and coming to terms with new curriculum design, delivery, and assessment and evaluation procedures. This, inevitably, contributed to increased workloads. In addition to teaching te reo Māori, three teachers (Tangiwai, Raukaraka and Totoweka) were involved in teaching in other curriculum areas. This required them to participate in multiple departmental meetings and to meet additional departmental duties. Tangiwai, for example, advised that he taught in three different departments and that this required him to attend three different faculty meetings. However, Tangiwai could only attend one of these meetings and chose the language department meeting which was most relevant to the positioning and status of te reo Māori in the wider school culture. Clearly, this would have had a domino-effect, further distancing Tangiwai from his colleagues in the other curriculum areas.

Though the expectations placed on all teachers are exceedingly high (Alison, 2005), this research indicates that the expectations and responsibilities placed on Māori teachers add significant additional weight to Māori teacher workloads. The Māori teachers interviewed during this study did their utmost to meet their pedagogical obligations. However, the added burden of meeting the cultural taxation requirements of their colleagues, employers and school and Māori communities as described previously, heightened their feelings of stress and ‘burn-out’.

Another factor contributing to a higher than normal workload for Māori language teachers in secondary schools is the nature of the curriculum area itself. More often than not the participants in this research study were the sole te reo Māori teacher. Thus they were required, within their schools’ wider languages departments, to manage all tasks relating to

things Māori (such as planning and reporting, organising the school's Māori language week programme and leading professional development activities for colleagues). This finding aligns with Mitchell and Mitchell's (1993) research which also found that schools often place the Māori language teacher under the authority of a foreign languages department or the social studies department. These departmental heads often have little knowledge of te reo Māori or pedagogies most conducive to learning te reo. Therefore the teacher of te reo Māori has limited collegial support and assistance. Furthermore, the teacher will ordinarily fulfil the responsibilities of a head of department, such as being held responsible for curriculum design, delivery, assessment and evaluation processes. All of this occurs without recognition or remuneration.

One of the goals that Inanga set for herself at the beginning of the school year was to ensure that te reo Māori was not limited to the classroom or viewed as being only a curriculum subject sitting isolated within the school. She recognised that in addition to classroom teaching there was also the need to undertake additional tasks to raise the profile of kaupapa Māori in the wider school community. This became evident when colleagues commented that students were using te reo Māori in other classrooms as well as helping them with their pronunciation. Bicultural initiatives, noho marae and success at the secondary schools regional kapa haka competition all contributed to a stronger kaupapa Māori environment within the school. The support shown by staff, particularly the school deans, when the kapa haka group competed at the regional competition, was testimony to work that the students and teacher-in-charge had done in raising not only the profile of kaupapa Māori within the school, but more importantly in upholding the mana of things Māori within the school.

The value of support from non-Māori colleagues cannot be underestimated. Inanga, Totoweka and Raukaraka gained strength from forming alliances with some non-Māori colleagues who articulated social justice arguments in support of kaupapa Māori initiatives. This stance was encapsulated by Totoweka when he said: "I was really fortunate to get some support especially by my Deputy Principal, and having his support of implementing programmes and ideas was really helpful. That's what kept me going throughout the year".

Inanga, similarly, said:

I've learnt to try and focus on the staff that are really positive and there are lots of them. [They are] positive, supporting and understanding. [I] let them be the spokesperson in the conversations that I can't be part of. I've just got to trust that those people will still support me when I'm not there to support the kaupapa myself.

Despite the goodwill shown by some colleagues, it should also be recognised that all teachers have a professional, ethical and moral responsibility to support their Māori colleagues to give meaningful effect to the application of the Treaty of Waitangi. The third criteria of the New Zealand Registered Teacher Criteria and Indicators clearly requires all teachers to “demonstrate commitment to bicultural partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand” (New Zealand Teachers' Council, 2010, p. 11). Furthermore, in enacting the Crown's principles of action on the Treaty of Waitangi, all teachers, irrespective of their own ethnicity, have an obligation to demonstrate ‘mutual respect’ and ‘partnership’.

Tangiwai commented that teaching and learning te reo Māori could not be separated from the cultural practices and tikanga Māori that is intertwined and inherent in wider Māori society beyond the school's gates. In order to achieve this, he needed to involve himself in more local Māori community activities. His involvement in a local community trust, school kapa haka and weekend wānanga, throughout the year, inevitably placed considerable physical and mental demands on him, to say nothing of the personal sacrifice for his family, who were not involved for whatever reason.

In relation to Māori teachers networking and connecting with their local Māori community, issues often do arise regarding the tribal status of the teacher. Manning (2008), for example, observed that the Te Ātiawa interviewees participating in his research did not wish to be reliant on Māori teachers to interact with history teachers:

The Te Ātiawa interviewees opposed taurahere (Māori who are not tangata whenua/people of the land) teachers being called upon, by their non-Māori colleagues, to act as facilitators of a relationship between local Te Ātiawa people and teachers of history. They preferred to see non-Māori teachers engaging in a more direct relationship with Te Ātiawa and reasoned that this

would ensure that Te Ātiawa perspectives are accurately represented in the teaching of local histories of place. (p. 221)

Manning (p. 221) concluded that the dependency placed on some Māori teachers, by their non-Māori teachers may place these Māori teachers in what he defined as an ‘indigenous teacher’s professional expectations v. customary obligations’ dilemma. Manning defined this dilemma as the result of the tensions Māori teachers face when caught between the professional expectations of non-Māori colleagues and the customary obligations of other Māori outside the school gates i.e. Māori caregivers.

### **5.3 Summary**

The research participants shared many similar experiences following their return to teaching after completing the Hōaka Pounamu programme. These experiences were often identical to the findings of previous studies conducted nationally and internationally. A higher than normal workload and the responsibility for overseeing Māori cultural activities within, and on behalf of, the school placed additional workload pressures upon their shoulders. The hegemonic nature of their schools and the wider schooling system itself also contributed to the many challenges these Māori teachers faced. A recurring issue apparent in the narratives of the participants, and echoed in the literature, was the feeling of professional isolation from other Māori colleagues. Fortunately for the participants in this study they had developed a strong network of peers while completing the Hōaka Pounamu programme. All of the participants spoke of the support and assistance that this network was able to provide both professionally and socially. Having analysed the participants’ experiences, the following chapter will conclude this thesis by providing a summary of the major findings with consideration of their wider implications. It will also recommend areas for future research.

## 6 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

### 6.1 Introduction

This last chapter is organised into two sections. Firstly, the reader will be provided with a summary of the key findings of this study. This section will identify policy implications relating to the issues discussed by the participants and offer recommendations for the consideration of the research stakeholders e.g. participating schools, teachers etc. Then the chapter will identify and discuss future research needs specific to the identified cultural taxation of Māori teachers. As mentioned elsewhere, this study sought to examine the experiences of six Māori teachers working in ‘mainstream’ schools located in the Waitaha region of Te Waipounamu . The study also examined the challenges that these teachers face and the strategies they employed to overcome these.

These teachers were purposely selected by means of maximal variation sampling. All participants attended Kura Raumati prior to their entry into the Graduate Diploma Hōaka Pounamu in Te Reo Māori Bilingual and Immersion Teaching course. Four of these teachers were employed in state secondary schools and two in state primary schools. This qualitative research study was underpinned by a kaupapa Māori methodology and sought to record the narratives of these teachers. A pre-interview questionnaire was followed by a semi-structured interview with each participant. These interviews provided more in-depth data and information than a questionnaire alone would have elicited. The research study was intentionally restricted to the Waitaha region for the sake of manageability and because little, if any, similar research has been conducted in this region.

A clear trend has emerged from this study which reflects the findings of Bloor (1996), the Ministry of Education (1999) and Mitchell and Mitchell (1993). Clearly, the six Māori teachers who participated in this research were burdened with additional responsibilities that were not necessarily part of their union’s collective employment contract and this extra workload placed undue pressures on Māori teachers employed within both primary and secondary schools. Padilla’s (1994) theory of cultural taxation was, accordingly, relevant to all of the key themes to emerge from this research as outlined in the following summary.



## **6.2 Summary of the major findings**

Six main themes emerged from the data. These themes were consistently found throughout the narratives of all the participants. All of these themes were anchored by the challenge of working in Eurocentric institutions.

### **6.2.1 The challenge of Eurocentric institutional cultures**

Māori teachers struggling to survive in institutions underpinned by a Eurocentric monocultural culture is not a recent phenomenon. Mitchell and Mitchell (1993), for example, drew attention to this phenomenon in their study of reasons why Māori teachers had left the teaching profession. A similar finding in this research illuminates the existence and durability of a systemic problem that has not been resolved since the Mitchells released their research findings in 1993. More research is urgently needed in this area and this will be discussed, later, in the recommendations section that will conclude this project.

The Māori teachers who participated in this research raised a number of issues that related to the difficulties they faced working in school environments dominated by a Eurocentric ethos. The rigid and inflexible nature of the schools' institutional systems and structures was the most pressing problem of an inflexible, monocultural schooling culture. A number of the teachers interviewed complained about the inflexibility of their school timetabling systems and/or how these timetabling systems disadvantaged the positioning of te reo Māori within the timetable. For one participant, in particular, the lack of communication and poor timetabling of a school's noho marae meant that students were returning to school just prior to exam week, much to the disapproval of the principal. Ironically, the Māori teacher was absent when (i) the school timetable was finalised and (ii) when the noho marae was initially omitted by senior colleagues from the timetable.

Another issue raised by the participants was a feeling of 'being at odds' with the system and/or feeling 'culturally alienated' within their school environments, particularly when both tikanga Māori and kaupapa Māori were not 'prioritised' or 'valued' by some of their more influential colleagues e.g. school management teams, timetabling committees. This finding aligned closely with research conducted in Australia by Santoro (2007). Santoro also found that indigenous and ethnic minority educators often feel marginalised in Eurocentric

Australian schools because of the relatively low status afforded to their indigenous knowledge in systemic decision-making processes such as timetabling. Therefore, the ‘Eurocentric’ nature of the participating schools points to a number of national and international policy implications. To begin with the New Zealand Teachers Council (NZTC) Registered Teacher Criteria include the following two criteria:

**Criteria 3:** Demonstrate commitment to bicultural partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand.

**Criteria 9:** Respond effectively to the diverse language and cultural experiences, and the varied strengths, interests and needs of individuals and groups of ākongā.

The experiences described by the participants, throughout this thesis, contradict the NZTC criteria outlined above. The participants reiterated that they felt these criteria were not being met by a number of their colleagues. Moreover, their responses implied that this trend leads to Māori teachers being saddled with higher than average workloads as a result of being expected to facilitate ‘all things Māori’ within their schools. This trend, as suggested by the participants, absolves non-Māori teachers of any responsibility to give effect to their part in the ‘bicultural partnership’ required by the NZTC criteria concerned. Similarly, the Professional Standards for primary and secondary principals specify that school leaders should:

Promote the bicultural nature of New Zealand by ensuring that it is evident in the school culture.

The leadership teams of the participating schools were not meeting this criterion. The participants concurred that school leadership teams often expect Māori teachers to undertake leadership roles that are actually the responsibility of their school leaders and place their own workloads beyond their contractual obligations.

The *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007) also offers guidelines that do not appear to have been consistently upheld by all the research participants’ non-Māori colleagues’ i.e. fellow teachers and principals, or their employers i.e. Boards of Trustees. The *New Zealand Curriculum* outlines eight principles which should be consistent and “underpin all school decision making” (p. 9). Most significantly, the Treaty of Waitangi Principle states that:

The curriculum acknowledges the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the bicultural foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand. All students have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga.

While this curriculum principle is supposed to inform the planning and decision-making of all schools' curriculum activities, the findings of this research suggest that the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi have seldom been prioritised in decision-making processes. The participants felt, to varying degrees, that their school leadership teams had relinquished their responsibility for incorporating Māori culture into different aspects of daily school life. Therefore, they felt they had been given a limited form of autonomy that made them responsible for 'all things Māori', without being provided with the resources and power to implement their decisions. The participants believed they had little power to make anything change within their schools' institutional cultures. Put simply, they did not have the same degree of power as their school leaders to transform school institutional cultures and neither did the local Māori communities that fed into these schools. This did not, consequently, equate to the 'equal partnership' envisaged within the Crown's principles for action on the Treaty of Waitangi (Hayward, 2009) and nor did it equate to the provision of Tino Rangatiratanga embedded in the Te Reo Māori text of the Treaty (Article Two). Rather, it equated more closely with the Kawanatanga that *was* actually ceded to the Crown (See Article One, Māori text of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840).

Another significant policy statement, outlined in the *New Zealand Curriculum* (Ministry of Education, 2007, p. 14), declares that Te Reo Māori is a 'taonga' under the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi (see Article Two: Māori text). While Te Reo Māori is an official language, this research indicates that the participants believe Te Reo Māori is being marginalised in their schools. This marginalization, they allege, occurs as a result of systemic issues such as inflexible timetabling processes. Thus, they concurred that (a) Te Reo Māori is not given the status it deserves and, (b) their schools are not giving effect to the principle of 'active protection', central to the Crown's principles for action on the Treaty of Waitangi (Hayward, 2009). The failure of Crown entities i.e. schools to 'actively protect' te reo Māori in this instance could be seen, at least on a prima facie basis, to be a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi and, in turn, a violation of the United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007) which the New Zealand government has only recently

ratified (2010). For example, the following Articles in the *Declaration* make clear statements about the responsibility of states to protect indigenous cultures and languages:

#### Article 13

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, *languages, oral traditions*, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.
2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means.

#### Article 15

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to the dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations *which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information*.
2. States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society.

Another recurring theme to emerge from this research was that the Māori teachers interviewed were expected to undertake additional tasks and responsibilities by their non-Māori colleagues.

### **6.2.2 Additional cultural expectations**

The Māori teachers who participated in this research were frequently expected, by their employers and colleagues, to organize and facilitate Māori cultural events in their schools. Likewise, they often had to attend to issues involving Māori cultural activities in ways that absolved their non-Māori colleagues and professional leaders from exercising their professional responsibilities to be bicultural practitioners, as required by the New Zealand

Teachers Council Registered Teacher Criteria for registered teachers and school leaders. This finding clearly aligned with a small body of research previously conducted in New Zealand (Archie, 1993; Bloor, 1996; Manning, 2008; Ministry of Education, 1999; Mitchell & Mitchell, 1993) and drew further attention to Padilla's (1994) theory of cultural taxation and the international implications of this study. As stated elsewhere, Padilla reported that indigenous and ethnic minority teachers in North American settings were unduly subjected to additional tasks and responsibilities seldom expected of their non-ethnic peers and that, as a consequence, they experienced feelings of "being used by the system" (p. 26).

Likewise, Santoro's (2007) research in Australia also reported ethnic minority and indigenous educators performing additional tasks similar to those identified by the participants in this research. For these participants the additional tasks included activities such as, (i) organising and participating in pōwhiri, (ii) facilitating professional development sessions about Māori culture and Treaty-related matters for non-Māori colleagues and (iii) acting as intermediaries between their schools and the Māori community/Māori caregivers. These additional tasks placed considerable pressure on the participants and increased their workloads significantly in ways that were potentially harmful to their physical, emotional and spiritual wellbeing.

Moreover, the additional professional and cultural tasks and responsibilities that this group of Māori teachers undertook often went unrecognised financially or otherwise by their employers or fellow colleagues. Frequently, these teachers would describe themselves as 'ambassador-at-large' or a 'one-stop-Māori-shop'. Yet, the participants in this research still felt a deep sense of being ethically and/or morally obliged to play these roles. These Māori teachers felt they were 'culturally obliged' to tautoko the students they serve and to support their schools' respective Māori communities i.e. as 'fellow Māori'. This deep sense of duty, however, significantly increased their likelihood of feeling 'overwhelmed' 'stressed', 'tired' and 'burn-out'.

This has significant policy implications both nationally and internationally. Firstly, the 'cultural taxation' of this group of Māori teachers appears to suggest that other Māori teachers may be facing similar forms of cultural taxation. Furthermore, it raises questions in relation to the prospect that many, though not all, non-Māori registered teachers and school leaders in the participating schools, appear to be struggling to meet the criteria of the New

Zealand Teachers Council Registered Teacher Criteria for proficiency in their application of Te Reo Māori and bicultural practice. However, it must be noted that some of the participants in this study also identified significant and valued support from some non-Māori colleagues on occasions.

This tendency, which also leaves Māori teachers feeling isolated, creates additional workload pressure for the participants and recurring feelings of ‘burn-out’ not too dissimilar to those described by Mitchell and Mitchell (1993), Bloor (1996), Manning (1998, 2008), and the Ministry of Education (1999). This trend, therefore, has the potential to undermine the implementation of the Ministry of Education’s national strategy for Māori education (*Ka Hikitia*) within the Waitaha region and, possibly, elsewhere in New Zealand. Given that *Ka Hikitia* advocates “Māori enjoying educational success as Māori” (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 18), it is difficult to see how this admirable goal will be achieved locally and nationally, especially if Māori teachers feel ‘burnt-out’ as a result of being assigned additional duties that take their real workloads well above their official workloads with no recompense and little or no recognition.

It could also be argued that the localized Waitaha trend of ‘cultural taxation’ identified in this research, amounts to a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi principle of ‘active protection’ in the sense that not enough is being done to actively protect the wellbeing of Māori teachers who are critical to the implementation of official Māori education policy guidelines. ‘Bicultural practitioners’, such as those envisaged by the New Zealand Teachers Council Registered Teacher Criteria and the Professional standards for school leaders, require teachers and principals to be capable of performing tasks such as actively participating in hui and pōwhiri. The failure of the Crown to ensure that this is the case also suggests failure to ensure that the principles of ‘partnership’ and ‘participation’ are fairly applied.

This also raises questions about the Crown’s efforts to ‘actively protect’ Māori culture within the participating schools (and schools elsewhere). It is hard to see how ākongā Māori will ‘enjoy educational success as Māori’, if Māori teachers themselves are left feeling burnt-out and/or professionally isolated and leave the teaching profession as a result. Moreover, this problem has been around at least since Mitchell and Mitchell’s (1993) research. This suggests, again, that little has been done to actively protect the needs of

Māori teachers in their workplaces and urgent research is needed, on a national scale, to examine the scale of cultural taxation and its potential to undermine official Māori education policy guidelines and goals.

### **6.2.3 Collegial cultural misunderstandings**

A review of the literature revealed that Māori teachers, nationally, are often faced with prejudice, animosity and negative attitudes from their colleagues, school management teams and Boards of Trustees. An analysis of the data, collected during this research, also recorded incidents in which research participants described being confronted and challenged by colleagues and/or school leaders on matters of cultural difference within the school. A lack of critical awareness of tikanga Māori was the cultural misunderstanding most frequently cited by participants. Some participants responded to these collegial misunderstandings or collegial ‘ignorance’ as some of them put it, by facilitating professional development sessions for their colleagues and school leaders. In each instance, this reflected an attempt, by the participants concerned, to alleviate their colleagues’ levels of cultural misunderstanding. However, in each instance, this extra work was not factored into their workloads.

Such misunderstandings largely contributed to the research participants’ feelings of ‘burn-out’ and professional isolation. Additionally, these misunderstandings were not dissimilar to those described by Mitchell and Mitchell (1993) and research later conducted by the Ministry of Education (1999). This ongoing, nationwide trend of cultural misunderstanding within ‘mainstream’ schools raises questions, again, about the implementation of the New Zealand Teachers Council’s criteria for registered teachers and school leaders. Moreover, the frequency and nature of the cultural misunderstandings encountered during this research raise questions about the implementation of the Ministry’s strategy for Māori education (*Ka Hikitia*) in the Waitaha region and, possibly, elsewhere in New Zealand.

As stated previously, *Ka Hikitia* advocates “Māori (students) enjoying educational success as Māori” (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 18). It is difficult to see how this goal will be achieved if Māori teachers frequently feel misunderstood and/or undervalued by their non-Māori colleagues because of their differing cultural worldviews. The devaluing of Māori culture in the participating schools raises questions about the implementation of the Crown’s

principles of ‘partnership’, ‘active protection’ and ‘participation’. These principles have been integral to the Crown’s principles for action on the Treaty of Waitangi (Hayward, 2009). Likewise, the apparent failure to successfully apply these principles in the six participating schools has international implications. As a signatory to the United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, the New Zealand Government must adhere to the articles of the *Declaration* (particularly Articles 13 and 15, in this instance). Given the nature of the cultural misunderstandings experienced by the Māori teachers outlined in this research, it was not surprising to find that they felt professionally isolated from their non-Māori colleagues and, in some instances, their schools’ Māori communities.

#### **6.2.4 Professional isolation**

Many of the participants highlighted the difficulties they faced when trying to collaborate with non-Māori colleagues, share resources, and maintain strength as the sole Māori teacher in their school. The isolation felt by all of the research participants extended beyond their professional duties. For the majority of the participants there were no other fluent speakers of te reo Māori in their schools. So, the opportunity to speak te reo outside of the classroom, and/or at a higher level of language proficiency, was limited. The participants spoke of what could be described as a form of cultural isolation, whereby the social interactions with many of their non-Māori colleagues were not necessarily antagonistic, but based on fundamental cultural differences. This tendency aligns with prior research. Archie (1993), Livingstone (1994), Marks (1984) and Mitchell and Mitchell (1993) have all documented Māori teachers’ feelings of professional isolation.

The Māori teachers in this study were limited in their ability to collaborate with like-minded Māori colleagues who understood the professional and cultural dilemmas they frequently encountered in their respective schools. However, all of the teachers who participated in this research drew much support from an informal network of fellow Hōaka Pounamu graduands. Therefore, the participating schools, and other stakeholders with an interest in this research, may like to consider the possible establishment of a more formalized support group for all Hōaka Pounamu graduands in the Waitaha region. Ideally this on-going support group could extend support to all Māori teachers in the region. I would propose that this network should receive financial and technical support from the Ministry of Education, Ngāi Tahu and the University of Canterbury.



Given the lack of research exploring the needs of Māori teachers in other regions, it may be possible that Māori teachers elsewhere would also benefit from some form of similar regional partnership, based on the Hōaka Pounamu collegial support model. Similar collaborative models could involve local whānau, hapū, iwi, universities, polytechnics, wānanga and the Ministry of Education. Such groupings would have the potential to provide ongoing pastoral care and support relevant to local and regional needs.

The Crown's apparent failure to provide adequate in-service professional development opportunities for teachers, in the Waitaha region, appears to have led to large numbers of non-Māori teachers depending on their Māori colleagues. This advice and support is often sought in cultural settings where they, themselves, should be displaying their competency as 'bicultural practitioners', as required by the New Zealand Teachers Council criteria for registered teachers and school principals. In addition, Māori teachers who participated in this research did not appear to be receiving adequate professional development opportunities to be able to support their schools to implement the goals and vision of the *New Zealand Curriculum* or the overarching *Ka Hikitia* strategy. Moreover, the teachers interviewed felt professionally and culturally isolated and complained of professional 'burn-out' as a result of cultural taxation.

The professional isolation of these teachers leaves Māori knowledge in danger of being systematically marginalized and Māori students in danger of seeing their culture ignored or trivialized in the curriculum. This, again, has the potential to significantly undermine the intent of the Crown's strategic plan for Māori education (*Ka Hikitia*) in the participating schools. Moreover, it raises questions about how widespread this problem is, on a national basis, given the similar research findings of Mitchell and Mitchell (1993) and the Ministry of Education (1999). This ongoing, and seemingly widespread, trend, also contradicts the Crown's principles of 'active protection', 'partnership' and 'participation'. It brings into question the sincerity of the New Zealand government's commitment to fulfilling its ethical, moral and legal obligations to assist Māori communities to revitalize, develop and transmit their language. This is, after all, clearly specified in Article 13 of the United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples* (see section 6.1.1 of this chapter). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, plus elsewhere (see chapter five), the participants were very clear that their greatest sources of support came from other Hōaka Pounamu graduands who had graduated in the same cohort as themselves.

### 6.2.5 Source of greatest support

All participants spoke of the support and assistance that this informal network of graduands was able to provide them, both professionally and socially. At a professional level these teachers were able to collaborate in the design of their curriculum programmes and assessment and moderation procedures. This was exemplified by three teachers - Inanga, Raukaraka and Totoweka - who actively collaborated with, and sought professional assistance and support from, their fellow Hōaka Pounamu graduands. Such collaborations were particularly important for the secondary school teachers who were new to the curriculum area. All three participants spoke incredibly highly of a Hōaka Pounamu colleague who was not a research participant.

This other Hōaka Pounamu graduand acted as a professional mentor, a moderator for assessments and willingly gave her time to support her peers. The research participants, along with many of their Hōaka Pounamu peers, established a te reo Māori language group to support and further develop their own language proficiency and often met socially to maintain these relationships and networks. Already established in Waitaha is a Māori language teacher subject-specific network that meets monthly. This group, 'Ngā Kaiako Reo Māori ki Waitaha', is an effective mechanism, for Māori teachers specifically teaching te reo Māori, for coordinating assessments and moderation as well as providing a sound network of relationships. Occasionally, this group will also facilitate their own professional development sessions based on the strengths and impetus of the group.

Professional development programmes to up-skill Māori teachers and to assist them to assert their rights as professionals in a professional Treaty-based manner would help alleviate some of the challenges that these teachers are experiencing. Furthermore, because Waitaha teachers have not received any opportunity to participate in the Te Kotahitanga programme, the Ministry of Education might like to consider introducing ongoing professional development opportunities for non-Māori teachers in the region. A programme designed to meet the specific needs of Waitaha teachers, rather than North Island teachers, could greatly assist to inform and educate these teachers on how to (a) give meaningful affect to the New Zealand Teachers Council criteria for registered teachers and school leaders, plus, (b) adhere to the guidelines of *Ka Hikitia* and the prescribed requirements of the *New Zealand Curriculum*.

The Ministry has only just begun to deliver *He Kakano*, a professional development, culturally responsive programme for school leaders in Canterbury. Unfortunately none of the schools involved in this research are participating in that initiative and, given the findings of this research, this *is* a concern. As stated previously, the Crown's failure to provide adequate in-service professional development opportunities for these teachers undermines the goals of *Ka Hikitia* and, therefore, contradicts the Crown's principles for action on the Treaty of Waitangi and, in turn contravenes relevant Articles of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples. Clearly, the Māori teachers who participated in this research also had exceedingly heavy workloads as a result of suffering various forms of cultural taxation that raised ethical, moral and legal questions.

#### **6.2.6 Workload**

The participants reiterated that additional, 'unwritten', tasks added to their already heavy workloads. Each of them described how they had been asked by their school management teams to facilitate professional development programmes for teaching staff, lead their schools' responses to the Crown's Māori education strategy (*Ka Hikitia*), and act as intermediaries between their respective schools and Māori communities. The Māori communities concerned were also partially responsible for creating some of this cultural taxation. Often these communities expected 'their' Māori teachers to act as role models, attend additional hui outside of school and advocate on behalf of Māori whānau within the schools concerned. These workload pressures are not unique to the Māori teachers who participated in this study. Santoro (2007), for example, found that indigenous and ethnic minority teachers in Australia also face similar expectations from their colleagues, the schooling system and parents in their school communities.

As a result of these extra professional responsibilities and increased workloads, the Māori teachers in this study, like their indigenous Australian counterparts in Santoro's study, shared feelings of fatigue and 'burn-out. Clearly little has changed in New Zealand since Mitchell and Mitchell drew similar findings (1993), as did Archie (1993) and Bloor's research in 1996. As early as 1993 Archie found that the workload of Māori teachers was greater than that of their non-Māori peers. This might suggest that some schools in the Waitaha region, and elsewhere, do not appear to be acting as 'good employers' as required

by the Crown's National Administration Goal 3(b): which requires each school's Board of Trustees to, "be a good employer as defined in the State Sector Act 1988 and comply with the conditions contained in employment contracts applying to teaching and non-teaching staff" (Ministry of Education, 2011b).

The apparent failure of these school's Boards of Trustees also has the potential to undermine the intent of *Ka Hikitia*, and to be viewed, in some quarters of local society, as a further breach of the Crown's principle of 'active protection' central to the Crown's 'principles for action on the Treaty of Waitangi'. Likewise, it might also prompt questions about the integrity of the New Zealand Government's commitment to upholding the Articles of the United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Thus, a strategy is urgently required to support Māori teachers, in the Waitaha region, who are often asked by their Principals, Board of Trustees, colleagues and Māori communities to take on additional cultural tasks and responsibilities. Empowering Māori teachers to be assertive in refusing the extra demands placed on them by their principals, colleagues and Māori communities is necessary to (a) maintain appropriate workloads for Māori teachers and (b) to support Māori teachers to play an appropriate role in the implementation of the Ministry's (*Ka Hikitia*) strategy for Māori education.

### **6.3 Suggestions for future research**

The small body of research on the professional lives of Māori teachers has, to date, primarily focused on (a) workload issues and (b) reasons underpinning high attrition levels. This study adds to this particular field of research in that it explores the experiences of a small group of Māori teachers in mainstream teaching environments. However, unlike, most of the earlier quantitative literature, this research has adopted a qualitative kaupapa Māori methodology to allow the personal narratives of Māori teachers to be heard rather than lost in a sea of quantitative data. Moreover, the parameters of earlier research projects could only provide relatively shallow, national 'snapshots' of Māori teachers. This research, however, was deliberately grounded in a particular region, both for reasons of manageability and because relatively little research has been conducted in that region. Consequently, this research has, to some extent, illuminated regional trends in Waitaha that might prompt further consideration of those socio-cultural trends that affect Māori teachers differently from place-to-place and region-by-region throughout New Zealand. Future research,

therefore, could involve comparing and contrasting the experiences of Māori teachers using place-based models and/or by focusing upon regional contexts. Inter-regional comparative studies may also provide some interesting findings. For example, one cannot assume that the experiences of Māori teachers working in different rural communities are the same within one region or from one region to another. Likewise, one cannot assume that the experiences of Māori teachers in urban centres are the same or similar to those of Māori teachers operating in rural communities.

Another potential avenue for fruitful research might involve the study of Māori teachers working in bilingual or Māori medium settings. One could surmise that some, if not all, of the issues identified by the participants in this study, might be remedied by working within a kaupapa Māori framework rather than Eurocentric institutions like those encountered in this research. While much research has been conducted on the learning needs of Māori students, little consideration has been given by researchers to the needs of Māori teachers, as they attempt to fulfill the official policy goals of raising Māori students' academic achievement levels. Without such research policy planners and teachers' unions can only speculate on the needs of Māori teachers and/or their capacity to meet the needs of official policy guidelines and directives. It remains difficult, therefore, to envisage how the goal of 'Māori achieving educational success as Māori' can be realized if Māori teachers, like those participating in this research, are left feeling professionally isolated and all too often 'burnt-out' as a result of cultural taxation.

## **6.4 Summary**

This final chapter has provided a summary of the key findings of this research and identified some national and international policy implications relating to the issues raised by the participants. Also embedded in this chapter are recommendations to assist Māori teachers, their school leaders and policy planners, in the hope of improving some of the realities that these teachers face on a daily basis. Finally, this chapter identified and discussed future research specific to the identified cultural taxation of Māori teachers. As suggested previously, this research supports and strengthens many of the findings made in previous studies yet offers a decidedly different approach via its qualitative methodology. This qualitative approach was underpinned by kaupapa Māori and narrative research methods. While these teachers' accounts echoed the sentiments and voices of teachers in previous

research studies, this research ensures that the narratives of the participants are at the fore of the thesis. As a result, it offers an insight to the challenges Māori teachers face, today, in English medium, state-funded schools.

In moving forward I am hopeful that the challenges that Māori teachers face today, and have faced in the past, may be reduced as a result of this research and, hopefully, further research. It is also my hope that Boards of Trustees and principals of the participating schools recognize that they have the ability to set the ethos of their schools and to ensure that their schools adopt inclusive, culturally-responsive practices that reflect the true nature of New Zealand, as detailed in the New Zealand Curriculum and the New Zealand Teachers' Council professional standards for school leaders and registered teachers.

The attitudes and behaviours of non-Māori within a school can significantly influence the experiences of both Māori teachers and students. It is my sincere hope that this study may influence non-Māori to think about the narratives recorded and to affirm positive practices which support Māori teachers to engage in an equal partnership with their non-Māori colleagues, as envisaged within the Crown's principles for action on the Treaty of Waitangi. Ultimately, it will be these schools' leaders who possess the greatest potential to immediately alter any behaviour or attitudes that may have contributed to the challenges that these Māori teachers faced in their schools. Many of these challenges, as stated elsewhere, appear at least on a prima facie basis to contravene the Crown's principles for action on the Treaty of Waitangi and various Articles of the United Nations' *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*.

Given that each chapter of this research has commenced with appropriate whakataukī, I will present another whakataukī (proverb) to close this study. I have chosen this whakataukī because it reminds all the stakeholders, with a vested interest in this research, that no problem is insurmountable. It states:

He manga-ā-wai, koia, kia kāore e whitikia?

*Is it a river that cannot be crossed?*

*(Implying every river can be crossed, one way or another)*

## 7 References

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# Appendix 1: Participant Information Letter



8 February 2009

Tēnā koe e te tungāne

Ko te wehi ki a Ihowa, te timatanga o te whakaaro nui. Ko ngā tini aituā kua rere ki te pō, haere koutou, haere koutou haere, okioki atu i te wāhi kua whakaritea mō tāua, mō te tangata. Āpiti hono tātai hono, te hunga mate kia moe kia rātou. Āpiti hono tātai hono, tātou ngā morehu o rātou mā, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

Ka huri te ihu o tōku waka ki a koutou ngā kaihoe o te waka reo kai roto i ngā kura auraki. Nei rā te mihi ki a koutou e kaha ana kia ora ai tō tātou nei reo rangatira, nō reira, kai te mihi, kai te mihi.

My name is Toni Torepe and I am a lecturer at the University of Canterbury College of Education. I am writing to invite you to take part in a research project exploring the experiences and reflections of Hōaka Pounamu graduates following their graduation and return to work in New Zealand schools.

Firstly participants will complete a questionnaire in January/February (which should take no longer than 60 minutes) prior to your return to teaching in the 2009 school year. I will then follow up the questionnaire with an informal interview at the end of Term 2 2009 which will be approximately 2 hours in duration at the venue of your choice.

Each interview will be audio taped with your permission. Transcripts of each interview as well as the data collected from the pre-interview questionnaire will be returned to you for corrections and/or comments to ensure accuracy.

The overarching objectives are to identify and or explore:

- The reasons you chose to participate in the Hōaka Pounamu programme,
- The most influential experiences you had during the programme in terms of shaping your sense of identity as Māori and as teachers,
- The most influential learning experiences you had during the programme that you wish to transfer into your teaching practice,

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1. This project has received ethical approval from the University of Canterbury College of Education Ethical Clearance Committee.

2. Complaints may be addressed to:  
Dr Missy Morton, Chair, Ethical Clearance Committee  
College of Education, University of Canterbury  
Private Bag 4800, CHRISTCHURCH

Telephone: 345 8312

Hōaka Pounamu: Kaupapa Māori Professional Development for New Zealand Educators: From Theory to Practice.

- Your experiences after your return to the classroom incorporating the knowledge developed on the Hōaka Pounamu programme

This research will contribute to publications to help guide and inform other researchers interested in this kind of indigenous professional development programme.

Please note that:

- Participation is voluntary and you may withdraw your participation, including any information you have provided, at any stage.
- Participants will be offered the use of pseudonyms to maintain anonymity and to diminish any possible risks of identification. All statistical data relating to each participant and school will be aggregated to minimise risk of identification.
- Your response will be stored electronically in password protected form for five years and will then be destroyed.

You can contact me directly if you would like to discuss any aspects related to this research project by either emailing me at: [toni.torepe@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:toni.torepe@canterbury.ac.nz) or by phoning me on (03) 345 8503 (work) or 021 606 894. If you have any complaints concerning this study or the way in which it is conducted please refer to the contact details for the Ethical Clearance Committee in the footer below.

If you are willing to participate, please complete the attached consent form and return to me in the paid self addressed envelope at your earliest convenience. On receipt of your signed consent I will contact you to discuss the timing and content of the questionnaire.

Thank you for considering participating in this research project and I look forward to your response.

Nō reira rā te tuakana/tungāne. He mihi tēnei ki a koe me te whakaaro ki te whakaarohanga mai ki tēnei mahi rangahau. Ko te tūmanako, a tōna wā, ka kōrero tahi anō tāua, kanohi ki te kanohi.

Nāhaku noa, nā

Toni Torepe

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2. Complaints may be addressed to:  
Dr Missy Morton, Chair, Ethical Clearance Committee  
College of Education, University of Canterbury  
Private Bag 4800, CHRISTCHURCH

Telephone: 345 8312

## Appendix 2: Participant Consent Form



8 February 2009

Participant  
Address 1  
Address 2

### **Hōaka Pounamu: Kaupapa Māori Professional Development for New Zealand Educators: From Theory to Practice.**

I am willing to take part as a participant in the above project.

- I have read and understood the information given to me about the research project and what will be required.
- I understand that interview material, with my consent, may be audio-recorded and quotes may be used in presentations and reports using pseudonyms.
- I understand that information collected during the project will be treated as confidential. No findings that could identify myself or my school will be published.
- I understand that participation in this project is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the project at any time without repercussions.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

Please return this form in the pre paid self addressed envelope at your earliest convenience.

1. This project has received ethical approval from the University of Canterbury College of Education Ethical Clearance Committee.
2. Complaints may be addressed to:  
Dr Missy Morton, Chair, Ethical Clearance Committee  
College of Education, University of Canterbury  
Private Bag 4800, CHRISTCHURCH

Telephone: 345 8312



## Appendix 3: Principal Information Sheet



Toni Torepe  
University of Canterbury College of Education  
Private Bag 4800  
Christchurch.

June 2009

The Principal  
School  
Address 1  
Address 2

Tēnā koe e te rangatira

Tēnā e te iti, tēnā i te rahi, i te tiketike, i te taketake. Kake ake rā te maunga tapu o Ngāi Tahu. Heke ana ki Ngā Pākihi Whakatekateka o Waitaha. I raro hoki i te korowai manaaki o Ngāi Tahu whānui.

Koutou e arataki ana i te ara whai mātauranga, i te ara whai māramatanga, i te ara whai mōhio mō ō tātou tamariki mokopuna i ngā kura o te motu. Te Tumuaki koutou ko te Tumu Whakahaere e tautoko ana i ngā taonga tuku iho a Tāua mā, a Pōua mā. Kai te mihi, kai te mihi, tēnā rā tātou katoa.

Ko Aoraki te mauka, ko Te Waipounamu te waka, ko ngā wai huka e rere ana, ko ngā waitapu, ko Ngāi Tahu te Iwi. E ngā tuākana, ngā tēina, e rau rangatira mā, tēnā koutou.

My name is Toni Torepe and I am a lecturer in the School of Māori, Social and Cultural Studies at the University of Canterbury College of Education where I teach te reo Māori in the Bachelor of Teaching and Learning programme, the Graduate Diploma of Teaching and Learning (Primary) and the Graduate Diploma of Teaching and Learning (Secondary).

I am writing to formally request permission to approach (name of participant) to participate in a research project that I wish to undertake over the next 18-24 months. This research project involves

1. This project has received ethical approval from the University of Canterbury College of Education Ethical Clearance Committee.
2. Complaints may be addressed to:  
Dr Missy Morton, Chair, Ethical Clearance Committee  
College of Education, University of Canterbury  
Private Bag 4800, CHRISTCHURCH  
Telephone: 345 8312

Hōaka Pounamu: Kaupapa Māori Professional Development for New Zealand Educators: From Theory to Practice.

approaching graduates of Hōaka Pounamu 2008, and who attended the January Kura Raumati, to provide information on;

- the reasons they chose to participate on the Hōaka Pounamu programme,
- the most influential experiences they had during the programme in terms of shaping their sense of identity as Māori and as teachers,
- the most influential learning experiences that the participants had during the programme that they wish to transfer into their teaching practice,
- the experiences that participants had after they return to their school with the knowledge they have acquired on the Hōaka Pounamu programme.

Essentially I will be gathering two types of information. Participants will complete a pre-interview questionnaire in either December or January, prior to returning to teaching in the 2009 school year. As a follow up to the questionnaire I will be conducting an interview at the end of Term 2 2009, which will be approximately 2 hours in duration. In order to minimise any disruption for your school, the teacher and their whānau, the semi-structured interview will be conducted at a location of each participant's choice and suitable times will be negotiated with each participant later in the study. Please note that if requested I am willing to provide the necessary funds to your school to cover the cost of a relief teacher for the duration of the interview.

Interviews will be audio taped with the permission of the participant. Transcripts of each interview as well as the data collected from the pre-interview questionnaire will be returned to the participant for corrections and/or comments to ensure accuracy of participants views.

This research will be conducted in accordance with the University of Canterbury Ethical Clearance Committee guidelines for the Ethical Conduct of Research. Participation is voluntary and participants may withdraw their participation, including withdrawal of any information they have provided at any stage. Although it is possible that some people may speculate about 'who' participated and who has said 'what' all precautions to protect participants identity and the identity of their school will be taken. Participants will be offered the use of pseudonyms to maintain anonymity and to diminish any possible risks of identification. All statistical data relating to the participant and/or their school will be aggregated to also help minimise any possible risk of identification.

All data that I gather will be strictly confidential to myself, the research project supervisors and a typist transcribing the interviews. Information gathered during the course of this research will be used for the purposes of this study and any related journal articles or conference papers that may result from this study. Data will be securely stored and will only be available to persons mentioned above. One year after the research process is complete, all data gathered including written material and recordings of the interviews will be destroyed.

Throughout this study I will be working under the supervision of Richard Manning and Dr Vanessa Andreotti, both lecturers in the School of Māori, Social and Cultural Studies at the University of Canterbury College of Education. This research will also be guided by Professor Angus Macfarlane.

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2. Complaints may be addressed to:  
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College of Education, University of Canterbury  
Private Bag 4800, CHRISTCHURCH

Telephone: 345 8312

Hōaka Pounamu: Kaupapa Māori Professional Development for New Zealand Educators: From Theory to Practice.

If you wish to discuss any matters relating to this research project with me, please feel free to contact me by either emailing me at: [toni.torepe@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:toni.torepe@canterbury.ac.nz) or by phoning me on (03) 345 8503 (work) or 021 606 894. Alternatively you may wish to contact either Richard Manning at: [richard.manning@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:richard.manning@canterbury.ac.nz) or Dr Vanessa Andreotti at: [vanessa.andreotti@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:vanessa.andreotti@canterbury.ac.nz).

If you choose to allow (name of participant) to participate in this research project can you please confirm in writing as soon as possible and I will initiate formal contact with (participant).

Nāhaku noa, nā

Toni Torepe

---

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2. Complaints may be addressed to:  
Dr Missy Morton, Chair, Ethical Clearance Committee  
College of Education, University of Canterbury  
Private Bag 4800, CHRISTCHURCH

Telephone: 345 8312

Hōaka Pounamu: Kaupapa Māori Professional Development for New Zealand Educators: From Theory to Practice.

## Appendix 4: Principal Consent Form



Toni Torepe  
University of Canterbury College of Education  
Private Bag 4800  
Christchurch.

23 June 2009

Principals name  
Address 1  
Address 2

### **Hōaka Pounamu: Kaupapa Māori Professional Development for New Zealand Educators: From Theory to Practice.**

I am willing to allow (Teachers name) to take part as a participant in the above project.

- I have read and understood the information given to me about the research project and what will be required of (Teachers name).
- I understand that interview material, with (Teachers name) consent, may be audio-recorded and quotes may be used in presentations and reports using pseudonyms.
- I understand that information collected during the project will be treated as confidential. No findings that could identify (Teachers name) or his/her school will be published.
- I understand that participation in this project is voluntary and that (Teachers name) can withdraw from the project at any time without repercussions.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

Please return this form in the pre paid self addressed envelope at your earliest convenience.

1. This project has received ethical approval from the University of Canterbury College of Education Ethical Clearance Committee.
2. Complaints may be addressed to:  
Dr Missy Morton, Chair, Ethical Clearance Committee  
College of Education, University of Canterbury  
Private Bag 4800, CHRISTCHURCH  
Telephone: 345 8312

## Appendix 5: Pre-interview Questionnaire

### *Hōaka Pounamu:Kaupapa Māori Professional Development for New Zealand Educators: From Theory to Practice*

#### *Preliminary Interview Questionnaire*

##### Instructions:

1. Please read the whole questionnaire in its entirety, before you fill it out as this will assist you to appreciate the overall aim of the questionnaire. This questionnaire may take up to an hour to complete.
2. If you would like to answer any of the questions in more detail than is possible in the space provided, please use separate paper, noting the relevant question(s) related to your comments and return these along with your completed questionnaire in the self-addressed stamped envelope provided. If you have any questions in relation to the Preliminary Interview Questionnaire, please contact Toni Torepe at the following email address: [toni.torepe@canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:toni.torepe@canterbury.ac.nz).

**A. Personal Profile**

1. Name: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Place of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Iwi Affiliations: \_\_\_\_\_

4. Hapū Affiliations: \_\_\_\_\_

5. Age: \_\_\_\_\_

6. Please list your tertiary qualifications: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

7. Which tertiary institution did you graduate from with your teaching qualification?

\_\_\_\_\_

8. Number of years teaching: \_\_\_\_\_

9. Job Title: \_\_\_\_\_

10. Which education sector do you currently teach in (please tick one)?

Primary

Intermediate

Secondary

11. Te Reo Immersion Level: \_\_\_\_\_

12. Secondary Teaching Subjects (If applicable): \_\_\_\_\_

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**B. Hōaka Pounamu**

13. List up to three reasons, in order of priority, that you chose to participate on Hōaka Programme:

*Why I chose to participate:*



14. Describe the most influential learning experience that you had over the course of the year that shaped your sense of identity (e.g. ethnicity, class, gender):

*Please explain what, and the impact:*

15. Describe the most influential learning experience that you had over the course of the year that shaped your sense of identity as a teacher:

*Please explain what, and the impact:*

16. In relation to the influential learning experiences listed previously in Questions 14 & 15, list the experiences that you wish to transfer to your **classroom/school** when you return to teaching (2009):

*Please detail below:*

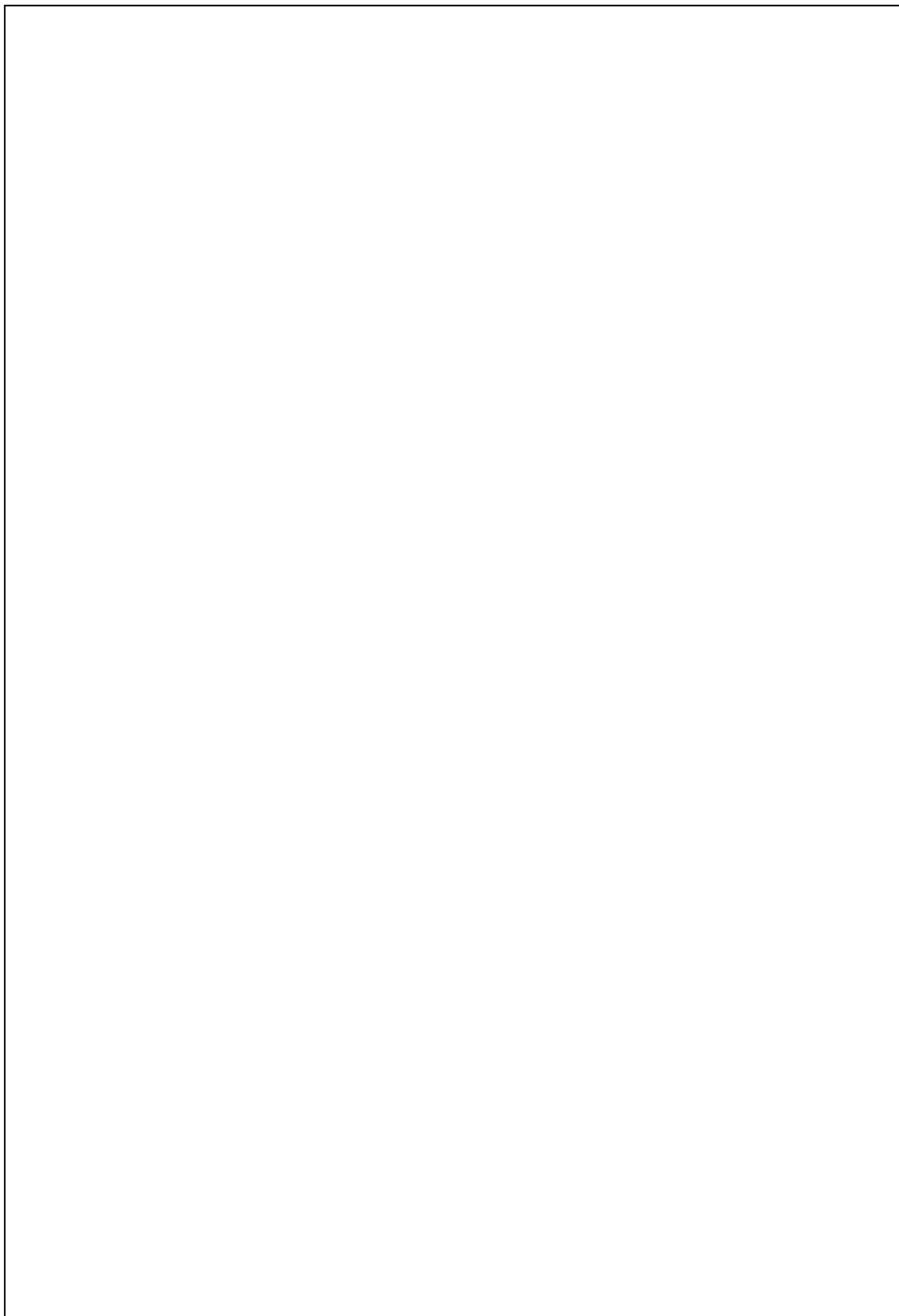
17. In relation to your aspirations, discussed in response to Question 16, do you anticipate encountering any barriers?

If so, what?

18. How did Summer School contribute to your learning (e.g., language development, Tikanga Māori, relationship building, sense of cultural safety)?

*Please detail below:*

19. In hindsight did you experience any barriers to learning during the Hōaka Pounamu course? If so, please describe them:

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for the respondent to write their answer to question 19.

20. Assuming you have made friendships with other participants on the Hōaka Pounamu course, how important would it be to maintain these relationships over the next twelve months? **Why** and **how** would you maintain these relationships?



**C. Personal Experiences in relation to te reo Māori**

21. Have you ever participated in any Māori culture and/or te reo Māori course at secondary school? If yes, please identify the school(s), and the level(s) of study e.g. School Certificate/ Sixth Form Certificate/Bursary.

*School(s):* \_\_\_\_\_

*Level(s) of study:* \_\_\_\_\_

22. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the secondary school course(s) you experienced in relation to your Māori identity?

*Please explain what and why?*



23. Have you ever participated in any Māori culture and/or te reo Māori course at a tertiary institution? If yes, please identify the institution(s), and the level(s) of study e.g. introductory, first/second/ third year papers.

*Institution(s):* \_\_\_\_\_

*Level(s) of study:* \_\_\_\_\_

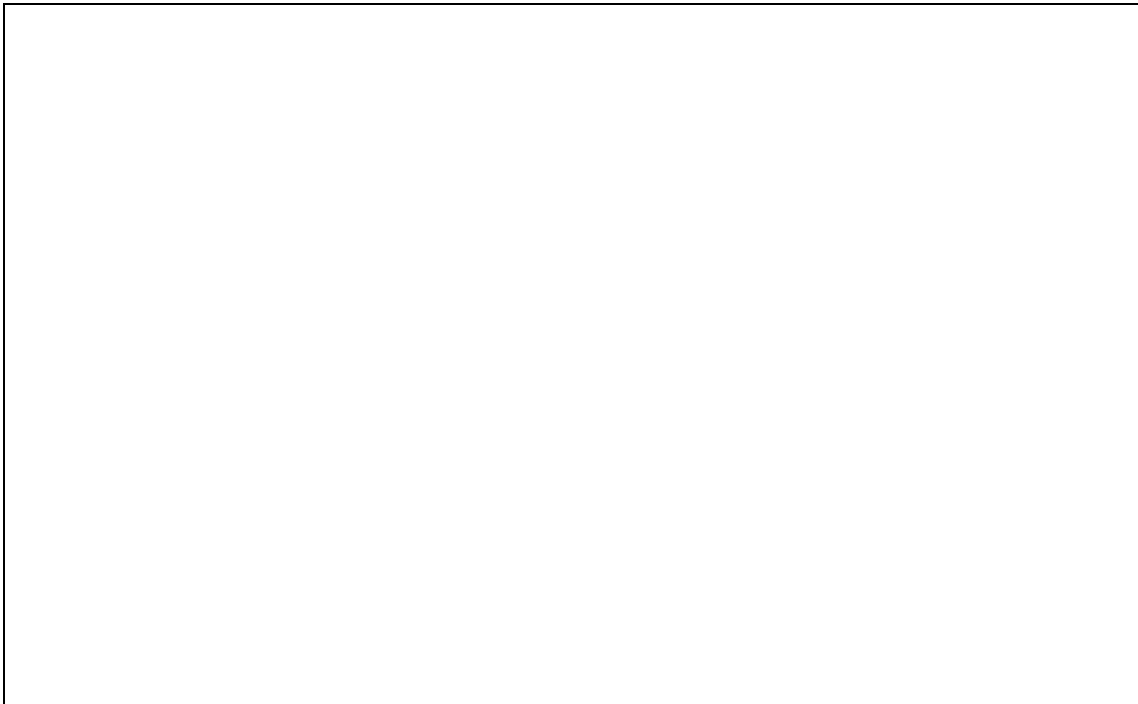
24. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the tertiary course(s) you experienced in terms of **your** needs as a Māori learner?

*Please explain what and why?*

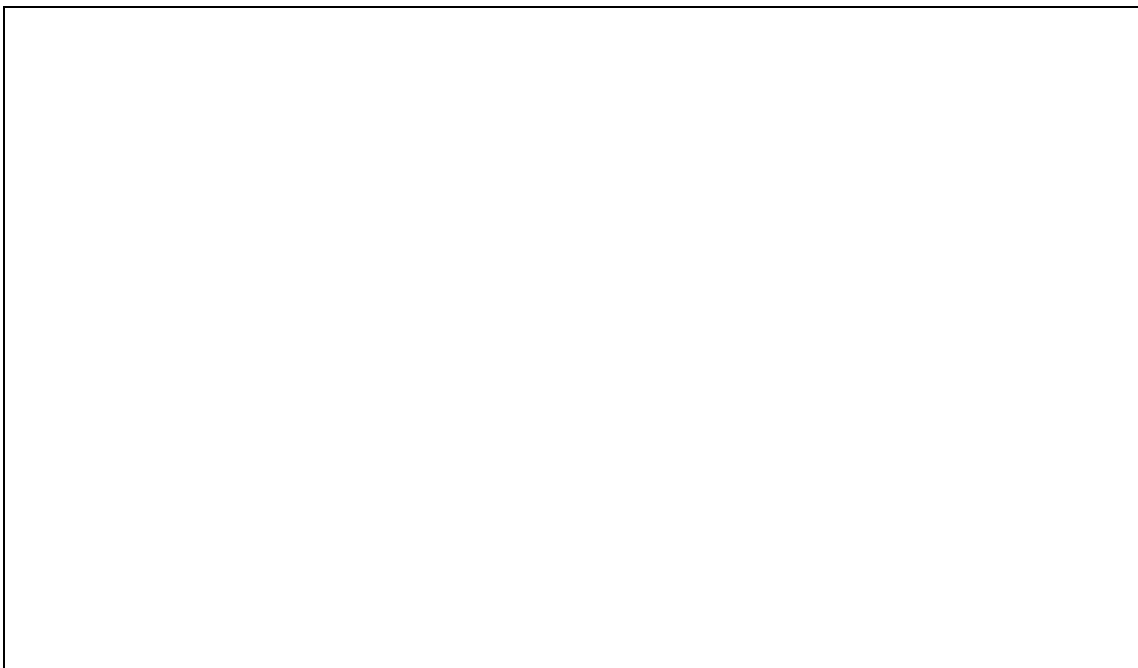
25. In relation to the cultural activities you experienced as a child in whānau, hapū and iwi settings; how were the cultural activities you experienced at primary and secondary school similar and/or different? (e.g. Was there any cultural continuity/discontinuity between schooling and familial contexts).

*Please explain:*

26. When you were growing up did anyone within your whānau, hapū and iwi settings speak te reo Māori on a regular basis? If so, what was the context and why did this occur?



27. As an adult does anyone in your household speak te reo Māori on a regular basis?  
Why/Why not?



28. Prior to commencing Hōaka Pounamu in 2008 did anyone in your household speak te reo Māori on a regular basis?

*Context:*

29. Having completed Hōaka Pounamu in 2008 has the level and usage of te reo Māori increased in your household?

30. During your schooling years, did you actively participate in cultural activities that occurred within your whānau, hapū and iwi settings? If so, *how* and *why*?

*Whānau/hapū/iwi:*

31. As an adult do you actively participate in cultural activities within your whānau, hapū and iwi settings. If so, **how** and **why**?

*Whānau/hapū/iwi:*

## Appendix 6: Interview Schedule

### *Hōaka Pounamu:Kaupapa Māori Professional Development for New Zealand Educators: From Theory to Practice*

#### *Schedule of Interview Questions*

##### **Introduction:**

The following interview questions are designed to elicit responses from participants in relation to a range of issues. ‘Open’ interview questions appear in bold font, with the interviewer’s discretionary prompts italicised below. These prompts were only used if necessary. The key objective is to generate a broad range of general information relevant to the stated research objectives. The specific intent of the interview questions is to research the progression of kaupapa Māori post Hōaka Pounamu – in the classroom.

**Opening Introductory Statement: Read aloud just prior to the commencement of each interview:**

This is a recording of an interview with *(state name of interviewee)*. This interview is being conducted at *(state venue)* on *(state date)*. This interview is being recorded by Toni Torepe in conjunction with her masters thesis, using a *(state technology: e.g. brand and model of recorder and microphones)*. The interview has commenced at *(state time interview commences)*.



## **Interview Questions and Prompts**

**1. Talk to me about the particular goals you have set for yourself this year following your completion of the Hōaka Pounamu programme. Why had you set these?**

- a) *Had you planned to increase the level of te reo used in your classroom this year?*
- b) *Had you planned to increase the level of tikanga Māori used in your classroom this year?*
- c) *Did you plan on using any of the resources or language plans that you developed on Hōaka Pounamu last year in your classroom during 2009?*
- d) *Any other plans?*

**2. On completion of the Hōaka Pounamu course and before returning to your school, what challenges did you anticipate facing? Please explain.**

- a) *Did you expect any resistance from either your colleagues, ākongā or school whānau as you have incorporated kaupapa Māori initiatives into your teaching during the year? (If so, what sort of resistance?)*
- b) *Did you expect difficulties implementing kaupapa Māori within your school, a school which is essentially a Eurocentric institution led by a Eurocentric framework? (If so, what sort of difficulties?)*
- c) *Did you experience feelings of isolation during the year, returning to a school which has a predominately non-Māori population after coming from the Hōaka Pounamu course? (Why/Why not?)*

**3. So in reality, what were the ACTUAL key challenges you faced in 2009? Please explain.**

- a) *Did you encounter any resistance from colleagues, ākongā or whānau as you have incorporated kaupapa Māori initiatives into your classroom, or school, during the year? (Please explain why/why not?)*
- b) *Have you found it difficult implementing kaupapa Māori within your school? (Why/Why not?)*
- c) *Have you experienced feelings of isolation during the year, returning to a school which has a predominately non-Māori population after coming from the Hōaka Pounamu course?*

**4. I would be interested to know what strategies you used to negotiate these challenges you've encountered. Can you please describe some challenges and coping strategies you employed?**

- a) *Have you sought support from other Hōaka Pounamu graduates throughout the year?*
- b) *Have you sought support from school community members throughout the year?*
- c) *Have you sought support from your own whānau throughout the year?*
- d) *Have you sought support from university lecturers (Hōaka Pounamu) throughout the year?*

**5. So, in terms of your kaupapa for the year, what do you feel you have accomplished this year? How have you measured this?**

- a) *If it was your intention to increase the use of te reo me ōna tikanga in the classroom, and/or school, has this been achieved? (Why/Why not?)*
- b) *If it was your intention to increase the awareness of kaupapa Māori in the classroom, and/or school, has this been achieved? (Why/Why not?)*
- c) *For yourself, personally, what do you feel like you've accomplished over the past 12 months? (What evidence do you have to show this?)*

**6. So in light of everything you have mentioned previously, have your goals shifted in any way – and if so, how and why?**

- a) *The development of cultural awareness (of things Māori) in a school community can take time. Have your goals shifted to take this into account? (Why/Why not?)*
- b) *Are you planning on implementing any new routines or initiatives for ākonga in the future? (Why/Why not & 'what'?)*
- c) *On reflection, do you believe that you would change any of your goals that you may have initially had based on your experiences this year? (Why/Why not?)*

**7. What on-going or new CHALLENGES do you anticipate facing moving forward in the future?**

- a) *Do you believe that you will have support from colleagues / school community in the future? (Why/Why not?)*
- b) *Do you believe that working within a Eurocentric institution will provide challenges to what you want to achieve in the classroom and/or school? (Why/Why not?)*
- c) *Given that you are facing different obstacles to what you want to achieve, can you foresee yourself facing "burn out", either professionally and/or personally? (Why/Why not?)*

**8. Alternatively, what on-going or new OPPORTUNITIES do you anticipate facing moving forward in the future?**

- a) *Now that your school community has a greater awareness of what you want to achieve, will it provide greater support for you? (Why/Why not?)*
- b) *If you do so already, will you continue to network with other HP graduates over the coming months/years? (Why/Why not?)*
- c) *Do you see networking with other schools and/or the wider community (i.e. Mātā waka, Iwi etc) as an opportunity to create new initiatives? (Why/Why not?)*

**Closing Statement: Read aloud at the conclusion of each interview:**

This interview with *(state interviewee's name)* was recorded by Toni Torepe on *(state date)* at *(state venue)* and concluded at *(state time interview concludes)*.

## Appendix 7: Transcriber Confidentiality Form



### **Hōaka Pounamu: Kaupapa Māori Professional Development for New Zealand Educators: From Theory to Practice.**

#### **Statement of Confidentiality**

To whom it might concern.

I (full name), hereby agree to transcribe interviews recorded by Toni Torepe in conjunction with her Masters research project. I also undertake to ensure the continued anonymity of those people interviewed during and after the research process is completed.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

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