

BICULTURAL CHALLENGES FOR EDUCATIONAL PROFESSIONALS IN AOTEAROA¹

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

(Waitangi Tribunal, 1987)

While many non-Maori have come to regard the Treaty as an expression of principles such as partnership and equity, Maori have long regarded it as a charter for power sharing in the decision making processes of government, for self-determination as an indigenous people and as a guide to intercultural relations in New Zealand.

I believe that the most critical article of the Treaty for educational professionals is article 2 (a) by which the Crown ceded to the chiefs *tino rangatiratanga* over their lands, forests and fisheries and all other *taonga* (treasures or resources). Durie notes that while the English equivalent of *tino rangatiratanga* is contentious, there is considerable agreement that the essential meaning is carried by self determination (Durie, 1995). Article 2 (a) implies that the Crown and its agencies must recognise the right of Maori to continue to define, protect, promote and control all of their treasures and resources. Included among those

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treasures and resources are all those things to do with pedagogy and epistemology - what counts as knowledge, and how that knowledge is to be preserved, transmitted, used and evaluated. Hence, article 2 (a) addresses issues of curriculum development, teaching methods (including assessment and evaluation practices), and the control and conduct of educational research. Our greatest challenge as Treaty partners and educational professionals lies in learning to understand this principle of *tino rangatiratanga* and how to create opportunities for Maori to exercise it within our professional domain.

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

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

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

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

Indigenous people have the right to all levels and forms of education. They also have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions, providing education in their own language.

(Article 14, Coolongatta Statement, 1993)

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

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

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

PEDAGOGY

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

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

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

The mainstream itself needs to change, and non-Maori educational professionals need to initiate this process. How? Joan Metge (Metge, 1983)

challenges us to adopt those pedagogical principles and practices which are recognised as characteristically Maori by Maori who strongly identify as culturally Maori. She describes a series of educational principles and practices which form a coherent educational pattern, and have an underlying holistic perspective on learning and teaching.

1. **Ako**

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

2. **Modelling: Learning through Exposure**

Metge describes this as a learning and teaching process which is informal, semi-continuous, and embedded in the life of the community. The exposure strategy covers a wide range of applications, both those that take place in the context of daily living (language learning, housekeeping, child care) and those that occur on dramatic occasions such as hui on marae. Modelling is a naturalistic strategy in early language teaching and learning, in both Maori and non-Maori learning contexts. However, in the Maori world, active listening, looking and learning, without always having an immediate opportunity to perform is expected in contexts such as powhiri (formal welcomes) or tangihanga (funeral ceremonies). Educational professionals face the challenge of extending our use of modelling and imitative learning strategies within our mainstream educational settings.

3. **Learning in groups**

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

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

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

4. Memory and rote learning

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

5. Story Telling

Story telling is both a culturally appropriate and effective teaching and learning strategy capable of transmitting sophisticated and complex information (Glynn & Bishop, 1995). Stories may convey tribal information on *whakapapa* (genealogy), cosmology, geography and history. Stories of famous journeys by major ancestors might include the origins of place names, prominent landscape features, description of tribal boundaries, location of key resources, and *waiata* and *karakia* as instructions for accessing or preserving those resources. One fascinating example is the story told by Apirana Taylor (Taylor, 1992) of the cultural contexts in which a contemporary *koro* (grandfather) gradually instructs his *mokopuna*

(grandson) in the use of the taiaha, in response to persistent demands initiated by the boy. The telling of this story reveals structural links between past and present actions, events and locations which facilitate the recall and retrieval of language and cultural information by the grandfather exactly as it is needed to move the boy along to the next step in his learning. This was a powerful learning context for both koro and mokopuna, and evidenced all the characteristics of a responsive, social context for learning (Glynn, 1985; Glynn & Glynn, 1986). These characteristics include learner-initiated interaction with a more skilled person with whom there is an enduring positive relationship, responsive (rather than simply corrective feedback), and reciprocity in learning. Reciprocity was evident in that the koro re-learned tauparapara (chants) and waiata he had long forgotten, while the moko progressively learned not only skills to wield the taiaha but also the spiritual and cultural knowledge that surrounds and protects those skills. Story telling of this calibre challenges us to assess and appreciate the range and quality of information that can be learned and retained with this deceptively simple narrative approach to pedagogy.

KAUPAPA MAORI RESEARCH

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. **Tatari Tautoko Tauawhi Reading Tutoring**

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

Our teina (tutee) students gained between 1.5 and 2.0 years in reading level, increased their correct reading rate by 15 words per minute and lowered their incorrect rate by almost two words per minute. Tutees also increased their comprehension scores by between 20 and 46 per cent. Our tuakana (tutors) also benefited from participating in the tutoring role. They gained between 0.5 and 1.3 years in reading level, increased their correct reading rate by 7 words per minute, and lowered their incorrect rate by 0.8 words per minute. They also increased their comprehension scores by between 19 and 41 per cent.

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

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

2. **Hei Awhina Matua**

Hei Awhina Matua is a whanau-based project which addresses behavioural and learning difficulties experienced by Maori students at home and at school. Tino

rangatiratanga was recognised through the research whanau dealing with Bishop's critical questions of ownership and control within a Maori cultural context (Bishop, 1996a). Design and implementation of the project involved kaumatua and kuia, parents, whanau and teachers from three schools in Tauranga Moana, all of whom have a strong commitment to Maori medium education.

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

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

While we had planned extensive consultation with students in this project, we were surprised and delighted when the students themselves sought and provided valuable input into the project at various stages (Glynn et al., 1997). Students contributed to writing behavioural checklists and assisted in prioritising behaviours and settings of greatest concern. They wrote and acted in eleven video skits which portrayed those behaviours, and the home, school and community settings in which they occurred. They assisted in producing and directing the video skits which present parents and teachers with constructive ways of responding to student behaviour. Some students joined with the research whanau to present a progress report to the Ministry of Education and travelled to Dunedin to help edit the video. It is clear from their own comments that the students had a firm grasp of the purpose of producing the video skits, and their role in the process:

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

We went through the skits and were told we were allowed to have a say in writing any of the scripts. I thought that was neat because we had people my age saying how people my age are talking. Not people the

teachers' ages saying what they would have said when they were as young as us. (Troy, 13 years)

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

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

3. **Kia Puawai ai te Reo**

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

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

parents and students. We have been careful to involve teachers and kaumatua in devising these assessment procedures.

4. Training of Resource Teachers (Guidance and Learning)

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

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

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

CONCLUSION

Kaupapa Maori approaches to pedagogy and research embody the essence of the tino rangatiratanga principle within the context of education. Kaupapa Maori is alive and well within the Maori-initiated and Maori-controlled early childhood, primary, secondary and tertiary institutions which have flourished in recent years, despite huge odds against them. These institutions have the enormous challenge of recreating and restoring a culturally relevant pedagogy of education for Maori in their own country at the approach of the new millennium. Such a pedagogy has

the best chance of emerging in institutions which operate totally within a Maori world view, in which it is safe for the language and culture to be nurtured and to flourish.

However, the large majority of Maori students attend mainstream institutions where the majority of educational professionals are working. What is their responsibility to the treaty partner in the mainstream? What of tino rangatiratanga in this context? There is still a very great deal of work to be done by educational professionals in the mainstream. In order to increase the academic success of Maori students all educators need to develop and deploy a culturally relevant pedagogy. Educators do not have to be Maori to work on this. The range of research initiatives and teaching and assessment resources that have been developed by members of the Poutama Pounamu research whanau suggest one way to begin the journey towards such a pedagogy. Essential travelling companions for this journey are tino rangatiratanga, reciprocity, and connectedness .

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

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

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