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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Ākonga	Māori term meaning 'student'
Haka	A traditional Māori male war dance, usually used to signal a challenge, or a sign of respect
Hapū	Comprising of a number of whanau groups, hapū is used to designate a sub-tribe of the iwi
Iwi	Describes a large group of people from a designated area. Often translated to mean 'tribe'
Kapa haka	A form of Māori performing art through which Māori culture is expressed using song and dance
Karakia	Māori incantations and prayers, used to invoke guidance and support. Traditionally karakia was directed towards Māori gods (atua), spirits and ancestors, however since the influence of the missionaries in the 1800s karakia also now refers to religious prayers
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Primary schools that immerse their pupils in Māori language and culture
Marae	Literally the term used to describe the courtyard of a Māori meeting house, however marae has deeper significance to Māori as a place of belonging, a place of gathering and meeting and a link to ancestors
Pākehā	A term used to refer to non-Maori New Zealanders, usually of European descent
Pepeha	A recited verse that describes one's links to an area and its people, used to situate and identify oneself
Poi	A ball on a cord, used in traditional Māori dance performed by females. Traditionally men used poi to enhance dexterity and coordination and to strengthen their wrists in preparation for use of weapons in battle
Pōwhiri	An intricate and complex traditional ceremony used as a form of welcome, usually on a marae, but also any organisation, such as a school
Raranga	The art of weaving, most commonly using flax leaves
Tangata whenua	Literally meaning 'people of the land', tangata whenua refers to the status of Māori as the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa-New Zealand
Tangihanga	Rituals of the Māori funeral process, usually held over three days
Taonga	Something which is treasured, giving it special status. This could be something tangible or intangible
Te reo	Literally meaning 'the language'. Te reo Māori describes 'the Māori language'
Tikanga	Loosely translated to mean 'culture', tikanga defines the cultural practices specific to the Māori people
Tikanga-a-iwi	Māori cultural practices specific to an iwi group or tribe
Tino rangatiratanga	A contentious expression used in the Māori version of Ti Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga is a Māori term commonly taken as meaning 'absolute sovereignty'. Today the term is associated with Māori groups who advocate for sovereignty of Māori in Aotearoa-New Zealand

Whānau	Family. In a Māori context, whānau is complex and dynamic, encompassing many generations and layers of one's family
Whakapapa	One's lineage. Māori trace their whakapapa back many generations, as a link to the past and to identify common ancestors with other Māori, as a way of connecting and belonging
Whakatauki	A Māori saying or proverb, used to capture the essence of a context or situation

CHAPTER 1: BICULTURAL BEGINNINGS

Nā kei te mohio koe ko wai koe,

i anga mai koe i hea, kei te mohio koe.

Kei te anga atu ki hea.

D`fhēadfadh go bhfuil tū ar an breathnū siar

ar an eolas nuair atā tū, an Foresight a fhios cā

bhfuil tū ag dul, agus an lēargas a fhios nuair a tā tū

imithw I bhfad rō.

If you know who you are

and where you are from,

then you will know where you are going.

May you have the hindsight to know where

you've been, the foresight to know where you are

going, and the insight to know when you have gone

too far.

Māori whakatauki

Irish proverb

1.1 My place in the research

Growing up bicultural

These dual whakatauki/proverbs are traditional sayings that are representative of my background. I am a bicultural New Zealander who is of Aotearoa-New Zealand Māori descent from my mother's side (Te Whanau-a-Apanui tōku iwi/Te Whanau-a-Apanui is my iwi), and Aotearoa-New Zealand Pākehā (Northern Irish) from my father's side. Through my mother I trace my whakapapa back to the arrival of Tauira-mai-tawhiti, a waka which landed on the North Island's east coast hundreds of years before the arrival of the first white settlers. My Māori identity from my mother's family can be related in the following pepeha:

Ko Tihirau te maunga	Tihirau is my mountain
Ko Whangaparaoa te awa	Whangaparaoa is my river
Ko Kauaetangohia te marae	Kauaetangohia is my marae
Ko Kauaetangohia te hapu	Kauaetangohia is my sub-tribe
Ko Te Whanau-a-Apanui te iwi	Te Whanau-a-Apanui is my iwi

On my father's side I trace my roots back to County Down, Northern Ireland, some four generations back. Whilst my great-grandparents (as the first generation born in New Zealand) still considered themselves to be Irish, subsequent generations of my family have more readily identified as Pākehā New Zealanders. To us, this is a more accurate reflection of our identity since, like many Pākehā New Zealanders, we no longer have either family ties or cultural ties to the homeland our great-great grandparents left some 150 years ago.

It is my bicultural background and experience in primary school education that has fuelled an interest in biculturalism. Underlying my pedagogical philosophy towards biculturalism in primary classrooms is a personal belief that every schoolchild in Aotearoa-New Zealand, regardless of their cultural background or ethnicity, has

the right to learn Māori language and culture. I believe that Māori culture as a taonga, or treasure, is unique to Aotearoa-New Zealand and forms part of our identity as New Zealanders.

The ideal of all Aotearoa-New Zealand children having some schooling in Māori language and culture sits comfortably on my shoulders. Through my Māori heritage I feel secure about accessing Māori knowledge, while as a Pākehā I now feel confident passing this knowledge on to other Pākehā (as well as other non-Māori). This raised an important question for the research. Would I feel the same if I were predominantly Māori, or if I were of non-Māori descent? This reflection intrigued me, as the majority of the primary teacher workforce in Aotearoa-New Zealand is non-Māori (Ministry of Education [MoE], 2012). I embarked on this research with the assumption that these teachers may not have, or feel they have, the opportunities or the right to access Māori forms of knowledge in the same way that is my right (by birth).

However, in spite of my Māori ancestry and personal philosophy I felt in my teaching practice that I did not honour the bicultural imperatives articulated in *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (MoE, 1993) or *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007) under which I taught. For the most part, this was largely due to the fact that I do not speak te reo Māori, nor am I well-versed in Māori culture and traditions, such as tikanga, karakia, kapa haka or whakapapa. Through my mother's whanau I had a rudimentary grasp of the process of pōwhiri, this knowledge attained during the few tangihanga I attended as a child on my family marae. Despite my Māori ancestry, a mother who is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori, a deeply held belief that tikanga and te reo Māori has a rightful place in primary classrooms, and that I wanted to foster a greater understanding of and appreciation for Māori culture among all children in my classes, I never had the confidence or capability to do so in my years as a primary school teacher. Therefore, my ideology did not match up to my reality or my practice.

Like all primary teachers in Aotearoa-New Zealand, senior management, in accordance with the guidelines from The Registered Teacher Criteria (New Zealand Teachers Council [NZTC], 2010), monitored my teaching practice. However, I was never appraised on the amount or quality of te reo or tikanga Māori I was using in my classroom. Whilst my intentions were good, a number of factors inhibited me from implementing my personal teaching philosophy into pedagogical practice. These factors included an ignorance of school policy (and little motivation to seek this information), limited knowledge of te reo and tikanga Māori, a lower prioritising of professional development in this area over other curriculum areas such as literacy and numeracy, low or no expectations from the children's parents and senior management (in regards to adding the amount of te reo and tikanga Māori into my practice), and a general feeling of inadequacy about using my limited reo with students, especially older pupils.

1.2   Aims of the research

The issues, articulated above, guided the aims of this research into teachers' understanding and implementation of the bicultural mandate of educational policy in this country. The overarching aim was to examine teachers' understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi in educational policy, and how this translated into their pedagogical practices.

In approaching this research, I acknowledged that my personal philosophy is one of ideology. It is based largely on what I see as my birthright, to cross cultural boundaries in order to access Māori knowledge and share that knowledge with non-Māori children in my class in the name of implementing the bicultural principals of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007). I also acknowledged that some teachers' (particularly non-Māori, but also

for some Māori) may not feel as comfortable or supported to either access or utilise Māori knowledge in their pedagogical practice. I realised that this could impede their efforts to implement a bicultural curriculum. Herein lay another area of biculturalism that was of interest to me. Not only did I want to examine teachers' understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi in educational policy, I was also interested in investigating the influences on their understandings and/or motivations for engaging in a bicultural practice.

These are complex issues that interested me because they are unique to Aotearoa-New Zealand. I believe biculturalism has an important place in our primary schools, for two main reasons. One is the transmission of Māori language and culture to all children in Aotearoa-New Zealand for its ongoing survival. Another is a need to foster greater levels of understanding and respect across all peoples of Aotearoa-New Zealand for the culture of the tangata whenua, a culture that plays a part in the identity of many New Zealanders.

1.3   Research questions

The research addressed the following questions:

1. What are some issues and influences for teachers regarding biculturalism in terms of their understanding and practice?
2. What are teachers' understandings of biculturalism as it is stated in educational policy?
3. How are teachers motivated to engage in a bicultural practice in their classrooms and schools?

1.4   Motivation for the research

It is against this backdrop that my interest in biculturalism in the area of primary school education in Aotearoa-New Zealand is set. There has been very little research conducted in the area of biculturalism in practice, particularly in the mainstream primary school context. Greater focus has been upon the secondary school sector. For example, Stirling (2003) focused on biculturalism in secondary schools through a study that examined students' attitudes and knowledge. Smith (2001, 2004, 2007a, 2007b, 2010a, 2010b) has extensively researched biculturalism in visual arts education, predominantly at a secondary school level, but also in the context of secondary sector teacher education. Taniwha (2010) has examined the theoretical and practical bicultural realities for early childhood educators. Critical education researchers, such as Rata (2003, 2008) and Rata & Openshaw (2006, 2008), have also completed numerous studies around biculturalism as a political and social construct. May (2002) and Hill (2011) have focussed on biculturalism in language and literacy education. However, large gaps in bicultural research at primary level remain, particularly around biculturalism in classroom practice. This has fuelled my interest in contributing to this field.

1.5   Overview of the chapters

This thesis comprises five chapters. In Chapter One the research is framed within my personal philosophy, based in part on my ethnic and cultural background. Influences from my professional experience as a primary teacher are examined. In Chapter One the questions that directed this research are also outlined.

The evolution of biculturalism as a political construct in Aotearoa-New Zealand is presented in Chapter Two. Investigation of historical literature pertaining to the development of Aotearoa-New Zealand since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 facilitated my understanding of where today's bicultural

policies were founded. I traced bicultural relations in this country's history, and explored how Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi has come to underpin Aotearoa-New Zealand's bicultural partnership.

In Chapter Three the focus is on the bicultural literature, beginning with an exploration of the bicultural policies that acknowledge Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi. The place and purpose of the varied forms of educational documents are critically examined. Through this exploration, questions around authenticity and tokenism of bicultural policy were raised, which led to an analysis of the current curriculum, its development, and its application in practice. As mainstream primary schools provided the context for this research, education policies that govern this sector provided the scope.

Chapter Four offers the rationale behind the theoretical framework of the research methodology. It sets out the parameters and justification for the use of mixed methodologies. This chapter explains how quantitative and qualitative research methods were utilised for data collection. The process of sampling research participants, alongside an examination of the role of bias, is outlined. This chapter also identifies the ethical considerations that had a potential impact on the research, and provides evidence of how these concerns were negated through the research design.

Findings from the research are presented in Chapter Five, beginning with the identification of trends that were uncovered during the quantitative phase (Phase I). My interpretation of the trends and how they directed the qualitative phase (Phase II) of the research are explained. These trends provided an opportunity to contextualise empirical evidence within a bicultural partnership framework in Chapter Six, in which my recommendations and final thoughts are explicated from the research findings, and presented.

CHAPTER 2: THE HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF BICULTURALISM IN AOTEAROA-NEW ZEALAND

Hoki whakamuri kia anga whakamua   Is fear rēchonn nā iarchonn

Look back to move forward   Foresight is better than hindsight

2.1   Overview of the chapter

Introduction

To understand how current bicultural policies came into force, and continue to affect teachers and their learners in primary school classrooms, a critical examination of Aotearoa-New Zealand's history and its ongoing impact on education was an essential underpinning for my research. In this chapter I have explored the interplay of the Māori and Pākehā people, from the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, through to 2007, when the current curriculum for primary schools was released.

The signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 ratified the earliest promise of partnership between two distinct groups. One was the indigenous Māori, the tangata whenua of this land, who had up until then regarded themselves as separate, distinctive iwi or hapu groups rather than one definitive culture. The other group was the British settlers, who would in later generations become known as Pākehā New Zealanders. The Treaty and its promises laid the first foundations of biculturalism in this country although the construct of biculturalism, in political terms at least, would not be recognised for over another hundred years. Instead, post-Treaty bicultural relations would be defined more by colonisation and assimilation, until Māori resistance in the 1970s and 1980s 'pushed back' against marginalising policies.

In education, early acts and policies in Aotearoa-New Zealand initially divided Māori and Pākehā by providing two separate entities, Native Schools for Māori and Education Board-administered schools for settler children (Simon, 2000). Despite the division, the overarching purpose of the policies at this time was to assimilate Māori into European culture (Simon & Smith, 2001), with the same British values and norms being entrenched in both Native Schools and board-administered schools.

Due partly to the reinforcement of western culture through education, Māori, as a culture and a language, reached a crisis point by the 1960s, as highlighted in the Report on the Department of Māori Affairs (Hunn, 1961). In addition, Māori were over-represented in many of the country's negative statistics, such as prison numbers, unemployment rates, life expectancy and educational achievement (Biggs, 1961). Hunn's report initiated the turning point in terms of social policies regarding Māori, in an attempt to address the inequalities between Māori and Pākehā through integration, the favoured policy of the day.

Pākehā, on the other hand, were thriving from a privileged position in the bicultural partnership, having evolved from a minority partner (in terms of population) at the signing of Te Tiriti of Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi to being the dominant culture only a few years later. In short time the young nation had successfully come to resemble a British colony. Educational, political, legal, and economic society had become the domain of the

English language. Additionally, the burgeoning middle class had become the domain of the Pākehā, the majority of whom still referred to themselves as 'British' rather than 'New Zealander' (King, 1992).

The ongoing discourse for Māori across all domains of society ignited protests that gained momentum through the 1970s and 1980s. The resistance movement eventually led to the development of bicultural policies that attempted to fairly reflect the guarantees made in the Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi. Today, in 2014, educators operate under the direction of educational policies which support biculturalism and emphasise the value of Māori content through the inclusion of tikanga Māori and te reo Māori in curriculum and classroom practice (MoE, 2007).

The overarching theme of Chapter Two was an examination of how Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi formed the genesis of Aotearoa-New Zealand and the ongoing influence (or non-influence) the document has had on this nation. Analysis of the social and political interplay between Māori and Pākehā, and the role of the Treaty in educational policy and practice on relations, provided a snapshot of each era. This enabled the place and purpose of biculturalism in education to be questioned and examined, and set the scene for my investigation on how teachers bring biculturalism into the primary classroom.

2.2   A Treaty proposed

First contact

> Most generally, biculturalism represents comfort and proficiency with both one's heritage culture and the culture of the country or region in which one has settled (Schwartz & Unger, 2010).

Following Captain James Cook's visit in 1769, traders and settlers from the British Empire began arriving at the shores of the land that Māori knew as Aotearoa[1] and later became New Zealand. Most Māori welcomed contact with settlers, as the trade in muskets and other resources was highly desirable. Trading also consolidated the position of iwi or hapu, or the status of the rangatira, in a time when tribal competitiveness was strong (King, 2003). As Owens (1992) states, "Politically, economically, and militarily, the two peoples, resident in New Zealand in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were in need of each other, and a spirit of tolerance and respect generally prevailed" (p. 30). According to King (2003), it can be assumed that Māori could well have expected these conditions to continue post-Treaty, with the "same scale community and the pressures of underwritten custom rather than the controls and legislation of [a] central government" (p. 179).

Little effort was made to alter customs and behaviours of either party as initial interactions between Māori and Pākehā were based on mutual economic benefit (Owens, 1992). Far from being a united group of British nationals, different settler groups represented their own interests. Traders' activities were influenced by a desire to profit and acquire land, thus exchanges with local iwi were conducted with reciprocal respect. Missionaries, on the other hand, operated from an aspiration to convert the 'natives' to Christianity, civilising them through the provision of moral guidance (Barrington 2008; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2004; Smith, 2001, 2007; Simon & Smith, 2001). Early missionaries also espoused the need to protect the Māori from the negative

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[1] Translated as 'the land of the long white cloud'

consequences of colonisation suffered by other indigenous societies, such as disease, alcohol and promiscuity (Olssen & Reilly, 2004).

Forming a bicultural nation

> The Queen, in common with Her Majesty's predecessor, disclaims for herself and Her subjects every pretension to seize on the Islands of New Zealand, or to govern them as a part of the Dominions of Great Britain unless the free intelligent consent of the natives … shall first be obtained. Believing, however, that their own welfare would … be best promoted by the surrender to Her Majesty … Her Majesty's Government have resolved to authorise you to treat with the aborigines of New Zealand in the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereign authority[2] (Te Puni Kokiri [TPK], 2001, p. 31).

Growth in the number of traders and settlers led to increasing desire for land and an escalation in disputes, both between traders and Māori, and amongst Māori themselves. Fighting between rival tribal groups made trade a risky proposition. Others, in particular the missionaries, were concerned that some Europeans were aiding and abetting the violence by taking sides in conflicts, placing the once cordial and co-dependent relationship at risk (Orange, 1989). Various pleas for protection from both Māori and British subjects led to the appointment, in 1833, of James Busby to the newly formed role of British Resident in New Zealand. Whilst Busby's duties included providing protection for traders and settlers, in reality he had no means by which this could be enforced. Instead, Busby turned his attention to honouring his instructions from the Colonial Office, who endorsed the establishment of a settled form of government among the Māori (Orange, 1989). To that end, Busby convened a gathering of chiefs, with the purpose of choosing a flag that could fly as ensign on all ships built and registered in New Zealand. Māori viewed the flag as unique to their own land, and therefore acknowledgement of their identity as separate from Britain (Orange, 1987).

In 1835 Busby set about formalising ties between Māori and the British, largely in response to a rumour that Frenchman, Baron de Thierry, was planning on setting up his own independent state in the Hokianga (King, 2003). In response, Busby hastily secured the signature of thirty-four Northern Chiefs who had united under the self-titled "Confederation of United Tribes". Thus, the Declaration of Independence of New Zealand was established. Key components of the declaration included Britain's agreement to recognise New Zealand's independence and to extend Crown protection (Orange, 1987). Busby initiated the declaration without permission or consultation with his superiors (ibid).

Despite Busby's efforts, conflicts and clashes continued, leading to the arrival of naval captain, William Hobson, to investigate. Hobson, arriving in New Zealand in 1837, suggested establishing colonial settlements across the country. However, the Declaration of Independence would become a stumbling block in Hobson's plans, as the declaration meant that the Crown could not simply take over control of the country (as it had done in setting up colonies elsewhere in the world). Due to the 'independent status' of New Zealand, Hobson recognised that any attempts by Britain to take power would be resented by Māori, given their status as tangata whenua. Instead, it was decided that the best course of action would be to persuade Māori to transfer 'sovereignty' over to the Crown (Orange, 1987). This decision, in particular the confusion around the Māori

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[2] Lord Normandy's instructions to William Hobson, on behalf of Victoria, Queen of England,1839.

translation of the term 'sovereignty', would impact on the people of Aotearoa-New Zealand for generations to come. The resultant Treaty would also form the origin of what was to later become the political construct of biculturalism (Hayward, 2004).

2.3   A Treaty formed

Signing at Waitangi

Hobson returned to Waitangi in the north of New Zealand where he and his men engaged in consultation with Māori chiefs from around Aotearoa, who had gathered to hear his words and to debate the issue of signing a treaty. With no legal training, and with only the assistance of his secretary, Hobson wrote the outline of the Treaty, with some advice from missionaries (Orange, 1989). During its development an additional promise was added by Busby, in order to secure a favoured outcome. Most auspiciously, Busby's contribution guaranteed Māori:

> [F]ull exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession (Treaty of Waitangi, 1840, art. 2).

It was thought, that without this promise, Māori would not sign, thus it was included as Article Two in the Treaty. Article One covered what Hobson (on behalf of the Crown) wanted in return, which was the right to exercise overall authority in the country. To do so, Māori chiefs would have to give up 'sovereignty' over their people and business dealings, particularly in the buying and selling of land (Orange, 1987). This 'compromise' was to become Article One in the Treaty. The third and final article offered Māori "all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects" (Treaty of Waitangi, 1840, art. 3), something the British of the day regarded as being advantageous and highly desirable (Orange, 1987). Before offering the Treaty to the gathering chiefs, it was translated into Māori by missionary Henry Williams, with the help of his 21-year-old son, Edward. Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi (in this form) was presented to the waiting chiefs (as representatives of their iwi) on February 5 1840, where its merits were questioned and debated by Māori long into the night. Many chiefs were against signing. They were reluctant to give up their authority and, having experienced lawlessness from European traders, were keen to keep their independence.

The turning point in the debate came from the words of Nga Puhi chief Tamati Waka Nene, who insisted that it was too late to wish the Europeans be gone. Instead, he asserted that Māori needed to settle with the British as the best course of action moving forward. In front of the chiefs Nene addressed Hobson directly, asking him to:

> [R]emain for us a father, a judge, a peacemaker. You must not allow us to become slaves. You must preserve our customs, and never permit our lands to be wrested from us … Stay then, our friend, our father, our Governor (Sinclair, 2000, p. 72).

By the next day most chiefs were keen to sign and return to their homelands (Orange, 1989). Subsequently, over forty Māori leaders signed the Treaty on February 6, 1840. Hobson, with representatives of the Crown, travelled the country in the weeks that followed, collecting additional signatures. With the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-

Treaty of Waitangi, Aotearoa-New Zealand became a land of two cultures, each with a distinct language, identity, customs, and epistemology.

2.4   A Treaty ignored

The changing relationship between Māori and Pākehā - Colonisation

> Some persons still affect to deride it [the Treaty]; some say it was a deception; and some would unhesitatingly set it aside; while others esteem it highly as a well-considered and judicious work, of the utmost importance (Fitzroy, 1846, as cited in Orange, 1987, p. 1).

Following Captain James Cook's arrival in 1769, relationships between Māori and British descendants adapted and adjusted to the circumstances of the time. From first contact with traders, where interactions were based on mutual benefit, through to the violent conflicts post-treaty, this evolving relationship would eventually lead to the subsequent marginalisation of Māori under a dominant Pākehā culture.[3]

Two key catalysts facilitated the colonisation process after the signing of the Treaty. The first was the sharp growth in immigration. In the years following the signing of the Treaty, the settler population increased from 2,000 in 1840 to 500,000 in 1882 (Belich, 2001). The rise in the number of settlers led to growing competition for land between the burgeoning Pākehā population and Māori as tangata whenua. Relations were often marked by violence. Conflict between Māori and Pākehā over land escalated, culminating in the New Zealand Wars from 1845 to 1872. The resulting loss of lives and land, through both battle and ongoing land confiscations, caused Māori to become disenfranchised with a Treaty that promised much, but delivered little.

A further catalyst of colonisation was education, which the British used as a civilising agent for Māori (Barrington 2008; McMurchy-Pilkington, 2004; Smith, 2001, 2007; Simon & Smith, 2001). Examples included early schools set up by missionaries, who first brought the British system of education to Aotearoa-New Zealand, through to the Native Schools of 1887 to 1969. The civilising agenda of Native Schools was evident in Hislop's Native Schools Code (1880), where he emphasised the influence that Pākehā teachers should have over Māori, not just for Māori children within the school, but on the wider Māori community. Hislop's code stated that:

> Besides giving due attention to the school instruction of the children, teachers will be expected to exercise a beneficial influence on the Natives, old and young; to show by their own conduct that it is possible to live a useful and blameless life, and in smaller matters, by their dress, in their houses, and by their manners and habits at home and abroad, to set the Maoris an example that they may advantageously imitate (Hislop, 1880, p. 7).

In addition, English was encouraged as the language of instruction:

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[3] The often-cited narrative of colonisation can and has been characterised through one of two perspectives. Earlier historians such as Sinclair (1959) have retold the process through the lens of Fatal Impact Theory. This doctrine details decline by characterising Māori as passive victims of colonisation. Smith (1999) describes this progression through the phases of "(1) initial discovery and contact, (2) population decline, (3) acculturation, (4) assimilation, (5) 'reinvention" as a hybrid, ethnic culture." (p.88). Smith (1999) argues that some indigenous perspectives follow the same philosophy of fatal impact, articulated as (1) contact and invasion, (2) genocide and destruction, (3) resistance and survival, (4) recovery as indigenous peoples" (p.88). Another view characterise Māori as 'active agents' in their own demise (Byrnes, 2004). This perspective presupposes that Māori had an amount control of their own fate through the active choices they made. Language loss, for example, has been largely attributed to the early twentieth century decision to ban te reo Māori and instead foster English in schools, a position supported by many Māori at the time (King, 2001). Another example highlights the fact that some iwi, such as Te Arawa in the central North Island, fought alongside British troops during the New Zealand Wars (King, 2001; Walker, 2004). Land was not only lost through war or confiscation, as Māori also sold it willingly, in some cases.

It is not necessary that teachers should, at the time of their appointment, be acquainted with the Māori tongue. In all cases, English is to be used by the teacher when he is instructing the senior classes … The aim of the teacher should be to dispense with the use of Māori as soon as possible (Hislop, 1880, p. 1).

Pākehā teachers' decisions to teach and live in a Māori community (via the Native Schools system) reveal motivations that reinforce a civilising intent (Simon & Smith, 2004). These authors identified Pākehā teachers as idealistic entrants, characterised by intrinsic and altruistic motivations for living and working amongst Māori in the interest of Māori, even if that interest was to civilise the Māori, or turn them into 'brown Pākehās'. The Eurocentric focus of the Native school syllabus was prominent, focusing on European knowledge, history, arts and culture. Although there is evidence of some schools incorporating Māori knowledge in their teaching programmes, predominantly in the form of haka, poi and raranga, these tended to be isolated cases in schools operating outside of departmental policy (Simon & Smith, 2001).

The decisions of Pākehā officials, such as George Hogben, William Bird and James Pope, to emphasise the place of manual training in the curriculum for Native Schools reveal ongoing evidence of education as a civilising agent for Māori. Manual training, introduced in 1900, ensured that Māori received a more technical, domestic training. This decision was reinforced by their belief that manual training best suited Māori over academic pursuits (Simon & Smith, 2001), and aligned with the assumption that Māori would continue to be rural dwellers. The assumption was that they would require "a type of education that will lead the lad to be a good farmer and the girl to be a good farmer's wife" (Hill, 2004, p. 182).

The changing relationship between Māori and Pākehā - Integration

Hegemony and cultural capital allowed the colonisation process to proceed unabated over the next one hundred post-treaty years, until three key reports from the 1960s highlighted the negative predicament of Māori. These were the Hunn Report (1961), the Currie Commission's report (1962) and a 1969 report by the National Advisory Committee on Māori Education (NACME).

Hunn's Report on the Department of Māori Affairs commented on the state of Māori, in sectors ranging from education, employment, crime, housing and land (Hunn, 1961). It called for the abolition of Native Schools via the merging of Māori schools into the public system, a move that supported his advocacy of integration policies (Mead, 1996). This recommendation was partially based on the 1956 NACME Report claiming that the basic educational needs of Māori and Pākehā were identical (Barrington, 2008). Both the NACME and the Hunn reports advocated a policy of integration. Their version of integration, however, was a one-sided expectation that Māori would act, live and speak as Pākehā, while Pākehā retained their own ways (King, 2003). One example was Hunn's reference to widespread language loss. In his report he described Māori language and culture as 'relics' and recommended that their continuing survival would, and should, be left up to Māori (Hunn, 1961). This supported his brand of integration, whereby Māori would fit into a Pākehā way of living, leaving the irrelevancies of their own culture (Biggs, 1961).

The Currie Commission of 1962 was an education-focussed follow-up to the Hunn Report (Sutherland, Jesson & Peters, 2001). The report acknowledged that Māori needed to be better equipped to succeed in the education system of the day. It recommended an assessment of how the current schooling system was suited to the needs of Māori, and how Māori could be better enabled to make the most of the educational opportunities

available to them. To this end, the report suggested that elements of Māori culture should be included "to give pupils a sense of belonging to a known and respected culture" (Barrington, 2008, p. 269). Although published only one year after the Hunn Report, these recommendations were a departure from Hunn's views of Māori language and culture as 'relics'.

In their 1969 report, the National Advisory Committee on Māori Education reinforced the importance of providing Māori language in the primary school curriculum. The report also went further, claiming that the inclusion of Māori language and culture in the curriculum would not only benefit Māori, but would also be useful to Pākehā pupils by raising awareness of Māori culture, thereby enhancing race relations. Despite these ongoing recommendations, by the end of the 1960s Māori language was still excluded from primary education, with the shortage of Māori speaking primary teachers commonly cited as an obstacle (Barrington, 2008).

2.5   A Treaty reawakened

Reinstating Māori as bicultural partner

> We, the undersigned, do humbly pray that courses in Māori language and aspects of Māori Culture be offered in ALL those schools with large Māori roll, and that these same courses be offered, as a gift to the Pākehā from the Māori, in all other New Zealand schools as a positive effort to promote a more meaningful concept of integration[4] (Te Rito, 2008, p. 2).

If 1960s Aotearoa-New Zealand was a period of pause and examination of the state of Māori, the 1970s marked a time of resistance and change. Far from being equal partners, post-Treaty immigration influxes quickly reduced Māori to the minority in terms of population. This resulted in large-scale land loss through Māori agency in which they actively sold land to settlers, and through the fatal impact of land confiscations. The social impact on Māori became apparent. For Māori, whose identity is intrinsically connected to the land, land loss led to displacement and dislocation of identity. Widespread urbanisation, in pursuit of employment and income, further impacted this disconnect. As the Hunn Report had found, Māori were disadvantaged socially and economically, while the Currie Report highlighted the educational inequalities of achievement and school dropout rates.

Whilst the reports of the 1960s had identified, at a political level, what many Māori already knew on a personal level, they had resulted in very little action from the state. In response, Māori calls to redress and reconcile their grievances via the promises set out in Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi gathered momentum. Motivated by the urgency of impending language loss, and armed with a Treaty that many (Pākehā) regarded as no longer relevant, protest and resistance across the multiple issues (land loss, language loss, inequality) centred around the call to 'honour the Treaty'.

In bringing the Treaty back to the forefront, retrospective reviews of its wording exposed contrasting interpretations due to the signing of two versions, one in te reo Māori and the other in English. The translation of the Treaty from English to Māori was not, in hindsight, straightforward or transparent. As a consequence, each party held a different interpretation of what they had agreed to. What may have been subtle word choices for Williams had the effect of altering the meaning for Māori. For example, in Article One, the Māori word

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[4] Petition of the Te Reo Māori Society and Nga Tamatoa to Parliament, 1972

'kawanatanga' was used in place of the English word 'sovereignty'. It has since been contended that the word 'kawanatanga', or 'governance' in English, failed to convey to Māori the extent to which they would give up their own authority (Orange, 1989; Walker, 2004). Similarly, Article Two of the Māori text assured Māori 'tino rangatiratanga' over their lands and affairs, a word that was a closer translation of sovereignty, and was described as "Full exclusive and undisturbed possession" (Treaty of Waitangi, 1840, art. 2) in the English text. This led to intensified and ongoing disagreement between Māori and Pākehā. At the root of the discourse was British belief that, through signing the Treaty, Māori had ceded to British rule. Māori, on the other hand, saw the Treaty as confirmation of their sovereignty, in exchange for British protection (Byrnes, 2004).

The Waitangi Tribunal: Honouring Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi

The call to resolve Māori grievances via the Treaty gathered momentum through protest and petitioning, which ultimately led to the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 (Ka'ai, 2004). The purpose of the Waitangi Tribunal, as set up by the Labour Government of the day, was to review any breaches of promises by the Crown, relating to the Treaty and Māori. From the time of the 1975 National election victory, through which Robert Muldoon became Prime Minister, until 1985, when Labour had regained power, the Waitangi Tribunal had little impact on Māori claims. In 1985, under Prime Minister David Lange, the Tribunal regained momentum when it was given retrospective authority to investigate claims of Treaty breaches dating back to the signing in 1840 (King, 2003). One of the Waitangi Tribunal's earliest tasks was to determine the meaning of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi through reconciling both the English and Māori language versions. To do this, the tribunal established a number of principles to align with the Treaty's articles. These principles served to capture the spirit of the original Treaty agreements (in two languages) and to make their application to policy more tangible (Hayward, 2004).

The principles originally outlined by the Waitangi Tribunal included partnership, tribal rangatiratanga, active protection, mutual benefit and consultation (TPK, 2001). The Court of Appeal (1987) added the principles of honour, good faith, reasonable actions, and partnership (ibid), while the Labour government (1988) outlined kawanatanga, rangatiratanga, equality, reasonable co-operation and redress (Palmer, 1989). In 1988, the Royal Commission on Social Policy recommended a further three principles, namely partnership, protection and participation (Office of the Race Relations Conciliator, 1988). The government, via the Ministry of Education, have actively embraced the latter three principles to frame its policies (MoE, 2012). Inclusion of the principles in policy recognises Aotearoa-New Zealand's bicultural nature and seeks to redress the educational disparities between the Māori and Pākehā treaty partners.

Biculturalism and Māori: Tokenism and the Treaty

The Waitangi Tribunal was, and is, unique to the world, in terms of race relations and honouring historical agreements. As International Law expert, Professor Quentin-Baxter stated:

> If New Zealand has a destiny as a separate nation … it will be principally because these islands were a meeting place of two great races, and because – even in the worst times – their dealings with each other never lacked a certain grandeur. It is of course a flawed record, but the world has no better record and can ill afford to lose this one (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 50).

Not all would agree with Quentin-Baxter's statement. Despite the attempts of both the government and the Tribunal to address breaches of Treaty promises that marginalised Māori, critics of the notion of biculturalism remain. Their perspectives espouse the idea that biculturalism is a Western construct that promotes notions of redress, equality and egalitarianism, but whose underlying motive is to keep the power within the domain of the dominant European culture. According to Walker (2004), Māori are truly bicultural in the partnership, having had to learn and function in two cultures. Pākehā, on the other hand, are immersed in their culture politically, socially and economically, and are therefore able to remain monolingual and monocultural, while still experiencing success in a so-called 'bicultural' setting.

Biculturalism and Pākehā: Indoctrination and Māori Privilege

Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi, in legislation and policy, has been referred to as indoctrination by some academics. Rata (2000, 2012) and Rata and Openshaw (2006, 2008) have written extensively about what they call cultural essentialism, identity politics and the neo-tribal élite. These authors contend that the policies of the Treaty have been implemented in society, particularly within the education sector where this research was situated, without due rigor. They regard this as "indoctrination," and use this argument as their main rationale for resisting biculturalism. Their position is supported by Partington (1998), who coined the term "Waitangism". In his report on teacher education he cites a lack of critical analysis around the Treaty's inclusion in such policies.

Openshaw and Rata (2008) also argue that the unquestioned way in which universities, and in particular teacher training programmes (pertinent to my research), have implemented bicultural ideologies and practices, along with what they define as examples of harassment and gate-keeping, have directly threatened academic freedom. In their view, this restricts universities' ability to serve as the critic and conscience of society. Openshaw and Rata reason that intellectual repression is powerfully reinforced from within, through unquestioned adherence to bicultural policies.

Perhaps one of the most visible examples of Pākehā resistance to biculturalism was delivered by Don Brash, the then leader of the opposition National party, in his 2004 speech entitled "Nationhood". Underpinning the sentiments he expressed, which focused on the ideal of 'one nation, one people', Brash warned of bicultural policies that had "wrenched" the Treaty of Waitangi out of context and have "become the plaything of those who would divide New Zealanders from one another, not unite us" (Brash, 2004; p. 3). Using evocative language that portrayed a picture of inequality in favour of Māori, Brash made reference to what he called "special privileges" for them. He argued that, under such special treatment, New Zealand was moving towards becoming a "racially divided nation, with two sets of laws and two standards of citizenship" (ibid). Brash advocated for an interpretation of a Treaty that rejected partnership, stating that "The treaty did not create a partnership: fundamentally, it was the launching pad for the creation of one sovereign nation" (p. 13). The prevalent undertone was that Pākehā could continue in the privileged, dominant position, without the burden of a bicultural partnership. Evidence of Brash's rejection of a bicultural partnership with Māori can be found in the summary of his speech, where he stated:

> Finally, we ask Māori to take some responsibility themselves for what is happening in their own communities. Citizenship brings obligations as current well as rights … Like everyone else, Māori must build their own future with their own hands (Brash, 2004, p. 15).

This message of Māori privilege would form the impetus of the right-wing National Party's election campaign two years after Brash's speech, with one of the most visible examples being the 'iwi/kiwi' billboards. These implied that under the then ruling Labour Party, non-Māori New Zealanders ('kiwis') were at risk of losing their rights (such as access to beaches) to Māori (iwi) through the ongoing rulings of the Waitangi Tribunal and legislation such as the Foreshore and Seabed Act (2004). While National failed to secure a majority in this election ramifications of Brash's message were to have an impact on education later that year, when the Treaty was removed from the updated curriculum, first released in draft form in 2006 (see Chapter Three). Brash was replaced as leader of the National Party in 2006 following the election defeat, a change that saw National take a more moderate approach to the Treaty. Brash returned briefly to politics in 2011, this time as leader of ACT, a far-right political party. He brought back the message of Māori privilege to the 2011 campaign, this time running newspaper advertisements with the headline "Fed up with pandering to Māori Radicals?" The advertisements were so controversial that one major newspaper, the *Dominion Post*, refused to run them (Fisher, 2011). ACT suffered their worst ever result in that election, and again Brash resigned as leader shortly afterwards.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was a critical examination of Aotearoa-New Zealand's history, and its ongoing impact on education, which was an essential underpinning for my research. Since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, it has often been stated that the Treaty has a central place in Aotearoa-New Zealand as this country's founding document. History has proven that early after the signing, and for over one hundred years following, this was not always the case as the Treaty was almost immediately ignored and forgotten by the British settlers and descendants. Instead, the British proceeded to develop a nation, founded not on Treaty principles and biculturalism, but on replicating a society that reflected their own customs, laws and norms. The return of the Treaty to the political fold in the 1970s was seen as a triumph by Māori, made possible by their ongoing protest against Māori deficit across society. Today, almost forty years after the development of the Waitangi Tribunal, questions remain concerning the authenticity of bicultural ideals in this country's society. These questions are explored in the next chapter, which pays particular attention to how Treaty principles and biculturalism have been applied in educational policy. Critical analysis of these policies was important to the research, as it provided clearer insight into teachers' understanding of, and attitudes towards, biculturalism in policy, and how these understandings translated into teaching practice.

Chapter 3: Biculturalism in curriculum and policy

Kua takoto te manuka

Bíonn dhá insint ar scéal agus
dhá leagan déag ar amhrán.

The leaves of the manuka tree have been laid down
(A challenge lies ahead)

There are two versions of every story
and twelve versions of every song

3.1   Defining biculturalism through multiple perspectives

Biculturalism can be defined as the word suggests – bi, meaning two, and cultural – thus being of two cultures. However this definition is far too simplistic as it fails to acknowledge the many varied forms of biculturalism across societies. Because biculturalism exists in different guises, applying a universal definition is inadequate. For example, an individual who speaks two languages and is able to navigate and live within two distinct cultures may be defined as bicultural (Taniwha, 2010). Similarly, a society that has two distinct languages and cultures that co-exist but do not integrate or assimilate could equally be defined as bicultural (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007). Therefore, an authentic definition requires analysis of the bicultural characteristics unique to that society.

The nature of biculturalism in Aotearoa-New Zealand

With this in mind, a robust definition of biculturalism in the context of Aotearoa-New Zealand necessitated an examination of the political and historical events on which it was founded. The defining feature of biculturalism in this nation is Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi, an agreement signed in 1840 by the indigenous Māori and British representatives of the Crown (Orange, 1989). Today the Treaty forms the bicultural foundation of this nation, as it is the basis of an ongoing political partnership between Māori, as tangata whenua, and Pākehā.

Within an equal bicultural society, the language and culture of its two peoples would enjoy equivalent status and use. In Aotearoa-New Zealand, the impact of colonisation following the signing of the Treaty denied Māori these equalities, relegating them to the deficit position in the bicultural partnership. As a result, Māori language and culture was decimated to the brink of near extinction by the 1970s and 1980s. Conversely, Pākehā New Zealand became the dominant culture of this nation, favourably topping statistics that point to socio-economic success (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai & Richardson, 2003). Post-Treaty, Pākehā culture and language became this country's norm. This historical context needed to be considered (See Chapter Two), as it became the catalyst behind a push to elevate Māori language and culture, and prompted the establishment of bicultural policies.

Why biculturalism? Crown responses and indigenous perspectives

From the 1960s and 1970s, Māori resistance to the decline of their language and culture gave rise to indigenous assertions of sovereignty, in an attempt to honour the Treaty. This culminated in the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 (Ka'ai, 2004). The Tribunal established a number of principles (as described in Chapter Two) to align with the Treaty's articles (Hayward, 2004). The purpose of the principles was to capture

the spirit of the original Treaty agreement (both the English and te reo Māori versions) and to make bicultural policies tangible. The Ministry of Education has actively embraced the three principles known colloquially as the "Three Ps" as its preferred model of embedding biculturalism in its policies (MoE, 2012). These are the principles of partnership, protection and participation (Office of the Race Relations Conciliator, 1988). Treaty principles in policy have become the Crown's response to restore bicultural relations. They recognise Aotearoa-New Zealand's bicultural foundations, and are utilised to seek redress in the educational underachievement of Māori that resulted from Treaty breaches and colonisation.

On the other hand, Māori views on the desire for bicultural policies are varied, and cannot be represented by one generic position. For example, some Māori hold the opinion that honouring the Treaty is about honouring the promise of tino rangatiratanga, or the right to self-determination (Bennett, 2005). For them, a bicultural partnership is not the desired outcome. Instead, the goal is to live in a state of bicultural separateness. Other Māori take the view that 'the past is past' and are therefore content to retain the status quo (Thomas & Nikora, 1992). Neither of these two perspectives are sympathetic to the bicultural partnership, as it is defined by the Crown.

Further Māori views support bicultural sentiments. Māori who take these positions desire a bicultural partnership that values Māori language and culture and recognises their status as 'tangata whenua'. One example is outlined by Durie (2001) in his "Framework for Considering Māori Educational Advancement", which situates contemporary Māori aspirations around three goals, three principles and three pathways (see Figure 1).

These pathways provide genuine contexts for Māori in a bicultural partnership, recognising the reality of living in a society where Pākehā culture is dominant. One such reality is that the majority of Māori children are not in Kura Kaupapa Māori schools (a Māori-centred pathway), but are in mainstream state primary schools. In addition, a workforce that is overwhelmingly non-Māori staffs these mainstream schools (Bishop, et al, 2003). As employees of a mainstream system, its teachers are obligated to the bicultural mandates of the Crown through education policies that reinforce the principles of the Te Tiriti o-Treaty of Waitangi. If Māori children who are in mainstream schools are to successfully attain Māori aspirations within these societal realities, then acknowledgement of the need to engage with Pākehā on a collaborative pathway is required. This position aligns with Māori desire to restore balance to the bicultural partnership and to honour the Treaty.

Three Principles	• Best outcomes and zero tolerance of failure • Integrated action • Indignity
Three Pathways	• A Māori centred pathway • A Māori added pathway • A collaborative pathway
Three Goals	• To live as Māori • To actively participate as citizens of the world • To enjoy good health and a high standard of living
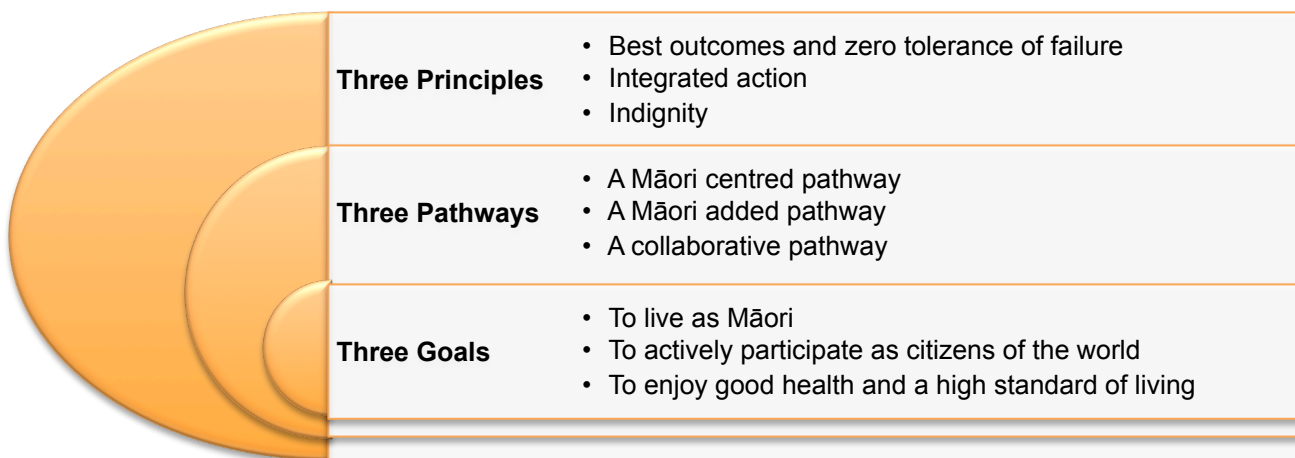
Figure 1. A framework for considering Māori aspirations (Durie, 2001)

3.2   Identifying biculturalism in current educational policies

Reviewing the bicultural literature

An examination of educational policy, outlined by the Ministry with regard to Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi and biculturalism, underpinned this research. The documents that govern mainstream primary schools in the areas of teaching content, teaching practice, school governance and teacher registration, were critically analysed. Within each relevant document references to biculturalism and Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi were identified. The place and purpose of each reference has been explored and critically discussed.

National Education Guidelines

The 1989 Education Act (which overturned the previous 1877 Act) established the legislation that governs Aotearoa-New Zealand's schools. The Act guides education regulations, beginning with the National Educational Guidelines. The Guidelines comprise five components:

1. National Education Goals (NEGs), which are:
   i. Statements of desirable achievements by the school system, or by an element of the school system
   ii. Statements of government policy objectives for the school system
2. Foundation Curriculum Policy Statements, which are statements of policy concerning teaching, learning, and assessment that are made for the purposes of underpinning and giving direction to
   i. The way in which curriculum and assessment responsibilities are to be managed in schools
   ii. National curriculum statements and locally developed curriculum
3. National Curriculum Statements, which are statements of:
   i. The areas of knowledge and understanding to be covered by students; and
   ii. The skills to be developed by students; and
   iii. Desirable levels of knowledge, understanding, and skill, to be achieved by students, during the years of schooling)
4. National Standards, which are standards pertaining to matters such as literacy and numeracy, that are applicable to all students of a particular age or in a particular year of schooling.
5. National Administration Guidelines (NAGs), which are guidelines relating to school administration and which may (without limitation) –
   i. Set out statements of desirable codes or principles of conduct or administration for specified kinds or descriptions of person or body, including guidelines for the purposes of section 61:
   ii. Set out requirements relating to planning and reporting including -
   iii. Communicate the Government's policy objectives
   iv. Set out transitional provisions for the purposes of national administration guidelines (Education Act, 1989, 60(a)).

Three of the five guidelines make specific reference to biculturalism and Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi: the National Education Goals, the National Administration Guidelines and the National Curriculum Statements.

National Education Goals [NEGs]

The first of these components, the National Education Goals [NEGs], outlines ten overarching statements of desirable outcomes for schools in New Zealand, including mainstream primary schools, where this research was situated. The NEGs specify broad foundation statements through which subsequent governing policies of educational achievement are guided and developed. Two of the ten statements directly address this country's biculturalism and its intent to honour the Treaty. Relevance to biculturalism and Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi was identified in NEG 9, which states:

> Increased participation and success by Māori through the advancement of Māori education initiatives, including education in Te Reo Māori, consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (MoE, 2009).

NEG 10 references the place of Māori in Aotearoa-New Zealand, stating:

> Respect for the diverse ethnic and cultural heritage of New Zealand people, with acknowledgment of the unique place of Māori, and New Zealand's role in the Pacific and as a member of the international community of nations (Ibid).

Through NEG 10 biculturalism is implied rather than stated, via the acknowledgement of Māori as tangata whenua. This distinction situates biculturalism as separate from multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is addressed in the first part of the statement as "respect for the diverse ethnic and cultural heritage of New Zealand people", whilst biculturalism is implied in the next part of the statement, "with acknowledgment of the unique place of Māori".

National Administration Guidelines [NAGs]

Similar to the NEGs the National Administration Guidelines [NAGs] are another component of the five National Education Goals. The NAGs outline eight overarching statements for schools and their administration, providing guidance for desirable conduct, administration, governance and management (MoE, 2013). Implementation of the NAGs and the NEGs at school level is achieved through the school charter (Education Act, 1989, s.61) and managed by boards of trustees[5] and principals, as opposed to teachers. Written and maintained by the board (of which the principal is a member) as an official school policy document, the charter outlines the school's policies and procedures to be implemented to meet the desired educational outcomes (NEGs).
In reference to Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi, and to Māori, NAG 1(e) states:

> Each board, through the principal and staff, is required to:
> (e) in consultation with the school's Māori community, develop and make known to the school's community policies, plans and targets for improving the achievement of Māori students (MoE, 2013).

In addition to consulting with Māori on policies and practices aimed at improving Māori achievement, boards are also mandated (through NAG 2(c)) to:

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[5] In Aotearoa-New Zealand primary schools, governance is shared by senior staff, led by the principal, and a board of trustees, which comprise of elected members representative of parents and the community.

> [R]eport to students and their parents on the achievement of individual students, and to the school's community on the achievement of students as a whole and of groups (identified through NAG 1(c) above) including the achievement of Māori students against the plans and targets referred to in 1(e) above (ibid).

The broad nature of the NEGs and NAGs are a deliberate strategy to enable schools to develop and maintain a school charter that reflects their own unique character while still complying with the government directives of the 1989 Education Act. Like NEG 10, NAG 1(e) and NAG 2(c) are implied references to Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi. Though the obligations schools have to Māori learners, their families and their communities are explicitly stated in the NAGs, the relevance of this to the Treaty is inferred through an understanding of the principle of partnership.

The School Planning and Reporting Checklist

As stated above, the NEGs and NAGs provide the framework that structures each school charter. If the NEGs and NAGs provide guidelines for desirable school outcomes then the supporting document, *School Planning and Reporting Checklist* (2013), offers guidance to what each charter must include. The Checklist is provided by the Ministry as a supporting document for boards of trustees in writing up and updating their charter. Each component of the checklist builds on the NEGs and NAGs by giving clarity to their practical application.

The checklist provides guidance for implementing NEG 10 "… acknowledgment of the unique place of Māori …" (MoE, 2013). It explains that a charter needs to clearly show "[T]he aim of developing, for the school, policies and practices that reflect New Zealand's cultural diversity and the unique position of the Māori culture". Boards of trustees then have the freedom to interpret and develop this directive in ways they deem as 'best fit' for their school. In addition, the checklist states "[T]he aim of ensuring all reasonable steps are taken to provide instruction in tikanga Māori (Māori culture) and te reo Māori (Māori language) for full-time students whose parents ask for it" (MoE, 2013).

National Curriculum

As this research was conducted in mainstream New Zealand primary schools an examination of the sector's relevant curriculum document was required. *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007) is the current curriculum under which all mainstream primary schools are obligated. It provides achievement objectives that can be aligned to teaching content across all age-related levels. As a statement of policy aims, the curriculum serves as a guiding framework for teaching and learning in primary schools. It is divided into eight subjects, or learning areas, each comprising multiple strands. The curriculum aligns to all levels of primary schooling, from year one through to year eight.

The curriculum names eight principles that underline school decision-making. According to Te Kete Ipurangi [TKI], "The principles relate to how curriculum is formalised in a school; they are particularly relevant to the processes of planning, prioritising, and review" (TKI, 2007). The principles sit alongside eight underpinning values, which should be "encouraged, modelled, and explored" (ibid).

These principles are:
- High expectations
- Treaty of Waitangi

- Cultural diversity
- Inclusion
- Learning to learn
- Community engagement
- Coherence
- Future focus

In reference to Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi as an underlying principle, the document states:

> 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 (MoE, 2007, p. 20).

The curriculum also references the three official languages of this country - English, te reo Māori and New Zealand Sign Language. Further evidence of the nation's commitment to its Treaty obligations is its acknowledgement of the official languages. Te reo Māori is distinguished as a tāonga, or a treasure, under the Treaty. Through the learning of te reo Māori the curriculum asserts that:

> By learning te reo and becoming increasingly familiar with tikanga, Māori students strengthen their identities, while non-Māori journey towards shared cultural understandings. All who learn te reo Māori help to secure its future as a living, dynamic, and rich language. As they learn, they come to appreciate that diversity is a key to unity (MoE, 2007, p.16).

The distinction of te reo Māori as a 'taonga' is important, because of Article Two of the Treaty, which guaranteed Māori 'tino rangatiratanga o o ratou whenua, o ratou kainga, me o ratou taonga katoa' (chieftainship over land, villages and treasures) (See Chapter Two). Therefore Māori would argue that the status of 'taonga' invokes protection via the Treaty. This position is supported by the Waitangi Tribunal's principle of protection.

Aligning with Māori aspirations "to live as Māori" (Durie, 2001, p. 3) the curriculum argues that for Māori students learning te reo strengthens their identity. It also declares that for non-Maori students learning te reo and tikanga Māori will develop deeper cultural understanding and appreciation (MoE, 2007).

Registered Teacher Criteria

The New Zealand Teachers Council [NZTC] is the governing body responsible for the registration of this country's teachers. The council's role is to set standards that all teachers must meet in order to be deemed as suitable for employment. The NZTC's Registration Policy (NZTC, 2012) outlines the requirements for teacher registration in this country. For mainstream primary school teachers, this means being assessed against the Graduating Teacher Standards (for teachers in their first two fulltime years of practice), or the Registered Teacher Criteria (for teachers with more than two years teaching experience).

NZTC describes the Registered Teacher Criteria as "what beginning teachers need to work towards in order to gain full registration, and what experienced teachers need to demonstrate at appropriate levels of expertise in order to maintain a practising certificate" (New Zealand Teachers Council [NZTC], 2010, p. 1). Four foundational statements provide the philosophical cornerstones of the criteria, the second of which directly

acknowledges the place of the Treaty. It states, "The Treaty of Waitangi extends equal status and rights to Māori and Pākehā. This places a particular responsibility on all teachers in Aotearoa-New Zealand to promote equitable learning outcomes" (p. 9).

The foundational statements underpin a total of twelve criteria, each listed with associated Key Indicators. The twelve criteria fall into one of two categories - Professional Relationships and Professional Values, and Professional Knowledge in Practice. Reference to the Treaty was found in Criteria Three and Ten.

Criteria Three, under Professional Relationships and Professional Values, states that fully registered teachers will "demonstrate commitment to the bicultural partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand" (p. 11). One key indicator listed for this criterion states that fully registered teachers will "demonstrate respect for heritages, languages and cultures of both partners to the Treaty of Waitangi" (ibid).

Under Professional Knowledge in Practice, Criteria Ten asserts that fully registered teachers will "work effectively within the bicultural context of Aotearoa New Zealand" (p. 14). The two key indicators listed for this criterion state that teachers will "practise and develop the relevant use of te reo Māori me nga tikanga-a-iwi in context," and "specifically and effectively address the educational aspirations of ākonga Māori, displaying high expectations for their learning" (p. 14).

Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success-The Māori Education Strategy

The first Māori education strategy was launched in 1999. It was motivated by the desire to specifically address the needs of Māori in schools. The three main goals for the strategy included raising the quality of mainstream education for Māori, to support the growth and development of quality kaupapa Māori education and to support and encourage greater Māori involvement in education (MoE, 2009). The focus of these three areas opened up the educational environment to a range of new Māori initiatives, including iwi-education partnerships and research and professional development projects such as Te Kotahitanga (Bishop, et.al, 2003).

In 2006, the strategy began the first stage in its redevelopment, which culminated in *Ka Hikitia – Managing for Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2008-2012* (MoE, 2009). *Ka Hikitia* provided guidelines for educators working with Māori students across all domains of education, centring on evidence-based, outcome-focused strategies in its goal to fulfil Māori potential in education. *Figure 3.2* shows the key philosophical shifts targeted by *Ka Hikitia* at all involved in the education of Māori, including learners, parents, whanau, iwi, educators, providers, Māori communities, enterprises and government (MoE, 2009, p. 19).

Less focus on …	More focus on…
Remedying deficit	Realising potential
Problems of dysfunction	Identifying opportunity
Government intervention	Investing in people and local solutions
Targeting deficit	Tailoring education to the learner
Māori as a minority	Indigeneity and distinctiveness
Instructing and informing	Collaborating and co constructing

Figure 2. Ka Hikitia: Māori potential approach in education

In its introductory preamble, *Ka Hikitia* (2009) makes mention of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi:

> The Treaty of Waitangi is central to, and symbolic of, our national heritage, identity, and future. *Ka Hikitia: Managing for Success* acknowledges the Treaty of Waitangi as a document that protects Māori learners' rights to achieve true citizenship through gaining a range of vital skills and knowledge, as well as protecting te reo Māori as a taonga (p.13).

As in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007), *Ka Hikitia* distinguishes te reo Māori as being a 'taonga', again invoking the Treaty principle of protection. This protection is also extended over the rights of Māori students to achieve in education.

Tataiako: Cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners.

A support document, *Tataiako: Cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners* (MoE, 2011), followed on from *Ka Hikitia* (2009). It identified a list of desirable competencies for successful teachers of Māori learners. The competencies are underpinned by evidence-based indicators of quality teaching, and are also supported by the key constructs of identity, language and culture. *Tataiako* also highlights the importance of "productive partnerships among teachers, Māori learners, whanau and iwi" (p.4). The five competencies are outlined in *Figure 3* below.
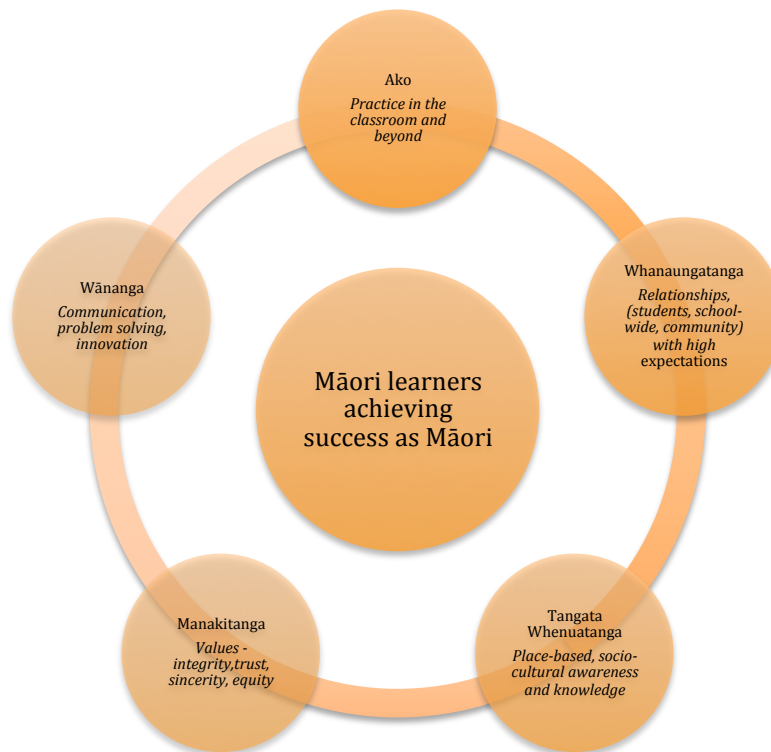
Figure 3. Tataiako: Cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners – Five Principles

The competencies identified in *Tataiako* are unique in that they are linked to both the Graduating Teacher Standards and the Registered Teacher Criteria. According to the competencies, teachers who "demonstrate a commitment to the bicultural partnership" and "'work effectively within the bicultural context of Aotearoa-New Zealand" (MoE, 2011, p. 19), as stated in Criteria Three and Criteria Ten of the Registered Teacher Criteria align with the key competency of 'tangata whenuatanga'.

In addition, *Tataiako* extrapolates the criteria into lists of indicators, cross-referenced with each of the five principles. For example, indicators of Criteria Three and Criteria Ten according to 'tangata whenuatanga' include:

- Harnesses the rich cultural capital, which Māori learners bring to the classroom by providing culturally responsive and engaging contexts for learning.
- Can explain how knowledge of local context and local iwi and community is important in supporting Māori learners to achieve in and through education.
- Actively facilitates the participation of whānau and people with the knowledge of local context, tikanga, history, and language to support classroom teaching and learning programmes.
- Has the tools and skills to engage local knowledge and history (or the people who hold that knowledge) to support teaching and learning programmes.
- Consciously uses and actively encourages the use of local Māori contexts (such as whakapapa, environment, tikanga, language, history, place, economy, politics, local icons, geography) to support Māori learners' learning.

- Understands that Māori learners bring rich cultural capital to the learning environment and how to maximise that to enhance learning potential.

3.3   A critique of biculturalism in current education policies

Authenticity or tokenism?

My interest in analysing the clarity of bicultural directives in education policies was driven by the research, which investigated teachers' understanding of biculturalism and the Treaty as expressed in policy and practice. I was particularly curious to ascertain whether overseas trained teachers, or indeed any teachers who had not received specific training in Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi (such as myself) referred to any of the documents that govern and offer guidance for this sector to meet bicultural mandates. With this in mind, an initial examination of the literature revealed some statements that seemed ambiguous, while others contradictory. This made me question whether these statements were authentic or simply tokenistic. To answer this question an understanding of tokenism was first required, to aid my critical reflection of the bicultural literature. Uncovering statements of tokenism in regards to the Treaty was important in this research, as it facilitated an understanding of how schools and teachers are informed to engage biculturalism in practice.

According to Husain (2012), tokenism refers to a policy or practice that outwardly displays inclusivity of a minority which is, in actuality, perfunctory. Wright (2001) refers to tokenism as "an intergroup context in which the boundaries are not entirely closed, but where there are severe restrictions on access to advantaged positions on the basis of group membership" (p. 224). For all intents and purposes, acknowledgement of this country's bicultural heritage, without action or accountability, appeared to be tokenistic, as these references all outwardly displayed intentions of inclusivity and commitment to the Treaty. When isolated and analysed, these statements on their own showed little evidence of tangible directives that went beyond a cursory nod to Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi. Initial reviews of the literature drew attention to such examples:

NEG 10:

> Respect for the diverse ethnic and cultural heritage of New Zealand people, with acknowledgment of the unique place of Māori … (MoE, 2013).

Official Languages in *The New Zealand Curriculum:*

> Te reo Māori is indigenous to Aotearoa New Zealand. It is a taonga recognised under the Treaty of Waitangi, a primary source of our nation's self-knowledge and identity, and an official language. By understanding and using te reo Māori, New Zealanders become more aware of the role played by the indigenous language and culture in defining and asserting our point of difference in the wider world (MoE, 2007, p.16).

Ka Hikitia:

> The Treaty of Waitangi is central to, and symbolic of, our national heritage, identity, and future. *Ka Hikitia –* Managing for Success acknowledges the Treaty of Waitangi as a document that protects Māori learners' rights to

achieve true citizenship through gaining a range of vital skills and knowledge, as well as protecting te reo Māori as a taonga (p. 13).

The principle of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (2007):

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 (p. 20).

In addition, a contradiction of the above statement was found in the *School Planning and Reporting Checklist* (MoE, 2013) which stated that schools are obligated to "ensuring all reasonable steps are taken to provide instruction in tikanga Māori (Māori culture) and te reo Māori (Māori language) for full-time students whose parents ask for it" (p. 2). For parents, this statement implies that the bicultural partnership is something in which they can opt-into, by specifically asking for instruction in tikanga and te reo Māori for their child. Conversely then, this statement infers that parents can also 'opt-out' of the bicultural partnership, by simply not asking. In this respect, the premise of point two on the checklist can be interpreted as contrary to the principle of partnership espoused in the curriculum. The reference is to "all children" (p. 9), while the checklist implies that schools are only held to the partnership if they have parents who want to opt into it. As a result, I questioned if this was another example of tokenism.

Both the ambiguous and contradictory nature of these examples suggested that within a mainstream setting some references to the bicultural partnership are tokenistic acts of compliance. My definition of ambiguous included what I felt was a lack of rigour, due to the failure to give tangible directives, and the perceived absence of monitoring and accountability in adherence to the statements. This aligned with the understanding that tokenism promotes outward displays of inclusivity, which these references do via the mere mention of biculturalism and the Treaty.

The nature of the documents

Concerns about the authenticity of bicultural references in policy prompted me to investigate the purpose of each bicultural reference, with regard to the outcomes or aims to be accomplished. Another consideration was to distinguish the type of document within which each reference was situated. Knowledge of both of these contextual questions facilitated an understanding of the place and purpose of each bicultural reference, from which its authenticity could be questioned and critiqued.

My critical analysis of the current educational policies began with outlining the purpose of bicultural policies. From the references identified in *Figure 3.4*, three purposes behind biculturalism in today's educational policies were inferred:

1. To recognise Aotearoa-New Zealand's bicultural foundations
2. To attempt to redress the educational underachievement of Māori
3. To reflect the '3Ps' of partnership, protection and participation.

In addition to uncovering the intention behind each bicultural reference, analysis of the type of statement or document was required. In the context of the literature reviewed, the following types were identified:

National Educational Guidelines			
Policy	**Procedures**	**Strategy**	**Initiatives**
NEGs NAGs NZTC Registration Policy New Zealand Curriculum	The School Planning and Reporting Checklist Registered Teacher Criteria	Ka Hikitia – Māori Education Strategy	Tataiako

Figure 4. Documents that contained references to biculturalism

Once each document type was identified and categorised, a robust definition of its function and purpose provided insight into the bicultural references they contained. Further research produced the following definitions:

- **Policies** reflect the guidelines and frameworks for the present time. A policy will set the parameters of intended actions to ensure a desired 'status quo' as opposed to 'desired change.'
- **Procedures** provide guidance as to the implementation of policy
- **Strategies** outline intended outcomes to be met over a period of time via the adherence to predefined changes, usually in practice. Strategies are underpinned by a desire to create change (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1982).
- **Initiatives** are closely aligned with strategies. Initiatives outline the actions to be taken in order to achieve the desired objectives outlined in the strategies (International Institute for Educational Planning [IIEP], 2010).

Extrapolated from the definitions was an understanding that policies and procedures provide guidance for compliance in the present, with the goal of achieving a level of consistency across the sector. Strategies and initiatives, on the other hand, provide direction for future outcomes, and are therefore underpinned by change.

Based on this premise, policies in this literature review were considered as the guiding frameworks for current teacher practice in Aotearoa-New Zealand, while procedures gave directives on how the frameworks would be applied in practice. Similarly, strategies in this literature review were considered as the guiding frameworks for future educational outcomes in Aotearoa-New Zealand, while initiatives gave an applied application of that change (See Figure 5).

National Educational Guidelines			
Define the status quo for the 'now'		Define the desired future outcomes	
Policy	**Procedures**	**Strategy**	**Initiatives**
INDICATORS "what"	DIRECTIVES "how"	INDICATORS "what"	DIRECTIVES "how"
NEGs NAGs	The School Planning and Reporting Checklist	Ka Hikitia – Māori Education Strategy	Tataiako
NZTC Registration Policy New Zealand Curriculum	Registered Teacher Criteria		

Figure 5. Biculturalism in policy and procedures – Indicators versus directives

In accordance with the prior definitions in the National Education Goals [NEGs] (2009), National Administration Guidelines [NAGs] (2013), NZTC Registration Policy (2012) and *The New Zealand Curriculum* (2007), these were identified as policies, or statements of intent. Their place and purpose within education legislation is to provide current guidance for schools in the areas of educational achievement and educational administration.

On reflection, references to biculturalism that initially seemed tokenistic and ambiguous were identified as statements of policy and strategy. Therefore, the purpose of these statements was to act as indicators of content and context, from a *philosophical* framework, as opposed to directives of application and implementation in a *practical* framework.

This revelation suggested that initial assumptions of tokenism may be unfounded, if the indicative statements in the policies and strategies were supported by tangible directives elsewhere. I was therefore guided to look into 'procedures' and 'initiatives' in an attempt to uncover bicultural references that were more authentic than tokenistic. For me, authenticity required that statements provide an element of accountability, as well as clear directives of how schools and teachers were expected to address biculturalism. To find the practical directives I referred back to the procedural documents of the *School Planning and Reporting Checklist* as well as the Registered Teacher Criteria. I also consulted with *Tataiako* (MoE, 2011) as the initiative that informed the intents of *Ka Hikitia* (MoE, 2009).

The *School Planning and Reporting Checklist* contained two references to biculturalism, providing guidance on the effective implementation of NEG 9, NEG 10, NAG 1(e) and NAG 2(c):

Planning (Charter) 1:

[T]he aim of developing, for the school, policies and practices that reflect New Zealand's cultural diversity and the unique position of the Māori culture (MoE, 2013).

Planning (Charter) 2:

[T]he aim of ensuring all reasonable steps are taken to provide instruction in tikanga Māori (Māori culture) and te reo Māori (Māori language) for full-time students whose parents ask for it (MoE, 2013).

Critical review of *Tataiako* (2011) took into account the document as a whole, as opposed to isolated statements relevant to biculturalism. As an initiative that underpinned *Ka Hikitia*, the Māori Education Strategy (2008), the aim of *Tataiako* was to support teachers of Māori learners. The structure of this document set out directives that were more overt than in other policies. In addition to aligning with statements from the Registered Teachers Policy (NZTC, 2012) *Tataiako* provides exemplars of what success will look like, from both student and whanau perspectives, labelled under 'learner voice' and 'whanau voice'.

Wānanga	
Participates with learners and communities in robust dialogue for the benefit of Māori learners and achievement	
Outcomes: Examples of learner voice	**Outcomes: Examples of Whanau voice**
My teacher … • Talks with me about my learning • Wants my parents, whānau, hapū, iwi and the community to have a say and makes it possible • Listens to my views and those of my peers • Shares their views with me and my peers • Cares about what we think • Shares good news (and the not so good) with my parents and whānau • Hears what my parents, whānau, hapū, iwi and community say, expect and want.	• Māori parents, whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities are key stakeholders in the school/ECE service • Our preferences are determining the kind of engagement we have with the school/ECE service. • We can engage with staff and the school/centre on our own terms and in our own way. • As parents and whānau, we are well informed, feel confident and are part of what our children are doing at school. • Our knowledge and perspectives are well respected, highly valued and fully integrated in ways that benefit our children's education.

Figure 6. Exemplars of Wānanga in *Tataiako*

While *Tataiako* provided the clearest indicators of what bicultural outcomes should look like, it still lacked the directives of how to teach in a biculturally appropriate way. I also questioned whether this initiative could be defined as one that promoted biculturalism, as the document is aimed at Māori learners. One could argue that the outcomes expressed in *Tataiako* could be applied to all learners in culturally relevant ways, following the often-espoused philosophy of 'what is good for Māori is good for all' (Ferguson & Ferguson, 2010, p. 10). As an underpinning document of the Māori Education Strategy the focus is, however, undeniably Māori. It is a document that supports the second purpose of biculturalism in today's educational policies, in an attempt to redress the educational underachievement of Māori. If this alone provided the only overt indicators of biculturalism in practice, then the danger is that teachers view biculturalism and the Treaty as applicable to Māori only, rather than relevant to all in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Criticisms of biculturalism in curriculum and practice

The ambiguity of Treaty references and bicultural directives may have been symptomatic of the 2007 curriculum, judging by reaction to the draft document released in 2006. According to a report released in February 2007, a key implication highlighted educators' concern that the "main objection to the overall intent and direction of the document is that it is too vague, too open to interpretation, and doesn't specify what is compulsory" (Doig, 2007, p. 7). These concerns did not apply to Treaty references, because those relevant to the Treaty and biculturalism had been removed from the 2006 draft document, despite the fact that the previous curriculum had recognised the Treaty within its nine guiding principles (Tomlins-Jahnke & Warren, 2011). Other shifts in bicultural ideals were notable. The draft failed to recognise either te reo Māori or New Zealand Sign Language as official languages of this country. Furthermore, it specified that the Māori language was relevant only to those students who identify as Māori, as opposed to all Aotearoa-New Zealand school children. When questioned on these changes, Steve Maharey, then Minister of Education, denied that the Treaty had been removed, saying that it would be embedded in a Māori version of the curriculum the following year (Tomlins-Jahnke & Warren, 2011). This admission, alongside the treatment of the Māori language, reinforced the government's perception that the Treaty was relevant and applicable to Māori only.

Feedback on this issue was almost unanimous. The Human Rights Commission recommended that, at the minimum, the Treaty be reinstated. This was also the first substantive recommendation provided by Doig's (2007) report to the Ministry of Education. Another submission made by Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa stated:

> Our Rūnanga is concerned with the overall impression regarding the importance of the Treaty and Māori culture given by the "New Zealand Curriculum: Draft for consultation 2006" … In both obvious and subtle ways the Draft (and by association, the Ministry of Education and the Crown) devalues the significance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/ the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding document of this nation, not only in constitutional terms but also in terms of our social, cultural and historical heritage (Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa, 2006, p. 2).

Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa's view was representative of the majority of iwi groups. The concerted effort of Māori leaders, educational organisations and individuals served to force the Ministry to rethink its position. Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi was reinstated as one principle of *The New Zealand Curriculum*, in time for its release in July 2007, only five months after the report Impact of the Feedback on the Final Curriculum (2007) was published.

Three years after the release of the curriculum the Education Review Office [ERO] conducted an initial evaluation of its principles, with a focus on effective implementation by schools. Its investigation asked:

1. To what extent are the principles of *The New Zealand Curriculum* evident in the interpretation and implementation of schools' curricula?
2. To what extent are the principles of *The New Zealand Curriculum* enacted in classroom curricula?
3. To what extent do schools' systems and self-review processes guide, inform and support teachers to inquire into their practice?

In its findings, ERO reported that the Treaty of Waitangi ranked as the least evident principle across all schools' curricula, and found that it was not evident at all in some of these schools. According to ERO, "schools still need

to strategically address, through the curriculum, the Treaty of Waitangi principle." (Education Review Office [ERO], 2011, p. 2)

ERO found that this principle was least evident in schools where a Māori perspective or world view was not visible. At these schools there were minimal opportunities for students to learn te reo me ōna tikanga Māori, and the environment did not adequately celebrate aspects of Māori culture. ERO noted these schools lacked an understanding of the Treaty and its implications for school policy, organisation and planning. Most evident was the confusion between the principle of the Treaty of Waitangi and the principle of cultural diversity. In this situation, schools addressed multiculturalism as the same construct as biculturalism, only on a wider scale.

ERO's report was even more damning at a classroom level, where the principle of the Treaty was the least evident principle in nearly half of all schools, and was not evident at all in a further quarter of them. Whilst these teachers "generally understood the role the principles could potentially play in the process of curriculum review and development … enactment in these classrooms, however, lacked the purposeful application noted in classrooms where enactment was high (p. 21). This was attributed to teachers not having a clear understanding of the principles thus they were not included in planning.

ERO recommended that schools work towards gaining:

> [A] comprehensive view of the implications of the Treaty of Waitangi for school policy and practice. It would also be useful for schools to develop their understanding about the nature of the Treaty of Waitangi and cultural diversity principles, including the distinction between the two principles. Examples of how each of the principles can be aligned with curriculum planning and incorporated into it, would also be beneficial to school leaders and teachers (p. 19).

ERO made further recommendations for the Ministry to support school leaders and teachers to develop deeper understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi principle. They indicated the need to strengthen communication and understanding of policy filtering down from the Ministry of Education, through to school leaders and classroom teachers. This was considered a necessity if teachers were to develop a comprehensive understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi and promote it more effectively in the classroom. This indicated that clearer guidelines and statements of policy from the Ministry were necessary.

The language of biculturalism in government literature: Comparison with National Standards

The continued lack of explicit directives across the literature made me pause and question the language of other educational policies in Aotearoa-New Zealand. As a consequence, I examined the policy of National Standards as a comparison to biculturalism, to gauge any similarities or differences in clarity.

National Standards (MoE, 2010) comprise one of the five National Educational Guidelines (Education Act, 1989;s. 60(a)). The standards outline targets through which all children in Aotearoa-New Zealand are measured as they progress through primary school. Reporting of the standards to parents is a compulsory procedure. National Standards commenced in 2010, under controversial circumstances. Many school principals, teachers and academics were, and are still, opposed to them (Thrupp, Hattie, Crooks & Flockton, 2009), largely due to the hurried timeframe in which schools were expected to implement them, and a lack of rigour behind the definition of each standard.

The National Standards policy contains the following directives:

> All school charters **must include** National Standards and/or Ngā Whanaketanga Rumaki Māori targets. [Sample] School **will be required to explicitly state** National Standards targets in its charter and later report against these targets in the context of its analysis of variance and annual reporting (MoE, 2010).

> Where a school has students enrolled in years 1–8, the board of trustees, with the principal and teaching staff, **is required to … use** Ngā Whanaketanga Rumaki Māori and/or National Standards … (ibid).

> Reporting to parents in plain language in writing **must occur at least twice a year** (ibid).

> **[R]eport to the Secretary for Education by** 1 March school-level data on Ngā Whanaketanga Rumaki Māori and/or National Standards (ibid).

	Biculturalism	National Standards
School obligations	Demonstrate commitment to…	… will be required to explicitly state …
Teachers obligations	Work effectively within …	… is required to …
School Charters	Aim to ensuring all reasonable steps …	School Charters must include …

Figure 7. The language of biculturalism compared to the language of National Standards

In comparison to bicultural references in the literature, the language of National Standards is clear and precise. This highlighted another issue. Data collection and reporting is central to the policy of National Standards, providing a built-in system of monitoring and accountability. In comparison, teachers are not accountable to the Ministry of Education in reporting bicultural mandates. Likewise, no data on bicultural obligations is collected at any level of the education system, making monitoring difficult. Perhaps this is due to the qualitative nature of the bicultural imperatives which, compared to quantifiable methods, present more challenges in using data to track accountability. This issue gave the research significance, particularly regarding the data collected.

The clarity in which the obligations of National Standards were communicated was grounded in the fact that National Standards were set apart as a distinctive policy on its own. By comparison, biculturalism had been infused into other policies, with no clear position of its own. Instead, biculturalism is 'reflected' in the literature, an add-on often mentioned in the same breath as multiculturalism. The result is that bicultural guidelines across the literature become so shallow that they are open to interpretation by schools and teachers alike, as opposed to policies like National Standards that do not leave schools 'guessing' as to what their obligations are. This interpretative nature gives schools leeway around how they honour Aotearoa-New Zealand's bicultural foundations, and the purposes of biculturalism, albeit with little in the way of monitoring and accountability.

Reviewing the literature: Personal reflection

My review of the literature, prior to embarking on the research, highlighted the government's intent to honour the Treaty, with a particular commitment to Māori achievement. This message of commitment was presented in the documents, albeit briefly in places. What the literature consistently failed to produce was firm guidelines as to how schools, as agents of government policies, can or should deliver on this promise. This lack of guidance was a factor that informed the data collection. It also alerted me to the effects of the lack of monitoring or accountability of schools, which appeared to further undermine the State's commitment to the Treaty. Whilst teachers are held to the standards as set out by the NZTC, these are internally assessed within schools, and therefore schools can decide themselves what attainment of bicultural inclusiveness may look like. Beyond the self-monitored teacher standards, and the requirement to produce a school charter that reflects a commitment to the Treaty, there seemed to be little compulsion to act on Treaty policies.

A strong link between addressing Māori underachievement in education and honouring the Treaty heightens the potential for confusing the intent of biculturalism for all with biculturalism for Māori only. This thinking uses biculturalism to support its response to Māori as a deficit partner, as opposed to promoting understanding of both cultures to all children who are at school in this country. Perhaps this is to be expected, when the government's own literature situates these two completely different constructs in the same sentence, with statements such as "… reflect New Zealand's cultural diversity and the unique position of the Māori culture" (MoE, 2013, p. 1).

The removal of Treaty references in 2006, following fears of 'Māori privilege' generated by Brash's Orewa Speech (2004) is a reminder of the underlying agendas of politics reflecting the ideology of the dominant group. In this respect, May (1993) corroborates that "[documents] are approached in terms of the cultural context in which they were written and may be viewed as attempts at persuasion" (p. 139). In this case, perhaps it is not the intention of policy to dictate directives for teaching but rather to allow interpretation of intentions to best fit each school setting.

It seemed that the nature of teachers is to look for security in explicit directives, as I had done in reviewing the literature. As a mainstream primary teacher, this was certainly true in my own classroom experience. Had I received (and perceived) greater clarity on how I was expected to implement bicultural imperatives in my practice, it is likely that I would have developed a stronger bicultural pedagogy. The lack of monitoring in this particular area also enabled me to 'opt-out'. These musings, and the literature on the nature of biculturalism in Aotearoa-New Zealand, were to find substance in the research findings reported in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Ka mate kāinga tahi, ka ora kāinga rua.   Tūs maith leath na hoibre.

There is more than one way to achieve an objective.   A good start is half the work.

4.1 Initial considerations

Given the historically capricious nature of race relations in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and the emotions this subject can evoke, the topic of biculturalism was identified and acknowledged as a sensitive subject from the outset of the research. I was fully aware that this construct would evoke a range of subjective (and sometime emotional) viewpoints given the array of participants' perspectives, worldviews and experiences. I was exploring an issue that could be polarising and deeply personal. In her research on biculturalism in secondary school art, Smith (2001) reinforced this view:

> Biculturalism involves private and personal convictions, responses and reactions of participants in different roles and of different social and ethnic orientation. It also involves commitment, reflection or apathy in respect of 'politically correct' interpretations (p. 41).

In order to navigate these issues carefully, thoughtful consideration was given to the theoretical framework underpinning the methodology and methods that would be employed.

Recognising ethical conflicts

A number of questions that highlighted this sensitivity were raised before embarking on the research. Firstly was the influence I may have on the research, as a Māori/Pākehā primary school teacher. This led me to contemplate the following questions: How would non-Māori participants respond to research questions concerning bicultural understanding and practices asked by a part-Māori researcher? Equally, how would Māori participants respond, knowing (or assuming) that the researcher was Pākehā? Disclosing this information heightened the risk of researcher bias (Punch, 2005). It was possible that participants might be influenced to either opt-in or opt-out of the research if they assumed my position on the subject, based on any implied links to heritage and experience in the classroom. I needed to ensure that I could elicit honest and accurate answers without bicultural background, or experience as a primary teacher, having an influence on their responses. This had a significant influence on the decisions made regarding the research design and methodology. Providing a platform where participants could answer openly and honestly, whilst protected from the risk of exposure of their identity, became an ethical issue of paramount importance to me.

On the other hand, the need for face-to-face interviews was recognised and considered. It was anticipated that meeting interviewees would enable a greater depth of exploration and understanding of the issues that I identified at an early stage as being important to the research. However, in using face-to-face interviews, disclosure of my ethnicity could not be avoided. Weighing up the opposing issues regarding methodology and researcher bias became another ethical consideration.

4.2   The theoretical framework

The theoretical framework underpinning the research, and the methodology and methods employed were, therefore, influenced by the nature of the research question and the ethical conflicts inherent in it. Together, these factors informed the decision to engage in a mixed methodology approach, using both quantitative and qualitative measures. As Firestone (1987) contends, "the ideal quantitative researcher is detached to avoid bias, while the qualitative researcher becomes "immersed" in the phenomenon of interest" (p. 17). In addition, Punch (2005) maintains that quantitative research assumes there are social facts with an objective reality, while qualitative research recognises that reality is socially constructed through experiences, values and interactions. These presumptions, when aligned with concerns regarding the dichotomy of researcher bias versus the need to gather a range of reliable and valid data, underpinned the decision to engage in a mixed methodology approach. This allowed for utilisation of quantitative methods to reduce researcher bias, followed by qualitative methods to investigate, in greater depth, any bicultural issues raised through the empirical data.

This decision mirrored the duality that infused the research throughout, from the over-arching topic of bi-culturalism as its focus, through to myself as a bi-cultural Pākehā-Māori researcher. It seemed fitting then to conduct the research through a two-pronged approach that mixed methodologies affords. This approach enabled Phase I (online survey questionnaire) to be grounded in Western, positivist research philosophy, while Phase II (semi-structured interviews) sanctioned a more interpretative, social perspective of research.

Designing the research

For quantitative data collection in Phase I, an online survey questionnaire was employed as the preferred method for making an initial exploration into biculturalism. Using an online platform, as opposed to face-to-face, provided the opportunity for anonymous submissions, and allowed for non-disclosure of my ethnicity as the researcher, thus reducing the effect of researcher bias. An online survey questionnaire was also a practical and cost-effective method for enabling participation from a large sample across the entire country. The quantitative phase was also employed to enable inductive analysis, specifically by uncovering underlying issues in Phase I that could be addressed in the qualitative Phase II stage (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, cited in Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006).

Semi-structured interviews were used for qualitative data collection in Phase II as they allowed for a face-to-face conversation around four open-ended questions. The interviews took place at each participant's school, in a location or room of their choosing. The intention was to ensure the interviews took place in a 'natural' setting, as endorsed by Punch (2005) and Longhurst (2010).

4.3   Sampling

Since this research was situated in mainstream primary schools in Aotearoa-New Zealand teachers within this context made up the target population (Punch, 2005). Because the initial methods of research were quantitative it followed that the initial sampling for Phase I would abide by positivist, Western processes that govern quantitative research. To ensure representativeness, random sampling was necessary. To achieve this an elaborate method of selection was undertaken.

Initial attempts to acquire a random sample involved selecting a letter of the alphabet, and securing the list of primary schools in each district of Aotearoa-New Zealand[6] (as designated by the Ministry of Education website) whose names started with that letter. Next, staff lists from each school were obtained from school websites, with two teachers selected from each school. Their surnames were the same as, or closest to, the initial random letter used to locate schools. A formal introductory email (see Appendix A) was then sent to the principal of the schools, requesting permission to approach the two potential participates, also via email. The justification for this complex approach was to reduce self-selection bias. Bias was also considered in the introductory email sent to principals, as the formal tone of the email avoided disclosure of ethnicity information about me, as the researcher. In an effort to gain a substantial number of participants this approach was used several times with different letters of the alphabet. Although the process aligned with research theory, it was time consuming and produced disappointing results. Having approached over eighty schools in six weeks, I had only secured six participants!

After reflecting on this poor 'hit rate' I came to the realisation that to successfully attract participants the approach needed reconsidering. A decision was made to shift my positioning in the introductory email, away from that of a neutral, detached researcher, as endorsed by positivist frameworks. Instead, I used a more open, informal approach, with full disclosure of my duel Māori and Pākehā heritages, and experiences as a primary school teacher. In addition, I shared my own failings in meeting the bicultural mandates of *The New Zealand Curriculum* document (see Appendix B).

The way schools were selected was also reconsidered. To this end, Education Counts (MoE, 2012), the website which provides a database of all schools in Aotearoa-New Zealand, was used. For cohort A, I removed all non-mainstream schools from the spreadsheet, as well as all schools outside of Auckland. The eligible schools that remained were then randomised using computer software. This provided a complete list of all eligible mainstream primary schools in Auckland, in a completely random order. The first two hundred schools from this list were then emailed the revised introductory approach. The change of approach elicited immediate success. Within four weeks over thirty schools in cohort A had responded favourably. Due to its success this system was repeated to secure participants in cohort B, schools outside Auckland. After three months the online survey was closed to new participants, having secured a total of 163 participants from 75 schools nationwide, all of whom were immediately sent a consent form and participant information sheets (see Appendix C).

For Phase II, the change in methodology required a different type of sampling. While the objective for the quantitative phase was to obtain a large random sample across the target group, the sample group in the qualitative phase was smaller and purposively selected (Punch, 2005). Ten teachers were purposively selected and invited to participate in Phase II, based on their responses in the Phase I online questionnaire.

The responses of these ten teachers were isolated and crosschecked with permission slips to locate their schools. In doing so, I discovered that those selected were located in five schools only. Three of the ten teachers who showed a similar set of responses (highly motivated bicultural practitioners with several 'success indicators') all taught in the same school. Similarly, another three teachers who submitted a similar set of responses (highly motivated bicultural practitioners who had encountered several 'barriers') also came from the

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[6] With the exclusion of Stewart Island the Chatham Islands. Initially it was intended to include Christchurch schools but this was reconsidered in the aftermath of the 2011 earthquake.

same school. I took this as an indication of general trends across a school, and became even more intrigued to investigate these settings.

A follow-up email (see Appendix D) was then sent to the school principals, again requesting permission for participation. Once access had been granted the ten teachers were interviewed at their school. Apart from sourcing the location and the address of the school, I deliberately avoided seeking further demographic information about the school so as to not influence any assumptions I may have made.

4.4   Collecting empirical data: Phase I

Once issues of bias had been addressed (through a mixed-methodology approach), design of this research proceeded with identifying what I wanted to find out. I returned to my three initial questions:

a) What are some issues and influences for teachers regarding biculturalism in terms of their understanding and practice?
b) What are teachers' understandings of biculturalism as it is stated in educational policy?
c) How are teachers motivated to engage in a bicultural practice?

These questions influenced the mode through which they could be posed, answered and quantified.

Demographics

Section A of Phase I was designed to collect demographic information about the participants to ascertain whether this had an influence on teacher participants' views of biculturalism and, consequently, on their bicultural practice. The information sought included teachers' gender, ethnicity, place of birth (whether Aotearoa-New Zealand or overseas), and where their teacher training took place.

The data on ethnicity was also sought to address my assumption (see Chapter One) that Māori teachers had an advantage over non-Māori teachers in implementing biculturalism in practice. Ethnicity was used as a cross-reference to responses further into the survey.

Another variable I identified as possibly having an impact on biculturalism in practice was the effect of teacher training. My assumption was that teachers prepared for teaching in Aotearoa-New Zealand would have an advantage over those trained overseas, thus data was collected to prove or disprove that assumption. In hindsight, the question failed to consider when teacher training took place, as bicultural training for teachers only began in the 1990s in Aotearoa-New Zealand (Partington, 1997). Neither was the depth and quality of such teacher training considered.

These demographic concerns were addressed through the questions posed in Section A of Phase I (see Appendix E). Question A2 also gave participants the opportunity to select a pseudonym as a means of protecting their identity.

Success indicators and barriers

Section B was designed to address Question 1, 'What are some issues and influences for teachers regarding biculturalism in terms of their understanding and practice?' For empirical data collection, this question was deconstructed and reinterpreted as two relationship-based research questions with the intention of uncovering both success indicators and barriers to the use of te reo and tikanga Māori in the classroom. Question B1 asked:

'What factors contribute to your confidence in your use of Māori language and culture in the classroom?' Participants were invited to select factors from a pre-identified list. Additionally, they could identify their own success indicators, or reject all success indicators. Similarly, Question B2 asked: 'What barriers inhibit your confidence in your use of Māori language and culture in the classroom?' Again, a pre-identified list of barriers was presented for participant self-selection (see Appendix E). This provided quantifiable data for later analysis, and uncovered issues at a surface level that could be explored further through interviews.

Bicultural understandings

Section C of Phase I was designed to address Question 2, 'What are teachers' understandings of biculturalism as it is stated in educational policy?' Question 2 was identified as being measurable along a continuum, in fitting with the quantitative approach. By aligning the continuum with the self-selected degree of confidence in relation to the construct of understanding biculturalism as stated in educational policy, each response could be measured. Thus, Question 2 was reinterpreted into five quantifying statements:

C1: I am confident in my understanding of biculturalism as it is expressed in the Treaty of Waitangi

C2: I am confident that my understanding of biculturalism (as it is expressed in *The New Zealand Curriculum* document) fits into my classroom practice

C3: The aim of biculturalism is to raise achievement in Māori learners

C4: Biculturalism in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is more for Māori children than non-Māori children

C5: Biculturalism in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is all children in New Zealand schools

A Likert Scale, from one to five, was then employed to measure the degree to which participants agreed or disagreed with each statement, with one equating to strongly agree and five equating to strongly disagree.

Questions C1 & C2 directly addressed participants' knowledge and understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi, through both the Treaty itself and through its' application to teachers via *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007).

Questions C3, C4 & C5 were included to test some further questions I had, based on my experiences as a primary teacher. Throughout my years working within the mainstream primary school system, I had heard numerous comments from teachers regarding the relevance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi in their classroom. Common sentiments included the declaration that teachers 'didn't need to worry' about using te reo and tikanga Māori in their classroom as they had no Māori pupils. Another response often noted was the idea that using te reo and tikanga Māori in the classroom was a way of addressing Māori underachievement in education, the implication being that if Māori students were achieving then the use of Māori language in the classroom was rendered moot. On numerous occasions I also saw biculturalism ignored at the expense of multiculturalism. These experiences influenced my decision to construct and include Questions C3, C4 & C5, in an attempt to examine how prevalent my experiences were (see Appendix E).

4.5   Semi-structured interviews: Phase II

In Phase I, quantitative data had been collected around the following issues:

- Success indicators and barriers to biculturalism
- Teachers' motivation for engaging a bicultural practice
- Teachers' understanding of biculturalism in practice

Analysis of this data motivated me to investigate, in Phase II, the first two points in greater depth. This focus guided towards responses that firstly showed:

(i) a high motivation for engaging in a bicultural practice, and

(ii) success in engaging in a bicultural practice, or

(iii) barriers to engaging a bicultural practice, or

(iv) both ii & iii

Criteria for selection for the Phase II interviews necessitated having highly motivated participants as my intention was to uncover the causes of that motivation, and to discover whether it could be replicated in multiple contexts. As with success indicators, my interest was in discovering replicable traits that could be adapted in other schools. Finally, I chose to focus on barriers to biculturalism, as I was curious to see how teachers maintained their motivation while encountering obstacles.

At the semi-structured interviews four open-ended questions guided the conversations (see Appendix F):

1. What are the ways in which you feel either obligated or motivated to use te reo and/or tikanga Māori in your classroom practice?

2. What professional development have you undertaken in order to support your use of te reo and/or tikanga Māori in your classroom practice?

3. How does your school (and its community) support you in your use of te reo and/or tikanga Māori in your practice?

4. How does your school (and its community) inhibit you in your use of te reo and/or tikanga Māori in your practice?

All interviews were audio-recorded, with the permission of each participant. Although I made notes simultaneously, I entered the interviews mindful of the advice of Kruger & Casey (as cited in Longhurst, 2010), who state that an important part of the semi-structured interview is:

> [A]bout listening. It is about paying attention. It is about being open to hear what people have to say. It is about being non-judgemental. It is about creating a comfortable environment for people to share. It is about being careful and systematic with the things people tell you (as cited in Longhurst, 2010, p. xi).

4.6   Analysis of the data

Miles and Huberman (1994, as cited in Punch, 2005) outline a three-step process for data analysis, which they label data reduction, data display, and drawing and verifying conclusions. Similarly, Castro, Kellison, Boyd and Kopak (2010) outline a comprehensive, six-step process for mixed methodology research, which they name as design, collection, conversion, analysis, interpretation and integration. At stage three (conversion), quantitative

data is handled via coding and/or scaling while qualitative data is transcribed, translated and/or thematically categorised. Stage four involves descriptive analysis (quantitative) versus content analysis (qualitative).

Both of these approaches were adapted and used to varying degrees in the data analysis stage of the research. In analysing the quantitative survey data, data was reduced and displayed most frequently in graph form, so that each variable could be compared and inferences drawn. In the qualitative phase, once data was transcribed it was then categorised across the ten interviews and reoccurring themes identified. These themes included teacher disposition, content knowledge and professional development (see Figure 24). Commonality of responses under each theme pointed to conclusions that were used to infer different styles of bicultural teaching practice, and the success or otherwise of each style. This followed the content analysis of stage four in the process prescribed by Castro et al. (2010). Under the same process, interpretations of both quantitative and qualitative data led me to the conclusions and recommendations reported in Chapters six and seven.

The importance of the research design was clear to me from the outset, as I was mindful of the sensitive nature of the topic and the inherent biases associated with it. Throughout the research I was cautious about treating participants' views with respect, and so was motivated to design the research in a way that allowed thoughtful input from teachers while protecting their identity and respecting their responses. These concerns drove the research design and influenced my decisions regarding the data collection. Respect for participants' contributions also underpinned the reporting of the findings, as recorded in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: WAYS OF BRINGING BICULTURALISM INTO THE CLASSROOM

Nau te rourou, naku te rourou, ka ora i te iwi.   Ni neart go cur le chēile.

With your contribution, and my contribution,   There is no strength without cooperation.
we are sustained.

Findings

5.1   Introduction

The empirical dimension of this study was motivated by a desire to investigate teachers' understanding and implementation of the bicultural mandate of educational policy, founded in Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi, in primary school classrooms in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The specific aim was to examine knowledge and understanding of the Treaty in educational policy and how this translated into pedagogical practices. This chapter reports on the findings from the data collected through the Phase I online survey questionnaire completed voluntarily by 163 participants nation-wide. It articulates the findings of in-depth interviews conducted in Phase II with 10 teachers who were purposively selected across the regions on the basis of their questionnaire responses.

5.2   Overview of Phase I: Online survey questionnaire

The first phase of data collection invited primary school teachers, currently practising in mainstream schools, to complete an online survey questionnaire. Their responses provided predominantly quantitative, but also some qualitative data (see Appendix E). This data was collected in two cycles from cohorts A and B, the first targeting schools in Auckland, Aotearoa-New Zealand's largest city. The second cycle focussed on a range of schools outside the Auckland area and included a number in rural settings. Comparison of the two cohorts provided evidence of regional variance.

Purpose of the survey questionnaire

The starting point for the research was based around some overarching questions I had regarding teachers' understanding of biculturalism and what this looked like in classroom practice. Embedded in these questions were my assumptions on bicultural teaching, which were to be tested in phase I of data collection. The purpose of the online questionnaire was to:

1. Sample a large group to test the assumptions that I held before embarking on this research
2. Identify trends in the sample population that may be applied to the target population
3. Uncover any new issues I may not have anticipated
4. Provide a foundation of evidence for issues that could be examined in greater depth during the interview stage.

5.3   Responses to the online survey questionnaire

5.3.1   Questionnaire Section A: Identifiers

Types of schools

In the Auckland region 47 schools agreed to have one, some, or all their teaching staff complete the online questionnaire. Of these schools, 33 (70%) were contributing primary schools (teaching from year one to year six), 10 (21%) were full primary (year one to eight) and four (9%) were intermediate schools (years seven and eight only). Subsequently, 82 individual responses from these 47 schools were received.
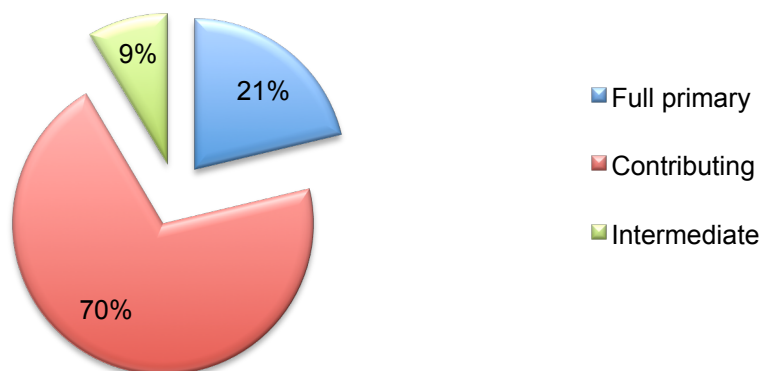
Figure 8. Type of school: Auckland

Of these 47 schools the majority were decile[7] 10 (12 out of 47 schools, 26% of schools). Decile nine made up 11% of all schools, deciles one and seven each accounted for 13% of schools, while 15% were decile eight. Deciles two through six had the lowest representation.
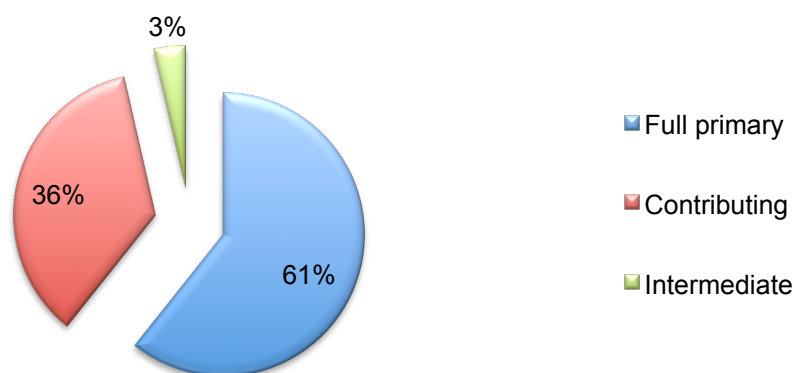
Figure 9. Type of school: Rest of New Zealand

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[7] The New Zealand education system uses the socio-economic measure of decile ratings to rank all state schools. The decile rating is a measure from one to 10, one being the lowest rank, reflecting 10% of all state schools with the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities. A decile 10 school reflects 10% of all state schools with the lowest proportion of students (MoE, 2011).

Although a smaller number of schools from outside Auckland responded to the invitation, a similar number of teachers participated in the research. From a total of 28 schools, 81 teachers from cohort B recorded their responses.

Cohort B attracted a more equal spread across the deciles. The only anomaly was the absence of decile nine schools. Each of the remaining deciles drew between two and four responses, with the exception of decile eight, which had six replies.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Auckland	6	2	4	2	2	1	6	7	5	12
Rest of NZ	2	3	2	2	2	3	4	6	0	4
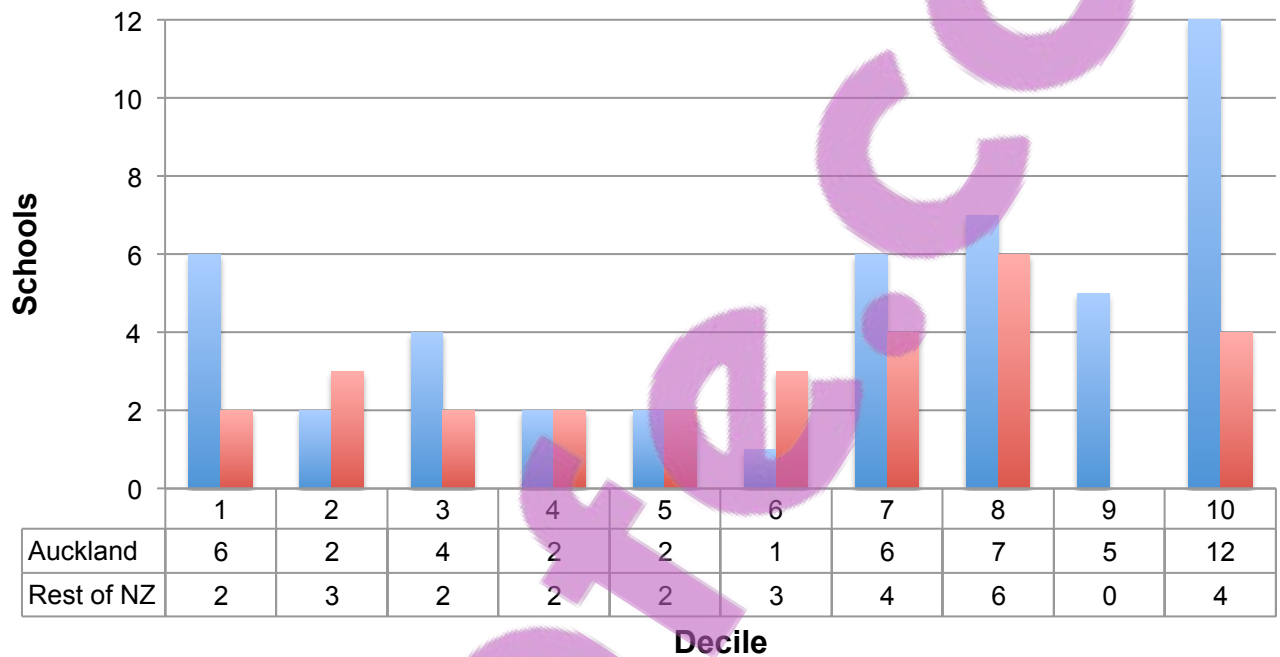
Decile

Figure 10. Decile ratings of cohort A and cohort B schools

Teacher Ethnicity

In order to test the assumption that Māori teachers may have an advantage over non-Māori in using te reo and tikanga Māori in their class, teachers were asked to disclose their ethnicity or ethnicities. In Auckland, just over half the sample (57%) identified as New Zealand European or Pākehā and 14% as Māori. The 12% who identified as other European defined themselves as British, Irish, Welsh, Celtic, Cornish, German and English. Pacific Island teachers represented 9% of the sample and included Fijian-Indian, German-Samoan, Cook Island, Niue and Samoan. Figure 11 shows the overall sample of ethnic identity from Auckland schools.
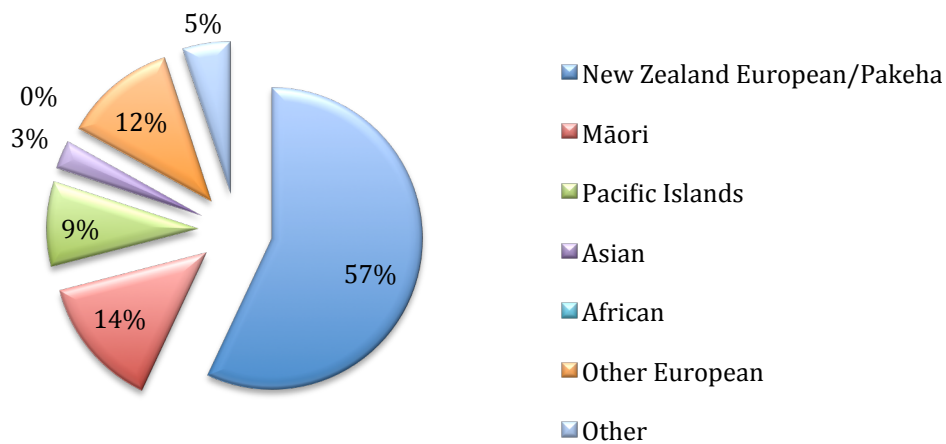
Figure 11. Ethnicity of teachers: Cohort A, Auckland schools

In cohort B, the majority of 71 teachers (78%) identified as New Zealand European/Pākehā, nine (10%) as Māori, and six (7)% as Pacific Islands, including Niuean and Samoan. Three teachers claimed other European heritage, namely British, Polish and Dutch respectively. Only one teacher identified as African of Zimbabwean origin, while no teachers were of Asian origin. Figure 12 shows the overall sample of ethnic identity from cohort B schools.

To test the assumption that New Zealand-trained teachers have an advantage in bicultural teaching knowledge and practices over non-New Zealand trained teachers participants were asked to disclose their country of birth and the country in which they completed their teacher training.
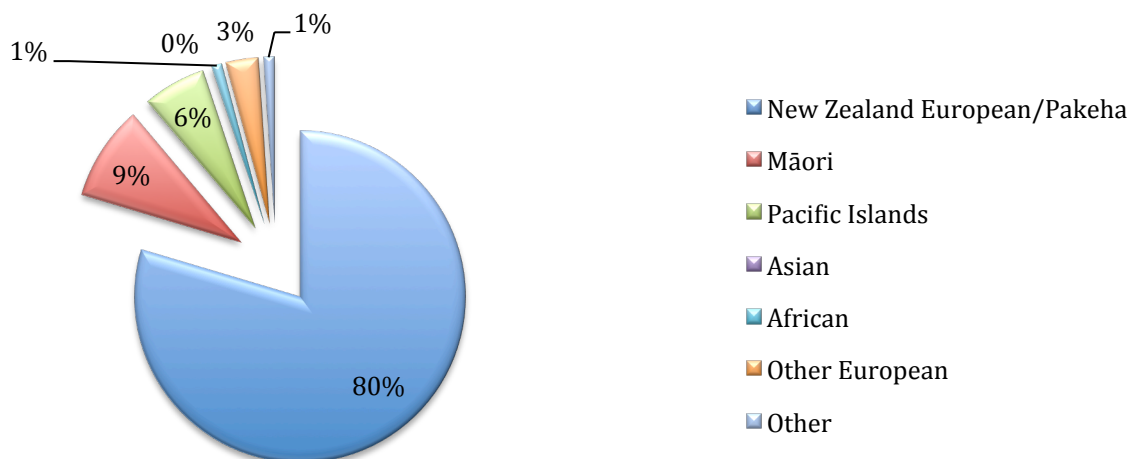
Figure 12. Ethnicity of teachers: Cohort B, the rest of Aotearoa-New Zealand

Of the Auckland teachers, 72% (59 teachers) were born in New Zealand while 28% (23 teachers) were born overseas. Overseas countries identified included Hong Kong, Fiji, Northern Ireland, United Kingdom, Malaysia, South Africa, United States, Germany, India, Scotland and Australia. Just over half the teachers born overseas had completed teacher training in New Zealand. A total of 11 teachers qualified overseas at institutions in Northern Ireland, Fiji, United Kingdom, United States, India, South Africa and Australia.
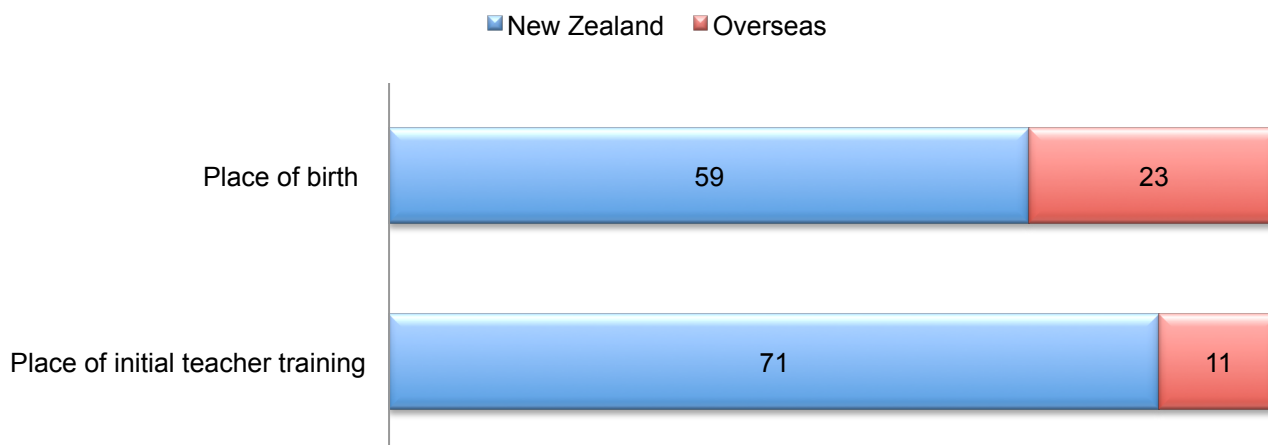
Figure 13. Birthplace and country of initial teacher training: Cohort A, Auckland schools

In cohort B, 73 teachers (90%) were born in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The remaining eight teachers (10%) named Samoa, England, Poland, Zimbabwe, Australia and the Netherlands as their country of birth. Of the total sample, 78 teachers (96%) trained in Aotearoa-New Zealand while only 4% (3 teachers) were trained overseas, in England, South Africa and Australia.
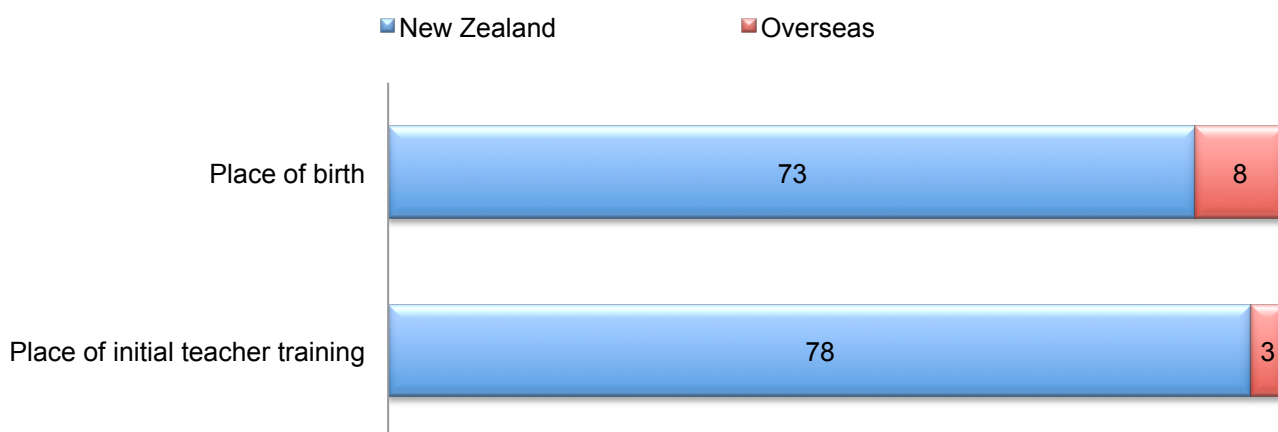
Figure 14. Birthplace and country of initial teacher training: Cohort B, Rest of Aotearoa-New Zealand

In terms of ethnicity, the greatest variance across the two cohorts was the number of teachers who identified as New Zealand European/Pākehā, 23% more in cohort B. This gain was made at the expense of all other

ethnicities, which had fewer teachers across the remaining categories. This increase was also reflected in the overwhelming majority of teachers from cohort B who trained in New Zealand, compared with cohort A.

The discrete variables collected from Section A were cross-referenced and analysed with teachers' responses regarding the variable of behaviour and knowledge in Sections B and C, providing empirical evidence to support or refute my underlying assumptions.

5.3.2   Questionnaire Section B – Classroom Practice

The second section of the survey questionnaire comprised two questions to gauge teachers' use of te reo and tikanga Māori in their classroom practice, as well as their attitude or disposition towards this. The aim of the first question, B1, 'What factors contribute to your confidence in your use of Māori language and culture in the classroom?' was to identify success indicators in implementing te reo and tikanga Māori in classroom practice. A list of statements was presented (a-g), outlining various examples that may influence successful bicultural teaching practice from which participants could choose:

a)   I am a native/fluent Māori speaker

b)   I have had strong professional development in this area

c)   I have observed good role models/practitioners in this area

d)   I have a personal interest in te reo Māori and culture which translates to my practice

e)   Other

f)   I am not confident in my use of Māori language and culture in the classroom

g)   I do not use any Māori language and culture in the classroom

The regional variance across cohorts was negligible for question B1.a-g, as shown in Figure 15.

	a. I am a native/ fluent Māori speaker	b. I have had strong professional devlopment in this area	c. I have observed good role models/ practitioners in this area	d. I have a personal interest in te reo Māori and culture which translates to my practice	e. Other	f. I am not confident in my use of Māori language and culture in the classroom	g. I do not use any Māori language and culture in my practice
Auckland	4	15	27	38	11	31	1
Rest of NZ	0	16	22	37	12	38	1

Figure 15. Question B1.a-g: Factors contributing to teacher confidence in using Māori language and culture in the classroom

Intrinsic motivations that contributed to success

Statements B1.a and B1.d have been classified by me as internal or intrinsic factors that teachers identified as contributing to their confidence in using te reo and tikanga Māori in the classroom. Cross-referencing intrinsic facto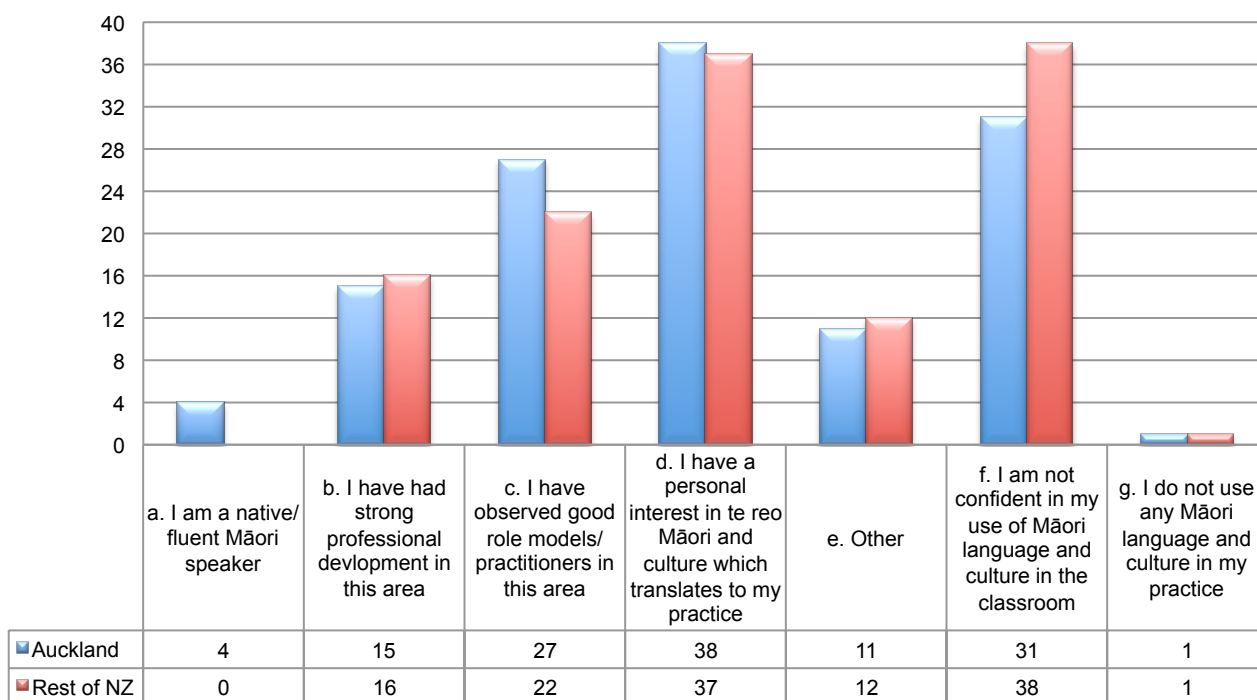rs with teacher ethnicity provided empirical evidence to align with the assumption that Māori teachers have an advantage over non-Māori teachers. Only four participants across both cohorts (3%) identified themselves as native or fluent speakers, and all four were either Māori or Māori/European. Having approximately one out of every six Māori teachers as fluent speakers suggested that my assumption, that Māori teachers have an advantage over non-Māori teachers, was flawed.

Statement B1.d, 'I have a strong personal interest in te reo Māori and culture which translates to my practice', had the greatest number of acknowledgements from teachers in both cohorts. From cohort A [A], 38 (30%) participants selected this option, and 37 (29%) from cohort B [B].

Stemming from her personal interest in te reo Māori and culture was Jo's [A] belief that "as we are teaching kiwi kids we need to teach them some te reo as their identity with Aotearoa." Tanya's [B] interest contributed to her confidence. She said, "I enjoy speaking any te reo that I understand. I also am confident enough to ask for help when I need help." A personal interest did not always lead to confidence. As Barb [B] stated "While I have a real interest and would like to be more confident, my teaching, however, is minimal." Responses to statement B1.d proved that ethnicity was irrelevant to having a personal interest in Māori language and culture. In cohort A, 25 New Zealand European/Pākehā, Pākehā/Māori, Pākehā Samoan or Pākehā/Australian cited an interest in Māori language and culture. Other ethnicities included Niuean/Samoan, Fijian Indian, English, Scottish, Indian, Māori/Cook Islands and Samoan. Cohort B was less diverse across its 37 respondents, as 33 were New Zealand European/Pākehā, Pākehā/Māori or Pākehā/Pasifika (Niuean). The remaining teachers included one Māori and three Samoan.

Further cross-referencing with other indicators found that the majority of these teachers (from both cohorts) were born and trained in Aotearoa-New Zealand. From the total of 75 teachers in this category only eight were born overseas, six of whom trained in this country. The remaining two completed their training in Fiji and Australia. Overall this intimated that while ethnicity may not be a compelling factor, initial teacher training programmes could have had an influence on teachers' confidence through developing a personal interest in Māori language and culture.

External factors that influence practice

The fact that only four teachers out of 163 respondents nationwide identified themselves as being fluent or native Māori speakers suggested that the overwhelming majority of teachers did not have the advantage of this valuable knowledge set in their practice. Instead, teachers had to seek support from outside influences. Hence, statements B1.b and B1.c have been classified as external factors contributing to confidence in using te reo and tikanga Māori in the classroom.

Regional variances between cohorts in statement two and three were minimal. From the Auckland schools surveyed, 15 teachers (12%) said they have had strong professional development [PD] in this area, compared to 16 teachers (13%) from cohort B. When asked to elaborate further a number of teachers credited Māori courses undertaken during teacher training. Amresh [A], a Fijian born teacher, said:

When I came to New Zealand 2002 I did a Bachelor of Teaching (Primary) at [a Māori tertiary institution] where I learned basic te reo Māori speaking, writing and tikanga Māori that has equipped me well before I started teaching here.

Others acknowledged the influence of professional development subsequent to qualifying. Maria [A], a New Zealand European/Māori teacher said, "I feel very confident with incorporating tikanga and te reo Māori into my classroom programme. I have been on a variety of professional development workshops and conferences over the years." Similarly, Paul [A], a New Zealand European teacher noted, "We had a fluent speaker taking/modelling lessons in class last year which we would then form our own lessons off and then receive feedback on."

Strong role models as an external influence on practice

Pertaining to response B1.c, 27 teachers (21%) from Auckland schools and 22 (17%) from cohort B acknowledged that they have observed good role models/strong practitioners in this area. Ken [A] attributed his confidence to "being exposed to te reo in media and by other teachers." Lara [A] recognised her teaching colleagues as her biggest influence, stating, "Our school has a strong Māori speaking principal. We have several bilingual and immersion classes with good strong teachers who are good role models for the rest of us."

Not confident in Māori language and culture

A combined total of 69 teachers described themselves as not confident in their use of Māori language and culture in the classroom, 31 (24%) from cohort A and 38 (30%) from cohort B. Two participants stated that they do not use any reo or tikanga Māori in their practice. Further investigation uncovered one as a teacher of English for Speakers of Other Languages who was, therefore, not under the same obligations as the mainstream classroom teachers whom this research targeted.

The teachers lacking confidence represented a diverse group, with 16 identifying as other ethnicities including British, Dutch, Polish, Samoan, American, Fiji Indian, German, Chinese, Scottish, Chinese-Samoan and Northern Irish. Of these teachers, two trained in the United States of America, one in Fiji, four in England and one in Northern Ireland. The remaining respondents included 49 New Zealand European/Pākehā, three Pākehā/Māori and one Māori. The fact that so many overseas born or trained teachers lacked confidence reinforced the initial suggestion that teacher-training programmes was an influence on teachers' confidence in Māori language and culture.

New Zealand European/Pākeha
Other European
Pākeha/Māori
Pacific Islands
America
Māori
Pakeha/British
Asian
Pākeha/Chinese/Samoan
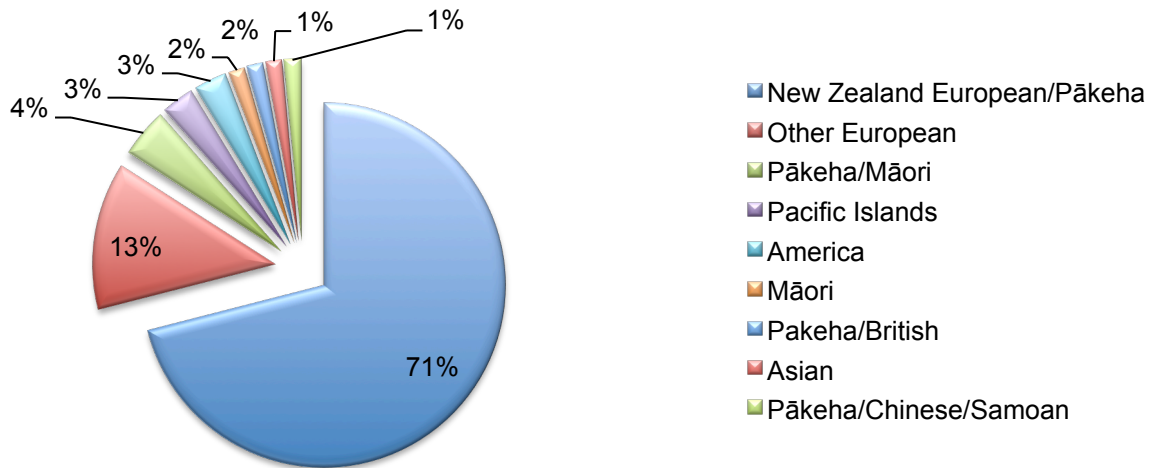
Figure 16. Statement B1.f - Ethnicities of teachers who are not confident using Māori language and culture in the classroom

Barriers inhibiting use of te reo Māori and culture in the classroom

Question B2 in Section B of the questionnaire explored perceived barriers to teachers' use of te reo and tikanga Māori in the classroom. In answer to the question, 'What barriers (if any) inhibit your use of Māori language and culture in your classroom practice', variables included:

a) I am not confident in my knowledge of Māori language and culture
b) I'm not sure how to implement Māori language and culture into my practice
c) I would like to use Māori more in my practice but I cannot find the time
d) I don't feel it is my place to use or teach Māori language and culture
e) Māori language and culture is irrelevant to the children in my class
f) Other
g) I don't have any barriers which inhibit my use of Māori language and culture in the classroom

	a. I am not confident in my knowledge of Māori language and culture	b. I'm not sure how to implement Māori language and culture into my practice	c. I would like to use Māori more in my practice but I cannot find the time	d. I don't feel it is my place to use or teach Māori language and culture	e. Māori language and culture is irrelevant to the children in my class	f. Other	g. I don't have any barriers which inhibit my use of Māori language and culture in the classroom
Auckland	40	21	29	4	3	18	13
Rest of NZ	44	18	34	5	0	11	13
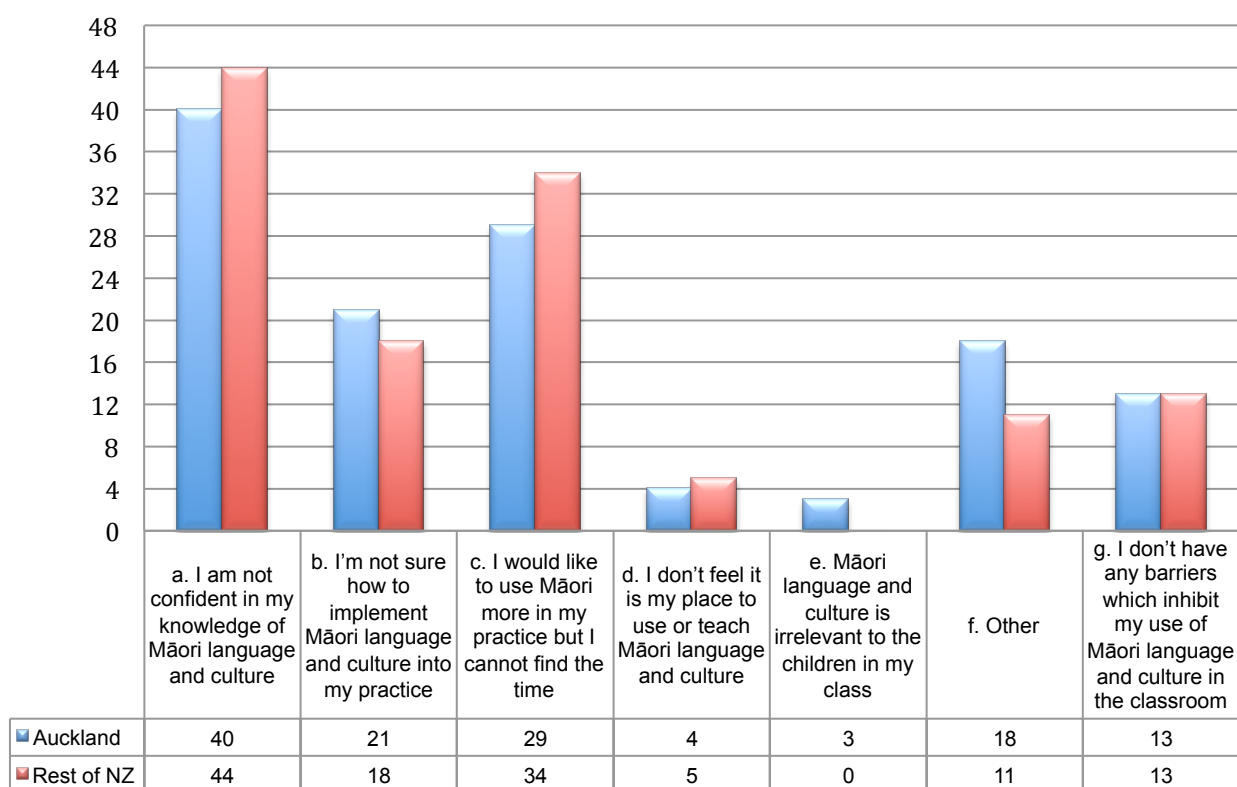
Figure 17. Statement B2.a-g - Factors that contribute to teacher confidence in the use of Māori language and culture in the classroom

Content knowledge as a barrier to bicultural practice

Statements B2.a and B2.b measured how teachers' perceived their knowledge of Māori language and culture as an impediment to bicultural practice. Statement B2.a focussed on content knowledge, while statement B2.b was concerned with practice knowledge (pedagogical knowledge). Cross-referencing the identifying data from section A with the construct of knowledge in this question provided empirical evidence to test the original assumptions: that Māori teachers have an advantage over non-Māori teachers, and that New Zealand trained teachers have an advantage over overseas trained teachers. In cohort A, 40 teachers (31%) identified the lack of content knowledge as a barrier that hindered their use of Māori language and culture in the classroom, compared to 44 teachers (35%) in cohort B.

Cohort B participant, James, cited knowledge deficit as a barrier, stating "I would like to use Māori more in my practice - and I do have the time - I don't have the knowledge that I would like to have." In reference to content knowledge Judy [A], a New Zealand European/Māori teacher, admitted, "I would use te reo and tikanga Māori more in my classroom practice if I was sure I was always correct. In class I worry that sometimes I may say the wrong thing."

Practice knowledge as a barrier to bicultural practice

Statement B2.b, which focused on practice knowledge, elicited 21 responses (16%) from cohort A and 18 (14%) from cohort B. This comprised half as many teachers who felt deficient in content knowledge. Reasons cited for lack of pedagogical knowledge included the scarcity of effective resources and the need for adequate training or professional development. Underlying knowledge deficit in some teachers was the fear of making mistakes or causing offense through the teaching of inaccurate content or pronunciation.

Cohort A participant, Liz, highlighted the need for more training, saying, "Although I am New Zealand born and educated in New Zealand schools, I don't feel as if I have enough knowledge and experience with speaking or teaching the language to feel confident in teaching children." Further investigation uncovered that Liz trained as a teacher in Australia and would not have received this support as an undergraduate.

While the need for more training is an issue, some teachers expressed the need for the right kind of training. Katie [A] reported her experiences of professional development, which had a negative affect on her confidence: "I could up skill myself by doing more professional development. I tried this once with the focus on te reo and found the experience humiliating. I came out with less confidence than I had going in." Sarah [A] articulated her fears, saying, "I use simple phrases with my five year olds but I am embarrassed when I mispronounce the words and feel it would not be good to teach wrongly." Even a high level of motivation did not always translate to a strong bicultural practice, without content or practice knowledge, as in Beth's [B] case:

> I think that adding the Māori dimension is a win/win idea. It acknowledges our first people, aids understanding of other 'cultures' and traditions, builds tolerance, and is a fun thing to do with our New Zealand children -waiata, language, etc.

However, trying to acquire more content and practice knowledge had had an adverse effect on Beth's practice, as she confessed:

> A 'nervousness' about my knowledge has come about by getting different versions as to what is acceptable/appropriate. This has impacted on what I do, less! I have become less confident as I have learned more. With respect, I have tended to do less, rather than being politically/culturally incorrect.

Time factors as a barrier

Not having enough time to use Māori language and culture in the classroom was the second most cited barrier. A similar number of teachers from both cohorts selected statement B2.c, of whom 29 were from Auckland schools and 34 from schools outside of Auckland.

In expanding on their views on why time was a barrier for teachers, it became clear that other issues often underpinned the situation, such as prioritising curriculum areas over Māori language and culture. As Helen [B] disclosed, "An overcrowded curriculum often means something falls by the wayside that isn't literacy or numeracy." Netty [B] reinforced this view, stating, "When time pressures to fit in all the other curriculum areas or other activities are working on my mind, Māori is overlooked."

Teachers' lack of knowledge was another underpinning issue, as they needed to take more time to up skill themselves. As Lisa [B] explained:

In an ideal world te reo and tikanga Māori would be integrated throughout the curriculum but … it is not an area I am confident in so doesn't happen 'naturally'. It would require constant research and planning on my part on top of what I'm already doing.

Relevance of Māori content

Statements B2.d and B2.e measured the construct of relevance, as applied to different contexts. Statement B2.d, 'I don't feel it is my place to teach Māori language and culture,' was concerned with how teachers viewed their position as relevant to the overall context of using Māori language and culture in the classroom. Statement B2.e, 'Māori language and culture is irrelevant to the children in my class,' pertained to teachers' perceptions of the relevance of Māori language and culture to the children they taught.

Both of these statements elicited the smallest number of responses. Only four teachers (3%) from cohort A and five teachers (4%) from cohort B selected statement B2.d, while statement B2.e drew only three replies in total, all from Auckland schools. The small number of teachers who elaborated on this statement disclosed a sense of discouragement and anxiety, due to prior negative experiences. As all were New Zealand European/Pākehā, their dispositions made them question their position (or their relevance) as a teacher who uses Māori language and culture in their practice.

Freda [A], for example, said "as a Pākehā I feel (and am made to feel) it is not my place at certain times". Gail [B] also professed, "I have been told off by Māori people about my attempts to teach te reo and tikanga. What was once exciting has become an occasion for nervousness." Kathleen [B] questioned her relevance, asserting, "I do sometimes feel as a Pākehā that I shouldn't be teaching about Māori culture as I am myself an outsider and may be making wrong assumptions." Julie [B] reflected in greater detail on how her experiences have shaped her perception of relevance:

Having participated in professional development and other courses to aid my teaching practices I have found almost a racist attitude to myself being European and that I would not do it as well as Māori themselves. Consistently I have felt negative and inadequate from instructors, therefore my experiences of this has hampered my efforts. I feel it is important to honour the Māori culture and to reflect this in my class however too often we have pressure to teach this but have limited or no assistance or resources.

Other barriers that inhibit bicultural practices

A number of teachers (18 from cohort A and 11 from cohort B) highlighted other barriers that inhibited their use of Māori language and culture in the classroom. These included the need for professional development, a lack of adequate resources, the influence of parents, and the prioritizing of other cultures in the class.

In discussing other barriers, Tanya [B] explained, "Sometimes the barriers are from parents at home, "Why does my child need to learn Māori?" … I get frustrated having to defend why I think te reo is important." Jess [A] also felt pressure from parents in her class, stating "I sometimes feel inhibited by parental expectation that learning in English should come first and is more important, but I try not to let this deter me or affect this in my programme."

Alternatively, Lucy [A] recognized the need for better training, saying, "I find it a challenge considering the lack of professional development and courses that have been received throughout teacher training. They're

insufficient to make one feel and be competent in teaching a foreign language." Jacinta [A] was one of a number of teachers who pointed to a lack of adequate resources:

> Lack of resources, for example Māori language dictionaries. One per four classes is not nearly enough. A picture dictionary, a Māori Place names dictionary and an English/Māori dictionary for each class would be a great start. Alongside this, Māori Language Posters for the class walls in every subject, so that the class environment could be far more bi-lingual. Teachers have to purchase own, so this limits us.

Another issue was the conflicting agendas of biculturalism versus multiculturalism. A number of teachers felt pressure to recognise all cultures in the classroom through their planning and teaching. For teachers with diverse classes, the inclusion of Māori language and culture as an addition to other cultures was perceived as too difficult, particularly for classes with no Māori children. Jamie [A], for example, explained her situation:

> Teaching students in a decile 1 school, for many of whom English is a second language, I feel the pressure to ensure we are developing their levels of English. Also, I want to value and utilise their home languages in any way I can; almost all of them do not speak te reo at home but instead Samoan, Tongan, Niuean.

No barriers to bicultural practice

An equal number of teachers (13, 10% of sample) from each cohort reported having no barriers that inhibited their bicultural practice. Perhaps, somewhat predictably, a number of these respondents had strong content and practice knowledge which they used in the classroom. Dee [A], a native/fluent Māori speaker, explained:

> In my classroom I speak bilingually, or if I speak in Māori I use a lot of hand actions. Although I teach in a mainstream class, majority European students, most of my basic commands are in Māori. Through repetition basic Māori has become normalised.

However, not all teachers had the advantage of knowledge, nor could they claim to be confident in their use of Māori language and culture. Instead, these teachers did not perceive their shortfalls in knowledge or confidence as a barrier. In spite of their deficits, they had a willingness to persevere in their endeavours. Sharni [A] characterised these traits, claiming "I am willing to try and that way I can amend my practices." Sally [A] also exemplified perseverance. As she explained, "I try my best and use daily, I would like to be told if I am saying something incorrectly." This attitude was perhaps best summarised by Johnny [B], who stated "I don't care about making mistakes when I speak Māori. I'm a learner too."

5.3.3   Questionnaire Section C – Knowledge of biculturalism in the curriculum

Section C of the questionnaire measured the variable of bicultural knowledge. It investigated teachers' perceptions of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi and its incorporation into *The New Zealand Curriculum*. This section was structured around five statements:

a) I am confident in my understanding of biculturalism as it is expressed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi

b) I am confident in how biculturalism (as expressed in *The New Zealand Curriculum*) fits into my classroom practice

c) The aim of biculturalism is to raise achievement in Māori learners

d) Biculturalism in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is more for Māori children than non-Māori children

e) Biculturalism in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is for all children in Aotearoa-New Zealand schools

A Likert scale was employed to measure the extent to which teachers either agreed or disagreed with each statement. Participants were also given the opportunity to elaborate on each response.

As Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of this nation, and is the foundational basis of biculturalism in our curriculum, statement C1.a examined the extent of teachers' understanding of this crucial document. The place of the treaty in the curriculum, and how it manifests in classroom practice, was explored in statement C1.b. The final three statements, B1.c-e, investigated the purpose of biculturalism in the curriculum, by asking teachers to identify to whom they thought biculturalism was relevant.

Knowledge of the Treaty

Statement C1.a examined teachers' perceived knowledge of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi and its influence on the construct of biculturalism. The majority of responses were neutral, suggesting teachers were ambivalent about their understanding of the Treaty. Overall, most teachers either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. A large number of teachers intimated that their confidence was due to study or professional development undertaken pertaining to the Treaty. Others cited teacher-training programmes as the source of their insight. Cohort A participant, Robyn, a New Zealand European/Māori teacher, strongly agreed with this statement, claiming: "I have studied the treaty both at university and outside, through discussions with whanau and friends." Conversely, of those teachers who disagreed with statement C1.a, most confessed to having had little study in this area.
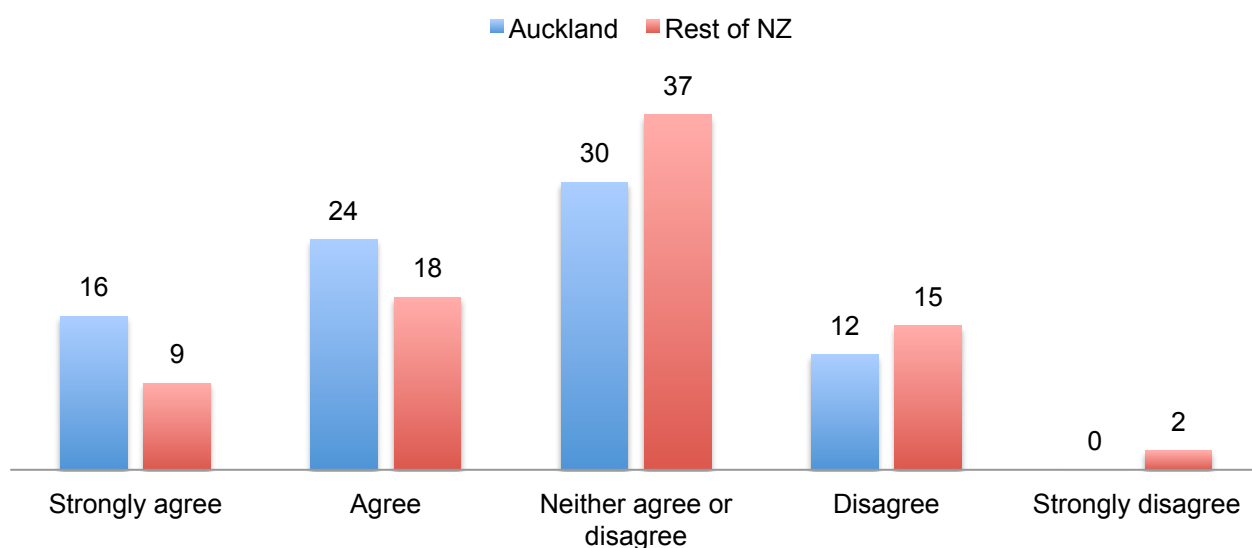

Figure 18. Statement C1.a - Teachers' confidence in their knowledge of biculturalism as expressed through Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi

Biculturalism in the New Zealand Curriculum

Statement C1.b examined teachers' perceived understanding of biculturalism in *The New Zealand Curriculum* and how it pertains to classroom teaching practice. As in statement C1.a, the majority of responses for this dimension were neutral, again suggesting that teachers were ambivalent about their understanding of biculturalism in the curriculum. However, further examination of these responses found that favour for multiculturalism over biculturalism was a key factor, rather than ambivalence to statement C1.a. As Ana [B] said, "I do not know whether we can separate multiculturalism and biculturalism." Teachers highlighted a range of themes that underpinned multicultural ideals. They included fairness, equality and respect for different cultures in the classroom. As Rose [B] professed, "No matter what culture a child is from it is important to respect the culture and practices used in their everyday life."
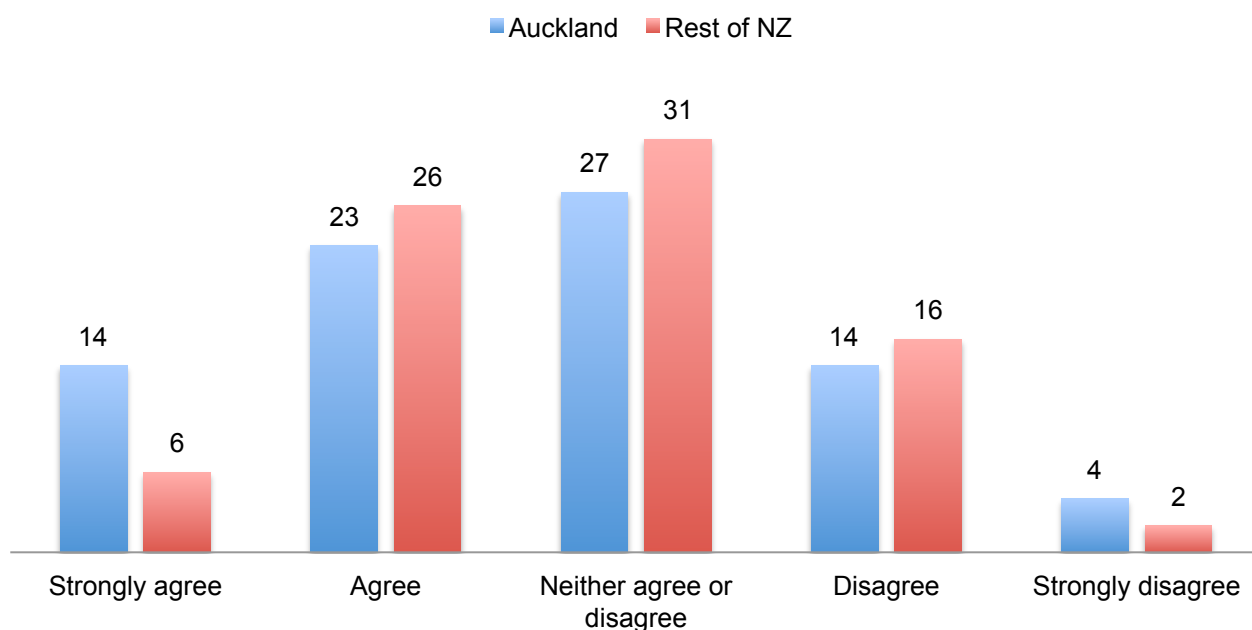
Figure 19. Statement C1.b -Teacher confidence in biculturalism (as expressed in *The New Zealand Curriculum*) in classroom practice

Biculturalism and Māori achievement

Statement C1.c asked for responses to the following, 'The aim of biculturalism is to raise achievement in Māori learners.' This dimension was included to further probe teachers' perceptions regarding the purpose of biculturalism in the curriculum, and to whom teachers think the bicultural mandate is relevant. The response, 'neither agree nor disagree,' once again had the highest number of selections, closely followed by the response 'agree'. Teachers who strongly agreed with this statement expressed similar sentiments to Mary [B], who said, "The aim to raise achievement of Māori is extremely important and that they have an opportunity to take advantage of every educational opportunity that will improve their lifestyle." Hamuera [A] shared his perspective through his assertion that:

Our Māori tamariki are failing in our education system so let's focus on that - teach our kids their identity and make them feel proud to be Māori … Let's show them that they are unique and special and our culture should be celebrated.

Both Mary and Hamuera attributed a high level of relevance between biculturalism and Māori student achievement. Those who neither agreed nor disagreed felt that this was partly true, but that Māori achievement was only one part of the purpose of biculturalism. As Netty [B] explained:

While I think it is an important aspect of biculturalism, I think that it is more about having the children's culture, beliefs and experiences recognised, respected and valued. It is also about understanding that education is not one size fits all and that there are different ways to teach & learn, and different emphases on what is important, or as important, in different cultures.
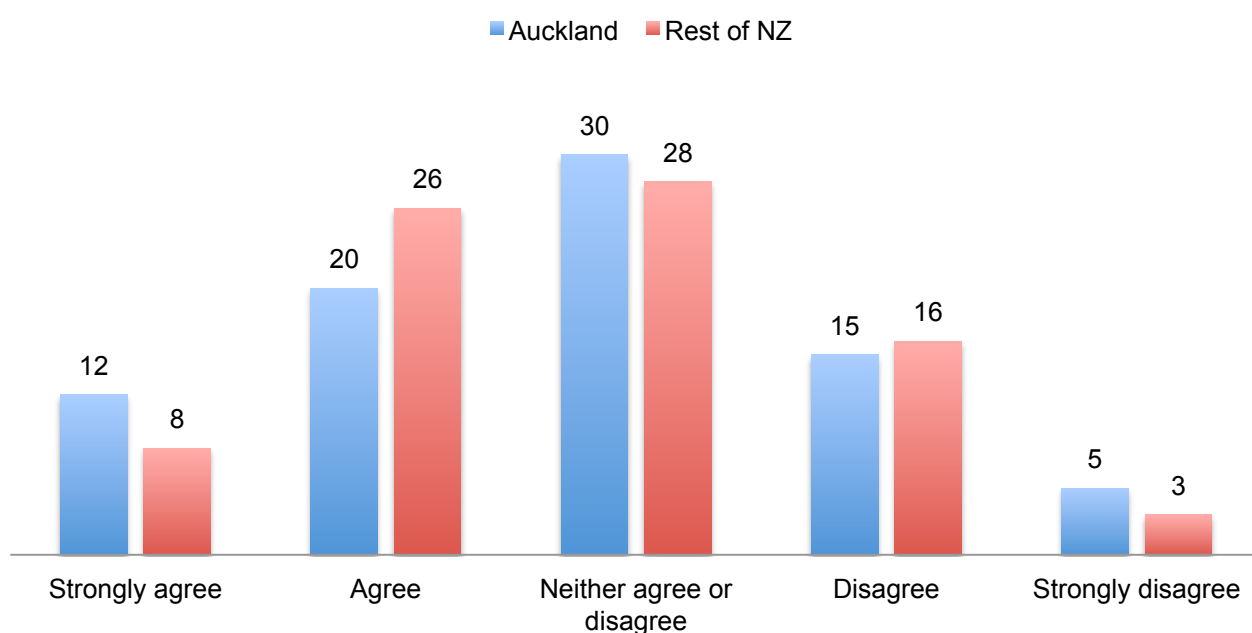
Figure 20. Statement C1.c - Biculturalism aims to raise achievement in Māori learners

Teachers who disagreed with this statement felt that biculturalism had little or no relevance to Māori achievement. For example, Bronwyn [A] said, "I feel biculturalism is more about raising awareness and understanding than achievement."

Biculturalism and relevance to Māori

Statement C1.d, 'Biculturalism in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is more for Māori children than non-Māori children,' was included as an extension of statement C1.c (above). Its aim was to further investigate teachers' perspectives as to the purpose of biculturalism in the curriculum and to whom they thought it was relevant. While this was a further probe of the previous statement the responses elicited a marked shift in perspective. The clear majority of respondents either strongly disagreed or disagreed. Only a small number of teachers either agreed or strongly agreed.
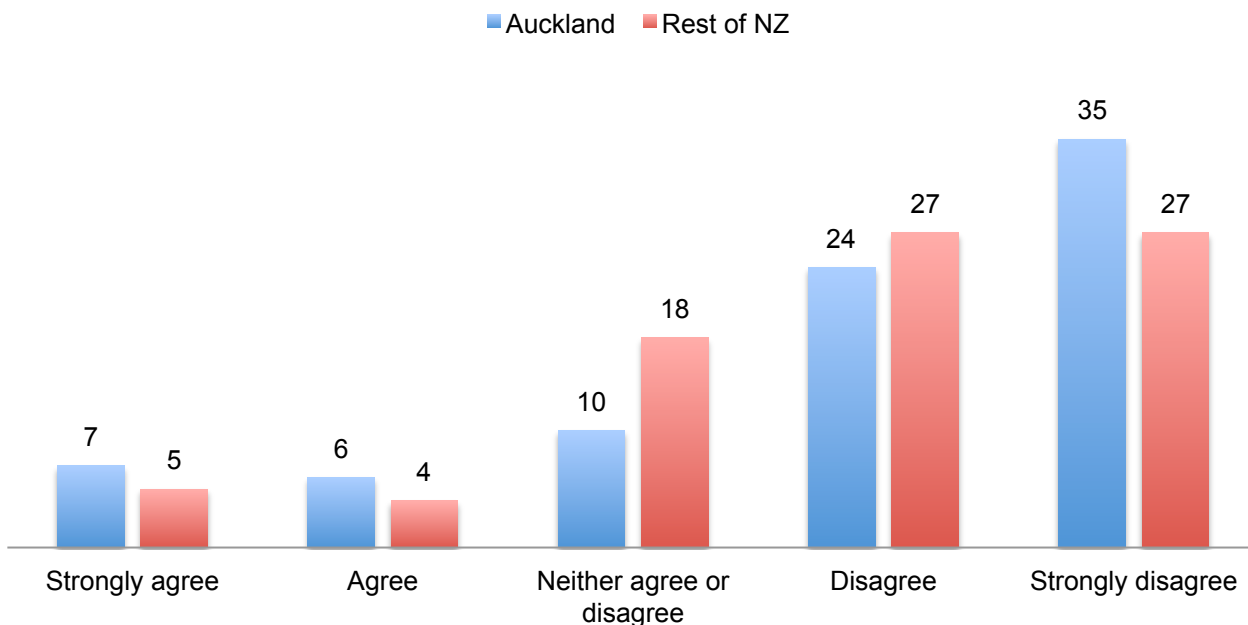
Figure 21. Statement C1.d - Biculturalism (as expressed in *The New Zealand Curriculum*) is more for Māori children than non-Māori children

In giving further comments, the overwhelming majority of teachers emphasized the position that biculturalism is for all Aotearoa-New Zealand children. Cohort A participant Sally's response was typical of most teachers. She stated, "No it is for all New Zealanders to embrace." Ava [A] elaborated in more depth:

> Absolutely not. It is biculturalism, not monoculturalism. All children need to have knowledge of tangata whenua, protocols, colonisation, history, language, tribal areas etc. Then, hopefully, non-Māori will be able to identify similarities and differences between cultures, and perhaps, have compassion, empathy, and understanding of Māori.

Even those teachers who responded with some ambivalence, by selecting 'neither agree nor disagree', supported the position that biculturalism has relevance for all New Zealanders. This was acknowledge in Tori's [A] testimony:

> I believe with the current achievement data for Māori students, we must start with the view that biculturalism needs to be a foundation of our curriculum in order to promote high achievement for Māori students … however, I also believe that the principles of biculturalism will provide benefits to all children.

The small minority of teachers who agreed with this statement elaborated on their position, providing important insights. Phil [A] claimed that "Pupils are taught about the treaty and Māori as tokenism." Bea's [B] opinion was that, "Yes it feels that way at the moment - and I think it can be quite damaging in that it creates reverse racism." John [B] cited a number of influences that moved him to strongly agree with statement C1.d: "This is the impression I get from the media, politicians, educational leaders, Māori commentators and others."

Biculturalism and relevance to all Aotearoa-New Zealand

Statement C1.e, 'Biculturalism in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is for all Aotearoa-New Zealand children,' was included to test the converse notion espoused in the previous two questions. As with C1.d, this statement elicited a clear swing, this time in its favour, as the majority of respondents strongly agreed (45 and 39 teachers in cohorts A and B respectively). Distribution across the remaining responses was low but fairly evenly spread. The small number of teachers who tended toward the 'disagree' end of the spectrum expressed some cynicism about this statement. For example, cohort A participant, Jamie, said:

> All I would say is, as I detailed above, sometimes the biculturalism, as espoused by the Government and its agencies, appears to be cultural lip service, as opposed to dealing with the fundamental inequalities in our society.

Phil [A] expressed his scepticism of statement C1.e. He said, "Non Māori are not really interested. Even most urban Māori aren't interested."
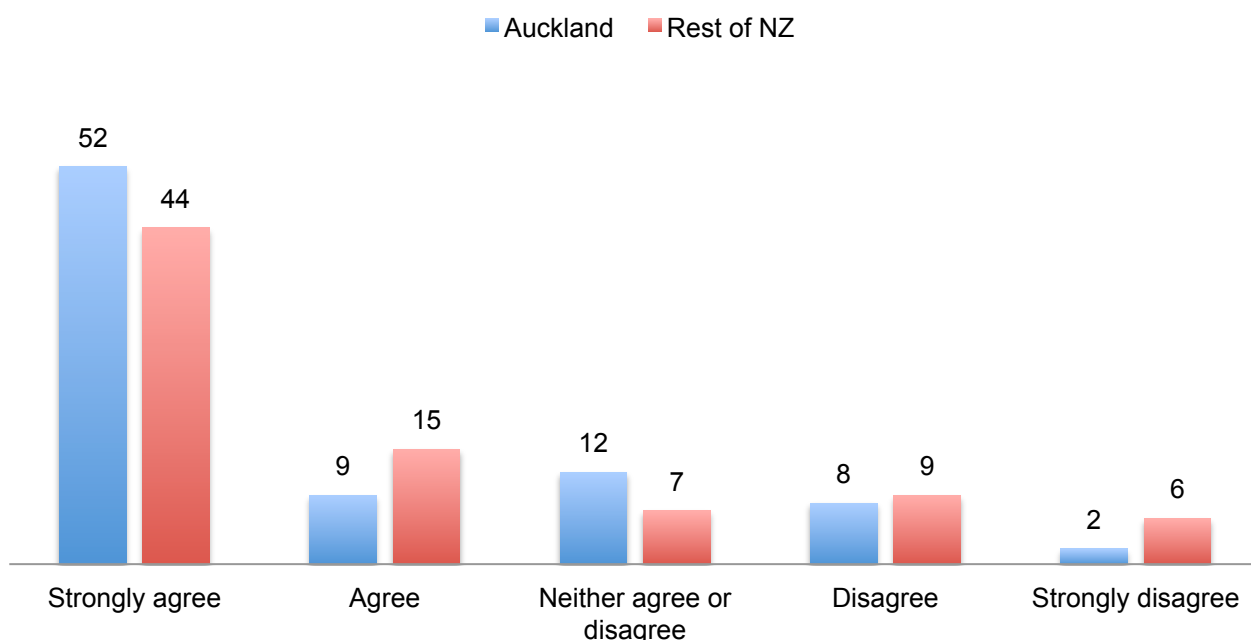
Figure 22. Statement C1.e - Biculturalism (as expressed in *The New Zealand Curriculum*) is for all children of Aotearoa-New Zealand

Cynicism towards statement C1.e was limited, however, as the large majority of teachers reinforced the sentiment that biculturalism is relevant for all New Zealand children. Lisa, in cohort B, summarized this opinion:

> [B]iculturalism in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is for all New Zealanders - regardless of ethnicity, birthplace, religion or culture. Biculturalism embraces the two founding cultures of modern New Zealand - English and Māori. It does not exclude recognition or celebration of other cultures. When my students have questioned this in the past I have explained that other cultures eg Samoan, French, Scottish etc. have a country of origin where those cultures still flourish. Māori /Pākehā culture is only found in New Zealand.

5.4   Overview of phase II: Interviews

Purpose of the interviews

The interviews were informed by findings from the online survey questionnaire which sought data broadly across the variables of content knowledge, practice knowledge, knowledge of the treaty and teachers' perspectives on bicultural relevance. Examination of data pertaining to these variables revealed the culminated influences that impacted on bicultural teaching practice, and provided the focus for the interviews. These influences, presented in Figure 23 were defined as the disposition of the teacher, content knowledge and professional development.
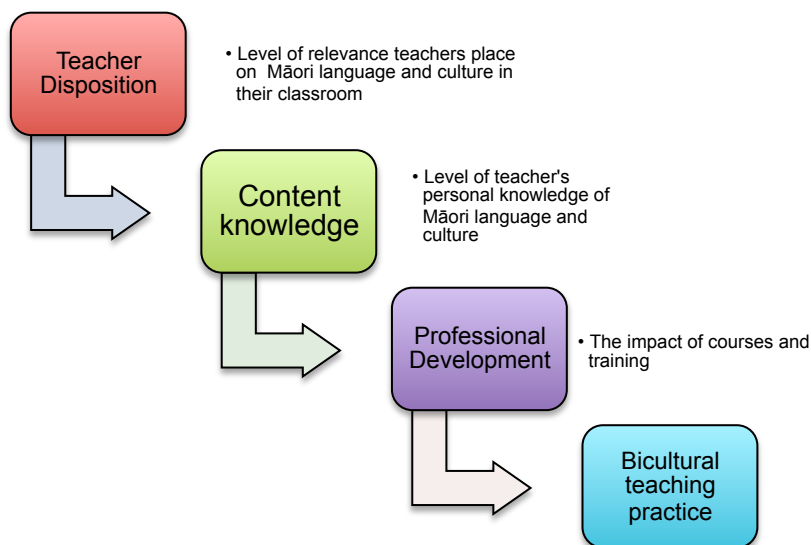
Figure 23. Main themes arising from the online survey questionnaire that inform a bicultural teaching practice

Teacher selection for the interviews

From the 163 teachers who participated in the online survey questionnaire, ten were selected for the interview phase. The starting point for selection was the independent variable of teacher disposition. Responses that advocated for biculturalism were targeted as these indicated the teachers who endeavoured to implement Māori language and culture into their practice.

Having determined the participants who demonstrated a positive disposition to biculturalism, a thorough investigation of supplementary responses was undertaken. The aim was to ensure that a range of experiences (across the variables of content knowledge and professional development) and indicators (such as ethnicity, gender and geographic location) were represented across the selected teachers.

Through this process a purposive sample group of 10 teachers was invited to participate in the interview phase. Of this group, one teacher identified as New Zealand European/Pākehā/Niuean and five as New Zealand European/Pākehā. The remaining four teachers were Māori, New Zealand European/Pākehā/Māori or other European/Māori (Irish). Three male and seven female teachers represented the sample. The 10 teachers, from both cohorts, were located in schools from Auckland in the north to Canterbury in the South Island, and

comprised a mix of large contributing schools, full primary, intermediate and rural. The interviews were all conducted kānohi ki te kānohi, (face-to-face), in accordance with ethical procedures, in either the teacher's classroom, the school's staffroom, a resource room or the principal's office.

Interview outline

The interviews provided the opportunity to investigate factors that shaped teachers' dispositions and influenced bicultural pedagogy. They started from the premise that biculturalism is valued in the classroom through the teaching of Maori language and culture. The interviews focused on four questions:

1. What are the ways in which you feel either obligated or motivated to use te reo and/or tikanga Māori in your classroom practice?
2. What professional development have you undertaken in order to support your use of te reo and/or tikanga Māori in your classroom practice?
3. How does your school support you in your use of te reo and/or tikanga Māori in your practice?
4. How does your school inhibit you in your use of te reo and/or tikanga Māori in your practice?

Although teachers discussed what their bicultural teaching practice looked like, this was a secondary concern for me, as indicated in Figure 24. My main interest was the ways in which teachers felt obligated to engage in a bicultural practice, and the barriers and support they encountered to meet their intentions. While all teachers indicated a positive disposition to biculturalism in the online survey, interview question one was designed to further explore their stance, by examining intrinsic and external incentives that influence a bicultural practice. Question two investigated the PD undertaken and the impact it had on disposition, motivation and classroom practice. Questions three and four focused on the role of the school community, including colleagues, management and parents/families, and explored how these groups support or inhibit bicultural practice.
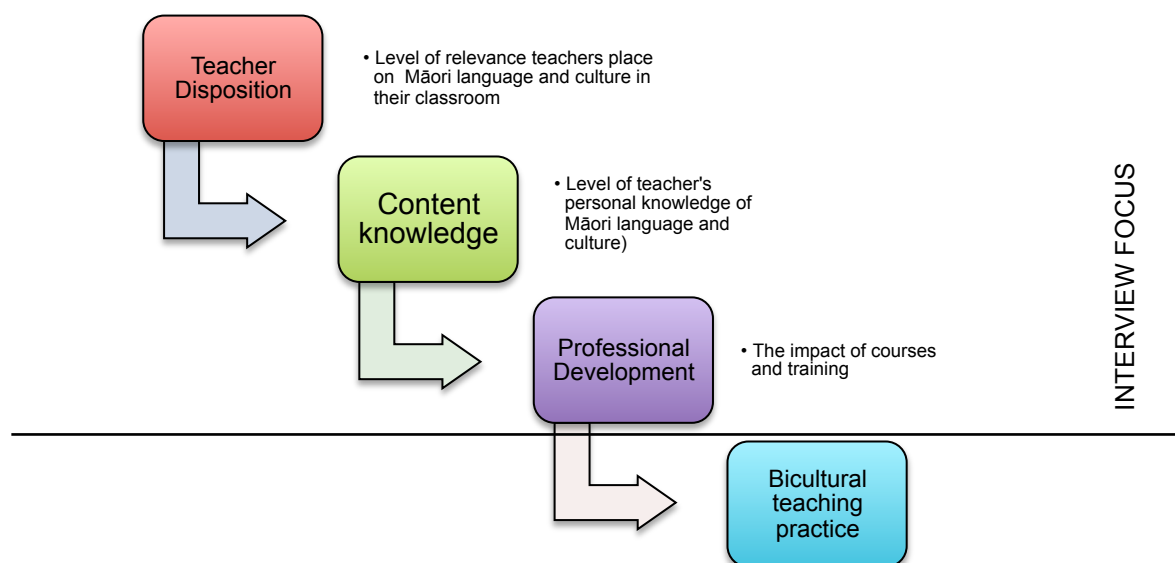

Figure 24. Focus issues for interviews

Teacher disposition: obligations and motivation

Since all the interviewees had disclosed that they engaged in a bicultural practice (albeit to differing degrees) the first question examined their motivation for using te reo and tikanga Māori in teaching. Most spoke of being intrinsically motivated. Māori teachers linked their intrinsic motivation to the value they placed on their own culture and identity, and, as tangata whenua, the responsibility they felt to impart Māori language and culture to the children in their classes. Non-Māori teachers felt obligated to Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi as citizens of Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Hamuera, a Māori teacher in cohort A, stated that he has a "personal and professional passion" for using te reo and tikanga Māori so that all children in his care learn about the tangata whenua of the country in which they live. Alongside his personal interest he felt additionally obligated, as a Māori teacher, to use te reo and tikanga Māori in his practice.

Another Māori teacher in cohort A, Mark, felt that his use of Māori language and culture in the classroom was a natural extension of himself in the classroom. He stated that his motivations to promote te reo and tikanga Māori came from a strong personal interest in using te reo and tikanga Māori, and suggested that this stems from his own identity and experiences outside of his role as a teacher. These, he said, are central to the bicultural practices he brings to his classroom. Mark suggested that he would follow the same approach to teaching wherever he was "even if I was teaching in Japan."

Ana, a New Zealand European/Niuean teacher from cohort B, grew up strongly immersed in Māori culture. Like Mark, she felt that using te reo and tikanga Māori in her class was an extension of who she is:

> In every primary school we've always had te reo, in everything, ingrained. So for me it actually just comes naturally. I don't generally think about it. It's just a part of me and how I teach.

Conversely, Lisa a New Zealand European/Māori teacher from cohort B felt obligated to use te reo and tikanga Māori in her practice due to her disconnection to her culture:

> Dad was of the generation [who thought] 'don't speak Māori', so he brought us up as white as he possibly could. And now I realise, that's half of my life, who I am that I don't really know a lot about. So for me it's like 'this is important'.

Lisa wanted to ensure that children in Aotearoa-New Zealand get a sense of who they are. She said, "I don't want kids to grow up ignorant of who they are, like I did."

Non-Māori teachers also identified intrinsic reasons for engaging in a bicultural practice. In cohort B, Julie's motivation was guided by a belief that it is important to honour children of Māori descent and, as New Zealanders, the importance of honouring the Treaty: "I think that it's important to honour children of Māori descent, because that's our country and it's important that we respect that and honour the treaty." Julie felt additional obligation from a policy level: "I also believe that we, as educationalists, we're getting more focused that way and, basically, we have to."

Steve, also from cohort B, acknowledged a strong personal passion for engaging in bicultural practices. He said, "I can't say I was influenced by Māori growing up. I didn't grow up with anyone I would consider culturally different from me, but it's just something I'm interested in." During his time at Teachers' Training College and university he spoke of how on that course he had "a very, very inspiring Pākehā tutor who was able

to engage and support me in my learning." Through the course Steve gained empathy for the history of Aotearoa-New Zealand, from the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi, and "this is where I realised that this is my passion." Since his tertiary training Steve's motivation has become intrinsic and embedded in his classroom practice. He said, "The law also says that we are bicultural, and that we teach biculturally, and that we teach te reo Māori, and so therefore, we do ... and I really enjoy it. I love it. It's my favourite subject."

Not all teachers felt intrinsically motivated. A small number felt compelled by external factors, sometimes as secondary motivators. For example, Helen from cohort B was positively influenced by her experience from overseas travel, which reinforced to her the uniqueness of Māori language and culture in this country. Helen also felt a responsibility because it is a requirement of the curriculum, and because 25% of children in her class identified as Māori. Like Helen, Ana also identified the children in her class as a source of motivation, particularly those children in her new entrant's class who have come from kohanga reo:

> I've got children in my class that have gone to kohanga reo so it's really important that we keep that going, or else otherwise they lose it, and it seems a shame that their families have put them in there and then they come to mainstream and then that whole philosophy goes out the window ... I just think it's really important that our kids hear te reo and they should know it and they should celebrate it.

Another cohort B teacher, Penny, explained that she was largely motivated by the professional development in her school at the time of the research:

> I'd say that I was largely motivated by the fact that there was so much professional development supplied by this school. Whilst you could say 'yes it's in the curriculum' you've got to 'tick it off the box', as it were, its become less about ticking off the box now that we've got a whole staff collegial thing going on, so that's more of a motivating factor now.

Factors that influence bicultural practice: Content knowledge

Of the 10 teachers only one reported to being a fluent/native speaker of te reo Māori, while three were proficient in the language. All four teachers had been immersed in Māori culture at some time in their lives, either in their upbringing, their schooling, or as part of their children's schooling. Although these teachers did not always feel as though they were experts in bicultural practice, I identified them as having an advantage in content knowledge which influenced their practice.

Penny [B] explained that although her teaching career to date had been in a mainstream setting, she had attended a kohanga reo and a bilingual intermediate class as a child. "A lot of stuff in our professional development is stuff I remember doing when I was in kohanga reo and when I was in a bilingual class at intermediate … the professional development has kind of been revision from my childhood and it's stuff that I forgot that I knew."

Ana's [B] content knowledge is built on her desire and effort to learn te reo Māori outside of her role as a teacher. She said her upbringing, family and local iwi, have been the biggest influences, much more than formal school-based PD, which has had a positive impact on her use of te reo Māori in classroom practice.

Professional development to support a bicultural practice

From the interviews, it became apparent that teachers with little content knowledge had to rely on, or seek, other forms of support, mostly in the form of professional development. Data from Phase I found that PD, either in school or through initial training programmes, had an impact on bicultural teaching practice, but this was not always in a positive manner. The interviews provided an opportunity to gather in-depth, qualitative evidence to investigate this area further. Teachers were questioned on the PD they had undertaken to support their use of te reo and tikanga Māori in the classroom. Discussions centred on three types of PD:

1. Formal models, such as in-school staff development programmes, as well as courses, provided by external stakeholders
2. Resource documents
3. Informal support, for example, using more-knowledgeable staff members, whanau, local iwi or other community members

Each teacher discussed the success of the PD through the influence that it had on practice, personal teaching philosophy and confidence. Good models were defined as PD that encouraged teachers to use te reo Māori, tikanga Māori or Māori content in their class. Negative PD experiences, which diminished teacher's confidence and therefore had an effect on motivation, were also discussed.

The influence of formal professional development: school-based

During the analysis of the questionnaire data, one school in particular stood out as endorsing the PD undertaken by their staff. This decile 10 school in cohort B, with predominantly New Zealand European/Pākehā staff and students, had a high rate of participation in the research, with seven completing the online survey. The comments teachers made around the success of their staff PD warranted further investigation, and for this reason, three teachers from this school were selected for interviewing.

From his Māori leadership position within this school, Steve (the first of these three teachers) recognised the importance of good PD. He said, "I realised that the only way that the [school-wide Māori implementation] plan was going to work across the whole school was if they [the staff] got some real, intensive te reo training". For this reason Steve was mindful of recruiting the right facilitator, and therefore engaged a mentor whom he felt was a good fit for the largely New Zealand European/Pākehā staff at his school. Steve acknowledged the positive influence the instructor, herself a New Zealand European/Pākehā, has had on staff development in the teaching of te reo and tikanga Māori. He said, "she gets such great feedback, particularly from those teachers who are super unconfident." For Steve himself, the PD has reignited a passion that began in university.

Helen, the second teacher interviewed from this school, said that PD has also had a significant impact on her practice. She attributed this to the "fantastic" facilitator who was able to engage and support her in her learning. Helen feels that the tutor is a tremendous role model for other New Zealand European/Pākehā teachers, such as herself, as she feels safe learning within the environment. Having a school-wide focus is also helpful for Helen, who is inspired by the sense of collegiality across the staff.

The third teacher, Penny, also enjoyed the PD as it empowered her to apply her content knowledge in practice. Penny explained that as a Māori it has also given her an insight and empathy for colleagues who are from a New Zealand European/Pākehā background. She said, "It's let me see the other side of the fence a lot

more. A lot of my colleagues are from completely immersed Pākehā backgrounds, which is the total opposite to me growing up ... now that I'm here I can see why other people are more reluctant to have a go."

When questioned further on the reasons for success in their school, Steve again praised the critical role of the PD facilitator. He described how the sessions gave practical teaching examples, with access to resources, which teachers can implement straight away in their classes: "I think it's because everything she does is practical, because you can then go ahead and do exactly what she has done by jumping on her website or using her book." Steve explained how the each session is scaffolded: "The facilitator starts off simply, by getting you familiar with the vocab. She models this using tools such as flashcards, bingo, memory or translating a scene from a video, all of which teachers can then use in their class." He also complimented her teaching style: "It's also her teaching style as well … she's really high energy ... she packs a lot in … and she knows her stuff…" Steve had also observed that the facilitator was a reflective practitioner who sought feedback from staff on her sessions, which she then used to improve her teaching. She also encouraged the staff to actively reflect. Finally, Steve noted that the facilitator used a lot of positive reinforcement and encouragement, highlighting the progress staff make. This is an approach that staff responded well to. As Steve said, "She makes you feel good."

Not all in-school PD had a positive influence. At her school, cohort participant B, Ann, shared her experiences:

> Supposedly this year there's a contract, it's called [….] and we're meant to get a tikanga Māori focus within that, but truly I've not had worse professional development, it's just been appalling and the tikanga Māori focus has been non-existent.

The question around professional development made Lisa [B] reflect back on her teaching career. She said, "I don't think I've had any professional development, not at school. I've done the … course at [tertiary institute] and that was before I came back to work."

The influence of formal professional development: External programmes

For some teachers, their lack of content knowledge and the absence of in-school PD emphasised to them the need to look for external programmes for support, such as Māori language classes. For teachers like Ana [B], outside stakeholders were more influential in developing her content knowledge than school PD:

> In terms of PD I haven't really [had any at school] … I've done my own online study and it was free from [tertiary provider] that you could just do yourself, so I've just done that myself … But in terms of most schools I haven't had a huge amount [of PD]

Not all endeavours for external support were successful. This was highlighted by another school in cohort B, in particular, from which five highly motivated teachers completed the questionnaire, including the principal. Demographic data showed that this rural school had a small staff and was situated in an isolated, predominantly New Zealand European/Pākehā community. Three teachers from this school were invited to participate in the interview phase, all of whom had expressed a need for greater guidance.

Ann, for example, shared one barrier that staff at this school had experienced. She spoke of trying to enrol in an external Māori language course, but was denied due to government regulations:

[The principal] has tried really hard, … apparently the [tertiary institute] was offering a course, free, in te reo so everyone put their application in, and 'you're all to highly qualified, none of you are allowed to apply, none of you are allowed on the course.' … we all would have done it, except that 'you're all highly qualified, we can't have you'. It was discouraging, and it seemed such a shame.

Resource Support

Unsuccessful attempts to engage outside direction led teachers to use resources, in the form of books, websites and ministerial publications, as forms of support. Ana [B] successfully utilised online resources to support her teaching. She explained that "there's some great resources on TKI[8], lesson plans that you can just [use], if you're not confident you can follow them straight through … they're pretty self-explanatory really." Ana's confidence with using online resources may have been influenced by her strong content knowledge. In comparison, Julie [B] had less success with resource support:

We've tried buying certain resources and going through them though that's been sort of hit and miss too. There's been nothing really meaty, it's all a bit of this and a bit of that. Hey you've got to do it but there's nothing in place to support you.

Instead, she emphasized that people as a resource have a far greater influence on practice than book resources or online resources:

To have that personable contact, someone really reliable that you could go to or they could come and do a decent amount of professional development not sort of once a year type thing. I know that's a big pie in the sky, but I think if we're to do it well we need the support. And not the paper support … because we all sort of fumble in the dark, and try and do our best and do a bit here and a stab over here.

Liz [B] said that, in her view, there are a lot of good online resources that she has found helpful, as well as other resource books. But she also felt that the biggest resource was having a more knowledgeable person, especially to provide help with pronunciation of some words. Liz reinforced the importance of supportive, non-judgemental mentors:

I think it's about educating teachers in the right way. Don't have activists taking courses, have sympathetic people who just want teaching. Take the activism away because it really is off-putting. People don't need that.

Informal support

In addition to PD and resource documents, informal support in the form of a human resource was recognised as another form of assistance for teachers. These support people were identified as more knowledgeable mentors, providing advice and guidance around bicultural practice. Teaching colleagues were commonly identified as advisors. Cohort B participant, Liz, recognised two former co-workers as key support providers:

I was in a school that has a [Māori] immersion class there, and I became friends with a lady who was taking it and so I had a lot of support that particular year within my classroom … then I was at another school and we had a lady

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[8] Te Kete Ipurangi is a bilingual online resource tool, developed and maintained by the Ministry of Education, which provides information, resources and curriculum materials to support teachers in Aotearoa-New Zealand schools.
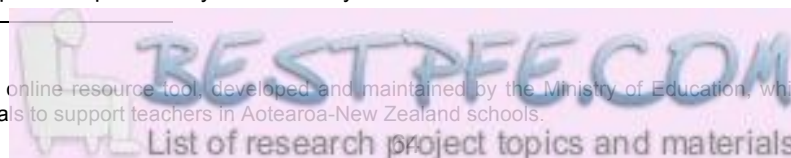
there who took some te reo with the children, but she also helped me out as well … So those two people have probably been behind me, doing stuff and a bit of motivation in the classroom.

Not all the support people identified were teachers. Liz also disclosed that she had approached people in the school community for support and guidance:

Within my classroom, if I've got a Māori parent in there I will generally ask them in the first interview if they have any language or background, whether they might help if I've got some questions.

Ana, also in cohort B, acknowledged the guidance provided by a member of her school's local community: "At my last school we had a kaumatua that that I knew we could access all the time and who was always readily available to help our school with things we were unsure of."

Supportive communities

The influence of school personnel, including colleagues, school management, parents and children in classes, was explored through questions three and four. These focussed on teachers' experiences with members of their school and other supportive communities and the impact that these people have had on teachers' motivation to engage in a bicultural practice.

Steve, Helen and Penny all acknowledged their supportive school community in Cohort B. Steve, for example, explained that this support had to come from the top down. He recognised the contribution of both the current and previous principals to the successful bicultural model the school had developed. In particular, Steve highlighted a number of directives the former principal oversaw. These included the creation of a Māori Leadership position, with an attached unit to it[9], the investment in PD, the appointment of the first Māori teacher in a few years, the support he received in setting up a whanau group, and the appointment of a kapa haka tutor for all children in all classes. Steve also acknowledged the support of the current principal, who takes an active part in the development of Māori across the school.

Like Steve, Julie explained the positive ways in which her school community supports bicultural practice:

As a whole, [the principal] leads us, and we provide a very respectful school for all. And you'd question any parent and that would be the first thing they'd say about that school … They are respectful, they understand why we do it or why we're trying to do it … I would say as a community I don't think we've got anyone who'd say 'don't teach that' or 'why are you doing that'. There might be the odd parent, but generally I think they're very open.

Inhibiting communities

In contrast, some participants identified inhibiting communities. For example, Hamuera [A] and Mark [A] described their experiences in their respective schools, both of which were large, multicultural, middle-class, and with a considerable number of new immigrant families and very few Māori. These demographics raised a number of challenges, starting with limited buy-in from the community. Mark felt that the school structure inhibited rather than promoted the use of te reo and tikanga Māori. Hamuera recalled one comment made to him

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[9] An additional allowance paid to a teacher for extra duties undertaken. As limited numbers of units are available at each school, management decides schools area of focus which dictates where (or to whom) the unit will be delegated.

by a fellow teacher, "I've had a colleague say 'be careful of white flight'… You'll have parents pulling their children out if they see that the school is turning into a Māori school." The impact of this attitude has been that, while senior management are open to ideas, a lot consideration is made around how the community would receive these ideas, and as such a 'tread lightly' approach is taken. Hamuera confessed "… I think he [the principal] always has it in the back of his mind about how the community is going to react."

However, Hamuera conceded that the attitude to placate community members may be slowly shifting. He recounted a recent example in the school of a new male staff member who gained permission to be addressed as 'matua'.[10] This followed the earlier denial of a request by a female teacher to be addressed as 'whaea'. He also acknowledged a small but supportive faction of teachers and parents:

> We have a small core-group of parents who provide positive support to both staff and students, and we [a small group of supportive parents and teachers] are constantly looking at ways to encourage and engage our whanau to be active participants in their children's education. We value their views and their expectations for their children's education.

5.5   Conclusion

The quantitative and qualitative responses from the Phase I questionnaire, alongside the in-depth qualitative feedback attained during the interviews in Phase II, raised a broad range of issues concerning primary teachers' understandings and attitudes towards biculturalism in curriculum and classroom practice. These multiple perspectives on bicultural practice, provided by participants in both cohorts, offered significant insights into a subjective and often complex topic. It also presented rich data from which to draw conclusions and make recommendations. These are extrapolated and discussed in the next chapter.

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[10] 'Mātua' and 'whaea', loosely translated as 'uncle' and 'aunty' are used in an increasing number of New Zealand schools to address male and female staff, in lieu of the Western titles of 'Mister', 'Misses.' or 'Miss'

Chapter 6: Conclusions

Kī mai nei ki ahau. He aha te mea nui ki tēnei ao?   Is glas na conic I bhfad uainn.
Māku e kī atu. "He tangata, he   tangata, he tangata."

If you were to ask me "What is the most important   Distant hills look green.
thing in the world?" I would reply,

"It is people, it is people, it is people."

6.1   Introduction

The previous chapter reported on the findings of the research, which was to investigate the following questions in the context of primary school classrooms in Aotearoa-New Zealand:

1. What are some issues and influences for teachers regarding biculturalism in terms of their understanding and practice?
2. What are teachers' understandings of biculturalism as it is stated in educational policy?
3. How are teachers motivated to engage in a bicultural practice?

The investigation into these broad questions was completed in two phases, and across two cohorts, A and B. Cohort A consisted of 82 teachers from 47 schools exclusively in the Auckland area. Cohort B consisted of 81 teachers from 28 schools across the rest of Aotearoa-New Zealand. In Phase I all participants across both cohorts completed an online survey, which inquired into their knowledge and practice of biculturalism in the classroom. In Phase II, 10 teachers from five schools (across both cohorts) were selected for follow-up interviews, providing greater, in-depth perspectives of biculturalism in practice, both within their classes and across their schools. Through the collation and analysis of the overall data, three bicultural models of professional practice in primary schools became evident, as exemplified by four of the Phase II schools, which I labelled Kura tahi, Kura rua, Kura toru and Kura wha.

The investigation required a thorough examination into teachers' knowledge of the Treaty in educational policy and how it translated into their pedagogical practices. The data tested pre-conceived assumptions and provided a foundation of evidence from which conclusions could be drawn. Supporting literature pertaining to the construct of biculturalism in Aotearoa-New Zealand offered additional context to frame the conclusions and recommendations reported in this chapter.

To achieve in-depth analysis when reviewing the evidence, consideration of the context of Aotearoa-New Zealand's biculturalism - historically, racially, politically, and socially - was required to give some insight into teachers' positioning. The influence of participant selection bias was also recognised, as highlighted by the statistic that only two teachers from a total sample of 163 admitted to not using any Māori language and culture in their classroom practice (one of whom is a Reading Recovery teacher, and therefore not subject to the same bicultural mandates). Bias was acknowledged in the data collection and findings, and required consideration when drawing broad generalisations from the data.

A review of both the empirical data and bicultural literature did not produce clear, straightforward answers to the questions posed, nor was that an expectation when embarking on the research. Instead, the intention was to uncover any underlying issues regarding the broad questions around bicultural understanding and practice in Aotearoa-New Zealand classrooms. Teachers' experiences relating to this ranged from enthusiastic and rewarding, to humiliating and in some cases, traumatic. The analysis of responses premised all experiences as authentic, and was therefore considered in the contexts in which they were provided. To draw conclusions as to which experiences were the 'right' answers to the questions and which were 'wrong' would have been discourteous, both to the participants and the integrity of the research. Therefore, the research uncovered broad trends instead of providing definitive answers to the questions posed.

When framed around the assumptions and broad questions, comprehensive analysis of the extensive data collected pointed to three key conclusions:

1. Māori teachers are not necessarily advantaged in delivering a bicultural practice
2. Teachers' understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi has little influence on their motivation to engage in a bicultural practice. Instead, successful teachers are intrinsically motivated to engage in a bicultural practice rather than motivated by curriculum mandates, bicultural policy or knowledge of history
3. People are the most significant and useful resource in supporting teachers' use of Māori language and culture in the classroom

These conclusions are supported by the research findings, which showed that three bicultural models of professional practice in primary schools were evident:

a) Successful models of bicultural practice
b) Compliant models of bicultural practice
c) Isolated models inhibiting bicultural practice

The data also pointed to a key recommendation: that the key to successful bicultural practice is through an underpinning philosophy that biculturalism is inclusive of all in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

6.2 Conclusions

The bias associated with the selection of participants for this research was a factor which influenced the findings and, hence, my conclusions. The initial email inviting research participants was sent to the school principal, thus an element of gate-keeping enabled principals to respond in three ways:[11]

- Zero access: To reject participation in the research, without consulting teachers[12]

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[11] In the case of two schools, the principal mandated all staff to complete the online questionnaire to use as a self-reflection tool and to determine the level of need for professional development in this area.
[12] Reasons given for non-participation mostly involved time issues, with schools committed to other projects or already engaged in research outputs. Out of respect, Christchurch schools were not consulted due to ongoing stress faced by staff and schools following the 2011 earthquake.

- Controlled access: To select which teachers would participate in the research (in these cases the email was forwarded only to Māori staff member[s], or the teacher in charge of te reo Māori in the school)
- Free choice: All teaching staff were permitted by the principal to participate if they so wished

I concluded that when given the free choice by principals to participate in the research, self-selection bias suggested that only teachers who were confident or interested in biculturalism in their practice opted in. This factor played a part in the key findings of this research.

My analysis of the findings began with evaluating the assumptions that I held when embarking on the research. In terms of biculturalism in primary classroom practice I assumed, first of all, that New Zealand-trained teachers have an advantage over non-New Zealand trained teachers. I concluded, with regard to this assumption, that no conclusive generalisations around the influence of teacher training could be drawn from the data supplied in the Phase I online questionnaire. This was due to the low number of non-New Zealand trained teachers who participated in the research, with only 14 teachers from a total of 163. Further data was needed to investigate whether these teachers had completed any bicultural training subsequent to arriving in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Additionally, this research did not examine how many teachers had trained in Aotearoa-New Zealand prior, or subsequent to *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (MoE, 1993), in which Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi was first mandated at curriculum level. This assumption would therefore require subsequent follow-up in the Phase II interviews. However, this was not investigated further, thus no definitive conclusions regarding the influence of teacher training were drawn.

Key conclusion 1: Māori teachers are not necessarily advantaged in delivering a bicultural practice

An underlying assumption going into this research was that Māori teachers were advantaged over non-Māori teachers regarding a bicultural practice. My assumption was twofold, based on personal philosophy and my experience as a primary teacher. The first underlying premise to my assumption pertained to entitlement. As acknowledged in Chapter One, although I had little knowledge of Māori language and culture, I felt comfortable, as a Māori, accessing that knowledge and passing it on to my students. My ethnic identity gave me (in my view) the right to teach te reo me tikanga Māori. Thus, for me, entitlement was no barrier to a bicultural practice. This premise made me question the same situation for non-Māori teachers. If Māori teachers were asked about their right to teach Māori language and culture in their classrooms, they always had a claim to Māori ethnicity to fall back on. Non-Māori teachers do not have that claim, so need to argue that school policy or curriculum requirements or strong personal and professional interest were the reasons they used Māori language and culture in their classrooms.

A further underlying premise to my first assumption was that Māori teachers had more knowledge of Māori language and culture to support their bicultural practice. While my own lack of knowledge proved that this premise would not be true for all Māori teachers, my conjecture was that the majority of teachers with strong content knowledge would be Māori. These two premises led me to assume that Māori teachers have an advantage over non-Māori teachers in engaging in a bicultural practice. I concluded from the evidence collected that this assumption was unsubstantiated. On the whole, Māori teachers face the same struggles and disadvantages as non-Māori teachers both in terms of entitlement to teach and content knowledge. If anything,

Māori teachers felt more pressure to provide opportunities in Māori language and culture for the children they teach, because of their ethnic identity. As one native Māori speaker explained:

> I believe it is my responsibility, as tangata whenua, to ensure Māori culture and language is delivered and educated in a positive way so a deeper understanding and passion for my culture can be established and carried to future generations.

For Māori teachers who had limited content knowledge, the expectation to disseminate Māori language and culture in the classroom had a compounding negative effect on their confidence. On the other hand, Māori teachers who had comprehensive content knowledge did not escape this pressure. While these teachers found it easier to implement a bicultural practice in their own classroom, the expectation on some was that they take on this role across the school, in addition to their own responsibilities. Often, these teachers felt unsupported in their roles as they were frequently left to lead the school in te reo Māori initiatives, or during events such as pōwhiri. This pressure was compounded by limited buy-in from other staff.

The contrasting experiences of two teachers who held school-created Māori leadership positions highlighted this pressure. Steve, a Pākehā teacher at Kura tahi, with an interest in Māori language and culture, enjoyed his leadership position within the school. He considered that his content knowledge, while not at the same level as someone immersed in Māori language and culture, was more than sufficient to support the needs of his staff. Steve's entitlement to lead the school in Māori was acknowledged by a supportive principal, an enthusiastic staff, and an open-minded school community. Each recognised his passion and commitment to this area, as well as his prior learning.

On the other hand, Hamuera, a native speaker with a strong Māori identity, felt more pressure from his school, Kura toru, because he was the only Māori staff member. While his entitlement to teach Māori language and culture was never in question, it did, instead, come with wider expectations. These included organising and leading the school during pōwhiri, arranging Māori speakers to speak on behalf of the school, tracking Māori achievement, and providing cultural enrichment classes for Māori learners. Hamuera did this with little support from school management, and believed that these tasks were left to him as the only Māori teacher on staff.

With regard to entitlement to teach Māori language and culture, some non-Māori teachers did confess to feeling that it was not their place to teach another's culture to their class. However, these teachers were in the minority. The majority of non-Māori teachers recognised that their 'right', or entitlement, to teach Māori language and culture was secured not through ethnic birthright, but via policy and curriculum mandates, Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi, and by virtue of being New Zealanders living in a country underpinned by a bicultural foundation. To these non-Māori teachers, being New Zealanders meant identifying Māori culture as unique to their country. They considered that it was 'right' that they taught it. While recognising that the self-selection bias by non-Māori teachers to participate in the research affected this finding, it was, nonetheless a positive and hopeful outcome for a bicultural practice in this country.

Key conclusion 2: Teachers' understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi had little influence on their motivation to engage in a bicultural practice. Instead, successful teachers are intrinsically motivated to engage in a bicultural practice rather than motivated by curriculum mandates, bicultural policy or knowledge of history

As reported in Chapter Five, Statement C1.a examined teachers' perceived knowledge of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi and its influence on the construct of biculturalism. In analysing the quantitative and qualitative data collected in Phase I, it became apparent that teachers' knowledge and interpretation of the Treaty was widely varied in terms of their positioning and perspectives. Responses showed that the majority of teachers were neutral, which suggested that they held no definitive knowledge or position regarding the Treaty. To this end qualitative data, which clarified teachers' perspectives, identified a variety of knowledge gaps, misconceptions, or alternative interpretations. These were based on the teachers' diverse values, beliefs, worldviews and professional and personal experiences. This diversity resulted in a wide variety of interpretations and understandings of the Treaty. These were illustrated by teachers in cohorts A and B, grouped under the following themes:

Ambivalent Treaty knowledge:

It seems that the two parties should be equal but the two versions seem to disagree, however I don't remember the detail in the documents – Dot [B]

I do get it about the Treaty of Waitangi but how much of it is about our children? I do wonder how much focus is on education of Maori students/children or is it everything else? Rights? Money? – Sharelle [B]

Is biculturalism a term used in the Treaty? Sad to say I have not read the actual document – Trixie [B]

I have an idea what it means but I haven't studied the Treaty of Waitangi to get a true understanding - Helen [B]

I don't really know much about the detailed contents within the Treaty of Waitangi [regarding] biculturalism – Sarah-Louise [A]

Misinterpretation of the Treaty:

The combining of the two cultures Maori and English – Tegan [B]

Two cultures as one – Megan [B]

I took Te Reo Maori at school for two years – Ray [B]

I am more comfortable with the term multicultural, I find bicultural exclusive – Trixie [B]

New Zealand, and my school in particular, are multicultural. We cannot emphasize one culture more than others. That is racism – Phil [A]

Unsympathetic towards the Treaty:

> In all honesty, I sometimes get tired of hearing about the treaty - the past is that - we need to move forward as a group - for our children and their children - I am not responsible for the sins of my fathers ... Blame is not helpful or conducive to working together and respecting and accepting for what you are and supporting with change - Bea [B]

> Non-Māori are not really interested. Even most urban Maori aren't interested – Phil [A]

> My understanding of biculturalism is quite strong but probably diverges strongly from the accepted concept of "biculturalism in the treaty" … This does NOT mean I feel Maori culture, history, language and politics should be denied - just that it is not asserted in the treaty and there are other reasons for promoting Maori culture not just because it may be "bi cultural". I have serious issues at the "bludgeoning" approach at getting Maori aspects into our classroom "because it is biculturally correct". The curriculum puts Maori ahead of other cultures, implies a lesser value to Pākehā aspects and other cultures' aspects – Fred [A]

A learned disposition towards the Treaty:

> We are equal partners but the Māori culture has pride of place because this is [their] home, here in Aotearoa – Faith [A]

> I have made sure that I understand what is in the Treaty document as I feel it is an important part of teaching a class of students that come from all cultures. It is about respect and acknowledging the past – Rose [B]

> The treaty refers to settlers and Māori. Māori hold a position of mana due to them being tangata whenua. Maori have the right to retain their language and the right to be consulted over decisions regarding the land and it resources – Abbi [A]

> I understand the significance of Maori having the rights to uphold their culture and values - they are the signed Treaty partners. Despite our country becoming increasingly 'multicultural', unlike other cultures (although important), we have a Treaty and therefore obligation with Maori – Emma [A]

I concluded that despite the variety of perceptions around Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi, stated by teachers in both cohorts, motivation to engage in a bicultural practice was nonetheless evident. This also aligned with Phase I findings, which indicated that although a number of teachers expressed a lack of confidence in their ability to use Māori language and culture in the classroom, qualitative data showed that teachers were still keen to honour biculturalism in their practice. For a majority of teachers the motivation was intrinsic, rather than guided by curriculum mandates, bicultural policy or knowledge of history.

Therefore, it was the teachers' motivation, rather than their understanding of the Treaty or of bicultural policy, which provided the focus for the Phase II follow-up interviews. For Māori teachers, intrinsic motivation was induced by the value they placed on their own culture and identity, and the responsibility they felt to impart Māori language and culture as tangata whenua. Non-Māori teachers were motivated by their identity as New Zealanders, and the obligations this bestowed on them via Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi.

Key conclusion 3: People are the most significant resources in supporting teachers' use of Māori language and culture in the classroom.

When the teachers explained the ways through which they acquire knowledge, support and skills for teaching te reo and tikanga Māori, three main sources were cited. These were online resources and websites (in particular TKI – Te Kete Ipurangi, the Ministry of Education website outlining resources and guidance for teaching in Aotearoa-New Zealand), books and facilitators. Only four teachers across the two cohorts endorsed websites and books as a successful form of support, indicating that these types of resources were not so effective, or that they are underutilised.

What became overwhelmingly evident was that the teachers' most preferred type of resource was an expert facilitator who was able to consult face-to-face with staff. Teachers who received this type of support reported higher levels of success compared with those who relied on books and websites. Community members, educational consultants or more knowledgeable teachers were utilised in schools for their expertise. Without exception, teachers stated that the consultant needed to be supportive and non-judgemental, otherwise staff were dissuaded from pursuing knowledge. As Liz [B] said earlier:

> I think it's about educating teachers in the right way, don't have activists taking courses, have sympathetic people who just want teaching [teachers to be up skilled]. Take the activism away because it really is off-putting. People don't need that.

Jack supported this view:

> We have needed an external support person in our school which we now have this year to regularly come on board and help teachers, including giving them confidence to practice Te Reo in staff meetings. Giving the practice of speaking in Te Reo as a group of staff is important - in a safe context so teachers can grow in confidence.

The need for supportive practitioners was highlighted in one school, which had accepted support from a grandmother who wanted more te reo Māori spoken and used in assessment of learning. She approached the school, describing herself as an activist for Māori rights. While the teachers were motivated by her support and engaged in her teaching, they were also cautious, as they wanted to be encouraged and not dissuaded. As one teacher said, "That's fantastic, providing she doesn't start pointing the finger and saying 'you're not doing it right so you've got to get this sorted' as this is going to get their [teachers] backs up." The same school lamented the loss of the resource teacher in Māori, who had been successful in the past, providing support for teachers without "making us feel bad for what we couldn't do."

In highlighting the need for 'people resources' the principal at Kura D expressed support for Ministry of Education initiatives such as *Tataiako*, but lamented the fact that these obligations are directed without sufficient support. He said, "We get so many things sent to the school, in Maori, which is great, but ... I read it and think 'yes, this encapsulates the essence of our school ... but I actually need the support that goes with it, the person whose brains I can pick."

6.3 Locating three bicultural models of school practice: Cause for reflection

Comprehensive analysis of overall data provided clear indicators of success (or non-success) relating to biculturalism in primary schools. I identified these indicators as the schools' motivations and influences for

engaging in a bicultural practice, cohesion and buy-in across the staff, investment in biculturalism made by the school, and the authenticity of bicultural practices implemented. Using these indicators, three bicultural models of school practice became evident:

Model A: Successful bicultural practice

Schools with successful bicultural practice were identified through cross-referencing three variables following Phase I of the research. The first variable was a principal who gave free choice to all staff to participate. Selection bias would suggest that principals like this were confident in their school's bicultural practice, and therefore comfortable giving their teachers free choice to engage in the research. The second variable was the high 'hit rate' of participants from a school given free choice, indicating a high number of teachers with an interest, or confidence in, their bicultural practice. The third variable was the positive quantitative and qualitative data received from these teachers.

Through cross-analysis of these three variables, two schools (one from each cohort) which participated were identified as successful models of bicultural practice. Of these two schools, Kura tahi from cohort B, was selected for further investigation in Phase II. Kura tahi had a roll of over 400 pupils, only 5% of whom identified as Māori. In addition, of the 18 full-time classroom teachers, only one identified as Māori, and she/he had recently joined the staff. The feedback across all eight participant teachers at this school was positive in terms of being confident in using Māori language and culture in their classroom. Only one of these teachers identified as Māori, discrediting my assumption that Māori teachers have an advantage over non-Māori teachers. Common responses pointed to the success of quality professional development and the support of leadership within the school. Of the eight teachers, three were invited to contribute further to this research through a one-to-one interview in Phase II. The participation of these three allowed me to better understand bicultural practice in their classrooms, and to investigate school-wide practices that pointed to building an overall picture of a successful model of biculturalism in primary schools.

I was able to draw clear conclusions regarding Kura tahi's success through the influences which drove their commitment to biculturalism. This school's success was underpinned by the premise that biculturalism is for all New Zealanders. Consequently, Kura tahi did not allow the ethnicities of its staff or pupils to be a barrier to teaching and learning te reo and tikanga Māori, nor was it an excuse to opt-out. They were not influenced by the presence or absence of Māori families at the school, nor were they motivated by a need to serve Māori children. Kura tahi also did not 'opt out' of bicultural mandates and focus solely on multiculturalism[13] (as did some other schools). Recognising that biculturalism is for all New Zealanders enabled this school to circumvent barriers that became stumbling blocks for others.

In this respect, Kura tahi held the expectation that all staff would use and teach te reo and tikanga Māori to all pupils. The place and purpose of biculturalism across the school was about honouring bicultural mandates by ensuring both Māori and Pākeha culture were present, visible and meaningful, strongly aligning with the principles of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007). The underpinning philosophy of inclusiveness at this school provided a meaningful place for all teachers and pupils within a bicultural framework, based on the validity of being New Zealand citizens and/or residents, and regardless of individual heritages. With everyone's

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[13] Multiculturalism, expressed through opportunities to learn about and appreciate other cultures, was also strongly present across *Kura A*, alongside biculturalism.

place in the partnership secured, Kura tahi then invested in the ongoing resourcing and up-skilling of its teachers. This was achieved through a contracted facilitator who provided professional development in te reo and tikanga Māori to the teachers.

The facilitator empowered all teachers, regardless of their ability and knowledge, by providing practical teaching examples and access to resources which teachers could implement immediately in their classes. The sessions were scaffolded so that teachers of all abilities were challenged, through an inclusive, non-threatening approach (corresponding with key conclusion three). The practical component and the face-to-face facilitation negated the sense of anxiety caused by being unsure of correct content and not wanting to cause offence. The facilitator used positive reinforcement and encouragement, highlighting the progress staff made. According to one teacher, this was an approach that staff responded well to.

The authenticity of bicultural practices at Kura tahi was illustrated by the use of ongoing, real-life contexts through which te reo and tikanga Māori were not only learnt, but experienced. All children participated in Kapa Haka once a week with an itinerant tutor who visited each class for 30 to 60 minute sessions. A school-wide Kapa Haka group had also been established for those children who wanted to further their experience. The school observed tikanga Māori practices in authentic contexts, such as pōwhiri for visitors, poroporoaki upon the passing of someone connected to the school, Matariki and marae visits (noho marae). A whanau group, made up of willing parents keen to sustain and grow Māori language and culture across the school, supported these practices. In keeping with the philosophy of biculturalism and inclusiveness, the whanau group was made up of both Māori and non-Māori parents. Parents who had knowledge of tikanga and te reo Māori were encouraged to join, as were parents who wanted to be involved and learn more in this area. In addition to school-wide visibility, te reo Māori was normalised in the classrooms via lessons and activities facilitated by each teacher, or embedded into everyday use. Again, teacher ethnicity provided no barrier, as teachers from non-Māori backgrounds (including overseas born and trained teachers) were able to be successful within this domain.

Model B: Compliant biculturalism

A feature of compliant models is when biculturalism is 'seen to be done' at a surface level, but is ultimately unsuccessful in obligating the bicultural mandate. A number of participant schools in this research could be classified as compliant schools, two of which were examined further in Phase II (Kura rua and Kura toru). In both schools, where the teaching staff and pupils were predominantly non-Māori, responsibility for te reo and tikanga Māori across the school was delegated to the one Māori teacher on the staff.

The findings showed that compliant schools, like Kura rua and Kura toru, failed to commit fully to biculturalism in practice due to misguided motivation. These two schools were motivated by extrinsic factors. In the case of both Kura rua and Kura toru, this meant an upcoming ERO visit, or a one-off learning experience (such as a marae visit). Compliant schools fail to successfully implement bicultural practices because either they, or their school community, regarded biculturalism as irrelevant to them. Biculturalism was defined as relevant only in communities with high numbers of Māori pupils. The fact that Kura rua and Kura toru had very few Māori pupils allowed some teachers to 'opt out' of bicultural mandates, as they did not see any relevance to their context. These two schools also operated within inhibiting communities, in which non-Māori parents were vocal in questioning the relevance of their children learning te reo and tikanga Māori. Often, compliant schools focus solely on multiculturalism, at the expense of biculturalism. In terms of cohesion, compliant schools like Kura rua

and Kura toru lacked buy-in from all teaching staff. They relied on one lead (Māori) teacher or a small group of motivated teachers, to 'take care of' the bicultural component of the school policy.

The Māori staff member of Kura rua was given a free mandate, and described himself as having an autonomous role within the school in terms of bicultural practice. In this respect he felt able to integrate his knowledge into his classroom practice, without the necessity to gain the consent of senior staff or other teachers. While he had the support of senior management (particularly the principal) to proceed in this area as he saw fit, there was little, or no buy-in across the school, and therefore most bicultural practices only took place within his class. When questioned about this, the teacher said, "My knowledge is not reciprocated with some of my colleagues, they do not want to see or use it when it is right there for them to tap into."

At Kura toru, the only Māori teacher on staff, who had been given responsibility for biculturalism within the school, found it difficult to gain buy-in from colleagues. He said:

> I am responsible for the te reo Māori curriculum at my school and I have found that some teachers (often foreign teachers) have little or no interest in teaching te reo in their classrooms. I have run pronunciation workshops for them but they have not turned up. I have offered one-to-one tutoring with little interest as well.

In these two compliant schools, where biculturalism was more about 'ticking the box', concentrated investment in the use of te reo and tikanga Māori occurred, but with little or no ongoing follow-up. This took the form of an short term investment of time at Kura toru. Here, senior management would invest a concentrated amount of time for the learning and practice of specific content, ensuring that an event, such as pōwhiri, would proceed smoothly. This was in contrast to Kura tahi, who would be prepared for pōwhiri at any time due to the ongoing investment in up-skilling teachers and pupils. As the only Māori teacher on the staff at Kura toru explained:

> We have little time to prepare Maori / bi-lingual resources that can be used. At my school there is no budget for this and buying these items out of my own money is not possible as sometimes they can be quite expensive.

Compliant schools fail to utilise ongoing authentic contexts through which biculturalism could be experienced. When presented with relevant, contextual learning opportunities, compliant schools habitually do just enough to get through, often leaving the majority of the planning and teaching up to one lead teacher (usually Māori) or a small number of teachers to co-ordinate. This meant that the remaining staff members learned little from the experience.

With the exception of the lead teacher (and the pupils for whom they were responsible) school-wide teaching was rarely meaningful in a compliant setting, consisting of surface level experiences such as learning certain songs, knowing when to sing them and knowing when to stand up and sit down. Afterwards, little or no follow up occurred in teaching and learning, thus compliant schools like this failed to secure a depth of understanding of te reo and tikanga Māori practices, both with its staff and its pupils. Compliant schools were pervaded by a 'we do it because we have to' attitude. This meant that real-life learning contexts were not utilised to their fullest potential, in contrast to successful schools such as Kura tahi, who seized upon every opportunity to learn about and practice te reo and tikanga Māori in real-life situations, through an informed staff and a supportive community.

Model C: Biculturalism in isolation ('island' schools)

From the analysis of Phase I data, Kura wha was identified as a third school model, that of biculturalism in isolation or the 'island' schools concept. Isolated schools are highly motivated to improve and foster their teaching of te reo and tikanga Māori, but lack the capacity, skills or knowledge to do so within their staff, thus they look for outside support. Kura wha, which was examined in greater depth in the Phase II interviews, displayed all the traits of a successful school within a bicultural partnership, but when seeking additional support it encountered barriers.

As with successful bicultural schools, the ethnicity of staff, pupils and community at Kura wha were not barriers to bicultural practice, and buy-in across the staff was high. School leaders at this school were willing to invest in bicultural professional development. With a largely Pākeha staff and an 18% Māori roll, there was consistent evidence of genuine motivation across its staff and principal. However, despite displaying all the indicators of a successful model, Kura wha encountered inhibiting barriers. One statement from a staff member highlighted this positive disposition, alongside the effect of isolation on bicultural practice:

> By living in New Zealand, we need to learn 'the story' of our land and this is the history of Maori, how they once lived, how they live now and how we need to keep the culture alive … My personal knowledge is not great, however I will teach Maori (language and culture) in as greater authentic settings as possible to continue to expose students to the language and culture in a way that is 'natural'. Our location inhibits the support that we get.

He added:

> I would like to use Maori more in my practice - and I do have the time - I don't have the knowledge that I would like to have. It is relevant to my students and our school.

Ann, another teacher at Kura wha, expressed willingness to engage in professional development to advance her knowledge:

> I would like to think that I have a reasonable understanding, but am not expert, so am happy to be told by an expert where I lack understanding.

Despite the continued attempts from a highly motivated principal, and the positive disposition of the staff and school community, Kura wha had difficulty engaging outside support to aid and guide their teaching of te reo and tikanga Māori, in a rich and genuine context.

Summary

The third key conclusion I drew from the research was reinforced by the teachers' views that people are the most significant resources in supporting a bicultural practice. This was confirmed by schools within Model A, in particular Kura tahi, whose success was largely attributed to the value of the facilitator the school had employed. For Kura wha, an isolated location presented a barrier inhibiting the face-to-face support staff received, even though they themselves acknowledged that people, not websites or books, were their preferred resource. As one teacher at that school commented:

It would just be nice if we had more parents that were perhaps proficient in it where they could offer to come and help us with the language really and knowing the rights and wrongs … I mean it's fine for you to read it or to hear it on YouTube or wherever, but hearing a live person, really speaking it gives you that much more motivation, and it's there. As far as team leadership goes we're working hard to get it more active in our school.

Attempts to organise relevant learning contexts had been made by Kura wha. These included engaging with local iwi and requesting a marae stay, so that pupils could experience Māori language and culture in an authentic setting. However, this request was rejected, with the school being told that the visit 'didn't suit them' (the marae). As the principal stated, "the barrier was put up from the marae, and I feel nothing comes back from the marae saying "can we reach into your school and help you in some way?" The lack of engagement from iwi was disappointing, as the principal was aware that the school was located in a culturally significant location which provided a rich and authentic context for learning. Instead, staff sought alternative sources of support, mainly through online resources, which were not always successful. In one example, staff attempted to enrol in an online te reo and tikanga Māori course, only to be denied access for being overqualified. As one teacher recalled:

[The principal] has tried really hard. [Tertiary institute] was offering a course, free, in te reo so everyone put their application in, but we were told 'you're all too highly qualified, none of you are allowed to apply, none of you are allowed on the course.' It was discouraging, and it seemed such a shame.

The location of three bicultural models of school practice during this research gives cause for reflection. The models provide some clear, key directives for schools aspiring towards success in fulfilling bicultural mandates, particularly that of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007). They offer, in differing ways, possibilities available to principals and teachers to enhance their bicultural practices in primary school classrooms, regardless of ethnicities, knowledge of Te Tiriti o Waitangi-Treaty of Waitangi or proficiency in te reo and tikanga Māori. These directives have informed the final recommendations and concluding thoughts of this research.

CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS AND FINAL THOUGHTS

He pai te tirohanga ki nga mahara mo nga raa
pahemo engari ka puta te maaramatanga i runga i te
titiro whakamua.

Is olc an ghaoth nach séideann maith do dhuine
éigin.

It's fine to have recollections of the past but wisdom
comes from being able to prepare opportunities for the
future.

It's a bad wind that doesn't blow good for someone
(there are always benefits from adversity).

7.1   Where to from here?

The outcomes of this research have led me to the firm belief that the key to successful bicultural practice in primary school classrooms is through establishing an underpinning philosophy that biculturalism is inclusive of all in Aotearoa-New Zealand. The term bicultural, through its use of the prefix 'bi', meaning 'two', creates the misinformed view that biculturalism is only applicable to Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders, and excludes 'others'. This was evident, time and time again, through the teachers' comments in which they described their preference for multiculturalism over biculturalism, or when stating that multiculturalism was more relevant for their schools. The successful schools understood that biculturalism and multiculturalism are not an either/or dichotomy. Both are stated within our curriculum, and therefore both have a place within our schools. The misnomer that biculturalism is only for Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders must be seriously questioned and reconsidered, for the following reasons:

- It places biculturalism in direct opposition to multiculturalism, whereby schools then opt for one over the other;
- It disempowers non-New Zealand teachers, as well as Pākehā teachers, enabling them to opt-out of biculturalism. As Lourie (2011) states "If everyday non-Māori New Zealanders cannot find a place for themselves in the partnership established by the Treaty of Waitangi discourse, this could result in a total rejection of biculturalism" (p. 218);
- It feeds the misguided belief that biculturalism has racist overtones, through the promotion of Māori language and culture at the expense of other cultures;
- It enables schools to leave bicultural practices as the sole domain of Māori teachers, with little support.

These reasons align with the Treaty of Waitangi principle in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007, p. 9), which states, "The curriculum acknowledges the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the bicultural foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand. *All* (emphasis added) students have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga." (p. 9).

7.2   Final thoughts

Embracing the philosophy that biculturalism promotes inclusivity of all, and rejecting the biculturalism/multiculturalism dichotomy, enables buy-in across any school and staff. It does this by giving biculturalism relevance to all - staff, pupils, families and their communities - by way of our shared setting of Aotearoa-New Zealand. As residents of this country, we can all potentially embrace biculturalism. At the same time, by way of our own individual backgrounds, we can also embrace multiculturalism. Neither are mutually exclusive.

Establishing an underpinning philosophy that embraces the notion of biculturalism for all in New Zealand schools provides a firm foundation from which successful practice can grow. Forward planning by school leaders can then focus on training and up-skilling of teachers. As concluded in this chapter, this is most successfully achieved through school leadership which enables, not hinders, the presence of a face-to-face facilitator who is positive, encouraging and non-judgemental. Such a presence must be accompanied by self-reflection and self-belief on the part of teachers. As their knowledge of te reo and tikanga Māori grows, their teaching of te reo and tikanga Māori in the classroom can become more purposeful, creating a powerful, capacity-building effect across the school. As capacity increases school-wide, teaching and learning can move into authentic contexts with confidence rather than apprehension. Here, experiences become synthesised on a deeper level, beyond being 'learned' at surface level. Pōwhiri, noho marae, Matariki and poroporoaki (to name a few) provide rich learning experiences that foster deeper understanding of tangata whenua culture. With all teachers, pupils and their families enabled to participate and contribute in the bicultural experience, this can affirm all New Zealanders' place in the bicultural partnership. As *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007, p. (14) states:

> By learning te reo and becoming increasingly familiar with tikanga, Māori students strengthen their identities, while non-Māori journey towards shared cultural understandings. All who learn te reo Māori help to secure its future as a living, dynamic, and rich language. As they learn, they come to appreciate that diversity is a key to unity.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Initial email to principals requesting research participation, phase I

Dear _____,

My name is Pauline Adams, and I am currently completing my Master of Education thesis through the University of Auckland. This research is centered on understanding biculturalism in curriculum and classroom practices in Aotearoa/New Zealand primary schools.

This research is motivated by my experiences as a primary school teacher. It aims to examine primary school teachers' understandings of the Te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi and its place in the New Zealand Curriculum. I will also be investigating how teachers' understandings of the Treaty may, or may not, be evident in their classroom practices, and whether there are any internal and/or external influences that affect teachers' practices regarding biculturalism and the Treaty.

This email is an informal request to ask if you and your school would kindly consider assisting me in my research. This research involves 32 teachers from 16 schools across randomly selected across Aotearoa/New Zealand. Your school, along with two of your teaching staff has been selected as participant schools through the random selection.

The two teachers randomly selected from your school (via your school website) are:

• (Teacher A)
• (Teacher B)

If either of these two teachers are unavailable then please could you consider the next teacher on your staff alphabetically (according to surname).

This research will consist of two phases. In phase one, the selected teachers from your school will complete an emailed online survey around te reo me tikanga Maori/Maori language and Maori customs in their classroom practice. This survey should take no more than 20 minutes. All answers will be treated with confidentiality.

Phase Two will involve 4 - 6 of the 32 teachers who participated in phase one. In phase two, teachers selected will participate in a one to one interview with myself, to discuss in greater depth those issues highlighted by the teacher in phase one. This interview will take place at your school, or in a location chosen by the participant teacher. For triangulation purposes, phase two will also include analysing document data, in the form of bicultural policies that your school may have. Therefore, I am kindly asking your initial permission to:

• Allow two teachers from your school to partake in phase one, online survey

In the possible event that one of your teachers is selected to participate in phase two, interview, I am also asking your initial permission:

• To interview one or both teachers either on your school premises or in another location selected by the teacher/s
• For access to or copies of school policies that mention or pertain to te reo Maori me tikanga

Maori/Maori language and Maori customs at your school.

Should you allow me initial permission to conduct my research at your school, I will email you a Participant Information Form (PIS) as well as a Consent Form, with further information.

Please understand that what I am seeking now is only an initial permission, and that your teachers and your school are free to withdraw that permission on receipt of the PIS and Consent Form, or at any time during the research. If you would like further information before giving initial permission, I would be happy to assist.

Thank you for your consideration. I look forward to your reply.

Kind regards,

Pauline Adams
Researcher
University of Auckland, Faculty of Education

Appendix B: Revised email to principals requesting research participation, phase I

Dear _____,

My name is Pauline Adams and I am a primary school teacher.

In my time as a primary school teacher I have always struggled to implement Maori language and culture into my classroom teaching practice, even though I myself am Maori. I am currently completing my master's thesis, investigating biculturalism in the classroom. I am specifically interested in finding out what barriers teachers like myself may identify in this context. I am also interested in identifying good practices that successful teachers use in the classroom.

I am therefore writing to ask your permission for any teachers on your staff to contribute to this research by completing a very quick online questionnaire, and will only take a few minutes of their time. All contributions will be confidential. I understand teachers are very busy people, but any participation would be greatly appreciated.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at this email address.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Pauline Adams
Researcher
University of Auckland, Faculty of Education

Appendix C: Participant information sheets and consent forms for principals and teachers

School of Arts, Languages and Literacies

THE UNIVERSITY
OF AUCKLAND

FACULTY OF EDUCATION
Te Kura Akoranga o Tāmaki Makaurau
Incorporating the Auckland College of Education

Epsom Campus
Gate 3, 74 Epsom Avenue
Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone 64 9 623 8899
Facsimile 64 9 623 8898
www.education.auckland.ac.nz
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601,
Symonds Street
Auckland 1150
New Zealand

Participant Information Sheet

For the Principal

Principal:

School:

Researcher: Pauline Jane Adams

Title of research: Bringing Biculturalism to the classroom: Understanding biculturalism in curriculum and classroom practices in Aotearoa-New Zealand primary schools

Dear _____,

This letter is to ask if you would kindly consider assisting me with a research project I am conducting as part of the requirements for my Master of Education degree at The University of Auckland under the supervision of Dr Jill Smith. The research is motivated by my experiences as a primary school teacher.

The aim of my research is to examine primary school teachers' understandings of biculturalism and its place in the *New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007). I am specifically interested in finding out what barriers teachers like myself may identify in this context, and what advantages successful teachers may have.

The research will consist of an **online questionnaire,** which will be sent to all willing participants. To protect their identity teachers will be asked to nominate a first name pseudonym that will be used in any reporting of the research, together with the numeric coding for each school.

I wish to give you the following assurances.

- The participation of the teachers is voluntary.

- Your school and the teachers have the right to withdraw from this research at any time, or withdraw information you have provided up until the commencement of data analysis, without giving a reason. I anticipate that this will be in June 2013.
- To protect the identity of participants, consent forms and data will be stored separately and securely by my supervisor at The University of Auckland. These will be kept for a period of six years and then destroyed. However, while every attempt will be made to protect the identity of your school and the teachers, through coding and pseudonyms, anonymity cannot be guaranteed.
- I also seek your assurance that the teachers' decision to participate or not in this research will not affect their employment status or relationship with the school.

At the completion of the study your school will receive a summary of the main findings. The final report will be submitted for assessment for my Masters of Education from the University of Auckland and a copy of the thesis will be accessible online at the University of Auckland library. Findings will also be used for publication and conference presentations.

I do hope you will agree to teachers in your school participating in this research. If so, please sign the Consent Form and return it to me in the envelope provided.

Yours sincerely,

Pauline Adams

My contact details are:
Pauline Adams
pada009@auckland.ac.nz

My supervisor is:
Dr Jill Smith
School of Arts, Languages and Literacies
Faculty of Education
The University of Auckland
j.smith@auckland.ac.nz
Phone: (09) 623 8899 extn 48713.

For ethical concerns please contact:
The Chair
The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee
The University of Auckland
Office of the Vice-Chancellor
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142

**THE UNIVERSITY
OF AUCKLAND
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The University of Auckland
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Symonds Street
Auckland 1150
New Zealand

Consent Form

For the Principal / Chair, Board of Trustees
This form will be held for a period of six years

Principal:

School:

Researcher: Pauline Adams

Title of research: Bringing Biculturalism to the classroom: Understanding biculturalism in curriculum and classroom practices in Aotearoa-New Zealand primary schools

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet, and I have understood the nature of the research
- I agree that the researcher may approach teaching staff to complete the online questionnaire
- I understand that I may withdraw my permission for the research to be conducted in the school at any time, without giving a reason
- I understand that I may withdraw information that has been provided by the teachers at any stage up until the commencement of data analysis, without giving a reason
- I understand that data will be kept for 6 years, after which they will be destroyed
- I understand that this Consent Form will be securely stored separately from the research data for six years beyond the completion of the research, when both will be destroyed
- I understand that neither my name, nor any identifiable information about me or the school, will be used in the research report
- I understand that the participation of the teachers is voluntary, and I give my assurance that the decision of either or both teachers to participate, or not, in the research will not affect their employment status or relationship with the school

Principal's signature: **Date:**

....

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 28/07/2011 FOR 3 YEARS, Reference Number 2011 / 358

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
Te Kura Akoranga o Tāmaki Makaurau
Incorporating the Auckland College of Education

Participant Information Sheet

For Teachers

Teacher:

School:

Researcher: Pauline Adams

Title of research: Bringing Biculturalism to the classroom: Understanding biculturalism in curriculum and classroom practices in Aotearoa-New Zealand primary schools

Dear _____,

Your Principal has given permission for me to invite you to participate in a research project I am conducting as part of the requirements for my Master of Education degree at The University of Auckland under the supervision of Dr Jill Smith. The research is motivated by my experiences as a primary school teacher.

The aim of my research is to examine primary school teachers' understandings of biculturalism and its place in the *New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007). I am specifically interested in finding out what barriers teachers like myself may identify in this context, and what advantages successful teachers may have.

I wish to give you the following assurances.

- Your participation is voluntary.
- You have the right to withdraw from this research at any time, or withdraw information you have provided up until the commencement of data analysis, without giving a reason. I anticipate that this will be in June 2013.
- To protect your identity, consent forms and data will be stored separately and securely by my supervisor at The University of Auckland. These will be kept for a period of six years and then destroyed. While every attempt will be made to protect the identity of you and your school, through coding and pseudonyms, anonymity cannot be guaranteed.
- Your Principal has also given assurance that your decision to participate or not in this research will not affect your employment status or relationship with the school.

At the completion of the study your school will receive a summary of the main findings. The final report will be submitted for assessment for my Masters of Education from the University of Auckland and a copy of the thesis will be accessible online at the University of Auckland library. Findings will also be used for publication and conference presentations.

I do hope you will agree to participate in this research. If so, please sign the Consent Form and return it to me in the envelope provided.

Yours sincerely

Pauline Adams

My contact details are:
Pauline Adams
pada009@auckland.ac.nz

My supervisor is:
Dr Jill Smith
School of Arts, Languages and Literacies
Faculty of Education
The University of Auckland
j.smith@auckland.ac.nz
Phone: (09) 623 8899 extn 48713.

For ethical concerns please contact:
The Chair
The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee
The University of Auckland
Office of the Vice-Chancellor
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 28/07/2011 FOR 3 YEARS, Reference Number 2011 / 358

**THE UNIVERSITY
OF AUCKLAND**

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

Te Kura Akoranga o Tāmaki Makaurau
Incorporating the Auckland College of Education

Consent Form

For the Teacher

This form will be held for a period of six years

Teacher:

School:

Researcher: Pauline Adams

Title of research: Bringing Biculturalism to the classroom: Understanding biculturalism in curriculum and classroom practices in Aotearoa-New Zealand primary schools

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet, and I have understood the nature of the research.
- I agree to participate in **online questionnaire**
- I understand that I may withdraw the information I provided in the questionnaire up until the commencement of data analysis, without giving a reason
- I understand that I may withdraw the information I provided on school documentation up until the commencement of data analysis, without giving a reason
- I understand that data will be kept for 6 years, after which they will be destroyed
- I understand that this Consent Form will be securely stored separately from the research data for six years beyond the completion of the research, when both will be destroyed
- I understand that neither my name, nor any identifiable information about me, the Principal or the school will be used in the research report. I confirm that I have no previous history with the researcher. I also understand that while the researcher will not publish, discuss or release my personal details or the details of my school/employer, anonymity cannot be completely guaranteed
- I understand that my participation is voluntary, and that the Principal has given assurance that my decision to participate, or not, in the research will not affect my employment status or relationship with the school

Teacher's signature: **Teacher's first name pseudonym:**   **Date:**

....

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 28/07/2011 FOR 3 YEARS, Reference Number 2011 / 358

Appendix D: Email to teachers and principals requesting research participation, phase II

Tēnā koe _____,

Earlier this year you participated in a research project that was examining teachers' understanding of biculturalism and what that looked like in their practice, specifically how teachers incorporate te reo and tikanga Māori into their teaching practice. As I stated in my opening email I am a New Zealand Māori/Pakeha teacher who has always struggled with incorporating te reo Māori and tikanga Māori in my practice, and so it was inspiring to hear of other teachers across Aotearoa-New Zealand, some of whom struggle like me but many who have been (and continue to be) successful in their practice.

The first phase of data collection was highly successful with around 150 participants completing the online questionnaire. After analyzing the initial data I've been able to identify some strong recurring themes that I'd like to investigate further.

From the 150 participants I've selected eight teachers to interview further in order to you gain a deeper perspective from their responses. As one of the eight selected respondents I am writing to request a follow-up interview in which we can discuss some of these themes, in particular looking at teachers and their experiences within a bicultural partnership.

I myself am still a full time teacher and so I have been given a limited amount of study leave in which to conduct the interviews. I am based in _____, and will be travelling to schools across the North and South Islands in order to gain a wide perspective. The interview itself is not long, at no more than thirty to forty minutes. It is my intention to travel to all selected schools to conduct the interviews kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face).

I will be available all of next week to conduct interviews in your area. I apologise if this is short notice, however I have an open schedule and would be available at any time or day convenient to you, unless another teacher books in first.

Again, I thank you for your participation in the first phase, I do hope that you are able to participate in the second phase. Should you have any questions I am happy to answer these via this email or over the phone. My number is _____.

Thank you for your consideration. I look forward to your reply.

Kind regards,

Pauline Adams
Researcher
University of Auckland, Faculty of Education

Appendix E: Online survey questionnaire

Thank you once again for taking the time to complete this survey. Your input is sincerely appreciated. The intention of this research is to gain an overall picture of how teachers understand biculturalism as it is stated in *The New Zealand Curriculum* Document (2007) and how that understanding translates in their teaching practice. Please be honest with your answers, and be assured that all responses will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and respect.

* Required

SECTION A: Participant Information

A1.   NAME *

A2.   First Name PSEUDONYM *

Please select a pseudonym that can be used in the research to protect your identity.

A3.   GENDER *

☐   Male

☐   Female

A4.   Your Ethnicity or Ethnicities *

This question is to ensure a broad representation. Please choose as many options as appropriate

☐   New Zealand European/Pakeha

☐   Māori

☐   Pacific Islands (Please specify below)

☐   Asian (Please specify below)

☐   African (Please specify below)

☐   Other European (Please specify below)

☐   Other (Please specify below)

Please specify other ethnicities here

A5.   Country in which you were born *

☐   New Zealand

☐   Other (Please specify below)

If born outside of New Zealand, please specify other country here:

A6.   Country in which you completed your teacher training *

□ New Zealand

□ Other (Please specify below)

Country in which you completed your teacher training:

┌─────────────────────────────────┐
│   │
└─────────────────────────────────┘

SECTION B: Classroom practice

The purpose of this section is to:

1. Identify barriers teachers may face in implementing Māori language and culture in their classroom practice, and/or

2. Identify good practice that successful teachers use in their classroom (or reasons why they are successful).

Please answer openly and honestly, and please feel free to elaborate on any answer in the space provided.

B1.   What factors contribute to your confidence in your use of Māori language and culture in your classroom practice * (You may choose more than one answer)

□ I am a native/fluent Māori speaker

□ I have had strong professional development in this area

□ I have observed good role models/strong practitioners in this area

□ I have a personal interest in Te reo Māori and culture which translates to my practice

□ Other (please elaborate below)

□ I am not confident in my use of Māori language and culture in the classroom

□ I do not use any Māori language or culture in my practice

Please elaborate on your answer to B1

B2.   What barriers (if any) inhibit your use of Māori language and culture in your classroom practice *(You may choose more than one answer)

□ I am not confident in my knowledge of Māori language or culture

□ I'm not sure how to implement Māori language and culture into my practice

□ I would like to use Māori more in my practice but I cannot find the time

□ I don't feel it is my place to use or teach Māori language and culture

□ Māori language and culture is irrelevant to the children in my class

□ Other (please elaborate below)

□ I don't have any barriers which inhibit my use of Māori language and culture in the classroom

Please elaborate on your answers to question B2

SECTION C: What is our understanding of biculturalism in *The New Zealand Curriculum*?

This section is centred on biculturalism and its place in *The New Zealand Curriculum*. The aim of this section is to provide some insight into teacher's understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi and how it may or may not influence our classroom practice.

The following are statements designed to gage your perspectives. There are no right or wrong answers, and you may agree or disagree with the statements. If you wish you may elaborate on any answers below. Please answer all questions honestly, and remember that all answers will remain confidential.

C1.   I am confident in my understanding biculturalism as it is expressed in the Treaty of Waitangi *

        1   2   3   4   5

    Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

Please elaborate on your answer to C1

C2.   I am confident in how biculturalism (as expressed in *The New Zealand Curriculum* document) fits into my classroom practice *

        1   2   3   4   5

    Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

Please elaborate on your answer to C2

C3.   The aim of biculturalism is to raise achievement in Māori learners *

        1   2   3   4   5

    Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

Please elaborate on your answer to C3

C4.   Biculturalism in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is more for Māori children than non-Māori *

        1   2   3   4   5

    Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

Please elaborate on your answer to C4

C5.   Biculturalism in *The New Zealand Curriculum* is for all children in New Zealand schools

        1   2   3   4   5

    Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

Please elaborate on your answer to C5

END OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this questionnaire. Your contribution is greatly appreciated.

Pauline Adams

Researcher

University of Auckland, Faculty of Education

Appendix F: Interview questions, semi structured interviews phase II

1. What are the ways in which you feel either obligated or motivated to use te reo and/or tikanga Māori in your classroom practice?

2. What professional development have you undertaken in order to support your use of te reo and/or tikanga Māori in your classroom practice?

3. How does your school support you in your use of te reo and/or tikanga Māori in your practice?

4. How does your school inhibit you in your use of te reo and/or tikanga Māori in your practice?