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Waikato Journal of Education
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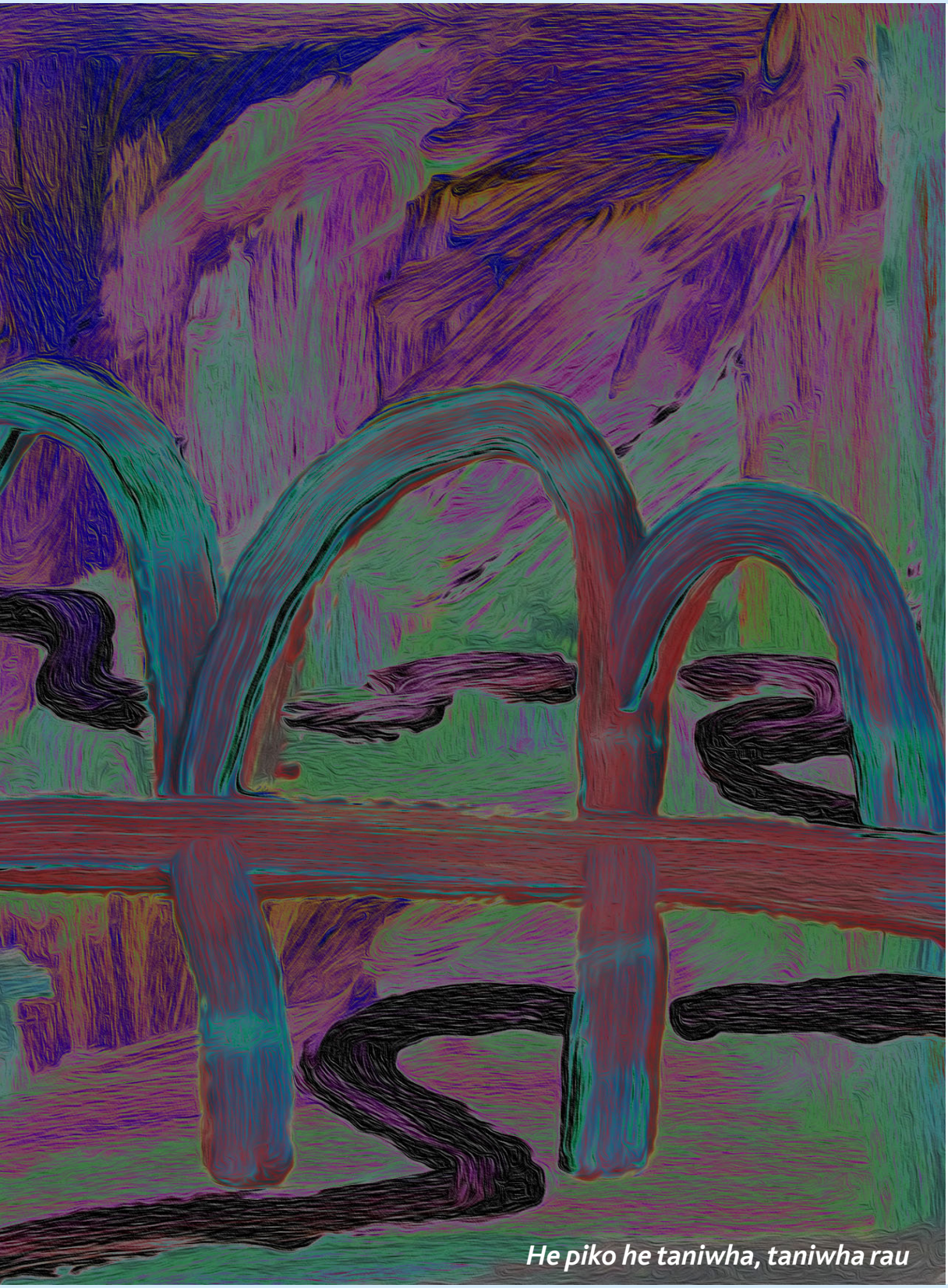

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TE KURA TOI TANGATA
FACULTY OF EDUCATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Waikato Journal of Education
Te Hautaka Mātauranga o Waikato

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The Wilf Malcolm Institute of Educational Research (WMIER), which is part of Te Kura Toi Tangata Faculty of Education, The University of Waikato, publishes the journal.

There are two major submission deadline dates: December 1 (for publication the following year in May); June 1 (for publication in the same year in November). Please submit your article or abstract on the website http://wje.org.nz/index.php/WJE.

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Publisher: Te Kura Toi Tangata Faculty of Education, The University of Waikato
Cover design: Adapted from an original painting by Donn Ratana
ISSN: 1173-6135 (paper copy) 2382-0373 (online)

Waikato Journal of Education

Te Hautaka Mātauranga o Waikato

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Waikato Journal of Education
Te Hautaka Mātauranga o Waikato

Special 20th Anniversary Collection, 2015

1999 Professorial address: Nau te rourou, naku te rourou ... Māori education: Setting an agenda[i]

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Abstract

Current educational policies and practices in Aotearoa/New Zealand were developed and continue to be developed within a framework of power imbalances, which effects Māori the greatest. An alternative model that seeks to address indigenous Māori aspirations and Treaty of Waitangi guarantees for self determination is presented here. This model suggests how a tertiary teacher education institution might create learning contexts wherein power-sharing images, principles and practices will facilitate successful participation by Māori students in mainstream classrooms. This model constitutes the classroom as a place where young peoples sense-making processes (cultures) are incorporated and enhanced, where the existing knowledges of young people are seen as 'acceptable' and 'official' and where the teacher interacts with students in such a way that new knowledge is co-created. Such a classroom will generate totally different interaction and participation patterns and educational outcomes from a classroom where knowledge is seen as something that the teacher makes sense of and then passes on to students.

Introduction: The identification of the problem

What precludes significant advancement being made in addressing Māori achievement in mainstream education institutions, including teacher education institutions and classrooms, is that current educational policies were developed and continue to be developed within a framework of colonialism and as a result continue, consciously or unconsciously, to serve the interests of colonialism.

Evidence that participation in our society is benefiting fewer and fewer people can be seen in the polarisation of household incomes; the siphoning off of the wealth from poor people to support the rich, with Māori people disproportionately making up the poor. In education, the concentration of

[i] This paper is the inaugural address of Professor Bishop, delivered at The University of Waikato Campus on 22 October 1999. It also coincided with the launch of Culture Counts: Changing Power Relations in Education (Dunmore Press) written by Russell Bishop and Ted Glynn.

Wilf Malcolm Institute of Educational Research, Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand
ISSN: 1173-6135 (paper copy) 2382-0373 (online)
(pp. 115–128)
Originally published Volume 6, 2000
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decision-making in fewer and fewer hands is seen in the powerful position that deficit theorising/explanations holds within mainstream education, where Māori are falling behind in attainment and increasingly being represented in suspension statistics, and getting the blame for doing so. Further, monocultural dominance means that knowledges and pedagogic processes continue to serve the aspirations of the dominant discourse.

Drawing from an analysis of Māori experiences of marginalisation, oppression and hegemony (Bishop, 1997), Ted Glynn and I (Bishop & Glynn, 1998) suggested that historically, mainstream attempts at educational reform to address Māori educational achievement in New Zealand had been singularly inadequate because of what Scheurich and Young (1997), term epistemological racism. We wrote:

> if one lesson is clear from the history of our country it is that imposition of a model of change] from outside of the experiences, understandings and aspirations of the community group is doomed to failure. Failure that is, if the objective is other than assimilation or the perpetuation of a situation of dominance and subjection. (p. 45)

The history of intercultural relations in this country, the pattern of dominance and subordination that has been developed, and the string of unsuccessful attempts (assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and biculturalism) that have been made to mediate this relationship illustrates the impact of the ideology of cultural superiority on the indigenous population of New Zealand. These together provide a very striking example of the outcomes of subtractive bilingualism and hegemonic domination within a modern nation state.

As a result, attempts to address current problems by using current frames of reference will not be adequate. The reliance upon paradigm-shifting for example, within the domain of the dominant discourse has led to a perpetuation of the original goals of the education system established in New Zealand in the 19th Century, that is the economic, social and political subordination and marginalistion of Māori people (Simon, 1990; Te Puni Kokiri report, 1998; Walker, 1990). That this approach has been and continues to be successful is manifest in the continued marginalisation of Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices in the education system and the continuance of Māori underachievement in a system that was in fact designed to promote such underachievement in the first place. It is a continuing irony to Māori people that it is the proponents of the very system that perpetuates marginalisation and underachievement who insist they have answers for these problems. This irony was seen in such programmes as te taha Māori in the 1980s where the system used Māori knowledges to promote majority culture objectives rather than address Māori children's learning difficulties (Smith 1990), and in research reports (Chapple, Jefferies, & Walker, 1997) that deny Māori culture has a place in solution-seeking, despite Māori peoples cultural aspirations for such a place.

The patterns of dominance and subordination that exist in the wider society of Aotearoa/New Zealand also exist in our classrooms. It is this pattern of dominance and subordination and its constituent interaction patterns in classrooms that perpetuates the non-participation of many young Māori people in the benefits that the education system has to offer. However, this paper contends that it is through the reassertion of Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices, here termed Kaupapa Māori theory and practice (after Smith, 1997), that structural issues of power and control, initiation, benefits, representation, legitimisation and accountability can be addressed in mainstream classrooms in ways that will eventually benefit all students.

Kaupapa Māori: Theory and practice

Kaupapa Māori theory and practice which has grown out of Māori educational institutions, Te Kohanga Reo (Māori-medium preschools) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori-medium primary schools)

offers new approaches to interpersonal and group relationships and interactions, in research (Bishop, 1996; L. Smith, 1999), in educational settings (G. Smith, 1997) and in policy-making (G. Smith, 1997). The fundamental message from Kaupapa Māori experiences is the desire for self-determination which means that current power relationships of dominance and subordination in education in general and classrooms in particular need to change in order that learners can participate in educational experiences on their own terms. To promote self-determination and reduce imposition, we must attempt to create learning relationships within classrooms wherein learners' culturally-generated sense-making processes are used and developed in order that they may successfully participate in classroom interactions. Such relationships must promote the knowledges of the learners as acceptable or legitimate; teachers should interact with students in such a way that knowledge is co-created and benefit from this participation. In this way, learners are able to be co-inquirers and take part in the whole process of learning from goal setting to assessment and evaluation. The solution lies in creating socio-cultural contexts where learning takes place actively and reflectively, and where learners can not only use a variety of learning styles, but also have the power to determine which learning styles they need to use. In other words, creating contexts where they can safely bring what they know and who they are into the learning relationship. Further, where what students know, who they are, and how they know what they know, forms the foundations of interaction patterns in the classroom. In short, where culture counts. Such a position stands in contrast to traditional positions where knowledge is determined by the teacher and children are required to leave who they are at the door of the classroom or at the school gate.

Addressing the educational needs of Māori children will also benefit other children as well because reforming education in a way that moves us from power-imposing models to more power-sharing models will allow students to participate more successfully through their being able to bring their prior experiences and knowledges to the classroom. Such a process is fundamental to successful learning for all students; to their acquiring lifelong learning skills, to their being educated to think for themselves, to solve problems and to critically reflect on their participation in a rapidly changing world. Along with generations of educationalists, progressives and conservatives alike, it is advocated that our education should be child- or learner-centred wherein students should learn to think for themselves and become independent learners. "This in turn will produce flexible lifelong learners able to adapt to the changing conditions of the workplace, the home and the global community" (Applebee, 1996, p. 21). Students cannot achieve these things as passive recipients of knowledge-out-of-context (Applebee, 1996).

This raises the question of how a tertiary teacher education institution addresses such issues.

School of Education

I was appointed to the Foundation Chair in Māori Education at the School of Education (SOE), The University of Waikato, in May 1998. Between then and taking up the position in October, I made a number of journeys from Dunedin to talk with staff in the school, to other staff in the wider university and with a number of significant figures outside the university. My aim was to understand their aspirations for this new position and ascertain how they saw the development of Māori education in general. These ideas, in dialogue with my own, enabled me to identify a number of areas that should be developed and promoted within the SOE. The pattern can be seen in Figure 1. In many ways then, I saw this diagram as my job description.

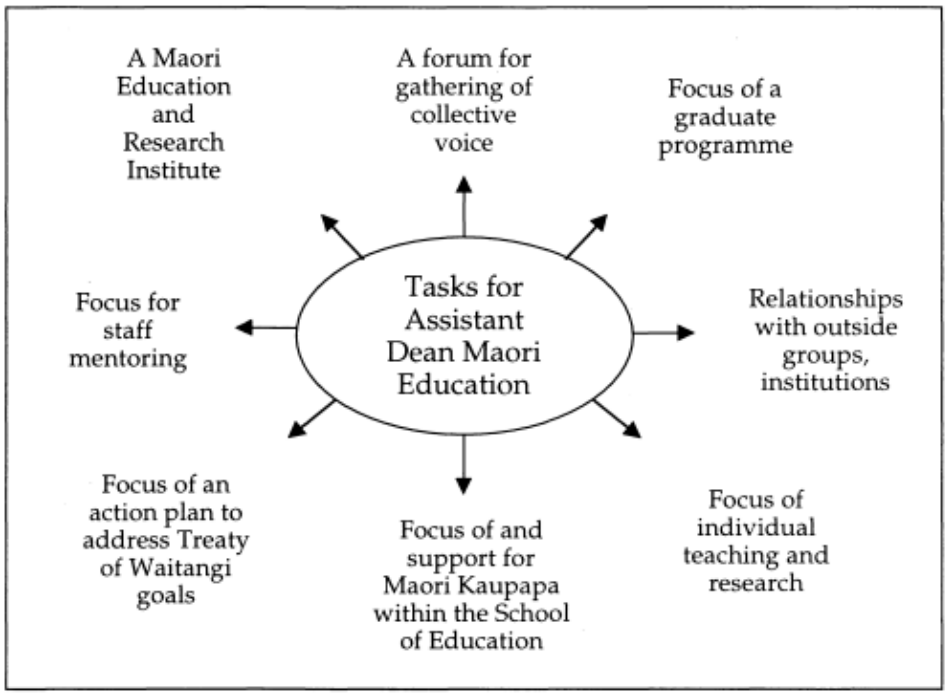

Figure 1. Tasks for Māori education

A year has gone by since my taking the Chair and it is timely to report on progress so far and to indicate some directions for the future. However, before I do so I want to congratulate the Dean and the staff of the School of Education, University of Waikato for their vision in establishing this Chair, the first of its type in New Zealand; and I wish to acknowledge the efforts of all those who have worked here before me and who are still here. What I am reporting here is built on their efforts.

1. A focus for gathering a collective voice

When I eventually took up my position in October 1998, I presented the model in Figure 1 to the staff of the SOE and explained that I saw this as the agenda for a virtual School of Māori Education within the wider School of Education; one where the participants would be committed to promoting and developing Kaupapa Māori Education and as a result develop a bicultural future for the SOE. I suggested that we form an ad hoc institute (the virtual school) that focussed on promoting and developing Māori education and research. Hence our name, MERI. During my discussions, it had been suggested to me over and over again that we needed to focus on making a difference for Māori. This became our mission statement. Our strategic direction was to be through implementation of the Treaty of Waitangi, in particular the development of a partnership in decision-making, the chiefly protection (tino Rangatiratanga) of those treasures close to Māori hearts and minds and an increase in successful participation by Māori people in all facets of education.

2. To develop the graduate programme

a. New papers

Presently (1999), we have three papers available at masters level that focus on Māori education. Next year (2000), we are going to add three more papers and refocus the current papers in order to be able to offer six papers in total, all with a Kaupapa Māori focus. Topics will include Kaupapa Māori

theory, Kaupapa Māori research, language revitalisation, Māori-medium curriculum, special education, behavioural difficulties and applied behavioural analysis. Three more papers are planned for 2001 on wahine Māori, power relations in education and Māori pedagogies. As from next year, by adding a Kaupapa Māori-focussed two-paper thesis, students will be able to take a Master of Education degree wholly focussing on Kaupapa Māori topics. Significantly, two of the papers on offer in 2000 will be taught primarily through the medium of te reo Māori, a response to the demand by Māori immersion teachers for advanced issues-based, masters-level courses.

b. Student numbers

The growth in Māori students taking graduate papers has been impressive. From 1995 to 1999, the total graduate student number in the SOE nearly doubled. Māori student numbers have increased from 12 students to more than 70, more than doubling from 1998 to 1999. This is leaving aside the considerable number of students from other schools in the university taking SOE courses. Participation now stands at above 20% of the graduate total. We will see this climb further in the next five years toward 30%, particularly as the number of completed masterates flow through into doctorates.

Currently we have 12 Māori doctoral candidates, seven of whom are staff members. Significantly, this level of engagement is across the school and provides a dynamic environment where teaching is research-led and the goal of mentoring others will be realised on an increasingly wide front. This also means that in five years from now, we will have at least eight Māori doctorates on this staff.

3. Outside links

Our Kaupapa Māori staff are being called upon more and more to contribute to national groups, to other universities, to iwi groups, to claim processes. One example is the central role played by Professor Ted Glynn and Mr Angus Macfarlane in the national project for Resource Teachers of Learning and Behaviour. They have together provided the Māori education component plus a rationale for its inclusion in this vast project which includes some 750 students at three universities. Many other staff have also made major contributions to outside agencies in the manner of contracts, consultancies and advising. Linkages are constantly developing between the SOE and the Ministry of Education, Specialist Education Services and iwi groups, among others.

My own contribution to outside audiences has consisted of some 15 outside speaking engagements this year: five keynote addresses, five conference presentations, student symposiums, teaching at other universities and attending an international symposium for teacher education in Japan.

4. A focus for our own teaching

My own teaching has consisted of developing and offering a graduate paper on Kaupapa Māori research. This paper is based on my own doctoral studies in this area, and prior experiences in offering this type of paper at Otago University. I was surprised and delighted to have 25 Māori graduates enrol in this paper, a significant number of whom satisfactorily completed the course last weekend. This clearly illustrates what happens when Māori people are able to take papers that meet their educational aspirations. A major objective of this course was to prepare Māori graduates to become confident Kaupapa Māori researchers in the future. I am pleased to report that most of the course participants are to continue with their higher degree programmes.

Along with a number of invited contributions to existing courses, I have also contributed, as part of a large team, to the development and implementation of an undergraduate course that focuses on teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students.

5. Support of the Māori kaupapa within the School of Education

There have been two main innovations this year that are designed to advance this agenda within the SOE:

- The establishment of a working party to implement those aspects of the 1997 bicultural review that pertain to Māori issues within the SOE. Two major outcomes of this process so far have been the determination to review and restructure Māori-medium offerings in the SOE and the resolution of core business demarcations and potential areas of collaboration with the School of Māori and Pacific Development.
- The second matter is our involvement in the convening of Te Ha o Te Reo, a conference to be held for Māori-medium teacher education providers this November here at the University of Waikato. For the first time in New Zealand, a conference will be organised by teacher educators themselves and will be conducted entirely in te reo Māori.

6. To develop an action plan for the implementation of the Treaty of Waitangi in the School of Education

In 1997, a team undertook a review of the bicultural and multicultural provisions of the SOE. The report suggested that a conceptual framework, developed at Otago University earlier in 1996, be used as an evaluation tool. This framework constitutes a series of critical questions that are developed by the intersection of a series of Treaty principles with five issues of power relations. This framework will be used in the future by departments as an evaluation tool to identify how well they are addressing SOE commitments to the Treaty of Waitangi. Workshops will be run for departments to aid their understanding and modification of the evaluation tool for implementation in their departments.

The framework is also being subject to scrutiny by a number of outside agencies and this scrutiny and development will be the subject of a future publication.

7. A focus for staff mentoring

Staff mentoring is fundamental to many of the activities described in this paper so far. For example, currently staff who are engaged in a higher degree are working with supervisors. These supervisors are not only expected to aid the attainment of the higher degree, but are also helping staff to publish results of their research, perhaps initially as co-authors. This is a major area for development in the future. However, we plan to develop discussion groups for higher degree attainment and publishing. We also need to address structural limitations on staff time and access to resources.

8. Research profile

a. Overall programme

Some agendas for research might include

- theoretical analysis of what constitutes a Māori epistemology of learning from theorising and practice-based on local indigenous ways of knowing;

- analysis of current practices in teacher education;
- historical research into education practice among local and national Māori groups;
- Māori-medium education. Where to from here? The place of te reo Māori me ona tikanga in mainstream classrooms. An investigation of educational practices in secondary schools that facilitate successful inclusion of Māori pupils;
- implementation of Treaty of Waitangi charter commitments in educational institutions;
- new frameworks for educational theorising and practice to which all New Zealanders can contribute from a variety of world views; and
- to evaluate the impact of new ideas and new technologies on education and future education and employment.

b. Projected publications

- Currently, a number of staff as emerging researchers have had papers accepted for publication in this years volume (1999, 5) of the Waikato Journal of Education.
- What constitutes a process of researching with respect? This is to be an invited compendium of critical reflections on experiences that New Zealand and some international researchers have had when researching within indigenous contexts.
- An edited volume of experiences will then show what diverse pictures are created by institutional attempts to implement the Treaty of Waitangi and develop a bicultural future for New Zealand.
- Examples of power-sharing in educational settings will form the basis of another invited compendium of reflections on experiences that New Zealand educators have had when attempting to work in alternative power-sharing paradigms within educational settings.
- Other publications will include compendiums of student research assignments. These provide a number of students with early experiences of the demands of publishing as well as providing guidance to others in coming years.

c. Specific research agenda

A book launched in conjunction with this lecture, *Culture Counts: Changing Power Relations in Education* (Dunmore Press) sets out an agenda for research into interaction patterns within policy development, research methodologies and classroom settings and details a means whereby Māori students will be able to participate successfully in these three areas within mainstream educational settings. In this book, my co-author Professor Ted Glynn, and myself detail the development of the patterns of power differentials in this country, the response by Māori groups that has become known as Kaupapa Māori. The book then identifies how power differentials that exist in our society can also be found in classrooms and suggests that these differentials are the cause of the current crisis in Māori education. From this analysis, the book then identifies those features within Kaupapa Māori educational contexts that will facilitate full participation by Māori children in the benefits education has to offer.

This book suggests an agenda for educational research into the currently vexatious issues of the educational achievement of Māori children in mainstream educational contexts. I invite you and others interested in the future of our children in educational settings to consider the messages of this book and to participate in changing mainstream educational settings in order that Māori people can participate fully, as promised in the Treaty of Waitangi, in the benefits a modern New Zealand has to offer.

Developing a pattern of teacher Māori base

The elements of a teacher education programme that seeks to address inclusion of Māori children in the benefits that education has to offer, includes among other aspects, the need for new metaphors in education; a narrative pedagogy; problem-based, active learning; an integrated curriculum; te reo Māori as a medium of instruction; holistic approaches to learning; learner-centred education; Treaty of Waitangi. In this paper, I have only time to deal with the first four, the rest are covered in the book. However, these four will indicate the direction of the main argument.

A. The need for new metaphors for education

When seeking to offer alternatives to the images that educators hold of Māori children, we need to examine the metaphors that we use to explain and construct meaning about teacher interactions and relationships. Heshusius (1966) states that, "We make sense out of reality and construct reality through our metaphors", explains that a metaphor is not merely an organising principle of something that already exists, but it is the very vehicle for shaping the content of our consciousness. Further, metaphors put on display the images we hold in our minds about other people with whom we interact.

New metaphors from kaupapa Māori educational practice

In a detailed study of Māori-medium primary schooling, Graham Smith (1992, 1997) identified a series of metaphors drawn from Kaupapa Māori schooling contexts. These metaphors are identified here and the implications for educational practices and theorising are drawn. These can lead us into a new awareness of modes of theorising and addressing educational relationships.

1. Tino rangatiratanga (Relative autonomy/self-determination)

This is perhaps the most fundamental issue associated with the whole Kaupapa Māori movement. Literally it means "chiefly control" and increasingly it has taken on its figurative meaning of self-determination, that is the right to determine ones own destiny, to define what that destiny will be and to define and pursue means of attaining that destiny. Bruner (1996) suggests that participation on ones own terms brings commitment. Applebee (1996) explains that commitment brings learning. A further implication of this understanding for classroom contexts is that just as parents need to be involved in the decision-making processes of the school, so too do children.

2. Taonga tuku iho (Cultural aspirations)

Literally meaning the treasures from the ancestors, this phrase nowadays is almost always used in its metaphoric sense as meaning the cultural aspirations Māori people hold for their children and including those messages that guide our relationships and interaction patterns. Above all, this message means that Māori language, knowledge, culture and values are normal, valid and legitimate, indeed are a valid guide to classroom interactions.

3. Ako (Reciprocal learning)

Literally meaning to teach and to learn, this term metaphorically emphasises reciprocal learning, which means that the teacher does not have to be the fountain of all knowledge. Teachers and students can take turns as in the metaphor of the conversation when storying and restorying their realities, either as individual learners or within a group context.

4. Kia piki ake Inga raruraru o te kainga (Mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties)

Participation in kura kaupapa Māori reaches into Māori homes and brings parents and families into the activities of the school.

5. Whānau (Extended family)

Whānau is a primary concept (a cultural preference) that contains both values (cultural aspirations) and social processes (cultural practices). When imaging or theorising classroom interactions in terms of for example, metaphoric whānau relationships, classroom interactions will be fundamentally different from those created when teachers talk of method and process using machine metaphors.

6. Kaupapa (Collective vision, philosophy)

The collectivist philosophy of achieving excellence in both languages and cultures that make up the world of Māori children can be extrapolated to the learning environments of all children. Such a pattern of metaphor creates an image, a picture of an educational setting where students are able to participate on their own terms; terms that are determined by the student because the very pedagogic process holds this as a central value. Further, the terms are to be culturally determined, again by the student. Learning is to be reciprocal and interactive, home and school learning is to be interrelated, learners are to be connected to each other and learn with and from each other. Finally a common set of goals and principles should guide the process.

Metaphors from Kaupapa Māori educational research

Other metaphors from another Kaupapa Māori education setting, this time research (Bishop, 1996), are also useful to suggest ways of operationalising the above picture. In a meta-study of five research projects conducted within Māori settings (Bishop, 1996), it was shown that by using Māori metaphors for research, researchers were repositioned from the discursive space traditionally occupied by researchers into Māori sense-making contexts. In this way, so using new metaphors for pedagogy might reposition teachers within different sense-making contexts. In these contexts, learners' experiences, representations of these experiences and sense-making processes, may be legitimated.

In Bishop (1996), Whakawhānaungatanga (the process of establishing relationships in a Māori context), was used metaphorically as a research strategy to address concerns about research initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability being created by the imposition of the researchers agenda, concerns and interests on the research process. There are three major and related factors in employing the metaphor of whakawhānaungatanga as a research strategy. These three factors can also indicate how classroom interactions might be different given a different mode of consciousness.

The first factor is that establishing and maintaining whānau-type relationships is a fundamental, often extensive and ongoing part of the research process. This involves the establishment of "whānau of interest" through a process of spiral discourse. This means establishing a whānau-like relationship among the research group and using collaborative storying and restorying (spiral discourse) as a means of creating a collective response. In establishing whanau relationships, the classroom would be seen as an active location for all learners, and this includes the teachers, to participate in the decision-making processes through the medium of spiral discourse.

The second factor of whakawhanaugnatanga as a research process is that researchers understand themselves to be involved somatically in the research process; that is physically, ethically, morally and spiritually and not just as a researcher concerned with methodology. Such positionings are typically demonstrated in the language/metaphor used by researchers. Similarly, in the classroom context, there is little if any place for teachers to distance themselves from their students; that the trust,

connectedness and commitment that develops with such involvement is fundamental to the process of whatawhanaungatanga. Ladison-Billling's (1995) study established how significant commitment and participation was among successful teachers of Black American children.

The third research factor is that establishing relationships in a Māori context addresses the power and control issues fundamental to research, through participatory research practices (in this context, termed "participant-driven" research) in a manner that facilitates the sharing of power and control. The implication of this factor for classroom interaction is that there needs to be an established means of power sharing.

From this analysis of metaphors that guide practices in Kaupapa Māori educational settings and current and recent research into interaction patterns and relationships in classrooms and other contexts, a list of principles that might create power-sharing contexts for learning has been developed by Bishop and Glynn (1999). These include contexts where

- culture counts: classrooms are places where learners can bring "who they are" to the learning interactions in complete safety, and their knowledges, including languages are acceptable and legitimate;
- learners can initiate interactions;
- learners' right to self-determination over learning styles, language and sense-making processes are regarded as fundamental to power-sharing relationships;
- learners are able to be co-inquirers, i.e., raisers of questions and evaluators of questions and answers;
- learning is active, problem-based, integrated and holistic;
- learning positionings are reciprocal (ako) and knowledge is co-created;
- classrooms are places where young people's sense-making processes and knowledges are validated and developed in collaboration with others;
- teachers and learners interact and exchange roles;
- assessment practices employ a wide range of culturally generated principles;
- metaphors of conversation, particularly those that incorporate not-knowing and collaborative storying, guide the development of principles and practice;
- motivation is intrinsic to the collaborative achievement of tasks and to the co-construction of meaning;
- critical reflection is part of an ongoing critique of power relationships;
- understandings are related to the experiences of all learners and learners can be aided to become independent, through processes of scaffolding;
- understandings are gained in real-life (or close to) situations;
- students are introduced to the variety of discursive processes that create knowledge/s-in-action;
- problem-solving, critical thinking and creative analysis are seen as life-long skills;
- teachers are inextricably connected to their students and the community; and
- school and home/parental aspirations are complementary.

The following three approaches are included here to indicate how such a pattern of relationships and their associated interaction patterns can be implemented.

B Narrative pedagogy

Narrative pedagogies provide one means of creating power-sharing relationships in classrooms. The aim of narratives as pedagogy is to create in the minds of the participants in the pedagogic process an image of relationships that are committed, connected and participatory. Such images generate principles of an active, learner-centred education, where learning is problem-based and integrated, and where a holistic approach to curriculum is fundamental to the practices developed. Such principles and practices are generated by the use of the narrative metaphor.

The narrative metaphor suggests that people lead storied lives and that it is the process of storying and re-storying that we term learning. Rather than learning being seen as a gathering of knowledge from other people, or the learner being a recipient of transmitted knowledge, the narrative metaphor, means we see learning as the outcome of interactions between individuals and/or groups, teachers/pupils, individuals and groups and text/resources and so on. This also means that in a culturally diverse classroom, there are a great variety of possible interactive relationships.

Lauritzen and Jaeger (1997) explain the process of story and re-storying as being based on notions of active participation by learners in the construction of knowledge rather than their being passive recipient of knowledge-out-of-context. In this constructivist approach, learners are seen as coming to an educational experience with a wealth of information and experiences and it is "in the interaction of this prior knowledge and current experience that learning takes place" (p. 55). Prior knowledge forms the foundation, the stepping stone, the bridge to further conceptual developments. New ideas are incorporated by being linked to prior knowledges, hence the importance of creating learning contexts where students' prior knowledge is welcome and indeed essential.

Narrative pedagogy in this sense is, therefore, a means of creating interaction patterns that position teachers and students within co-joint reflections and shared experiences (the narrative as stimulus) and co-joint constructions of meaning about these experiences (narratives as meaning constructors). From this interaction the stories of the classroom participants merge to create new stories and understanding. Fundamental to this interaction pattern is the relationship created on the basis of self-determination of each of the parties.

Such a pedagogy is an approach in which young people are able to recollect, reflect and make sense of their experiences from within their own cultural context and preferably in their own language. In such ways their interpretations and analyses become normal and accepted as opposed to those of the teacher, the teacher taking a "curious", "non-knowing", "wait and see" position. Further, alternative ways of knowing set the pattern for subsequent interactions where the participants engage in an interactive, complex, holistic approach to pedagogic interactions.

C. Problem-based active methodology

Fundamental to this approach is the notion of problems being central to inquiry in that problems that are significant in the lives of the learners can be brought to the process of meaning identification and the construction of new meanings. Indeed, such a pedagogy actively engages the learner in identifying and classifying the problem, in seeking resolutions and in assessing and evaluating what difference participation in the activity has made for the learner.

Problem-based learning places the learner at the centre of the learning process and aims to integrate learning with practice (Alavi, 1995 in Howell, 1997). It is a way of constructing and teaching courses using problems as the stimulus and focus of student activity (Boud & Feletti, 1991 in Howell, 1997). Students are required to find out, bring or generate important knowledge in the process of tackling problematic situations. Problem-based learning also involves continuous evaluation through peer support and critique, self-reflection by the teacher and the learner. Self-direction, cooperative learning,

collaboration and reflection are core elements of problem-based, narrative pedagogy that characterises fully inclusive classrooms. In addition, the tendency of problem based learning approaches to spill out of the classroom, requiring students to seek help and guidance from others enables students to understand how their work is relevant to the wider world. Problem-based learning focuses on real life situations and real conversations, utilising in the learning context the same skills for coping with a rapidly changing global community and economy. This is preferred to learning rapidly out-dated and out-dating knowledges-out-of-context, the outcome of which is to perpetuate the imbalance in the classroom, through continuing the non-involvement of young Māori people in educational interactions. This, in turn, serves to maintain the current structural pattern of dominance and subordination.

D. Curriculum integration

Naturally following from a problem-based learning focus is the notion of curriculum integration. Integration is not new; indeed, it is one of the approaches to teaching and learning that is encouraged in the new *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (Ministry of Education, 1993) and the recent *Curriculum Development Update* (Ministry of Education, 1997). James Beane (1999), a proponent of integrated curriculum approaches, explains that in curriculum integration, "ongoing themes are drawn from life as it is being lived and experienced' (p. xi).

In other words, life as it is storied, and re-storied. Learning is related to questions and concerns that have personal and social significance. Themes developed in such a manner are a means of promoting and actioning critical inquiry into real life issues, the pursuit of social action, collaborative teacher—student curriculum planning and above all "opens the way to redefining power relations in the classroom and to challenging the idea that important knowledge is only that named and endorsed by academicians and bureaucrats outside the classroom" (p. xi) In this approach curriculum is co-constructed by the questions and concerns collaboratively developed by teachers and students. Knowledge in this sense becomes related to problem-solving, and the ongoing process of critical analysis of society.

Conclusions: Implications for pedagogy

The message extrapolated from researching in Māori contexts is that if we use impositional methodologies then participants, whether they be in research contexts or classrooms, will experience having something done to them, rather than with them and they will feel left out of the learning interactions and conversations with other participants. To develop and use a strategy leaves people out of the conversation is to perpetuate a system that is hierarchical, that repeats the pattern of dominance and subordination that has characterised relationships in our country for too long, and denies people legitimate representation and participation. Monocultural pedagogies developed in New Zealand on the basis of unchallenged metaphors have dominated classroom practice for much of the history of schooling in this country. These pedagogies have been successful for the dominant culture, but are increasingly being tested and rejected by even the most compliant of students.

What is suggested is an approach whereby teachers can engage in conversations with all of their students that go beyond rhetorical questions that already have answers, or pedagogical questions that imply the required direction of the answer. In these approaches questioning becomes a means of directing children to pre-determined answers. For children from different cultural groups, these pre-determined answers lie outside their experiences and often outside their understanding or ways of knowing. Questioning becomes a process of checking to see if children know what the teacher knows or what the teacher is thinking. Further, paradigm-shifting is the means whereby the dominant discourse reinforces its own narrative cohesiveness in preference to any other cultural narratives.

Therefore, in effect, the traditional position of the teacher has been that of the person who determines the shape and scope of what constitutes the classroom narrative that is the agreed descriptions and explanations of what has been arrived at through classroom interactions. Indigenous peoples, such as the Māori people of Aotearoa/New Zealand are increasingly vocal in their concern about such power and control having traditionally been determined by the imposition of the teacher's agenda, interests and concerns on the pedagogic process.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, for indigenous peoples, teachers have traditionally denied the authenticity of Māori experiences and voice through control over curriculum and pedagogy. Māori lived experiences, and the meanings of these experiences, have been interpreted by the authoritative voice and directions of the "expert". To add insult to injury, everyday acceptable myths of Aotearoa/New Zealand have been created and perpetuated by such a process. Sadly, today many of these myths are believed by Māori and non-Māori alike. Such practices perpetuate the ideology of cultural superiority that is fundamental to colonisation. This ideology precludes the development of power-sharing processes, and the legitimation of diverse cultural epistemologies and cosmologies.

In the classroom context, cultural domination and preconceptions by teachers means that teachers expect students to continually adjust their understanding to that of the teacher. Indeed, in many ways this continual adjustment is seen as successful learning and teaching because it brings out the student's knowledge, it works from the known to the unknown. However, what is not understood is that it is not the teachers who move into the unknown but the students who work in this unknown, which is actually the teachers' "known".

Where there is a cultural match between teacher and student, such shifting by children is usually accomplished. However, where there is a cultural mismatch then problems arise. In contrast, where a teacher continually adjusts understanding to that of the student's narrative, there is potential for the student's narrative to develop and not to dry up as identified by Clay (1985).

New metaphors are needed to inform and guide our pedagogies. These metaphors need to be holistic and flexible and rooted in the cultural contexts that have meaning to the lives of the many young people of diverse backgrounds who currently attend schools. Teaching and learning strategies which flow from these metaphors need to be flexible and allow the diverse voices of young people primacy. Such metaphors are seen in Kaupapa Māori educational contexts: Kohanga Reo, kura kaupapa Māori and Kaupapa Māori research. Examples have included whanau, ako, tino rangatiratanga, taonga tuku iho among others from kura and kohanga reo settings, and whakawhanaungatanga as a metaphor for creating family type relationships and hui as a metaphor for collaborative storying from research settings. What is suggested is a pedagogy where the participants in the learning interaction become involved in the process of collaboration and mutual story-telling and re-storying, so that a relationship can emerge in which both stories are heard, or indeed a process where a new story is created by all the participants. Such pedagogy can address Māori people's concerns about current pedagogic practices being fundamentally monocultural. This new pedagogy recognises that all people who are involved in the learning and teaching process are participants who have meaningful experiences, valid concerns and legitimate questions. In this process the teacher becomes positioned within the process of storying and restorying that creates the narrative.

Particular emphasis should be on the importance of children's stories being legitimated within the classroom. The knowledge they contain is "official", and in this way their stories provide the learning base from whence they can branch out into new fields of knowledge.

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