Bicultural Education in a Multiethnic Aotearoa New Zealand: Sustaining Te Ao Māori

By

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Abstract

Since the 1980s Aotearoa New Zealand has officially positioned itself as a 'bicultural' nation. The national narrative is of an equal partnership between Indigenous iwi Māori (Māori tribes) and the British Crown, mediated by the founding document te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi). The centrality of biculturalism and te Tiriti is perhaps nowhere more evident than in education. The provision of a 'bicultural' education, one which acknowledges the central place of te ao Māori (the Māori world), has become one of the defining features of schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand. All students are expected to have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of the Māori language and customs, and all teachers are expected to demonstrate a commitment to the 'bicultural' partnership.

Parallel to the increasing prominence offered to biculturalism and bicultural education, Aotearoa New Zealand has experienced an explosion of ethnic diversity. While demographers previously offered the term 'hyper-homogenous' to refer to a population composed near exclusively of Māori and European descendants, the term 'super-diversity' is currently employed to describe a general population that is among the most ethnically diverse in the world. This dramatic demographic shift is even more profound in schools, where over 30 percent of students currently identify with an ethnicity other than Māori or European, a number projected to reach nearly 50 percent by 2040. While such a shift is undoubtedly reshaping schools, there remains a growing uncertainty of how a multiethnic student population is engaging with a bicultural education.

Underpinned by theories of Critical Multicultural Education and Kaupapa Māori, this qualitative study explores how three English-medium secondary schools are sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori within their increasingly ethnically diverse communities. Resulting from interviews with students, families, teachers, and principals, findings indicate that schools are the near exclusive gateway to accessing te ao Māori for super-diverse communities. As such, the bicultural education offered within schools holds unique potential to influence dispositions and attitudes towards te ao Māori. However, for ethnically diverse students, engagement in a bicultural education is not automatic. Rather, a range of touchstone school experiences can either centripetally draw students in, or centrifugally push them away, from the richness of te ao Māori. This study argues that as schools in Aotearoa New Zealand are becoming increasingly ethnically diverse, the ways in which students from non-Māori and non-European backgrounds are engaging with te ao Māori holds significant potential to sustain te ao Māori. As such, this thesis makes a salient contribution to better understanding the future shape of 'bicultural' education within a super-diverse Aotearoa New Zealand.

Acknowledgements

This thesis began, in many ways, in the year 2000 when a 21-year-old girl from Southern California took the invitation of a stranger to spend a winter on a farm in Ruatōria. That girl would later become my wife, the stranger and his whānau would become our whānau, and this thesis is an offspring. While formal academic convention proposes a single name be listed as the author of a thesis, this thesis was anything but an individual effort.

To my supervisors Dr. Hiria McRae and Dr. Fuapepe Rimoni, who saw promise in this research topic and this 'researcher', I am deeply grateful. This thesis would certainly not have been written without your advocacy, guidance, and patience. I will always consider it an immense privilege to have been able to sit at the feet of two inspirational wāhine these last four years.

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He hōnore, he korōria ki te Atua

Honor and glory to God

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Glossary of Terms and Notes on Language

Throughout this thesis various terms in the Māori language have been included, many of which are in common usage in Aotearoa New Zealand. While acknowledging that multiple meanings and interpretations of these terms exist, the glossary offered below provides the definitions perceived to be the most pertinent to this thesis (Averill & McRae, 2019). The English translations have been retrieved from Te Aka Māori Dictionary (https://maoridictionary.co.nz) unless otherwise noted. When a Māori word is first used, a brief parenthetical translation is offered. Further, in most cases a longer explanation is also stated within the text, or found in the footnotes. Finally, in contemporary written Māori, macrons are used to indicate an elongated vowel. This convention postdates some of the scholarship offered in this thesis (Higgins et al., 2014). In the cases where this occurs, the text has been left in its original state.

Key terms

ako	to teach or to learn
Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand
aroha	love, affection, care
iwi	extended kinship group, tribe
hapū	kinship group, subtribe
hui	gathering, meeting
kapa haka	Māori performing arts
kaumātua	elderly person with status
kaupapa	topic, matter of discussion
kāwanatanga	government, rule, authority
kōhanga reo	Māori language preschool
kōwhaiwhai	painted scroll ornamentation, commonly used on meeting house rafters
kura kaupapa Māori	primary school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction.
mana	prestige, authority, status
mana whenua	territorial rights, jurisdiction over land or territory
Māori	Indigenous person of Aotearoa New Zealand; denotes natural or ordinary position in Aotearoa (Barlow, 1991; Royal, 2012)

Marae	complex of buildings including the wharenui, wharekai, marae ātea (courtyard), etc.
marae ā-kura	school-based marae
noho marae	overnight marae stay
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Pōwhiri	rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae
tangata Tiriti	people of the Treaty
tangata whenua	local people, Indigenous people
tangihanga	funeral, rites for the dead
tauiwi	person from afar, stranger, foreigner, non-Māori
te ao Māori	broad reference to "the Māori world, with its values, traditions, and practices" (Education Review Office, 2010, p.35)
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga Māori	Māori procedures and customs
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, chieftainship
tukutuku	ornamental lattice-work, used particularly between carvings around the walls of meeting houses
tūrangawaewae	domicile, place where one has rights of residence
waiata	Songs
wānanga	tertiary institutions that cater for Māori learning needs
whakairo	Carvings
whakapapa	genealogy, lineage
whakataukī	Proverb
whānau	extended family, family group
whanaungatanga	relationship, sense of family connection
whare	house or building
wharekai	dining hall
wharekura	secondary school run on kaupapa Māori principles
wharenui	meeting house, main building of a marae

Chapter One: Introduction

1.0 Overview

This thesis is about the uneasy juxtaposition of Indigeneity and ethnic diversity within education. More specifically, this thesis presents the experiences of sixteen non-Māori and non-European students at three English-medium secondary schools, as they engage with *te ao Māori* (the Māori world). Their narratives are supplemented by those of their parents, their teachers, and their principals. Collectively, this chorus of voices provides salient insight into the current state, and future potential, of 'bicultural' education within a super-diverse Aotearoa New Zealand.

This chapter outlines the broad context of research problem. The background is brief with a fuller exploration presented in Chapter 2. Next, I introduce myself as a researcher then present the overarching research questions and aims, followed by an acknowledgment of the scope and limitations of this study. The chapter concludes with an outline of the thesis.

1.1 Background

Since the 1980s Aotearoa New Zealand has officially positioned itself as a 'bicultural' nation. The national narrative is of two equal founding partners, Indigenous *iwi Māori* (Māori tribes) and the British Crown. In making this claim, *te Tiriti o Waitangi* (The Treaty of Waitangi) is acknowledged as a central founding document, and te ao Māori is validated and valued. The centrality of biculturalism, te Tiriti, and te ao Māori is perhaps nowhere more evident than in education (Lourie, 2016a; M. Williams, 2016). The provision of a bicultural education, one which offers all students access to the richness of te ao Māori alongside of the western world, is fundamental. According to existing educational policy, all students are to be offered the opportunity to acquire knowledge of *te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* (Māori language and customs) (Ministry of Education [MoE], 2007), and all teachers are expected to demonstrate a commitment to the bicultural partnership (Education Council, 2015). Yet translating these ambitious aims into practice has been fraught with challenges, and the ideal of a bicultural education has been a dream deferred for many students (Education Review Office [ERO], 2010; Penetito, 2010).

At the same time the country has expanded bicultural efforts within education, there has been an explosion of ethnic diversity across the country. Over the past thirty years, a population previously described by demographers as 'hyper-homogenous', composed near exclusively of Māori and European members (Spoonley, 2015), has been transformed to one characterized by 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2017). This 'new New Zealand' (Spoonley, 2020) contains a population that has been described as among the most ethnically diverse in the world (OECD, 2017). Today, over 30 percent of children under the age of 14 identify with an ethnicity other than Māori or European, a number projected to reach nearly 50 percent within the next twenty years (Statistics New Zealand [Stats NZ], 2021). This dramatic demographic shift is significantly reshaping education, calling for inclusive school environments that are responsive to a multiethnic and often multilingual student population (Milne, 2017). Schools are encouraged to value the ethnocultural diversity of their students, promote the use of a "cultural lens to learning", and support the maintenance of heritage language(s) (ERO, 2018).

In light of these parallel developments, the Ministry of Education (2017) refer euphemistically to "our bicultural foundation, our multicultural present, and the shared future we are creating" (p.2). Yet there remains a growing uncertainty of how these realities are interacting (Dam, 2017). Educationalists refer to this tension as the "challenge of 'superdiversity' which overlays the bicultural context" of Aotearoa New Zealand (Chan & Ritchie, 2019, p.51). Internationally, a substantial body of scholarship documents the prevailing tendency for multicultural agendas to neglect Indigeneity (Calderón, 2009, Chung, 2015; Deloria et al., 2018; Gundara, 2015). As such, the current laissez faire attitude presuming an unproblematic juxtaposition may be naïve. However, a bicultural education that can sustain te ao Māori alongside nurturing a multitude of heritage languages and cultures certainly extends our current understanding of what might be possible. Given the perception that Aotearoa New Zealand is often viewed as 'the most advanced country in the world' in terms of the relationship between Māori and the state (Bönisch-Brednich & Whimp, 2016, p.7), a unique opportunity exists to explore the ways in which Indigeneity is being engaged with, and possibly sustained by, a super-diverse population.

1.2 Position Statement

Within the realm of qualitative research, it is acknowledged that a researcher perceives the world through a lens colored by life experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Identifying and clearly stating these influences is an essential starting point (Mutch, 2005; Ravitch & Riggan, 2012). The following life experiences position me within this study.

I speak from the position of a German-American man raised in a Spanish-speaking region of Los Angeles. Ethnically I am German, my great-grandfather was the first in our family to be born in the USA. His son, my grandfather, was the last in our family to speak the German language, lost as a result of being German, in the U.S., during the Second World War. Culturally, from a young age I have identified closely with the Latino culture. My neighborhood was predominantly Latino, my friends were often Latino, and the schools I attended were largely, though not entirely, Latino. I was often the token blonde head in a sea of brown. Linguistically, Spanish has been a second language from an early age. Throughout my life, ethnocultural diversity has been my norm. As a secondary teacher in southern California, multicultural and multilingual perspectives have framed my reality, and the realities of my students.

Addressing social injustices and promoting culturally sustaining pedagogies (Alim & Paris, 2017; May & Sleeter, 2010) have been at the core of my educational philosophy and classroom practice. However, two critical, related omissions have recently been brought to my attention: the absence of Indigenous perspectives and the absence of a pedagogy of place (Gruenewald, 2008). Far from a mere individual lacking, Professor Emeritus Wally Penetito (2009) describes a wider collective lacking within education to address "what we know about the soil under our feet and the social history that is all around us" (p.8). I have become acutely aware of this omission as a result of a friendship spanning over two decades with hapū/whānau Māori on the remote East Coast of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. Through hearing their stories and experiencing the richness of their culture, I have come to realize my narrowness of perspective, despite wearing proudly the sash of a critical multicultural educator. This fault should hardly be surprising, considering that as a student I estimate receiving perhaps one week of instruction, out of 12 years of compulsory education, exposed to Native American language, culture, and perspectives. As a teacher, I have fared

no better, recalling perhaps one month's worth of lessons dedicated to exploring Native American perspectives, in over 15 years of teaching. While firmly dedicating myself to acknowledging, valuing, and sustaining the ethnocultural diversity of my students, I have largely remained ignorant of the Indigenous perspectives entrenched for millennia, which remain a wellspring for life today. I, we, can do better.

1.3 Research Questions and Aims

In light of the background to the research problem and my position as a researcher, the current study was framed around the following questions:

Key Question:

How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population?

Sub-questions:

1. How is te ao Māori being defined, positioned, and engaged with in multiethnic English-medium schools?
2. In what ways are formal and informal school experiences influencing the dispositions and attitudes toward te ao Māori among ethnically diverse students?
3. What are aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori in the education of their children?

The aim of this study is to examine how the provision of a bicultural education, one which acknowledges the central place of te ao Māori and te Tiriti o Waitangi, is being impacted by an increasingly ethnically diverse student population. This thesis explores the potential issues, benefits, successes, and current challenges facing multiethnic schools related to the teaching and learning of te ao Māori. Mindful of the prevailing "dead weight of Eurocentrism" in Aotearoa New Zealand (Orange, 1990, p.3), the narratives of students from ethnically diverse backgrounds, in particular those of non-Māori and non-European backgrounds, provide the primary lens framing this thesis.

The objective of this study is to provide a piece of educational research that could be useful in informing future discussions and decisions concerning a bicultural paradigm amongst a multiethnic population. An outcome of this study will be the development of new understandings that may be useful in envisioning a bicultural education that would remain firmly committed to sustaining te ao Māori while also meeting the educational needs and aspirations of a multiethnic and multilingual population.

1.4 Scope and Limitations

Fine and Sirin (2007) suggest that 'full-bodied' research which authentically and meaningfully engages with the lives of young people, will naturally be "fraught with complexity, contradictions, limitations, and methodological muddles" (p.32). Three of the major limitations of this study are offered below: limitations in the intercultural research setting, limitations in sample size and composition, and limitations in the position of the researcher.

Limitations in the intercultural research setting

First of all, any research situated within a multiethnic, multicultural, or intercultural context is laden with challenges (Fine & Sirin, 2007; Josselson, 2004). While these challenges may not be insurmountable, they certainly warrant attention and disclosure, even if the impacts remain unknown. Of primary concern within the realm of intercultural communication is the ever-present potential for misunderstanding (Price & Hawkins, 2002). While English was the primary research language, English was often a second or third language for participants. While all participants were certainly proficient in English, English may not have been their preferred language to best express the nuances of their opinions (Tyldum, 2021). Furthermore, as Ryan and colleagues (2011) note "it is not always easy or indeed possible to predict how one will be positioned by the participants – how commonality or difference will be constructed or perceived" (p.56). As a Chinese-American researcher in Aotearoa New Zealand, SooHoo (2013) describes the inherent tension embedded within the intercultural research context, and ponders if she will be received as an ally or adversary, to be viewed with trust or apprehension. In similar vein, research by L.S. Liu and Lu (2008) exploring the attitudes of New Zealanders towards recent Chinese migrants, notes the distinct possibility that participants may have offered less-authentic responses in the presence of a Chinese

researcher. In this study, it is unknown how my position as a German-American researcher may have influenced the opinions expressed by ethnically diverse students concerning te ao Māori.

Limitations in sample size and composition

Secondly, the small sample size and the immense diversity of participants within that sample make it difficult to draw collective conclusions (Ryan et al., 2011). There is no assumption that the experiences of the sixteen non-Māori and non-European students at three English-medium secondary schools, are representative of the experiences of all ethnically diverse students across Aotearoa New Zealand. While participants self-identified with an exceptionally wide range of ethnocultural backgrounds, from Egyptian to Fijian, from Malaysian to Sri Lankan, there were also many voices not included in this sample (See Chapter 4). Furthermore, participating students were all nominated by senior school leadership. These students were academically successful, articulate, and had strong commitments to their school. Warr et al. (2011) cautions that such a sample may emphasize the more positive aspects of the school experience, in contrast to those who may have already left school, who may not have been so 'well-behaved'. It is acknowledged that those who have been excluded may likely have answered the research questions markedly different, and that this thesis captured unique experiences, located in particular places, at a particular time.

Limitations in the position of researcher

Finally, this research is firmly grounded in the sociocultural context of Aotearoa New Zealand. However, as previously disclosed, I am not a New Zealander. Aside from this postgraduate work, I did not go to school in New Zealand. I am a German-American man from Los Angeles interested in a topic uniquely situated in Aotearoa New Zealand. As an international student, a robust, balanced understanding of the past and present is essential given the research topic is situated in what can be an unsettled space. As such, a substantial integrum, a broad survey of the landscape was embarked upon, and is reflected in the literature review found in Chapter 2. While my understandings of biculturalism, te Tiriti, and te ao Māori have grown substantially, I still very much function as a toddler, clumsily finding my way along. Given this limitation, the key approach I have taken is offered in the following whakataukī (proverb):

Titiro, whakarongo…kōrero

Look, listen…and speak later

(Cited in L.T. Smith, 2012, p.122)

1.5 Thesis Outline

This thesis has seven chapters. This first chapter establishes the general importance of the topic. It also explains the personal importance and positions myself with the research. The overarching research questions and aims are offered.

Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature. This chapter begins with a general exploration of biculturalism and te Tiriti o Waitangi before narrowing in on the application of these concepts within education. The second half of the literature review focuses on the changing ethnic demographics in Aotearoa New Zealand, from hyper-homogenous to super-diverse, and how these changes are impacting society in general, and education specifically. It ends with a discussion of the tensions and ambiguities concerning bicultural education within the current multiethnic context.

Chapter 3 offers the theoretical frameworks utilized in this study. Critical Multicultural Education (May & Sleeter, 2010) is presented as a multidimensional, overarching theory of education which seeks to sustain ethnocultural diversity and address educational inequities. A range of theoretical critiques to Critical Multicultural Education are offered suggesting a 'colonial blindspot' (Calderón, 2009) which fails to sufficiently address Indigeneity. In light of this shortcoming, Kaupapa Māori (Stewart, 2017) is offered as a necessary theoretical framework, intentionally bringing Māori ways knowing and being to the center. The chapter ends by describing an integrated theoretical model.

In Chapter 4 the methodology and methods are introduced. The appropriateness of the qualitative research paradigm and a multiple case study approach are offered, followed by a justification for the use of Culturally Responsive Methodologies (Berryman et al., 2013). The chapter ends with a detailed overview of the research design and ethical considerations.

Chapter 5 reports the findings. This chapter presents the three case studies as three distinct sections. Each case study is divided into three parts corresponding to the research sub-questions presented in this chapter – defining, positioning, and engaging te ao Māori; student dispositions and attitudes; and family aspirations. Key ideas within each sub-question are identified from the perspectives of students, their families, senior school leadership, and teachers.

Chapter 6 synthesizes the findings, literature review, and theoretical framework to address the research objectives. From this synthesis, three overarching themes are presented – school as the primary gateway to accessing te ao Māori; touchstone school experiences that either centripetally draw in or centrifugally push out; and parental consent.

Chapter 7, the concluding chapter, is a reflection on the overall aim of this thesis. In reviewing the key findings and overarching themes, a revised theoretical framework is offered. The thesis concludes with a series of recommendations for policy, practice, and research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review - Biculturalism, Bicultural Education, and a Multiethnic Population

2.0 Introduction

Ravitch and Riggan (2012) use the metaphor of a conversation to describe the literature review process. They posit that this conversation seeks to "present the intellectual contours and faultlines within a given conceptual domain" (p.23). As an international student in Aotearoa New Zealand researching the national education system, I have entered into a conversation that is inherently foreign. As such, discovering the unique 'contours and faultlines' has been an extended process. Therefore, the literature review which follows may contain a more lengthy 'setting of the scene' than would normally be offered by a student from a New Zealand background. In hopes of heeding Ravitch and Riggan's (2012) assertion, "The road to relevance passes through thoroughness" (p.26), an attempt at thoroughness is offered below.

The literature review begins with an attempt to unpack the notion of biculturalism as uniquely conceptualized in Aotearoa New Zealand, underpinned by te Tiriti o Waitangi. The second section narrows in on the application of the principles of biculturalism in the education sector, or bicultural education. The third section explores the changing ethnic demographics of Aotearoa New Zealand over the past several decades and how these changes are impacting society in general, and schools in particular. The final section considers the challenges of providing a bicultural education within the current multiethnic context and the paucity of existing research. Collectively, these sections hope to shed light on what Geoff Park (1995, 2006) calls the *Genius Loci* (the Genius of Place) of Aotearoa New Zealand - the prevailing spirit that directs how to best live in a particular place.

2.1 Unpacking 'Biculturalism'

2.1.0 Māori and Pākehā

Over a millennium ago, in a series of unprecedented oceanic voyages, Polynesian explorers discovered the remote Pacific islands of *Aotearoa*[1], the land of long white cloud (King, 2001; Walker, 2004). Over successive generations of settlement, a distinctive Indigenous culture would emerge, unmistakably Polynesian yet uniquely molded by this rugged geographical landscape (Royal, 2007). The original inhabitants, the *tangata whenua* (people of the land), were composed of autonomous *iwi* (tribes), *hapū* (sub-tribes), and *whānau* (extended family groups) that operated as "politically independent but genealogically and linguistically interdependent nations" (Jackson, 2019, p.90). In 1835, a coalition of iwi, hapū, and whānau would be brought together to formally assert their claim as tangata whenua by signing *He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga* (The Declaration of Independence) as the United Tribes of New Zealand. Tangata whenua would come to be known collectively as *Māori,* denoting their natural or ordinary position in Aotearoa (Barlow, 1991; Royal, 2012). Today, Māori can be a cultural, ethnic and/or political label indicating *whakapapa* (genealogy) to tangata whenua (Roberts, 2013).

New Zealand was also one of the last significant 'discoveries' made by European explorers. In 1642, Dutch explorer Abel Tasman is believed to have been the first European to lay sight on these islands, christening what he saw *Nieuw Zeeland* (Belich, 1996). Over 150 years would pass before European explorers would return to establish a more permanent presence. The largest contingency of settlers would hail from Great Britain, who would henceforth refer to these islands as *New Zealand*. This second wave of human settlement was that of the *Pākehā*. Pākehā was the collective name given by Māori to the non-Indigenous new arrivals who were markedly different in their culture, language, and habits (Barlow, 1991). Pākehā is a direct reference to the notable "fair-skin" of the Europeans (King, 1999; Orange, 1989).

[1] Colloquially, Aotearoa is often used to refer to entire country. Historically, Aotearoa was a reference to the North Island, while *Te Waipounamu* (Land of Pounamu/Greenstone) referred to the South Island. Alternately, *Te Ika-a-Māui* (The fish of Maui) and *Te Waka-a-Māui* (the canoe of Māui) also reference the North and South Islands, respectively (Anderson, 2014)

Today, Pākehā remains an identifier referring to "non-Māori of European, usually British descent" (Macfarlane, 2015, p.178). [2]

The coming together of Māori and Pākehā form the 'bicultural foundation' of Aotearoa New Zealand (Belich, 1996). As such, it is supposed that "Aotearoa and New Zealand must be able to co-exist in the same space" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, p.xvii). Fitting Aotearoa and New Zealand is the story of biculturalism; the charter for biculturalism is *te Tiriti o Waitangi* (Walker, 2004).

2.1.1 Te Tiriti o Waitangi

In 1840, United Tribes of New Zealand representing Māori as tangata whenua, and Great Britain representing Pākehā as *tangata Tiriti* (people of the Treaty), formalized their relationship by signing a document known as te Tiriti o Waitangi (Orange, 1989). Informed by centuries of colonization across the globe, Great Britain was eager to establish an exclusive relationship with Māori in hopes of maintaining its hegemony in the Pacific while deterring others from doing the same (O'Malley et al., 2010). Māori, on the other hand, were eager to enlist the support of the British Crown to govern the unruly Pākehā population, while also extending access to foreign ideas and material goods. In the three brief Articles included in te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori would be guaranteed *tino rangatiratanga* (chieftainship) over all their property and treasures (Article 2), alongside the full protection of the British Crown (Article 3), in exchange for conceding a measure of autonomy (Article 1) (Walker, 2004; D. Williams, 2005). The exact measure of autonomy to be conceded was unclear, clouded in significant discrepancies between the English version of the text and the hastily translated Māori version (O'Malley et al., 2010). In the Māori version, signed by the majority of the chiefs, Māori were expected to concede *kāwanatanga* (governance) to the Crown, while in the English version Māori were to concede absolute "sovereignty" (Orange, 1989; Walker, 2017). Ensuing actions by the British made clear that full subordination was the expectation.

Henceforth the well-established pattern of formal European colonization would come to the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand (King, 2012). Land, the fuel propelling colonization, would

[2] The use of the term "Pākehā" is not without controversy. Although the vernacular use of 'Pākehā' is widespread, it is a label that is embraced and rejected in equal measure (Bell, 2006; King, 1999).

be stripped from Māori in a fierce manner through both informal fraudulent dealings and formal legislative acts (King, 2001). At the beginning of the 19th Century, Māori controlled 100 percent of the land but by the beginning of the 20th Century landholdings would dwindle to one-twentieth of the original area (Jackson, 2019). Māori long appealed to the promises contained in te Tiriti, going so far as to send chiefs to appeal directly to the Queen of England (Walker, 2004). Meanwhile, Justice James Prendergast declared in 1877 that te Tiriti was a 'simple nullity', to be viewed as an interesting historical document but not a matter of law (Orange, 1989). While Māori would make recurring calls for the formal ratification of te Tiriti, te Tiriti would be discarded by Pākehā for well over 100 years, literally misplaced in government storage, slowly eaten away by rats (Jackson, 2019).

In a remarkable turn of events, te Tiriti o Waitangi would be literally and symbolically rediscovered in the second half of the 20th Century, becoming in the words of legal expert Moana Jackson (2019) a "born-again Treaty" (p.97). Under the weight of growing social and political pressures, the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) would formally reaffirm the validity and relevance of te Tiriti. The Act would establish the Waitangi Tribunal to hear grievances to te Tiriti and offer remedial recommendations to the government (Walker, 2017). To date, Treaty settlements have significantly boosted the asset base of Māori, establishing iwi and hapū as powerful economic players with business interests valued at tens of billions of dollars (Harris, 2014). Equally important, Treaty settlements offer a formal government apology, a public declaration of grievous misdeeds and wrongdoings (D. Williams, 2005). The Waitangi Tribunal has played a crucial role in cementing the position of te Tiriti o Waitangi in modern society and acknowledging the rights of Māori as full treaty partners.

Recent studies indicates that the signing of te Tiriti is widely recognized by all New Zealanders as the most significant event in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand (J. Liu et al., 1999; Sheehan et al., 2017). Pearson (2009) suggests that this commitment to upholding the founding treaty is unique, perhaps even "unmatched in other settler states" (p.35). James Liu and colleagues (1999) concur:

> There may not be another country in the world where a century-and-a-half-old treaty, conceived as a partnership between indigenous peoples and Europeans, would retain

its status as the foundation of the nation's sovereignty and its key historical event. (p.1041)

Considered much more than a historic relic, te Tiriti is today considered a 'living document' offering contemporary guidance and direction for the affairs of the nation (Kidman, 2017; Orange, 1989). To this end, the Waitangi Tribunal (1983) opined that Te Tiriti "was not intended merely to fossilise the status quo, but to provide a direction for future growth and development…it was not intended as a finite contract but the foundation for a developing social contact" (p. 52). This evolving social contract is the charter for biculturalism, the charter for two distinct peoples to inhabit one land (King, 1999; Walker, 1986). Te Tiriti then, is to be considered "the very document on which the concept of biculturalism is based" (Božić-Vrbančić, 2003, p.298).

2.1.2 Tracing Biculturalism: Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Aotearoa New Zealand

Biculturalism is a dynamic and multi-layered concept, ubiquitous in contemporary usage, yet ambiguous in meaning and scope (Bell, 2017; O'Sullivan, 2007; E. Rata, 2005; Terruhn, 2019). In a quantitative sense, biculturalism can be understood as simply describing to the ethnocultural composition of a population - an acknowledgement of the co-existence of *two* distinct peoples, *two* distinct worlds: te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā (Lourie, 2016a; Salmond, 2012; Stewart, 2018a). In a qualitative sense, biculturalism can be understood fundamentally as a relational term describing "how Māori and Pākehā have related in the past, who we are now, and who we will become" (Orange, 1990, p.2). In this sense biculturalism is a complex, evolving relationship in which "the intellectual and sociopolitical histories of two peoples are intertwined over many generations" (Stewart, 2018b, p.21). This long-term relationship is one of interdependence, referred to as a partnership, a marriage, and a conversation (Lourie, 2016a; Rāwiri, 2016; Stewart, 2018b). The next section will attempt to trace some of the key moments of this long-term relationship, captured across three historical movements. The intention of this retrospective is well-captured by the widely known whakataukī, *Ka mua ka muri* (Walking backwards into the future), acknowledging that we move into the unknown "guided only from where we came" (Jones, 2020, p.170).

Movement 1: Aotearoa (1790-1840)

Before the signing of te Tiriti, the initial bicultural relationship between Māori and Pākehā centered around the establishment of semi-permanent, land-based whaling and sealing stations from the late 1700s (Anderson, 2014). The success of these enterprises was wholly dependent upon Māori, from the granting of land upon which to build a station, to the supplying of labor, to the sharing of local knowledge (King, 2001; Orange, 1989). Māori firmly controlled the land and its resources, but would find a space for these early traders (Walker, 1986). By the 1830s there were over 30 such stations across the country (Bentley, 1999).

On the whole, early relationships were said to be mutually beneficial (Anderson, 2014; Walker, 2004), and perhaps even 'harmonious' (King, 1981, p.27). In exchange for "the 'good offices' of the Māori for safe settlement" (Orange, 1990, p.3), Europeans offered novel material goods such as metal tools, kitchenware, textiles, and livestock (Belich, 1996). In later years, trade in books and muskets would become ubiquitous (Simon & L.T. Smith, 1998). There was little threat posed by Pākehā, who numbered well under 1,000 up until the 1830s (Binney, 2014), compared with an estimated 100,000 Māori (Anderson, 2014). Māori were secure in their role as "the primary producers of agricultural products, the millers of flour, and the transporters of their own products to the markets" (Walker, 2004, p.101).

Archeologist and Professor Atholl Anderson (2014) states that while conflicts certainly did occur in these early years, there was a notable "absence of any systematic violence against Pākehā" (p.65), despite this time period being marked by widespread intertribal conflicts. Historian Dr. Trevor Bentley (1999) suggests it was Māori who clearly set the terms of early interactions:

> All Europeans living in New Zealand before 1840 were dependent on Māori for protection to some degree and were compelled to adopt some customs if they hoped to survive or remain. Cross-cultural interactions and culture change was a dynamic two-way process. (p.10)

In addition to the benefits of material trade, the presence of Pākehā also held the potential to boost the *mana (*status), of a Māori chief who was able to establish a lasting relationship (Anderson, 2014; King, 2001). As such, marriage allegiances in which a chief would offer a Māori woman to a European man were not uncommon (Binney, 2014). Bicultural Māori-Pākehā villages extending around trading stations often resulted from these allegiances and were noted as early as 1810 (Anderson, 2014). In these 'integrated communities', there existed a combination of both Māori and Pākehā cultures, but the underlying the customs of these early communities remained largely Māori (Bentley, 1999). Life was conducted on Māori terms, according to Māori protocol, in the Māori language (Harris, 2014). Pākehā "were obliged to demonstrate at least an outward conformity to the central Māori beliefs and behaviors such as *mana*, honor or prestige, *tapu*, sacracy, and formal ceremony" (Bentley, 1999, p.209) and those "not already fluent now learnt te reo Māori as the language of communication" (Anderson, 2014, p.231). Aroha Harris (2014) noted that up until the 1840s, "te reo was the dominant means of inter-cultural social, political, and economic communication" (p.452).

Following the establishment of trading stations and surrounding villages, church-run mission stations would appear in 1815, adding an additional significant site of interaction between Māori and Pākehā (Anderson, 2014; D. Williams, 2005). A byproduct of early missionary activity was literacy in the written word (Anderson, 2014).

> The process was a collaborative one. Maori helped the missionaries gain a better understanding of te reo Maori, and they in turn taught young and old to read and write in the language. (Binney, 2014, p.194)

In a few decades, it was estimated half of the Māori population was literate in the written words of te reo Māori (Simon & L.T. Smith, 1998). The rapid acquisition of print literacy was facilitated by pre-existing Māori literacies sung in *waiata* (song), recited in *mōteatea* (traditional chants), written in *whakairo* (carvings), *tukutuku* (ornamental lattice-work), and *kōwhaiwhai* (painted scroll ornamentation), and read in the natural environment (Harrison et al., 2004; Penetito, 2009; Rāwiri, 2016). With dramatic gains in print literacy there came an

increased demand for books, becoming second only to muskets as a top commodity (Simon & L.T. Smith, 1998).

Further resulting from early sealing and whaling stations, hundreds of Māori were known to accompany Pākehā on voyages throughout the Pacific, and even as far as Europe (Bentley, 1999). These individuals exported Māori ideas, beliefs, and ways of being to the outside world, and in turn imported new ideas to their communities (Bentley, 1999). Most famously, in 1820 chiefs Hongi Hika and Waikato traveled to England and played a crucial role in the production of the first te reo Māori-English dictionary (Anderson, 2014). An increased ability by early Europeans to communicate in te reo Māori with greater sophistication helped deepen the bicultural relationship beyond simple bartering and solicitation, to debates about spirituality, sacredness, and social practices. As a result of such voyages and intercultural experiences there was "widespread adoption by tangata whenua of new practices, technology, and practices" (Anderson, 2014, p.132).

The early interactions (1790-1840) between Māori and Pākehā was a collaborative process with mutual benefits (Walker, 2004). Anderson (2014) summarized the bicultural relationship during this period in complementary terms, "each side held a different position of strength: Māori in numbers, primary produce and ritual sanctions; Pākehā in new goods, access abroad and ultimate firepower" (p.164). These strengths were mediated by an agreed-upon balance of power, the terms of which were largely set by Māori (Bentley, 1999). This was Aotearoa.

Movement 2: New Zealand (1840-1940)

He iwi tahi tātou.

We are one people.

-Lieutenant Governor William Hobson, 1840

(cited in Colenso, 1971, p.17)

By the end of the 1830s the bicultural relationship that began so promising would show signs of distress and distrust. Following the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, a new historical movement was birthed significantly altering the course of the bicultural relationship. The

mutuality characterizing early bicultural interactions would be cast aside over the next 100 years in favor of a formal agenda of cultural assimilation that would forcefully and incessantly impose one culture over another (King, 1999). Upon signing te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, the Queen's highest representative in New Zealand at the time, Lieutenant Governor William Hobson, shook hands with each Māori chief and offered the celebratory remark: '*He iwi tahi tātou'* (We are one people) (Colenso, 1971). Of particular significance, Hobson's declaration was not "We are one nation", but rather "We are one people". This declaration would mark the beginning of the official government policy of cultural assimilation - the attempt to transform what were two distinct people, Māori and Pākehā, into one, Pākehā (Locke, 1992). Henceforth, Māori would be expected to become Pākehā, and every instrument of the government would seek to facilitate that process (King, 2001). The overarching goal according to prominent historian James Belich (2001), was the conversion of Māori to 'Brown Britons' (p.xi). Ranginui Walker (1986) states that the devastation of this one people ideology lay in the fact that it "denies the otherness of Maori people as expressed in their language, culture and customary usages" (p.3). There was to be only one people in New Zealand.

The semblance of a complimentary and collaborative biculturalism that was present in Aotearoa from 1790-1840, marked by shared power and mutual benefit, would quickly evaporate following the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi. While it is estimated that prior to 1840 there were perhaps upwards of only 2,000 Pākehā residing in the entire country, within the months of January and February 1840 alone, over 1,500 new settlers would arrive (Anderson, 2014). This aggressive immigration pattern would continue unabated for decades, so that by 1860, a mere twenty years later, the British settler population would surpass that of Māori (Binney, 2014). Imbalance would now characterize New Zealand.

In attempting to build a 'better Britain of the South Seas', New Zealand historian Michael King (2001) states that from the onset "The agencies in New Zealand government- education, law, public works were committed to reflect western values, criteria, practice and priorities, rather than Polynesian ones" (p.95). Government positions were held exclusively by Europeans, and as early as 1846 the right to vote was offered only to males who could read and write in English, excluding most Māori (Orange, 1989). Collective land rights were invalidated through formal legislative acts, and land was stripped from Māori hands at an alarming rate (King,

2001). The Constitution Act of 1852 amended the right to vote, offering it to males who owned land, again effectively excluding most Māori given the traditional practice of collective land holding (Binney, 2014). Mindful of such a gross injustice, in 1867 a conciliatory measure was offered: four parliamentary seats dedicated to Māori, a fraction of what was deserved (Locke, 1990). Far from an equal partnership, the bicultural relationship took the shape of a senior British partner dictating terms to a junior Māori partner (O'Sullivan, 2007). Māori academic Leonie Pihama (2019) calls this "the illusion of Treaty partnership" whereby "Māori are expected to accept only what the Crown puts on the table" (p.10). In the words of Professor Manying Ip (2009a), "Pakeha values were supreme…Pakeha was the legislator, the arbiter and the ultimate dictator of social values and the cultural norm" (p.150).

Having been largely excluded from the nation building project, there arose a significant unification of iwi and hapū into a collective pan-tribal coalition to counter the Pākehā invasion (Locke, 1990; Orange, 1989). In 1851 Māori chief Tāmihana Te Rauparaha traveled to England to meet Queen Victoria, returning to advocate for a Māori monarchy based upon the British model (Anderson, 2014). This would be the start of the *Kīngitanga*, or King Movement, which in 1858 would install Te Wherowhero as the first Māori King (Walker, 1986). "The [British] queen on her piece, the [Māori] king on his, and God over all" would be the underlying political ideology (Locke, 1990, p.12). To this end, King Tāwhiao, the second Māori King, led a delegation to England to petition Queen Victoria to endorse a Māori Parliament (Orange, 1990). While the bid was for endorsement was unsuccessful, *Te Kotahitanga,* or Māori Parliament, would become a highly influential political body (Anderson, 2014). The Kīngitanga and Kotahitanga movements were not viewed by Māori as divisive or separatist movements, rather, entirely in line with te Tiriti o Waitangi and biculturalism, understood as a mandate for "two sovereign nations to coexist in New Zealand for the mutual benefit…of the country's resources" (Walker, 2017, p. 41).

On the other hand, most Pākehā saw little need for te Tiriti o Waitangi or biculturalism, discarded as artifacts of a previous era, useful in gaining access to resources, having served a historic, temporary purpose. As the balance of power shifted in their favor, Pākehā interest in biculturalism waned (Binney, 2014). Yet, biculturalism from a Māori perspective remained an imperative; Māori were forced to operate in two worlds, one Māori and one British

(Walker, 2004). Māori were required to learn English and adopt western ways if they were to participate in society (King, 2001). Yet they also remained firmly Māori, as nearly all Māori continued to speak te reo Māori as their first language, and lived on ancestral land well into the 20th Century (Benton, 2015). In this sense, biculturalism in this second historical movement existed as a one-sided endeavor applicable only to Māori.

The second historic movement (1840-1940) would be characterized by a radical departure from the promises of te Tiriti o Waitangi and the bicultural vision for "two sovereign nations to coexist in New Zealand for the mutual benefit…of the country's resources" (Walker, 2017, p. 41). Rather, a myopic focus on building a monocultural 'better Britain of the South Seas' prevailed, characterized by gross social imbalances (Belich, 2001, Orange, 1989). The Māori population which made up nearly 100 percent of the total population at the beginning of the century, would shrink to a mere 4 percent of the total population at the end of the century, dwindling to around 40,000 (Simon, 1990). An exceptional amount of land was lost (Walker, 2004), and their collective voice was largely silenced within national debates (Orange, 1989). At the beginning of the 20th Century, the marginalization of Māori would be indicative of the status the bicultural relationship: sick to the point of death. Where there was once a vision towards collaboration and mutual benefit, there now stood an exclusionary system invalidating the position of Māori (Walker, 1986). The two-way path of biculturalism was now a one-way street of cultural assimilation - *He iwi tahi tātou*; We are one people. This was New Zealand.

Movement 3: Aotearoa New Zealand (1940-Present)

> *We are not one people, despite Hobson's oft-quoted words, nor should we try to be.*
>
> -Governor-General Sir David Beattie, 1981 (cited in Walker, 2004 p.236)

By the early 1900s, it was suggested that the Māori world was at the cusp of a collective death (Belich, 1996). Contrary to these suggestions, the 20th Century would witness a remarkable "turning [of] the tide of history for the Māori people" (King, 2001, p.58). Central to this shift would be a fresh recognition of te Tiriti o Waitangi and the reestablishment of a bicultural relationship that would return to acknowledge *two* peoples, Māori and Pākehā. Within this

movement, a Māori renaissance would blossom forth, marked by a resurgence of traditional arts, increased political recognition, and an assertion of tino rangatiratanga (Walker, 2004). While New Zealand would still be "run in the Pākehā way – in government, industry and production, economics, and cultural life…Māori were not sitting back" (Locke, 1992, p.72).

The year 1940 marked the centennial anniversary of the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi and a turning point in the national conscience (Orange, 1990). While the centennial celebration was largely symbolic, it marked the first government acknowledgment of the importance of te Tiriti o Waitangi, and biculturalism, in the founding of the nation (Walker, 2005). In 1945, at the urging of Māori politicians, the Treaty of Waitangi (English version) would be printed and hung in every school and meeting house in country (Orange, 1989). By 1947, the term 'Native' was dropped from official government policies, replaced by 'Māori' (Harris, 2014; King, 2001). Space was slowly being re-made for the acknowledgement of a unique identity as Māori, not as an assimilated 'Brown Briton', but as tangata whenua (Belich, 2001). King (2001) reports that by the 1940s conversations emerged recognizing the "intrinsic worth of Māori ritual and values. Such discussion eventually gave weight to the concept of a bi-cultural rather than purely Anglo-Saxon society" (p.75).

Alongside the quest for political recognition, there emerged a significant revival of Māori culture, a Māori renaissance. After a long period of dormancy, Māori arts began to receive new attention, as did the *marae*, or meeting house, as the center of pride and solidarity for the community (Simon, 1990). Upon witnessing this shift, Native School Inspector Douglas Ball commented in 1940,

> So began in village after village, the revival of Māori arts and crafts, of Māori song and haka, and the building of Māori meeting houses – all symptomatic of a new courage and braver outlook. (p.145)

Similarly noting this new outlook, five years later Sir Āpirana Ngata would comment:

> There is something in the sentiment for preserving a culture which belonged to the country. With that goes the assertion that New Zealand would be all the richer for a bilingual and bicultural people. (as cited in D. Williams, 2005, p.373)

Ngata's comments suggest the inherent worth and desirability of biculturalism. His assertion of the positive impacts of biculturalism were well ahead of its time, foreshadowing developments of the second half of the 20th Century whereby the vision of a bilingual and bicultural people would be actualized (Sissons, 2000). The Māori renaissance would grow into a mighty wave of great consequence, signaling the "recovery and efflorescence of Māori culture" (Walker, 2004, p.7). Internally, there was a movement to shore up that which was threatened: Māori language, customs, and knowledge (Royal, 2012). Externally, te Tiriti o Waitangi and biculturalism would receive a growing amount of formal and informal acknowledgement (Walker, 2005). Indeed, after decades of struggle, "national institutions and public service – the law, the education and justice systems – were beginning to accommodate Māori values and needs" (King, 1999, p.234).

In departing from an agenda of cultural assimilation and integration, Erick Schwimmer (1968) put forth what is considered the first academic definition of biculturalism, referring to the "conscious confrontation and reconciliation of two conflicting value systems, both of which are accepted and valid" (p.13). Schwimmer envisioned a bicultural relationship that was active ('conscious confrontation and reconciliation') and validating ('accepted and valid') towards both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. His conceptualization was at the time a radical departure from the Eurocentric expectation of Māori assimilation to the "habits and usages of the European" (Simon & L.T. Smith, 1998, p.2). Rather, Schwimmer's definition harkens to the bicultural relationship prior to the signing of te Tiriti, characterized as a two-way, collaborative process that was mutually respectful and beneficial.

While Schwimmer's (1968) earlier conceptualization of biculturalism pointed to intentional actions that would enhance the mana of both Māori and Pākehā, Māori activists such as Donna Awatere (1984) and Ranginui Walker (1986) forcefully pointed out the need for radical change in the existing power structure to return autotomy and sovereignty to Māori. Although biculturalism was endorsed as "the official social policy of Aotearoa New Zealand"

from the 1980s, it transferred minimal political power to Māori (Santamaria & Hoskins, 2015, p.66). O'Reilly and Wood (1991) argue for a more robust biculturalism whereby "the values and traditions of both cultures [are] reflected in society's customs, laws, practice, and institutional arrangements, and with both sharing control over resources and decision making" (p.321). King (1999), and later O'Sullivan (2007), echo the political imperative for a genuine parity among the founding partners. Such a parity revokes subservient forms of biculturalism in which Māori are bound to play the role of the junior partner, but "demands Māori input into decision-making" (O'Sullivan, 2007, p.33). Walker (2004) further describes such a biculturalism "whereby two people can live as coequals in the postcolonial era of the new nation state in the 21st Century" (p.10). The Waitangi Tribunal (2014) similarly opined that biculturalism suggests that two people can live in a relationship as equals with "different roles and different spheres of influence" (p.xxii). These ideals of *parity* and living as *coequals* have been crucial characteristics expanding Schwimmer's earlier iteration of biculturalism to explicitly include the redistribution of power[3] and resources (Glynn, 2015; G.H. Smith, 1997; Sullivan, 1993). In synthesizing these perspectives, biculturalism is an active, validating, power-sharing partnership between the two-founding people, Māori and Pākehā, as agreed upon in te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The third historical movement (1940-present) witnessed a 'turning of the tide of history' for Māori, for te Tiriti o Waitangi, and for biculturalism, fueled by the Māori renaissance (King, 2001). The acknowledgement of the central place of te Tiriti o Waitangi and of the rights of Māori as tangata whenua and full treaty partners, would be crucial steps in reshaping and reinvigorating biculturalism. The one-people ideology of the past marked by cultural assimilation was deemed 'an abject failure' (Walker, 1980). To this end, Governor-General Sir David Beattie declared in 1981, "We are not one people, despite Hobson's oft-quoted words, nor should we try to be" (cited in Walker, 2004, p.236). These words, spoken from the highest leader in the land, signaled the beginning of the contemporary period of biculturalism. This is Aotearoa New Zealand.

[3] It has been suggested that 'bicultural' is a misnomer, rather 'bilateral' (Santamaria & Hoskins, 2015) or 'binational' (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; Kymlicka, 1995) would more accurately describe what is ultimately a complex power-sharing agreement between two sovereigns. As uses of either 'bilateral' or 'binational' are rare to the point of non-existent in Aotearoa New Zealand, I defer to the use of 'bicultural', despite its imprecision.

2.1.3 Contested Outcomes

Is Aotearoa New Zealand a bicultural nation today? Historian Michael King (2007) optimistically suggests that bicultural measures "so changed the face of New Zealand life in the 1980s and 1990s that their cumulative effect could legitimately be called a revolution" (p.415). Professors Richard Hill & Brigitte Bönisch-Brednich (2009) concur, "New Zealand is now arguably in the international vanguard of finding ways for indigenous people and descendants of colonizers to interrelate positively with each other, on a daily basis, politically, culturally and organizationally – so that two peoples do indeed happily inhabit one nation" (p.261).

However, other scholars are more reticent in their assessment, pointing to "inclusionary rhetoric combined with exclusionary practice" (Božić-Vrbančić, 2003, p.303). Sociologist Avril Bell (2017) suggests that Aotearoa New Zealand operates under "a 'so-called' biculturalism", as indicated by the persistent economic and political marginalization of Māori (p.62). She posits that disadvantage "across a wide range of economic and social indicators suggests that the recognition given to the Treaty partnership over the last three decades has yet to deliver much substantive equality" (2006, p.257). Eminent New Zealand academic Lydia Wevers (2006) offers the label of an "imagined community of bicultural Aotearoa", one which permits selective elements of te ao Māori to be "reinserted into the monocultural norm" (p.7). Professor Joanna Kidman (2017) speaks of a national narrative of "'lovely' bicultural knowledge" that blatantly overlooks historical injustices and current inequalities (p.105). Dr. Jessica Terruhn (2019) notes that while bicultural initiatives to address social inequality may have had minor impacts, in terms of addressing a political power imbalance biculturalism has woefully "fallen short of addressing indigenous rights to and aspirations for sovereignty" (p.868). Legal expert Moana Jackson (2019) concurs, characterizing the last twenty years of jurisprudence in Aotearoa New Zealand as a "reaffirmation of Māori non-sovereignty" (p.99).

Given these shortcomings, Professor Mark Williams (2016) asks "whether becoming Aotearoa New Zealand heralds more than nominal equality…By the hard measures of imprisonment, poverty, and educational statistics, Māori remain severely disadvantaged. By the softer

measures of public discourse and official recognition-the naming of mountains, the occasional diverting of highways from sacred sites-biculturalism has its successes" (p.1553). Bell (2006) calls into question the continuing gap "between the rhetoric of equality and the reality of inequality" (p.257). Psychologists Chris Sibley and James Liu (2004) have explored this latent tension and made a distinction between biculturalism in principle ('soft measures') and biculturalism in practice ('hard measures'). Their research suggests overwhelming public support for the former, but resistance to the latter which would require the redistribution of resources and sharing of power. Similarly, linguist Richard Benton (2015) notes that while there has been a significant shift in public support for the use of te reo Māori ('soft measures'), there has been very little change in actual behaviour ('hard measures').

To more fully realize the aspirations of te Tiriti, recent scholarship has suggested a strategic semantic departure away from 'bicultural' or 'biculturalism', towards 'Treaty-based' or 'te Tiriti-based' language (Chan & Ritchie, 2020; C. Jenkins, 2017;). Others, such as Lorri Santamaria and Te Kawehau Hoskins (2015) combine these phrases to describe "a treaty-based bicultural Aotearoa New Zealand" (p.65). In arguing in favor of this shift, Christine Jenkins (2017) suggests that a new vocabulary might lead to more favorable outcomes for Māori by directly appealing to the promises in te Tiriti to rectify existing power imbalances. Angel Chan and Jenny Ritchie (2020) similarly endorse a shift in language in order to better acknowledge Māori as tangata whenua:

> We use the term 'Tiriti o Waitangi based' (or more simply 'Tiriti based') instead of 'bicultural' to recognise the first nations status of Māori and the obligations that government, and by extension, teachers have under Te Tiriti o Waitangi to recognise Māori self-determination over their lands, language, knowledges and resources. (p.223)

Reflective of this academic debate, a shift in language from 'bicultural' to 'te Tiriti' is beginning to emerge within government agencies including the Ministry of Health (Cormack & Robson, 2010) and the Ministry of Education (Lourie, 2016a). As an example, the Code of Professional Responsibility and Standards for the Teaching Profession *[Our Code, Our Standards]* has substituted prior references to the 'bicultural partnership' with 'te Tiriti o Waitangi

partnership' (Education Council, 2015, 2017; See Chapter 2.2.3). Professor Georgina Stewart (2018b) offers a rebuttal to this changing of terms, pointing to the powerful legacy found within the bicultural tradition, one that remains capable of making a significant impact. Although she acknowledges the missteps and difficulty in transforming these ideals into reality, Stewart supposes it has been a lack of understanding of biculturalism, and its grounding in te Tiriti, that is the problem. She suggests that a lack of understanding "cannot be overcome by swapping terms around", rather she argues in favor of "rehabilitating or rebooting the concept of biculturalism" (p.21). This research assumes Stewart's position, maintaining that biculturalism in general, is understood an active, validating, power-sharing partnership between the two-founding people, Māori as tangata whenua and non-Māori as tangata Tiriti, as governed by te Tiriti o Waitangi. The next section will look more closely at how biculturalism is manifest in education, or bicultural education.

2.2 Foundations of Bicultural Education

Having established the centrality of biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand in the previous section, this section will explore the expressions of biculturalism found in education, or bicultural education. It will begin by outlining foundational terms and concepts concerning te ao Māori before outlining significant historical movements in the development of a bicultural education that seeks to offer all students access to te ao Māori alongside of the western world. It concludes by reviewing contemporary iterations towards bicultural education.

2.2.1 Te Ao Māori

In an educational context, *te ao Māori*[4] broadly refers to "the Māori world, with its values, traditions, and practices" (ERO, 2010, p.35). For many centuries before the European arrival in Aotearoa, a robust, sophisticated education system operated to sustain te ao Māori (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; M. Durie, 2017; Walker, 2004). Māori academic Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal (2007) acknowledges the distinctive institutions and processes of education that existed since

[4] It is acknowledged that summarizing these complex concepts offers mere introductions, as best. A world cannot be contained in any number of words, books, or volumes (Royal, 2007). Furthermore, it is critical to acknowledge te ao Māori as an umbrella term encapsulating a wide range of iwi and hapū narratives (Doherty, 2009; see Chapter 2.2.1.4).

time immemorial, “colleges of [our] ancestors offering professional, vocational, political, artistic, and religious pathways” (p.20). Jones and colleagues (1995) note:

> This system consisted of a powerful knowledge base, a complex oral tradition and a dynamic ability to respond to new challenges and changing needs. The traditional system of education, while complex and diverse, was also fully integrated in that skills, teaching and learning were rationalized and sanctioned through a highly intricate knowledge base. (p.34)

While colonization severely truncated this Indigenous system of education, contemporary scholars continue to affirm the central position of te ao Māori within schooling, suggesting that “It is the Māori knowledge base that creates the distinctive and unique place of New Zealand in all the world. All citizens of New Zealand have a right to know something of this knowledge base” (Penetito, 2010, p.69). The Education Review Office (2010) similarly reflect on the centrality of te ao Māori, noting that exemplary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand have possessed “a climate in which te ao Māori was recognized, respected and valued” (p.3). Sir Mason Durie (1998) opines that there are multiple avenues by which te ao Māori may be manifest within schools, from “being an area of study in its own right [e.g. Māori Studies as a course], an academic discipline [e.g. the Māori department], and a potential component of every area of study [e.g. systematic integration]” (p.22). Across each of these avenues, fundamental dimensions to te ao Māori include, but are not limited to, *te reo Māori* (Māori language), *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge), and *tikanga Māori* (Māori customs) (M. Durie, 2003; G.H. Smith, 1997; Pihama, 2019). Each of these dimensions, as it relates to bicultural education, is further discussed below.

2.2.1.1 Te Reo Māori

Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori

The language is the life force of mana Māori / Maoridom

-Sir James Henare (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p.34)

Te reo Māori is the Indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand, a sacred *taonga* (treasure) passed down from the gods (Barlow, 1991; Higgins, 2016; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Sir Tīmoti

Kāretu (1995) speaks of te reo Māori as "the very essence of all things Māori. Without it, all else becomes meaningless and pointless" (p. 214). Legally, te reo Māori is formally recognized as one of the official languages of Aotearoa New Zealand and is perceived as an integral component of national identity for all New Zealanders (Harris & M. Williams, 2014; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018). Within compulsory education, the *New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007) makes clear the place and value of te reo Māori "as a taonga recognized under the Treaty of Waitangi, a primary source of our nation's self-knowledge and identity" (p.14). The *New Zealand Curriculum* (2007) goes on to articulate the vital role of learning te reo Māori:

> 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…All who learn te reo Māori help to secure its future as a living, dynamic, and rich language. (p.14)

Despite over a century of colonial attempts to systematically eliminate te reo Māori, the past thirty years have witnessed the sweeping resurgence of te reo Māori, embedded within a larger cultural renaissance (Benton, 2015). In acknowledging this revival, prominent linguists Rāwinia Higgins and Poia Rewi (2014) declare, "we believe that the language *has* been revitalized…we know that the language is alive in pockets across society" (p.30). Following this revitalization, Higgins and Rewi (2014) suppose the current phase is one marked by efforts to increase language normalization – of expanding "the relevance of the language, its use and, more importantly, its value" (p.30). Officially, the normalization of te reo Māori is well-recognized within Maihi Karauna, the government's overarching Māori language strategy, expressed as *Kia māhorahora te reo* - that te reo Māori would be a regular part of daily life for all New Zealanders, "Everywhere, Every Way, Everyone, Every Day" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018, p. 21). Former Minister of Māori Development, Hon. Nanaia Mahuta, envisions what future language normalization may look like in Aotearoa New Zealand:

> I don't want te reo Māori to be something we hear only on the marae and in other formal settings. I want to hear tamariki who learn te reo Māori at school talking Māori to each other as they play, I want to hear it in the sporting arenas and shopping malls,

> I want to sit down at any restaurant in Aotearoa and order my meal in te reo Māori. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018, p.3)

Towards this end, it is acknowledged that "The education system is government's most powerful lever for the acquisition of te reo Māori" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018, p.28). In particular, the compulsory education sector, consisting of primary and secondary schools, is singled out for the capacity to be "a significant contributor to the survival and flourishing of the language" (ERO, 2020a, p.11). As of 1 July 2020, over 210,000 students across the compulsory sector were receiving dedicated instruction in te reo Māori. Furthermore, over 22,000 of these students were participating in a bilingual, Māori-medium program in which over 50 percent of their instruction was offered in te reo Māori (MoE, 2020).

2.2.1.2 Mātauranga Māori

Mātauranga Māori[5] is the Indigenous knowledge system of Aotearoa New Zealand (Broughton & McBreen, 2015). Sir Hirini Moko Mead (2016) likens mātauranga Māori to a 'super subject', inclusive of a range of content, and encompassing "all branches of Māori knowledge, past, present and still developing" (p.337). Charles Royal (2017) suggests that present day mātauranga Māori is "a body or a continuum of knowledge with Polynesian origins, which survives to the present day albeit in fragmentary form" (p.113). Both Mead (2016) and Royal (2007) insist that despite the fragmentation of mātauranga Māori, largely as a result of colonization, there remains a sufficient base from which new applications are continually being birthed, in a wide array of disciplines from Astronomy (Dr. Rangi Mātāmua) to Ecology (Dr. Ocean Mercier), from Linguistics (Sir Apirana Ngata; Dr. Rāwinia Higgins) to Law (Sir Eddie Durie, Justice Joe Williams, Moana Jackson), from Medicine (Sir Peter Buck; Sir Mason Durie) to Music (Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi).

[5] There can be several manners in which 'mātauranga' can be understood (Royal, 2007). 'Mātauranga' has been interpreted historically to mean 'education'. As such, the Ministry of Education is known as *Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga* (The Ridge Pole of Education). In this thesis, mātauranga Māori is not used to refer to Māori education, but to the distinct body of knowledge outlined above.

Sir Mason Durie (2017) notes that mātauranga Māori is also more than simply knowledge of "things Māori", rather it is an application of knowledge, "a way of *understanding* things" (p.5). Similarly, Mead (2016) supposes mātauranga Māori is best understood not as "an archive of information but rather is like a tool for thinking" (p.338). This 'way of understanding things' or 'tool for thinking' is fundamentally, "about studying the universe from a Māori perspective" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999, p.21). The deeper calling of mātauranga Māori relates to "how we can improve the way in which humankind exists and lives in the world through new strategies of indigeneity, rekindling kinship between people, and between people and the natural world" (Royal, 2017, p. 117). Thus, while grounded in the past, mātauranga Māori is provides tools to engage and address contemporary challenges and future potentiality (M. Durie, 2003; Pihama, 2010). As such, the application of mātauranga Māori within the education sector is boundless, accessible to all ages, disciplines, and settings (M. Durie, 2017).

2.2.1.3 Tikanga Māori

Officially, tikanga Māori is defined in the Resource Management Act (1991), as "Māori customary values and practices" (p. 48). Sir Hirini Moko Mead (2016) signifies *tika* as being right or proper, thus *tikanga Māori* is a Māori paradigm, or set of protocols, for correct practice. As such, tikanga Māori puts mātauranga Māori into action. Mead (2016) supposes that tikanga Māori is the practices and values "necessary for good relations with people and with the land on which they live (p.xi). It is a 'normative system' that governs "what is considered to be normal and right…correct ways of behaving and also processes for correcting and compensating" (Mead, 2016, p.7). In his definitive work on tikanga Māori, Mead (2016) identifies the 'conceptual regulators' of tikanga Māori to include *tapu* (state of being set apart), *mana* (prestige), and *noa* (neutrality). These three primary constructs provide a foundation from which all other cultural concepts can be understood (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004; Barlow, 1991). Furthermore, Mead (2016) supposes that "all tikanga are underpinned by the high value placed upon manaakitanga", which is expressed as "nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about how others are treated" (p.33). While Mead (2016) supposes that up until the end of the 20th Century, "the country remained aloof and blissfully unaware of Tikanga Māori" (p.3), today there is an increasing acceptance of tikanga Māori across society leading to the demands that tikanga Māori be taught in schools:

> Our leaders and educators need to know [it] in order to be more effective in what they do….There is every indication that tikanga Māori will become more important in the years to come rather than the reverse, It has come out of hiding an is now in the bright light of day. (Mead, 2016, p.26)

2.2.1.4 Iwi-tanga

While te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori, and tikanga Māori are considered fundamental dimensions to te ao Māori (Pihama, 2019), researchers have noted the tendency within education to homogenize each of these dimensions, thus failing to acknowledge significant iwi and hapū narratives (Doherty, 2009; Macfarlane et al., 2014). Doherty (2009) illustrates this point using te reo Māori as an example:

> Māori language differs from region to region, each tribe will have a particular tune in which the language is easily distinguishable. While there are differences in some terms, overall there is a consistency in the vocabulary used in the language between tribes. Differing tribes can understand each dialect very easily, using this to identify the speakers' tribal connections, taking note of the metaphor and simile that will reflect the tribal relationship with their particular landscape. (p.235)

Doherty suggests an imperative to contextualize our understandings of te ao Māori, balancing pan-tribal approaches with more specific iwi-centric approaches, "grounded in a 'real', environmentally-located knowledge within tribal lands" (p.3). In doing so we acknowledge that all "iwi within Aotearoa have their own stories, their own whakapapa, their own histories, and their own mātauranga-ā-iwi", established in tikanga ā-iwi and expressed though te reo ā-iwi (p.214). Thus, a bicultural education which acknowledges the richness and depth of iwi-tanga "must be included in the New Zealand educational curriculum for the benefit of Māori and Pākehā alike" (Doherty, 2009, p.254). Recent government reports (ERO, 2020b) acknowledging this aspiration, recommending the education sector "support the development of localised te reo Māori resources, reflecting dialects and local stories" (p.24)

Having established te reo, mātauranga, and tikanga as fundamental dimensions of te ao Māori, and thus integral components to biculturalism, the next section will explore historical and contemporary manifestations of biculturalism within education, or bicultural education.

2.2.2 Early Seeds of Bicultural Education

From the opening of the first church-run Mission Schools in 1816, to the formal establishment of a state-run 'Native Schools' in 1867, schools have been one of the most significant sites of interaction between Māori and Pākehā (Simon, 1990). Initially, Native Schools were met with much enthusiasm by Māori, anticipating access to new forms of knowledge, technology, and material goods (Walker, 2016). Māori aspired to "*extend* their existing body of knowledge", incorporating additional literacies, languages, and skills that would complement pre-existing Indigenous schools of learning (Simon, 2000, p.46). Leonie Pihama (2019) notes Māori envisioned a form schooling that "would support the overall interests of the hapū and iwi…[that] would add to rather than replace Māori knowledge, language and culture" (p.8). Participation in new schooling options was perceived by Māori as "a means to maintain their sovereignty and enhance their life-chances" (Simon, 2000, p.46). Moana Jackson (2016) calls this fundamental desire "'education for rangatiratanga' or 'education for self-determination'", one of the most long-held educational aspirations of Māori (p.43).

However, Pākehā held a set of contrary aspirations for Māori, and for Native Schools, driven by an "assimilationist policy, intended to *replace* Māori culture with that of the European" (Simon, 2000, p.46). Far from the bicultural ideal of accommodating both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā, the aim of Native Schools was "to wean the scholars from Māori habits and to substitute European" (Simon & L.T. Smith, 1998, p.85). Further, the European substitute offered to Māori would be a truncated version of the western cannon, limited to those elements essential in preparing Māori for a future of manual labor. In this sense early schooling options for Māori would be "a tool of the government to assign Māori to an underclass – the British brown proletariat, below the meanest of white men" (Walker, 2016, p.23). In order to achieve this aim, it was necessary to first "invalidate Māori educational philosophies and practices", framing te ao Māori as "an ancient world that merely supplied

insights into the culture of primitive peoples" (Hokowhitu, 2004, p.192). Moana Jackson (2016) articulates how this process of invalidation plays out:

> It is, of course, well known that education is fundamental to the colonizing process, because in order to dispossess us of our lands, lives and power, the colonizers had to educate us to think that what we already knew, or might know from our own traditions, our own education and our own cultural understanding of the world, was not worthy. We had to be taught to think that we did not possess 'real' knowledge or even real intellectual tradition. Colonization had to change our mind until we believed that knowledge and education only resided in the systems and pedagogy that have been brought here from somewhere else. (p.39)

To this end, te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori, and tikanga Māori were intentionally omitted from the school curricula for over a century, forcefully prohibited from the school grounds (J. Lee, 2012; Mead, 2016; G.H. Smith, 1997). According to the Native School Code of 1880, "the aim of the teacher, however, should be to dispense with the use of Māori as soon as possible (cited in Simon, 1990, p.15). While over 90 percent of Māori children spoke te reo Māori as a first language at the turn of the 20th Century, by the middle of the century that number would fall to 25 percent, and by the 1970s the language would be on the verge of extinction (Benton, 2015). Longstanding Senior Inspector of the Native Schools, William Bird made explicit this strategy,

> If the result [of education policies] has been to make Māori lose his language, don't forget that in its place he has the finest language in the world and that the retention of Maori is after all largely a matter of sentiment. (cited in O'Sullivan, 2007, p.79)

It was increasingly obvious that "schooling demanded cultural surrender, or at the very least suppression of one's language and identity" (Walker, 2004, p.147). Dr. Judith Simon (2000) supposes that by the beginning of 20th Century, a "state of despondency and a pattern of underachievement in schooling was becoming entrenched. This was a remarkable contrast to the enthusiasm and competence that had characterized the Māori response to schooling a century earlier" (p.53). The explicitly monocultural education system, coupled with repressive

social policies, would devastate te ao Māori (Belich, 1996). While the pre-colonial Indigenous education system upheld te ao Māori (Jones et al., 1995), the colonial replacement would severely undermine te ao Māori (Metge, 2008).

Alas, following larger social movements of the 1930s, there emerged a subtle educational realignment seeking "to acknowledge the cultural identity of the Māori child by allowing a select amount of Māori culture into the curriculum", usually in the form of arts and crafts (J. Lee, 2012, p.6). In challenging prior educational shortcomings, Sir Apirana Ngata boldly asserted in 1945, "that New Zealand would be all the richer for a bilingual and bicultural people" (cited in D. Williams, 2005, p.373). Well ahead of his time, Ngata conceptualized an Aotearoa New Zealand based upon a "'judicious' selection and combination of 'elements of Western and Māori culture'" (Sissons, 2000, p.49). Ngata advocated relentlessly for Māori language and culture to be taught in universities, leading to the eventual creation of a lectureship in Māori at Auckland University in the 1950s, focusing on "the validation and incorporation of Maori knowledge in the academy" (Walker, 2016, p.29). To this end, Māori Studies became an independent discipline and te reo Māori was recognized as language worthy of academic attention (Harris, 2014). By the end of the 1970s, te reo Māori courses were offered at all teachers' colleges, and at several hundred primary and secondary schools, reaching over 40,000 students (Sissons, 1993; Walker, 2004).

Perceiving the beginnings of a new orientation in education, Ranginui Walker (1980) suggests that "When cultural transactions are two way, as they are increasingly becoming in our schools, we can speak of bicultural education" (p.240). Toward this end, an educational initiative called *Taha Māori* (the Māori Dimension) was introduced in 1975, setting the expectation that:

> Aspects of Māori language and culture should be incorporated into the total life of the school – into the curriculum, buildings, grounds, attitudes, organization. It should be a normal part of the school climate with which all pupils and staff should feel comfortable and at ease. (Department of Education, 1984, p.1)

Jenny Lee (2012) notes that while Taha Māori had the "potential to substantially change every aspect of schooling and incorporate Māori culture in meaningful ways, the reality was that the schools interpreted it differently" (p.7). Lee suggests that while the impetus behind Taha Māori was to increase engagement, achievement, and self-esteem of Māori students, it did little to challenge the overarching monocultural paradigm that underpinned schooling. Rather, Taha Māori was 'captured by Pākehā' and interpreted as an opportunity to familiarize non-Māori students with basic aspects of Māori culture (G.H. Smith, 1990). In this sense, Taha Māori became an initiative for non-Māori students to learn about tokenistic aspects of te ao Māori (Macfarlane, 2015). Professor Brendan Hokowhitu (2004) critiques Taha Māori as an example of a "supposedly bicultural initiative" that offered "a version of Māori culture so Eurocentric that Māori barely recognized it as their own" (p.198). As such, Taha Māori did little to advance the educational aspirations of Māori (Tocker, 2015).

Contemporary Māori academics affirm that while Māori educational aspirations are diverse, there remains a common desire to access the best of both worlds - te ao Māori *and* te ao Pākehā (Macfarlane, 2015). Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1991) noted that Māori parents "have expressed repeatedly that they want excellence for their children in both Māori and Pākehā languages and cultures" (p.8). Māori educational aspirations are for excellence, on Māori terms, using Māori metrics, drawing upon the fullness of te ao Māori. Professor Ted Glynn (2015) similarly summarizes this position:

> Māori aspire for their children to succeed at school in all areas of the curriculum but also to learn about their own culture, history, and contemporary society. Further, many Māori want to achieve these aspirations though the medium of their own language…[not] at the expense of Māori language and culture. (p.105)

Despite this clarion call, Hokowhitu (2004) laments a lack of receptivity to these aspirations:

> As has been the case since inception of State education in Aotearoa/New Zealand, there is a serious discontinuity between what Māori want in the education of their children and what is currently being provided…Today Māori parents want an

> education system that values Māori students by demonstrating that it values their culture. (p.200)

In light of an education system that continued to be unresponsive to the aspirations of Māori, a fresh movement was afoot in the early 1980s to effect change, aligned with larger efforts to revitalize te reo Māori (Haemata, 2018). While a small handful of bilingual units existed from the late 1970s, te reo Māori was largely taught as a subject, rather than being used as language of instruction (Metge, 2008). As such, bilingual programs were envisioned to support students who already spoke te reo Māori, rather than producing new speakers of the language (Tocker, 2015). To nurture the next generation of te reo Māori speakers, a network of total immersion preschools was established by Māori, known as *kōhanga re*o (language nests) in the early 1980s (G.H. Smith, 1997). While the revitalization of te reo Māori was a central aim, kōhanga reo also facilitated the "transmission, maintenance and preservation of Māori knowledge, ideology and cultural practice" (Ka'ai, 2004, p.208). As such, kōhanga reo has been called "the single most influential initiative in the revival of the Māori language and culture since colonization" (Barlow, 1991, p.53).

The success of kōhanga reo from the late 1980s would have a knock-on effect, stimulating a need for primary schools that would continue to provide a total immersion Māori-medium education based on distinctive Māori philosophy and worldview (Ka'ai, 2004). The result, *kura kaupapa Māori* (Māori primary schools) are a collection of schools taught entirely in te reo Māori, from a Māori philosophical framework, using distinctively Māori pedagogy (Penetito, 2010; G.H. Smith, 2017). Kura kaupapa Māori provide "learning environments, that, as the norm, locates Māori culture and tikanga at the core; have been built on Māori philosophies; and have been created and managed by Māori for Māori" (Macfarlane, 2015, p.182). The 'ground breaking' success and proliferation of kura kaupapa Māori demanded further schooling options, *wharekura* (secondary schools) and *wānanga* (tertiary schools), all of which are united by a "philosophical doctrine incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society that have emanated from a Maori metaphysical base" (Ka'ai, 2004, p.207). Collectively, Tocker (2015) identifies three fundamental aims embedded across these efforts, (1) to support language revitalization, (2) to assist in the politization and conscientization of the Māori people, (3) to make a positive difference in nurturing Māori

identity (p.182). By the early 2000s the first cohorts of students matriculated through kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, wharekura, and wānanga, representing the next generation of truly bicultural and bilingual individuals (Harris, 2014; Macfarlane, 2015).

2.2.3 Bicultural Education into the 21st Century

In the 1980s the central government initiated profound neoliberal reforms across all state sectors. The education system of Aotearoa New Zealand would experience a 'total dismantle' (Penetito, 2010, p.167). Educational reforms were fueled by a 1988 government taskforce, known as the Picot Taskforce, which recommended a myriad of ways to deliver education more 'efficiently' (G.H. Smith, 1991). The resulting legislation came to be known as *Tomorrow's Schools,* creating self-managing schools with high degrees of autonomy and flexibility to meet the diverse needs of a community (Simon, 2000). This devolving of power triggered "a flurry of activity in the 1990s and 2000s" (Macfarlane, 2015, p.181) that would significantly advance the development of bicultural education in several ways (Lourie, 2016a; Simon & L.T. Smith, 1998).

Firstly, the *Tomorrow's Schools* reform would officially recognize and resource Māori-medium schools within the compulsory sector, specifically kura kaupapa Māori and wharekura (Tocker, 2015). While these schools were originally established outside of the state-run sector, the *Tomorrow's Schools* reform affirmed the place of 'designated character schools' which provided alternative schooling options based upon a unique philosophy or set of values. Kura kaupapa Māori were categorized as 'designated character schools' as a result of their objectives toward language and cultural revitalization for Māori, thus eligible to receive state funding (Walker, 2016). The serendipitous timing of the *Tomorrow's Schools* reform was perceived as 'a golden moment' which would "provide the space for the kura kaupapa Māori development" in ways that would have been previously out of reach (Tocker, 2015, p.31).

Secondly, the turn of the 21st Century ushered in a growing number of initiatives specifically aimed at improving education for Māori within English-medium schools. Underpinning these initiatives was a growing acknowledgement of the significant 'educational debt' owed to Māori "that has accumulated in our education system over many years" (Office of the Auditor-

General, 2016, p.4). In their comprehensive audit of state-run schooling for Māori, the Office of the Auditor-General (2016) concluded that "only by changing what you are doing, and changing attitudes and behaviors, will you reduce the debt" (p.4). The overarching national strategy for improving Māori education was first introduced in 1999, evolving to become what is known today as *Ka Hikitia: The Māori Education Strategy* (MoE, 2008, 2013a). Fundamental to each iteration of Ka Hikitia is the vision of "Māori enjoying and achieving education success *as* Māori" (MoE, 2013a, p.13). Teachers and schools are challenged to design learning that affirms the cultural identity of Māori student, paying particular attention to te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori, and tikanga Māori. To support the implementation of these aims a number of targeted companion strategies to Ka Hikitia have been produced including *Tātaiako: Cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners* (MoE, 2011), *Te Kotahitanga* (Bishop et al., 2014), *Tau Mai Te Reo – The Māori Language in Education Strategy* (MoE, 2013b), Kia Eke Panuku (Berryman et al., 2015), and most recently Te Hurihanganui (MoE, n.d.)

Thirdly, contemporary educational reforms have also called for a paradigmatic shift to provide a bicultural education for *all* students, Māori and non-Māori, across *all* school settings, Māori-medium and English-medium, from preschool to tertiary school (Lourie, 2015; Sullivan, 1993). Underpinning this shift is the growing realization that engagement with te ao Māori can make a significant contribution to the education of all New Zealanders (Royal, 2007). As such, the provision of a bicultural education is perceived as a "national opportunity….in any person's education not just Māori" (Royal, 2007, p.24-25). Mead (2016) calls this a "quiet revolution unfolding in education" (p.vii). One of the earliest and strongest examples of this reorientation can be found in the early childhood curriculum *Te Whāriki* (MoE, 1996), considered to be the first bicultural and bilingual curriculum document in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ritchie, 2003). The introduction to *Te Whāriki* sets forth the position statement that "All children should be given the opportunity to develop knowledge and understanding of the cultural heritages of both partners to Te Tiriti o Waitangi" (p.9). The bicultural approach is an expectation, not an option, assuming that "any child attending a state-funded early childhood service in New Zealand will receive a bicultural and bilingual education…a marked departure from earlier government policies" (Diglin, 2014, p.65).

Georgina Stewart (2017) refers to the contemporary shift towards genuine bicultural education for all as a "180 degree turn in school culture and language policy during the twentieth century…seen as part of a larger reversal from Eurocentric towards Māori-centric" (p.135). Foundational to such a Māori-centric approach has been the weaving of te ao Māori into the very fabric of every school. Macfarlane (2015) calls this approach *He Awa Whiria* (The Braided Rivers), whereby ample room is made for both western and Indigenous knowledge, supposing the entwining of the two rivers has the potential to produce greater outcomes than either river on its own. All can benefit from a Māori-centric approach, all can be watered by He Awa Whiria, and all can flourish in a bicultural environment. The next segment will extrapolate three particularly strong manifestations of bicultural education: national policy statements, te reo me ngā tikanga Māori, and *marae ā-kura* (school-based marae) (J. Lee, 2012; Penetito, 2009; Sissons, 1993).

2.2.3.1 Bicultural Education in Policy: 'A National Commitment'

Dr. Megan Lourie (2015, 2016a) asserts that biculturalism today forms the unquestionable underpinning of the contemporary educational system in Aotearoa New Zealand. She suggests that strong, clear, and consistent references to biculturalism, te Tiriti o Waitangi, and/or Treaty principles in official publications leave no doubt to the centrality of a bicultural education. Bicultural education is no longer an option, but an essential educational right not only in early childhood education, but across the compulsory sector. In their analysis of key education policy, Chan and Ritchie (2019) concur with Lourie, indicating an unquestionable 'national commitment' to bicultural education. Salahshour (2020) comes the conclusion that "New Zealand's education policies, its national curriculum, and strategic education documents are founded upon its bicultural paradigm (p.9). Two publications, *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007) and *Our Code, Our Standards: Code of Professional Responsibility and Standards for the Teaching Profession* (Education Council, 2017) exemplify this pervasiveness and are explored in greater detail below.

A national curriculum possesses the unique formative ability "to include and exclude, emphasize and de-emphasize, and embrace and isolate" (Au & Apple, 2009, p.102). As the national curriculum governing the primary and secondary years, the *New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007) is exceedingly clear in its intent to "help schools give effect to the partnership

that is at the core of our nation's founding document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi / the Treaty of Waitangi" (p.6). As such, the stated vision is to inspire young people to "work to create an Aotearoa New Zealand in which Māori and Pākehā recognise each other as full treaty partners" (p.8). In articulating the underpinning principles, or the "beliefs about what is important and desirable in school curriculum", it is expected that "the curriculum acknowledges the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the bicultural foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand" (p.9). This is known as the Treaty of Waitangi principle.

The 'national commitment' to provide a bicultural education is similarly evident in the work of the Teaching Council of Aotearoa New Zealand [Teaching Council] [6] (Chan & Ritchie, 2019). In their regulatory role, the Teaching Council sets the guidelines and expectations for "what it means to be a teacher in Aotearoa" (Education Council, 2017, p.14). The "ethical behaviours and effective teaching practice expected of every teacher in New Zealand", are outlined in the publication *Our Code, Our Standards* (Teaching Council, 2021, p.4). According to the Code, and in no uncertain terms, all teachers are expected to "demonstrate a commitment to a Tiriti o Waitangi based Aotearoa New Zealand" (Education Council, 2017, p.12). This teaching standard, currently referred to as 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi partnership' [7], encapsulates a commitment to both "tangata whenuatanga[8] and Te Tiriti o Waitangi" (Education Council, 2017, p.18). Within this standard, three elaborations are offered to further clarify expectations of all teachers:

[6]The government agency charged with overseeing the teaching profession and initial teacher education programs. They were previously known as the Education Council (2014-2018) and Teachers Council (2002-2014) (Chan & Ritchie, 2020).

[7] Prior iterations of the Code of Ethics and Standards for Teachers (Education Council, 2015) refers to this standard as the 'bicultural partnership', articulated as a "commitment to bicultural partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand" (p.11). While the label may have changes from 'bicultural partnership' to 'te Tiriti o Waitangi partnership', the essence of the standard remains: a resolute focus on developing "the relevant use of te reo Māori me ngā tikanga-ā-iwi in context" (2015, p.14). See Chapter 2.1.3 and 2.4.2 for further discussion on rhetorical challenges to 'biculturalism'.

[8] 'Tangata whenuatanga' is a direct reference to the 'tangata whenuatanga' teaching competency found in *Tātaiako: Cultural Competencies for Teachers or Māori Learners*, described as the embedding of place-based, socio-cultural awareness and knowledge into the curriculum (MoE, 2011).

Understand and recognise the unique status of tangata whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand

Understand and acknowledge the histories, heritages, languages, and cultures of partners to Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Practice and develop the use of te reo and tikanga Māori (p.18)

The third elaboration, to "practise and develop the use of te reo and tikanga Māori" is singled out by the Council as being particularly significant to teaching practice, reflective of the "widespread agreement from the teaching profession of the need to show leadership in this area, and over time to see the impact of specific commitments to the development of competency in te reo and tikanga Māori across the profession" (2021, p.33).

To give effect to this criterion, all practising teachers are required to formally declare their commitment "to develop and practise te reo me ngā tikanga Māori" throughout their teaching career (Teaching Council, 2021, p.22). In addition to this declaration, all teachers must submit annually an endorsement by school leadership verifying sufficient progress. This criterion applies to *all* teachers, across *all* settings: early childhood, primary schools, secondary schools, and tertiary teacher education; from Physical Education to Physics, from the Maths Department to the Music Department.

2.2.3.2 Te Reo me ngā Tikanga Māori for All Students

Coinciding with the curricular and professional commitments offered above is the corollary expectation that all students should therefore be engaging with te reo me ngā tikanga Māori in meaningful ways. In the words of Professor Richard Hill (2017), "in the current environment school is the primary place students gain exposure to te reo Māori" (p.312). Over the last three decades, this commitment to te reo Māori is explicit and well-documented in both the current (2007) and past (1993) iteration of *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE). The 1993 version of *The New Zealand Curriculum* declared ambitiously that "All students will have the opportunity to acquire some knowledge of the Māori language and culture. Students will also have the opportunity to learn through te reo (the language) and ngā tikanga (customs and

culture)" (p.7). The 2007 version of the *New Zealand Curriculum* sets the expectation that "All students have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga" (p.9). An additional position statement on te reo Māori as an official language 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. (p.14)

Additional curriculum guidelines offered by the Ministry of Education (2009) to support the teaching of te reo Māori provides even more explicit directives: "Programmes for te reo Māori in English-medium schools are expected to offer all students, both Māori and non-Māori, the opportunity to learn the language" (p.17). *All* students are to be offered ample opportunity to access the richness of te reo Māori regardless of "students' identities, languages, abilities, and talents" (MoE, 2009, p.17).

The Ministry of Education reports annual progress towards meeting this expectation, providing a numerical snapshot of Māori Language in Schooling (MoE, 2020). The Māori Language in Schooling data subset offers an indication of the number of schools and number of students participating in Māori language learning. Participation is categorized according to three broad pathways, (1) Students enrolled in *Māori-medium* education who are receiving more than 50 percent of their instruction in te reo Māori (Immersion levels 1-2), (2) Students in *English-medium* education who are receiving less than 50 percent of their instruction in te reo Māori (Immersion levels 3-5), and (3) Students not receiving dedicated instruction in te reo Māori (Immersion level 6 and those not eligible) (MoE, 2013b, p.19). Table 2.1 offers the overall raw number and corresponding percentage of students receiving Māori language instruction across these three categories in the years 2020, 2015, and 2010.

Table 2.1

Māori Language in Schooling (2010-2020)

	2010	2015	2020
1.Māori-medium (Over 50%) -Levels 1(20-25 hrs/week) 81-100% -Level 2(12.5-20 hrs/week) 51-80%	16,325 2.1%	17,842 2.2%	22,391 2.7%
2.English-Medium (less that 50%) -Level 3(7.5-12.5 hrs/wk) 31-50% -Level 4(3-7.5 hrs/wk) 12-30% -Level 5 (less than 3hr/wk)	132,731 17.3%	154,722 19.9%	188,048 22.8%
3.No Māori Instruction -Level 6 (Taha Māori) -No Māori language learning or ineligible	620,342 81.1%	604,251 77.8%	615,908 74.5%
Total student population	*764,398*	*776,815*	*826,347*

Note. Immersion Level 6 (Taha Māori) is the learning of simple greetings, basic words, and songs in te reo Māori. Input at this level is not considered dedicated Māori language instruction. Source: Ministry of Education (2020b)

There is a growing number of students receiving dedicated Māori language instruction, in terms of both raw numbers and as a percentage of the overall student population. This growth is consistent across Māori-medium (over 50% instruction) and English-medium (under 50% instruction) settings. Corresponding to this growth, from 2010 to 2020 there has been 6% decrease in the number of students who are not receiving dedicated Māori language instruction. While such indicators are encouraging to growth of te reo Māori, linguists such as Richard Benton (2015) and Rāwinia Higgins (2016) have pointed out the need to scale up access to Māori language instruction, as nearly three quarters of students in 2020 failed to receive *any* instruction in te reo Māori. At the current rate of growth, it would take well over a century before every student in Aotearoa New Zealand would be receiving dedicated Māori language instruction. Further, research by Haemata (2018) and by ERO (2020b) report that the vast majority of the Māori language instruction currently is minimal in terms of both instructional hours and language acquisition. Their findings build on previous results from

the 2016 National Monitoring Study of Student Achievement (NMSSA), which found 81% of Year 4, and 87% of Year 8 teachers reported less than 1 hour per week teaching te reo Māori (MoE, 2016).

Reconciling official policy statements indicating that 'All students have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga' with current Māori Language in Schooling data reporting that 75 percent of students are not receiving any Māori language instruction becomes difficult. Richard Benton (2015) remarks that the official "claims somewhat overstates the facts" (p.103). He suggests that while te reo Māori is clearly endorsed as an official language, it is also clearly positioned as optional to teach; it is "official but optional" (p.103). Pihama (2019) maintains that te reo Māori is positioned as an 'add-on' within the curriculum, not a core component. Ritchie (2003) and Chan (2019) similarly interpret this discrepancy, suggesting that while official documents can be perceived as public statements of commitments and expectations, they fail to describe realities.

In further examining Māori Language in Schooling data, Table 2.2 disaggregates students receiving Māori language instruction by Year level, as of 1 July 2020.

Table 2.2

Māori Language in Schooling by Year Level

	Primary (Years 1-8)	Secondary (Years 9+)	Combined
1.Māori-medium (Over 50%) -Levels 1 (20-25 hrs/week) 81-100% -Level 2 (12.5-20 hrs/week) 51-80%	18,185 3.4%	4,206 1.4%	22,391 2.7%
2.English-Medium (less that 50%) -Level 3 (7.5-12.5 hrs/wk) 31-50% -Level 4 (3-7.5 hrs/wk) 12-30% -Level 5 (less than 3hr/wk)	158,302 29.7%	29,746 10.1%	188,048 22.8%
3.No Māori Instruction -Level 6 (Taha Māori) -No Māori language learning or ineligible	355,548 66.8%	260,360 88.4%	615,908 74.5%
Total student population	532,035	294,312	826,347

Note. Source: Ministry of Education (2020b)

As demonstrated in Table 2.2, in 2020 the vast majority of Māori language instruction occurred in the primary years. 176,487 out of the 210,439 students who received Māori language instruction were in primary school, representing 84% of all Māori language learners. While nearly 1 in 3 students in primary school are reportedly receiving dedicated instruction in te reo Māori, only 1 in 10 secondary students continue in their Māori language journey. Nearly 90 percent of secondary students are not receiving any instruction in te reo Māori at school. While the place of te reo Māori in primary school seems to be becoming more certain, its place in secondary school remains precarious.

Researchers suggest several potential factors contributing to this discrepancy including a limited number of te reo Māori options provided at secondary schools, timetabling challenges, and the absence of prerequisite language skills necessary for students to learn te reo Māori at higher levels (Haemata, 2018; Hill, 2017). As one of the eight learning area prescribed in *The New Zealand Curriculum (2007),* 'Learning Languages' addresses a student's "capacity to learn further languages", in addition to English (p.17). It is expected that "all schools with students in Years 7-10 should be working towards offering students opportunities for learning a second or subsequent language" (MoE, 2007, p.44). Te reo Māori is positioned alongside all other, non-English languages within the larger 'Learning Languages' domain. Table 2.3 aligns the five most prevalent additional languages taught in secondary schools in 2010, 2015, and 2020.

Table 2.3

Language as a Subject, Secondary School (2010-2020)

Language	*2010*	*2015*	*2020*	*% change (2010-2020)*	*% of overall students (2020)*
Te Reo Māori	22,884	21,977	29,746	+33.8	10.4%
French	23,856	19,027	14,652	-38.5%	4.9%
Spanish	10,970	11,464	13,237	+20.6	4.4%
Japanese	14,506	10,843	12,068	-16.8%	4.1%
Chinese	2,119	4,316	6,368	+200.5%	2.1%

Note. Source: Ministry of Education (2020c)

As of 1 July 2020, 101,300 out of 294,312 secondary students were receiving instruction in an additional language. Among additional languages, te reo Māori is by far the most prevalent, with over twice as many students learning te reo Māori as French, the second most common language. For context, Richard Benton (2015) reminds us that prior to 2010, French had long been the most widespread language choices at the secondary level. Yet from 2010 to 2020 there has been a remarkable 33 percent increase in the number of secondary students receiving Māori language instruction. Yet despite the substantial growth in Māori language learning within secondary schools, it is still reaching only 1 in 10 secondary students. Considering such trends, the Waitangi Tribunal (2011), warns that "the notion that te reo is making steady forward progress, particularly among the young is manifestly false" (p.169). However, linguists have cautioned that the low uptake of te reo Māori generally, and at the secondary level specifically, needs to be considered in light of the "alarmingly monolingual" context of Aotearoa New Zealand (Benton, 2015, p.107). In a national context characterized as 'doggedly monolingual', low participation rates in learning any additional language are perhaps unsurprising (Higgins & Rewi, 2014).

While language acquisition may be an ultimate goal, linguists such as Higgins and Rewi (2014) suggest we carefully consider the attitudes and values ascribed to a language, as those will in turn influence future language trends. Haemata (2018) similarly contends that "inherent in any language revitalization strategy is valuing the language" (p.63). They go on to suggest that "English-medium schools are making their greatest contribution in term of regaining the status of the language." (p.64). Their exploratory report on the teaching and learning of te reo Māori in English-medium schools notes positive attitudinal shifts among both teachers and students towards recognizing and valuing te reo Māori. Similar findings were reported from the 2016 National Monitoring Study of Student Achievement, noting a strong sense of value attached to te reo Māori alongside largely positive attitudes among both teachers and students (MoE, 2016). Such results are perhaps unsurprising in light of earlier research by Te Puni Kōkiri (2010) which noted a strong positive shift in attitudes and significant 'goodwill' towards te reo Māori from 2000-2009 across society in general.

The ZePA Model of Language Shift

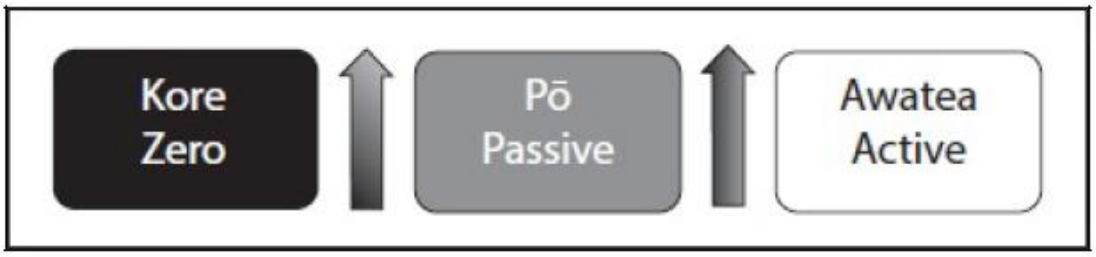
Current government efforts to support the revitalization and normalization of the Māori language across society generally, and within schools specifically, are theoretically underpinned by the ZePA model of language shift put forth by Professors Rāwinia Higgins and Poia Rewi (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018). Central to the ZePA model is an understanding that one's attitudinal positioning will significantly influence language choice. Higgins and Rewi (2014) call this a "knock-on effect: high value promotes choice and changes in language practice" (p.9). As an acronym, ZePA describes a spectrum of attitudinal positions towards te reo Māori that can be generally labeled as either positive, negative, or neutral (Higgins & Rewi, 2014). The three primary positions of ZePA are:

- 'Zero' (Negative): Zero engagement and zero use; marked by indifference, intolerance, and resistance towards the language; unreceptive and dismissive.
- 'Passive' (Neutral): Increased interest, awareness and receptivity; accommodating of the language and not restricting its use; supportive of the initiatives activated by others.
- 'Active' (Positive): Active language acquisition and use; proactive in supporting and advancing the language

At any given time, individuals 'shift' between these three major categories, as social environments and personal experiences shape, and re-shape, attitudes. The ZePA model supposes that by increasing the value of te reo Māori individuals will shift their position along this spectrum (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018). Higgins and Rewi (2014) conceptualize three possible directions we take in our language journey: inertia (static), regress (shift left), or progress (shift right). These three directions are further discussed below.

Figure 2.1

The ZePA Model – Static Position

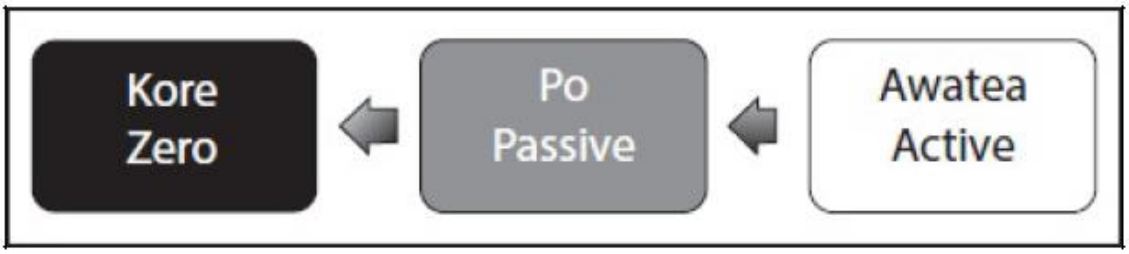


Note. Adapted from Higgins and Rewi (2014, p.23)

The ZePA static position is marked by the absence of movement; the language is not advancing or evolving, rather it is stationary. Rewi and Higgins (2014) suggests collectively, Aotearoa New Zealand is currently in a static position, marked by the status quo. While the revival of te reo Māori over last 30 years has been remarkable, commentators suggest that that the pool of speakers has "plateaued" (Benton, 2015) and become "stagnant" (Lourie, 2016b). Richard Benton (2015) describes the present condition of te reo Māori as in "a numerical advance but a proportional retreat" (p.100).

Figure 2.2

The ZePA Model – Left Shift



Note. Adapted from Higgins and Rewi (2014, p.25)

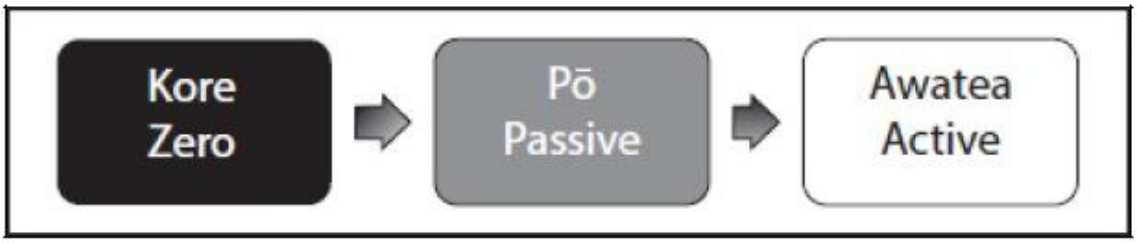
A ZePA left shift is regressive movement away from action and practice. It is a devaluation in terms of attitude and value. A left shift is counterproductive to language revitalization and normalization efforts in that it disincentivizes use and reduces the pool emerging and active speakers (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). A left shift is a step backwards, moving the language closer

towards the brink of extinction. Historically, educational policies which prohibited the speaking of te reo Māori in schools were a left shift (Higgins, 2016).

On the contrary, a ZePA right shift (Figure 2.3) is a progressive movement towards further language revitalization and normalization. Right shifting increases the active speakers of a language. It is a move from zero consideration, to passively entraining a thought of it, to actively using the language.

Figure 2.3

The ZePA Model – Right Shift



Note. Adapted from Higgins and Rewi (2014, p.28)

Higgins and Rewi (2014) suggests that the shift right from Zero to Passive state is the 'most critical zone' of language shift. This movement represent the rupture of negative barriers and places the individual in a space of acceptance and receptivity towards the language. Once in the Passive state there is a strong propensity to right shift to an Active state, as a result of increased value toward language use. Thus, "The aim of the Māori language strategy is to ensure the default position is right-shifting, regardless of how small this might appear." (p.30). Higgins and Rewi (2014) conclude:

> For the language to be normalized requires greater New Zealand to locate itself somewhere on the ZePA spectrum other than Zero….Normalising the language, therefor, will require much more than the efforts of Māori alone. It needs to be adopted by the nation. (p.31)

2.2.3.3 Marae-ā-kura

The influence of marae in general, and marae ā-kura specifically, in right-shifting individuals towards active engagement in te ao Māori will be outlined in this section. Te ao Māori is brought to life within the physical space of marae (J. Lee, et al., 2012). Wally Penetito (2009) refers to marae as the institutions which uniquely house and nurture the fullness of te ao Māori. In general, the term 'marae' refers to a complex, inclusive of the *marae ātea* (courtyard) as well as a variety of purpose-built *whare* (houses) such as the *wharekai* (dining hall), *wharepuni* (sleeping house), *whare tūpuna* (ancestral house), and *whare whakairo* (carved house). The marae complex is a focal point for culturally significant activities including *tangihanga* (funerals), celebrations, conferences, *hui* (meetings), and *pōwhiri* (welcoming ceremony) (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004). Cleve Barlow (1991) writes eloquently of the integral role played by marae:

> When Māori people assemble on the marae, and especially in the whare whakairo, they are, in essence, returning to their roots and to the source of their being. They congregate in the bosom of the house to be instructed on tribal matters and to be rejuvenated in spirit by being among the spirits of their ancestors and gods...returning to the outside world with a new zest for life. (p.179)

While marae have traditionally belonged to specific kinship groups, a number of newer marae have been established by pan-tribal alliances, churches, and 'Pākehā organizations' (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004, p.84). Barlow (1991) suggests that the establishment of newer marae reveals the contemporary vitality of te ao Māori, "indicative of the renaissance going on in the Māori world, and the revival of many traditional cultural practices" (p.181). Among such 'Pākehā organizations', universities and schools are notable sites where newer marae have been established "in order to provide a Māori space for students" (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004, p.84). Similar to ancestral marae, institutional marae aspire to be "a culturally safe place to re-gather oneself, and perform the ritual functions of the marae" (Doherty, 2009, p.263).

Marae-ā-kura (school-based marae) were conceived in 1970s and 1980s as a response to Māori aspirations for better representation within schools, an attempt "to make schooling

more culturally welcome for Māori students" (Walker, 2016, p.31). In carving out a physical space in an otherwise monocultural institution, marae-ā-kura challenged the existing 'spatial inequality' characteristic of schools in Aotearoa New Zealand (Stewart & Benade, 2020, p.129). Wally Penetito (2010) supposes that marae-ā-kura are "probably the only Māori structure that exists within education, and is based on a traditional institution that dates back more than a thousand years" (Penetito, 2010, p.123). Similar to ancestral marae, marae-ā-kura were envisioned as uniquely Māori learning environments explicitly "guided by Māori values, beliefs, and knowledge" (J. Lee, 2012, p.9). Today there are over 100 marae-ā-kura across the country, primarily found in secondary schools (J. Lee, 2016). Marae ā-kura have been called a 'radical innovation' holding the potential "to enable Māori to be Māori, to learn and teach as Māori, and to live as Māori at school" (J. Lee, 2012, p.10). As such, Heremaia (1984) opines:

> The evolution of the school marae in our secondary schools has been one of the most significant developments since the introduction of Māori language in the promotion of bicultural [education]. (p.41)

Exploratory research by Jenny Lee, Leonie Pihama, and Lisa Smith (2012) suggests that "the pedagogy of Marae-ā-kura is a case in point" of an educational accomplishment by Māori teachers, whānau, and students that has been largely unnoticed (p.3). They make particular note of the ability of marae-ā-kura to (1) support the regeneration of te reo me ngā tikanga Māori, and (2) improve educational outcomes for Māori students. Towards advancing te reo me ngā tikanga Māori, lead researcher Jenny Lee suggests,

> the marae-ā-kura brings Māori language and culture to life within the school. This is not say that te reo and tikanga Māori cannot exist or cannot be authentic without a marae, but rather that the marae itself creates another world (2016, p.73).

This other world of the marae-ā-kura provides access to a range of cultural narratives and mātauranga ā-iwi expressed in waiata, pōwhiri, tukutuku, kōwhaiwhai, and whakairo that might not have been otherwise available (Heremaia, 1984; Lee, 2016). Towards the latter aim of improving educational outcomes for Māori, Jenny Lee comments,

> Marae-ā-kura were seen by Māori teachers, whānau, and others alike as the most effective way to achieve of Māori education (where Māori language, culture, and knowledge is at the center), for Māori and by Māori, in a mainstream school. (2016, p.70)

Researchers noted a perception among Māori secondary students of marae-ā-kura as safe, supportive, and inclusive spaces which promoted a sense of belonging (J. Lee, 2012). To this end, students spoke endearingly of marae-ā-kura as being "like a second marae" (J. Lee et al., 2012, p.9). As a 'second marae', students spoke of marae-ā-kura as inspirational sites, where they can be reenergized and reaffirmed, as Māori:

> It [marae-a-kura] does have an impact, it has a huge impact. It inspires each and every one of us in a different way. (J. Lee et al., 2012, p.7)

Finally, marae-ā-kura are conceived to be "socially integrative", accessible to "people of all generations, sex, tribe or nationality" (Heremaia, 1984, p.41). Wally Penetito (2010) speaks of the power of marae-ā-kura to gather and unite people, to bring together "spiritual, social and personal life, linking past and present, tangata whenua and manuhiri (p.211). As such, marae-ā-kura can be seen as an example of a conscious move towards 'spatial biculturalism', defined by Stewart and Benade (2020) as the "embedding of place-based cultural narratives, culturally responsive pedagogy, and bicultural curriculum…into the structures of the built environment" (p.129). Jenny Lee's (2016) findings certainly characterizes marae-ā-kura as potent examples of bicultural education:

> Marae-ā-kura continue to be strong, visible representations of Māori culture, and have a powerful presence because they claim physical space, buildings and land. Furthermore, they are powerful because they create cultural boundaries and cultural expectations that demand that Māori language be heard, and Māori cultural protocols be adhere to, and Māori knowledge be valued within the environment of the monocultural school grounds. (p.75)

2.2.4 More Contested Outcomes

In summary, the provision of a bicultural education insists all students will have access to the richness of te ao Māori alongside te ao Pākehā. Te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori, and tikanga Māori are integral components upholding te ao Māori. While the value of a bicultural education was proclaimed long ago, that "New Zealand would be all the richer for a bilingual and bicultural people" (A. Ngata 1945, as cited in D. Williams, 2005, p.373), this vision has yet to be fully realized. A growing mountain of research continues notes the marginalization of te ao Māori within school environments, curriculum, and pedagogy (ERO, 2010; Macfarlane et al., 2014; Office of Auditor-General, 2016; Pihama, 2019). Wally Penetito (2010) summarizes:

> Upon learning that Māori are the indigenous people of New Zealand and make up 15 percent of the population, foreigners would be likely surprised and perhaps disappointed at the relative invisibility of the Māori world within education of New Zealand. (p.159)

Ted Glynn (2015) concurs, suggesting that "Māori-preferred approaches to learning, and Māori perspectives on educational research are barely visible within mainstream New Zealand education" (p.104). While aspirations towards a bicultural education may be strong, turning aspirations into practice remains elusive.

On the other hand, commentators such as Professor Angus Macfarlane (2015) note a substantial shift in mindsets over the last 50 years in education, a 'sea change', moving from a position of "cultural blindness – a propensity to not pay due attention to cultural imperative" to one that recognizes that 'culture counts' in profound ways (p.187). Georgina Stewart (2017) refers to this as a "180 degree turn in school culture and language policy…from Eurocentric towards Māori-centric" (p.135). This shift towards bicultural education is particularly evident in strong national policy statements, increasing access to te reo me ngā tikanga Māori in schools, and the proliferation of marae-ā-kura. Yet, as within wider society, biculturalism in education remains a contested space. Stewart and Benade (2020) note soberly that "the potential of bicultural education remains unrealized" (p.129).

Having unpacked Māori, Pākehā, te Tiriti o Waitangi, and biculturalism in the first section of the literature review, and biculturalism in education in this second section, the third and fourth sections will explore the contemporary phenomenon of super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007), and educational responses to increasing ethnic diversity.

2.3 Changing Ethnic Demographics

This section begins by exploring the concepts race and ethnicity in general, and in Aotearoa New Zealand specifically. It then examines demographic trends in ethnicity, highlighting the remarkable diversification of the country's population over the past 40 years. It concludes with an overview of the sociological implications of this emerging 'super-diversity', echoing the recent words of one of New Zealand's most well-known sociologists, Professor Paul Spoonley (2020), "the new New Zealand is here" (p.8)

2.3.1 Defining Race and Ethnicity

Social scientists have long pointed out our compulsive human effort "to divide the social universe into neat categories" according to various markers of identity (Kertzer & Arel, 2001, p.34). Such markers of identity are primarily comparative, speaking to the ways in which individuals and groups are similar, or dissimilar, to one another (Cornell, 2000). These categories of difference, in turn, translate into patterns of inclusion and exclusion (Lewis, 2003). Race and ethnicity are two of the primary markers of identity, significantly influencing a sense of place and belonging within society (Kukutai & Thompson, 2015; Ratuva, 2019). While related, and often conflated terms, race and ethnicity offer distinct paradigms for constructing and understanding difference (Callister, 2006). Each of these paradigms will be further unpacked below.

The concept of race, on one hand, implies a set of inherited biological and physical features associated with of a collective group of people. As Spoonley (1993) explains in his definitive work on race and ethnicity in New Zealand:

> Race assumes that the phenotype, or group of physical characteristics, is an appropriate way of classifying people into social groups, and that differences in the phenotype are synonymous with variations in intellect and abilities. (p.1-2)

Understood as such, the concept of race suggests the existence of a corollary racial hierarchy – a stratification of races according to certain physical characteristics (Kymlicka, 2007). Belief in this racial hierarchy was a central component underpinning European colonisation, a means of justifying the exploitation and enslavement of 'inferior' races at the hands of 'superior' races (Belich, 1996; O'Malley et al., 2010). While the biological assumptions of race have been widely discredited, Spoonley (1993) notes a certain staying power of race, given that "physical difference is an obvious and easy way of classifying people, and will undoubtedly continue" (p.3). Race in general, and the binary of 'Black' and 'White', in particular, continue to be prevailing social constructs in nations such as the U.S., the U.K., South Africa, and Fiji (Kertzer & Arel, 2001; Kukutai & Thompson, 2015).

In attempting to depart from the 'genetic determinism' (M. Durie, 2005) endemic in discourses of race and a racial hierarchy, the alternative concept of ethnicity emerged worldwide in the aftermath of the Second World War:

> After the Nazi cataclysm, the conflation of biology and culture was discredited and the old practice of calling national, religious, and linguistic groups 'races' vanished from Western Europe and the New World. References to 'race', which had been routine in the League of Nations, were replaced by references to 'ethnicity' in documents of the United Nations. (Kertzer & Arel, 2001, p.12-13)

Similarly, in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand demographer Paul Callister (2006) notes that the discourse of 'race' shifted first to 'descent' in the 1950s, and then evolved to 'ethnicity' or 'ethnic origin' by the 1970s. Jenny Lee (2007) calls this shift in nomenclature from race to ethnicity a "less politically suspect way of classifying people" (p.32).

Conceptually, Mason Durie (2005) supposes that ethnicity "emphasizes social and cultural distinctiveness and places a greater importance on world views, lifestyles and societal

interaction" (p.2). Furthermore, while race is an assigned attribute given to an individual or to a group, ethnicity is self-perceived, based upon one's sense of belonging (Callister, 2006). In his introductory remarks to *The Palgrave Ethnicity Handbook* (2019), editor Steven Ratuva supposes it is this sense of belonging that is one of most significant factors in group identity generally, and in ethnic identity specifically. Given that a sense of belonging can evolve over time, ethnicity then can be highly fluid, shifting under constant revision and reclassification (Kukutai, 2008). The nuanced and highly personal nature of ethnic identity is well-captured by prominent researcher and activist Maria Root (1996):

> I have the right to identify myself differently than strangers expect me to identify; to identify myself differently than how my parents identify me; to identify myself differently than my brothers and sisters; to identify myself differently in different situations…to change my identity over my lifetime-and more than once; to have loyalties and identify with more than one group of people. (p.7)

Root's final comments illustrate the inherent multiplicity and hybridity present within discourses of ethnicity and ethnic identity (Webber, 2008). Departing from the firm boundaries of 'race', one's ethnicity need not be confined to a singular ethnic group. Ethnic groups are not mutually exclusive; their boundaries are highly porous and one's positioning is "ever in a state of influx" (McIntosh, 2005, p.39). Echoing Edward Said (1994), "No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are no more than starting points" (p.407). Webber (2008) refers to this experience of negotiating multiple ethnic identities as 'walking the space between'.

Given the imprecise and shifting boundaries, Ratuva (2019) suggests that ethnicity can only be understood in relation to 'contextuality', or the social location of use. In the context of 21st Century Aotearoa New Zealand, the current benchmark for defining and reporting ethnicity is provided by the *2005 Statistical Standard for Ethnicity* published by Statistics New Zealand (Stats NZ, 2005):

> Ethnicity is the ethnic group or groups a person identifies with or has a sense of belonging to. It is a measure of cultural affiliation (in contrast to race, ancestry,

> nationality, or citizenship). Ethnicity is self-perceived and a person can belong to more than one ethnic group. (p.1)

Stats NZ (2005) goes on to imply the uniqueness of this approach:

> There are currently no other countries measuring ethnicity in the same way as New Zealand. Other countries collect statistics on one or more of these related variables: nationality, ethnic origin, race, citizenship, immigrant status, country of birth, language, religion and ancestry. Definitions of these variables may differ from New Zealand use. (p.8)

As this research was carried out in Aotearoa New Zealand, and given the preference and prevalence of discourses of ethnicity rather than race or related concepts[9], ethnicity will be used as the primary marker indicating cultural affiliation and identification. The next section will offer an overview of process by which individual and collective ethnic identities are collected, counted, and categorized.

2.3.2 Counting Ethnicity

Since 1878, demographic data has been collected in Aotearoa New Zealand as part of the national census completed every 5 years (Callister, 2006). Spoonley (2020) touts the significance of the national census, describing it as "an essential tool in the management and governance of a contemporary society…the most important measure of contemporary New Zealand' (p.34). While Professor Tahu Kukutai (2011) asserts the 'tarnished' statistical treatment of Māori at the hand of the census, she outlines a growing responsiveness toward Māori aspirations over the past 50 years. Both Spoonley (2020) and Kukutai (2011) note that information gathered from the census is instrumental to informing policy, decision-making, and future planning. One of the key datasets derived from the national census is the ethnic composition of the population (Cormack & Robson, 2010; Kukutai & Thompson, 2015)

[9]While 'race' in general is largely absent from the social sciences and was last recorded on census data in 1981 (Spoonley, 2017), racial discourses continue among certain government agencies, most notable the 'Race Relations Office' which is led by the 'Race Relations Commissioner' (Callister, 2006).

Unlike other demographic data such as fertility, mortality, or employment, ethnicity is not a "characteristic that can be easily identified or measured….[thus] there is an ongoing debate as to the best way of measuring and reporting race or ethnicity data" (Callister, 2006, p.142). Currently, ethnicity is self-reported by individuals based upon a sense of belonging or affiliation (since 1981), to one or more (since 1986) ethnic groups (Cameron & Poot, 2019). Stats NZ is the government agency charged with collecting census responses and reporting results. Stats NZ disaggregates ethnic data at four levels of increasing detail, beginning at Level 1 which contains 6 broad pan-ethnic categories to Level 4 which contains 180 specific ethnic categories. To illustrate how these ethnic categories and sub-categories are mapped, the most commonly reported levels, Level 1 (6 categories), Level 2 (21 categories), and Level 3 (36 categories) are offered in Table 2.4

Table 2.4

New Zealand Standard Classification of Ethnicity, Levels 1-3

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
1 European	10 European nfd 11 New Zealand European 12 Other European	100 European nfd 111 New Zealand European 121 British and Irish 122 Dutch 123 Greek 124 Polish 125 South Slav 126 Italian 127 German 128 Australian 129 Other European
2 Māori	21 Māori	211 Māori
3 Pacific Peoples	30 Pacific Peoples nfd 31 Samoan 32 Cook Island Māori 33 Tongan 34 Niuean 35 Tokelauan 36 Fijian 37 Other Pacific Peoples	300 Pacific Peoples nfd 311 Samoan 321 Cook Islands Māori 331 Tongan 341 Niuean 351 Tokelauan 361 Fijian 371 Other Pacific Peoples
4 Asian	40 Asian nfd 41 Southeast Asian 42 Chinese 43 Indian 44 Other Asian	400 Asian nfd 410 Southeast Asian nfd 411 Filipino 412 Cambodian 413 Vietnamese 414 Other Southeast Asian 421 Chinese 431 Indian 441 Sri Lankan 442 Japanese 443 Korean 444 Other Asian
5 Middle Eastern / Latin American / African (MELAA)	51 Middle Eastern 52 Latin American 53 African	511 Middle Eastern 521 Latin American 531 African
6 Other	61 Other Ethnicity	611 Other Ethnicity

Note. Adapted from the *Statistical Standard for Ethnicity* (Stats NZ, 2005); nfd = not further defined.

Official statistics on ethnicity are most often disaggregated at Level 1, according to the six pan-ethnic categories: European, Māori, Pacific Peoples[10], Asian, Middle Eastern/Latin American/African (MELAA), and 'Other' (Cameron & Poot, 2019). Officially, these six broad categories have been designed due to "perceived cultural similarities, and the size of the group in New Zealand" (Callister, 2006, p.146). It is argued that by disaggregating data according to 'major' ethnic categories there is a potential for organizational and comparative utility (Cornell, 2000; Spoonley, 2020). Further, it is suggested that in consolidating 'like' groups there can be a strength of position found in larger numbers (Kukutai, 2008). Somerville (2012) refers to this potential as "a strategic amalgam" which can "create visibility and the grounds for collaboration" (p.xxii). However, the widespread use of these broad categories is not without controversy, nor consequence (Kukutai, 2011).

Cornell (2000) notes that as products of the external forces, most notably the state, pan-ethnic identities often come as a surprise to the members of the group. He refers to pan-ethnic identities as 'discovered identities' in the sense that members of these categories come to "discover that, in the eyes of others, they are something they have never been in their own" (p.99). Similarly, Anae (1997) likens pan-ethnic categories to terms of convenience, part of a national imaginary attempting to merge "the previously uncombined into a new category" (p.128). Indeed, in looking at the 'MELAA' category, in may be challenging to readily identify the perceived 'cultural similarities' linking Middle Eastern, Latin American, and African perspectives. Kukutai (2011) suggests the sheer width of these categories renders the terms socially and culturally meaningless at best, and inaccurate at worst. Cornell (2000) likens the categories to "vessels of identity…virtually empty of meaning" (p.101). The 'Asian' category, for example, encompasses a landmass stretching from Afghanistan in West to Japan in the East, home to 60 percent of the world's population (Bedford & Ho, 2008). 'Asian' could mean Chinese or Indian, Vietnamese or Sri Lankan. Similarly, the 'Pacific Peoples' category refers to the immense 'sea of islands' of Oceania (Hau'ofa, 1994), an area covering 30 percent of the earth's surface and home to over 20 percent of the world languages (Campbell, 2011).

[10] Stats NZ uses the label 'Pacific Peoples' which aligns with other government agencies such as the 'Ministry of Pacific Peoples'. Within other domains, notably education, preference is given to term 'Pasifika', the Niuean translation of 'Pacific' (Somerville, 2012). The terms are used interchangeably in this thesis.

Furthermore, Kukutai (2008) notes that the pan-ethnic Māori category itself is a "supra-tribal" category masking a vast range of hapū and iwi diversity.

Although pan-ethnic labels may be 'virtually empty of meaning', they are not without consequence. Lewis (2003) points out that ethnic categorization is "not merely about the representation of difference; it is about inclusion and exclusion" (p.285). Spoonley (2020) points out that behind these ethnic categories is a 'highly political' process of attempting to define national identity - who 'we' are as a nation; who do 'we' include; who do 'we' exclude. As such, Kertzer and Arel (2001) point to the power held by the census to do "much more than simply reflect social reality; rather it plays a key role in the construction of that reality" (p.2). In terms of ethnicity, the census is a significant tool used to categorize, label, and mold collective identities, to "portray a particular vision of social reality that tends to privilege the discourses and concerns of those in power" (Kukutai, 2011, p.47). Kertzer and Arel (2001) go on to explain that "by pigeon-holing people into official government categories, the census gives legitimacy to the categories and to this mode of thinking about people" (p.11).

Despite these critiques, the broad Level 1 ethnic categories created by Stats NZ are widely adopted across government agencies (Cormack & Robson, 2010). In the reluctant words of Anae (1997), "it seems the practice of pan-ethnic stereotyping and labelling is here to stay" (p.135). While references to the 'major' ethnic categories of European, Māori, Pacific Peoples, Asian, MELAA, and 'Other' may hold a degree of utility for superficial comparisons, the challenge is to accurately and thoroughly capture the extensive array of lived experiences, "the significant cultural, linguistic, and religious difference", encapsulated within each of the six pan-ethnic categories (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012, p.96).

2.3.3 From Hyper-homogenous to Super-diverse

Historically, the ethnic composition of Aotearoa New Zealand has been derived almost exclusively from descendants of the two founding partners - Māori and European immigrants primarily of British descent[11] (Smits, 2019; Spoonley, 2017). Sibley and Ward (2013) have

[11] This is not to suggest the categories of 'Māori' or 'British' are homogenous. Rather the heterogeneity of both Māori and British has been well-established (see Brooking & Rabel, 1995)

suggested that up until the end of the Second World War, upwards of 99 percent of the population of Aotearoa New Zealand continued to be composed exclusively of Māori and British descendants. As such, demographers such as Pool (2010) and Spoonley (2015) refer to the 'hyper-homogeneity' of the population, noting New Zealand to have long been one of the least diverse of all settler societies. In the words of Hill and Bönisch-Brednich (2009), New Zealand was "the most loyal and homogenously 'British' of the colonies of the Empire" (p.240). While small pockets of non-Māori and non-European immigrants[12] have existed in New Zealand for well over one hundred years, notably of Chinese, Indian, and Samoan descent, collectively they composed less than 5 percent of the overall population well into the 1980s (Ho, 2015).

The hyper-homogeneity of the population was a deliberate result stemming from the nation building project to create a 'better Britain of the South Sea' (Ip, 2009b). Brooking and Rabel (1995) note that "'God's Own country' was only to be opened to select white and preferably British few" (p.36). The aim of such a project is made explicit in the 1914 school textbook *The New Zealand Citizen* by E.K. and Alan Mulgan:

> We do not want the destitute, the criminal or people belonging to colored races. The experience of the United States of America, where millions of Negroes and people of mixed race form one of the gravest social and political problems of our time, has made us determined to keep New Zealand White, though we make an exception in the case of the Maoris, only treat as equals and admit to citizenship. (cited in Murphy, 2009, p.79)

This national imaginary of a land filled with what Kidman (2018) calls 'lovely bicultural citizens' (p.105) was enabled by decades of discriminatory government policy towards those outside of the bicultural binary (Belich, 1996; Leckie, 2021). As one of the earliest and most numerous non-European ethnic groups in Aotearoa New Zealand, the Chinese have been the targets of

[12] 'Immigrant' and 'migrant', as well as 'immigration' and 'migration', are used interchangeably in much of the international literature (Chan, 2020), and also in this thesis. While some distinguish 'immigrants' as long-term residents and 'migrants' as short-term residents, this distinction is not universal (Orgad, 2015).

an exceptional amount of exclusionary policy since their first arrival in the 1860s (Ip & Murphy, 2005). Murphy (2009) chronicled the overwhelming public sentiment that "The 'yellow peril' had to be kept out at all costs…[and] the aim of government policy from the 1890s was to find the means to exclude Chinese" (p.78). When attempts at exclusion failed to prevent Chinese immigration, a range of domestic policies would rob migrants of their livelihood. Over thirty pieces of legislation would deny the Chinese (and other non-European immigrants) the rights available to other New Zealand residents, from the right to a pension to the right to vote, well into the 1950s (Ip, 2009a; Spoonley, 2020). The intention of such policy is made explicit in a 1953 memo circulated within the Department of External Affairs:

> Our immigration is based firmly on the principle that we are and intend to remain a country of European development…we have done much to encourage immigration from Europe, we do everything to discourage it from Asia (cited in Brooking & Rabel, 1995, p 39).

While Chinese may have long been the 'quintessential outsider' (Pearson, 2009) in Aotearoa New Zealand, discriminatory policy and practices have similarly targeted other 'non-traditional' immigrants including those from India (Leckie, 2021; Murphy, 2009), Polynesia (Somerville, 2012), Micronesia (Salesa, 2017), and Continental Europe (Božić-Vrbančić, 2003). The public hysteria which follows new patterns of immigration is not unique to Aotearoa New Zealand, rather it is a global phenomenon that political theorist Liav Orgad (2015) calls 'demographobia'. Spoonley (2020) notes the remarkably consistent ways that demographobia has appeared in New Zealand: "moral panics that demonized migrants as a threat in various ways" (p.102). Spoonley (2020) goes on to further detail this response:

> 'non-traditional' migrants faced everything from casual and implicit bias to explicit racism and discrimination in the labour and housing markets, as well as experiencing major incidents of verbal and physical violence. (p.102)

New Zealand historian Claudia Orange (1990) refers to the "dead weight of Eurocentrism", that enabled the exclusion of non-Europeans over the last 150 years (p.3). Yet, in what can

only be described as a remarkable turn of events, this dead weight would be dislodged towards the end of the 20th Century, largely as a consequence of major immigration reform.

While immigration policies had been subject to minor revisions over the course of 20th Century, the overall principles and patterns remained consistent: encouraging 'traditional' immigrants from 'preferred source countries' (e.g. Britain plus select European countries) (Spoonley, 2017). Riding the coattails of larger neoliberal government reforms, radical changes in immigration policy arrived in 1987, eliminating the prior preference given to immigrants from 'preferred source countries', in favor of a points system that focused on one's qualifications and skills, rather than ethnicity or nationality. The liberalizing of immigration policy would profoundly diversify the immigration stream, opening the door in the 1990s for a surge of immigrants from across the world (Spoonley & Bedford, 2012). Within a few decades after these reforms, Aotearoa New Zealand would be transformed into one of most ethnically diverse populations in the OECD (OECD, 2017; Vertovec, 2017). This trend is most pronounced within the supercity of Auckland, home to 40 percent of the nation's population, "where one of every four babies is of Pacific descent; one out of four is Asian; and around one in five is Māori" (Salesa, 2017, p.7). Although certainly centered in Auckland, the trend of "rapid ethnic diversification" has spread across all corners of the county (Kukutai, 2011, p.50). Table 2.5 illustrates this significant demographic shift, offering the share of overall population held by each Level 1 ethnic categories according to census data, from 1996 to 2018, alongside short-term (2028) and medium-term (2038) population projections[13].

[13] Stats NZ (2021) cautions that projections are neither predications nor forecasts, but a general indication of possible future changes.

Table 2.5

Overall Population by Level 1 Ethnicity, as a percentage

	1996	2001	2013	2018	2028 (projected)	2038 (projected)
European	82	79	75	70	68	65
Māori	15	15	17	17	18	20
Asian	5	7	12	16	20	24
Pacific Peoples	6	7	8	8	9	10
MELAA	<1	1	1	2	2	3
Combined Non-Māori/ Non-European	11	15	21	26	31	37

Note. Source: Stat NZ (2019, 2021)[14]

Spoonley (2020) notes that "there are moments when demographic change alters the very nature and structure of a community or nation, shifting the way in which they operate and determining policy" (p.8). He goes on to assert that New Zealand, presently, in one of those unprecedented moments, whereby "a very different Aotearoa New Zealand is emerging" (p.8). According to the 2018 census, over 25 percent of the population identified with Asian, Pacific Peoples, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicities. Collectively, this non-Māori and non-European segment is projected to approach nearly 40 percent of the population by 2038 (Stats NZ, 2021). What were once considered 'non-preferred' or 'non-traditional' countries of origin less than 50 years ago, have today become the prominent faces of an increasingly ethnically diverse 'new New Zealand' (Spoonley, 2020, p.8). Prizewinning author and academic Damon Salesa (2017) provocatively asserts, "the future has already happened" (p.228).

This 'very different Aotearoa New Zealand' is marked by two corresponding trends, (1) what Kukutai (2008) refers to as "the demographic decline of Europeans" (p.133), and (2) "rapid ethnic diversification" (Kukutai, 2011, p.50). In noting the former trend, the 'demographic decline of Europeans', Stats NZ (2021) projects that by 2038 the majority of children under

[14] To account for multiple selections, Stats NZ utilizes the *total response method* of data output whereby individuals are counted in each of the groups they select. As a result, the overall sum is greater that 100 percent (Kukutai, 2008). While demographers acknowledge that this method makes analysis and interpretation of demographic data more challenging, it also captures the richness of multiethnicity (Callister, 2006).

the age of 14 will identify with non-European ethnicities. Concerning the latter trend, 'rapid ethnic diversification', the share of the population held by all ethnic groups aside from European are projected to steadily increase over the coming decades. Particularly noteworthy is the exponential growth of the pan-ethnic Asian category. At the time of the 1986 census, just prior to the radical immigration reform, the 'Asian' category composed around 1 percent of the total population (Ho, 2015). In 2001, 'Asian' surpassed Pacific Peoples to become the third largest ethnic group, and by the early 2020s 'Asian' is projected to numerically exceed Māori to become the second largest ethnic group, after European (Ip, 2009b). Individuals identifying with an Asian ethnicity today composes over 16 percent of the total population are projected to approach 25 percent by 2038 (Stats NZ, 2021).

It is also important to note the increase in diversity within the pan-ethnic 'Asian' category; the overall increases are not attributed to an increase in one specific sub-group (e.g. Chinese) but reflective of large gains across of a number of sub-groups including those identifying ethnically as Korean, Thai, Vietnamese, Filipino, Indian, Sri Lankan, and others (Ho, 2015). Ho (2015) calls this "the changing face of Asian Peoples in New Zealand", challenging perception of 'Asian' as a single category (p.95). Furthermore, while Chinese have historically been the largest of the sub-groups, current projections suggest the Indian sub-group will become the most numerous Asian sub-group within the next two decades (Stats NZ, 2021). In light of such a historic shift, Professor Paul Spoonley (2017) posits that "the colonial geopolitical connections that New Zealand had with the United Kingdom are being supplemented, even replaced, by geopolitical connections with the Asia-Pacific region, especially the superpowers of India and China" (p. 117).

The recognition of Aotearoa New Zealand as a 'culturally pluralistic' (M. Williams, 2009) or 'polyethnic' (Kymlicka, 1995) nation is unquestionable. More recently, Steven Vertovec (2007) offered the term 'super-diverse' to refer to the new pluralities of an increasingly complex nature which flow out of unparalleled demographic transformation. While 'diversity' has historically focused on ethnicity, language, and culture, 'super-diversity' acknowledges additional variables related to mass global migration (Vertovec, 2007). A series of new identities, new mobilities, new relationships, and new inequalities are emerging based not exclusively on ethnicity, but on a range of migration-related factors such as migration flow

(permanent settlement versus transmigration), migration type (refugee versus business investor), and other geopolitical patterns (Chan, 2020). In this sense, Vertovec (2017) insists that super-diversity is not simply a contemporary synonym of diversity to indicate 'more ethnicity', but a reference to "the search for better ways to describe and analyze new social patterns, forms and identities arising from migration-driven diversification" (Vertovec, 2017, p.125). In light of Vertovec's theorising, Chan (2019) suggests "New Zealand has moved into a superdiverse era. Further diversification is an unstoppable trajectory" (p.257). Spoonley (2020) concurs that "ours is one of the world's most globally super-diverse countries" (p.112).

2.3.4 Super-diversity in a bicultural Aotearoa New Zealand

Having noted in the previous section the remarkable shifts in the ethnic composition of the population over the past few decades, this section will attempt to examine in general some of the complexity inherent within a super-diverse Aotearoa New Zealand. Georgina Stewart (2018a) theorizes that "the concept of ethnicity is better envisaged as a relationship rather than a hard-and-fast category or 'thing'" (p.767). Similarly, Miroslav Volf (1996) imagines ethnicity as 'network of relationships' contingent upon 'patterns of interdependence'. Given this relationality, Berry et al. (2021) asks, "How then shall we all live together?" (p.2). This section will explore some of ways this question is answered internationally, and in Aotearoa New Zealand. It begins with a conceptual overview of 'multiculturalism' before exploring how such a paradigm intersects with 'biculturalism'. It concludes with a general survey of contemporary interethnic relations.

We Are All Multiculturalists Now (Glazer, 1997)

While the complexity of multiethnic societies may be ever increasing (Vertovec, 2007, 2017), multiethnic societies are far from a new phenomenon. Rather, as political scientist Liav Orgad (2015) supposes, multiethnic societies are "as old as the Bible itself". He explains,

> The story of the Israelites in Egypt reflects most of the ingredients of the modern crisis: economic immigration of persons ethnically and religiously different from the host society; a demographic change; suspicion and ensuing social tension; excessive reaction; an Exodus. (p.236)

Despite the long existence of multiethnic societies, political theorists such as Will Kymlicka (2007) suppose that the second half of the 20th Century has ushered in "a veritable revolution around the world" in terms of ethnic relations (p.4). In particular, Kymlicka (2007) notes the widespread replacement of exclusionary, assimilationist models with more inclusive, 'multicultural' models. The promotion of 'multiculturalism' has gained rapid pace since the end of the Cold War as inter-ethnic, rather than inter-national, conflicts "have become most common source of political violence in the world" (Kymlicka, 1995, p.1). As a plague of ethnic conflicts swept across the globe in the 1990s, the enactment of 'multicultural' policies that recognize and respect ethnocultural diversity was proposed as the solution, the key lever to bring about stability. Within a short amount of time, the spread of multiculturalism was so rapid and vast that American sociologist Nathan Glazer would remark, *We Are All Multiculturalist Now (1997)*. A decade after Glazer penned those words, as multiculturalism continued to expand its reach, Kymlicka (2007) observed that "on virtually any given day of the year, somewhere in the world an international organization is sponsoring a seminar or publishing a report intended to publicize the ideals and practices of multiculturalism" (p.4).

Given the global diffusion of multiculturalism, it is unsurprising that a great number of theories and local forms have taken shape. In its broadest sense, the late Dr. Hilary Chung (2015) the founding director of the Global Studies program at University of Auckland, suggests that multiculturalism simply refers to "the way in which a nation engages with diversity" (p.94). Mervin Singham (2006), Chief Executive of the Ministry of Ethnic Affairs, notes a more positive and proactive layer, describing multiculturalism as a strategic approach "to ensure that the unique cultural heritage of ethnic minorities is respected and preserved in the context of the dominant culture" (p 33). Liav Orgad, in his 2015 book *The Cultural Defense of Nations* supposes that the multicultural agenda goes further than mere engagement with ethnocultural diversity, but places a "demand for equal respect and recognition of different cultures and ways of life. This means that liberal states should refrain from compelling minorities to assimilate into the majority culture and instead provide for them the tools to maintain their own culture" (p.177). This ability to practice and maintain one's culture, language, beliefs, and identity is described by cross-cultural Psychologist John Berry and colleagues (2021), as the 'cultural maintenance' principle, one of the key markers of

multiculturalism. Given the breadth of understandings, Kymlicka (2007) suggests multiculturalism at its core is a "rejection of earlier models of the unitary, homogenous nation state" (p.61). He use multiculturalism as "an umbrella term to cover a wide range of policies designed to provide some level of public recognition, support, or accommodation to non-dominant ethnocultural groups" (p.16). Specific policies range from affirmative actions that prioritize minorized ethnic groups[15], to provisions for bilingual/multilingual education, to the formal adoption of multicultural declarations, to anti-discriminatory measures (Banting & Kymlicka, 2013). Such policies often reveal societal values related to language rights, political representation, immigration, naturalization, education, and citizenship (Kymlicka, 1995).

While multiculturalism has become engrained as the 'official' public policy within nations such as Canada and Australia, others are more reticent in their embracing and enacting of multicultural policy (Spoonley, 2015). Banting and Kymlicka (2013) argue that while multiculturalism remains the dominant paradigm for ethnic relations around the globe, the rhetoric has changed, and "The '*m* word' is virtually taboo in some counties" (p.592). However, they note that the key principles of multiculturalism remain "alive and well, although now under a heading of 'diversity policies' or 'intercultural dialogue' or 'community cohesion'" (p.592). 'Minority protection', 'race relations', and 'cross-cultural interactions' are other synonymous terms favored in various nations to describe efforts to better accommodate a multiethnic and multicultural population (Kymlicka, 2007). Within Europe and Latin America, 'interculturalism'[16] has become the term of preference, emphasizing intergroup contact, communication, and interactions (Elias & Mansouri, 2020; Salahshour 2020). While each of these alternative terms is imperfect and contested, Kymlicka (2007) suggests,

> in the absence of any commonly accepted alternative, I will stick with 'multiculturalism', despite its limitations. But I hope that readers will keep in mind

[15]Following the scholarship of Shields et al. (2005), I utilize the term 'minoritized ethnic groups' rather than 'minorities' or 'ethnic minorities', to refer to ethnic groups facing exclusion or oppression regardless of their positioning as a numerical minority or majority.

[16] There has been, and continues to be, much debate concerning the intersection of 'interculturalism' and 'multiculturalism'. While proponents of interculturalism view it as a conceptually distinct paradigm, critics contend it is simply a repackaged version of multiculturalism (See Elias & Mansouri, 2020).

> that I'm using this solely as a shorthand umbrella term for a very wide range of policies adopted or demanded by many different types of ethnocultural groups, including 'immigrants', 'minorities', 'national groups' and 'indigenous people'….For those who dislike the term, and who prefer another one, such as 'minority rights', 'diversity policies', 'interculturalism', 'cultural rights' or 'differentiated citizenship', feel free to substitute as you go along. (p.18)

In a similar spirit, I use the terms 'multiculturalism' and 'multicultural', recognizing that while such terms can be off-putting, they are used as place holders to refer a paradigm that acknowledges and embraces ethnocultural diversity.

A Multicultural Aotearoa New Zealand?

Despite the global diffusion of 'multiculturalism', Aotearoa New Zealand has been reluctant to adopt a multicultural paradigm, opting to further pursue a course of biculturalism (Singham, 2006; Sullivan, 1993). Spoonley and Bedford (2012) note "the dismissal of multiculturalism" (p.272) by Pākehā on the basis that it cedes too much authority and recognition to ethnic communities. Multiculturalism has also been largely rejected by Māori out of concern of a dilution of indigenous rights as tangata whenua for a more "ambiguous role in multicultural New Zealand" (Didham, 2009, p.121). Further, a multicultural approach offering 'equal recognition' to all ethnic groups, could potentially compromised te Tiriti o Waitangi and the status of the two signatories, Māori and Pākehā (Nakhid & Devere, 2015). Additionally, Ranginui Walker (1995) asserts that the lofty claims of multiculturalism are "grossly misleading", citing policies in North America that "ignore the despoliation of American Indians and the expropriation of their land" (p.289). Chung (2015) gives similar evidence to the ways in which 'official' multicultural policies have further marginalized Indigenous Peoples across Australia and Canada. New Zealand Professor Mark Williams (2009) summarizes:

> The fear among indigenous peoples of becoming just another ethnicity in a multicultural society is a legitimate one….multiculturalism does not address the priority of indigenous people in colonized societies. (p.313)

‘Multiculturalism’ therefore, is seldom pursued by Indigenous Peoples worldwide, rather preference is given to “self-determination, treaty rights, aboriginality or indigeneity” (Kymlicka, 2007, p.67). In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, both self-determination and treaty rights are critical components within the bicultural paradigm (See Chapter 2.1). Thus, a multiculturalism that fails to prioritize the Indigenous aspirations of Māori would deny “the basic reality for biculturalism” (Walker, 1987, p.221). Cultural anthropologist Jeff Sissons (2000) summarizes this position, “the partnership between Māori and Pākehā established in 1840 by the Treaty of Waitangi should be *accorded priority* in cultural policy” (emphasis mine, p.59). As a result, the overwhelming emphasis has been, and continues to be, on biculturalism and the centrality of the Māori-Pākehā relationship (Macfarlane, 2015; Bell, 2006, 2017; Stewart, 2018b).

While the calls for adopting multicultural principles have been largely disregarded in past decades, the sheer volume of shifting ethnic demographics are forcing the issue to be reexamined. As previously highlighted, over 25 percent of the general population today self-identify with an ethnicity other than Māori or European, with projections indicating this number to grow to 40 percent by 2040 (see Chapter 2.3). In particular, as individuals who self-identify with an Asian ethnicity become the second largest ethnic group, Professor Manying Ip (2009b) suggests “that the ‘Two peoples, one country’ formula hitherto used as a gauge to measure New Zealand’s race relations needs to be qualified with the addition of the Asian element” (p. 4). Similar calls for inclusion have been long raised from a Pasifika perspective (Mila, 2017). Dame Joan Metge (1996) frames well the paradigmatic challenge in theorizing a multicultural Aotearoa New Zealand:

> Talking about New Zealand as a bicultural society or nation focuses attention on the relation between Māori and Pākehā…but by all implications marginalizes other minorities, although some have been here from 1840 and all make an important contribution to national life. Talking about New Zealand as a multicultural society focused on the rich diversity of its people but plays down Māori claims to special status, placing them on the same footing as other minorities. (p.33)

In advocating for the inclusion of both paradigms, Psychologists Colleen Ward and James Liu (2012) suggest that an "acceptance of both bicultural and multicultural principles is a prerequisite for strong and healthy relationships in Aotearoa New Zealand" (p.64). They note an imperative to both further strengthen the bicultural partnership for Māori and increase recognition and inclusion for other minoritized ethnic groups. While laudable, they question the viability of such a task, concluding that "turning these principles into practices remains a significant challenge" (p.64). Similarly, Spoonley and Bedford (2012) attempt to conceptually fuse bicultural and multicultural principles into a "biculturally sensitive multiculturalism" (p.234). They envision "a locally developed multiculturalism" that would also "significantly recognizes Māori and state sponsored biculturalism" (p.281). However, they too conclude it is uncertain if the proposed principles would be workable.

Despite these uncertainties, characterizations abound of Aotearoa New Zealand as "a multicultural nation with a strong bicultural heritage" (Didham, 2009, p.120). While the juxtaposition of "our bicultural foundation, our multicultural present" (MoE, 2017, p.2) are taken for granted, Sullivan (1993) and later Bartley and Spoonley (2005) note there is very little guidance on how exactly these realities are meant to fit together. While the existence, and importance, of both bicultural and multicultural principles are acknowledged, the relationship between the two is greatly undertheorized (Nakhid & Devere, 2015). Spoonley (2017) further articulates this current ambiguity:

> There remains something of a conceptual and policy gap in terms of rights recognition for these new [ethnic] communities – how should their languages be acknowledged and maintained? And what constitutes an appropriate form of recognition when some effort has been made and remains to be made to create a national space for the culture and identity of Māori. (p.117)

He suggests that while we may have become better at identifying the tension points in juxtaposing a bicultural foundation with a multicultural present, "the resolution of this tension – if there is one – is far from clear" (Spoonley, 2015, p.56). In light of the unresolved, and potentially unresolvable tension, some scholars have questioned the efficacy and viability of biculturalism as it is currently envisioned within what has now become a super-diverse

setting (Diglin, 2014; E. Rata, 2005; Santamaria & Hoskins, 2018). Mark Williams (2009) summarizes this position in supposing that biculturalism is "increasingly unable to describe the actual relations of contemporary culture and society…it is increasingly difficult to apply in the culturally pluralistic present" (p.301).

Moving forward, various attempts have been offered to deconstruct, and then reconstitute, the principles of biculturalism and multiculturalism to forge an alternative paradigm adequate for Aotearoa New Zealand. Professor of English Mark Williams (2009) puts forth the concept of 'strategic pluralism' that would recognize "the ongoing importance of the Treaty in cultural values and governance" alongside a fuller articulation of cultural differences and distinctness while "limiting agendas of nationalism" (p.313). Sociologists Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley (1999) recommend a new 'bi-national' model of two autonomous peoples holding a shared, interlocking sovereignty. As social scientists, Professors Richard Hill and Brigitte Bönisch-Brednich (2009) suggest that an 'intercultural' paradigm would be a better suited to accommodate the plurality of differences currently found in Aotearoa New Zealand. On the other hand, Elizabeth Rata (2005), Professor in Critical Studies in Education supposes there are irreconcilable differences in the two paradigms that prohibit their juxtaposition. According to Rata, the prioritization of Māori and Pākehā within biculturalism is an antithesis to the democratic and egalitarian ideals of multiculturalism. She recommends shedding biculturalism to more fully embrace the potential of multiculturalism. Research fellow John Lowe (2015) also posits the incompatibility of these two paradigms. However, he concludes that a multicultural paradigm that equally recognizes all ethnic groups would breach commitments to te Tiriti o Waitangi. Lowe suggests shedding multiculturalism in favor of a 'cosmopolitan' paradigm focused on global citizenship and justice, alongside the continued pursuit of bicultural objectives. However, he too acknowledges that "ideas about cosmopolitanism remain in an embryonic stage" (p.510).

In assuming "the shared future we are creating" is to be built upon both "our bicultural foundation" and "our multicultural present" (MoE, 2017, p.2), Clark (2006) suggests one of the most fundamental questions becomes, "Should all ethnic groups be treated equally or are there grounds for giving some ethnic groups preference over others?" (p.170). In addressing that question, Pearson (2009) supposes it is essential to first distinguish Indigenous group

from other ethnic groups, as Indigenous groups are not simply ethnically distinct, rather are in the unique position to "make political claims that are based on being in place at the time of colonization." (p. 33). This unique political, legal, and social position is well-framed by Wilkins and Stark (2010), "Indigenous Peoples are nations, not minorities" (p.33). In Aotearoa New Zealand Justice Sir Eddie Durie (2005) similarly asserts "the indigenous have a bundle of distinctive claims that may be seen as the natural consequence of their indigenous status. Indeed for most legal purposes their rights derive not from their culture but from their existence as political entities before the state's establishment" (p.42). All these point to the need for collective group rights that are differentiated in nature, offering Indigenous Peoples "certain protections, services, and benefits…that are unavailable to other individuals or racial or ethnic groups in the nation" (Wilkins & Stark, 2010, p.45). Stephen May (2004) refers to these claims as the "prior and pre-eminent bicultural commitments to Māori as tangata whenua" (p.258). Justice Eddie Durie (2005) supposes that a framework to address differential claims is "already under construction although the design is not yet clear" (p.41). To influence/shape this design, Durie supposes "one could do no better than to read Will Kymlicka" (p.41).

Canadian political theorist Will Kymlicka (1995, 2007) proposes an integrated, interlocking network of group differentiated rights to address the complexity of a variety of claims. Kymlicka distinguishes between the 'polyethnic' rights held by minoritized ethnic groups and the 'multinational'[17] rights held by Indigenous Peoples. Polyethnic rights promote the participation, representation, and accommodation into wider society. Polyethnic rights stem from aspirations to be recognized and accepted as full members of the state. Such rights are meant to facilitate inclusion. Multinational rights on the other hand, center on the self-governing rights of Indigenous Peoples to uphold their separateness, to ensure cultural, political, and territorial autonomy. Such rights address Indigenous aspirations to maintain a distinct society alongside the larger state. Multinational rights require the transfer or devolution of power to Indigenous Peoples "who have a distinct and greater claim to

[17] Kymlicka (1995) uses the term 'national minority' to describe the status of Indigenous Peoples and other non-immigrant minorities (e.g. Basque in Spain, Flemish in Belgium) "whose homeland has been incorporated into the boundaries of a larger state, through conquest, colonization, or federation" (p.vii). National minorities are 'nations within'.

representation in the public realm" based upon their unique political position (May, 2004, p.251). While the desire for increasing polyethnic recognition is open to all minoritized ethnic groups, the desire towards multinational political recognition is unique to tangata whenua and "not subject to competition from polyethnic groups" (Smits, 2019, p.113). Kymlicka (1995) claims that polyethnic rights have typically been the sole focus of most multicultural paradigms, silencing discourses on multinational rights:

> Most discussions of 'multiculturalism', at least in North America, focus on the case of immigrants, and the accommodation of their ethnic and racial differences within larger society. Less attention has been paid to the situation of indigenous people. (p.vii)

Kymlicka asserts that the future of multiculturalism hinges upon the ability to acknowledge and attend to both polyethnic rights *and* multinational rights. Myopic, unbalanced and uneven efforts are 'doomed to failure' (Kymlicka, 2007). Yet Kymlicka (1995) also acknowledges the size and complexity of the challenge to enacting differentiated rights, noting:

> [There] is no simple formula for deciding exactly which rights should be accorded to which groups. There have been unresolved issues at every step along the way…and appeals to equality, history and diversity may lead in conflicting directions. (p.131)

In attempting to establish the shape of differentiated rights within a given context, Kymlicka proposes one of the most useful, and least acknowledged, determinants are treaties. He notes that treaties have long been used as a tool to mediate group interaction, reflecting the ideal "that the two nations in a multination state treat each other as equals, and respect each other's right to speak for and govern themselves" (p.viii). Kymlicka (1995) summarizes the present-day potential of revisiting treaties:

> Many people view such treaties as outmoded or irrelevant, and they have generally been ignored or violated by the majority whenever they were inconvenient. However,

> I think the underlying ideal is worth studying, and celebrating, and may indeed be vital to creating a more peaceable kingdom in the modern world. (p.vii)

Similarly, Wilkins and Stark (2010) suppose the very process of treaty making confers the legal and political basis for the differential rights of Indigenous Peoples. Treaties themselves, are evidence of a nation-to-nation relationship between tribes and states whereby Indigenous peoples are acknowledged as "distinct, independent political communities, retaining their original natural rights as the undisputed possessors of the soil from time immemorial" (Wilkins & Stark, 2010, p.41). As 'treaty-recognized sovereigns', the relationship of Indigenous Peoples to the state is primarily political and therefore linked to a set distinctive self-governing rights. However, arriving at consistent understandings of treaties, alongside determining implications and applications of associated rights, is highly contested (Wilkins & Stark, 2010)

Te Tiriti o Waitangi-based Paradigm

Emerging from the perceived shortcomings of both biculturalism and multiculturalism to provide an adequate paradigm to govern contemporary cultural policy in Aotearoa New Zealand, various treaty-based approaches have been put forth as viable alternatives (Chan & Ritchie, 2020; Huygens, 2016). Rather than centering on a bicultural relationship between two ethnic groups, Māori and Pākehā, to the exclusion of others, a te Tiriti-based approach focuses on the political relationship between Māori (tangata whenua) and non-Māori (tangata Tiriti) (Omura, 2014). Dr. Ingrid Huygens (2016), activist educator and national director of Tangata Tiriti – Treaty People, has long noted the transformative power of a treaty-based response to reconstructing identities and reframing relationships. Chan and Ritchie (2020) extend this conceptualization, noting:

> In a Titiri-based paradigm, Māori are recognized as having the right of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) as tangata whenua, and te ao Māori (the Māori world) as expressed through te reo Māori is given prominent recognition. This paradigm also acknowledges the increasing diversity of tangata Tiriti, all those whose ancestry is other than Māori. (p.223)

A te Tiriti-based paradigm would continue the intent of biculturalism to uphold the unique position of Māori as tangata whenua, while extending an invitation to all others to realize the promises of te Tiriti o Waitangi as tangata Tiriti. Such a concept directly attends to the perceived 'non-place' of Asian, Pacific Peoples, MELAA, and 'Other' ethnicities within the existing bicultural paradigm (Omura, 2014; M. Williams, 2009).

Despite attempts to conceptualize a te Tiriti-base paradigm as a more inclusive approach for non-Māori and non-European New Zealanders, suspicions of exclusion remain. Salahshour (2020) acknowledges the lingering uncertainty "as to whether non-European migrants are party to Treaty of Waitangi or not" (p.9). Findings from Sheehan and colleagues (2017) suggest there are differences in how ethnically diverse secondary students perceive, understand, and apply te Tiriti o Waitangi. While the majority of participants noted the signing of te Tiriti o Waitangi to be a significant national event, students from Asian and Pasifika background perceived te Tiriti to be of more important to Māori and Pākehā. Some of this uncertainty may be in the Treaty itself, and in particular the preamble to the Treaty, which is addressed to the "great number of Her Majesty's subjects who have already settled in New Zealand, and the rapid extension of Emigration from both Europe and Australia" (O'Malley et al., 2010). It is to the preamble that Ranginui Walker (1995) appeals in asserting that "Māori leaders abide by the agreement of their ancestors to allow immigration into New Zealand from the countries nominated in the preamble, namely Europe, Australia, and the UK" (p.285). More recent research from Professor Manying Ip (2009a) continues to evidence a sense of uncertainty and exclusion among recent immigrants concerning te Tiriti. Ip supposes this non-place leads to a belief that although te Tiriti is nationally significant, it is of little personal relevance, as well-captured by one of her participants:

> All new immigrants should know about the treaty. Under the treaty, the English settlers and native Māori arrived at a kind of equilibrium. It ensured political, racial, and cultural equilibrium. But we Chinese are not included, and that's what we are so marginalized. (p.161)

Similarly, research by Terruhn (2019) notes the continued perception of te Tiriti as a "political relationship between two groups, the indigenous Māori population and the British

Crown/New Zealand government, and by extension, the settler population of New Zealanders of European descent (Pākehā)" (p.868). Despite attempts to reframe te Tiriti, the sense that tangata Tiriti is simply an updated descriptor for Pākehā remains strong. Nakhid and Devere (2015) acknowledge that those "who are not British or white Pākehā may feel excluded from the partnership agreement with Māori" (p.79). Given this continued 'non-place', both Terruhn (2019) and Salahshour (2020) refrain from utilizing a "te Tiriti-based" paradigm.

Despite these challenges, Chang (2009) optimistically opines "If Te Tiriti is truly a living document, perhaps it can grow beyond the existing understanding. Viewed as an agreement between the tangata whenua and Tauiwi[18], the Treaty (biculturalism) can provide the basis for Aotearoa to incorporate all migrants (multiculturalism) without undermining either group" (p.205). With similar optimism, Kukutai and A. Rata (2017) put forth a reimagined relationship through "a treaty-based approach founded on rangatiratanga and manaakitanga, while also giving substance to the fullness of multiculturism" (p.28). They envision a mutually beneficial alliance whereby an ethnically diverse population can help to sustain Māori efforts towards tino rangatiratanga, which will lead to an outpouring of manaakitanga and a fuller recognition of a multiethnic population. The end result is better outcomes for all.

Given the protracted nature of the debate concerning cultural policy, Mark Williams (2009) wonders if "perhaps the terms biculturalism and multiculturalism are the problem, the large abstractions that obscure lived in particular realities" (p.311). In heeding his words, the following section will explore what the literature suggests regarding the lived experiences of a super-diverse population in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Super-diversity Realities

As theorists are "still debating the relative merits of biculturalism and multiculturalism the reality in the major urban centres is an increasingly multiethnic scene" (Ip, 2009b, p.8). While a number of social scientists have sought to quantify current ethnic demographics, exploring change over time and projecting future potential, Cameron & Poot (2019) point out how much less is known of the lived experiences of the people behind these figures. Although there may

[18] Tauiwi – used as an alternative to 'tangata Tiriti' and 'non-Māori'. Refers to "people from afar"; all those who are not tangata whenua (Metge, 1996, p 33).

be general acknowledgement of a super-diverse population, there is surprisingly little scholarship exploring the experiences of individuals who self-identity with Asian, Pacific Peoples, MELAA or 'Other' ethnicities (Saisoa'a, 2004). Furthermore, there is even less scholarship exploring the how these experiences intersect with te ao Māori[19]. Murphy (2009) claims that such research is rare to the point of non-existent.

Kukutai (2008) refers to the interethnic experiences that fall outside of the Māori-Pākehā binary as "the hitherto hidden aspects of indigene-immigrant interactions" (p.130). The obscurity surrounding interethnic relations in Aotearoa New Zealand leads to a number of generalizations and assertions. The most notable of such is the characterization of interactions as highly strained and adversarial (L.S. Liu & Lu, 2008; Kukutai & A. Rata, 2017). This perspective is epitomized by Ward and J. Liu (2012) who come to the conclusion that "there is little doubt that there is a widespread perception among Māori that new immigrants are undermining their rightful place in New Zealand society" (p.61). Such broad generalizations are challenged by Kukutai and A. Rata (2017) as misrepresentative, being drawn from very small unrepresentative samples. Rather, Kukutai and A. Rata (2017) highlight the pervasive assumption that Māori have low rates of diversity acceptance, when in fact there are significant gaps in understanding interethnic relations in Aotearoa New Zealand. In one of the few quantitative studies involving a representative sample, the Asia New Zealand Foundation [ANZF] (2019) surveyed *The Perceptions of Asia and Asian People from a Te Ao Māori Perspective.* Results of the study indicated a majority of the 1,000 participants from over 80 iwi indicated generally positive perceptions towards 'Asia and Asian people'. Furthermore, participants noted strong similarities between Māori and Asian worldviews, perceiving both to be highly 'whānau orientated' (p.29)

Alongside the assertion that Māori are less welcoming towards ethnically diverse individuals is the assumption that such individuals are equally unsupportive towards the aspirations of Māori. Ranginui Walker (1995) lays the charge that "new migrants have no commitment to the Treaty…[and] are not obliged to adhere to the treaty like Māori and the Crown" (p.292). Linguist Richard Benton (2015) supposes that the immigration patterns over the last 30 years

[19] Omura (2014) and Sakaomoto (2014) are two recent examples of excellent scholarship exploring the interface between dimensions of te ao Māori and an 'Asian' perspective.

have been particularly detrimental to te reo Māori, assuming recent immigrants have little respect for te reo Māori. He supposes that immigration is "rapidly diminishing the proportion of New Zealand-born residents in the total population, who might be expected to have more sympathy with indigenous cultural heritage" (p.107). Explicit in the comments of both Walker and Benton are two related assumptions, (1) a super-diverse population is uncommitted and unsympathetic to te ao Māori, and (2) a Pākehā or 'New Zealand-born'[20]population *is* committed and sympathetic to te ao Māori. While the latter assumption, what Moana Jackson (2019) refers to as the "myth of harmonious race relations" (p.97), has been largely dismissed (Belich, 1996; Leckie, 2021; Walker, 2004), the former assumption concerning the dispositions of a super-diverse population is much more uncertain. However, the little that is known calls into question the notion of a general lack of commitment and sympathy towards te ao Māori.

Given both the longevity and size of the pan-ethnic 'Asian' group in Aotearoa New Zealand, and more specifically the Chinese sub-group, the catalogue of their experiences is perhaps more substantial than other ethnic groups, albeit far from a comprehensive record. In her definitive volume on Māori-Asian relations, *The Dragon and the Taniwha,* Professor Manying Ip (2009a) suggests that the majority of Chinese New Zealanders are indeed committed to both recognizing Māori as tangata whenua and supporting te Tiriti o Waitangi. Ip concludes, "The truth is that the Chinese are keenly aware of Māori as an important indigenous group, and that is why Chinese have viewed Māori with the complex mixture of affinity, wariness and awe" (p.149). The commitment and consciousness of Chinese towards Māori is rooted in a range of ethnocultural similarities and sympathies (J. Lee, 2007; J. Lu, 2009; Mutu, 2009; Podsiadlowski & Fox, 2011). Professor Jenny Lee (2007) notes the fundamental importance of whakapapa and kinship among both Māori and Chinese. Professor Margaret Mutu (2009) points to a range of shared values including respect for elders, a strong family orientation, and a common understanding of treating guests well. Mutu demonstrates the similar historical plights of Māori and Chinese, including the shared experience of British colonization

[20] The term 'New Zealand-born' can be highly political and emotionally charged phrase. See Anae (1997) for discussion on 'New Zealand-born' from a Samoan perspective. The label may be at risk of losing its salience as the vast majority of ethnic diversity today no longer stems from immigration, but is the result of natural increase (e.g. births). For example, 9 out of 10 'Asian' children under the age 5 are 'New Zealand-born' (Ho, 2015).

and the signing of major treaties during the 1840s. Professor of Biomedicine Jun Lu (2009) meanwhile makes a case for ancient ancestral genetic links, asserting that Chinese can be considered close maternal cousins of Māori. Moorfield and Johnston (2004) trace the origins of te reo Māori to the island of Taiwan more than 5,000 years ago, part of the Austronesian language family which spreads from east Asia to Madagascar and throughout the Pacific. Wu (2017) similarly traces the connection between the aboriginal peoples of Taiwan with the islands of Oceania, suggesting a closer link to the islands of Oceania than mainland China. Cross-cultural psychologists Podsiadlowski and Fox (2011) note a shared collectivist orientation among Māori and Chinese university students in New Zealand, with near identical orientations in terms of values and behavioral expectations.

Commitments and sympathies toward te ao Māori are not exclusive to a Chinese perspective, rather they may extend to a number of other ethnic groups. Sitting within the 'Asian' pan-ethnic category is the broad construct of Confucian Heritage Culture (CHC) associated with the East Asian countries of China, Korea, Singapore, Japan, Vietnam, and Taiwan (Phuong-Mai at al., 2005). Underpinning CHC is a shared set of collectivist values characterized by family centeredness and deference to elders, alongside a high importance placed on consensus and harmony (Sun et al., 2019). While these core values have been previously identified as Māori-Chinese similarities, it is perhaps time to expand this understanding to be Māori-CHC similarities.

Furthermore, Māori-Pasifika discourses have long been described in terms of kinship, (Mead, 2016). Moana Jackson (2019) signals, "Aotearoa was, and is, a country of Polynesia. The Indigenous Māori are related by kinship and history to the people of Hawaii, Tahiti, and other nations of the Pacific Ocean" (p.90). Despite the obvious connections, Damon Salesa (2017), Vice-Chancellor at Auckland University of Technology, points out longstanding attempts to undermine the kinship, "New Zealand is a nation that exists on Pacific islands but does not, and perhaps cannot, see itself as a Pacific Island nation or its people as Pacific Islanders" (p.9). Poet Alice Te Punga Somerville (2012) supposes Māori-Pasifika connections have been essentially left "off mainstream record", thus the writing of her book, *Once were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania,* felt "like a rather risky, invasive and even duplicitous act"

(p.xiii). Nonetheless, Somerville chronicles the "legacy of connection including the cultural, linguistic, and whakapapa links" that strongly align Māori and Pacific Peoples (p.96).

Despite the indications above suggesting the potential for both commitment and sympathy towards te ao Māori by individuals from ethnically diverse backgrounds, tension and weariness have often marked contemporary indigene-immigrant relationships (Ip, 2009a; Somerville, 2012). Jenny Lee's (2007) research demonstrates the ways in which such a positioning ultimately serves to strengthen Pākehā hegemony. Although Ip (2009a) suggest that relationships are rebounding from a low point in the 1990s, the current status remains unknown. In fact, she suggests "the most striking feature" of the current relationship is that so many "have not yet made up their mind in terms of how they view issues related to Māori." (p.169). From a Māori perspective Dr. Tahu Kukutai (2008) also acknowledges past animosity but wonders if a new period of 'ambivalence' is emerging characterized by a gradual warming, of relationships. She posits that "in coming decades, relations between Māori and migrants – and 'Asians' in particular – will be an important aspect of the nation's ethnic relations" (p.130). Recent survey results may be indicative of such an era, noting that overall perceptions among Māori towards 'Asia and Asian people' were more positive than negative, but also characterized with uncertainty, noting one-third of all responses were consistently either 'Don't know' or 'Neutral' (ANZF, 2019). This uncertainty was suggested to stem primarily from a lack of personal contact, with over 60 percent of respondents reporting little to no contact with individuals of an 'Asian' ethnicity (ANZF, 2019).

The absence of personal contact has also been a well-identified driver of indifference and uncertainty from an 'Asian' perspective. Ip's (2009) study of Chinese views towards Māori noted a dearth a personal contact with Māori. Of the over 700 participants, approximately 80 percent of the participants reported having no Māori contacts. The number was even higher in Wellington, with 88 percent of participants reporting no Māori contact. Similarly, Wang and Collins (2016) explored the intercultural encounters of 1.5 generation Chinese youth (all born in mainland China and migrated to New Zealand as a child) now in their twenties. The 45 participants reported near exclusive daily encounters with Chinese and European New Zealanders. While there were reports of occasional encounters with those of other 'Asian' ethnicities (e.g. Indian), there was a complete absence of contact with Māori.

Among a small sample of 1st generation Chinese immigrants, L.S. Liu (2009) similarly found extremely low rates of contact with Māori. Postgraduate research by Saburo Omura (2014) found 'Asian' participants were largely geographically and socially isolated from Māori:

> There is no meeting space for Māori and Asians which make us to have continuous dialogue…Asians don't have to come into contact with Māori or Māori don't have to contact with Asians on a daily basis. But if there is a space then we can confront the tension [amongst us] and we can start making sense to each other. (p.107)

The importance of frequent interactions between culturally and ethnically diverse groups is at the heart of the intergroup contact hypothesis (Berry et al., 2021). As first hypothesized in Gordon Allport's 1954 text *The Nature of Prejudice,* the core idea of intergroup contact theory supposes that contact between members of different groups, and specifically members of different ethnic groups, will generate positive attitudes towards the other ethnic group(s) (Elias & Mansouri, 2020; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) In short, contact reduces prejudice (Christ & Kauff, 2019). In the nearly 70 years since this hypothesis was put forth, intergroup contact theory is purported to be one of the most researched and strongest supported ideas within intergroup relations, with over 900 studies across over 38 nations indicating "a solid relationship between direct intergroup contact and reduced prejudices of many types" (Pettigrew, 2021, p.259). Furthermore, as the vast majority of this scholarship has focused on ethnically and/or racially diverse groups of young people, intergroup contact theory is a particularly useful tool to theorize interethnic relations among youth (Dovidio et al., 2017). Additionally, recent scholarship indicates the potential for 'indirect' intergroup contact (e.g. via mass media) and 'extended' intergroup contact (e.g. knowledge of someone's else's positive intergroup experiences) to also be effective in improving intergroup relations (White et al. 2021). Christ and Kauff (2019) call this 'vicarious intergroup contact' (p.156).

Intergroup contact theory would suggest that in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand there may be untapped potential for intergroup contact to enhance the indigene-immigrant relationship. In the context of Māori-Chinese relations, Ip's (2009) findings indicate that more favorable dispositions were clearly linked to a higher degree of personal contact. These

findings were confirmed by L.S. Liu and Lu (2008) who interviewed 11 Māori and 11 Chinese young people to examine their perceptions of the other. Positive dispositions were directly linked to closer interactions. Nigel Murphy (2009) critically examines the exceptional lives of Chinese New Zealanders who speak fluent te reo Māori and notes a pattern of close, frequent contact with Māori. He opines that such individuals may serve as archetypes for Māori-Chinese encounters in the 21st Century. Although few in number, collectively these studies raise the hope that better relationships may be nurtured through expanding interethnic interactions.

In light of the lack of 'meeting spaces for Māori and Asians', schools offer one of the primary sites of interethnic contact for children and their families (ANZF, 2019; L.S. Liu, 2009; Omura, 2014). As such, schools play a crucial role in the formation of attitudes toward identity and ethnicity (Lewis, 2003; Webber, 2012). Webber (2008) articulates the strength of this role:

> [Schools] are places where groups of people who otherwise may have had little contact come together. Schools are also a place where people can learn about themselves beyond the context of their immediate family, and where children have a chance to learn about, and hopefully learn to value, difference. (p.89)

Yet, aside from the Māori-Pākehā binary (see Chapter 2.2), schooling as a site of interethnic contact is an underexplored subject in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ip, 2009b). While Professor Manying Ip's (2009) offered "the first comprehensive study of how Māori and Chinese interacted in New Zealand", including chapters on literature, mass media, and politics, schooling as a site of interaction was outside the scope of her seminal publication (p.1). Similarly, in Spoonley and Bedford's (2012) definitive volume exploring how Aotearoa New Zealand is being reshaped by recent immigration patterns, key chapters are offered concerning sports, media, food, housing, commerce, and more. The comprehensiveness of their work only makes the omission of schooling all the more profound. Sakamoto (2014) and Omura (2014) both explore the Māori-Asian interface but focus their research on young adults and community settings. However, Omura's (2014) research notes that some of his participants were 'passively initiated' to learn about aspects of te ao Māori, 'through their

children's school homework" (p.163). However, this was a very minor theme that was not further explored.

2.3.5 Summary

This section began by exploring the concepts race and ethnicity in general, and in Aotearoa New Zealand specifically. Discourses of ethnicity, rather than race or related concepts, are given preference, understood as a self-identified indicator of cultural affiliation and belonging. Official statistics on ethnicity offered to the public are most often disaggregated according to the six 'major' pan-ethnic categories: European, Māori, Pacific Peoples, Asian, Middle Eastern/Latin American/African (MELAA), and 'Other'. Historically, up until the end of the late 1940s the ethnic composition of the population had been derived almost exclusively from descendants of the two founding partners - Māori and European immigrants primarily of British descent. In contrast to the 'hyper-homogeneity' of past, radical immigration reforms of the 1980s transformed Aotearoa New Zealand into one of the world's most 'super-diverse' countries. According to the 2018 census, over 25 percent of the general population identified with an Asian, Pacific Peoples, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicity. Collectively, this non-Māori and non-European segment is projected to approach nearly 40 percent of the population by 2038.

The second half of this section examined the international proliferation of multicultural agendas which offer various degrees of recognition and accommodation to minoritized ethnic groups. Yet, Aotearoa New Zealand has been reluctant to adopt a multicultural paradigm, rejected by both Māori and Pākehā, supposing the bicultural partnership centered on te Tiriti o Waitangi should be accorded priority. While the calls for adopting multicultural principles have been largely disregarded in past decades, the sheer volume of shifting ethnic demographics are forcing the issue to be reexamined. This section concluded with a general survey of what may be gleaned from existing scholarship concerning contemporary interethnic relations outside of the Māori-Pākehā binary, what Kukutai (2008) calls "the hitherto hidden aspects of indigene-immigrant interactions" (p.130). While the literature may be sparse, themes of uncertainly, ambiguity, and a lack of personal contact were well-noted. Additionally, schools were suggested one of the primary, yet underexplored, sites of interethnic contact for children and their families.

2.4 Bicultural Education in a Multiethnic Setting

This final section of the literature review focuses on the intersection of the phenomena previously discussed, namely the provision of a bicultural education and an increasingly multiethnic population. The first segment looks at how a super-diverse population is impacting education in general, before looking more carefully at how a super-diverse population is impacting the provision of a bicultural education specifically. This section concludes with a review of what is currently known concerning the engagement of students from non-Māori and non-Pākehā backgrounds within te ao Māori at school.

2.4.1 Impacts of Super-diversity on Education

While James Banks (2009) supposes that the "movement of people across national boundaries is as old as the nation-state itself", the volume of this global movement over the last 40 years has been unprecedented, raising "complex and difficult questions about citizenship, human rights, democracy, and education" (p.10). As this wave of ethnic diversification sweeps across the nation, Aotearoa New Zealand continues to be confronted with a range of questions without clear answers. Willis (2003) opines the "flows of cultural modernization" are always first felt by youth (p.391). He likens young people to canaries in a coal mine, "always among the first to experience the problems and possibilities of the successive waves" of diversification (p.391). As such, Fine and Sirin (2007) suggest a decisive gaze toward young people to help decipher impending social, political, and cultural shifts. This gaze is particularly salient in Aotearoa New Zealand, considering young people are even more ethnically diverse than the population as a whole. Table 2.6 illustrates how sizable and rapid this 'global movement' of ethnic diversification has been, offering a sample of past, current, and projected ethnic demographics for children under the age of 14 as reported by census data.

Table 2.6

Children age 14 and under, by Level 1 Ethnicity, as a Percentage

	2001	2018	2028	2038
European	74	67	65	65
Māori	25	27	29	31
Asian	7	16	24	26
Pasifika	11	14	16	17
MELAA	<1	2	3	4
Combined Non-Māori/Non-European Children age 14 and under	18	32	43	47
Combined Non-Māori/Non-European Overall Population (See Table 2.5)	15	26	31	37

Note. Source: Stats NZ (2017, 2021)

Consistent with the trends and projections of the overall population (see Table 2.5), the ethnic demographics of children age 14 and under indicate increases in the share held by all ethnic groups aside from the European group. However, these increases are even more pronounced among youth than in the overall population. As indicated in the table above, 32 percent of the children in 2018 identified with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicity, compared with 26 percent of the overall population. This difference is projected to become more pronounced in the upcoming decades with 47 percent of children, projected to identify with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicity by 2028, compared with 37 percent of the overall population. Furthermore, if students identifying as Māori are included in this grouping, by 2028 the majority of children under age 14 nationwide are projected to be from non-European backgrounds (Stats NZ, 2021). Paris (2015) suggestively labels this non-European collective, 'the new mainstream' (p.222).

Within schools, Melinda Webber (2012) suggests that "the increasing racial-ethnic diversity and heterogeneity of the New Zealand school population, particularly in large urban areas, has resulted in the need for schools to actively manage issues of race, culture and ethnicity alongside educational engagement and achievement" (p.21). In short, a super-diverse population demands schools take a more active and inclusive approach towards the increasingly multiethnic and multilingual communities they serve (Macfarlane, 2015).

Educational expectations of cultural inclusiveness are prominently acknowledged in a number of policy documents. Two key publications previous mentioned, *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007) and *Our Code, Our Standards: Code of Professional Responsibility and Standards for the Teaching Profession [Our Code, Our Standards]* (Education Council, 2017) are illustrative of this inclusive ethos. *The New Zealand Curriculum (2007)* speaks of creating an Aotearoa New Zealand "in which all cultures are valued for the contributions they bring" (p.8). To this end, two of the eight underpinning principles which "embody beliefs about what is important and desirable in school curriculum – nationally and locally" explicitly address these expectations:

- The Cultural Diversity principle: "The curriculum reflects New Zealand's cultural diversity and values the histories and traditions of all its people"
- The Inclusion principle: "The curriculum is non-sexist, non-racist, and non-discriminatory; it ensures that students' identities, languages, abilities, and talents are recognized and affirmed and that their learning needs are addressed" (p.9).

An equally important document, *Our Code, Our Standards* (Education Council, 2017) puts forth a similar the expectation that all teachers in Aotearoa New Zealand will respect "the diversity of heritage, language, identity and culture of all learners" (p.10). All teachers are to provide a "culturally responsive" context for learning that will "harness the rich capital that learners bring" (p.20). In sum, a culturally inclusive curriculum that reflects, recognizes, and affirms the diverse cultures of Aotearoa New Zealand, is to be delivered by teachers who curate a culturally responsive context for learning that respects, understands, and engages with *all* learners. Table 2.7 aligns the provisions of bicultural education (Chapter 2.2.2) alongside culturally inclusive principles, as found in *The New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007) and *Our Code, Our Standards* (Education Council, 2017)

Table 2.7

Bicultural Education and Culturally Inclusive Principles

	Bicultural Education	Culturally Inclusive
The New Zealand Curriculum **(MoE, 2007)**	*Treaty of Waitangi Principle* "The curriculum acknowledges the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the bicultural foundation of Aotearoa New Zealand. All students will have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga" (p.9)	*Cultural Diversity Principle* "The curriculum reflects New Zealand's cultural diversity and values the histories and traditions of all its people" (pg.9) *Inclusion Principle* "The curriculum is non-sexist, non-racist, and non-discriminatory; it ensures that students' identities, languages, abilities, and talents are recognized and affirmed and that their learning needs are addressed" (p.9)
Our Code, Our Standards **(Education Council, 2017)**	*Te Tiriti o Waitangi Partnership* "Demonstrate commitment to tangata whenuatanga and Te Tiriti o Waitangi partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand" (p.18)	*Design for Learning* "Harness the rich capital that learners bring by providing culturally responsive and engaging contexts for learning" (p.20)

In addition to this overarching expectation towards providing a culturally inclusive or culturally responsive education for all learners, the *New Zealand Curriculum* (MoE, 2007) makes note of the "special place" and the "close relationships with the peoples of the Pacific" (p.24). The Ministry of Education's *Pasifika Education Plan [PEP]* (MoE, 2006, 2013) seeks to address this 'special place' by providing strategic direction towards improving the educational outcomes of Pasifika students (Smits, 2019). A number of targeted initiatives branch off of the *Pasifika Education Plan,* including *Tapasā: Cultural competencies framework for teachers of Pacific learners (MoE, 2018)*. Jenny Salesa, former Minister of Education, offers the following introduction to the framework:

> Tapasā is designed to primarily support non-Pacific leaders, teachers and boards to engage with Pacific learners in culturally responsive ways. Tapasā is the first step in an ongoing development journey to better understand the identity, language and culture of Pacific people, to connect, collaborate, and co-construct teaching and learning with Pacific children, young people, their parents, families and communities. (p.1)

The framework is driven by three key competencies expected of all teachers: (1) demonstrate an awareness of the identities, languages and cultures of the Pacific, (2) establish and maintain mutually respectful relationships, and (3) implement effective pedagogies. (p.8-9)

Additionally, the Ministry of Education (2020a) further signaled the intention to "transform our education system to better serve our Pacific learners" in the *Action Plan for Pacific Education 2020-2030* (p.5). The Action Plan sets forth a pathway to "move our education system towards equity, excellence and wellbeing" (p.5). The pathway revolves around five key shifts, or action points, to "enable every teacher, leader and educational professional to take coordinated action to become culturally competent with diverse Pacific learners", and "confront systemic racism and discrimination in education" (p.6). The Action Plan offers a number of teaching resources and administrative guidance towards implementation.

Recent scholarship has applauded these efforts and suggested the targeted efforts for Pasifika students be expanded and used as model to meet the needs of a super-diverse population (Cardno et al., 2017; Chan, 2020; Salahshour, 2020; J. Smith, 2010, 2011). Smits (2019) argues that while an image of ethnic diversity has been "promoted by New Zealand (notably in the area of selling education, both at school and university levels)", there is not a formal strategy in place to support ethnically diversity students outside of those targeting Pasifika students (p.117). She goes on to suggest a pressing need for "cultural recognition in terms of service delivery to immigrants. This has already taken place with respect to Pasifika immigrants, and there is obvious scope to include polyethnic cultures and languages in, for example, schooling" (Smits, 2019, p.120).

Cardno and colleagues (2017) speak of witnessing sharp demographic changes within their South Auckland school communities over the last twenty years. Their research explores the current practices and challenges of ethnic diversity and inclusion within two large, urban multiethnic secondary schools. In interviews with school leadership, the researchers note that discussions concerning culturally inclusive practices are centered exclusively on supporting Māori and Pasifika students. While praising these efforts, they suggest that "a set of inclusive practices for a particular ethnic group creates exclusive practice in relation to the remainder of ethnicities" (p.112). Particularly noteworthy to the researchers was the

exclusion of students from Indian backgrounds in the discussions of cultural responsiveness, despite composing nearly 25 percent of the school roll. Cardno et al. (2017) suggest the existence of a system of ethnic prioritization in Aotearoa New Zealand that has yet to incorporate the fullness of super-diverse school communities.

In the same vein, Salahshour (2020) writes of New Zealand's 'exclusive approach' to cultural responsiveness in education which maintains a "focus only on certain diverse members of society, while excluding others" (p.114). In her analysis of current educational policy, Salahshour notes the 'selective inclusion' of Māori and Pasifika perspectives. While applauding these efforts, she argues for a model that is "all-encompassing, comprehensive and inclusive; that is they must fairly encompass *all* members of the society and not be limited solely to specific groups" (p.111). For Salahshour, super-diverse communities demand a super-diverse response, and this has yet to happen. She concludes by suggesting the need for "increased polices and initiatives supporting better intercultural understanding of other minority communities", which she supposes can co-exist alongside of the attention given to Māori and Pasifika (p.125).

Chan (2020) similarly challenges the existing provision of cultural responsiveness as a mere "declaration of commitment to inclusive practice" which is wholly "insufficient to respond equitably to the current unprecedented superdiversity phenomenon" (p.562). She asserts that for new migrants, the school setting is a site "where they experience their heritage languages and cultures being subordinated, marginalized, or not being visible at all" (p.562). Her findings align with previous research by Jill Smith (2011) who noted the complete 'invisibility of an Asian dimension' within school programs (p.23). Additional research by J. Smith (2017) continues to suggest that the cultural diversity principles apply exclusively to Māori and/or Pasifika perspectives, notably omitting the perspectives of the other ethnocultural traditions.

Translating the cultural imperatives found in educational policies into everyday practice is a well-documented challenge (ERO, 2012, 2018). A 2012 ERO evaluation concerning the use of the eight essential curriculum principles offered in *The New Zealand Curriculum* indicated that the Cultural Diversity principle was the "'least evident' principle underpinning school decision

making" (p.16). ERO suggests this principle has "perhaps been overlooked" by teachers as they focus on meeting other obligations (p.19). A subsequent 2018 report by ERO sought to explore the ways in which multiethnic schools in the nation's most ethnically diverse city of Auckland are shifting their practices. The report, *Responding to Language Diversity in Auckland* examines the ways in which 112 schools and early childhood centers are responding to increases in diversity. Their report offers significant insight into the school experiences of "culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students", defined as students with a home language other than English (p.5). The overall findings indicate a substantial need for schools to improve their response to culturally and linguistically diverse learners noting that only around half of the schools 'intentionally promoted' a culturally responsive context for learning (p.21). Their recommendations call for more intensive investment in supporting English language acquisition, the promotion of bilingualism (English and the student's home language), and the use of a 'cultural lens to learning' that reflects the backgrounds of students (p.21).

As the literature demonstrates, current policy provisions promoting cultural diversity and inclusivity have been questioned for their efficacy and adequacy to respond to a super-diverse population (Cardno et al., 2017; Chan, 2020; Salahshour, 2020; J. Smith 2010, 2011). Recent scholarship expresses concern with the current ambivalence which is perceived to further exclude and marginalize ethnically diverse learners (ERO, 2012, 2018). Salahshour (2020) summarizes this position, "New Zealand's education policies, its national curriculum, and strategic education documents…*thus far* indicate that non-European migrants (with the exception of Pasifika communities) have been predominately ignored" (p.9). While super-diverse communities may be impacting schools demographically, schools have yet to be significantly reshaped in terms of pedagogy and programming, aside from minimally acknowledging the 'special place' of Pasifika communities (MoE, 2018, 2020a). As super-diverse realities become 'the new mainstream', so too does the pressure grow to better serve the diverse educational needs of *all* learners. This demand becomes particularly salient in light of the youthful composition of Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, and 'Other' ethnicities who currently compose over 32 percent of the total school population, projected to grow to 43 percent by 2028 (Stats NZ, 2021).

2.4.2 Impacts of Super-diversity on Bicultural Education

As previously discussed in Chapter 2.2, one of the hallmarks of contemporary education in Aotearoa New Zealand is the provision of a bicultural education for *all* students, Māori and non-Māori, across *all* school settings, Māori-medium and English-medium, from preschool to tertiary school (Education Council, 2017; Lourie, 2015; MoE, 2007; Sullivan, 1993). According to this provision, "All children should be given the opportunity to develop knowledge and understanding of the cultural heritages of both partners to Te Tiriti o Waitangi" (MoE, 2017, p.9). It is expected that all students in Aotearoa New Zealand are offered access to the richness of both treaty partners, te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā, regardless of "students' identities, languages, abilities, and talents" (MoE, 2009, p.17). Yet, this provision has not been without contestation and challenge. In light of the continued marginalization of te ao Māori within schools, Stewart and Benade (2020) suppose that "the potential of bicultural education remains unrealized" (p.129). Furthermore, Santamaria and Hoskins (2018) suppose the task of providing a bicultural education has today "grown in complexity as immigrants from around the world have begun to populate countries such as Aotearoa New Zealand" (p.74). This segment will explore the ways in which a super-diverse population is impacting the provision of a bicultural education, organized around the themes of conflation, confusion, and competition.

Conflation

As the pattern of "rapid ethnic diversification" (Kukutai, 2011, p.50) continues to accelerate within the school setting, so too does the volume and scope of 'cultural responsiveness' increase at a similar pace. Cast into the ever-widening net of 'culturally responsive' initiatives are strategies targeting Māori students (MoE, 2011, 2013), Pasifika students (MoE, 2018, 2020a), and English language learners (ERO, 2018). Bicultural education as well is often cast into this net. In uniting these diverse strategies under the banner of 'cultural responsiveness' there is a risk of pedagogical homogenization and conceptual conflation. As a result of this conflation, the distinctive aims of all forms of culturally responsive education, as well as bicultural education, become one and the same. Jill Smith (2010) characterizes this approach as haphazardly "fitting all cultures into their programs" (p.9). References to programs for

'Māori and migrants' (Santamaria & Hoskins, 2015), or 'Māori and other minority groups' (Metge, 2008) are indicative of this conflation. However, the provisions of cultural responsiveness and bicultural education are *not* the same. While the former pursues a range of differentiated educational initiative to better serve an ethnically diverse population, the latter is expressly dedicated to ensuring students from all ethnic groups have access to the richness of te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. Using Will Kymlicka's theorizing (1995; see Chapter 2.3.4), cultural responsiveness attends to polyethnic diversity, while bicultural education attend to multinational diversity.

Confusion

Lourie (2015, 2016a) asserts that a sense of conflation stems from the fact that teachers are ultimately confused how to define and pursue biculturalism in education. Given the conceptual muddle, it is perhaps unsurprising that student teachers and early teachers struggle to uphold the commitment to providing a bicultural education (Averill & McRae, 2019). This confusion was duly noted in the development of the updated *Our Code, Our Standards* (Education Council, 2017). One of the recurring themes derived from the consultation process which engaged over 2,000 teachers, leaders, family and whānau, was confusion about "the relationship between the education system's commitments under Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the expectation that teachers meet the needs of their diverse learners" (Teaching Council, n.d., para.9). This confusion was expressed by respondents in a number of ways:

> The Treaty of Waitangi and biculturalism are acknowledged in the draft Code at the expense of the increasingly multi-cultural composition of New Zealand society
>
> There needs to be a strong bicultural heritage fostered. However New Zealand is also a multicultural mix. How is that reflected?
>
> Does meeting my obligations under the Treaty mean ignoring the needs of other cultures in my class? What does it mean to live in a Treaty-based multicultural society? (para.9)

In an attempt to address these perceived tensions, references to 'bicultural' and 'biculturalism' were deleted from the final document (e.g. Standard #1, 'Bicultural partnership' was changed to 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi partnership'). Further, a one-page position statement on te Tiriti o Waitangi[21] was added, stating that "New Zealand is an increasingly multicultural nation, and Te Tiriti o Waitangi is inclusive of today's new settlers" (Education Council, 2017, p.4). Considering the pervasive confusion, Georgia Stewart (2018b) supposes that a lack of conceptual understanding of "bicultural education cannot be overcome by swapping terms around" (p.21). She wonders if this rhetorical change "simply side-steps the problem of lack of understanding of biculturalism", leading to further confusion, and conflation (p.21).

Competition

Educational agencies make frequent mention of "the unique bicultural and multicultural character of Aotearoa New Zealand' (MoE, 2007, p.20); "the bicultural and multi-cultural contexts of learning in Aotearoa New Zealand" (Education Council, 2015, p.13); "our bicultural foundation, our multicultural present and the shared future we are creating" (MoE, 2017, p.2). While such juxtapositions abound, guidance "specifying *how* this is the case" is notably absent (Chan & Ritchie, 2020, p.229). As a result, the provisions of bicultural education and cultural responsiveness are frequently positioned as 'competing tensions' (J. Smith, 2010). Dam (2017) observes:

> A clearly discernible tension is now at work between the state's existing commitments to biculturalism and a growing need to also make multiculturalism policy provisions, not least in education. (p.162)

On one hand, a focus on expanding the scope of cultural responsiveness to better meet the needs of a super-diverse population is feared to erode the commitment to bicultural education (Glynn, 2015; May, 2004; Penetito, 2010). According to this position, bicultural education is complicated by increased ethnic diversity (Santamaria & Hoskins, 2015). On the

[21] *Te Whāriki* (MoE, 2017), the national early childhood curriculum, begins with a similar statement: "New Zealand is increasingly multicultural. Te Tiriti / The Treaty is seen to be inclusive of all immigrants to New Zealand, whose welcome comes in the context of this partnership" (p.3)

other hand, a focus on expanding the scope of bicultural education is feared to limit efforts to more fully embrace a super-diverse population (Rata, 2005; J. Smith, 2010). As such, this position assumes the further inclusion of super-diversity is complicated by bicultural education (J. Smith, 2017). The pursuit of one is seen to be at the expense of the other. This unresolved tension in education is perhaps unsurprising considering the larger sociological and political debates attempting to reconcile bicultural and multicultural paradigms (Metge, 1996; see Chapter 2.3.4)

Recent scholarship by Chan and Ritchie (2020) explores the "complex inter-relationships and tension between honouring 'biculturalism'; and catering for superdiversity" (p.219) within education. Their discussion centers on the "tensions inherent in recognizing the implications of 'superdiversity' in a country that is still coming to terms with a commitment to its Indigenous people, what has often been couched with in the discourse of 'biculturalism' as per the two parties to the Treaty" (2019, p.53). Drawing on key policy documents, Chan and Ritchie (2019) expose the misconception that a bicultural education is exclusive to students who identify as Māori. They assert that according to existing educational policies, a bicultural education "should be made available to all children and families present, including immigrant children and their families" (p.52). Pentito (2009) earlier exposed this underlying assumption, that all teaching and learning related to te ao Māori somehow falls under the umbrella of Māori Education and is therefore exclusive to Māori students. Rather, he opines that such effort "is not *Māori/Indigenous* Education, it *is* Education" (p.7). In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, any and all 'Education', should be bicultural.

Rather than producing tension, a bicultural education should relieve tension as it is by very nature an all-inclusive initiative, offering *all* access to the richness of te ao Māori alongside te ao Pākehā. Rather than being in competition, culturally responsive strategies are complimentary to bicultural education. However, asserting a complementary association is not so assert an association that is free from complexity or without challenge. Chan and Ritchie (2019) summarize this position:

> Our findings indicate that whilst many teachers are still struggling to deliver programmes that genuinely reflect Māori knowledge and support Māori children's

> identities, further challenges have now arisen with regard to the need to offer pedagogical approaches that respectfully and meaningfully include diverse languages and cultures, which is particularly crucial in an increasingly superdiverse Aotearoa (New Zealand). (p.68)

In summary, while the ways in which a super-diverse population are impacting bicultural education may never be known in full, it is reasonable to assume an additional layer of complexity. Yet this complexity does not significantly alter or amend the existing provision of bicultural education, that "All children should be given the opportunity to develop knowledge and understanding of the cultural heritages of both partners to Te Tiriti o Waitangi" (MoE, 2017, p.9) regardless of "students' identities, languages, abilities, and talents" (MoE, 2009, p.17). However, the increased airtime offered to culturally responsive discourses has led to conflation, confusion, and a perceived sense of competition which has impacted efforts to provide a bicultural education in multiethnic settings. Having confirmed that bicultural education is for all, how then is a super-diverse population engaging with te ao Māori in school setting?

2.4.3 'Non-Māori' engagement in te ao Māori

Chan and Ritchie (2019, 2020) are firm in their insistence that bicultural education is a key educational provision for ethnically diverse students, and equally insistent that such engagement is not frequently occurring. ERO's seminal report *Responding to Language Diversity in Auckland* (2018) which explore the ways in which multiethnic schools in Auckland are shifting their practices, would seem to confirm Chan and Ritchie's suspicion. Absent from the report are any indicators of how 'culturally and linguistically diverse' students are engaging with te ao Māori. 'Bilingual' and 'bicultural' were subtly repurposed to refer to students' home languages and cultures alongside of the English language and the dominant Eurocentric culture. In terms of providing a 'bicultural' education, it seems there may be a heavy privileging of te ao Pākehā, at the expense of te ao Māori in the school experiences of students from Asian, Pasifika, MELAA and 'Other' ethnic backgrounds. As Kukutai and A. Rata (2017) point out, "the 'mainstream' into which migrants are expected to integrate remains, at its core, a fundamentally Pākehā one" (p.35).

Recognizing the shortcoming, a handful of potential strategies have been proposed in hopes of better providing a bicultural education within super-diverse communities. ERO (2018) suggest schools provide "opportunities for learners and their parents/whānau to learn more about New Zealand's bicultural society, te reo Māori, and tikanga" (p.26). Chan and Ritchie (2019) similarly suggest that "sharing the Indigenous Māori language and culture with immigrant children and their families will help them understand the histories of and connect with Aotearoa (New Zealand)" (p.68). As an outcome of such an agenda, Chan and Ritchie (2019) suppose a deeper a sense of belonging via a "connection with this place and the histories and language of the local Indigenous custodians" will emerge (p.69).

There are exceptionally few indicators which measure the degree to which non-Māori and non-European students are engaging with te ao Māori (ERO, 2018; Flavell, 2019; Lourie, 2013). Data derived from Māori Language in Schooling (MoE, 2020b) provides one of the few statistical measures to gauge the provision of a bicultural education in a multiethnic context. Lourie (2013) supposes this dataset is "one of the few tangible things that schools can present as evidence in order to demonstrate that they are supporting biculturalism and/or acknowledging the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi" (p.171). While overall participation rates were presented earlier (see Table 2.2), the Table 2.7 further disaggregates this data according to ethnicity, Māori and non-Māori, as provided by the Ministry of Education.

Table 2.8

Māori Language in Schooling, Māori and non-Māori

		2010	2015	2020
Māori-medium (Over 50%) Level 1 (20-25 hrs/wk) 81-100% Level 2 (12.5-20 hrs/wk) 51-80%	Total Students	16,325	17,842	22,391
	Maori	15,916 97.4%	17,383 97.4%	21,738 97.1%
	Non-Māori	409 2.5%	459 2.5%	653 2.9%
English-medium (less that 50%) Level 3 (7.5-12.5 hrs/wk) 31-50% Level 4 (3-7.5 hrs/wk) 12-30% Level 5 (less than 3hr/wk) <11%	Total Students	132,731	154,722	188,048
	Maori	51,277 38.6%	55,892 36.1%	66,979 35.6%
	Non-Maori	81,454 61.4%	98,830 63.9%	121,069 64.3%

Note. Table excludes students who are not receiving dedicated Māori language instruction (e.g. 'Level 6 Taha Māori' and 'No Instruction'). Source: Ministry of Education (2020b)

In disaggregating Māori Language in Schooling data by ethnicity, it becomes clear that gains in participation rates from 2010 to 2020 are not exclusive to Māori students, but extend to non-Māori students as well. Within Māori-medium education, there has been a 25 percent increase in Māori student enrollments, from 15,916 to 21,738, and a 42 percent increase in non-Māori student enrollments, from 409 to 653. Similarly, within English-medium education participation rates for among Māori and non-Māori students increased by 20 percent and 22 percent respectively. Evident in this data is the fact that non-Māori *are* participating in Māori language learning, in increasing numbers, and at increasing levels. Within English-medium schools, nearly two-thirds of all Māori language learners are non-Māori students.

Further, in a recent quantitative study, researchers from Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi (Ministry of Social Works, 2020) used longitudinal data from the *Growing Up in New Zealand* (GUiNZ) project, to identify the barriers and enablers to te reo Māori among young children

and their parents, from Māori and non-Māori households. Their findings suggest that "past efforts to increase languages are now beginning to take affect and that Te Reo Māori will likely play a more prominent role in the future lives of New Zealanders – both Māori and non-Māori" (p.34). Of particular note was the 'unexpected' finding that a "large proportion of non-Māori children are actively engaged with Te Reo Māori at some level…[which] indicates that non-Māori are seeing value in the language and the benefits this brings to the growth and development of their children" (p.35).

Despite the strong and growing presence of non-Māori learners of te reo Māori, Lourie (2016b) supposes there remains a certain "invisibility of non-Māori" within Māori language school programs (p.26). This invisibility is evident in the paucity of scholarship exploring the experiences of non-Māori who are learning te reo Māori. Aside from recent post-graduate research by Lourie (2013) and Flavell (2019), little headway has been made to better understand the experiences of non-Māori students who are learning te reo Māori. This invisibility is further perseverated by the ambiguity of 'non-Māori' construct itself which is commonly utilized within Māori language learning. The Ministry of Education (2020b) and the Ministry of Social Works (2020) both offer no further disaggregation of the ethnic identities of 'non-Māori' students. 'Non-Māori' therefore includes any combination of the Level 1 non-Māori pan-ethnic groups used by Stats NZ: European, Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, and 'Other'. As a result, the participation rates for specific ethnic groups remain unknown. Both Lourie (2013) and Flavell (2019) similarly utilize the ethnic category of 'non-Māori' in their research on Māori language learning in secondary schools and sample markedly different 'non-Māori' groups. Flavell's 'non-Māori' sample was composed near exclusively of students who identified with a Pasifika ethnicity, while Lourie's 'non-Māori' sample was predominantly European.

2.4.4 Summary

This final section of the literature review narrowed in on the intersection of bicultural education and an increasingly multiethnic population. It began with an examination of the ways in which a super-diverse population is impacting education in general, and bicultural education specifically. While super-diverse communities may be impacting schools demographically, schools have yet to be significantly reshaped in terms of pedagogy and

programming. As super-diverse realities become widespread realities, so too does the pressure grow to better serve the diverse educational needs of *all* learners. This demand becomes particularly salient in light of the youthful composition of Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, and 'Other' ethnicities who currently compose over 32 percent of the total school population, projected to grow to 43 percent by 2028. The suggestion was made that increased airtime offered to culturally responsive discourses has led to conflation, confusion, and a perceived sense of competition which has complicated efforts to provide a bicultural education in multiethnic settings. Yet this complexity does not significantly alter or amend the existing provision of bicultural education, that "All children should be given the opportunity to develop knowledge and understanding of the cultural heritages of both partners to Te Tiriti o Waitangi" (MoE, 2017, p.9) regardless of "students' identities, languages, abilities, and talents" (MoE, 2009, p.17). This section concluded with a survey of what is currently suggested in the literature concerning participation in bicultural education by students from non-Māori and non-European backgrounds. While the discourses surrounding bicultural education are explicitly inclusive of 'non-Māori', the degree to which students specifically from Asian, Pasifika, MELLA, and 'Other' backgrounds are participating is largely unknown.

2.5 Chapter Summary

The preceding literature review was a movement in four parts. It began by establishing the conceptual framework of 'biculturalism' as uniquely envisioned in Aotearoa New Zealand, inherently linked to te Tiriti o Waitangi. The long-term bicultural relationship between Māori and Pākehā was traced over three historical periods, Aotearoa (1790-1840), New Zealand (1840-1940), and Aotearoa New Zealand (1940-Present). Resulting from this survey, biculturalism in general was expressed as an active, validating, power-sharing partnership between the two-founding people, Māori as tangata whenua and non-Māori as tangata Tiriti, as governed by te Tiriti o Waitangi.

The second movement looked more specifically at the manifestations of biculturalism in education, or bicultural education. The provision of a bicultural education is premised on assumption that "New Zealand would be all the richer for a bilingual and bicultural people" (Ngata 1945, as cited in D. Williams, 2005, p.373). Bicultural education insists *all* students will

have access to the te ao Māori, including te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori, and tikanga Māori, alongside te ao Pākehā. This shift towards bicultural education is particularly evident in strong national policy statements, increasing access to te reo me ngā tikanga Māori in schools, and the proliferation of marae-ā-kura. However, contemporary educationalists note somberly the continued marginalization of te ao Māori and the unrealized potential of bicultural education. As within wider society, biculturalism in education remains a contested space.

The third movements turned to another contemporary phenomenon, increasing ethnic diversity. It began by establishing how ethnicity is 'officially' constructed, categorized, and counted in Aotearoa New Zealand before analyzing the recent demographic transformation from a 'hyper-homogenous' to a 'super-diverse' population. The ability of pre-existing bicultural frameworks to support super-diverse realities was explored, along with a discussion of alternative multicultural paradigms. This section concluded with a general survey of contemporary interethnic relations outside of the Māori-Pākehā binary. While the literature may be sparse, suggestions of uncertainly, ambiguity, and a lack of personal contact were well-noted. Additionally, schools were suggested to be one of the primary, yet underexplored, sites of interethnic contact for children and their families.

The fourth and final movement examined the ways in which schools are shaping, and being shaped by, a super-diverse Aotearoa New Zealand. The nature of this reshaping, and specifically how the provision of a bicultural education is being impacted by an increasingly multiethnic population, is largely unknown. Given the past difficulties of providing a bicultural education amongst a population that was predominantly Māori and European, a multiethnic population certainly has the potential to add an additional layer of complexity. The suggestion was made that increased airtime offered to culturally responsive discourses has led to conflation, confusion, and a perceived sense of competition which has complicated efforts to provide a bicultural education. Yet this complexity does not significantly alter or amend the existing provision of bicultural education. Rather the bicultural provocation remains, bidding "all New Zealanders to have a consistent and long-term ontological identification with…the 'two cosmologies – the two landscapes' that exist in New Zealand" (Penetito, 2009, p.5).

Chapter Three: Theoretical Frameworks

3.0 Introduction

As presented in the previous two chapters, this thesis is about the uneasy juxtaposition of Indigeneity and ethnic diversity. More specifically, the aim of this thesis is to examine how the provision of a bicultural education, one which acknowledges the central place of te ao Māori and te Tiriti o Waitangi, is being impacted by an increasingly ethnically diverse student population. Educationalists in Aotearoa New Zealand refer to this as "the challenge of 'superdiversity' which overlays the bicultural context" of schooling (Chan & Ritchie, 2019, p.51). In this chapter I describe the overarching theoretical frameworks for examining how multiethnic English-medium schools are sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori. This section draws from the worlds of both treaty partners, te ao Pākehā and te ao Māori, exploring the frameworks of Critical Multicultural Education (May & Sleeter, 2010), as well as Kaupapa Māori (Stewart, 2017).

This chapter begins with a broad examination of the theories of Multiethnic and Multicultural Education before narrowing in more specifically on Critical Multicultural Education. In applying this theoretical framework to Aotearoa New Zealand a number of tensions are unearthed, namely a 'colonial blindspot' (Calderón, 2009) that fails to adequately address te ao Māori. An Indigenous framework, Kaupapa Māori theory, is offered as a necessary tool to actively center alternate ways of knowing and being provided by te ao Māori. Finally, an integrated theoretical framework fusing Critical Multicultural Education and Kaupapa Māori is put forth as a robust framework well-suited to address the research aims.

3.1 Multiethnic and Multicultural Education

Simply put, the future is a multilingual and multiethnic one regardless of attempts to suppress that reality.
Alim & Paris (2017, p.6)

Multiethnic Education theory was birthed out of a myriad of ethnocultural renaissances occurring around the world in the second half of the 20th Century (Banks, 2006; May & Sleeter 2010). The Civil Rights movement in the U.S. was one of the first, and largest of such

movements, demanding an end to centuries of forced assimilation, oppression, and marginalization (Grant, 2014). Theories of Multiethnic Education emerged out of these larger social movements, calling for *more*, for *better,* for *equity* (Banks, 2009; Sleeter, 2018). In contrast to Critical Theorists who focused primarily on social class relations, theories of Multiethnic Education drew attention to the ways in which ethnocultural relations contributed to oppressive patterns within schooling (Sleeter, 1989). Although laden with a multiplicity of layers, Multiethnic Education was fundamentally marked by a common aspiration to reposition educational programs towards a more inclusive ethos, centered on ethnocultural plurality and educational equity (Grant & Sleeter, 1987). Dr. James Banks (2006), considered one of the founding members of this movement, suggests that Multiethnic Education began as, and continues to be, a reform movement to root out harmful, exclusionary practices related to ethnicity. To this end, theories of Multiethnic Education are multidimensional, seeking educational equity in "both content and process, curriculum and pedagogy, ideology and policy" (Gay, 1983, p. 562). Dr. Geneva Gay, another seminal theorist, proposed three central ideological orientations to Multiethnic Education: "teaching ethnically different students differently, using insights into ethnic pluralism to improve all educational decision making, and teaching content about ethnic groups to all students" (1983, p.562).

Theories of Multicultural Education[22] have sought to extend the scope of Multiethnic Education to be inclusive of a broader range of cultural considerations such as gender, social class, religion, sexual orientation, and (dis)ability, in addition to ethnicity (Banks, 2006; Gay, 1983; Sleeter, 2018). Multicultural Education "is designed to restructure educational institutions so that all students…will acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to function effectively in a culturally and ethnically diverse nation and world. It is not an ethnic or gender specific movement, it is a movement designed to empower all students" (Banks, 2006, p.130). Dr. Carl Grant (2014) posits that Multicultural Education refers to "the ways in which all dimensions and aspects of schooling address the needs and talents of culturally

[22]Mirroring larger conceptual debates concerning 'multiculturalism' and 'interculturalism' (see Chapter 2.3.4), 'multicultural education' is a contested term (Gorski, 2008; Kymlicka, 2007; Salahshour, 2020). While acknowledging the contributions of alternate terms such as 'intercultural education', this thesis utilizes 'multicultural education', concurring with Sleeter's (2018) assertion that 'multicultural education' and 'intercultural education' are fully consistent with one another.

diverse populations to ensure equity for all. It is both a philosophy and practice" (p.120). Similarly, Dr. Jagdish Gundara (2015) characterizes Multicultural Education "as one which enhances the life chances of all communities, groups, and citizens in a society" (p.112).

Multicultural Education emerges from the unique demands, needs, and aspirations of a wide range of groups, and is consequently not a singular course of action (Banks, 2013). As such, Multicultural Education is not a pre-packaged, exportable commodity (Sleeter, 2018). Rather, as Gollnick and Chinn (2002) note, Multicultural Education "starts *where people are*, builds on the histories and experiences of the community, and incorporates multicultural resources from the local community" (p.350). Gruenewald (2008) refers to this as a critical 'place-based education' in which learning opportunities are designed in light of the geographic location and sociocultural identities embedded within a locality. In some communities, the pursuit of Bilingual or Multilingual Education - the teaching and learning of language(s) in addition to the dominant national language(s) is central component to Multicultural Education (T. Lee & McCarty, 2015). Bilingual Education has been found to be particularly effective in "developing an inclusive ethos" and reducing marginalization (Gundara, 2015, p.101). A similar strand, Bicultural Education, as pursued in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, seeks to restructure the dominant monocultural paradigm to acknowledge the distinct worlds of the two founding peoples, Māori and Pākehā, in all of their richness (Penetito, 2010; Walker, 2004).

While ethnocultural plurality and educational equity are the hallmarks of Multicultural Education, there is an exceptional width of approaches pursuing these ends. As such, Calderón (2009) suggests a conceptual continuum, with more passive or promotional approaches at one end, and more active or critical paradigms at the other. Towards the passive end, Neoliberal (Kymlicka, 2007; Sleeter, 2018) or Normative Multicultural Education (Calderón, 2009) centers on individual equality, alongside discourses of tolerance, acceptance, and the appreciation of cultural diversity. In learning 'about' other cultures (Banks, 2009), or 'about' cultural diversity (Macfarlane, 2015), it is hoped that students might form more positive attitudes towards diversity and difference, thereby reducing prejudice. Contemporary approaches to Multicultural Education aligned towards this end of the continuum (Sabzalian, 2019), include Citizenship Education (Tomilson, 2009) and Intercultural Education (Gorski, 2008). *The New Zealand Curriculum (2007)* would be aligned along this

end of the theoretical continuum, pursuing an Aotearoa New Zealand "in which all cultures are valued for the contributions they bring" (p.8). The key curriculum principles of *Cultural Diversity* and *Inclusion* signal the Ministry of Education's intent towards equitable schooling options for all students (See Table 2.7).

At the other end of the spectrum, under the umbrella of Critical Multicultural Education (May, 2009; Sleeter & May, 2010), are approaches to Multicultural Education centered on combatting systemic inequality, alongside more actively sustaining ethnocultural plurality. Within these approaches, cultural constructs are repositioned from peripheral concerns to be taught 'about' and 'valued', to central components which provide the "primary lens for the conveyance of all academic subject matter" (Penetito, 2009, p.18). In contrast to a focus on individual equality, critical approaches acknowledge the impact of systemic, structural, and institutional inequality, seeking to "reframe the object of critique from our children to oppressive systems" (Alim & Paris, 2017, p.3). Critical approaches to Multicultural Education suppose that "culture, language, and power are interwoven and cannot be separated" (Sleeter, 2018, p.16). By acknowledging and addressing power imbalances, critical approaches are necessarily confrontational and political (Santamaria & Hoskins, 2015). This end of the spectrum is home to approaches such as Critical Race Theory (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), Ethnic Studies (Dee & Penner, 2017), Anti-colonial Education (Calderón, 2009), Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995) and Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy (Paris, 2012). As two of the most influential forms of Critical Multicultural Education, Culturally Relevant and Culturally Sustaining Pedagogies will be further described.

In their comprehensive analysis of the development of Multicultural Education in the U.S., Grant and Sleeter (1987) noted the near complete omission of pedagogy in early iterations. While theories of Multicultural Education proliferated with rapidity, there emerged a "growing chasm between theoretical articulations and classroom practice" (Sleeter, 2018, p.7). Gloria Ladson-Billings (1995) addressed this lacking by articulating a theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP). CRP is grounded in three principles, (1) a holistic focus on student learning, (2) developing students' cultural competence in their culture(s) of origin and in at least one additional culture, and (3) an action-oriented critical consciousness challenging the status quo (Ladson-Billings, 1995). Today, Culturally Relevant (or 'Culturally Responsive')

Pedagogy, one which designs learning in light of students' cultures, languages, and traditions, has become ubiquitous in schools and teacher education (Ladson-Billings, 2014; Paris, 2012).

Building on CRP, Dr. Django Paris (2012) proposed the pursuit of a more proactive position, beyond merely 'relating' or 'responding' to ethnocultural diversity, to one which would "perpetuate and foster – to sustain – linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as schooling for positive social transformation" (Alim & Paris, 2017, p.1). Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy (CSP) advocates for the maintenance of cultural and linguistic practices with "the explicit goal [of] supporting multilingualism and multiculturalism in practice and perspective for students and teachers" (Paris, 2012, p. 95). Indigenous scholars Teresa McCarty and Tiffany Lee (2014) further contextualized CSP to an Indigenous context in which language, knowledge, and customs may be critically endangered. They theorize a Culturally Sustaining/Revitalizing Pedagogy (CSRP) which would seek to forcefully shore up what has been, and continues to be, sharply eroding. In first reclaiming, and then sustaining, Indigenous values, knowledge, and ways of being, CSRP reasserts the role of tribal sovereignty within education.

Table 3.1 aligns the theories of Multiethnic Education, Culturally Relevant/Responsive Pedagogy (CRP), and Culturally Sustaining/Revitalizing Pedagogy (CSRP). I have categorized the respective principles of each approach according to three broad themes, borrowing language from Alim and Paris (2017), "teaching and learning for justice in a changing world" (p.15). All three of these theories can be generally positioned under the umbrella of Critical Multicultural Education, centered on combatting systemic inequality, alongside more actively sustaining ethnocultural plurality (May & Sleeter 2010).

Table 3.1
Critical Theories of Multicultural Education

	Multiethnic Education (ME) *Gay, 1983*	Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP) *Ladson-Billing, 1995*	Culturally Sustaining/Revitalizing Pedagogy (CSRP) *McCarty & Lee, 2014*
Teaching and learning	Teach ethnically different students differently	Focus on holistic student learning	Reclaim and revitalize endangered knowledge and language
For justice	Leverage ethnic pluralism to inform and improve educational decision making	Foster an action-oriented critical consciousness	Transform legacies of colonization by directly attending to asymmetrical relationships
In a changing world	Teach concepts related to race and ethnicity to all students	Develop cultural competence in own, and in other culture(s)	Service and accountability to the unique, evolving needs of the community

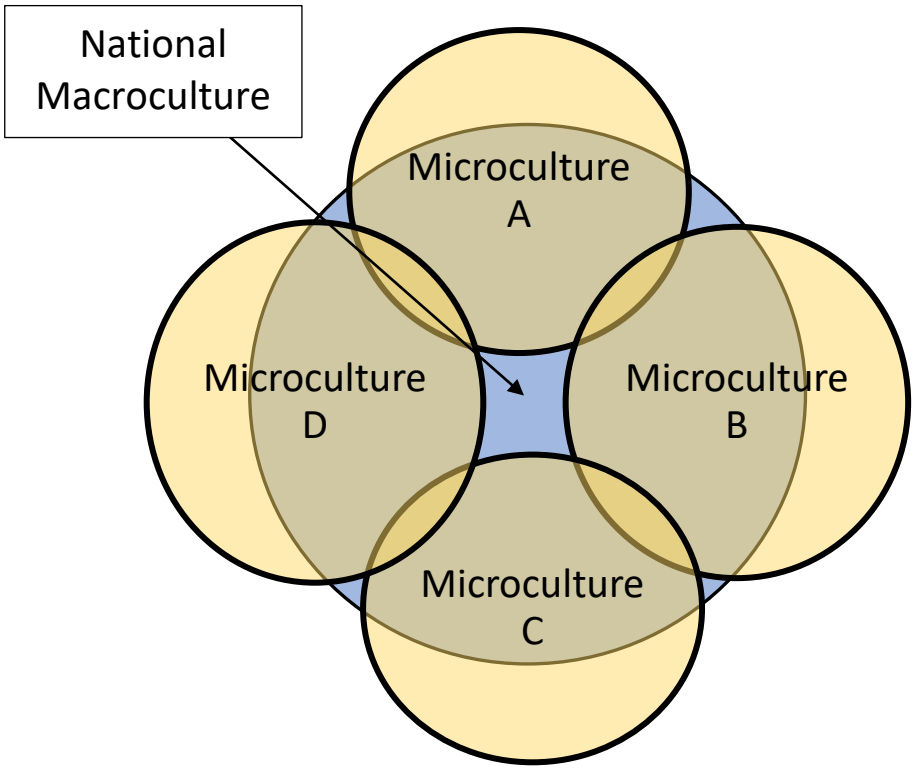
Summary

Birthed out of a variety of 20th Century ethnocultural renaissances, theories of Multiethnic and Multicultural Education challenged existing schooling options that excluded and marginalized ethnically and culturally diverse communities. As such, Multicultural Education is a broad reform movement seeking ethnocultural plurality and educational equity. Towards this end, a wide spectrum of approaches is employed internationally, from the promotion of cultural diversity at an individual level (Normative Multicultural Education) to the transformative redistribution of power at a systemic level (Critical Multicultural Education). Three approaches to Critical Multicultural Education were explored in more detail, each offering a unique lens to more fully understand how schools can better sustain ethnocultural plurality and educational equity.

3.1.1 Theoretical Model of Multicultural Education

As offered in the previous section, across the theoretical continuum, Multicultural Education is characterized by a commitment to promoting ethnocultural pluralism and educational equity. Figure 3.1 is an adapted theoretical model expressed by Dr. James Banks (2013), attempting to visualize the relationship between plurality and equity:

Figure 3.1
Traditional Theoretical Model of Multicultural Education



Note. Adapted from Banks (2013, p.9)

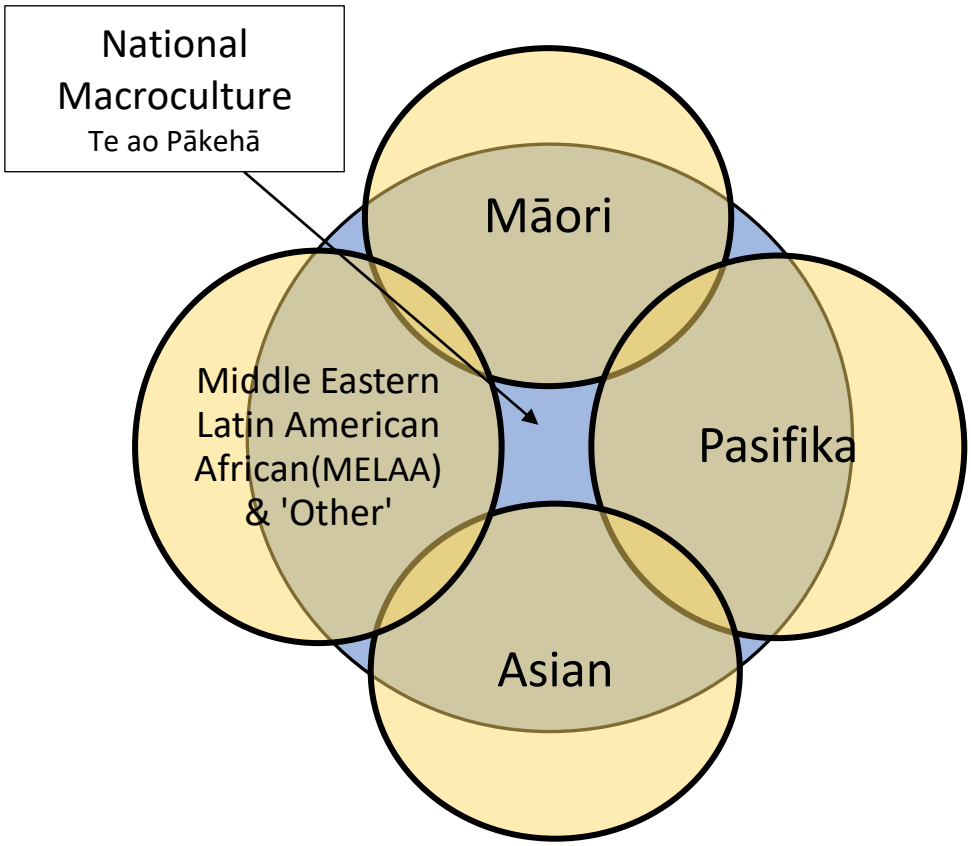
According to this model, each microculture consists of the "unique institutions, values, and cultural elements that are nonuniversalized and are shared primarily by members of a specific cultural group" (Banks, 2013, p. 9). Banks posits that a significant goal of schools is to "help students acquire the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to function effectively within the national macroculture, within their own microculture, and within and across other microcultures" (p.9). Plurality is expressed in the aim of maintaining distinct microcultures, while encouraging overlapping cross-cultural interactions. Equity is found in acknowledging the value and place of each microculture. This model suggests a 'one of many' approach whereby each microculture is ascribed a similar measure of worth and offered equal footing (May, 2013).

In applying this simplified, traditional model to Aotearoa New Zealand, the 'National Macroculture' would be represented by te ao Pākehā, the Eurocentric, English-speaking, 'silent centre' of biculturalism (MacLean, 1996, p.110). The peripheral 'Microcultures' would

be represented by the Level 1 pan-ethnic groups identified by Stats NZ: Māori, Pasifika, Asian, MELAA, and 'Other'[23]. Each Microculture is ascribed a similar value and contributes equally to the formation of the National Macroculture. Figure 3.2 is an application of such a model to the context of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Figure 3.2

Traditional Theoretical Model of Multicultural Education, Applied to Aotearoa New Zealand



Note. Adapted from Banks (2013, p.9)

Applying a traditional theoretical model of Multicultural Education to the context of Aotearoa New Zealand presents several challenges. First, in adopting an overarching 'bicultural' framework, Aotearoa New Zealand has positioned itself away from a singular National Macroculture towards a bicultural core. Chapter 2.3.4 noted the 'legitimate concern' within society in general that a multicultural approach would fail to address the priority and

[23] This is not to suggest the homogeneity of each microculture. On the contrary, it is acknowledged that within each microculture significant divisions and differences exist (Jones, 2012).

preeminence of Māori. Within education specifically, concerns of a multicultural paradigm supplanting an emphasis on the bicultural approach is well documented and long-standing (May, 2004; Sullivan, 1993). Over forty years ago, Bray (1980) noted a "disquiet at the emphasis on New Zealand as a multicultural society and on multicultural education, if this implies that the Māori and his culture are just one of many" (p.220). To this end, the Waitangi Tribunal (1986) has opined:

> We do not accept that the Māori is just another one of a number of ethnic groups in our community. It must be remembered that of all minority groups the Māori alone is party to a solemn treaty made with the Crown. None of the other migrant groups who have come to live in this country in recent years can claim the rights that were given to the Māori people by the Treaty of Waitangi. Because of the Treaty Māori New Zealanders stand on a special footing reinforcing, if reinforcement be needed, their historical position as the original inhabitants, the tangata whenua of New Zealand. (p. 27-28)

3.1.2 Theoretical Critiques to Multicultural Education

As made evident in the application Bank's (2013) theorizing to Aotearoa New Zealand, and as alluded to by the Waitangi Tribunal, the traditional 'one of many' approach to Multicultural Education is subject to a number of critiques. More specifically, Multicultural Education is charged with undermining the position and status of Māori via three ideological patterns: Indigenous erasure, aspirational conflation, and a denial of epistemological and political sovereignty.

In analyzing models of Multicultural Education internationally, Gundara (2015) notes the wholesale, widespread denial of Indigenous perspectives, a characteristic failure to "take any cognissance of the most oppressed people in the world" (p.198). Deloria et al. (2018) posits that this oversight is intentional, part of a larger, more general tendency for an Indigenous position to be "written out of much of contemporary life", justified by an assumption of "pastness" (p. 8). As such, Sabzalian (2019) asserts that Multicultural Education "is deeply implicated in the project of Indigenous erasure" (p.17). Using the Australian context as an

example, Inglis (2009) offers a thorough overview of contemporary Multicultural Education, highlighting Australia's position as one of the earliest and most fervent adopters of official multicultural polices. Her first and only mention of Indigenous learners comes in the endnotes, "Because of space limitation this chapter does not address the educational provisions for the Indigenous population" (p.119). As within much of Multicultural Education, Indigenous perspectives and approaches are space permitting. In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, Chan (2020) notes similar limitations in her attempts to apply the lens of Critical Multicultural Education, surmising the effort 'falls short of addressing issues pertaining to indigeneity" (p.570).

Secondly, in the occasions where space does permit, Grande (2000) identifies the common practice within theories of Multicultural Education of conflation[24], "the lumping together of Native peoples with other marginalized groups" (p.344). Wilkins and Stark (2010) summarize this tendency by noting

> [P]revalent and often pernicious stereotypes about indigenous nations who, despite their ongoing government status as separate nations, as landowners, and as holders of important treaty rights, are often inaccurately depicted as small and impoverished minority groups, distinguishable from other peoples of color solely by their cultural traits and tribal languages. (p.xiv)

Within a U.S. context, Calderón (2009) notes the tendency within Multicultural Education "to fold Native Americans into minority discourses with African-American, Asian-American, and Latinos/Latinas" (p.54). Sabzalian (2019) argues that "in conflating Indigeneity and race, the literature on multicultural education absorbs Indigenous struggles within a civil rights framework", offering a primary focus on the struggle for equality, recognition, and inclusion within the nation-state (p.4). Kauanui (2008) suggests that such a framework focusing on 'livelihood and citizenship' is insufficient to address the pressing questions of autonomy and sovereignty demanded from Indigenous Peoples. Wilkins (1994) similarly notes that "although tribal nations share minority characteristics…,the differences distinguishing tribes

[24] See Chapter 2.4.2 for discussion on the ways in which conflating 'Māori and migrants' has led to confusion between the provisions of Culturally Responsive Education and Bicultural Education.

from the other groups grossly exceed the similarities" (p.1). Grande (2008) elaborates on these 'differences', asserting that Indigenous Peoples "have not, like other marginalized groups, been fighting for inclusion in the democratic imaginary, but, rather, for the right to remain distinct, sovereign, and tribal people" (p. 189). The claims of Indigeneity extend well beyond mere ethnocultural recognition, demanding a redistribution of power and a reinstatement of sovereignty (O'Sullivan, 2007).

Thirdly, in the instances where Indigenous Peoples are not erased, nor conflated within the 'minority' discourse, Calderón (2009) notes the tendency for theories of Multicultural Education to undermine Indigenous epistemological and political sovereignty. Dei and colleagues (2000) suggest the existence of a hierarchy of knowledge within theories of Multicultural Education that seek to invalidate and delegitimatize Indigenous ways of knowing. Dei et al. suggest the need for a strategic rupture within Multicultural Education that would explicitly endorse Indigenous knowledge as valid, dynamic, and legitimate. Hokowhitu (2016) similarly contests 'the myth of universal knowledge' that is embedded within discourses of Multicultural Education. He suggests this myth serves to obscure Indigenous knowledge, resulting ultimately in the production of "in*valids* (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) with invalid ontologies" (p.100). Calderón (2009) labels this the "colonial blindspot" within Multicultural Education, "rooted in western ontologies that leave little room for tribal ways of being" (p.74). She offers the challenge to

> work toward true pluralism, which demands an anticolonial reconfiguration of current educational models. This demands a rejection of Western metaphysics, a move towards epistemological and ontological diversification, and the shattering of colonial blind ideologies and practices. In other words, a diversity that truly embraces different ways of *seeing, being* and *embodying* the world around us. (p.73)

In addition to undermining epistemological sovereignty, Indigenous scholars have noted that the singular fixation within Multicultural Education on ethnocultural diversity results in a failure to attend the political sovereignty of Indigenous Peoples (Kauanui, 2008). Borrowing again from the language and theorizing of Will Kymlicka (1995), the traditional 'one of many' theoretical approach to Multicultural Education emphasizes the 'polyethnic rights' of

minoritized ethnic groups at the expense of the 'multinational rights' of Indigenous Peoples (See Chapter 2.3.4). While polyethnic rights serve to 'tolerate' cultural expressions and ensure fair accommodation within national institutions, multinational rights are intended to 'promote' additional political options towards autonomy and sovereignty (May, 2013, p.203). Sovereignty does not necessarily take the "form of nationhood rooted in settler logics of domination", rather it calls for the "restoration of their political orders and homelands and for meaningful forms of coexistence" (Sabzalian, 2019, p.24). Warrior (1995) opines that "if sovereignty is anything, it is a way of life" (p.123). Sovereign is a key 'multinational right' derived from a group's Indigenous status, as the original inhabitants prior to colonization (Sabzalian, 2019). Furthermore, unlike ethnic groups, Indigenous groups have long-standing political and legal relationships formally established with the state, recorded in diplomacy, law, and oftentimes treaty making (Kauanui, 2008). Santamaria & Hoskins (2015) well-summarize this priority position:

> In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori indigeneity and the Treaty represent a different order of rights than those that might be extended to marginalized groups. In other words, there exist a privileged relationship due to Indigenous status. (p.74)

Despite this differentiated status, "Multicultural literature tends to not distinguish Indigenous Peoples and their particular claims to sovereignty from other people of color or ethnic minority groups whose concerns and claims are of a different order" (Santamaria & Hoskins, 2015, p.72). As Kauanui (2008) articulates, "Indigeneity is about connection to place and assertions of nationhood, not race and liberal multiculturalism" (p.637). The traditional 'one of many' theoretical approach to Multicultural Education maintains the focus on providing equal footing and value to all ethnic groups without considering the unique political status of Indigenous Peoples. Using the prolific scholarship of James Banks as an example, Calderón (2009) notes "how well-meaning scholars can inadvertently smuggle concepts that…alienate indigenous peoples" (p.69).

Despite Kymlicka's theorizing being highly applicable and integrative within a settler society containing both polyethnic and multinational diversity, "few scholars have attended to the ways Kymlicka's theory complicates discourse of multiculturalism" within education

(Sabzalian, 2019, p.9). While a small handful of scholars in Aotearoa New Zealand have identified potential in Kymlicka's typology, it has yet to be meaningfully pursued (Bartley & Spoonley, 2005; Dam, 2017; May, 2004, 2013; Santamaria & Hoskins, 2015). May (2004) supposes the trouble is not with the theory, but in "ongoing wider opposition to *any* form of differential entitlement – bicultural or multicultural-within Aotearoa/New Zealand" (p.259).

Mindful of this existing shortcoming in critical theories of Multicultural Education, it is vital that an additional lens, an Indigenous framework be incorporated as a necessary tool "to push back against the imbalance of Western power and knowledge in society and in education" (Stewart, 2018a, p.771). Chan (2020) concurs,

> In light of New Zealand's national and educational commitment to biculturalism and its founding document, *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*…it is therefore necessary for teachers to also apply theoretical approaches which recognize the tangata whenua status of Māori, alongside the frameworks of superdiversity and critical multiculturalism, to inform policies and pedagogies. (p.570)

Kymlicka (2007) himself extends an invitation for theoretical collaborations from different academic disciplines and underrepresented epistemic traditions, suggesting "we should not exclude the possibility that some other normative political theory can provide a better set of conceptual tools" to further the aims of multiculturalism (p.300). However, despite the solicitation, 'To my knowledge, no such theories exist' (p. 300). The next section will further outline one such approach, Kaupapa Māori theory as a critical Indigenous theory and philosophy of education, rooted in te ao Māori.

3.2 Kaupapa Māori Theory

What we consider to be kaupapa Māori is not new. It is ancient. It is of Papatūānuku and Ranginui[25]*. It is of Aotearoa. It is of our tūpuna.*
Pihama (2016, p.11)

[25] *Papatūānuku* (earth mother) and *Ranginui* (sky father) are the two of the central characters in the Māori creation story (Jackson, 2019).

Kaupapa Māori theory is a diverse interpretive framework that seeks to bring Māori ways of knowing and being to the center (Pihama, 2010, 2016). As an adjective, Kaupapa Māori can be understood as "the opposite of 'Eurocentric'", or a Māori-centric approach (Stewart, 2018a, p.771). It is a theory of empowerment, responding to many generations of hostility toward Māori. Kaupapa Māori theory merges Critical Theory with Indigenous scholarship (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008), "a local approach to Critical Theory" within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand (L.T. Smith, 2012, p.186). As such, it addresses the ideas of Paolo Freire and the overarching themes of critique, struggle, transformation, and emancipation, from a Māori perspective (Bishop & Glenn, 1999; Hoskins, 2017; G.H. Smith, 1997; L.T. Smith, 2012). Graham Hingangaroa Smith, one of the chief architects of Kaupapa Māori theory, comments:

> When I first read Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed it made absolute sense to me…because for everything he said I had a practical example in Aotearoa. It fitted; it described exactly the sorts of things we were engaging with. (G.H. Smith et al., 2012, p.12).

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) another chief architect of Kaupapa Māori theory, further elaborates on these 'examples in Aotearoa', identifying:

> the production of theories that have dehumanized Māori and in practices that have continued to privilege western ways of knowing while denying the validity for Māori of Māori knowledge, language and culture. (p.185)

In response, Kaupapa Māori theory seeks to expose the "underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist within society" which contribute to the societal inequalities experienced by many Māori (Pihama cited in L.T. Smith, 2012, p.186). Kaupapa Māori theory offers a critique of, and challenge to, accepted ways of knowing, doing, and understanding (G.H. Smith, 1997). It provides an alternative space to critically examine existing power structures and to theorize strategies of empowerment that proactively and positively, center on Māori aspirations (Royal, 2017; G.H. Smith, 2017).

Hoskins (2017) notes two broad, interwoven aspirations of Kaupapa Māori theory: a political struggle for tino rangatiratanga; and a cultural struggle to revitalize and normalize the fullness of te ao Māori. The overarching political struggle for tino rangatiratanga refers to the ability to access the power and resources necessary for self-development, one which "recovers histories, reclaims lands and resources, and restores justice" (L.T. Smith, 2012, p.191). G.H. Smith (2017) frames this aspiration as "reclaiming the ability to reimagine our futures" (p.81), futures that are *for* Māori, and *by* Māori (Pihama, 2010; Royal, 2017; L.T. Smith, 2012). The cultural struggle for te ao Māori refers to the revitalization of a transformative "Māori way of doing things" which is being cultivated across a number of sectors from healthcare to law to education (M. Durie, 2017, p.3). Kaupapa Māori theory "has as its centre the validation and affirmation of te reo Māori and tikanga" (Pihama, 2016, p.108).

These political and cultural aspirations are both foregrounded on action (M. Durie, 2017). As such, G.H. Smith (2017) refers to Kaupapa Māori theory as *transforming praxis* in the sense that "theory is both made and remade within a dynamic process of organic enactment and critical reflection" (p.79). Kaupapa Māori is can also be considered a course of action, a verb, a way of bringing te ao Māori to the center, then "abstracting…, reflecting on it, engaging with it, taking it for granted sometimes, making assumptions based upon it" (L.T. Smith, 2012, p.190). These aspirations and actions are intended to make a positive impact for Māori communities (Pihama, 2010). The field of education uniquely demonstrates the transformative potential of Kaupapa Māori theory and will be explored in the next section (Pihama, 2016).

3.2.2 Kaupapa Māori Theory in Education

G.H. Smith (2017) notes that contemporary Kaupapa Māori theory grew out of the radical development of alternative Māori-medium preschools (Kōhanga Reo) and primary schools (Kura Kaupapa Māori) in the 1980s. Berryman et al. (2013) assert that the impact of Kaupapa Māori upon education has been particularly noteworthy, active, and enduring. Georgina Stewart (2017) refers to education as the "*tūrangawaewae*/home ground" of Kaupapa Māori theory (p.133). Given this strong, well-established position, Stewart (2017) goes on to assert

that Kaupapa Māori theory is a "capable and necessary" tool to critique education in Aotearoa New Zealand, containing "untapped resources to guide further novel and inventive forms of…research in education" (p.143).

As a transformative theoretical lens, Kaupapa Māori is fundamentally "about making change for our people and developing positive interventions" (Pihama, 2016, p.109). Within education, Kaupapa Māori rejects historic pathological approaches marked by a relentless cycle of deficit theorizing and documentation of Māori failure (Berryman et al., 2017). Rather, Kaupapa Māori in education is a "non-pathological approach that shifts the focus from Māori underachievement to the things that are accomplished by Māori teachers, whānau and students and often go unnoticed" (J. Lee et al., 2012, p.3). The underlying assumptions are bent towards raising awareness of potentiality - of student success that *is* occurring, and school programs that *are* working, which is itself considered "a brave but simultaneously worthwhile intention" (Macfarlane et al., 2014, p.ii).

Several educational theorists have offered lists of principles that attempt to give shape to Kaupapa Māori theory (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Pihama, 2010; G.H. Smith, 1997; J. Lee at el., 2012). Drawing from principles first offered by G.H. Smith (1990), and then applied to a philosophy of education, Stewart (2017) suggests the following three principles (p.137):

1. *Kaupapa Māori theory values te ao Māori.* This principle seeks the revitalization of te ao Māori, in all its fullness. It promotes epistemological (what we choose to teach) and pedagogical (how we teach it) imperatives to support Māori understandings across the curriculum. As such, academic achievement is holistic, measured by "confidence in te reo Māori, increasing their understanding of tikanga Māori, gaining knowledge of mātauranga Māori, participating as Māori in wider school activities, and approaching their future with confidence" (J. Lee et al., 2012, p.7).

2. *Kaupapa Māori theory is concerned with self-determination*. This principle concerns the political, legal, and ethical struggle for Māori autonomy. It is actively seeking control of "understanding our own predicaments, of answering our own questions,

and of helping us as a community to solve our problems and develop ourselves" (L.T. Smith, 2012, p.195). In education this principle is often conceptualized in terms of Māori succeeding *as Māori* (M. Durie, 2003)

3. *Kaupapa Māori theory is about being Māori*.[26] This principle concerns ontology (the nature of being/identity) and relationality (the understanding of one's place in the world). It imparts a Māori-centric perspective whereby to be Māori is to be normal. The validity and legitimacy of Māori are taken for granted (J. Lee et al., 2012). Milne (2017) describes this as a need to color in the ubiquitous white spaces found in schools, thereby reclaiming cultural identity. In such a reclaimed space, "questions are framed differently, priorities are ranked differently, problems are defined differently, and people participate on different terms" (L.T. Smith, 2012, p.23).

3.3 An Integration of Theories

Nearly four decades ago, Dr. Geneva Gay (1983) asserted that if Multicultural Education is to remain effective, it must be fundamentally committed "to imagination, innovation, and change" (p.562). It is toward this creative, generative end that a reconceptualized, integrative model of Multicultural Education is offered. In exploring the way English-medium schools are sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population, a theoretical integration of both Critical Multicultural Education and Kaupapa Māori is necessary. Such an integration offers a comprehensive, inclusive framework, as Table 3.2 demonstrates.

[26] My position as a non-Māori researcher exploring the teaching and learning of te ao Māori in schools, using kaupapa Māori as a theoretical framework, is one I hold as an extreme privilege. For non-Māori researchers who are engaged in a Māori context, the formation of a *research whānau* is recommended as an accountability tool (Bishop & Glenn, 1999; Jones & K. Jenkins, 2008; L.T. Smith, 2012). I am grateful for my research whānau, an eclectic collection of individuals with their feel firmly planted in te ao Māori, who have guided, mentored, and held accountable the research process at every step.

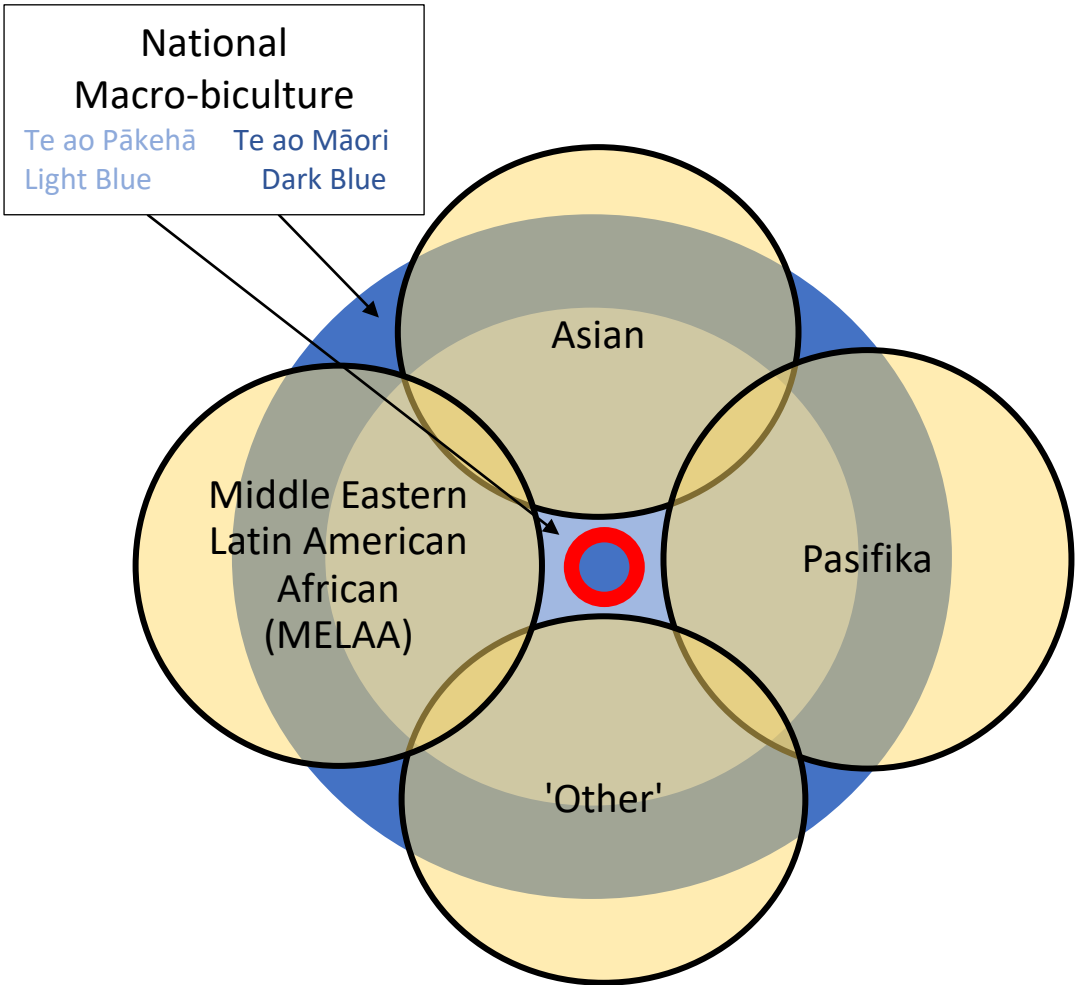
Table 3.2
An Integration of Critical Theories of Multicultural Education and Kaupapa Māori

	Multiethnic Education (ME) *Gay, 1983*	Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP) *Ladson-Billing, 1995*	Culturally Sustaining/Revitalizing Pedagogy (CSRP) *McCarty & Lee, 2014*	Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) *Stewart, 2017*
Teaching and learning	Teach ethnically different students differently	Focus on holistic student learning	Reclaim and revitalize endangered knowledge and language	Revitalize and legitimize te ao Māori
For justice	Leverage ethnic pluralism to inform and improve educational decision making	Foster an action-oriented critical consciousness	Transform legacies of colonization by directly attending to asymmetrical relationships	Transformative praxis for self-determination
In a changing world	Teach concepts related to race and ethnicity to all students	Develop cultural competence in own, and in other culture(s)	Service and accountability to the unique, evolving needs of the community	Normalize being Māori in relation to others

A handful of scholars in Aotearoa New Zealand have recently acknowledged the collaborative potential in drawing together Critical Multicultural Education and Kaupapa Māori (Chan & Ritchie, 2020; Stewart, 2018). Stewart (2018a) suggests that Kaupapa Māori certainly includes theoretical space for partnering with Critical Multicultural Education, despite the perception that Kaupapa Māori is typically characterized by its separateness from te ao Pākehā. Stewart calls for 'both-and' collaborations between Kaupapa Māori and other intercultural paradigms that would enrich the "productive possibilities of scholarship based on an understanding of Kaupapa Māori" (p.773). Averill and McRae (2019) draw from both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā in their design for culturally sustaining initial teacher education aimed specifically at better equipping new teachers to support Indigenous learners. In the context of super-diverse early childhood learning centers, Chan and Ritchie (2020) offer an incorporation of Critical Multicultural Education, alongside "a pedagogical approach that incorporates Te Tiriti o Waitangi commitments to tino rangatiratanga [and] te reo Māori" (p.233). In carefully considering these aspirations, and cognizant of critiques to existing theoretical frameworks, Figure 3.3 offers a reconceptualized, integrative model adapted to the context of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Figure 3.3

Integrative Theoretical Model of Multicultural Education, Applied to a Bicultural Aotearoa New Zealand



Note. Adapted from Banks (2013, p.9)

While the size and position of the 'microcultures' remains constant in this integrative model, what was previously a singular 'National Macroculture' has evolved into a plural 'National Macro-Biculture'. The dark blue represents te ao Māori and light blue represents te ao Pākehā. There is a notable decrease in the prevalence of the light blue (te ao Pākehā), acknowledging both the demographic reality of a shrinking European population, as well as the political demand towards a more equitable redistribution of power (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999). There is a corresponding increase in the share held by the dark blue (te ao Māori) acknowledging that an "effective approach to multicultural education is through bicultural education…[and] there is a need to create a significant place in schools for education in the

Maori culture" (Penetito, 2010, p.175). Following May's (2002) conceptualization of Critical Language-centered Multicultural Education Programmes which "must retain at their core, a commitment to biculturalism" (p.20), te ao Māori occupies the very center of the integrative model. Jones (2012) notes "it is clear that a kaupapa Māori approach insists on de-centering all Western or Pākehā perspectives, even radical ones", yielding to te ao Māori (p.103). Reflecting on such 'transformative educational repositionings', Macfarlane (2015) supposes:

> When such shifts transpire, rediscovery and reclaiming ensue. Those who have usually occupied the centre space can rediscover a narrative that was hitherto rarely recognized, without having to concede everything from the knowledge systems to which they are accustomed. And those who have usually been relegated to the margins can reclaim a space to express their knowledge systems without fear of prejudice. (p.189)

In this reconceptualized model, a distinctive red band links te ao Māori and the ao Pākehā, representing covenant of te Tiriti o Waitangi. While te Tiriti is certainly crucial to the formation of a bicultural Aotearoa New Zealand, it is te ao Māori that is central. Te ao Māori precedes te Tiriti o Waitangi; as Aotearoa preceded New Zealand (see Chapter 2.1.2).

3.4 Chapter Summary

The broad field of Multiethnic and Multicultural Education is characterized by the promotion of ethnocultural diversity and educational equity for all students. Critical Multicultural Education advances theses overarching objectives by attending to systemic power imbalances and actively sustaining ethnocultural pluralism. However, scholars have challenged the colonial underpinnings and the limits of Multicultural Education. In acknowledging this shortcoming, an Indigenous analysis, Kaupapa Māori theory, was offered as a necessary framework. Kaupapa Māori theory is a local approach to Critical Theory within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand seeking to bring Māori ways of knowing and being to the center. Despite, shared aspirations towards empowerment, justice, and positive change, theories of Critical Multicultural Education and Kaupapa Māori have been traditionally positioned as adversaries rather than allies. Sabzalian (2019) notes that while "an indigenous perspective challenges and complicates theories of multicultural education, it also holds the potential to

complement and advance existing theoretical understanding and modeling in ways that *all* students need and benefit from" (p.17). As such, a reconceptualized, integrative model of Multicultural Education was offered, assuming that there may indeed be untapped potential in drawing from both Critical Multicultural Education and Kaupapa Māori to better understand how English-medium schools are sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population.

Chapter Four: Methodology

4.0 Introduction

This chapter will outline the methodology and methods utilized in this study. It begins with a discussion of the overarching research paradigm and approach that were chosen to best answer the research questions, followed by an outline of the methodological framework that was used to guide the research process. An overview of the research design is detailed, including school and participant recruitment, methods of data collection, and data analysis. The chapter concludes with a discussion of validity, trustworthiness, and ethical considerations.

4.1 Research Paradigm

The aim of this study was to examine how the provision of a bicultural education is being impacted by an increasingly ethnically diverse student population. While there may be general agreement regarding both the centrality of a bicultural education (Lourie, 2016a) and the remarkable increase in ethnic diversity within schools (ERO, 2018), how these phenomena are interacting is largely unknown. Driving this study was the primary research question: How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diversity student population? This question is informed by the narratives of secondary students from ethnically diverse backgrounds, alongside the perspectives of their families, teachers, and senior school leadership.

In focusing on the unique lived experiences of a group of participants, this project is positioned within a qualitative research paradigm (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Gordon & Mutch, 2006). The qualitative paradigm provides a lens to examine the complex, first-hand realities of participants, seeking rich, detailed, and thick descriptions of a phenomena (Creswell, 2012; Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Bogdan & Bilken (2007) suggest that a qualitative paradigm offers researchers the unique ability to get close to the world of the participants and thus better understand their perceptions of that world. A qualitative paradigm aligns with the theoretical frameworks underpinning this research, Critical Multicultural Education (May & Sleeter, 2010) and Kaupapa Māori (Stewart, 2017), by providing the interpretive tools and space necessary

for a wide, in-depth exploration of diverse experiences. Both frameworks seek to give voice and validity to a plurality of perspectives while decentering the dominate Eurocentric position (Banks, 2013; G.H. Smith, 2017). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2005) opines that it is the qualitative paradigm "that seems most able to *wage the battle of representation;*…to provide frameworks for hearing silence and listening to the voices of the silenced; to create spaces for dialogue across difference; to analyze and make sense of complex and shifting experiences, identities, and realities" (p.103). One of the tools frequently used within the qualitative paradigm is a case study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Within the field of education, case studies have proven to be a particularly valuable resource to document lived experiences and influence future policy change (Stake, 2008). The next section will explore the case study approach in more detail.

4.2 Case Study Approach

A case study seeks to explore a phenomenon that occurs within the context of a bounded system (Mutch, 2005). Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) illustrate the idea of a case study graphically as a heart, surrounded by a circle. The heart represents the focal point of the case study, the circle identifies the boundaries, or fixed limits, of the case study. In this research, the perimeter circle demarcating the boundary of the case study is the closed system of participating school communities. Within this boundary, the heart of this study is the student experience. Placing the student experience at the heart is to acknowledge the historic tendency for educational research to disempower young people by routinely excluding their voice (Collins, 2006; Cook-Sather, 2018). Whiti Hereaka (2019) eloquently reflects, "It is, after all, a privilege to be heard – and one not many are allowed" (p.27).

Centering on student voice is an attempt to pursue "a richer understanding of educational experiences, policy and practice through the eyes and ears of young people" (Bourke & Loveridge, 2018, p.2). There are a host of variables that significantly influence the student experience. Kidman (2018) suggests that student voice grows out of a particular socio-cultural context and is best understood as "expressions of meaning that are embedded within and shaped by the wider collective" (p.62). In hopes of more clearly understanding the voices

of students, the wider collective of the school community explored in this study includes school leadership, teachers, and students' families, as illustrated in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1
Case Study Components

Note. Adapted from Miles et al. (2014)

Each school community forms a distinct, bounded case. Each case may be examined individually, or alongside of other cases. A multiple case study approach (Stake, 2008; Yin, 2012) seeks to include a number of cases to more fully understand a particular phenomenon. The cases need not be similar, rather variety can be an important factor leading to deeper understandings and more dynamic theorizing (Stake, 2008). As such, a multiple case study approach was chosen to better capture the wide range of school communities found in Aotearoa New Zealand. Prior to discussing how this approach was translated into specific methods, it is vital to consider the overarching research methodology that guides this study.

4.3 Culturally Responsive Methodologies

Methodology can be viewed as a bridge linking theory with methods (Mutch, 2005). As mentioned in Chapter 3, this research is underpinned by theories of Critical Multicultural Education (May & Sleeter, 2010) and Kaupapa Māori (Stewart, 2017). A suitable methodology

will ensure both the integrity of the theories, as well as the appropriateness of the methods used (L.T. Smith, 2012) Therefore, prior to methods being considered, the methodology upon which they are grounded will be discussed.

Berryman, SooHoo, and Nevin (2013) conceptualized a research framework intent on guiding research towards more "socially responsible outcomes" for all minoritized groups (p.2). Berryman and colleagues (2013) labeled this set of principles Culturally Responsive Methodologies (CRM). CRM was birthed out of both kaupapa Māori methodologies and decolonizing methodologies (L.T. Smith, 2012), intent on challenging traditional research methods that have historically served to devalue and dehumanize. The aim of CRM was to broaden the scope of kaupapa Māori and decolonizing methodologies in order to bring a multitude of voices who are currently "marginalized to the center of the research" (Berryman et al., 2013, p.26). CRM is an empowering, agency-enhancing methodology well-suited to harness the theoretical richness of both Critical Multicultural Education and Kaupapa Māori (Berryman & Eley, 2019).

There is no singular definition of what constitutes CRM. Rather, essential dimensions include an affirmation of cultural and epistemological pluralism, a recognition of the deep need for reciprocal relationships, and an active resistance towards exclusionary conventional methods of research (Berryman et al., 2013). These dimensions are founded upon a profound sense of humility, as defined by SooHoo (2013) as "yielding and honoring other possible ways of knowing while at the same time honoring not knowing" (p.201). The culturally responsive research process is rooted in a deep understanding of identity, one's identity as a researcher as well as the identities of participants (Glynn, 2013). This understanding of identity and positionality stems from a pattern of careful and attentive listening, the researcher assuming the role of a learner, not an expert (SooHoo, 2013). Glynn (2013, p.38) offers the following whakataukī to describe the type of research relationships central to CRM:

> *He iwi kē koutou, he iwi kē mātou, engari i tēnei wā, tātou, tātou e* .
>
> You are different, we are different, but at this time and in this place we can work together.

4.4 Research Design

Driving the overall research design was the primary research question: How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population? In unpacking the research design, the research setting will first be defined, followed by an outlining of the selection criteria and recruitment process for schools. The selection of individual participants from within schools, and the data collection tools used with the participants will then be explored.

4.4.1 Research Setting

English-medium secondary schools provide the overall context for this research. In focusing on English-medium, I acknowledge my lack of fluency in te reo Māori, and in te ao Māori in general, which prevents a deeper foray into Māori-medium education. The impacts of increasing ethnic diversity within Māori-medium education is an incredibly important kaupapa, but for a more qualified researcher. In focusing on secondary schools, I am acknowledging the significance of the secondary years as a critical period during which young people iteratively form and reform their cultural identities (Fine & Sirin, 2007). While the experiences of younger students could undoubtedly provide significant insights, an examination of the experiences of secondary students offers a more cumulative record (Collins, 2006). Further, within senior secondary school, senior students (Years 11-13; ages 15-18) have been exposed to a wide range of opportunities to engage with te ao Māori, over the course of many years, through both formal coursework and more informal pursuits such as clubs, activities, sports, and social networks. Additionally, my previous experience as a high school teacher offers me a degree of competence in building rapport and engaging with secondary students (R. Williams, 2021). The English-medium secondary schools best positioned to answer the research questions will be those which, (1) contain a multiethnic student population, and (2) demonstrate a strong commitment to sustaining te ao Māori. The selection criteria for participating schools are further explained in the next section.

4.4.2 Selection Criteria for Schools

In adopting a multiple case study approach (Stake, 2008), this study utilized a purposeful approach to sampling, ensuring a range of voices were captured. The aim was to recruit a sample of four English-medium secondary schools, each with significant multiethnic student population and a strong commitment to sustaining te ao Māori.

The Education Review Office (2000) suggests that a 'multiethnic' student population, is one in which at least 20 percent of the students identify with an ethnicity *other than* Māori or European. Student ethnicity is self-identified and reported annually to the Ministry of Education, who then make this data available to the public (MoE, 2021). This criterion is inclusive of a broad range of demographic possibilities, so long as the combined number of students who identify with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, and/or 'Other' ethnic group is at least 20 percent of the overall school roll. As such, the profiles of multiethnic schools can vary greatly, some with high concentrations of students from a single pan-ethnic group (e.g. a school in which 50 percent of students identify with an Asian ethnicity) to schools with lower concentrations of multiple ethnic groups (e.g. a school in which 10 percent of students identify with an Asian ethnicity, 10 percent with a Pasifika ethnicity, and 10 percent with a MELAA ethnicity). In principle, the criterion offered by ERO (2000) was adopted in this study as a general guideline to help initially identify schools that contain a multiethnic student population. However, acknowledging the complexity and fluidity of ethnic self-identification (Webber, 2008), as well as annual fluctuations in roll, schools were not excluded from participation if they narrowly missed the target of 20 percent non-Māori and non-European student population.

The second criterion, a perceived strong commitment to sustaining te ao Māori, is an active disposition held by a school, evident in conscious decisions and strategic actions that positively and significantly impact Māori students and communities (Berryman & Eley, 2019; M. Durie, 2003). Not all schools in Aotearoa share a strong commitment to sustaining te ao Māori (Macfarlane, 2004; Penetito, 2010; Office of Auditor General, 2016). It was important for this study that participating schools exhibited a 'potential-focused' commitment (Berryman et al, 2017). As part of the *Kia Eke Panuku* reform initiative to more effectively

support Māori students across New Zealand's secondary schools, Berryman et al. (2015) identified five inter-related dimensions that are markers of this disposition:

1. transformative leadership
2. evidence-based inquiry
3. culturally responsive and relational contexts for learning
4. educationally powerful connections among school, whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organizations
5. literacy, numeracy and te reo across the curriculum

These key "levers for accelerated school reform" are multifaceted, manifest in a number of potential avenues across school life, uniquely shaped by a local context (Berryman et al., 2017, p.534). Partnerships with tangata whenua, school board priorities, reports and publications, school staffing, awards and achievements, facilities, community reputation, and targeted initiatives are but a small number of the potential avenues that may indicate a school's commitment to te ao Māori. These measures are not fixed, rather schools move dynamically in both positive and negative directions within these measures over time (Berryman et al., 2015). Some of these indicators are publicly available (e.g. MoE publications, ERO reports, school websites, media releases, etc.), other indicators are private (e.g. planning documents, unpublished reports or awards, facilities, staffing, taonga, artifacts, etc.). Table 4.1 (Summary of Participating Schools) offers the key indicators evident in each of the participating schools, linked to the five dimensions of *Kia Eke Panuku*. The process of recruiting schools that were multiethnic and expressly committed to sustaining te ao Māori follows.

4.4.3 School Recruitment

A pool of ten potential English-medium secondary schools was assembled from my personal network and from the extensive networks of my doctoral supervisors. All ten of these school were demographically multiethnic and committed to sustaining te ao Māori. While not restricted to any particular geographic location, the scope and resources which frame a doctoral study provided that the research would be limited to Te Ika-a-Māui/the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. The principals of each of these ten schools were contacted via

email and offered an introduction to the study. From December 2019 to January 2020, informal meetings were arranged with six principals who expressed an initial interest in participation. In adhering to Culturally Responsive Methodologies (Berryman et al., 2013), which are themselves predicated upon Kaupapa Māori Methodologies (L.T. Smith, 2012), it was important that these meetings be held *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) and be rooted in *whakawhanaungatanga* (the process of building relationships and making connections) (Bishop, 1996). As such, generous time was allotted to the sharing of backgrounds, of positionings, and of experiences that have brought us to the present. In addition to clarifying the terms of engagement, this process sought the establishment of a reciprocal relationship, guarded by an ethic of care (Glynn, 2013; Webber, 2019). Principals were invited share the successes and challenges unique to their schools, and I was also able to more fully articulate the research aim and objectives.

Following these meetings, it became evident that one of schools did not meet the criteria to participate, and a second would be unavailable to participate in the upcoming school year due to staff reorganization. These initial meetings confirmed that the remaining four schools would be excellent candidates to inform the research question, a heterogenous collective capturing a wide array of perspectives, spanning multiple geographic regions. Each school was provided an information sheet (Appendix 1) and a consent form (Appendix 2) to participate on behalf of their organization. Table 4.1 offers a summary of the four schools.

Table 4.1

Summary of Participating Schools

Name	Area Type	Year Levels & Roll	Criterion #1 Multiethnic Student Population	Criterion #2 Indicators of Commitment to te ao Māori
School A	Suburban	Years 9-13 543 students	Māori: 34% European: 45% Asian: 9% Pasifika: 10% MELAA/Other:2%	-Partnerships with iwi/hapū -Marae ā-kura -Prime Minister Award Nominee: Māori Achievement
School B	Rural	Years 7-13 461 students	Māori: 47% European: 36% Asian: 5% Pasifika: 7% MELAA/Other:6%	-Partnerships with iwi/hapū - Marae ā-kura -Underpinning Values
School C	Urban	Years 9-15 969 students	Māori: 13% European: 43% Asian: 29% Pasifika: 7% MELAA/Other:8%	-Marae-ā-kura -Māori Performing Arts (MPA) & Kapa Haka -Authentic learning opportunities
School D	Urban	Years 9-13 928 students	Māori: 13% European: 1% Asian: 15% Pasifika: 70% MELAA/Other:<1%	-Marae ā-kura -Normalization of te reo Māori -Kapa Haka

Note. Year Levels, School Roll, and Student Population (Criterion #1) are provided by the Ministry of Education (2021), based on the 1 July 2018 roll return. Indicators of commitment to te ao Māori (Criterion #2) are adapted from Berryman et al. (2015).

4.4.4 COVID-19

In March 2020, on the cusp of revisiting schools to begin the data collection process, the COVID-19 pandemic hit New Zealand. The country went into a full lockdown for five weeks, shutting down all schools and other non-essential enterprises. Remarkably, as schools reopened in May 2020, three out of four participating schools remained interested in continuing their participation. One school, School D, chose to withdraw from the study as a result of residual effects of COVID-19, the principal remarking with exasperation, “We’re operating basically 5 weeks behind”. The three remaining schools, School A, B, and C, all

expressed a very high level of interest in this study and were committed to continue participation. One principal expressed the sentiment in an email, "I think the work you're doing is incredibly important to Aotearoa"; and another "We too remain interested to know how our non-Māori students are engaging in te ao Māori". In addition to being encouraging, these comments were viewed as a further endorsement of the overall relevance of the research questions. The 'seal of approval' from principals was crucial in establishing relationships of trust with other participants, allaying potential suspicions about the research or the researcher (Ryan et al., 2011). These three schools would provide the three case studies found in this thesis. They are not a not a representative sample, but a purposeful sample chosen for their ability to shed unique insights into how certain multiethnic English-medium secondary schools are sustaining te ao Māori.

4.5 Data Collection

This section will outline how individual participants were selected from within participating schools, and the methods of data collection used. Table 4.2 aligns the research sub-questions, participants, and methods of data collection. The rationale behind these choices is explored more in depth in the following section, along with an overview of the process.

Table 4.2
Summary of Research Design

Sub-question	Participant(s)	Methods
1. How is te ao Māori being defined, positioned, and engaged with in a multiethnic English-medium school setting?	Senior School Leadership Teacher Advocates	Semi-structured Interview
		Gathering of Artifacts
2. In what ways are formal and informal school experiences influencing the dispositions and attitudes toward te ao Māori among ethnically diverse students?	Senior Secondary Students	Student Focus Group
3. What are aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori in the education of their children?	Families of Focus Group Participants	Written Questionnaire
		Follow Up Semi-structured Interview

4.5.1 Sub-question #1

How is te ao Māori being defined, positioned, and engaged with in a multiethnic English-medium school setting?

School leadership plays a crucial role in the formation of student attitudes and beliefs toward identity and ethnicity (Banks, 2006; Kukutai & Webber, 2017; Cardno et al., 2017). Following a school's formal agreement to participate in the study, input from senior leadership was sought to inform the first research sub-question. Semi-structured interviews (Kvale, 1996; Hesse-Biber, 2017) with school leadership were conducted to help frame the overall context of the school and school community. Within social research, interviews have long-been esteemed as the "foundational method…to collect opinions, experiences, emotions, and in-depth stories of participant" (R. Williams, 2021, p.462). Prior to the interview, each principal was offered an information sheet (Appendix 3) and an interview consent form (Appendix 4). Interview questions were crafted to better understand the school's unique vision, aspirations, and commitment towards te ao Māori. Underpinning these conversations was Kvale's (1996) assertion that interviews can be "construction sites of knowledge" (p.2). Following Rubin and Rubin's (2005) method of responsive interviewing, these interviews were highly conversational, emerging as gently guided extended discussions that moved fluidly around the interview schedule (Appendix 5). The interview schedule itself was premised on the validity and primacy of te ao Māori, seeking to identify the ways that schools *are* engaging with te ao Māori (Stewart, 2017). These conversations churned through more concrete matters such as program offerings and participation rates, as well as more nuanced matters such as positioning, inclusion, and normalization of te ao Māori.

In total, three interviews with school leadership were conducted with five participants. Principals were given opportunity to invite another school leader of their choice to the interview. Two of the three principals invited a deputy principal to join the interview. The third principal did not elect to invite another leader. This was intended to allow principals the opportunity to become more than a participant, but a co-researcher in helping to design the interview process. Berryman et al. (2013) suggests that "potential new knowledge can emerge when both parties are able to act as co-researchers in the co-creation of new

knowledge" (p.22). This potential was particularly evident in one of the interviews in which the principal remarked enthusiastically, on several occasions, "Oh wow" to comments made by a deputy principal, as new knowledge and new understandings would emerge. The interviews were audio-recorded and later transcribed by the researcher. All interviewees were given the opportunity to review their transcripts for accuracy and to provide additional comments. Interviews were held in the principal's office, and lasted between 60 and 90 minutes.

To support and further inform the interview, artifacts were documented such as school policies, curriculum plans, taonga (korowai, whakairo, etc.), and other school symbols. As Mutch (2005) opines, "objects of historical or cultural significance, everyday objects, artworks, models" can provide access to additional insights that are outside the scope of an interview (p.51). Towards this end, all participants were eager to share a number of objects including photos, videos, awards, and presentations with the researchers. Many of these artifacts were indicative of a transfer of policy to practice. Participants also extended invitations to attend several school events related to the research project. The interviews, coupled with the gathering of artifacts, set the scene by providing the background information, expectations, and a common language that would inform subsequent interactions with students and their families.

4.5.2 Sub-question #2

In what ways are formal and informal school experiences influencing the dispositions and attitudes toward te ao Māori among ethnically diverse students?

While semi-structured interviews with school leadership offered significant insight into the overall school context and vision, Sleeter (2018) supposes that what senior school leadership "think are the key issues and best solution are not necessarily the same as what students, parents, and community members from non-dominant groups think" (p.15). Placing the student experience at the heart of this study is to acknowledge students as the authors and experts of their own experiences (Josselson, 2004). An insistence on meaningful engagement and active involvement of students in educational research has been asserted since the 1990s (Cook-Sather, 2018). Fielding (2004, 2007) suggests it is a fundamental student right to be

heard, their experiences recorded in their own words. He suggests a pattern of partnership between students and teachers, or students and researchers, premised on the validity of student perspective and voice. One of the key roles of the researcher is to empower the use of that voice (Bourke & Loveridge, 2018).

Following the interviews with school leadership, student focus groups were assembled to capture student voices as they addressed this second research sub-question. In crafting an epistemology of focus groups, Lezaun (2007) offers the following frank remarks:

> Provoking a conversation among a small group of people gathered in a room has become a widespread way of generating useful knowledge. (p.130)

As he unpacks the genealogy of focus groups, Lezaun describes focus groups as one of the most pervasive tools for investigation in the social sciences, "relevant to a striking range of objects" (Lezaun, 2007, p.130). As such, Price and Hawkins (2002) assert that "the focus group has become the qualitative method *par excellence"* (p.1327). Underpinning this assertion is a belief in the unique power of social dynamics and dialogue to reveal authentic opinions and construct new knowledge. Rinkus et al. (2021) states, "The value of focus groups lies in the power of interaction to reveal the nature and nuance of collective or divergent understandings" (p.336). Kamberelis and Dminitridas (2011) refer to this as the "synergistic potential" which can "often produce data that are seldom produced through individual interviewing and observation and that yield particularly powerful knowledges and insights" (p.559).

Focus groups provide an authentic platform to narrate students' experience, offering the researcher "access to social interactional dynamics that produced particular memories, positions, ideologies, practices and desires among specific groups of people" (Kamberelis & Dminitridas, 2011, p.559). For this study, "the specific group of people" are senior secondary students who self-identify with an ethnicity other than Māori or European. While the educational experiences of students identifying as European or Māori have "been meticulously gathered, analysed and reported on" over the last 20 years (Berryman & Eley, 2018, p.104), very little is known of the experiences of students identifying with an Asian,

Pasifika, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicity in Aotearoa New Zealand (Salahshour, 2020; Wevers, 2006). To address this gap, Gonzalez et al. (2017) posits that student voice research is one of the most promising avenues to open up "spaces and capacities for racial and ethnic historically marginalized youth to play key roles in school change" (p.451). As such, Pearce and Wood (2019) note, "the need for student voice work may never have been greater" than it is today (p.127).

Commentators suppose that the focus group is grounded on the 'deceptively simple' premise that participants themselves are the holders and distributors of valuable information (Lezaun, 2007). One of the key challenges, or the deception that lies within the perceived simplicity, is to ensure the persistence of a climate conductive to authentic dialogue (Pearce & Wood, 2019). Dialogue in focus groups is a generative, collaborative, relational process characterized by the "nonjudgmental open exchange of ideas" (Costantino, 2008, p.213). This position follows Freire's (1987, 2004) insistence on the liberatory power held by critical dialogue as a method of investigation and transformation. Thus, encouraging, engaging and maintaining authentic dialogue that enables all participants to communicate "in culturally credible ways" is a crucial task of the researcher (Wilkinson & Wilkinson, 2018, p.6). Luzaun (2007) refers to this as maintaining the "productive liveliness of the interaction" (p.133).

Following Higgins and Rewi's assertion that student dispositions and attitudes are "undoubtedly a most important factor" in the regeneration and normalization of te ao Māori (2014, p.8), an interview guide was constructed to explore student perceptions. Of particular interest was to better understand how formal and/or informal school experiences are influencing dispositions and attitudes toward te ao Māori. Royal (2007) suggests that inspirational educational experiences hold the potential to ignite a lifelong journey of understanding and action. He refers to these as 'touchstone experiences':

> A 'touchstone' experience is a moving experience, one that 'touches' a chord or a note within. These experiences might be meeting certain individuals or visiting an inspirational locality or setting. Sometimes walking upon a marae, or a pā or upon one's ancestral mountain can be a moving experience which has imparted some kind of lesson or learning to that person. Sometimes the experience might be somewhat

> negative but has nevertheless brought out a resolve in a person to work in a particular way or to create something in reaction to that experience. (p.72)

Focus group topics probed both general school experiences, as well as those experiences more directly associated with engagement in te ao Māori, in hopes of revealing 'touchstone experiences'. Although an interview schedule was present (Appendix 8), it was seldom referenced in the focus groups, allowing the participants the opportunity to guide the conversation. By doing so, the researcher was able to step further into the background, empowering the participants "to drive the discourse in ways that they see is important" (R. Williams, 2021, p.456). Such a strategy led one student to comment at the conclusion of a session, "Sorry if we didn't answer all of these [questions]", pointing to the interview schedule. While the student was apologetically noting a perceived failure, from a dialogical standpoint she was indicating a successful encounter in the co-construction of knowledge (Ravitch & Riggan, 2012).

Potential student participants for the focus groups were initially identified and contacted by school leadership. The criteria for participation were: (1) self-identification with an ethnicity other than Māori or European, and (2) enrollment as a senior secondary student (Years 11-13). This criteria was intended to encourage the collection of a wide array of voices, ensuring a plurality of perspectives. Aligned with Culturally Responsive Methodologies, rather than viewing this plurality as limiting, engaging with multiple sources is imperative (Berryman et al., 2013). Potential participants identified by school leadership came from a great variety of ethnocultural backgrounds (see Table 4.3 Summary of Participants). Each was offered a brief introduction to the study (Appendix 6), and a consent form to participate, signed by both student and parent (Appendix 7). Rudduck & Fielding (2006) suggest a depth and richness in student voice when the matter is of particular interest to them. This research was entirely voluntary, and participating students demonstrated both eagerness and enthusiasm to offer their perspectives.

In total, 4 focus groups were held across the 3 schools. Each focus group contained 3-5 participants. Focus group sessions were held in meeting rooms at school, lasting between 45 and 60 minutes. The focus groups began with outlining the ground rules to ensure

confidentiality and authenticity. The sessions were audio-recorded and later transcribed by the researcher. Participants were given the opportunity to review the final report and offer further comments. A total of 16 students graciously shared their experiences in these focus groups. Their experiences are the heart of the study, and I endeavor to honor their voices (Cook-Sather, 2018).

4.5.3 Sub-question #3

What are aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori in the education of their children?

Parental[27] aspirations and expectations have a profound influence on a child's beliefs and behaviours (Chan, 2020; Elliot et al., 2001). While acknowledging the importance of school, Nash (2006) asserts "the primacy of the home" in the formulation student attitudes (p.158). Understanding the aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning the place of te ao Māori in the education of their children is the third and final research sub-question. To address this perspective, the families of students who participated in the focus groups were also invited to participate in the study. Following the focus groups, students were offered an information sheet (Appendix 9) and an open-ended written questionnaire (Mutch, 2005) for their families to complete (Appendix 10). Open-ended written questionnaires can provide an accessible format for participants who may find face-to-face interview intimidating due to social, cultural, or linguistic considerations (Wilkinson & Wilkinson, 2018). This format can provide the opportunity to offer descriptions and narratives in one's own words that can evoke a more candid response, especially when concerning matters of sensitivity (Mutch, 2005). Written questionnaires offer the provision of time (completed at one's own pace), space (completed in one's preferred environment), and access to tools (assistive technology, social networks, translation services) that facilitate participation (Wilkinson & Wilkinson, 2018). As a secondary function, this questionnaire also served as a recruitment tool for families to indicate an interest in an optional follow-up semi-structured interview. This semi-

[27] 'Families', 'parents', or 'whānau' are used as place holders to refer to the wider collection of people providing a 'home' influence. This position aligns with Royal's (2007) contention that "true whānau is that collection of people which enables the individual person to mature; that is to be born from one state to another" (p.50).

structured interview was built upon the written questionnaire, allowing for a fuller and richer voice, from the perspective of a family.

There is always an inevitable challenge in sending home permissions or assignments; not everything sent home will be returned. Families are busy, things get misplaced, interest might be lacking (Wilkinson & Wilkinson, 2018). Given this inherent challenge in returning written questionnaires, identifying and engaging with key community members to liaise with families was crucial. At all schools, either the principal or deputy principal served as a critical mediator, very much a co-researcher, in contacting, and recontacting, students and/or families to explain and encourage participation (Fielding, 2004). In total, seven questionnaires were submitted, all of which were completed by parents. The response rate was just under 50%, a rate that was anticipated given the 'hard-to-reach' nature of families from minoritized populations (Tyldum, 2021). The questionnaires that were returned contained wonderfully rich insights.

From these seven questionnaires, one family indicated a willingness to engage in a follow-up interview. This interview gave the opportunity to elaborate the answers offered in the written questionnaire. The interview was held in a community location picked by the participant and lasted for approximately 60 minutes. In following consistent protocol, written consent was given prior to the interview commencing (Appendix 4). A full copy of the transcripts was given to the interviewee to checking for accuracy and provide additional comments. While additional interviews would have certainly provided additional perspectives, I am very grateful for the parent that did choose to participate as he was uniquely placed to offer an exceptional perspective, as will be presented in Chapter 5.

Supplementing the responses from families, students were also asked to assess the degree to which they perceive te ao Māori to be incorporated into their homes, and in their parents' lives. Similarly, interviews with senior school leadership probed experiences with parents from ethnically diverse backgrounds concerning te ao Māori. While in no way are these voices a substitute for a first-person parental perspective, these sources did provide additional data to better understand the educational aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori.

Amendments

In the course of data collection, it became obvious that there were key teachers at each school who were instrumental in shaping and encouraging student engagement in te ao Māori. Participating students were unanimous and vociferous in speaking of the importance of these individuals, all of whom were teachers, all of whom identified as Māori, all of whom were staunch advocates for te ao Māori. The impact of these 'teacher advocates' was unquestionable. Student experiences were colored by the programs, courses, and activities which were often initiated, implemented, and maintained by these teacher advocates. The original research design did not anticipate this and did not incorporate the perspectives of teacher advocates. Ravitch and Riggan (2012) note the strong tendency for the research process "to not behave in quite the way you expect…in a linear, tidy fashion", rather it is a "generative messiness" is the norm (p.46). The researcher has a critical role to tend to this messiness, being conscious of choices to include or exclude (Pearce & Wood, 2019). Student voice research has been outspoken in the call to not only listen to what students have to say, but to act on it (Bourke & Loveridge, 2018; Gonzalez et al., 2017). Additionally, Kaupapa Māori research has been similarly insistent on maximizing the participation of Māori (L.T. Smith, 2012).

Subsequently, the research design was formally amended to include the perspective of teacher advocates. Schools were made aware of this amendment and the teacher advocates identified by students were invited to participate in the study by way of a semi-structured interview. An information sheet (Appendix 11) and consent form (Appendix 4) was offered to each teacher advocate, inviting them to the interview. While prior interviews with school leadership provided the general context of a school's engagement in te ao Māori, interviews with teacher advocates attempted to uncover the underpinnings, or the backstory. In that sense, the teacher advocates primarily helped to better inform the first research sub-question: How is te ao Māori being defined, positioned, and engaged with in multiethnic secondary schools? Additionally, interviews with teacher advocates would also touch briefly on their perceptions regarding student experiences (sub-question #2) and parental expectations (sub-question #3). These interviews followed the same protocol and ethics as the semi-structured interview with school leadership. The discussion was guided by the

interview schedule used with school leadership interviews, although the direction of the conversation gravitated away from organizational questions, towards the complexities of specific programs and activities that engage with te ao Māori. Aligned with Culturally Responsive Methodologies, a posture of humility, "a deference, an assumption of not knowing, and an act of listening" (SooHoo, 2013, p.212) marked these interviews with teacher advocates. In total three interviews, with four teacher advocates were conducted.

Overall, the focus group discussions, interviews, and questionnaires generated thoughtful and thorough sharing of ideas, as intended. School leadership, students, parents, and teacher advocates all made significant contributions to the creation of a rich tapestry of data. Additionally, detailed field notes were taken during and after data collection events to describe meaningful impressions, background information, contextual data not captured by the transcripts. A final summary of individual participants, including relevant background information, is offered in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3
Summary of Participants

Schools n=3	Senior School Leadership n=5	Students n=16	Families n=7	Teacher Advocates n= 4
School A	2 1 Māori/European 1 European	5 3 Asian 1 Pasifika 1 MELAA All year 13	0	2 Māori
School B	1 European	4 3 Asian 1 Pasifika Years 11-13	3 3 Asian	1 Māori
School C	2 European	7 6 Asian 1 MELAA All year 13	4 3 Asian 1 MELAA	1 Māori

4.6 Accuracy & Authenticity

Firstly, within qualitative research it is essential to ensure the accuracy of the data collected (Mutch, 2005). The record must be a true and correct representation. To this end, all interviews were meticulously transcribed by the researcher. Being the sole transcriber

ensured the integrity of data, while also provoking a high degree of intimacy with the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Although time intensive, this process of listening and relistening allowed not only for accuracy, but also for the subtleties of tone, inference, and nuance to emerge. As a demonstration of trustworthiness, transcripts of interviews and a copy of the final report were offered to all of the interviewees to check for accuracy and amend as needed (Josselson, 2004). There were no changes to transcripts suggested by the participants, thus the transcripts can be deemed an accurate record.

Secondly, within qualitative research, authenticity, or the eliciting of authentically held beliefs and opinions from participants, is of paramount concern (Lezaun, 2007). According to Dr. Rebecca Williams (2021), it is of critical importance to continually "examine the possibility that researchers are mis-representing those who they research through inauthentic or less-authentic accounts that are given by distrustful participants" (p.454).The nuanced pursuit of authenticity has been described as "the art of research…producing a genuine personal encounter between interviewer and interviewee so that the possibilities are maximized that the interviewee will reveal meanings that are central, important, and authentic" (Josselson, 2004, p.7). The ability of the interview, whether in an individual or focus group settings, to achieve authenticity has long been questioned. Cohen (2000) refers to this struggle towards authenticity as "the difficult relationship between the 'is' and the 'ought'…that is, between how we actually behave and how ethical principles insist we should act" (p.82). As such, the researcher must continually guard against 'inauthentic or less-authentic' normative accounts of what 'ought' to be, while nurturing authentic disclosures illuminating what actually 'is' (Rinkus et al, 2021).

Significant challenges to authenticity can arise from the positionality of the researcher (Ryan et al., 2011). Positionality in social research is highly influenced by power dynamics between researcher and participant (Hesse-Biber 2017; Kvale, 2006). As Alcoff (1991) supposes, "Who is speaking to whom turns out to be as important for meaning and truth as what is said; in fact what is said turns out to change according to who is speaking and who is listening" (p.12). Research suggests that power dynamics and social location are particularly salient when adult researchers seek to engage with youth participants who may be particularly reluctant to disclose their views (Wilkinson & Wilkinson, 2018; R. Williams, 2021). In a such case, Rapley

(2011) posits that an intense focus on establishing a "cooperative, engaged relationship – centered on mutual self-disclosure – can encourage 'deep disclosure'" (p.22). Such research relationships are founded upon a level of trust wherein all participants feel comfortable to share their experiences. The building of rapport through whakawhanaungatanga, an extended time of offering introductions and building connections (Hoskins, 2017), and/or through the sharing of food are well-established approached in Kaupapa Māori methodologies to reduce the social distance between people, setting the stage for participants to feel valued and appreciated for the expertise they bring (M. Durie, 1998).

Furthermore, my unique research position as an international student, part-insider, part-outsider, served to build further trust and rapport, embodying the "critical potential to bring together insider and outsider perspectives in ways that enhance the validity of research findings" (Warr et al., 2011, p.348). On one hand, there was the unassuming presence of an outsider: not a staff member from the schools, not an external assessor, not a university 'expert'; rather in humility as a student, as a foreigner, a non-New Zealander with a curiosity in a topic unique to New Zealand. As such, an outsider position can bring an atmosphere of openness where participants are emboldened to explain and disclose in greater detail given the unassuming position of the researcher (Ryan et al., 2011). Participants are explicitly identified as the bona fide experts, the holders of knowledge and experiences uniquely situated to answer the research questions. Yet, there can also be a generalized distrust of outsiders that can "inhibit participation and self-disclosure" (Warr et al., 2011, p.345). Warr et al. (2011) therefore notes the importance of the researcher "being a local" (p.344). Thus, on the other hand, as a semi-insider, I made clear my position among participant as someone with a degree of 'shared experiences' (Ryan et al., 2011): as someone who is a geographical 'local' residing within the same greater region; as someone who was formerly a secondary teachers, comfortable working in schools and alongside young people; as someone familiar with learning languages and living cross-culturally; and as someone who is a migrant and identifies ethnically outside of the two dominant cultures in New Zealand, Māori and Pākehā (Price & Hawkins, 2002). This intentional positioning sought to minimize the social difference between participants and myself as the researcher, to create additional capacity for authenticity. As the revealed in fuller detail in the Chapter 5, the richness and rawness of the data demonstrate the authenticity of the record (Rubin & Rubin, 2005).

4.7 Analysis & Validity

Within qualitative research, analysis is the active process of discovery, aiming "to unearth the meanings inherent in the narratives we obtain, remaining faithful to the (multiple and layered) intentions of the narrator" (Josselson, 2004, p6). Rubin and Rubin (2005) call the analytical process the "art of hearing data" (p.vii). The hearing of data extends well-beyond mere audible voices and spoken words to "the 'negative spaces' of silence and omission, focusing on contradictions and inconsistencies…reading 'between the lines'" (Josselson 2004, p.18). As such, data analysis is a critical, generative, non-linear process of converting data into findings as related to the given research question (Creswell, 2012).

Within this tradition, thematic analysis is considered one of the most foundational methods of analysis (Mutch, 2005). Thematic analysis is the iterative process of "identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns" from a qualitative dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.79). These patterns are identified as the overarching themes due to as their prevalence in the dataset, as related to the research question. Themes can be identified from the data deductively, utilizing pre-existing theoretical categories to organize the dataset, or inductively, constructing categories as they emerge from the data (Patton, 2015; Ravitch & Riggan, 2012). Given the under-theorized nature of the research topic in this study, an inductive approach is best-suited to ensure "the themes identified are strongly linked to the data themselves" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.83).

Understanding was developed through an inductive thematic analysis of all data sources – interview transcripts with school leadership, teacher advocates, students, and parents, along with the written questionnaires. After a comprehensive examination of this dataset, initial codes were developed, noticing patterns of meaning and issues of potential interest related to the research questions (Price, 1999). Many of these codes were supplied by theories of Critical Multicultural Education and Kaupapa Māori, both of which pay particular attention to interplay between power, identity, and legitimacy. These codes were then applied to the entire dataset. The coded data was then collated and analyzed for repeated, broader patterns (Bruan & Clarke, 2006). These larger 'relational themes', (Kvale, 1996) would be refined and

distilled further, constantly recirculating through the dataset until the overarching themes and related sub-themes emerged. The themes that emerged were compared and synthesized with those from the literature review, drawing copiously from the deep well of te ao Māori.

The validity of the findings was ensured by means of data triangulation. Data triangulation is the process of enlisting multiple perspectives to clarify meaning (Mutch, 2005; Price, 1999; Stake, 2008). Fielding (2007) supposes that multiplicity plays a vital role preventing the homogeneity of voice. As such, findings are not represented by a singular, unanimous voice, rather they find strength as a collection of distinct, diverse voices (Cook-Sather, 2018). Michelle Fine (2012) calls this collection of voices a "kind of jazz", created when one voice is layered on top of the another (Ravitch & Riggan, 2012, p.74). Fielding (2007) goes so far as to suggests that such a plurality of experiences and perspectives is an imperative in student voice research. Kidman (2018) similarly insists that researchers must not overlook the outliers nor dismiss the voice of dissent among participants. In this study, three data sources (transcripts, artefacts, and questionnaires) derived from four perspectives (school leadership, students, families, and teacher advocates) offered the necessary multiplicity to secure an in-depth, valid understanding of emergent theory (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Patton, 2015; Price, 1999). As Miles et al. (2014) have noted, the more cases that are included, and the greater the variation of those cases will result in more convincing results, thus strengthening "the precision, the validity, and the stability of the findings" (p.33).

4.8 Ethical Considerations

This research project was assessed and approved by the Ethics Committee of Victoria University of Wellington (Appendix 12). Participation in the study was completely voluntary throughout all stages of research and participants were able to withdraw from the study at any time. Informed consent was obtained from participating schools, school leadership, families, students, and teacher advocates. Confidentiality has been embedded within all research processes to minimize potential harm. All interviews were personally transcribed by the researcher, minimizing potential for data manipulation and mishandling. Participants are referred to by either a pseudonym or by their role in a school, rather than by name. Access

to data was restricted at every phase of the research to the researcher and his doctoral supervisors.

In addition, the following Kaupapa Māori ethics deliberately framed the entirety of this research project, permeating every step of the process:

- *Whanaungatanga* - A fundamental, relational orientation favoring "risky engagement over disengagement and opposition" (Hoskins, 2017, p.104).
    - Allocating time rather than simply being on time (M. Durie, 2017)
    - Kanohi ki te kanohi – face-to-face interactions (M. Durie, 1998)
    - Enduring, reciprocal relationship
- *Aroha ki te tangata* - Aroha (love, affection, care) is foundational; all methodology must be woven with aroha (Hoskins, 2017; Webber, 2019)
- *Manaaki ki te tangata* – Be exceedingly generous in showing hospitality (M. Durie, 1998).
    - *Koha* - Where appropriate, koha (donation) was offered to acknowledge the time and efforts that participants have given for the study. Koha was offered in the form of a voucher to a bookseller, supermarket, or local café. Koha was supported by a Joint Research Committee Grant through the Faculty of Education. The extent of, and parameters for, koha was consistently revisited with my supervisors.
    - *Kai* - Refreshments were provided to participants at each interview and focus group.
- *Mana Ōrite* – Interdependent relationships that seek to maintain the mana of the other (Berryman & Eley, 2019)
    - Upholding mana Māori in Education
    - Privileging Māori ways of information gathering (Pihama, 2016)
    - Honoring participants in the presentation of data
    - Strengths-based focus (Webber, 2019)
- *Tino rangatiratanga* – Participant agency, involvement, and control
    - Shared 'control' of research; maximizing the participation and interest of Māori (L.T. Smith, 2012)

- Posture of co-researcher
- Transcript of audio recordings and final report offered to participants along with the ability to make additional comments

4.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined the methods and methodology utilized in this study. In light of the overarching research aim to better understand how the provision of a bicultural education is being impacted by a super-diverse student population, the qualitative research paradigm was proposed as the most suitable framework. The qualitative paradigm provides the interpretive tools and space necessary for a wide, in-depth exploration of diverse experiences, to "make sense of complex and shifting experiences, identities, and realities" (L.T. Smith, 2005, p.103). Within this paradigm, a multiple case study approach was adopted, examining how three English-medium secondary schools are sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population. The English-medium secondary schools best positioned to answer the research questions will be those which, (1) contain a multiethnic student population, and (2) demonstrate a strong commitment to sustaining te ao Māori. Within each case study, the views of a range of community members were sought including senior school leadership, teacher advocates, students, and families. While all of these voices are woven into the findings, the student narratives were prioritized. A detailed overview of the research design was presented, including school and participant recruitment, methods of data collection, validity and trustworthiness, and data analysis.

Culturally Responsive Methodologies [CRM] (Berryman et al., 2013) was explored as bridge linking methods with theory. Essential dimensions of CRM include an affirmation of cultural and epistemological pluralism, a recognition of the deep need for reciprocal relationships, and an active resistance towards exclusionary conventional methods of research. In endeavoring to bring a multitude of marginalized voices to the center of the research process, CRM is a well-suited methodology to guide the appropriateness of the methods and ensure the integrity of the theoretical frameworks provided by Critical Multicultural Education and Kaupapa Māori. The results of this methodological process will be outlined in next chapter.

Chapter Five: Research Findings

5.0 Introduction

Driving this research is the primary question, how are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly multiethnic student population? To answer this question, a multiple case study approach (Stake, 2008) was adopted, examining the experiences of ethnically diverse students in te ao Māori, across three distinct school communities. Student focus groups provided an authentic platform to narrate students' experiences, offering the researcher "access to social interactional dynamics that produced particular memories, positions, ideologies, practices and desires among specific groups of people" (Kamberelis & Dminitridas, 2011, p.559). Additionally, the perspectives from senior school leadership, teacher advocates, and student families were also gathered in hopes of developing a more holistic understanding of the student experience. As Kidman (2018) notes, student voice grows out of a particular socio-cultural context and is best understood as "expressions of meaning that are embedded within and shaped by the wider collective" (p.62). This chapter provides the findings that resulted from the analysis of data collected from this wider collective.

This chapter is divided into three sections, one for each of the three case studies. Each case study is broken down into five parts. Part 1 of each case study begins with an overview of the characteristics of the school community, as related specifically to the selection criteria: a significant multiethnic student population, and a firm commitment to sustaining te ao Māori (Table 4.1). Following this setting of the scene, key findings will be shared from each case organized around the research sub-questions:

- Part 2: How is te ao Māori being defined, positioned, and engaged with in multiethnic schools?
- Part 3: In what ways are formal and informal school experiences influencing the dispositions and attitudes towards te ao Māori among ethnically diverse students?
- Part 4: What are the educational aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori?

Finally, Part 5 of each case study ends with a summary of potential opportunities and challenges, raising further questions for discussion.

5.1 Case Study #1 – School A

5.1.1 Introduction

School A is situated in a mid-sized suburban town in New Zealand. The district traditionally has been largely agricultural with pockets of manufacturing. However, the district's central location between two major provincial cities, has led it to become one of the fastest growing regions of the country. The district council projects that the current population of 30,000 is expected to double to 60,000 in the next twenty years. School A is one of three co-educational state secondary schools serving this area. Student enrollments at School A have steadily grown over the last three years, reporting a roll of 543 in 2018 to 640 students in 2021 (MoE, 2021). Further, School A has seen large increases in the share of students who identify with an ethnicity other than Māori or European. Students who self-identify with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicity now comprises over 20 percent of student population. An additional 34 percent of students identify as Māori. A firm commitment to sustaining te ao Māori at School A was noted across interviews and artifacts. This commitment was evident in a strong partnership with iwi holding mana whenua, in the centrality of the marae ā-kura, and in the programs dedicated to Māori student success. The nature of the multiethnic population and the commitment to te ao Māori are further elaborated below, prior to offering an introduction of the participating students.

Multiethnic Student Population

The population at School A has grown not only in terms of volume, but also in terms of ethnic diversity. From 2000 to 2020, students who identify with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicity has increased from 5 percent to 21 percent of the total school population (MoE, 2021). Combined with the 34 percent of students who identify as Māori, non-European students today make up the numerical majority of the students at School A, composing 55 percent of the total roll. On the other hand, from 2000 to 2020, the percentage of students who identify as European has decreased significantly from 74 percent down to 45 percent

(MoE, 2021). The demographics at School A are reflective of larger trends that are occurring to various degrees throughout much of the rest of the country. From the 2001 to the 2018 census, the percentage of European population nationwide has decreased by nearly 10 percent, dropping from 79 percent to 70 percent, while all other ethnic groups have increased their share of the population (Stats NZ, 2021).

While the most significant increases in ethnic diversity nationally over the last 20 years have been within those identifying with an Asian ethnicity, School A has seen the most growth in its Pasifika population. Comprising less that 2 percent of the school population in 2000, this population grew to 7 percent in 2010, then nearly doubled again in 2020 to over 13 percent (MoE, 2021). Within that broad Pasifika grouping, there is also a high degree of diversity with nearly equal amounts of students who identify as Samoan and Tongan, alongside a significant number of students from a variety of Pacific Island nations. Indeed, in experiencing School A's Flag Day Assembly, some of the most vocal applause was at the presentation of the Tuvaluan and Kiribati flags. The principal of School A was quick to acknowledge the significance of the Pasifika population within the school community. He also referred to a projection that in the next 20 years this region will be home to the largest population of Pasifika families in New Zealand, south of Auckland.

Commitment to te ao Māori

Berryman et al. (2015) identified 5 crucial characteristics that underpin a school's commitment to sustaining te ao Māori: (1) transformative leadership, (2) evidence-based inquiry, (3) culturally responsive and relational contexts for learning, (4) educationally powerful connections among school, whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organizations, and (5) literacy, numeracy and te reo across the curriculum (See Chapter 4.4.3). Each of these dimensions is multifaceted and inter-related, with the potential to be manifest in a number of avenues across school life, uniquely shaped by a local context (Berryman et al., 2015). As previously offered in Table 4.1, School A's commitment to te ao Māori is well-evident in the following indicators: a strong partnership with iwi holding mana whenua, the centrality of the marae ā-kura, and effective programs dedicated to Māori student success. These indicators

each offer deeper insight into the fabric of the school community and will be further explored below.

Indicator 1: Iwi Partnership

Artifacts and interviews with senior school leadership (SL1 and SL2) and teacher advocates (TA1 and TA2) at School A indicate a strong partnership with iwi holding mana whenua. Significantly, both teacher advocates at School A whakapapa to local iwi. One of the ways the strength of this partnership was manifest this year was in a Professional Learning and Development (PLD) day at the beginning of the year hosted by iwi. The day was a rich in tikanga ā-iwi, mātauranga ā-iwi, and reo ā-iwi. For School A, providing PLD in the context of a fair partnership goes deeper than symbolic acknowledgement:

> It's an iwi-partnership day…We didn't have to have a flash speaker in, we didn't need to have Doctor so-and-so to talk about that. It was all the iwi stage….And [afterwards] everyone was like, 'That was a mean day!' (TA1)

Indicator 2: Marae ā-kura

The second indicator of School A's commitment to te ao Māori is the centrality of the marae ā-kura. Physically, the stately entrance to the school is framed by the marae ā-kura, which stands prominently off to one side, guarding the comings and goings of the school. The whakairo and kōwhaiwhai inside speak to place-based cultural narratives, acknowledging *tūpuna* (ancestors) and local geographic features. Interviews with school leadership indicated that the marae ā-kura was built in 1990s with the explicit purpose of addressing existing inequality:

> [It is] a building that is recognizably Māori…and they put it right at the front. That was the beginning of an acknowledgement that yes there are Māori kids at our school. (SL2)

Indicator 3: Programs for Māori Student Success

Finally, School A's commitment to te ao Māori is well-noted in their dedicated program for Māori student success. The Mauri Ora program is specifically designed for students who identify as Māori to increase their academic achievement, as Māori. The program was designed by the Head of Māori, 11 years ago, inspired by *Ka Hikitia* (MoE, 2008), the Ministry of Education's overarching Māori Education strategy (see Chapter 2.2.3). The Mauri Ora program has grown substantially over the years, from a founding cohort of 11 to a group of now well over 75. Students involved in Mauri Ora have consistently outperformed all other ethnic groups at School A in terms of NCEA[28] results. The success of the Mauri Ora program has led to a recent nomination for a Prime Minister's Award in Educational Excellence. Interviews with both school leadership and teacher advocates confirm that School A has a strong vision and commitment to te ao Māori for Māori students, but the vision for non-Māori in te ao Māori is more ambiguous. It is to those stories, of how non-Māori are engaging in te ao Māori, I now turn.

The Student Experience

The student experience is at the heart of each case study. Centering on the student experience is to acknowledge students as the experts of their own experiences; it is to acknowledge students as being competent to voice their opinions (Fielding, 2004, 2007). Five students at School A voluntarily participated in a focus group, nominated by senior school leadership. All were Year 13 students, all were actively engaged at school in a variety of capacities – recognized leaders in sport, arts, and academic endeavors. These five students came from a great variety of ethnolinguistic and sociocultural backgrounds – some monolingual, others multilingual; some were born overseas, others born in New Zealand; some were children of police officers, others the children of market gardeners. They all self-identified with an ethnicity other than Māori or European. The names of the students have been switched to a pseudonym to preserve their confidentiality. Students have been randomly accorded a number (1-5) that will be used rather than their names. This number is preceded by the letter 'A', noting their position as a student in School A (e.g. A1, A2, etc.). I

[28]National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) is New Zealand's overarching national assessment system for secondary schools. There are 3 levels of NCEA certificates, increasing in difficulty from Level 1 to Level 3 (see Hipkins et al., 2016).

am honored to share their remarkable stories and would like to introduce them now, in the manner in which they have chosen to introduce themselves.

> My name is A1. I am Chinese and I grew up speaking Chinese as my first language.
>
> Hello my name is A2. I actually grew up in India, well I was actually born in New Zealand but my parents sent me to India when I was like 6 months, came back when I was 4 years old, and I speak a little bit of Hindi, and English.
>
> I'm A3. I was born in the Philippines but I moved here when I was like 4. I speak Bisaya and Tagalog, as well as English.
>
> Hello, I'm A4 and I was born in the Kingdom of Tonga. I moved here when I was 2. So English is my second language.
>
> My name is A5. I was born in Durban, South Africa. I moved here when I was 5 and English is my first language

In attempting to answer the primary research question: How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population, these five Year 13 students participated in a focus group. The results of this focus group are offered below, aligned to the three research sub-questions.

5.1.2 Defining, Positioning, and Engaging Te Ao Māori

Introduction

The first research sub-question aims to understand the unique ways in which te ao Māori is being defined, positioned and engaged with by ethnically diverse students at School A. To address this question students were asked to share some of the concepts that come to mind when they think of te ao Māori. The focus group format is particularly well suited for this type of open-ended question in which one participant's response can trigger a response from another participant (Kamberelis & Dminitridas, 2011; Mutch, 2005). Additionally, interviews

with senior school leadership and teacher advocates were conducted, exposing contextual details and institutional insights from which the student voice emerges. All of these sources are woven into the findings.

The overall findings from this section indicate that te ao Māori is purposefully engaged with via dedicated courses and schoolwide practices in the junior years (9-10) of study at School A. Courses and practices established in Year 9 serve to bring te ao Māori to the center. However, the initial heavy engagement in the junior years tapers off significantly in the senior years (11-13), leading to inconsistent and limited opportunities. Te ao Māori is positioned to be something vital to the junior years, but without a secure place in the senior School.

Defining and Positioning

Leading the student focus groups was a general discussion seeking insight into the ways in which te ao Māori is being defined and positioned by students from ethnically diverse backgrounds at School A. Aside from the phrase "te ao Māori, or the Māori world", students were not offered examples or guidance that might be suggestive of what te ao Māori might, or might not, be inclusive of. Students were able to draw from the well of their own personal experiences to form a free flow of ideas and associations. Students responded with a number of broad concepts including:

- The culture and language (A1)
- Rituals and traditions (A5)
- Myths and legends (A2)
- Māori beliefs (A5)

Students were asked to narrow in more specifically on what they hold to be the key components of te ao Māori. The haka, and the school haka in particular, were mentioned at the first instance, and by all students. The expectation at School A of active involvement in the school haka, by all students, was articulated by A3:

> It was compulsory, even if you were Asian or Islander, you just had to do it…But I'm kinda glad they made us do it 'cos it helped me to understand Māori culture.

Interviews with school leadership and teacher advocates similarly indicated that the school haka was one of the central components defining in te ao Māori at School A, with participation expected from all students, and staff:

> I think the biggest time…is the haka comp where everybody has to do the haka. It's probably the most visible way that shows everyone engaging in something Māori really. (TA1)
>
> It's become part of how we celebrate, and the kids find it quite normal to do so. (SL2)
>
> It's become part of who they are…so a haka is very natural. (SL1)

The responses offered by senior school leadership and teacher advocates utilize the descriptors 'visible', 'normal', and 'natural'. Students from School A similarly indicated a positioning of te ao Māori, whereby "It's just become normal to us now" (A3), a comment affirmed by all in the focus group. A3 went on to describe a sense in which te ao Māori uniquely belongs here and forms "the background of New Zealand". The word 'background' was not used to communicate a subservience, as in being *in* the background, rather it was used to express a pervasiveness, as in te ao Māori *is* the background against which all of life unfolds. From the perspective of these students, te ao Māori is everywhere, in everything, at all times. And since they find themselves living against this background, naturally they would engage with te ao Māori. The specific ways of engagement spoken of by students at School A are offered below.

Engaging

Engagement in te ao Māori at School A is anchored by a compulsory, trimester long Tikanga Māori class offered in Year 9. The following quote is one student's description of the content, and influence, of the class:

> …where you learn about the culture and a little bit of the language. For me, up until Year 8 I'd only really known about it [te ao Māori] as in some of the tales of Māui.

> There wasn't too much background there. But since coming to [School A] and going through that class and learning about going into a marae, and the customs, and things like that. That was the main experience that kinda brought up my views. (A5)

Interviews with school leadership and teacher advocates further confirm that the Tikanga Māori course is a longstanding, significant opportunity for all students to engage with te ao Māori at School A:

> We've had that [course] for quite a long time…it was always compulsory, and it was always that thing of making everybody aware of te ao Māori. (SL2)

> So I get every Year 9…and we cover things like: What is a whare? We do our whare; we all do it together. We don't learn Māui as a legend; we learn about [our tūpuna], we learn about naming our rivers. We do waiata; we laugh; we sing; we do a pōwhiri. By the time I've hooked them in, we do A-E-I-O-U…and we laugh and laugh and laugh. (TA1)

> By the end of Tikanga….Pākehā kids, Asian kids, stand up, do karanga, do whaikorero, and then you have a chance to just mihi them, like, far out man I can't believe what you fellas have learnt and I'd be saying, 'You guys are amazing'. (TA1)

As TA1 expressed, the Tikanga Māori course at School A provides a strong foundational awareness of te ao Māori for *all* students, steeped in iwi-tanga, upon entry to the college. Quite intentionally, the marae ā-kura at School A is the location for all Tikanga Māori courses, providing a culturally-rich environment where students engage with te ao Māori. However, when students were asked about their current involvement in the marae ā-kura, now in Year 13, they commented,

> It's been years! (A3)

> You might go in there for meetings, sometimes, but not really. (A1)

> Unless you take the subject [Te Reo Māori] you don't really go in there. (A5)

The teacher advocates from School A also noted this pattern:

> In Year 9 when they're coming to Tikanga in the whare that's the only sort of participation or engagement in that world, in our world. (TA2)

One of the aims of Year 9 Tikanga Māori is to foment interest in Te Reo Māori as an option in Years 10 and beyond. Despite this intent, none of the students interviewed had taken Te Reo Māori as an option. When asked about this decision, students offered a variety of reasons:

> I think it's quite difficult if you don't want to pursue a career in Māori teaching or whatever. It's kinda hard to fit in your subject lines. For people who are doing Medicine, you've got three Sciences, and a Maths, and so you're filled. Same for other subjects I think. (A1)

> It's be too hectic. (A2)

> Knowing that you have another commitment, like learning te reo Māori, would probably just add to the pressure. (A1)

> NCEA makes it a little difficult sometimes when you have your own subjects which directly relate, and this [Te Reo Māori] doesn't look like it relates. (A5)

It is important to note that none the students interviewed at School A have taken any language courses. Students noted that the language options are extremely limited; the Japanese classes are extremely small, and Spanish, the other language option, has ceased altogether. Therefore, the absence of engagement in te reo Māori shouldn't be considered a lack of ambition necessarily, but must be considered in light a lack of options. This dilemma was acknowledged by school leadership:

> Through the seniors, what we tend to find is that as a career path gets more and more defined, and they know what subjects they need to get that career, often it's the languages that drops off…they narrow their number of subjects. Sometimes they have more of a love for them but are not needing them for their career path. (SL1)

Or, in the words of one student:

> In the senior school I imagine that's when you focus on your future…when you start actually focusing – 'I'm going to do this, and I can't be risking subjects that I'm never going to use in the future'. (A3)

Ironically, it was also acknowledged by school leadership that within such a focus on careers, te reo Māori plays an increasingly significant role in the future of all in Aotearoa New Zealand:

> Now the interesting thing is that te reo Māori, in any career now, is a significant feather in your cap. And so we are in a time I think when that's becoming, it's not yet fully appreciated, but its growing in its appreciation. There's not the conversation at the moment where the student is saying, 'Shall I do chemistry at [NCEA] Level 3 or shall I do my Level 3 Te Reo Māori?' That's not a question at the moment, it's the chemistry because that's what the university is saying if they're headed into tertiary. But it becomes a bit of a dilemma when they come to senior school as to whether they carry on with te reo. (SL1)

Students were also asked the degree to which te reo Māori or mātauranga Māori is integrated within their other classes. Two of the students were quick to identify Business Studies, mentioning that for each assessment there was a requirement to integrate a Māori business concept. When asked further about the nature of the integration, one of two students spoke of rather superficial learning:

> It's easy for us. It's not something you have to memorize. (A3)

Memorization in this sense is referring to deeper learning, or that which would require deeper effort. Another student, who is studying Health, mentioned:

> Sometimes we talk about Māori medicines and how they work (A4).

She then qualified her answer, adding:

> But it's not in depth (A4).

School leadership state that there is "general goodwill" towards the integration of te ao Māori within subjects, but also acknowledges that it's "patchy" and tends to be "superficial":

> It's a developing space…and happens, but it can happen more. It is a growing space. (SL1)

This sentiment was confirmed by teacher advocates:

> We're looking at how we can implement or embed some of our ideologies and our tikanga into the system; that actually it's not just – 'This is the Māori class, and everything else is different', but a little bit of Māori everywhere. (TA2)

Summary

Conversations from the student focus group at School A indicate that te ao Māori is being defined by ethnically diverse students in terms of culture, language, traditions, and beliefs. Te ao Māori is positioned as 'the background of New Zealand', something that uniquely fits or belongs, something that it is 'normal to us'. This normalization is the result of significant engagement with te ao Māori centered around the compulsory Tikanga Māori class offered in Year 9. The course was spoken of as 'the main experience' influencing students views concerning te ao Māori. The school haka is also learnt in Year 9, and remains an anchor point connecting students to te ao Māori throughout their college years. However, the heavy engagement in the junior years, and in particular Year 9, tapers off in the senior years. Consistent opportunities to engage with te reo Māori or mātauranga Māori, either as an

option or embedded in other courses, is limited. When te ao Māori is engaged in the senior years, students commented that it tends to take the shape of superficial learning, something students could readily identify. While the value of te ao Māori was never questioned by students, where it fits within senior school is uncertain as engagement in te ao Māori is perceived to be not vital for university entrance, not vital to NCEA, and thus not vital to senior students. The manner in which normative discourses serve to frame te ao Māori as juvenile, with a waning relevance beyond Year 9 is a key finding that will be explored further in Chapter 6.1.

5.1.3 Dispositions and Attitudes Towards Te Ao Māori

Introduction

While the prior section focused on how te ao Māori is being defined, positioned, and engaged with in School A, this section examines the ways in which formal and informal school experiences have influenced student dispositions and attitudes towards te ao Māori. To gauge dispositions and attitudes, students were first prompted to discuss some of their most memorable school experiences in te ao Māori. School experiences could be formal, as in those directly tied to a course, or more informal, as in class trips and sports. These experiences could be from recent years at secondary school, or from more distant years at intermediate or primary school. Experiences could be memorable due to positive, or negative associations. The overall finding of this section was that among the students interviewed, dispositions towards te ao Māori were exceedingly favorable, marked by an attitude of embrace. This positive affect was directly related to one particularly powerful encounter, a *noho marae* (overnight marae stay). Another key finding was the disclosure of unique forms of resistance experienced by students from ethnically diverse backgrounds which serve to discourage a deeper embrace of te ao Māori.

Memorable Experiences

When students were asked to share some of their most memorable experiences within te ao Māori, the students unanimously spoke of a noho marae held at the beginning of the year as a capstone experience in te ao Māori. All of the students shared strong memories from this trip, making note of the pōwhiri, sessions on marae history and iwi history, alongside of a

variety of team-building activities. According to the focus group, feedback from the Year 13s as a whole was so overwhelmingly positive that a second noho marae to bookend the year was proposed. Upon asking more specifically what it was that made this noho marae so memorable, the students commented:

> It was just the atmosphere that the marae brings I guess. (A2)
>
> It kind of brought everyone together. It just made us closer as a year group than it would've if we went somewhere else. (A1)
>
> Tension between some people just dissipated that night. (A3)
>
> Like all that drama and stuff that we had as a group was just gone after camp. We were all closer as friends and trusted each other more. (A1)

The collective development of the values of trust, empathy, and connectedness were are the core of the noho marae experience. When students were asked if these results could've occurred if the trip were to have been held elsewhere, the students were doubtful.

Further, the noho marae served as key opportunity for perspective-taking, as illustrated in the following quote:

> At first, I kind of found it weird that, I'm not making fun the way the culture is, how they sleep in the same house with no rooms, but it's just that I'm used to having my own room and walls and privacy. But it made you see from their perspective of how family, and how everyone, sleeps side-by-side. It really made you feel like you were one of them truly, even though you're not actually Māori, so it was a good experience. (A3)

These comments speak candidly to the initial foreignness that a noho marae can bring to students from ethnically diverse backgrounds, yet they conclude by noting inclusion, empathy, and association – 'feeling like you were one of them truly'. For 3 of the 5 students,

this was their first noho marae experience. When students were asked how comfortable or competent they now feel on marae, they all expressed an increased sense of belonging and place.

Unique Challenges

Students were also asked of any unique challenges that they may have faced as non-Māori and non-European students in their engagement with te ao Māori. 4 of the 5 students were quick to offer a number of stories illustrating the interpersonal resistance they have faced. While each of these students expressed genuine interest in engaging with te ao Māori in meaningful ways, they all noted a strong sense of intimidation in "how people might react to them [as non-Māori/non-European] doing it" (A2). Students were asked to further explain the nature of the resistance they faced:

> Usually it's not from the actual Māori students. From my experience, whenever you try to pronounce something, they will always try to help you out. It's always the other students who are judging you: 'You're not them [Māori]; you'll never speak the language'. It's discouraging. (A3)
>
> At the same time, they're [other students] struggling as well, but we're not judging them. (A1)
>
> There's quite a few labels that come with it sometimes, like 'Wannabe Māori'. It's discouraging. (A2)
>
> [It's] a bit of a turn off for some people. (A5)

While careful to not explicitly name the 'other students', focus group dialogue clearly positioned the 'other students' as not 'us' (e.g. students of Asian, Pasifika, or MELAA backgrounds) and not 'the actual Māori students'. 'Other students' in this case was an implicit reference to Pākehā students, those of a European background.

Suggestions of resistance and intimidation were absent in interviews with senior school leadership. When asked of any unique challenges that non-Māori and non-European students may face, they commented:

> Probably no more so than what's on offer for the other students. (SL1)

Yet, the student experience speaks differently, indicating a heightened interpersonal resistance. Interestingly, both of the teacher advocates made references to facing interpersonal resistance as a central theme in their experiences as teachers at School A:

> If you're a te reo Māori teacher for a long time, you're always in a challenging space. It's always a different space, it's always a challenging space. (TA1)

> Usually only one or two of the staff are carrying it [te ao Māori]. And it's a huge burden, you've got all this passion and stuff, but you get worn down. (TA2)

Further, they too noted facing pervasive discouragement in their engagement in te ao Māori when they were previously students at School A:

> In my day, you were either Pākehā or you drowned… I was expected to act non-Māori and I didn't. And yeah, I got into a lot trouble. (TA1)

> I remember learning the reo and getting criticized *a lot*, by everybody… heavily criticized for doing the reo and made fun of. (TA1)

> I remember we did the kapa haka performance on stage and were nervous because we have to perform in front of all these peers, but everyone else is just taking the fun out of it…'Ah, that was funny'. Actually, that wasn't funny. This is who I am; this is me sharing who I am with you. (TA2)

Summary

Student dispositions toward te ao Māori were uniformly positive and indicated a desire to connect deeper with te ao Māori. A noho marae offered students the opportunity to experience firsthand the values of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. The power of encounter will be a key finding explored in Chapter 6.2. On the other hand, their journey towards te ao Māori has been beset by resistance and discouragement. The present-day resistance faced by students from ethnically diverse backgrounds mirrors the previous resistance faced by both teacher advocates when they were students at School A. Despite occurring decades apart, common to these experiences is the central role of Pākehā or European students in discouraging and undermining engagement in te ao Māori. While the percentage of European students has decreased markedly during this time, from 75 percent to 45 percent, the intimidation seems to remain firmly entrenched. The ways in which touchstone school experiences can serve to either centripetally draw students in, as in the case of the noho marae, or centrifugally push them away from, as in the case of interpersonal resistance, is a significant finding that will be further addressed in Chapter 6.2.

5.1.4 Family Aspirations

Introduction

The final research sub-question seeks to better understand the educational aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori. It has long been noted that the aspirations of a family can have a profound influence on the aspirations of a child (Elliot at al., 2001). While the intention of the research design was to survey families via a written questionnaire to be completed at home, students from School A were unable to return the questionnaire[29]. Nonetheless, the content of the student focus groups and interviews with school leadership and teacher advocates offered ample data to draw upon concerning the perceived aspirations of parents related to te ao Māori. The overall findings of this section indicate that parental aspirations are largely unknown to students as a result of a lack of dialogue at the home concerning te ao Māori. It was implied that this lack of dialogue stems from a lack of parental

[29] This result was anomalous among the three case studies; it is unknown why this was the so. There were repeated attempts, through multiple avenues, over the course of several weeks, all of which were unsuccessful.

exposure to te ao Māori. This finding suggests that the schools may serve as a primary gateway to accessing te ao Māori for students from ethnically diverse backgrounds.

Te ao Māori at Home

The final set of questions in the student focus group focused on the ways in which te ao Māori is being understood and included in the home. Students were asked of their general exposure to te ao Māori outside of school. Across all households, students reported either an absence or a very limited degree of dialogue at home concerning te ao Māori:

> I don't think it's a topic that's frequently discussed. (A5)

> They don't really speak about it…it's not talked about. (A1)

All of the parents of the participating students at School A were born overseas and migrated to New Zealand as adults. The formative years of their youth were spent under the formal education systems of the Philippines, China, South Africa, Tonga, and India. A2 explains this impact:

> Since they've grown up in their countries or in their upbringings, it's kinda hard trying to pick it up later in life.

Students point to this lack of dialogue on behalf of their parents as directly linked to a lack of exposure or involvement. In no case did students note that their parents deem te ao Māori as unimportant, insignificant, or lacking in value. Rather students spoke of te ao Māori being unknown to their parents.

> They haven't had an active involvement in it or anything like that. (A5)

In this sense, an absence of dialogue in the home concerning te ao Māori can be interpreted as an acknowledgment of this experiential lacking, as noted by Teacher Advocate 2:

> My nan used to have this saying, 'It's better to sit down and let people think you're ignorant than to stand up and to let them see that you are'. If you don't know stuff, like as a speaker on the marae, don't get up there and start speaking about stuff you know nothing about. (TA2)

From this angle, rather than silence being demeaning, silence can be offered as a sign of deference. Parents may perceive it as better to remain silent, than to speak falsely.

The majority of the students spoke of their parents having had limited opportunities for meaningful exposure and involvement in te ao Māori. For two parents, their workplaces were perceived to be significant locations of engagement:

> With my father, with his job as a manager, he needs to know about the culture…He makes it an actual effort in his job to incorporate those basic things. (A3)

> My father works within the Police and they're really big on incorporating Māori culture into their values. (A5)

Alternately, for two other parents their workplaces were perceived to be locations of disengagement:

> It's not really relevant to their jobs, or life. (A1)

> With my mother's [job] it's not really that serious. (A3)

Educational Ambitions

Students were also asked about the educational ambitions held by their parents concerning te ao Māori. This included the perceived role of te ao Māori in education, as well as future aspirations in general. Again, there was a range of responses from ambivalence to advocacy:

> I don't think my parents really care. (A2)

> It's important to him that te reo Māori gets as much attention as something like Chinese or German. (A3)

> They do think it's a good idea to let children actually learn some things about it and to engage with it because it's a country you are part of, whether you are born there or not born in the country. It's the country you're living in, you're gonna have an obligation to be respectful of it…it's a respect and understanding. (A5)

The parental aspirations of ethnically diverse families in te ao Māori was discussed in interviews with senior school leadership and teacher advocates at School A. Senior school leadership perceived that while there are many students and families who "get right into [it] and want to be fully involved", he noted this involvement can be with some difficulty. This difficulty was attributed to cultural differences and dissimilarities:

> Naturally for them, it's probably diametrically opposed to how they are wired. In a formal sense, when you meet an Asian person there's a certain way in which you present yourself, and with business cards. There is an etiquette which is quite, you know, in place…For a lot of them it's [te ao Māori] just different to how they are wired, so it's challenging. (SL1)

Conversely, the teacher advocates at School A offered had a much different perspective. Over the course of their careers, they failed to note a disconnect or misalignment, rather they spoke of natural connections to ethnically diverse families which facilitates engagement in te ao Māori:

> People that come from another country, or people that aren't Pākehā, will *always* engage better with Māori things. *Always*. (TA1)

Summary

Students at School A suggested a range of parental aspirations towards te ao Māori which indicated passive as well active support. The details of these aspirations were often unclear to students as a result minimal discussions at home concerning te ao Māori. While all parents

were born, raised, and educated in contexts outside of Aotearoa New Zealand, most expressed a desire for deeper and more meaningful opportunities in te ao Māori for their children than they themselves have had. This desire was well-evident in the experiences of the teacher advocates at School A who spoke to the inherent capacity for ethnically diverse students and their families to connect with te ao Māori. The role of the school as the primary gateway to accessing te ao Māori will be further taken up in the Discussion chapter, as well the idea of cultural connections.

5.1.5 Case Study A Summary

School A is a co-educational secondary school of approximately 600 students located in one of the fastest growing districts in New Zealand. The roll of School A has grown substantially in terms of both size and ethnic diversity. From 2000 to 2020, the European population has decreased in size from 75 percent to 45 percent, while all other ethnic groups have increased. The most significant increase at School A has been among the broad Pasifika ethnic group, having grown from less than 2 percent to 13 percent over the same period. In addition to having a significant multiethnic population, School A also exhibits a strong commitment to sustaining te ao Māori. This commitment was noted in a strong partnership with iwi holding mana whenua, the prominence of the marae ā-kura, and an award-winning program supporting Māori students. Given these characteristics, School A is well positioned to inform the primary research question, How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori among an increasingly ethnically diverse student population?

In seeking to answer this question, interviews with students, senior school leadership, and teacher advocates were conducted. The student experience was given primacy, as understood in the context of a student focus group. Five Year 13 students participated in a focus group at School A. These five students came from a variety of ethnic backgrounds: Chinese, Indian, Tongan, South African, and Filipino. Initial discussion in the focus group sought to understand the ways in which te ao Māori was being defined, positioned and engaged with at School A. Data from the student focus group at School A indicates that te ao Māori is being defined by ethnically diverse students as 'the background of New Zealand'. There is a sense that te ao Māori uniquely fits or belongs, that it has become 'normal to us'. This normalization is the result of significant engagement with te ao Māori centered around

the compulsory Tikanga Māori class offered in Year 9. However, the initial heavy engagement in the junior years (9-10) tapers off significantly in the senior years (11-13), leading to inconsistent and limited opportunities. Te ao Māori is positioned as something vital to the junior years, but without a secure place in the senior school. The manner in which normative discourses are framing te ao Māori as juvenile, with a waning relevance beyond Year 9/10 is a key finding that will be addressed in Chapter 6.2.

The second research sub-question examined the dispositions and attitudes of ethnically diverse students towards te ao Māori stemming from their school experiences. Student dispositions toward te ao Māori were uniformly positive and indicated a desire to connect deeper with te ao Māori. A noho marae for all Year 13 students was identified by students as a highly influential, powerful opportunity to experience firsthand the values of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga. Yet their journey towards te ao Māori has been beset by resistance and discouragement. This resistance was attributed to non-Māori students who sought to discourage their engagement by offering disparaging comments such as, "You're not Māori" or "Wannabe Māori". Such resistance was noted by teacher advocates to be longstanding at School A. The ways in which touchstone school experiences can serve to either centripetally draw students in, as in the case of the noho marae, or centrifugally push them away from, as in the case of interpersonal resistance, is a significant finding that will be addressed in Chapter 6.2.

The third and final research sub-question sought to better understand the educational aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori. The findings from this section were drawn from data gathered from student focus groups and interviews with school leadership and teacher advocates. The overall finding from this section was that all households were characterized by minimal dialogue, perceived to stem from lack of parental exposure to te ao Māori. There are strong indications that school may serve as a primary gateway to accessing te ao Māori for students *and* families from ethnically diverse backgrounds.

5.2 Case Study #2 – School B

5.2.1 Introduction

School B is a located in a semi-rural town home to around 10,000 residents. The teacher advocate from School B, who was also a longtime resident, describes the tight-knit community in these words:

> As much as you try not to be known, people know who you are. They already know who you are and where you've come from, and what you bring.

This coastal community is among the oldest colonial towns in New Zealand, the site of major whaling activity and significant early interactions between Māori and Europeans from the early 1800s. Further, the fertile soils, rolling hills, and mild climate of this region have provided the ingredients for a large agricultural industry. Since the early 1900s, immigrants from beyond Europe, most notably from China, have established thriving market gardens in the region. For well over 100 years, Māori, European, and Chinese families have called this town home, creating what the teacher advocate at School B calls, "the unique culture" of this region, one that is fundamentally multilingual and multiethnic.

Responding to this unique culture, there are a variety of educational options available, including both Māori-medium and English-medium schools. School B is a co-educational, English-medium secondary school serving this region. Major infrastructure works and large housing developments have fueled roll growth among schools in the region. School B experienced a 20 percent growth in its roll over the last five years, from 400 students in 2015, to just over 500 students in 2020 (MoE, 2021). While the multiethnic fabric of School B is longstanding, by 2020 the share of students identifying with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicity increased notably, approaching 20 percent of the roll (MoE, 2021). Additionally, approximately 50 percent of the students at School B identify as Māori. A firm commitment to sustaining te ao Māori at School B was noted across all interviews and artifacts. These characteristics of School B, a multiethnic student population and a

commitment to te ao Māori, are discussed in greater detail below, concluding with an introduction of the participating students.

Multiethnic Student Population

For nearly 100 years, there has been a stable number of prominent families of Chinese heritage in the community, and in the school. Although modest in number, their contributions have been significant. In recognition of these many contributions, senior school leadership at School B spoke of a long-term vision to honor their stories within a new multipurpose outdoor space at the college,

> to have a pictured story of the Chinese migration into [town B] and their role in the community. That'd be a really cool, almost like a little Chinese monument…I am really keen to get those voices and it's something we've talked about for some time.

In addition to the longstanding Chinese population, School B has seen recent growth in both the volume and diversity of its roll. From 2000 to 2020, students who identify as Asian, Pasifika, or MELAA has more than doubled from 6 percent to over 15 percent of the total school population (MoE, 2021). On the other hand, from 2000 to 2020, the share of students who identify as European has decreased significantly from 60 percent down to 39 percent (MoE, 2021).

Commitment to te ao Māori

The percentage of students who identify as Māori at School B has grown from 33 percent in 2000 to 50 percent in 2020 (MoE, 2021). Interviews with school leadership and teacher advocates indicate that the vast majority of these students whakapapa back to local iwi and hapū. Senior school leadership describes the current situation in these words:

> 33 percent of our families speaking fluent te reo in their homes and a multitude of graduates [are] coming out of kura kaupapa Māori, kura-ā-iwi Māori, rumaki Māori[30]

[30] 'Kura kaupapa Māori', 'kura-ā-iwi Māori', and 'rumaki Māori' are terms used to describe a range of Māori-medium schooling options.

> and this wealth of language and culture, thriving marae, [all] working incredibly well… There's an incredible cultural wealth here…that's probably the envy of many iwi here in New Zealand that don't have that, particularly when they're close to urban settings.

Following this 'incredible cultural wealth' of the community, te ao Māori is embraced as an integral component across School B. As previously outlined, School B's commitment to te ao Māori was clearly seen in the following indicators: iwi/hapū engagement, marae ā-kura, and the underpinning school values (See Table 4.1). Each of these indicators offer deeper insights into the school community and will be further explored below.

Indicator 1: Iwi/hapū Engagement

Artifacts and interviews with both senior school leadership and the teacher advocate at School B indicate a strong partnership with iwi and hapū holding mana whenua. Significantly, both interviewees have strong personal connections to local iwi, and both are actively involved in marae. Stemming from these connections, *kaumātua* (elderly person with status) from the region are in constant communication and are closely involved in the decision-making of the school. Interviews with the teacher advocate at School B illustrate how this close engagement influences her classroom practices:

> Everything that they've been learning comes from here: the structures that they use are from here, the *kupu* [words] that we use are from here, *kīwaha* [sayings], *waiata* [songs], *mōteatea* [traditional chants], they're all from here.

Indicator 2: Marae ā-kura

The second indicator of School B's commitment to te ao Māori is the centrality of the marae ā-kura. Physically, the formal entrance to the school passes through the *waharoa* (carved gateway), which leads to the marae ā-kura. One must first enter the marae ā-kura, before entering the school – te ao Māori is the first point of contact. The carving on the waharoa acknowledges aspects of local history and is also laden with symbolism:

> the [carving] is symmetrical and tessellates, that's kind of the Māori and non-Māori, [the] bicultural. (SL)

In addition to the learning that takes place in the marae ā-kura through formal classes, teacher advocate and students both spoke of the learning that takes place informally during morning tea and lunch. Indeed, during most breaks in the school day this bright and inviting space is bursting with activity.

Indicator 3: School Values

Finally, School B's commitment to te ao Māori is well-noted in their constitution for learning - *Te Kawenata* (Covenant). Te Kawenata is a set of core values grounded in te ao Māori. Te Kawenata underpins all that is done at School B, from policy to practice. These values explicitly promote the inclusion of iwi/hapū aspirations into all aspects of life at School B. When senior school leadership was asked to describe his ambitions for school leavers, he pointed not to qualifications, but to these values:

> I think its summed up by going to our [Te Kawenata]…all those things that they would know, understand, and be able to assert.

These values are prominently displayed across the school campus, oft repeated at schoolwide events, and publicized on the school website and social media platforms.

Interviews with both school leadership and teacher advocates confirm that School B has a strong vision and commitment to te ao Māori for Māori students, but the vision for non-Māori in te ao Māori is more ambiguous. When School B was initially approached to participate in the study, they declined, citing the need to get back to "focusing on the core business" of the school, after participating in six doctoral studies in the previous year. After further explaining the nature of the research to gather the voices of students who identify as Asian, Pasifika, and 'Other' ethnicities, senior school leadership responded enthusiastically:

> I am really keen to get those voices and it's something we've talked about for some time. When I saw your work I said, 'Crikey I've gotta take this opportunity', even if it's someone else to gather the voice. It's a good opportunity.

It is to those voices, and of how they are engaging in te ao Māori, that we now turn.

The Student Experience

Four students at School B voluntarily participated in a focus group, nominated by senior school leadership. One was a Year 13 student, two were in Year 12, and one was in Year 11. All four self-identified with an ethnicity other than Māori or European. Students have been randomly accorded a number (1-4) that will be use in lieu of their names. This number is preceded by the letter 'B', noting their position as a student in School B (e.g. B1, B2, etc.). I am honored to share their remarkable stories and would like to introduce them now, in the manner in which they have chosen to introduce themselves.

> Hi, I'm B1. I'm 15, and both my parents were born in Tuvalu and I was born here.

> I'm B2, I'm 16. My family is Indian, both my parents were born there but I was born here and I've been here my whole life. I can speak Gujarati.

> My name is B3 and I am 16. My parents immigrated to New Zealand from China and we were born here; born and raised here.

> My name is B4 and I'm 17 but I'm turning 18 in a couple of weeks. My parents immigrated to New Zealand from China sometime. My siblings and I were all born in New Zealand and our first language was Cantonese.

In attempting to answer the primary research question: How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population, these four students in Years 11-13 who self-identify with an ethnicity other than Māori and European participated in a focus group. The responses from the focus group are offered below, organized according to the three research sub-questions.

5.2.2 Defining, Positioning, and Engaging Te Ao Māori

The first research sub-question aims to understand the unique ways in which te ao Māori is being defined, positioned, and engaged with by students from ethnically diverse backgrounds at School B. To address this question students were asked in focus groups to share some of the concepts that come to mind when they think of te ao Māori. The overall findings from this section indicate that te ao Māori is positioned as an expected, integral, and pervasive component for all students at School B. Engagement in te ao Māori at peaks in Years 7 and 8 resulting from compulsory classes and practices. From Year 9 onward, opportunities to engage with te ao Māori become limited, leading to disengagement and disconnect.

Defining and Positioning

After a period of introductions and setting ground rules, students in the focus group were asked to express some of the concepts that come to mind when they think of te ao Māori. Aside from the phrase "te ao Māori, or the Māori world", students were not offered any examples or guidance that might be suggestive of what te ao Māori might, or might not, be inclusive of.

Students from School B responded initially not by offering specific definitions or concepts, but first sought to position te ao Māori within their dialogue, as this interaction demonstrates:

> It's kinda just normal, it doesn't faze me at all (B2)
>
> Spot on (B1)
>
> We see it as normal because we always see it (B4)

Students noted a significant contrast in their routine and constant exposure to te ao Māori at School B when compared to the experiences of family members or friends from different schools "who find it weird or strange" (B4). To this end, B2 commented:

> Because I was brought up here I've got a better understanding [of te ao Māori] than my family that wasn't brought up in this town.

Further, students from School B positioned te ao Māori not just as something they 'see' or have passively observe, but something they themselves are also actively involved with:

> And we've learnt it as well (B2)

When students were asked to narrow in more specifically on what "it" was that they have learnt within te ao Māori, common responses included:

- Te reo Māori
- Pōwhiri
- Haka

The manner in which these definitive elements of te ao Māori are being engaged with will be explored in the next section

Engaging

School B offers a 5-6 week long compulsory Te Reo Māori class in both Years 7 and 8. All of the students in the focus group had taken this class:

> It would give you the opportunity to actually learn about Māori culture. Like having a bit of knowledge on it. (B3)

The compulsory Te Reo Māori class at School B aims to provide a general overview, or a general awareness of te ao Māori upon entry to the college. Participation, appreciation, and respect for te reo Māori were aims of the class mentioned by the teacher advocate:

> Most important is to have an appreciation for where I'm from, my language, and my culture. I'm not expecting anything great from that, but just that appreciation.

> All I ask is that you participate in this one [te reo Māori] so that you might have the same appreciation [as English].

While all participating students expressed favorable memories of this class, they noted that their learning was not rigorous, or on par with other core, 'academic' classes. Rather, they offered that their Te Reo Māori experience was,

> Just the language, we didn't do any history. (B2)

> It was just the basics, the days of the week, colors, karakia. (B4)

In addition to this compulsory Te Reo Māori class, students were asked of the ways in which te reo Māori or mātauranga Māori were incorporated within their other classes. One student spoke of te reo Māori being used in some of her classes as a relational tool:

> For my classes when there's Māori students in the class, some of the teachers speak Māori to them. Because I've been brought up here I can pick out words and kinda understand. (B2)

Another student pointed to mātauranga Māori found in Business Studies:

> It's used a bit in my business class, 'cos we link what we're learning with Māori concepts (B3)

When asked more about the nature of that linking of concepts, she responded indecisively:

> It's not easy, or it's not hard (B3)

Overall, all students spoke of very little engagement with either te reo Māori or mātauranga Māori outside of the Te Reo Māori class taken in Years 7 and 8. Students expressed engagement te ao Māori to have been relatively absent from their senior years,

> Especially not in [NCEA] level 1,2, and 3…It's not really relevant (B2)

The teacher advocate at School B endorsed the responses of students, noting a longstanding desire to "extend their cultural knowledge". She describes this desire and the current climate at School B in these words:

> It's growing, we just want it to grow more. But definitely trying to get te reo promoted more within the college is my big drive, and at a deeper level…it's time to do something new and do something fresh…I want us to be amazing is probably what I want to say; I don't want us to be okay with what we've got.

Outside of formal courses, students also made mention of pōwhiri and haka as being a significant way they engage with te ao Māori at School B.

> At the start of the year we have pōwhiri every year, it's just like normal. (B2)

Alongside the annual schoolwide pōwhiri held at School B, all Year 7 students are formally welcomed onto the primary marae in the region. Teacher advocate describes the experience in the following way:

> The Year 7…do a trip, a day trip, where they go down to [the main marae] and do a pōwhiri there, because the tikanga here is that once you enter through the gates you are no longer waewae tapu…Being that main marae, you are no longer waewae tapu to any of the other marae in [the region]…So that's important for them to do that, (1) because a lot of them have never done it, and (2) it's important for them to understand that you are going to be okay from here on in.

All of the students interviewed recalled participating in this pōwhiri in Year 7. The day was described as "a learning day to see inside the marae and around it" (B4). However, when asked more specifically about their memories and impressions of this day, 3 of the 4 could not recall any specific memories or lasting impressions from that day, stating "I can't

remember" when asked of this experience. This is not surprising in that for some of these students this single-day event that occurred nearly six years prior:

> I think when you start college you go to [the main] marae at Year 7. I can't remember. (B2)

The final way that students from School B expressed engaging with te ao Māori was with the haka. Students spoke of the school haka being performed at sports event and exchanges, prizegiving ceremonies, and when welcoming guests. All of the students had learnt and performed the school haka:

> Everyone learns it together, in a couple of assemblies where we practice (B3)

> Everyone learns it together. Before an event that we're gonna do it, we practice the week of as well, just to make sure we know it (B2)

Similar to School A, School B holds an annual haka house competition. All of the students spoke fondly and enthusiastically of this event, signaling agreement with the statement made by B2:

> Learning haka and the haka competition was probably my highlight. It was just fun.

Aside from the recurring beginning of the year pōwhiri and house haka competition, consistent engagement in te ao Māori has tapered off substantially in the senior years for these students. Much of what was learnt in Years 7 and 8 seems to have become vague as the years pass. When asked to tell more about these definitive ways that te ao Māori was being engaged with at School B, students commented,

> It's a little fuzzy (B1)

> That was a while ago (B2)

I can't remember (B2, B3, B4)

Summary

Conversations within the student focus group indicated that te ao Māori is being defined by te reo Māori, pōwhiri, and haka. Te ao Māori is positioned as expected and 'normal because we always see it'. Students are 'not fazed' to engage with te ao Māori and perceive having higher degrees of engagement than others not living in their community or attending their school. This normalization is the result of significant engagement with te ao Māori through compulsory Te Reo Māori classes in Year 7 and 8, pōwhiri in Year 7, and learning the school haka. However, beyond Years 7 and 8, there seems to be very little continued engagement. Now in Years 11, 12 and 13, students were unable to recall much earlier learnings, reporting it as being 'a little fuzzy'. Consistent opportunities to engage with te reo Māori or mātauranga Māori, either as an option or embedded in other courses, is limited. For the students interviewed, there is a perception that te ao Māori seems to not fit within the senior school, and 'it's not really relevant' to NCEA qualifications. The perceived waning relevance of te ao Māori is a key idea that will be further discussed in Chapter 6.1.

5.2.3 Dispositions and Attitudes Towards Te Ao Māori

While the prior section focused on how te ao Māori is being defined, positioned, and engaged with in School B, this section examines the dispositions and attitudes of students towards te ao Māori stemming from their school experiences. To gauge dispositions and attitudes, students were first prompted to discuss some of their most memorable school experiences in te ao Māori. School experiences could be formal or informal, recent or distant, positive or negative. The overall finding of this section was that while all students expressed positive dispositions towards te ao Māori, those more closely connected to te ao Māori through personal connections were likely to express even more favorable attitudes. Further, there was a sense in which there may be limited opportunities for students from ethnically diverse backgrounds to connect deeply with te ao Māori at School B, despite the presence of such opportunities for others. This limitation was perceived as being directly tied to their identity as non-Māori and non-European.

Memorable Experiences

When asked about their most memorable experiences in te ao Māori, two of the students were quick to mention their time spent in the marae ā-kura. As mentioned in the introduction to School B, the marae ā-kura is a warm, open, and inviting building situated in the front of the school. The marae ā-kura is open most days for students during morning tea and lunch time. The teacher advocate, whose primary classroom is here, offered the following description:

> So if you were to see a morning tea time, when the entire school is here, there are a lot of non-Māori in here. And they're just rolling around on the floor, just chilling out and the rest of it, 'cos that's how it should be…And the fact that they are in here, is cool. This place is humming all the time, and it's nice to be able to share.

The two students who regularly spent time in the marae ā-kura during their class breaks commented on having either a friend, a teacher, or a coach extend an initial invitation to hang out in the marae ā-kura. This personal invitation was pivotal to overcoming one's initial hesitancy, countering waves of self-doubt and not feeling "fully confident in yourself yet" (B2). Once invited in, now some years later, both students expressed feeling fully at home in the marae ā-kura,

> I spend a lot a lot of time in the whare, and Whaea, who is the teacher in there, she's always like kind and whenever we have anything, she always explains it to us. When we come in she speaks to us Māori and we respond as well. (B2)

A third student, while not regularly spending time in the marae ā-kura, expressed an openness towards future involvement,

> If I had friends there I would go, but I don't really know anyone well in there so I just don't go. (B3)

Her comments suggest that should a friend decide to visit the whare, she'd be willing to join them. The power of invitation and encounter will be further discussed in Chapter 6.2.

Unique Challenges

Following the discussion of memorable experiences in te ao Māori, students were asked if they had experienced any unique challenges. While students were aware of there being a number of opportunities to experience te ao Māori at School B, they indicated a sense of exclusion from being able to access many these experiences. There was a sense in which students were aware that they were missing out on certain aspects of te ao Māori, as the following interaction demonstrates:

> I think it's mostly because those things are for the people who take Māori classes (B4)
>
> 'Cos they have days they go stay at the marae (B2)
>
> Yeah, they have a noho there, and bond with each other and stay the night (B4)
>
> *And that's only for those in the Te Reo Classes? (Researcher)*
>
> Yep (All)
>
> *Have any of you had a noho at a marae? (Researcher)*
>
> No (All)

In further probing the suggestion that Te Reo Māori classes are a significant access point to experiencing te ao Māori at School B, students were asked about their class selections. None of these students interviewed took Te Reo Māori beyond Year 8. The students offered a variety of reasons as to why they did not choose Te Reo Māori as an option. One spoke of having the desire, but facing logistical challenges:

> Well I could've, but apparently you had to do it last year (Year 10) to do it this year (Year 11). (B1)

Another student who was already taking two foreign languages responded:

> We just have other subjects that are prioritized. (B4)

Meanwhile, two students articulated a distinct feeling of exclusion:

> The subject is more taken by Māori students, not really by other people, they don't really take it. (B3)

> The only reason why I don't take Māori is 'cos I feel that I don't fully belong there, because I'm not Māori. (B2)

These two students expressed a perception of limited access to the richness of te ao Māori at School B that this was directly related to their ethnic identity as non-Māori. They went on to further explain the nature of this exclusion:

> It just feels like they think, "You're not Māori, why you speaking Māori?" (B4)

> When they see someone new doing something that they wouldn't usually be doing, it would just be strange. (B3)

Upon asking for clarification, 'they' in the comments was referring to some of the Māori students at School B; 'Doing something they wouldn't usually be doing' was in reference to a student of Chinese heritage speaking te reo Māori. Thus it would be perceived to be strange or abnormal to encounter a Chinese student who speaks te reo Māori. The teacher advocate acknowledged the presence of this exclusionary sentiment as well in her interview:

> I know we'll have some reo Māori students from the kura that have just shifted across to here, and they come in and are like, 'What are these [non-Māori] guys doing in here

> [marae ā-kura]? Huh? What are these guys doing in here they don't speak Māori?' I says, 'They don't have to speak Māori to be in here'. 'Oh, well they should', I says, "No, this whare is for everybody, and we want them to appreciate us, okay? And our values.

3 out of the 4 students confided these narratives of discouragement and exclusion. It is unknown if the fourth student has a similar story. Students were asked if they felt this challenge was experienced by all students from a non-Māori background, or if it was unique to students of Chinese, Indian, and Tuvaluan descents. There was consensus among the students that it was easier for non-Māori students of European background to engage in te ao Māori, than it was for them. To make their point, they used the Te Reo Māori class offered in the senior school as an example:

> There is an actual Te Reo class for Māori students, and there's another one for those that are learning. (B2)

The 'actual Te Reo class' refers to a more advanced Te Reo Māori class designed for students at School B who have had substantial prior learning experiences in te reo Māori. These students typically identify as Māori. When asked about the other class 'for those that are learning', and who are the students enrolled in that class, student replied:

> Yeah, it's like half Māori (B3)

> And half Pākehā (B2)

When asked to clarify what was meant by 'Pākehā', students indicated 'Pākehā' was referring to students who are ethnically European. Students such as themselves with parents born in India, China, and Tuvalu were not considered 'Pākehā'. Thus, Te Reo Māori in the senior school was perceived to be primarily for Māori students, but also open to European students.

Further, as mentioned previously, senior school leadership in at School B is deeply connected to local iwi and is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori, although ethnically European. He speaks admirably of his vision to get all students to align more closely with te ao Māori:

> It is not just about Māori kids feeling good about being Māori and achieving as Māori, but also hopefully along the way, if we're doing it even better, that were actually seeing non-Māori students actually feeling quite affirmed with their ability to shift into a Māori world.

While the experiences of non-Māori students of European descent are unknown and outside the scope of this study, among non-Māori students of Asian and Pasifika descent at School B, there are indicators of additional obstacles that may be hindering their shift into te ao Māori. As epitomized in the challenge, 'You're not Māori, why you speaking Māori?', interpersonal barriers targeting ethnically diverse students ultimately engender discouragement and exclusion.

Summary

Overall, students at School B expressed positive dispositions and a willingness to engage in te ao Māori at school. Students singled out the marae ā-kura as a significant space where they routinely experiencing te ao Māori. Involvement in the marae ā-kura was the result of an informal invitation extended by either a friend or staff member. However, students from ethnically diverse backgrounds also spoke of prevailing attitudes that challenge their sense of belonging in te ao Māori. Students indicated a perception that it was abnormal, or 'would just be strange' for students from non-Māori and non-European backgrounds to be deeply engaged in te ao Māori at School B. Interpersonal challenges, as well as the power of invitation to overcome such challenges will be key ideas explored in Chapter 6.

5.2.4 Family Aspirations

The final research sub-question seeks to better understand the educational aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori. Written questionnaires were sent home to the parents of each student who participated in the focus group. The written questionnaire

consisted of open-ended questions formulated to better understand parental aspirations for their child's future concerning te ao Māori, as part of a broader conversation about engagement with te ao Māori in the home. 3 of the 4 participants from the student focus group at School B returned the questionnaire: B2, B3, and B4. These responses are referred to using the prefix "FB", indicating a Family from School B, along with the number corresponding to that of their child. Thus, FB2 references the family of student B2. As two of the participants in the focus group were from the same family, B3 and B4, their family is referred to as FB3/4. Responses from each of the families will be shared separately, followed by a summary of the data provided. Family responses are augmented by comments made by students, teacher advocates, and senior school leadership. The overall findings for this section indicate an overarching positive disposition held by ethnically diverse families at School B towards te ao Māori. A key finding points to an expectation of future engagement with te ao Māori and assumes this future engagement will offer positive benefits for their child. Families at School B report the primary avenues to access te ao Māori as being the workplace, friendships, and school experiences.

FB3/4

The parents of B3 and B4 were both born in China and immigrated to New Zealand as young adults. B3 and B4 were both born in New Zealand. While Cantonese is the primary language spoken at home, B3 and B4 are learning Mandarin and Japanese at School B. The family of students B3 and B4 (FB3/4) noted central aspects of te ao Māori to include "The haka, Māori culture, waiata, Māori greetings (e.g. hongi), Māori food (hangi)". FB3/4 noted that their primary exposure to te ao Māori has come vicariously through their children's' school experiences. In particular they recalled "singing and learning waitas (sic) with the school", and participating in *Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori* (Māori Language Week). Outside of school, FB3/4 report that "having friends of Māori descent" is one of the primary ways their children experience te ao Māori. FB3/4 noted that their children have had a significant contribution towards their understanding of te ao Māori by sharing "what they've learnt at school about Māori culture, e.g. the myths and legends, basic words/vocab". Outside of this exposure, FB3/4 reported generally "not being exposed to Māori culture" in their day-to-day work and home life. FB3/4 expressed a sense of feeling disadvantaged by their own lack of experiences,

especially “not having gone to school in New Zealand”. This lack of experience was noted as the primary obstacle to their engagement in te ao Māori.

Embedded in the responses offered by FB3/4 was a deep sense of valuing and respect towards te ao Māori. Te ao Māori was viewed as a significant and welcomed component in their child’s education. FB3/4 made specific mention of their children “being able to learn the basics of Te Reo Māori” as an important educational goal of theirs. When asked about the future role they’d like to see te ao Māori play in life of their children, they responded, “Anything that benefits her future and/or makes her happy”. Implicit in these comments is the assumption that te ao Māori *will* indeed play a significant future role in Aotearoa New Zealand, and that an understanding of te ao Māori *will* offer their children a future benefit. While the exact nature of this future benefit may be unknown, the outcome will inevitably be positive, or will “make her happy”.

Despite expressing their own lack of personal exposure, FB3/4 were encouraging of their children’s journey in te ao Māori, desiring that they would have the opportunity to develop deeper understandings and engagements that would be of future benefit. School leadership also noted this subtle, favorable attitude towards te ao Māori held by many families of Chinese heritage at School B, which can at times stand in sharp contrast to some of less favorable attitudes held by others:

> We’ve got some parents here that pretty much instill in their children some pretty anti-Māori, racist-type feelings; their subconscious bias comes through in some things… [but] not so much our Chinese kids….Our Chinese kids tend to be subdued kids, you don’t see them jumping up and down with enthusiasm [towards te ao Māori] or whatever but you don’t see any pushback from them either.

This favorable disposition was similarly noted by the teacher advocate at School B, again in contrast to others who may be more unappreciative or routinely “belittling” of te reo Māori,

> I never get it from any of the Chinese or Asian cultures. I will get it from groups of Māori, and I will get it from groups of Pākehā.

While FB3/4 reported a feeling of not being able to contribute to their child's understanding of te ao Māori, it would seem that according to both teacher advocate and senior school leadership that the favorable dispositions and aspirations of parents may contribute to the favorable dispositions and aspirations held by their children concerning te ao Māori.

FB2

The parents of B2 were both born in India and immigrated to New Zealand as adults. B2 was born in New Zealand. Gujarati is the primary language spoken at home. The family of B2 (FB2) are shopkeepers and reported daily exposure to te ao Māori as part of their occupation. For FB2, the workplace is a significant gateway to access te ao Māori. A willingness to engage with te ao Māori, and a warm affect stemming from this engagement, was well-noted throughout the responses of FB2, "When I think of the Māori world I think of a beautiful and loving culture and language" (FB2). As the shop is a family-run business, B2 is highly involved, where she too is provided routine opportunities to engage with te ao Māori outside of school, "Working in the shop she gets to meet different Māori personalities" (FB2). These experiences in the shop have left a strong impression on B2,

> My mum and dad work in a shop so they come into contact with Māori people all the time; they really like it. (B2)

When asked about this positive affect implied in the phrase 'they really like it', B2 retold the following story:

> I remember a few years back they were asking someone for how to say simple phrases like 'Hello' and 'How are you' and how to respond and stuff . The person they asked even wrote up this little bit so they could keep it, so they could read off it. So, it was really kind (B2)

Although FB2 reported "not understanding the language" to be one of the primary obstacles preventing deeper engagement in te ao Māori, the narrative offered by B2 indicates that FB2 models behaviors that facilitate language learning, communicate value and respect, and

demonstrate a willingness to engage. Further, when B2 was asked to describe the attitudes of her parents towards her own learning of te reo Māori, she described an attitude that was wholly encouraging, although "not aggressively" so, but certainly "they don't discourage it".

When asked about the role of te ao Māori in their child's future, FB2 expressed the sentiment that "having an understanding of the Māori world will be good for her future". Implicit in these comments is an understanding of the certainty of place that te ao Māori will continue to occupy - te ao Māori holds a significant place in Aotearoa New Zealand, and will continue to have a place in the future for all. Thus, further engaging with te ao Māori will be of substantial benefit, or "be good for her future".

Summary

Overall findings from the data collected from participating families at School B indicate an aspiration towards deeper and lasting engagement in te ao Māori for their children. Families pointed to compulsory Te Reo Māori classes offered in Years 7 and 8 as foundational to their child's journey in te ao Māori. All families expressed the fundamental assumption that te ao Māori *will be* a significant part of their child's future, and that future engagement in te ao Māori will provide a myriad of benefits. Underpinning these aspirations was a strong sense of value and deference attributed to te ao Māori. This favorable disposition among families was also recognized by students, teacher advocates, and senior school leadership at School B.

5.2.5 Case Study B Summary

School B is a co-educational, secondary school of nearly 500 students located in close-knit coastal community. This 'bilingual' community is one of the oldest colonial settlements in the country with a significant history of interaction between Māori and British settlers established around whaling and flax production. Today, half of the students at School B identify as Māori, the majority of whom whakapapa to the region. Senior school leadership point to 'incredible cultural wealth' present in a community, citing thriving hapū and iwi, high degrees of fluency in te reo Māori and access to a leading Māori tertiary institution. Reflecting this richness, te ao Māori is an integral component at School B. A strong commitment to te ao Māori is

demonstrated in the school's values: Te Kawenata. Additionally, a modest number of Chinese families have had a long-standing, prominent role in this community for nearly a century. The teacher advocate at School B notes the distinctive intersection of these three ethnic groups, calling it the 'unique culture of the town'. Furthermore, as the roll has grown at School B, so has the ethnic diversification of the roll. Students who identify as Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, or another ethnicity has more than doubled, from 6 percent of the roll in 2000 to over 15 percent in 2020. Given these characteristics, School B is well positioned to inform the primary research question, How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori among an increasingly ethnically diverse student population?

In seeking to answer the primary research question, interviews with students, senior school leadership, and teacher advocates were conducted. The student experience was given primacy, as understood in the context of a student focus group. Four students participated in the focus group at School B, ranging from Year 11 to Year 13. The students came from a variety of ethnic backgrounds: Chinese, Indian, and Tuvaluan. Initial discussion in the focus group sought to understand the ways in which te ao Māori was being defined, positioned, and engaged with at School B. Data indicated that te ao Māori is being defined around te reo Māori, pōwhiri, and haka. Te ao Māori is positioned as expected and 'normal because we always see it'. Students are 'not fazed' to engage with te ao Māori and perceive having higher degrees of engagement than others not living in their community, or attending their school. This normalization is the result of significant engagement with te ao Māori through compulsory Te Reo Māori classes in Years 7 and 8, pōwhiri in Year 7, and learning the school haka. However, beyond Years 7 and 8, there seems to be very little continued engagement. Now in Years 11, 12 and 13, students were unable to recall much of earlier learnings, reporting it as being 'a little fuzzy'. Consistent opportunities to engage with te reo Māori or mātauranga Māori, either as an option or embedded in other courses, is limited. For the students interviewed, there is a perception that te ao Māori seems to not fit within the senior school, 'it's not really relevant' to NCEA qualifications.

The second research sub-question examined the dispositions and attitudes of ethnically diverse students towards te ao Māori stemming from their school experiences. While all students expressed positive dispositions towards te ao Māori, those more closely connected

to te ao Māori through personal connections were more likely to express an even more favorable attitude. The marae ā-kura was identified as a key location at School B where such relationships were fostered. Further, there was a sense in which there were limited opportunities within the school program for students from ethnically diverse backgrounds to connect deeply with te ao Māori at School B. This limitation was perceived as being directly tied to their identity as non-Māori and non-European. While te ao Māori and te reo Māori may be normalized at School B, this normalization seems to not yet extend to those of non-Māori and non-European descent. Rather, it 'would just be strange' for a non-Māori and non-European student to be learning and speaking te reo Māori at School B. While students expressed positive dispositions and a willingness to engage in te ao Māori, they also spoke of prevailing attitudes that challenge their sense of belonging in te ao Māori. The significant interpersonal challenges faces by students from ethnically diverse backgrounds in their engagement with te ao Māori is an idea further explored in Chapter 6.2.

The third and final research sub-question seeks to better understand the educational aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori. The findings from this section center on the data gathered from written questionnaires completed by the families of students who participated in the focus group. Family responses were augmented by comments made by students, teacher advocates, and senior school leadership. Families indicated an aspiration towards deeper and lasting engagement in te ao Māori for their children. There is an expectation of future engagement with te ao Māori, and an assumption that future engagement will offer positive benefits for their child. Furthermore, for all families the school is viewed as one of the primary avenues for their child to be exposed to the richness of te ao Māori.

5.3 Case Study #3 – School C

5.3.1 Introduction

School C is located just outside of a large urban center. This suburb is long noted for its highly multicultural character. Senior school leadership at School C describes the suburb as "an absolute kaleidoscope of cultures….I'd say we're highly multicultural, perhaps more so than other [suburbs]" (SL2). Within a short walk of School C one encounters a Hindu temple, a

Chinese Baptist church, a Muslim prayer house, and a marae, all in quick succession. Given the proximity of this community to the city center, along with a range of new housing developments, consistent population growth has occurred over the past two decades.

School C is a co-educational, English-medium secondary school serving the region. In 2020, School C reports a role of around 1,000 students (MoE, 2021). While the multiethnic fabric of School C is longstanding, the share of students identifying ethnically with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA or 'Other' ethnicity continues to grow, composing just under 50 percent of the roll in 2020 (MoE, 2021). Additionally, approximately 13 percent of students identify as Māori, and a firm commitment to sustaining te ao Māori at School C was noted across all interviews and artifacts. These characteristics, a multiethnic student population and a commitment to te ao Māori, are discussed in greater detail below, followed by an introduction of the participating students.

Multiethnic Student Population

School C has seen recent growth in both the volume and diversity of its roll. Senior school leadership at School C reports that "At last count we had 42 nationalities, [and] about 32 first languages" (SL1). It was further estimated that well over half of the students at School C are multilingual. From 2000 to 2020, students who identify with an ethnicity other than Māori or European increased from 27 percent to 44 percent (MoE, 2021). The last decade in particular has seen a sharp acceleration in this shift. In 2010, School C reported not a single student who identified ethnically as Middle Eastern, Latin American, or African (MELAA); but by 2020 this demographic made up nearly 5 percent of the roll. Senior school leadership confirmed this shift, noting that over his 40 years at the college, students from the MELAA demographic, notably those from a refugee or Muslim background were a very recent phenomenon. Furthermore, the broad Asian demographic continues to trend upward, nearly doubling in size from 13 percent to 25 percent between the years 2000 and 2010, increasing further to 34 percent in 2020. The broad 'Asian' ethnic category is inclusive of students from mainland China, Hong Kong, Singapore, Japan, Southeast Asia (Philippines, Malaysia), as well as the southern subcontinent including India and Sri Lanka, all of which are represented at School C.

On the other hand, from 2000 to 2020, the percentage of students who identify as European has decreased significantly from 62 percent to 42 percent (MoE, 2021).

Commitment to te ao Māori

In addition to the multiethnic student population described above, nearly 15 percent of the students at School C identify as Māori, a percentage that has remained constant over the last two decades. Artifacts and interviews with senior school leadership and teacher advocate at School C indicate a desire "to integrate as much as we can te ao Māori into every aspect, and permeate that throughout our school" (SL2). As previously outlined, this commitment to te ao Māori was clearly seen in the following indicators: marae ā-kura, kapa haka, and authentic learning opportunities in te ao Māori (See Table 4.1). Each of these indicators offers deeper insight into the school community and will be further explored below.

Indicator 1: Marae ā-kura

A primary indicator of School C's commitment to te ao Māori is the centrality of the marae ā-kura. Physically, when entering School C one's eyes are naturally drawn to the whare lying at the center of the main cluster of buildings, the symbolic heart of the school (J. Lee et al., 2012). The teacher advocate spoke of this intentional positioning of the marae ā-kura,

> So this whare is very unique. I say that when I first arrived and walked down the driveway, the first thing that you see is the whare…[and] this is exactly what should be at the forefront of our education system and the way in which the environment is set up.

Indicator 2: Kapa Haka

Besides the learning that takes place in the whare through formal te reo Māori classes, the whare is also home to School C's kapa haka team, a much-esteemed group that has gone "from strength to strength" (SL1), growing from just a handful of students to a group of over 50. The development of the kapa haka group is firmly supported by senior school leadership and underpinned by a Māori Performing Arts (MPA) class offered for senior students. The MPA class has grown in size, enrolling over 30 senior students in 2021 and slated for additional classes in years to come.

Indicator 3: Authentic Learning Opportunities

Finally, the promotion of authentic learning opportunities in te ao Māori across all subjects and all year levels is a schoolwide goal promoted at School C. The teacher advocate gave evidence of several departments, notably Science, Music, and Business/Economics, that have partnered with the Māori department to infuse te ao Māori into learning, "We've sparked some ideas and they've taken on the challenge". All participant groups mentioned schoolwide celebrations such as Matariki and *Mahuru Māori* (Māori language month) as large-scale annual events, aiming to bring te ao Māori to the center of life at the college. Furthermore, from 2021 Te Reo Māori will be offered as a compulsory subject for all Year 9 students.

While artifacts and interviews with both school leadership and teacher advocates suggest that School C has a strong vision and commitment to te ao Māori, the ways in which students, in particular non-Māori and non-European students, are experiencing this commitment remains unknown:

> This will be interesting in your research. We have a perception; I am sure they have a different one…I'm sure there's some kids who wouldn't really understand what [te ao Māori] is about whatsoever. But that sort of stuff takes time. (SL1)

> I would like to believe that the experiences [at School C] have been profound and have shaped who [they are]….I'd like to think that surely moving forward from college [non-Māori and non-European students] will take those experiences [and]…will be an example of a true bicultural individual in our society. (SL2)

It is to those voices, and of how non-Māori and non-European students are engaging in te ao Māori at School C, that we now turn.

The Student Experience

Seven students at School C voluntarily participated in two focus groups. These students were all in Year 13 and were all nominated by senior school leadership. All seven self-identified with an ethnicity other than Māori or European, reflecting the wide array diversity found in

School C. Many of the participants held leadership roles at School C, in the classroom, on the sports field, on the stage, and in the marae ā-kura. Students have been randomly accorded a number (1-7) that will be use in lieu of their names. This number is preceded by the letter 'C', noting their position as a student in School C (e.g. C1, C2, etc.). I am privileged to share their stories and will introduce them now, in the manner in which they have chosen to introduce themselves.

> So my name is C1. My parents both moved here when they were younger after being in Malaysia, which is where we are from.
>
> My name is C2 and my dad is Egyptian… I lived here my whole life but when I was 5 we went to Egypt and stayed there for 2 years…I can speak a little bit of Arabic.
>
> My name is C3. I'm from Japan. So I was born in Germany, then when I was 1 I moved back to Japan. I finished Junior High School in Japan, then I came here when I was 16, no 15. And I've been here since then. So I speak Japanese, fully, English, not really perfect.
>
> I'm C4. I was born in Fiji, but my parents are Indian, both Indian. I was born in Lautoka in Fiji and then I lived there in Fiji for 4 years. I grew up in a household where we speak Hindi and culturally we are more Indian and speak Hindi a lot. English came when I went to school.
>
> My name is C5. Both my parents are Sri Lankan which means I grew up in a household speaking Sinhalese, with my mom, dad, and my grandparents as well. I've lived here since I was born, so born and raised here.
>
> I'm C6. Both my parents are Malaysian, Chinese heritage though, but I consider myself Malaysian Chinese. I understand a bit of Hokkien which is a dialect of Chinese from South of China I think.

> My name is C7. I grew up in Philippines, and then I moved to Singapore for about 7 years. I moved here about 5 years ago. I speak Tagalog, but mostly English.

In attempting to answer the primary research question: How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population, these seven Year 13 students participated in a focus group. The results of this focus group are offered below, aligned to the three research sub-questions:

5.3.2 Defining, Positioning, and Engaging Te Ao Māori

Introduction

The first research sub-question aims to understand the unique ways in which te ao Māori is being defined, positioned and engaged with by students from ethnically diverse backgrounds at School C. To address this question students were asked in focus groups to share some of the concepts that come to mind when they think of te ao Māori. From this discussion, responses were initially coded according to their ability to define, position, or engage with te ao Māori. Additionally, interviews with senior school leadership and teacher advocates were conducted, exposing contextual details and institutional insights from which the student voice emerges. School leadership and teacher advocate voices are inserted at times to clarify or frame student voices, in no way assumed to be central or authoritative. All of these voices are woven into the findings. The overall findings from this section indicate that te ao Māori is being defined primarily in terms of Māori values and cultural activities. Te ao Māori was positioned in terms of similarity, not difference, to their own ethnocultural identity. This positioning offered a sense of kinship, an inherently linkage to te ao Māori. Despite acknowledging and upholding the unique place of te ao Māori, student engagement was primarily through informal activities occurring outside of the classroom. Within the classroom, student engagement was limited to the uses simple phrases and greetings in te reo Māori, activities students identified as superficial forms of learning.

Defining and Positioning

After a period of whakawhanaungatanga, students were asked to express some of the concepts that come to mind when they think of te ao Māori. Aside from the phrase “te ao

Māori, or the Māori world", students were not offered any examples or guidance that might be suggestive of what te ao Māori might, or might not, be inclusive of. Responses were generally related to either Māori values or 'cultural performances' and events. Students spoke to a set of foundational values, including respect, generosity, and humility. Two students (C4 and C6) mentioned an underpinning value of respect as a definitive feature of te ao Māori – (C4) referred to the respecting of people, especially the elderly, while (C6) referred to the respect offered towards customs (e.g. shoes off in whare, properly greeting/farewelling). C2 made mention of a spirit of giving or generosity as a defining characteristic of te ao Māori. In particular, the generosity referred to was a generosity of an immaterial nature, one which "would rather give though song, or gift more of an experience than actual physical things" (C2). C2 spoke to a generosity of time and a generosity of relationship. Finally, C1 noted the value of humility to be a pervasive feature of te ao Māori. Far from pretentious, te ao Māori was characterized as being "so down to earth, or like so pure" (C1).

The second way in which te ao Māori was being defined at School C by the majority of the students was through a variety of "cultural performances" and events. As mentioned in the introduction to School C, Māori Performing Arts have been thriving at School C over the last several years, led by the school's kapa haka team. As such, students made frequent mention of 'performances' or 'cultural performances', 'waiata', 'instruments', and 'singing' as key features of te ao Māori. Furthermore, all of the students made several mention of participating in the school haka. It was explained that there are two haka that are expected to be learnt. Such 'cultural performances' were regular occurrences at School C, taking place as part of formal events such as pōwhiri and farewells, but also at more informal events such as year-level assemblies, sports exchanges, and celebrations.

Positioning

For the majority of the students interviewed at School C, te ao Māori was positioned in terms of similarity, not difference, to their own ethnocultural identity. As such, 5 out of the 7 participating students offered unsolicited connections and linkages to te ao Māori. For 3 of the students, values held in the marae ā-kura around tikanga – not sitting on tables, removing

shoes, and karakia before meals - were linked to a similar set of values held at home. One student noted linguistic similarities with te reo Māori and her heritage language:

> What I can link to Māori in Japanese is how they pronounce the words, they all have A-E-I, same as Japanese. It's easy to read. It's very interesting. (C3)

Other students noted a more ambiguous, though still deeply significant and personal connection:

> Even though I am not Māori…you still feel a connection to it. (C2)

> It [te ao Māori] links to my culture as well…So I kinda link it to myself. (C4)

> We have these same kind of things in the Sri Lankan culture. (C5)

As an outflow of these connections, students spoke of a relational positionality - a sense of personal association and attachment to te ao Māori. This association was particularly evident in an international context. As such, one student described opportunities to "celebrate the [Māori] culture, sharing it with people who…have rarely been exposed to that kind of thing, especially our international students" (C6). C6 clearly positioned herself in the narrative, personally associated with te ao Māori, with the ability to share "it" with others. C6 further notes how international students at School C are impacted "when *we* give *them* the pōwhiri, the welcome".

C2 shared a similar narrative highlighting what he perceives to be a strong personal association with te ao Māori:

> For example, I went to Germany and we had to do something that represented your culture. There was a group of us Kiwis and we performed the haka and sung a waiata. It made you feel special as everyone else was giving out little keychains and stuff like that, we felt everyone was so amazed by us doing the haka.

For both of these students, a personal association and attachment to te ao Māori was particularly evident in an international context. Although not identifying ethnically as Māori, there was a cultural identification, as 'Kiwis', to certain aspects of te ao Māori including waiata, pōwhiri, and haka.

Further, students as School C spoke of te ao Māori as being held in a position of honor at the school, something they acknowledged with pride. This positioning was spoken of in a number of ways:

> We've got a twin flagpole where we've got the New Zealand flag and the Māori flag at the same level. So they're represented equally. (C6)
>
> It's pretty cool to have a community space [marae ā-kura] that still holds the Māori culture…it shows how we've kinda made space for that culture to still live in our school. (C1)
>
> [Te ao Māori] is something that is, or was, like dying around Aotearoa, but now I feel like at our school we've kind of brought it back and a lot of students are learning more about te ao Māori and everything (C6)
>
> 'Cos it is one of the main languages and main cultures of New Zealand and we don't want it to fade away, like it has been, like it was a few years ago kind of thing (C5)

Student responses acknowledge a variety of everyday efforts to honor te ao Māori at School A, from the raising of the Tino Rangatiratanga flag, to valuing the marae ā-kura, to supporting efforts to revive te reo Māori. Further, students express a sense of personal responsibility towards these efforts.

Engaging

While participating students expressed a strong appetite for active engagement in te ao Māori, most students revealed an actual engagement that took the form of limited, passive,

and sporadic participation. C7 expressed a sense of disappointment with this disconnect, hoping to have had "A bit more exposure and encouragement, mostly exposure" to te ao Māori in her years at School C. Student examples of limited or sporadic engagement included participation in informal activities or 'cultural performances' taking place outside of formal classroom instruction, such as at assemblies, celebrations like Matariki and Mahuru Māori, sports exchanges, and prize giving.

Within the formal program, several students at School C made mention of their Year 9 and 10 Social Studies classes as providing intentional engagement with te ao Māori.

> We learned in Year 9 and I think in Year 10 as well in Social Studies about Tiriti o Waitangi and about the claiming of New Zealand land and all that, and all the wars that happened. (C6)

> The Māori stuff we've done at college is through Social Studies. (C5)

When asked more specifically about some of the content or memories from these classes, students spoke generically of 'Māori stuff' or 'cultural stuff' being included. Their responses leaned heavily on the narrative of a unified, pan-tribal 'Māori culture', rather than a locally focused, place-based, iwi/hapū-centric understanding of te ao Māori. C6 articulated this perspective,

> As far as local iwis go…we don't really talk about it as much. I'm not sure if that's something they do in like Māori Performing Arts or Te Reo Māori, but as for the subjects that I've taken, I haven't really spoken about it. So I'm also really limited on like Māori history and all that. (C6)

The contrast between local, place-based approaches to sustaining te ao Māori in multiethnic schools versus more essentialized, pan-tribal approaches is a finding that will be further explored in the Discussions chapter.

To better understand the unique opportunities provided at School C to engage with te ao Māori, students were asked of their class selections. None of the students interviewed had taken an option offered by the Māori department such as Te Reo Māori or Māori Performing Arts during their five years at the college. Students explained that while Te Reo Māori was a language option available to all students in Year 9 and 10, each chose alternative language options. The rationale for their decisions in no way indicated a devaluation of Te Reo Māori, rather it pointed to a wide range of student interests and robust language options offered at School C. As such, one student opted for Japanese to maintain her first language, another student took Japanese due to a longstanding interest in anime, another took German resulting from trips to Germany to play football. However, looking back on these choices and the decision to not take Te Reo Māori as an option, one of the students lamented, "I wish I did" (C6). This sentiment drew support from two other students in the focus group who concurred with verbal and non-verbal affirmations.

To further uncover the ways in which students were engaging with te ao Māori in the formal school program, students were asked the degree to which mātauranga Māori or te reo Māori plays a part within other subjects at School C. The majority of students noted a school climate where intentional attempts to 'integrate' or 'normalize' te ao Māori were noticeable, and encouraged.

> Ever since you start school to now it's always been about trying to integrate…teaching you more about the culture. (C2)

The teacher advocate spoke of this push at School C as coming "to the realization that [te ao Māori] is going to be really beneficial for us. And it starts here, at our school, in our everyday practices". Similarly, most of the students shared that the primary way in which te ao Māori was integrated into the everyday practices at School C was in the use of te reo Māori in greetings and simple phrases, as is best shown in this quote:

> There are actually quite a few teacher at this school who try to incorporate at least some te reo words in their vocabulary throughout the day, even if it is just saying like "kia ora" or "ka kite" to the classes…I think through our senior leadership team they

> also highly encourage it at their staff meeting to use some te reo, so that students acknowledge it, and maybe even begin to use it as well…So yeah, mainly greetings I think. (C6)

Embedded in this respond is the recognition that the use of te reo Māori within classes is limited, as expressed by C7, "we do try to encourage them, but it's quite minimal". Acknowledging the minimal te reo Māori and mātauranga Māori that has been engaged with, C5 offered a poignant comment:

> For me, I understand the general processes of how a lot of things work. But I don't understand the meaning behind it all, a lot of the time. Like I understand that they are doing a ritual of a blessing of some sort, like Matariki, but I don't really understand, or haven't been taught exactly why we are doing the blessing or whatever it may be. So it's just like trying to understand more in depth about why everything happens in the culture rather than, oh it's happening. It's becoming more aware of the actual, like culture itself than just the events that happen.

Summary

Students from School C defined te ao Māori by the fundamental values of respect, generosity, and humility. Alongside these values, students also defined te ao Māori by 'cultural performances' involving waiata, haka, and taonga pūoro. The majority of students spoke of te ao Māori as being connected in a variety of ways to their respective ethnocultural identities, 'it links to my culture as well'. As such, there was a noticeable shift from 'they', 'them', and 'theirs' to 'we', 'us', and 'ours. However, despite the positive ways in which te ao Māori was defined and positioned, students characterized their engagement with te ao Māori at School C as 'quite minimal'. Most students spoke of engagement that was limited to intermittent occurrences outside of the formal school program, such as at year-level assemblies, sports exchanges, and annual celebrations. Minimal normative expectations will be a key idea explored in Chapter 6.1.

5.3.3 Dispositions and Attitudes Towards Te Ao Māori

Introduction

While the prior section focused on how te ao Māori was defined, positioned, and engaged with in School C, this section examines the dispositions and attitudes of students towards te ao Māori stemming from their school experiences. To gauge dispositions and attitudes, students were first prompted to discuss some of their most memorable school experiences in te ao Māori. The overall findings of this section indicate a significant sense of belonging and acceptance in te ao Māori, and a desire towards meaningful engagement. Despite this warm affect, most students also spoke of a sense of hesitancy rooted in a lack of self-confidence. This intrapersonal challenge, expressed as feeling a "bit on the side" (C5), was widely-held. Students from School C also noted additional challenges to their engagement with te ao Māori coming from their homes. This challenge was expressed in the sentiment that things Māori are meant to be exclusively for Māori.

Memorable experiences

When asked about their most memorable experiences in te ao Māori, students produced a variety of responses including:

- Kapa haka (x3)
- Noho marae (x2)
- Primary and intermediate school experiences
- Annual Matariki celebrations

Shared across this wide array of experiences was a strong, pervasive attitude of belonging and acceptance in te ao Māori:

> It is something that is very open to anyone to come in and join (C5)

> The culture is very welcoming…no matter where you are from, you are always accepted by that culture. And they're willing to share it with you so that you can be more informed about it and you can learn about it and appreciate it more. (C6)

Students largely describe their school experiences within te ao Māori as embracive, one of open-access and open-arms, “it’s like a one-big-family kind of thing” (C6).

Alongside this feeling of acceptance was frequent mention of a warm emotional connection. In sharing their most memorable experiences in te ao Māori, students often described being deeply ‘touched’ or ‘moved’ by these experiences. There was a sense of being emotionally impacted by their experiences. C3 referred to her experiences in te ao Māori as a source of light in her life, describing it as particularly ‘bright’ place, one providing a profound sense of happiness, joy, and hope. For all participating students at School C, the collective impact of these school experiences served to centripetally draw students into te ao Māori, imparting an authentic desire to participate, to engage, and to experience more.

> Living in New Zealand…it’s best for you to be involved with this [te ao Māori] so you can grow as a person and become involved with the community and the New Zealand culture as well. (C5)

The resulting positive attitudes described above have been intentionally curated at School C, as the teacher advocate (TA) opined:

> For me, personally, it's really about non-Māori having a positive experience with mātauranga Māori and te ao Māori. If they experience positivity, they will embrace it and they will take it on and they will take up the challenge of incorporating it into [their lives]. So it’s creating as many positive experiences as we possibly can.

Despite a dearth of formal experience in te ao Māori in their secondary years, students interviewed at School C were greatly influenced by a plethora of positive informal experiences. These informal experiences served to provoke post-secondary aspirations towards involvement in te ao Māori. As such, students expressed an assumption that te ao Māori *will* be part of their future and suggested a number of potential avenues for future engagement:

> I definitely want to understand it more, I think, going forward… So like, going towards next year I have a couple of options in my course. I'm thinking of potentially taking one towards a Māori historical course kinda thing. And then just like trying to keep up, or learn more te reo 'cos I know some basics of it, the greetings, "How are you?" or "What's the time?", like just talking "Kia ora koutou" or whatever it is, but trying to building on it so I can have smaller conversations with people. (C5)

> [While] I'm not too sure how exactly I would incorporate it to myself, however…I do want to…learn more about it and understand. (C7)

> I'm still hoping to incorporate the Māori culture throughout my lifestyle, maybe even more next year. I'm thinking of possibly picking it up as another subject to study, just so that I can retain all the knowledge that I've already learnt, and learning more and being able to speak more of the language, because it is one of our national languages, so, yeah, I feel like it's gonna be pretty important to me in my future years. (C6)

In addition to the ambition for future personal engagement in te ao Māori, students also expressed the desire that School C would continue to deepen its institutional engagement with te ao Māori. It is important to note that all of the students interviewed were school leavers in 2020. Māori Performing Arts (MPA) as a subject has only been offered at School C since 2018. Te Reo Māori will be offered as a core subject at School C, taken as a compulsory class for one-third of the year by all Year 9s, beginning in 2021.

> They're changing it up for Year 9s. so that's going to be pretty good next year so that hopefully it ensures that the students have some sort of knowledge of te ao Māori and try to like, hopefully they can take that knowledge and then use it throughout the rest of their years at college or expand it if they chose to, and then be more involved in the culture. (C5)

Whilst the students interviewed were unable to benefit from these enhanced opportunities to engage with te ao Māori, they indicated widespread support for these changes in their interviews. Their affirming attitude was particularly evident in the positive language chosen

to describe the upcoming changes at School C, mentioned as being: 'pretty good' (C5), 'cool' (C7), and 'pretty cool' (C6).

Unique Challenges

In addition to asking about the most memorable experiences in te ao Māori, students were also asked to discuss any unique challenges that may have inhibited or dissuaded them from more fully experiencing te ao Māori as students identifying with Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicities. While there was not a strong sense that they faced any significant interpersonal barriers, there was mention of an involuntary, intrapersonal sensation of 'feeling out of place' as a non-Māori student engaging in te ao Māori. C6 noted the potential for non-Māori students to "kind of feel discouraged…because they feel like they're really out of place". C5 commented similarly,

> A lot of the generally Māori and Poly students are involved with it and a lot of students who I've talked to, they kind of feel out of place, which is bit of an issue. But like even though it is such a warm and welcoming community to be involved with, but students still feel like a bit on the side, like even though they're not pushed out of it or anything.

When asked the source of these particular feelings, students pointed to a variety of internal or intrapersonal sources.

> I think a lot of it is, students just not having the confidence or like self-confidence to go and try to be involved with it. (C5)

> [They] haven't really found fulfilment…and haven't had that first-hand experience with the culture, so they're kind of an outsider. (C6)

While C5 notes a lack of 'self-confidence' as the source of these feelings, and C6 notes a lack of 'first-hand experience' triggering the feelings of an outsider, C7 lamented a "personal race thing that we feel, like 'Oh, that's Māori culture…and Māori people should be doing it'". This feeling is "something that's holding people back from joining it when it shouldn't be. It's like a division, when it shouldn't be".

The focus of these responses on 'personal' (C7), or more specifically, intrapersonal challenges, was notably different from School A and School B in which students cited explicit interpersonal challenges offered by others, namely students of European and Māori backgrounds. While acknowledging these intrapersonal feelings to be a genuine challenge, many of these students interviewed suggested the challenge they faced was not insurmountable. C2 opines:

> I'd say that that does exist. But personally I just did whatever my friends said.

While C2 confirmed a very real sense of feeling out place, he also notes the power of invitation, and specifically invitation from a trusted friend to draw one into what could be an uncomfortable space. C6 also mentioned in her experiences that it was "some my best mates" who pulled her into the kapa haka group, compensating for her initial feelings of being an outsider.

The teacher advocate at School C similarly recognized such intrapersonal anxieties as a potential barrier for non-Māori students in accessing te ao Māori:

> We acknowledge that that might be a feeling of people, however we swiftly move to the positivity and to the positive experiences…around things Māori.

As expressed by both students and the teacher advocate, positive encounters in te ao Māori initiated by personal invitations are a key lever to overcoming feelings of inadequacy.

While students at School C did not indicate significant interpersonal obstacles impeding engagement with te ao Māori at school, they did mention unique challenges originating from home:

> So when I first joined kapa haka my mum was like, "Why are you doing that, you're not Māori?" She was like confused as to why I would want to do it (C6)

> Like at first they were like asking me, "How come you are doing this? You're not a Māori student, you're from Sri Lanka!" (C5)

Students supposed that this challenge stemmed from a lack of parental exposure to te ao Māori:

> Both my parents, coming from Malaysia, they hadn't really had much exposure to the culture at all. (C6)

> As for my dad, I'm not too sure if he's actually exposed at all, to be honest. (C7)

> My dad only moved here after he got married to my mum, and he hasn't had too much experiences…but for both of them that hasn't been anywhere near as much as what I've had. (C5)

> At home with my parents, I don't think they really talk about it much, like, they don't say much about it, or, that kind of thing. (C1)

> I think they don't really know about it. (C3)

Parental aspirations for their child concerning te ao Māori will be more fully explored in the final section of the findings.

Summary

The dispositions and attitudes of students at School C towards te ao Māori stemming from their school experiences was of acceptance and belonging, expressed by the feeling whereby 'you sort of feel like a family I guess'. This warm attitude of embrace stemmed mainly from a suite of informal school experiences centered on curating positive interactions with te ao Māori. Students expressed future post-secondary ambitions to continue on their journey with te ao Māori, in a deeper and more meaningful fashion. While feeling generally welcomed in te ao Māori, students did note a sense of being 'a bit on the side' as non-Māori, pointing to a range of intrapersonal factors that dissuade engagement. The provision of a plethora of

positive experiences in te ao Māori, coupled with the influence of friends, were noted as significant factors towards overcoming one's inhibition. Interestingly, students indicated that some of the more discouraging voices questioning their engagement in te ao Māori emerged from home. It was supposed that this discouragement stemmed from a lack of parental exposure to te ao Māori. It is to this home perspective, and to the aspiration of families that we now turn.

5.3.4 Family Aspirations

Introduction

The final research sub-question seeks to better understand the educational aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori. It has long been noted in the literature that the aspirations of a family can have a profound influence on the aspirations of a child (Elliot et al., 2001). At School C, senior leadership noted this to be especially true when it comes to acknowledging and valuing te ao Māori, "that sort of thing takes time; it depends on what's going on in the home" (SL1). The findings from this section draw on responses to a written questionnaire completed by the families of students who participated in the focus group. The written questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions formulated to better understand parental aspirations for their child's education concerning te ao Māori, as part of a broader conversation about engagement with te ao Māori in the home.

4 of the 7 students from the focus group returned the questionnaire of behalf of their parents: C2, C3, C5, and C6. Responses are referred to using the prefix "FC", indicating a Family from School C, along with the number corresponding to that of their child. Thus, FC2 references the family of student C2. Responses from each family will be shared separately, followed by a summary of the data provided. At times, family responses will be augmented by relevant comments made by students, teacher advocates, and senior school leadership in hopes of painting a more holistic picture. The overall findings for this section indicate a common expectation that education in Aotearoa New Zealand will offer children an appreciation, an acknowledgment, and a recognition of aspects of te ao Māori. Inherent in this expectation is a high degree of value attributed to te ao Māori. Additionally, families indicated school to be

the near exclusive gateway to accessing te ao Māori not only for their child, but also for their entire family.

FC2

C2 stated that his dad is Egyptian, and his mum is 'Kiwi'. Beyond being a 'Kiwi', the ethnic identity of mum is unknown. C2 was born in New Zealand, but lived in Egypt between the ages 5 to 7. During this time abroad C2 developed the ability to speak Arabic, but reported to have lost much of his fluency. English is the predominate home language in the family of C2 (FC2) . According to FC2, familiar aspects of te ao Māori include "the haka" and "basic Māori language". "Whānau" was noted as a primary, and highly relatable, tenant in FC2's understanding of te ao Māori. Whānau relations include

> looking after my parents in their last years, keeping in touch with other elderly relatives and helping them when they need it.

FC2 indicated explicitly that the school was the primary gateway for their children to access te ao Māori, "all three of my children have experienced the Māori culture in their school days". FC2 stated that their children do not have access to any experiences in te ao Māori outside of what is provided by the school, "none that I know of", rather "I feel they get their learning through school". While FC2 mentioned learning experiences in te ao Māori outside of the school's physical boundaries (e.g. "marae visits and haka competitions"), these experiences were always initiated and led by the school.

FC2 affirmed the prominent place of te ao Māori in the education of her child and expressed hope for future engagements. When asked about their educational aspirations for their children concerning te ao Māori, FC2 answered "I want them to appreciate the country". Further, FC2 drew a link between the stated desire 'to appreciate' te ao Māori, and an incorporation of whānau values in the education of their children,

> To understand and appreciate the importance of their family. I feel as though that is an important part of the Māori culture and something that is important for us as well.

When C2 was asked about the aspirations of his parents toward te ao Māori, he commented:

> I wouldn't say they encourage it, or not encourage it. They don't say anything about it really. So, like, my dad, for example, who comes from Egypt, he works in a company which is owned by a Māori, some Māori politician, so he has to like, learn waiatas and stuff like that. So sometimes he will come home and start singing some Māori songs, stuff like that. My mum listens to the radio and next thing you know she'll be greeting you in Māori, saying some phrases. Yeah it's pretty open. They don't discourage it, they don't encourage it either. It's just whatever you're up to.

C2's response indicates a position of neutrality, rather than ambivalence or apathy. Being 'pretty open' is to offer consent or permission to engage, a key finding that will be further discussed the next chapter.

FC3

C3 was the only international student participating in this study[31]. C3 was born in Germany to Japanese parents. She spent her primary school years in Japan, before moving to New Zealand at age 15. Her host family in New Zealand is ethnically Chinese. As C3 chose to have her host family complete the questionnaire, they will be referred to as the family of C3 (FC3). When FC3 was asked about their understanding of te ao Māori, FC3 made multiple mentions of "the Māori language" or "the language" as being a central component to te ao Māori.
FC3 further noted te ao Māori to be a wide cache of learning which "acknowledges…all living and non-living".

FC3 noted school to be the exclusive gateway to te ao Māori for their children. Exposure to te ao Māori occurred via "children's education through school". Outside of school, exposure to te ao Māori was noted to be "Nil". When asked of their educational aspirations for their

[31] 'International students' were included in the sample so long as they identified with an ethnicity other than Māori or European. It is acknowledged that their experiences may be significantly different from a domestic student. Future research investigating the experiences of international students exclusively is certainly warranted, yet beyond scope of this study.

child concerning te ao Māori, FC3 expressed a desire towards "acknowledgment and recognition of culture and language". Although FC3 did not specify what aspects of Māori "culture" they were hoping their child would acknowledge and recognize, they did make multiple mentions of "the Māori language" or "the language" as being a central component to te ao Māori. Correspondingly, when asked about the future role they envision te ao Māori will play in the life of their child, FC3 commented that "the language is everywhere", pointing to an ever-growing number of events offered in te reo Māori and the increased prevalence of "Māori greetings".

Overall, the responses of FC3 were matter of fact and contained little to no indication of personal affect. As such while they indicated "the language is everywhere", they did not indicate how this fact influences their personal opinions and aspirations. C3 also spoke her host family's unknown aspirations: "They don't really talk about it. I think they don't really know about it". In contrast, when speaking of her family in Japan, C3 immediately noted an affect, "if they were here, they would be encouraging me to do something like that".

FC5

The parents of C5 were born in Sri Lanka and immigrated to New Zealand as young adults. Sinhalese is the primary language spoken at home. C5 offered the following narrative to describe his family:

> I mean, my dad only moved here after he got married to my mum, and he hasn't had too much experiences [in te ao Māori] other than just talking to his Māori friends and like going around with them to different things, like he's been to a couple hangis and things like that. But then mum grew up…well she went to college and university in New Zealand so, and she went to Waikato University as well, so that was a bit more exposure to the Māori culture I think, but for both of them that hasn't been anywhere near as much as what I've had.

While C5 suggests his mother's secondary and tertiary education in New Zealand offered her additional exposure to te ao Māori, he frames his current schooling experience as the

unquestionable primary gateway to te ao Māori. Written responses offered by FC5 concur with C5's assessment of school as the primary gateway to accessing te ao Māori. FC5 described their child's school experiences in te ao Māori as providing a variety of "cultural activities" and "engagements related with Māori culture and language". These school activities were not limited to the school boundary, but extended to visiting "many places like art galleries, museums, events, music buildings" that were perceived to be linked to te ao Māori. Collectively, these experiences have "enabled them [to] learn and cultivate some of [the] values". Assumed in these comments is the perceived worth of such values, that they are worthy of cultivation and worthy of the effort required to cultivate.

When FC5 was asked what aspects of te ao Māori were most important for them in the education of their child, they placed a strong, fundamental value on "knowing the history of the Māori people", of knowing "the origins of our indigenous people and their culture, values, beliefs", "of "how things were before and now". Again, the worth of this knowledge was made explicit, "It's quite valuable to understand". Given this high worth, it was unsurprising that FC5 expressed an aspiration for "participation and continuous learning" in te ao Māori for their child

FC5 spoke of their primary contribution to their child's journey in te ao Māori as one of "encouraging them to get involved and participate in Māori activities, visit places and people with every opportunity that they have". C5 also acknowledged this encouragement,

> And more recently now they have pushed me to get more involved with it than I have been as well, which is pretty good.

Interestingly, C5 also mentioned a sense in which his journey in te ao Māori was providing encouragement for his family as well to deepen their engagement.

> I told them more about the things I'm getting involved with, like the pōwhiris that happen at school, Matariki and things, and talk to them about how awesome the events are and how like culturally significant they are to the Māori culture as well. They kind of started to realize we have these same kind of things in the Sri Lankan

> culture. And they kinda realized that, living in New Zealand you kinda have to, you don't have to be, but it's best for you to be involved with this, so you can grow as a person and become involved with the community and the New Zealand culture as well.

Flowing out from the key idea of school as a primary gateway to accessing te ao Māori for ethnically diverse students is the notion that schooling may also be one of the primary gateways for ethnically diverse families to access the richness of te ao Māori. The narrative offered by C5 points to a pattern of reciprocal learning, of students bring their school experiences in te ao Māori home to their families.

Finally, when asked of the future role they envisioned te ao Māori playing in their child's life, FC5 made mention of a future whereby their child's understandings may help in some way to "secure or preserve" some of the Māori "cultural values and beliefs and many other good things in life in general". FC5 described an altruistic sense of collective responsibility towards sustaining the vitality of te ao Māori.

FC6

In addition to completing the written questionnaire, the father of C6 (FC6) expressed an interest in a follow-up interview. The follow-up interview with was conducted shortly after the written questionnaire was received. The informal interview was patterned after the questionnaire, with the aim of allowing for a fuller explanation to the responses previously offered. As a result of FC6 completing multiple data collection instruments, the findings offered for FC6 are significantly detailed in nature.

The parents of C6 both identify as Malaysian Chinese and reported migrating to New Zealand as young adults in the 1980s. C6 was born in New Zealand. While English is the primary language spoken at home, Malay and Hokkien (Fujian), a southern Chinese dialect, are also spoken. It was clear across both the written questionnaire and the follow-up interview that FC6 holds te ao Māori in an esteemed, privileged position. The expression, "it's a culturally rich world!", was offered as the first description of te ao Māori. Conceptually, "for me it's the language, the culture, the ceremonies". FC6 pointed out having been involved with pōwhiri,

farewells, and waiata in the workplace. FC6 described the first pōwhiri he ever attended, in great detail and with great fondness, despite it having taken place nearly over 30 years prior. These experiences left an indelible impression on FC6, shaping the aspirations held today. FC6 went on to speak of a pervasiveness, an inescapabilty to te ao Māori, a sense in which it "is always around us…and it's vital".

FC6 also drew close links between to ao Māori and his own ethnocultural identity as Malaysian Chinese, "Māori is a very family-oriented group of people, and so are the Chinese…te ao Māori is very similar to the Asian way of thinking". FC6 went on to offer a number of linkages:

> And from history we know that the Māori moved from Taiwan all the way down here. My view is that they would've gone through Malaysia to come all the way down as well because there are some words that are spoken in the Malay language that have exactly the same meaning. Same words, the same meaning used in these two different cultures. Like fish, 'ika' in Malay, 'ika' in Māori. Or five is 'rima' in Māori and 'lima' in Malay.

When asked about the importance of te ao Māori in their child's education, FC6 supposed that a place of prominence should be given to te ao Māori,

> As my daughter was born in New Zealand, we believe that it is important for her to learn and understand about Māori culture and language.

The response of FC6 indicates a critical understanding of place - because C6 was born and educated in New Zealand, there is a natural expectation that her schooling would be inclusive of te ao Māori. FC6 indicated their full support for such learning. When asked of course offerings and class choices at School C, FC6 noted that while C6 has taken French as a subject throughout her college years, "we actually encouraged her to pick up Māori". FC6 had mention of the future possibility whereby his children would speak more te reo Māori than Hokkien, one of their heritage languages, "I think it would be very much a natural progression", that one's heritage language decreases over time, while "the local, the Māori,

whatever you call it, would actually go up". He explained that as his family migrated from China to Malaysia four or five generations ago, the Malay language was picked up while certain Chinese dialects faded. Now, as the family has migrated to New Zealand, it would be perceived to be "natural" that te reo Māori would be picked up while the use of Malay would decrease.

As alluded to in previous comments, FC6 envisions a significant role that te ao Māori will play in their child's future. FC6 made several mentions of the increasing acknowledgement of te ao Māori across society, suggesting that the future "environment will have a lot of Māori influence in the way that things are being done." FC6 noted that this is especially true in the workplace, that te ao Māori is "becoming increasingly important". In particular, FC6 spoke of the government sector where there is "a lot of influence in trying to push for more Māori language in different areas…encouraging staff to actually do Māori". While the prospect of a pay rise attached to te reo fluency levels was mentioned, FC6 opined that the future importance of te ao Māori is tied not primarily to monetary compensation or to the potential for upward social mobility, "not because of the selfish thought, 'she [will] need them in her future working in New Zealand', but for her to understand the Māori perspective of things". FC6 opined that the capacity for C6 to make a positive impact for her community hinges upon her understandings of te ao Māori. As such, "understanding te ao Māori is just a start of that journey".

Despite the positive dispositions and willingness to engage with te ao Māori expressed by FC6, he still noted "not a great deal" of exposure to te ao Māori is available outside of school. The one exception mentioned was socializing "with her Māori friends from school, outside of school". The comments of FC6 continue to affirm the school as the primary access point. Within the school experiences of C6 it has been "participation and leading in the school kapa haka team" which has provided FC6's primary exposure to te ao Māori. According to C6, "I take kapa haka not as a subject, just as like an extracurricular activity. I started last year [Year 12] and really, really enjoyed it". C6 goes on to call kapa haka "one of the highlights of this year". Indeed, the enthusiasm C6 shows towards kapa haka is obvious - her poi are never far off, neatly tucked away in her school uniform on the odd occasion they are not in use. This passion for kapa haka has lead FC6 to jokingly refer to C6 "as our Māori daughter!" C6

reported that in addition to her affinity for music and singing, "some of my best mates are part of the kapa haka group." Indeed, FC6 suggested that it was the power of invitation that initially prompted C6 towards kapa haka, "I'm sure one of her friends would have pulled her in because one of her good friends is in the kapa haka group as well…it could be part of that influence". The power of invitation will be discussed in Chapter 6.2

FC6 was also asked about their response to C6's decision to join the kapa haka group at School C. FC6 noted that C6 is naturally "self-motivated and "self-driven":

> She has got a mind of her own anyways, as you can tell! We didn't say 'yes' or 'no'; we best say, 'have you got time?'…if you can manage it, go for it…if you can't, something's got to drop

At the time, C6 was highly involved in playing basketball, representing her region. C6 made the decision to drop her involvement in sport in order to make the time required for kapa haka. While FC6 supposed they were taking a neutral stance, the value they placed on te ao Māori, as on par with any other sport or activity, allowed for the ability to make choice. FC6 opines, "all we had to do is just give her permission to participate and learn… I guess that's how we shape the kids". This permission, or consent to participate, is key finding addressed in the Discussions chapter.

As mentioned in the introduction to School C, the kapa haka group was identified as a key component of School C's commitment to te ao Māori. The kapa haka group has grown exponentially in both size and strength over the last few years, from a casual handful of kids to a disciplined group of well over 50. Furthermore, the membership of the kapa haka team reflects the ethnic diversity of School C. FC6 pointed out this uniqueness, noting that School C's team includes members who are" Caucasian and Chinese…and Indian as well". Rather than being anomalous, it seems ethnic diversity is becoming a normalized part of the DNA of the kapa haka team at School C:

> So this year they have got even more [ethnically diverse/non-Māori] in the kapa haka group. Last year there was a handful, but this year there are more. (FC6)

> ‘Cos there were quite a few in the group this year that aren’t Pakeha, they aren’t Māori, or Pasifika, and they’ve stayed on and continued with kapa haka and they definitely love it. (C6)

Towards this end, FC6 notes the position held by C6, as an ‘influencer’ and “a good role model for her peers”, pushing them to “embrace both Māori culture and language” through kapa haka:

> Last year when they were preparing for the Regionals, they were performing at school for all the students to watch in the school hall as well, and I think from there, a lot of the non-Māori looked and said, if she can do it, I can do it too, and if I enjoy singing and dancing then I shouldn’t feel lost in that.

While noting that it may be perceived by some to be “unusual for a Chinese girl to be leading the kapa haka”, FC6 remark that “she is very comfortable” in Māori spaces. Further, they note that feeling out of place is nothing new for C6, but rather has been common experience throughout her life. FC6 commented that as a result of having played basketball for much of her life, often “she was probably the only Chinese girl there, the rest were mainly Māori and Pasifika”. Undoubtedly, these life experiences prepared her to be able to embrace the opportunities offered her at School C to engage deeply with in te ao Māori through kapa haka.

Finally, comments from both FC6 and C6 point to reciprocal learning - of a child’s school experiences profoundly influencing their family and vice versa. To this end, C6 commented:

> Both my parents, coming from Malaysia, they hadn’t really had much exposure to the [Māori] culture at all…Up until this year [they] didn’t really appreciate the Māori culture as much, or like it just wasn’t part of [their] life.

When C6 made the decision to join the kapa haka group last year, she notes her parents to have been initially “confused as to why I would want to do it”,

> When I first joined kapa haka my mum was like, 'Why are you doing that, you're not Māori?' And then she saw me perform with the kapa haka group and kind of understood. There's that whanau-type of feeling and atmosphere, and she began to see why I would enjoy it so much and appreciate the culture, because it is something that is really beautiful.

Summary

Overall findings from the data collection from participating families at School C indicate an aspiration towards a pattern of 'continuous learning' in te ao Māori. Families spoke of a desire to develop an 'appreciation', an 'acknowledgement and recognition' of te ao Māori. Families spoke broadly of te ao Māori as being 'all around us', inclusive of 'all living and non-living', and centered on the language. 3 out of 4 families spoke of similarities and affinities between their home culture and te ao Māori. All families attributed a high degree of inherent worth to te ao Māori, upholding it in a privileged position. It was expected that students would be offered a myriad of school experiences that would "enable them [to] learn and cultivate some of [the] values" (FC5). However, it was noted that deeper involvement, more than the norm, tends to draw a degree of puzzlement from some parents, reflective in the comment, "Why are you doing that? You're not Māori" (C6). School was seen by all families to be the near exclusive gateway to te ao Māori. None of the participating families noted any significant exposure to te ao Māori outside of what is offered in the school. As a result, schools then become the primary gateway to accessing te ao Māori for students as well as for their parents from ethnically diverse backgrounds.

5.3.5 Case Study C Summary

School C is co-educational, English-medium secondary school described by participants as 'one of the most multicultural in New Zealand'. While the multiethnic fabric of School C is longstanding, the share of students identifying with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA or 'Other' ethnicity continues to grow, composing just under 50 percent of the roll in 2020. Additionally, approximately 15 percent of students identify as Māori, and a firm commitment to sustaining te ao Māori at School C was noted across all interviews and artifacts. These characteristics, a multiethnic student population and a commitment to te ao Māori, position School C to inform

the primary research question, How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori among an increasingly ethnically diverse student population?

Seven Year 13 students participated in the focus groups at School C. The students identified with a variety of ethnic backgrounds: Chinese, Sri Lankan, Fijian Indian, Filipino, Egyptian, and Japanese. Initial discussion in the focus group sought to understand the ways in which te ao Māori was being defined, positioned, and engaged with at School C. The overall findings from this section indicate that te ao Māori te ao Māori is being defined primarily in terms of Māori values and cultural activities. Te ao Māori was positioned in terms of similarity, not difference, to their own ethnocultural identity, 'it links to my culture as well'. However, despite the positive ways in which te ao Māori was defined and positioned, students characterized their engagement with te ao Māori at School C as 'quite minimal'. The majority of students spoke of engagement that was limited to intermittent occurrences outside of the formal school program, such as at year-level assemblies, sports exchanges, and annual celebrations. Minimal normative expectations is a key idea explored further in Chapter 6.1.

The second research sub-question examined the dispositions and attitudes of ethnically diverse students towards te ao Māori resulting from their school experiences. The overall findings of this section indicate a significant sense of belonging and acceptance in te ao Māori, stemmed from a range of informal school experiences centered on curating positive interactions. Despite this warm affect, most students also spoke of a sense of hesitancy rooted in a lack of self-confidence. This intrapersonal challenge, expressed as feeling a 'bit on the side', was widely held. The provision of a plethora of positive experiences in te ao Māori, coupled with the influence of friends, were notes as significant factors working towards overcoming one's inhibition. In contrast, some of the students indicated that some of the more discouraging voices questioning their engagement in te ao Māori emerged from home. This challenge was expressed in the sentiment that things Māori are meant to be exclusively for Māori.

The third and final research sub-question seeks to better understand the educational aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori. The findings from this section center on the data gathered from written questionnaires completed by the families

of students who participated in the focus group. The overall findings for this section indicate a common expectation that education in Aotearoa New Zealand will offer children an appreciation, an acknowledgment, and a recognition of aspects of te ao Māori. All families attributed a high degree of inherent worth to te ao Māori, upholding it in a privileged position. 3 out of 4 families spoke of similarities and affinities between their home culture and te ao Māori. Additionally, families spoke of school as the near exclusive gateway to accessing te ao Māori for their child, and also for their family. None of the participating families noted any significant exposure to te ao Māori outside of what is offered in the school.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented key findings from each of the three case studies aligned to the three research sub-questions. Each case study was presented as a distinct school community. In the next chapter, the findings from these three case studies are brought together to answer the primary research question, and sub-questions. As such, Chapter 6 will provide a more critical discussion of these findings, with support from the literature and theoretical frameworks, to argue that multiethnic schools play a significant role in sustaining te ao Māori in the 'new New Zealand' (Spoonley, 2020).

Chapter Six: Discussion

6.0 Introduction

This chapter will offer a synthesis of the research findings (Chapter 5), literature review (Chapter 2), and theoretical framework (Chapter 3) to address the research aims (Chapter 1). The overall aim of this study is to examine how the provision of a bicultural education, one which acknowledges the central place of te ao Māori and te Tiriti o Waitangi, is being impacted by an increasingly ethnically diverse student population. This thesis explores the potential issues, benefits, successes, and current challenges multiethnic schools face related to the teaching and learning of te ao Māori. Driving this research is the primary research question – How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population? Three sub-questions were extrapolated from the overarching research question:

- How is te ao Māori being defined, positioned, and engaged with in multiethnic schools?
- In what ways are formal and informal school experiences influencing the dispositions and attitudes towards te ao Māori among ethnically diverse students?
- What are the educational aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori?

Triangulating the perspectives of multiple stakeholders - students and their families, senior school leadership and teacher advocates, across multiple case studies, served to clarify meanings and deepen understandings (Mutch, 2005; Stake, 2008). Guided by these research questions, an inductive analysis of the data revealed the three following overarching themes:

Theme #1 - School as the primary gateway

For the ethnically diverse students in this study, school was unquestionably the primary gateway to accessing te ao Māori. Five key characteristics emerged that supported student engagement in te ao Māori at school - dedicated courses, authentic learning spaces (Marae ā-kura), iwi/hapū partnerships, positivity, and normalized practices.

Theme #2 - Touchstone School Experiences

Engagement in bicultural education is not automatic for students from ethnically diverse backgrounds. Students identified a range of influential, or 'touchstone' school experiences (Royal, 2007), that served to either centripetally invite them in, or centrifugally push them away, from te ao Māori.

Theme #3 - Parental Consent and Expectations

While discussions in the home concerning te ao Māori may be infrequent and limited in scope, ethnically diverse families consent to the bicultural education offered at school. There is a parental expectation that school will prepare children for a future whereby te ao Māori will play an increasingly important role in the lives of all New Zealanders.

These three overarching themes are further elaborated below

6.1 Theme #1: School as the Primary Gateway

> Ever since you start school to now, it's *always* been about trying to integrate [te ao Māori]…teaching you more about the culture. (C2)

> In the current environment…school is the primary place students gain exposure to te reo Māori. (Hill, 2017, p.312)

Few may question the notion that schools are *one* of the gateways for students to access te ao Māori. As such, how schools define, position, and engage with te ao Māori will significantly influence the ways in which students will define, position, and engage with te ao Māori. As a gatekeeper, schools can enable or bar access. While the quote from Hill (2017) offered above is taken from a study involving students from primarily from Māori and European backgrounds, findings from this study suggest that for ethnically diverse students, schools are *the* primary gateway to accessing te ao Māori, holding exclusive potential to shape dispositions and attitudes. This first theme, **school as the primary gateway,** is aligned with

the first research sub-question - how is te ao Māori being positioned, defined, and engaged with, in multiethnic secondary schools?

According to Haemata (2018), the four places children are most likely to hear and use te reo Māori are at school, at home, at the marae, and at the homes of other whānau members. Of these four places, students participating in this study, all of whom were non-Māori and non-European, indicated school to be the near exclusive gateway to accessing te ao Māori. Te ao Māori was generally not frequently discussed at home or with other whānau members, and access to marae was limited. The narratives offered by participating students align with Omura's (2014) research among Asian New Zealanders, supposing that outside of school, "There is no meeting space for Māori and Asians which make us to have continuous dialogue…There is no context for Asians to establish contact with Māori" (p.107). Thus for students from ethnically diverse backgrounds, there is a certain salience to the suggestion that schools may be "a key lever in helping to shape positive attitudes towards Māori language and culture" (Haemata, 2018, p.59).

While schools (and school communities) have the potential to positively influence student views on te ao Māori, identifying the specific mechanisms that contribute to effective practice is challenging (Haemata, 2018). In a think piece commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Royal (2007) theorizes on the purpose of education from a mātauranga Māori perspective and offers the analogy of education as a house of learning. He suggests that te ao Māori forms the foundation of the house, the integrity of which underpins the entire structure. Inside the house are range of disciplines, knowledge, skills, and fields of study largely drawn from outside of te ao Māori. Drawing from this analogy, participating schools can be similarly envisioned as houses of learning, each house predicated upon te ao Māori as the foundation. In analyzing of the integrity of the foundations, five characteristics were identified as key components:

1- Dedicated courses

2- Authentic learning spaces (Marae ā-kura)

3- Iwi/hapū partnership

4- Positivity

5- Normalized practices

The characteristics themselves are not unique to these case studies, rather they are well-evident in existing scholarship (Macfarlane, 2015; Metge, 2008). However, the manner in which these characteristics are measured, mixed, and cured together is indeed unique to each house, or each case study. An elaboration of each of these five characteristics follows.

6.1.1 Dedicated Courses

Schools in Aotearoa New Zealand operate as highly autonomous organizations and have extensive liberty to determine their local curriculum (Hipkins et al., 2016). At the national level, te reo Māori is currently not a compulsory school subject (MoE, 2007). Rather, as Richard Benton (2015) points out, te reo Māori is considered 'official but optional' (p.103). The promotion of te reo Māori, alongside more robust understandings of te Tiriti o Waitangi (Omura, 2014) and New Zealand history (Sheehan et al., 2017) is a long simmering political and popular debate (Lourie, 2016b). However, despite the absence of a national mandate, more and more schools are independently choosing to offer dedicated instruction in te reo Māori (MoE, 2020c).

While offering dedicated te reo Māori courses was not part of the selection criteria for this study, coincidentally all three of the participating schools either offered, or were in the process of offering such courses. The nature of these courses varied depending on contextual constraints and local aspirations; some focused exclusively on the Māori language, others more broadly on culture and iwi-tanga. In general, these course were described by students as 'where you learn about the culture and a little bit of language' (A5). School leadership describes the overall aim as 'making everybody aware of te ao Māori' (School A). Similar course aims were expressed by teacher advocates, 'to participate in te reo Māori and have a positive experience in kaupapa Māori' (School B).

Across all three schools, dedicated courses were offered upon entry to the college (either Year 7 or 9), and were approximately one trimester in length (12-14 weeks). As such, these courses served as an induction to school norms and expectations around te ao Māori. A common sentiment among students was that these courses significantly shaped perceptions of te ao Māori, "That was the main experience that kinda brought up my views" (A5). Parents

similarly noted that fundamental place of dedicated courses in shaping student perceptions, as did teacher advocates:

> By the end of [the course]….Pākehā kids, Asian kids, stand up, do karanga, do whaikorero, and then you have a chance to just mihi them, like, far out man I can't believe what you fellas have learnt and I'd be saying, 'You guys are amazing'. (School A)

While part of the intent in offering te reo Māori to all students in their first year is to set the tone and expectations, many students indicated that much of this learning became 'fuzzy' or was 'lost' in subsequent years. To this end Haemata (2018) notes, "while many schools may offer Māori language learning as part of their school curriculum, the effectiveness of those programmes in terms of producing outcomes was unclear" (p.31).

Students across all three schools were strongly in favor of dedicated courses, based either upon their own positive personal experiences (School A and B), or in the case of School C driven by what they perceive to have missed out on, 'I wish I did'. However, support was not unanimous among all participants. In particular, one of the teacher advocates was unconvinced that compulsory classes are the best way to further advance the language. Rather than forcing the language upon those unwilling or unready to engage, her preference was that students would "come to the reo when you're ready" (School B). This argument echoes the opinion of the Waitangi Tribunal (1986), "we do not recommend that it [the Māori language] should be a compulsory subject in the schools…for we think it more profitable to promote the language than to impose it" (p.1)

Regardless of the outcome of the national debate concerning compulsory te reo Māori, more and more secondary schools are making the preemptive decision to offer dedicated courses within their school (MoE, 2020c). Further, in addition these courses, schools are increasingly offering options such as Māori Performing Arts, Ngā Toi (Visual Arts), and Manaaki Marae (Marae Hospitality) (Whitinui, 2008). While such courses may be trending upward, the future is far from certain. As such, Haemata (2018) voice concern over the 'fragility' of these programs within English-medium schools, citing challenges around limited staffing,

resourcing, timetabling, etc. Despite these challenges, dedicated courses were expressed as being foundational components to a bicultural education within multiethnic secondary schools. The significance of *where* these courses take place (marae ā-kura), *who* determines the content (iwi/hapū partnerships), *how* the courses are taught (positivity), and towards *what* intended outcomes (normalized practices) will be detailed below.

6.1.2 Authentic Learning Spaces: Marae ā-kura

As indicated in Chapter 2, Māori educationalists have long asserted that within secondary schools, marae ā-kura are "one of the most significant developments since the introduction of the Māori language in the promotion of bicultural and multicultural education" (Heremaia, 1984, p. 41). More recent scholarship by Jenny Lee and colleagues (2012) confirm that "Marae ā-kura continue to be strong, visible representations of Māori culture, and have a powerful presence" within secondary schools (p.75). While Lee's seminal scholarship highlights the 'unnoticed success' of marae a-kura for Māori students, it is largely unknown how marae ā-kura may be impacting students who identify with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicity.

While the presence of marae ā-kura was not part of the selection criteria, each of the participating schools maintained a well-used and well-loved marae ā-kura. This is not the case in all secondary schools in Aotearoa New Zealand. Jenny Lee (2012) approximates while there are well over 300 secondary schools, there may be around 100 marae ā-kura, although the exact number is difficult to ascertain. Across all three case studies, marae ā-kura served as the tūrangawaewae for all teaching and learning of te ao Māori - home to kapa haka groups, te reo Māori classes, and sites of significant cultural activities such as pōwhiri, hui, and tangihanga . Marae ā-kura are a powerful 'space where you can experience authentic Māori tikanga and teaching and learning' (School C) within the setting of a secondary school setting. Evidence indicates that the marae ā-kura are some of the most actively used teaching and learning spaces at participating secondary schools. As such, expansion, rather than contraction, characterizes these spaces - School A is developing plans to add a wharekai, School B is expanding their ability host noho marae, and School C is formulating *kawa* (protocols) to assess future capacity building for their marae ā-kura.

Stewart and Benade (2020) refer to 'spatial biculturalism' within schools, which they defined as the "embedding of place-based cultural narratives, culturally responsive pedagogy, and bicultural curriculum…into the structures of the built environment" (p.129). Marae ā-kura are premier examples of spatial biculturalism, providing access to a range of 'place-based cultural narratives' expressed in waiata, pōwhiri, tukutuku, kōwhaiwhai, and whakairo (J. Lee, 2016; Heremaia, 1984). Specific examples from the marae ā-kura at participating schools included kōwhaiwhai (School A), waharoa (School B), and stained-glass windows (School C). Teacher advocates from School A were explicit in the acknowledging the significance of these 'place-based cultural narratives' in describing the content of their Tikanga Māori course: "We cover things like - What is a whare? We do our whare; we all do it together".

Furthermore, marae-ā-kura were conceived to be "socially integrative", accessible to "people of all generations, sex, tribe or nationality" (Heremaia, 1984, p.41). This inclusive kaupapa was particularly evident at School B where half of the ethnically diverse students reported routinely spending time in the marae ā-kura. Teacher advocate at School B was explicit in affirming this kaupapa

> I know we'll have some reo Māori students from the kura that have just shifted across to here, and they come in and are like, 'What are these [non-Māori] guys doing in here [marae ā-kura]? Huh? What are these guys doing in here they don't speak Māori?' I says, 'They don't have to speak Māori to be in here'. 'Oh, well they should'. I says, "No, this whare is for everybody".

Findings from this study extend our understandings of marae ā-kura, suggesting that for ethnically diverse students, marae ā-kura may play a central role in their engagement with te ao Māori. While this engagement is primarily via te reo Māori classes, secondary opportunities extend from pōwhiri, kapa haka, and other co-curricular activities. While Jenny Lee et al. (2012) notes marae ā-kura may function "like a second marae" (p.9) for Māori students, for non-Māori students without connections to an ancestral marae, marae ā-kura may serve an even more significant function, that of a primary marae.

6.1.3 Iwi/hapū Partnership

The third characteristic of a solid te ao Māori foundation in schools, is iwi/hapū partnership. This characteristic addresses the content of the dedicated courses which are held in the marae ā-kura. More specifically, it addresses the question "Whose knowledge is being selected or ignored?" (Penetito, 2010, p.69). While all three schools were unwavering in their pursuit of strong representation from Māori (Averill & McRae, 2019), two of the schools were explicit in addressed iwi/hapū aspirations, while the third was more reticent.

Attending to iwi/hapū aspirations is predicated upon relationship. More specifically, a relationship among equals, characterized by mutuality and genuine partnerships. (See Chapter 2.1.2). One of the teacher advocates describes the shape of the evolving 'partnership with iwi' at School A:

> The term partnership is huge, partnership with iwi…I always relate it more to a marriage. Saying to your wife, 'Look I've got this idea for a holiday. We're going here and we're going here. Would you like to give any input to that?' And what's your wife gonna say to that? 'Is this *our* holiday?' How many times do you say to the iwi, you can help us to do this, and you can help us do that. Or what about, what can I help you by doing?

As the teacher advocate alludes, in the context of bicultural education in Aotearoa New Zealand, partnership is sharing power, partnership "demands Māori input into decision-making" (O'Sullivan, 2007, p.33). More specifically, Royal (2007) suggests input from iwi/hapū, as the knowledge holders and experts in iwi-tanga, is crucial to determine the curricular shape and scope. At two of the schools, the regular presence and involvement of kaumātua in all aspects of the life at the college provided consistent iwi/hapū input. At the same two schools, teacher advocates whakapapa to iwi/hapū holding mana whenua. One spoke of the privilege of being brought up by his grandmother, living next door to one of the main marae in the area, immersed in the daily rhythms of te ao Māori. Another commented casually, 'my family have been here for a thousand years really, so I'm pretty much from here'.

Genuine partnership can help ward off the tendency within schools for Māori cultural spaces or traditions to be co-opted by non-Māori (Stewart et al., 2015).

Futhermore, resulting from well-established iwi/hapū partnerships was a distinctive emphasis on place-based education (Gruenewald, 2008). Wally Penetito (2009) offers the following description of place-based education:

> At its most basic, the objective of place-based education is to develop in learners a love of their environment, of the place where they are living, of its social history, of the bio-diversity that exists there, and of the way in which people have responded and continue to respond to the natural and social environments. (p.16)

An emphasis on place-based education was significant feature at the two schools with well-established iwi/hapū partnerships. Teacher advocates from these schools expressed their place-based orientations in following ways:

> [It's] the big drive to push the [iwi/hapū] waiata, the anthems from here. (School B)

> We don't learn Māui as a legend; we learn about [our tūpuna], we learn about naming our rivers. (School A)

> Everything they've been learning comes from here. (School B)

By endorsing a place-based curriculum, schools are acknowledging that "iwi maintain a vast body of knowledge and experience concerning life in Aotearoa" (Royal, 2007, p.78). This acknowledgment, in turn, validates the ability of iwi/hapū to make an important contribution to the education of all students in Aotearoa New Zealand. As such, scholars contend that mātauranga ā-iwi and tikanga ā-iwi, "must be included in the New Zealand educational curriculum for the benefit of Māori and Pākehā alike" (Doherty, 2009, p.254).

In contrast, while School C exhibited an unquestionable commitment to sustaining te ao Māori, they were more reticent in their partnership with iwi/hapū. There was not the steady

presence of kaumātua; there were not close connections with iwi/hapū. Rather, the perception of not 'having a local iwi' was mentioned by senior school leadership.

> We don't have a local iwi, because historically, even going to the 1930s and 1940s, there's no natural springs or water supply here, so it wasn't a particularly good place to support settlement.

These comments were intended to show support for the urban, pan-tribal nature of the school. The teacher advocate similarly acknowledged 'the pan-tribal approach' at School C and a desire to not "necessarily connect ourselves with one particular iwi or hapū…as we have all sorts of students from all different places". However, the following additional comments offered by the teacher advocate contrast to those given by senior school leadership:

> We think it is really important that we acknowledge all the local iwi and hapū, particularly [from the local marae] and the tautoko [support] that they have for our kura, the kaumātua and things up there, and also our [iwi] connections as well [across the greater region]

For the non-Māori students interviewed, the perception of not 'having a local iwi' seemed to engender disengagement from place-based orientations and iwi/hapū partnerships:

> As far as local iwis go…we don't really talk about it as much…as for the subjects that I've taken, I haven't really spoke about that. So I'm really limited on Māori history and all that. (C6)

While students from School A and B expressed emerging understandings of iwi-tanga, this was absent from School C. Furthermore, only 1 of the 7 participating students from School C had been welcomed onto local marae, in contrast with School A and B where all of the participating students had been welcomed onto at least one local marae. Iwi/hapū partnerships are a key influence in determining the overall curricular shape and aims, which in turn significantly impacts the attitudinal development of ethnically diverse students.

6.1.4 Positivity

The fourth characteristic of a solid te ao Māori foundation in schools, is positivity. This characteristic addresses the pedagogy of the dedicated courses, held in the marae ā-kura, driven by iwi/hapū partnership. More specifically it addressed *how* te ao Māori is presented and engaged with.

Across all schools a palpable, positive affect was attached to te ao Māori, and te reo Māori specifically. 'Just fun' was how one of these young people aptly described their experiences in te ao Māori. Other students spoke endearingly of the fundamental values which characterize te ao Māori. They spoke of their experiences as a source of light in their life, describing te ao Māori as particularly 'bright' place. Others spoke of te ao Māori as being "down to earth, or like so pure". A number of students made mention of being impacted by the generosity experienced in their encounters with te ao Māori. Ranginui Walker (2004) calls these features the "efflorescence of Māori culture" (p.7), that is, the overwhelming richness of te ao Māori.

As a teaching method, or pedagogy, positivity was mentioned intentionally, and extensively, in interviews with teacher advocates across all school sites.

> We do waiata; we laugh; we sing; we do a pōwhiri…and we laugh and laugh and laugh. (School A)

> In my learnings of the reo, especially *Te Taura Whiri* (The Māori Language Commission) stuff there, it's full of laughter. You don't have Māori Education that you're not laughing in, 'cos that's not Māori Education, to me. Māori Education is laughing. (School A)

> We swiftly move to the positivity and to the positive experiences…around things Māori. (School C)

> Be proud to participate in te reo Māori if they are non-Māori, and have a positive experience in kaupapa Māori. That it's not all that you might think it is, because there are so many negatives out there. (School B)

> It's our job to hook them in and say 'Actually, this is a good experience'. (School A)

> It's that light, it's that flicker of light. You can't actually explain it in words. (School B)

> My job is that they leave here after a trimester and say 'You know what, I actually enjoyed that. You know what, that was fun'. (School A)

The affective comments of students offered earlier, alongside those offer by teacher advocates immediately above, stand in sharp contrast to the 'restricted repertoire' of Māori language instruction endemic in English-medium schools in Aotearoa New Zealand (Haemata, 2018, p.54). In their evaluation of te reo Māori programs within English-medium schools, Haemata (2018) reports a pattern whereby students are becoming disenchanted from te reo Māori due to "a limited diet, repeated year after year [which] is not conductive to a Māori language progression across the school, nor does if contribute to sustained student engagement" (p.54). However, despite this current state of affair, Haemata (2018) supposes that English-medium schools contain 'yet to be realized' potential to contribute to raising the status of the te ao Māori generally, and te reo specifically (p.62). The three case studies included in this research may offer a glimpse of what this 'cultural and attitudinal shift' (Haemata, 2018, p.62) across schools may look like if positivity was permitted to run rampant. Thus, the fourth characteristic, positivity, is the vehicle responsible for delivering dedicated courses, within authentic learning spaces, centered on iwi aspiration.

6.1.5 Normalized Practices

The final characteristic of a solid te ao Māori foundation in schools, is normalization. This characteristic addresses the overall climate, the normative expectations of schools, influenced by dedicated courses, held in the marae ā-kura, driven by iwi/hapū partnerships, and steeped in positivity.

Prominent Māori linguists Rāwinia Higgins and Poia Rewi (2014) suppose normalization of te reo Māori, and of te ao Māori more generally, is the ultimate aim of revitalization efforts. Normalization is what occurs *after* revitalization. They opine that increases in normalization are tied to increases in the perceived relevance, value, and use of the language. Officially, the normalization of te reo Māori is a well-established goal within the government's overarching Māori language strategy, Maihi Karauna (2018), expressed as 'Kia māhorahora te reo' - that te reo Māori would be a regular part of daily life for all New Zealanders, 'Everywhere, Every Way, Everyone, Every Day' (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018, p. 21.)

Across all case studies te ao Māori was observed to be a pervasive feature: 'Ever since you start school to now it's always been about trying to integrate…teaching you more about the culture' (C2). Senior leadership suggested that this pervasiveness serves as a key tool to normalize te ao Māori, 'We are getting to the point where all of our students, no matter what ethnicity, they kinda just accept that this is normal, that this is what we do'. As such, it is supposed that te ao Māori has become a 'very natural…part of who they are' (School C). Students seemed to generally concur with the assessment of senior school leadership, confirming the pervasiveness of te ao Māori, characterizing it as 'the background of New Zealand' (A3). Given this pervasiveness, it was unsurprising that students suppose that te ao Māori has 'just become normal to us now' (A3); 'we see it as normal because we always see it' (B4). As something normal, 'it doesn't faze me at all' (B2). Dame Anne Salmond (2012) supposes that a collective movement may be underfoot whereby 'Te Ao Māori' is being reinterpreted, away from being understood as the world of 'the Māori People', to the world of 'the ordinary, normal, everyday way of being', or 'te ao māori' (p.123). Indeed the case studies in this research would support such a claim, giving evidence to a general repositioning where to be Māori, to speak Māori, to live as Māori, in Aotearoa, is normal.

While expressions of 'normal' or 'natural' were commonplace, the subject of normalization (e.g. what is being made normal), and the degree of normalization (e.g. at what level(s) is it being made normal), are worthy of further interrogation. In attempting to discern the *subject* of normalization, or what exactly *is* being normalized in schools, it was abundantly clear in all case studies that engaging in te reo Māori as a compulsory subject, in the junior years, was

perceived as normal by all participant groups. Pōwhiri to begin the year, Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori, and the school haka were all normalized. In the senior years, the normalization of te ao Māori becomes more 'patchy', according to school leadership (School A). Te ao Māori was normalized as part of Business Studies assessments, but students described this linking as being 'easy for us, it's not something you have to memorize' (A3). Students mention greetings such as 'kia ora' or 'ka kite' as examples of how te ao Māori is normalized. Having 'a bit of knowledge' (B3), or 'just the basics' (B4) was normal.

In discerning the *degree* of normalization, it seemed that deeper levels of engagement with te ao Māori 'would be strange' (B3). Ethnically diverse students who delve deeper into te ao Māori are not the norm; while they may exist, they are outliers. The preponderance of discourses of 'normalization' were held in tension with discourses of absence and the perceived irrelevance of te ao Māori within New Zealand's overarching national assessment system for secondary schools, the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA). Despite the largely positive dispositions and attitudes of ethnically diverse student towards te ao Māori, a common perception was the non-place of te ao Māori within NCEA, thus within the senior school:

> NCEA makes it a little difficult sometimes when you have your own subjects which directly relate, and this [te reo Māori] doesn't look like it relates. (A5)
>
> Especially not in [NCEA] levels 1,2, and 3 it's not really relevant.
>
> We have other subjects that are prioritized.

Given that te ao Māori is not related or relevant to NCEA, engaging in te ao Māori in the senior school was perceived by students to be 'risky', 'too hectic', and 'add pressure'. Despite personally valuing te ao Māori, at a societal level te ao Māori seems to not hold the same weight. Thus, students find themselves in middle of a larger dilemma, described by senior school leadership in the following words:

> There's not the conversation at the moment where the student is saying, 'Shall I do Chemistry at [NCEA] Level 3 or shall I do my Level 3 Te Reo Māori?' That's not a question at the moment, it's the Chemistry because that's what the university is saying if they're headed into tertiary.

Far from being exceptional experiences, comments from students and school leadership align with the Ministry of Education's 2019 review of NCEA, noting that te ao Māori in general, and mātauranga Māori specifically, are significantly undervalued and often entirely absent from NCEA (MoE, 2019). Tocker (2015) takes note of the long-standing pattern of 'normalizing' te ao Māori in school settings in order to promote levels of comfort, ease and belonging, after which everyone can "get on with the proper learning involving Pākehā knowledge and culture" (p.31). 'Have the pōwhiri, the Māori bit, cool, now let's move on' is how one of the teacher advocates described the 'normalizing' pattern over the course of his career (School A).

Walker (2016) notes that for the past 50 years a myriad of voices have echoed the same plea, that "the school curriculum must find a place for the understanding of Maoritanga" (p.31) Findings from this study suggest that te ao Māori *has* found a place within schools, but that this place is currently *minimal* and *peripheral*. The low levels or normalization fall well-short of the biculturalism envisioned over 75 years ago by Sir Apirana Ngata, premised on full social and economic equality with Pākehā (Sissons, 2000). However, while the existence of consistent, yet minimal and peripheral normative practices was acknowledged by students, teacher advocates, and school leadership, there was also evidence of a desire to extend and deepen practices in each of the schools:

> We're looking…to implement or embed some of our ideologies and our tikanga into the system…everywhere. (School A)

> It's growing, we just want it to grow more. But definitely trying to get te reo promoted more within the college is my big drive, and at a deeper level…it's time to do something new and do something fresh…I don't want us to be okay with what we've got. (School B)

> Over the last couple of years since I've been here I've definitely seen a *huge* shift in attitude and the mindset of students and staff to be more open to things Māori. (School C)

In addition to the comments from teacher advocates above, students also indicated a realization that they have scarcely scratched the surface of te ao Māori. Yet, these initial forays have whet their appetite to know more, and at deeper levels. Such ambitions are a key indicator of the positive disposition emerging from their school experiences, as epitomized by C5:

> For me, I understand the general processes of how a lot of things work. But I don't understand the meaning behind it all, a lot of the time. Like I understand that they are doing a ritual of a blessing of some sort, like Matariki, but I don't really understand, or haven't been taught exactly why we are doing the blessing or whatever it may be. So it's just like trying to understand more in depth about why everything happens in the culture rather than, oh it's happening. It's becoming more aware of the actual, like culture itself than just the events that happen.

6.1.6 Theme #1 Summary

International scholars suggest that "that inter-ethnic contact in school settings is especially formative" (Ostwald et al., 2019, p.91). In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, research suggests that "for most students, school is the only (or predominant) place" where they are exposed to te ao Māori (Haemata, 2018, p.45). The first overarching theme to emerge from this study was the role of the *school as the primary gateway* to accessing te ao Māori for ethnically diverse students. As such, multiethnic secondary schools that are committed to sustaining te ao Māori demonstrate a range of characteristics that encourage all students to engage with te ao Māori. Five key characteristics emerged that support student engagement: (1) dedicated courses, (2) held in the marae ā-kura, (3) driven by iwi/hapū aspirations, (4) bathed in positivity, (5) with the aim of normalizing of te ao Māori at greater depths. However, engagement in these programs is not automatic for students from ethnically diverse

backgrounds, as will be explored in the second overarching theme - touchstone school experiences.

6.2 Theme #2: Touchstone School Experiences: Centrifugal and Centripetal Forces

> For me, personally, it's really about non-Māori having a positive experience with mātauranga Māori and te ao Māori. If they experience positivity, they will embrace it and they will take it on and they will take up the challenge of incorporating it into [their lives]. So it's creating as many positive experiences as we possibly can.
>
> (School C-Teacher Advocate)

6.2.1 Touchstone School Experiences

The second research sub-question sought to explore how formal and informal school experiences are influencing the dispositions and attitudes of ethnically diverse students towards te ao Māori. This sub-question is premised on the notion that despite the existence of strong school programs committed to sustaining te ao Māori (as mentioned in Chapter 6.1), engagement may not be not automatic, nor uniform, for students from ethnically diverse backgrounds. Rather, 'acts of inclusion and exclusion' (Lewis, 2003) shape patterns of student engagement. Borrowing conceptually from physics, the second main theme refers to the ways in which influential, or 'touchstone' school experiences (Royal, 2007) serve to either centripetally draw students in, or centrifugally push them away, from te ao Māori. Centripetal experiences are those which embrace, enable, and draw inward. Centrifugal experiences are those which exclude, bar, and push outward. Centripetal experiences encourage future engagement; centrifugal experiences discourage future engagement. Before offering two examples of centripetal force and two examples of centrifugal force derived from the case studies, I will first revisit Royal's (2007) conceptualization of touchstone experiences in education.

Royal (2007) describes the educational process of *unlocking creative potential*, whereby key understandings are 'first awoken'. He suggests that a wide range of personal experiences can inspire and ignite a lifelong journey of understanding and action (See Chapter 4.5.2). Royal

refers to these moving experiences as 'touchstone' experiences. Touchstone experiences can originate in people, places, or events; they can be derived from intentional as well as accidental occurrences; they can carry negative or positive connotations. All touchstone experiences will significantly influence "a person to work in a particular way or to create something in reaction to that experience" (p.72). Students across all three schools described a mixture of touchstone school experiences in their engagement with te ao Māori, some which centripetally drew them closer, some which centrifugally pushed them away.

6.2.2 Centripetal Force: The Power of Invitation and Encounter

Centripetal force is that which attracts and draws inward. Centripetal force is magnetic and encourages engagement. Positive learning experiences lead to positive attitudes, positive attitudes encourage future learning and engagement (Haemata, 2018). This is the power of centrifugal force. *Personal invitations* and *intercultural encounters* are offered as two examples of centripetal force particularly well-evident in the case studies.

Students at all three schools offered a number of examples of being centripetally drawn into the richness te ao Māori. Shared across these narratives was the extension of *personal invitations* that provided the initial spark for the touchstone experiences. Behind each centripetal touchstone experience stood 'significant others' extending an invitation to join (Berryman & Eley, 2019). The young people in this study explicitly acknowledged the power of personal invitations from trusted adults - teachers at School A, coaches at School B, and tutors at School C, which served to spark deeper engagement in te ao Māori. Teacher advocate from School B describes how this process unfolds:

> Then all of a sudden it ignites a light and this hunger, this desire to learn more and so they jump in te reo Māori class…They are the ones that devour it. But then they also will bring with them their friends as well, which is great!

As the quote above alludes, while invitations from trusted adults may be a significant impetus, by far the most common source of invitation came from peers - 'some of my best mates' (C6) extending an invitation to become involved in te reo Māori, kapa haka, Mahuru Māori, or the marae ā-kura in general. Alternately, those with less involvement in te ao Māori spoke not of

being necessarily opposed to deeper involvement, rather were awaiting an invitation from a peer - 'if I had friends there I would go, but I don't really know anyone well in there so I just don't go' (B3); 'personally, I just did whatever my friends said' (C2). These voices concur with Webber's (2012) conclusion that the influence of peers and peer groups among adolescents may supersede other influences in shaping ethnic identity and boundaries.

At all three schools, centripetal experiences began with *personal invitations,* which, if accepted, led to powerful *intercultural encounters.* Pōwhiri (School B), noho marae (School A), and kapa haka (School C) were all expressed by students as incredibly influential encounters in te ao Māori. However, these encounters were not accessed uniformly. While all students at School A had encountered noho marae, only one quarter of the students at School C and none of the students at School B had experienced noho marae. This discrepancy is significant given that all of students who had experienced noho marae indicated the encounter to be one of their most profoundly transformative experiences in te ao Māori (Chapter 5.1). Likewise, while all students spoke fondly of learning and performing their school's haka, only 1 of the 17 participating students was involved further with the school's kapa haka team. This student noted the encounters provided by kapa haka were without doubt highly influential, "[I] definitely love it. It's one of the highlights of this year for me I think, and last year" (C6).

Centripetal force is by nature circular; it attracts and draws inward. The vignette of C6 and her involvement as a leader in the school kapa haka team well-illustrates this generative, circular flow. C6's involvement with the kapa haka team began with a personal invitation offered by some her 'best mates'. This invitation led to a number of profound encounters in te ao Māori. As mentioned above, her involvement in kapa haka has been 'one of the highlights' of the her college years. While the team previously included a handful of members who identified as 'Caucasian and Chinese…and Indian as well', this number was quite small. The composition of the group has changed over the last few years to include "quite a few…that aren't Pakeha, they aren't Māori, or Pasifika, and they've stayed on and continued with kapa haka and they definitely love it" (Chapter 5.3). The parents of C6 (FC6) speak of also observing this trend and wonder of the ways in which the example of C6 may be extending an invitation for others to engage deeper in te ao Māori:

> Last year when they were preparing for the Regionals, they were performing at school for all the students to watch in the school hall as well. And I think from there, a lot of the non-Māori looked and said, 'If she can do it, I can do it too. And if I enjoy singing and dancing then I shouldn't feel lost in that'.

In summary, centripetal touchstone experiences are the influential school experiences that draw individuals into the richness of te ao Māori. Personal invitations and transformative intercultural encounters are two examples of how centripetal force is exerted, both of which are well-evident in the case studies. As individuals are transformed by these centripetal touchstone experiences, they in turn attract others. Such is the circular, generative, powerful nature of centripetal touchstone experiences

6.2.3 Centrifugal Force: The Power of Exclusion

In contrast to the magnetism of centripetal force, centrifugal force repels and excludes by pushing individuals away. Centrifugal touchstone school experiences discourage and impede access to te ao Māori. Centrifugal experiences are rooted in exclusion, aimed at disrupting 'patterns of interdependence' between people (Volf, 1996). *Interpersonal* challenges from others and *intrapersonal* challenges from within are offered as two potent examples of centrifugal force particularly well-evident in the case studies.

In the context of this study, *interpersona*l challenges are artificial barriers erected by other with the explicit intent of excluding ethnically diverse students from accessing to te ao Māori. Participating students gave witness to a number of influential school experiences whereby their engagement in te ao Māori was explicitly challenged by others. Interpersonal challenges originated from a number of sources: Pākehā students (School A), Māori students (School B), and their own parents (School C). At School A, all but one of the participating students spoke of the shared experience of having in their engagement in te ao Māori be challenged by Pākehā students:

> It's always the [Pākehā] students who are judging you: 'You're not them [Māori]; you'll never speak the language'. (A3)

> There's quite a few labels that come with it sometimes, like 'Wannabe Māori'. (A2)

At School B, remarkably similar interpersonal challenges were noted, although in this case the barriers were erected by Māori students:

> It just feels like they think, 'You're not Māori, why you speaking Māori?' (B4)

> We have some reo Māori students from the kura that have just shifted across to here, and they come in and are like, 'What are these [non-Māori] guys doing in here [marae ā-kura]? Huh? What are these guys doing in here, they don't speak Māori?' (TAB)

The exclusionary chorus was also heard at School C, however it was a choir of ethnically diverse parents who sang the refrain:

> When I first joined kapa haka my mum was like, 'Why are you doing that, you're not Māori?' (C6)

> Like at first they [parents] were asking me, 'How come you are doing this? You're not a Māori student, you're from Sri Lanka'. (C5)

Rata (2007) and Lourie (2016b) contend that targeted educational initiatives 'for Māori' have led a perception in schools that engagement in te ao Māori is solely for Māori students. The comments offered above well-illustrate this perception, that things Māori are exclusively for Māori. This perception was offered by Pākehā students, Māori students, as well as ethnically diverse parents. As a result of this exclusionary rhetoric, some of the ethnically diverse students have come to the understanding that 'It would just be strange' (B3) for someone who is non-Māori and non-European to be engaged with te ao Māori beyond minimal normative practices. Unsurprisingly, most all students expressed a widespread sense of discouragement and intimidation, being 'turned off' in their efforts to engage with te ao

Māori as a result of this direct interpersonal challenge. This discouragement served to neutralized the preexisting personal desire for engagement with te ao Māori.

On the other hand, centrifugal force pushing individuals away from te ao Māori can also be exerted via *intrapersonal* challenges. In this sense, barriers can be erected *internally* that inhibit deeper engagement in te ao Māori. Intrapersonal barriers that were specifically mentioned by participants included high levels of anxiety, lack of self-confidence, and a sense of being 'out of place', as offered below.

On anxiety:

> The very first thing is that you feel is the anxiety. They are anxious. And they are all scared… (B-TA)

On self-confidence:

> [It's] not having the confidence, or like self-confidence, to go and try and be involved with it. (C5)

> [Being] not fully confident in yourself yet so you kinda doubt yourself a bit more. (B2)

On feeling 'out of place':

> The only reason I don't take Māori, is 'cos I feel that I don't fully belong there, because I'm not Māori. (B2)

> A lot of [ethnically diverse] students who I've talked to, they kind of feel out of place [in te ao Māori], which is bit of an issue. But like even though it is such a warm and welcoming community to be involved with, but students still feel like a bit on the side. (C5)

The final comment well-captures the general dynamics of the intrapersonal challenges expressed by many of students. Despite favorable personal dispositions towards te ao Māori, and the existence of robust school programs that bring te ao Māori to the center, a range of intrapersonal barriers centrifugally push ethnically diverse students to the periphery, or 'a bit on the side' (C5). C5 infers that this dynamic is not unique to his own experience, rather it is a more widespread phenomenon which he has noted in conversations with 'a lot' of ethnically diverse students at his school.

The very existence of unique interpersonal and intrapersonal challenges experienced by students identifying with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA or 'Other' ethnicity in their engagement with te ao Māori is itself an important finding, notably absent in conversations with senior school leadership. Leaders either assumed ethnically diverse students faced 'probably no more [challenges] than what's on offer for the other students' (School A), or simply acknowledged that student views were unknown, 'We have a perception, I am sure they have a different one' (School C). Indeed, while it may be unknown if ethnically diverse students face *more* challenges in accessing a bicultural education, they certainly face a set of *different* challenges, challenges of both an interpersonal and intrapersonal nature.

6.2.4 Theme #2 Summary

The first overarching theme established *school as the primary gateway* for ethnically diverse students to access te ao Māori. The second overarching theme suggests that engagement in bicultural education may not be automatic for ethnically diverse students, but a wide range of *'touchstone' school experiences* (Royal, 2007) can serve as 'enablers or barriers' (Haemata, 2018) to accessing te ao Māori. Borrowing language from physics, touchstone school experiences can be qualified as centripetal or centrifugal in nature. Centripetal experiences embrace and draw individuals inward towards te ao Māori. Centrifugal experiences exclude pushed individuals away from te ao Māori. Personal invitations and intercultural encounters were offered as examples of centripetal experience, while interpersonal and intrapersonal challenges were offered as examples of centrifugal experiences. Following a touchstone experience, Royal (2007) contends that in order to continue the centripetal or centrifugal trajectory it is "vitally important that conditions are favorable…This includes many things such as the institutional context in which that person is operating, the private and family

circumstances, access to ideas and resources and so on" (p.73). The third overarching theme examines the 'vitally important' condition of the family.

6.3 Theme #3: Parental Consent and Expectations

I wouldn't say [my parents] encourage it, or not encourage it…It's just whatever you're up to. (C2)

All we had to do is just give her permission to participate and learn… I guess that's how we shape the kids. (FC6)

The third and final overarching theme stems the third research sub-question which sought to better understand the educational aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori. Exploring parental aspirations acknowledges "the primacy of the home" (Nash, 2006, p.158), in the shaping of beliefs and behaviours of young people (Chan, 2020; Elliot et al., 2001). While the parental aspirations expressed in this study were of a varied and loosely defined nature, the general trend was towards more, not less engagement in te ao Māori. Parents were aware of the bicultural education their children were receiving in school and offered their consent for such programs, expecting that te ao Māori will be of increasing importance in Aotearoa New Zealand.

6.3.1 Parental Consent

The giving of consent by parents for their children to engage with te ao Māori emerged as a significant theme. Drawn conceptually from the political philosophy of John Locke, the giving of consent can be understood as the conferral of legitimacy upon an action (Reeves, 2018). Consent can be expressed explicitly in words, 'We actually encourage her to pick up Māori' (FC6), or inferred tacitly in actions, 'Sometimes [my dad] will come home and start singing some Māori songs [laughing]' (C2). The volume of consent can range from a subtle acquiescence, 'They don't discourage it, they don't encourage it either' (C2), to an enthusiastic agreement, 'They do think it's a good idea to let the children actually learn some things about it and to engage with it' (A5). The giving of consent, in all its varied forms,

express or tacit, subtle or enthusiastic, indicates the conferral of permission. In the context of this study and in the examples offered above, parental consent legitimizes the provision of a bicultural education.

The giving of consent is also indicative of one's attitudinal positioning towards a particular action (Reeves, 2018). The ZePA model of transformation (see Chapter 2.2.3) supposes attitudinal positioning is a key factor in determining aspirations and actions (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018). As such, the ZePA model proposes a spectrum of attitudinal positions: *Zero*, Passive, and *Active*, which generally correspond to negative, neutral, and positive attitudes (Higgins & Rewi, 2014). At any given time, individuals 'shift' between these three major states, as social environments and personal experiences shape, and re-shape, attitudes. To effect positive change, individuals must 'shift right' along this spectrum, moving from *Zero* consideration, to *Passive* contemplation, to *Active* engagement. Higgins and Rewi (2014) suggest that further normalization of te ao Māori generally, and te reo Māori specifically, will require "greater New Zealand to locate itself somewhere on the ZePA spectrum other than Zero….An acceptance or appreciation for the Māori language by wider society, albeit from a Zero to Passive position, will make a significant difference" (p.31). In other words, greater New Zealand must give consent to the normalization of te ao Māori, expressly or tacitly, subtly or enthusiastically.

In giving consent for their children to engage with te ao Māori, parents are indicating a position on the ZePA scale other than Zero. The Zero position is marked by resistance and intolerance (Higgins & Rewi, 2014). While examples of a Zero position were acknowledged within the cases studies, alluded to as 'anti-Māori, racist-type feeling', 'sub-conscious bias', 'pushback', and 'belittling' attitudes, these were offered by senior school leadership and teacher advocates as the antithesis of the attitudes demonstrated by families of Asian, Pasifika, MELAA and 'Other' backgrounds (See Chapter 5.2). These findings are counter to suggestions by Walker (1995) and Benton (2015) that the default attitude of non-Māori and non-European New Zealanders is less favorable towards te ao Māori. On the contrary, many of the ethnically diverse parents in this study expressed wholly positive dispositions, 'When I think of the Māori world I think of a beautiful and loving culture and language' (FB2); 'It's a culturally rich world!' (FC6). These dispositions align with Ip's (2009) assessment that "the

Chinese are much more aware of Māori issues then they are often given credit for…The truth is that the Chinese are keenly aware of the Māori as an important indigenous group, and that is why Chinese have viewed Māori with the complex mixture of affinity, wariness and awe" (p.149). While Ip's seminal research is aimed primarily at better understanding the experiences of Chinese New Zealanders, the parents involved in this study extend Ip's theorizing in exhibiting similarly positive dispositions towards te ao Māori for the perspectives of Indian, Sri Lankan, Japanese, Egyptian, Tongan, Niuean, Malaysian, and Filipino New Zealanders.

In giving consent, parents are demonstrating an awareness and receptivity to te ao Māori. They are accommodating and supportive, to varying degrees, of the bicultural education offered by schools. This is the ZePA Passive position (Higgins & Rewi, 2014). The responses from most students and their families describe a home environment characterized by a general openness. While a number of students and parents indicated an absence of dialogue in the home concerning te ao Māori, 'It's not frequently discussed' (A5) or 'It's not talked about' (A1), this in itself is not necessarily indicative of intolerance or resistance. Rather, a lack of dialogue may simply indicate a lack of knowledge, understanding, or experience, which in turn limits the dialogical process (Freire, 1987). Such a scenario is not unlikely considering all bar one of the participating parents were born overseas and migrated to New Zealand as young adults. As such, 'not having gone to school in New Zealand' (FB3/4) was expressed by several parents as a significant disadvantage, perceived to restrict their journey in te ao Māori. Participants supposed 'it's kinda hard trying to pick it up later in life' (A2). However, the dismissiveness and resistance which mark the Zero position are non-existent, giving way to a neutrality or ambivalence which in turn can pique a general interest or awareness.

In exploring the Māori-Asian relationship, Kukutai (2008) makes a similar distinction between 'adversarial' attitudes marked by negativity, and 'ambivalent' attitudes marked by neutrality. Adversarial attitudes would be characteristic of be a Zero state, ambivalent attitudes would be characteristic of a shift right to a Passive state. Generally speaking, Kukutai suggests the ambivalent, or Passive state, is the current state of interethnic affairs, an assessment shared by Ip (2009a), noting the general receptivity and respectfulness of Asian New Zealanders towards Māori. Similarly, Teaiwa and Mallon (2005) posit the contemporary Māori-Pasifika

relationship to be one of 'ambivalent kinship' marked by neutrality and affinity. Despite the somewhat negative connotations conjured by projections of a 'passive' or 'ambivalent' state, Higgins and Rewi (2014) suppose that the shift right from Zero to Passive state "is the most critical zone" of transformation (p.28). This movement represent the rupture of negative barriers and places the individual in a space of acceptance and receptivity. Once in the Passive state there is a strong propensity to shift right again, to an Active state.

While Kukutai (2008) ends her critique of the Māori-Asian relationship supposing a future characterized as 'ambivalent', it may be reasonable to assume that in the 12 years since offering her critique there may be birth pangs hinting of a further shift right, from 'ambivalent' or Passive, towards a more Active state. This shift is characterized by more proactive support in sustaining te ao Māori, increasing the intensity of consent from a subtle acquiesce to a more enthusiastic endorsement. I offer the cases of two families involved in this research as illustrations of a right shift from a Passive to Active state.

C5

C5 identified himself ethnically as 'Sri Lankan which means that I grew up in a household speaking Sinhalese'. C5 notes both of his parents have had limited exposure to te ao Māori - his mom through university studies and dad through friendships. As the first in his family to be born in New Zealand, C5 suggests that his parents' exposure to te ao Māori 'hasn't been anywhere near as much as what I've had'. C5 spoke of becoming more involved with te ao Māori in his latter years at School C. While his parents consented to his involvement (ZePA Passive), they were a bit perplexed:

> At first they were like asking me, 'How come you are doing this? You're not a Māori student, you're from Sri Lanka!' But then I slowly like started to [tell] them more about the things I'm getting involved with, like the pōwhiris that happen at school, Matariki and things, and talk to them about how awesome the events are and how like culturally significant they are to the Māori culture as well.

As the second overarching theme outlined, centripetal touchstone school experiences can have a circular impact. As the experiences of C5 illustrates, powerful intercultural encounters

lead to further invitations. In this case, C5 invites his parents to join in experiencing the richness of te ao Māori:

> They kinda started to realize we have these same kind of things in the Sri Lankan culture. And they kinda realized that, living in New Zealand…it's best for you to be involved with this, so you can grow as a person and become involved with the community and the New Zealand culture as well. And more recently now they have pushed me to get more involved with it than I have been as well, which is pretty good.

For their part, the parents of C5 also spoke of encouraging their children 'to get involve and participate in Māori activities, visit places and people with every opportunity they have' (FC5). They spoke of aspiring to lifelong engagement, of 'continuous learning', in te ao Māori. In what may be described as a generational shift right, C5 has taken onboard the aspirations of his parents, orientating himself towards a more Active state:

> I definitely want to understand it more…Going towards next year I have a couple of options in my course. I'm thinking of potentially taking one towards a Māori historical course kinda thing. And then just like trying to keep up, or learn more te reo.

C6

C6 identifies herself ethnically as 'Malaysian Chinese'. C6 similarly noted her parents having limited exposure to te ao Māori, 'As for my mum, up until I think this year she didn't really appreciate the Māori culture as much or like it just wasn't a part of her life. Both my parents coming from Malaysia they hadn't really had much exposure to the culture at all'. However, as discussed previously, lack of exposure does not indicate resistance. FC6 clarified this position, 'I have no issue or challenges in my engagement with te ao Māori personally'. In her senior years, C6 became heavily involved with the school kapa group, with the consent of her parents, 'We didn't say 'Yes' or 'No'; we best say, 'Have you got time?'…If you can manage it, go for it'. Although FC6 granted consent, they also were a bit baffled:

> When I first joined kapa haka my mum was like, 'Why are you doing that, you're not Māori?'. She was like confused as to why I would want to do it. And then she saw me perform with the kapa haka group and kind of understood. There's that whānau type

> of feeling and atmosphere. And she began to see why I would enjoy it so much and appreciate the culture because it is something that is really beautiful. (C6)

Powerful intercultural encounters lead to further invitations. In the case of FC6, encountering kapa haka was an invitation to deepen understanding. This new understanding has led to a new advocacy, 'We actually encourage her to pick up Māori, because for us we know that the future working environment will have a lot of Māori influence in the way that things are being done. And it's vital'. As result of this enthusiastic encouragement from her parents, a generational shift right to an Active state was well underway, evident not only in her leadership position on kapa haka team, but also in her future ambitions:

> I'm still hoping to incorporate the Māori culture throughout my lifestyle, maybe even more next year [in university]. I'm thinking of possibly picking it up as another subject to study, just so that I can retain all the knowledge that I've already learnt, and learning more and being able to speak more of the language…I feel like it's gonna be pretty important to me in my future years.

While FC5 and FC6 may be exceeding in their embrace of te ao Māori, they certainly are not anomalous. Rather, in giving consent to a bicultural education, all participating parents indicated a Passive attitudinal state. As suggested by Higgins and Rewi (2014), attitudinal positioning is a significant consideration, a 'key lever' in shaping aspirations and actions towards te ao Māori. Given this assumption it may be unsurprising that parents expressed a variety of aspirations for their children which generally called for more, not less engagement with te ao Māori. The nature of these aspirations are the subject of the following section – *Expectations*

6.3.2 Expectations

The parental practices and educational aspirations of ethnically diverse New Zealanders are far from homogenous (Chan, 2020). It is therefore unsurprisingly that the aspirations expressed by parents concerning te ao Māori were varied, ranging from 'acknowledgement and recognition of culture and language', to 'learning and cultivating some of the values', to 'knowing the history of Māori people' (Chapter 5.3.4). The majority of parental responses

were of a largely unspecified nature, centering on actions such as 'respect', 'appreciation', and 'participation'. While heterogenous, notably absent from responses was any sense of opposition or resistance to a bicultural education. While short on details, there was a distinctive certainty of place offered in their responses – that te ao Māori is 'everywhere', extending from the physical to the metaphysical, the 'living and non-living', 'always around us…and it's vital' (Chapter 5.3.4). Given this certainty of place, it follows that those living in Aotearoa New Zealand would naturally be engaged with te ao Māori:

> As my daughter was born in New Zealand, we believe that it is important for her to learn and understand about Māori culture and language. (FC6)

> [My parents] do think it's a good idea to let children actually learn some things about it and to engage with it because it's a country you are part of, whether you are born there or not born in the country. It's the country you're living in, you're gonna have an obligation to be respectful of it…it's a respect and understanding. (A5)

In addition to this certainty of place in the present, parents expressed the sentiment that te ao Māori holds a strong future importance. The 'future will have a lot of Māori influence in the way things are done', te ao Māori 'will be increasingly important' (FC6). Given this future potential, it was widely assumed that having an understanding of te ao Māori will 'benefit' or 'be good for' their future (Chapter 5.2.4). Prior research by Haemata (2018) noted similar perceptions among non-Māori students receiving Māori language instruction, that te ao Māori will "hold value in their lives longer term – it does not appear to have a limited 'shelf life'" (p.44).

In preparing young people for a future whereby te ao Māori is increasing important, parental aspirations indicate an *expectation* that schools will be the primary provider of teaching and learning in te ao Māori. This sentiment was epitomized by FC2: 'I feel they get their learning [in te ao Māori] through school'. For ethnically diverse parents, the role of the school is to provide a substantial bicultural education that will prepare their children for future engagement with te ao Māori. While parental expectations were vague in nature, support for bicultural education was certain. In many ways the expectation expressed by ethnically

diverse parents mirrors the expectation found in *The New Zealand Curriculum* that "all students will have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga" (MoE, 2007, p.9).

In addition to the perceived future importance of te ao Māori, parental expectations of a bicultural education were further fueled by low levels of exposure to te ao Māori. Self-reported exposure to te ao Māori among parents ranged from 'nil' to 'not a great deal'. Parents positioned themselves to be at a distinctive disadvantage by 'not having gone to school in New Zealand' and thus 'not being exposed to Māori culture' (FB3/4). While this lack of exposure was noted to be a primary contributor to the lack of dialogue in the majority of homes concerning te ao Māori, it did not seem to inhibit parental consent to a bicultural education for their children. On the contrary, evidence suggests this perceived disadvantaged position of parents may in fact strengthen their expectation towards a bicultural education. In this sense there was a certain vicariousness implicit in parental expectations.

Recent scholarship within the field of intergroup contact theory (see Chapter 2.3.4) suggests there may be unrecognized potential held in 'vicarious' intergroup contact to positively impact interethnic relations (Christ & Kauff, 2019; White et al., 2021). Within Aotearoa New Zealand, research by Omura (2014) found evidence of 'accidental' or 'passively initiated' engagement in te ao Māori by Asian New Zealanders via their child's school activities (e.g. homework, events). Far from insignificant, this 'vicarious' intergroup contact via schooling was identified as one of the few spaces which allowed for Asian migrants to engage with te ao Māori. Indeed, many of the parents in this study made similar mention of how the bicultural education offered to their children has provided significant opportunities for the entire family to engage with te ao Māori. Parents mentioned the ways in which their children have shared 'what they've learnt at school about Māori culture. E.g. the myths and legends, basic words/vocab' (FB3/4). Parents warmly mentioned 'singing and learning waiatas with the school' (FB3/4). Additionally, the vignettes of C5 and C6 offered above well-illustrate the potential for schools to commence as the primary gateway for ethnically diverse students to access te ao Māori, in turn broadening to also become one of the primary gateways for ethnically diverse parents to access te ao Māori. Chan and Ritchie (2020) have also recently noted this wider impact, contending since 'recently arrived migrants…will most likely have

had little opportunity to access te ao Māori, schools may be one of the key exposure sites for ethnically diverse families (p.233). In this sense, bicultural education may have an unrealized, wider effect on ethnically diverse communities, impacting not only individual students but entire families.

6.3.3 Theme #3 Summary

In summary, the ethnically diverse parents in this study indicated a range of educational aspirations for their child concerning te ao Māori. These aspirations were rooted in a certainty of place and future importance tied to te ao Māori. While discussions in the home concerning te ao Māori may be infrequent and limited in scope, ethnically diverse families consent to the bicultural initiates offered at school. There is an expectation that school will prepare children for a future whereby engagement in te ao Māori will be more, not less significant in Aotearoa New Zealand. As an indirect result of bicultural education, schools have also become one of the primary gateways for ethnically diverse families to access te ao Māori.

6.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter offered a synthesis of the research findings of Chapter 5 and literature review of Chapter of 2, guided by the theoretical framework offered in Chapter 3. Collectively, this trifecta provided sufficient breadth and depth to address the overall research aim of better understanding how the provision of a bicultural education is being impacted by a super-diverse student population. Utilizing a multiple case study approach, three secondary schools provided the context to address the primary research question – How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population? These three case studies centered on the experiences of sixteen students who identified with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicity. Student narratives were supplemented by the perspectives of parents, teachers, and senior school leadership. Resulting from an inductive analysis of the data, three overarching themes emerged.

The first overarching theme suggests that for ethnically diverse students, **school is the primary gateway** to accessing te ao Māori, holding near exclusive potential to shape dispositions and attitudes. Five key characteristics were identified that support student engagement with te ao Māori: dedicated courses, authentic learning spaces (Marae ā-kura), iwi/hapū partnerships, positivity, and normalized practices. Yet engagement is not automatic for students from ethnically diverse backgrounds. The second theme refers a range of **touchstone school experiences** that serve to either centripetally draw students towards te ao Māori, or centrifugally push them away. Centripetal experiences often begin with personal invitations offered by trusted adults or peers and end in powerful intercultural encounters. Alternately, centrifugal experiences challenge, discourage, and exclude. These challenges can be interpersonal, initiated by others, or intrapersonal, initiated from within. The third theme, **parental consent and expectations**, acknowledges the general support and endorsement for bicultural education expressed by ethnically diverse families. As such, parents expect schools to provide the vital experiences that will prepare their children for a future in which te ao Māori will play an 'increasingly important' role.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

7.0 Overview

This final chapter offers a reflection on the overall aim of the thesis. After revisiting the key findings and overarching themes, the adequacy of the theoretical framework is reconsidered. The chapter concludes by offering a series of recommendations for policy, practice, and research that could further support the provision of a bicultural education in super-diverse Aotearoa New Zealand.

This thesis is about the uneasy juxtaposition of Indigeneity and ethnic diversity within education. As such, this thesis explored the nebulous relationship between a bicultural education offering all students access to the richness of te ao Māori and an increasingly ethnically diverse population. In the 'new New Zealand' (Spoonley, 2020) where over 30 percent of students identify ethnically with an Asian, Pasifika, Middle Eastern/Latin American/African (MELAA), and/or 'Other' ethnicity, the ways in which bicultural education is being impacted by a super-diverse student population are largely unknown. Given this uncertainty, this thesis is a critical examination of "our bicultural foundation, our multicultural present, and the shared future we are creating" (MoE, 2017, p.2).

Driving this research was the primary research question – How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population? Three sub-questions were extrapolated from the overarching research question:

- How is te ao Māori being defined, positioned, and engaged with in multiethnic schools?
- In what ways are formal and informal school experiences influencing the dispositions and attitudes towards te ao Māori among ethnically diverse students?
- What are the educational aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori?

To address these questions, this research examined the ways in which three multiethnic secondary schools are sustaining te ao Māori, through the primary lens of students who identify with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicity. Collectively, these narratives

provided key insights into the current state, and future potential of 'bicultural' education with a super-diverse Aotearoa New Zealand.

7.1 Review of Findings and Discussions

7.1.1 Findings

Key findings from each of the three case studies were presented in Chapter 5. Case studies were all English-medium, co-educational secondary schools located in *Te Ika-a-Māui*/the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. All three schools contained a multiethnic student population in which over 20 percent of students identified with an ethnicity other than Māori or European. At each school, 4 to 7 students who identified with an Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, or 'Other' ethnicity, participated in a focus group, generously sharing their school experiences in te ao Māori. The results of the focus groups were supplemented by voices of senior school leadership, teachers, and parents. A case-by-case summary of findings, aligned to the three research sub-questions, is offered below.

Sub-question #1: How is te ao Māori being defined, positioned, and engaged with in multiethnic schools?

Participants at School A defined te ao Māori as 'normal'. They positioned te ao Māori as the 'background' which permeates the entirety of life in Aotearoa New Zealand. Primary engagement with te ao Māori was via the compulsory Tikanga Māori class taken by all students in Year 9. While te ao Māori was perceived to be an integral component to the junior school (Years 9-10), engagement tapers off significantly in the senior school (Years 11-13), perceived to not 'relate to NCEA' (Chapter 5.1.2).

At School B, te ao Māori was positioned as expected and 'normal because we always see it'. This normalization was the result of significant engagement with te ao Māori through compulsory Te Reo Māori classes in Years 7 and 8. However, beyond Years 7 and 8, there seemed to be very little continued engagement. Now in Years 11, 12 and 13, students were unable to recall much of their earlier learnings. For participating students, there was a perception that te ao Māori seemed to be out of place in the senior school: 'it's not really relevant' to NCEA qualifications (Chapter 5.2.2).

At School C, te ao Māori was defined in terms of core values such as generosity and humility. Te ao Māori was a 'bright' place for students, positioned as culturally similar and relatable to many of the students. While students expressed a strong appetite for engagement with te ao Māori, opportunities were limited to informal schoolwide practices and events (Chapter 5.3.2).

Sub-question #2: In what ways are formal and informal school experiences influencing the dispositions and attitudes towards te ao Māori among ethnically diverse students?

Students from School A expressed dispositions towards te ao Māori that were overall favorable and marked by embrace. Noho marae was offered as a significant school experience positively influencing students' attitudes. However, students also mentioned experiencing unique resistance in their engagement with te ao Māori from other students: 'You're not them [Māori]; you'll never speak the language'. These interpersonal challenges profoundly discouraged engagement in te ao Māori (Chapter 5.1.3).

Students at School B expressed similarly positive attitudes towards te ao Māori. Personal invitations and connections to te ao Māori, and specifically to the marae ā-kura, were key levers for further engagement. However, barriers which exclude non-Māori and non-European students from engaging with te ao Māori were also noted at School B: "You're not Māori, why you speaking Māori?" (Chapter 5.2.3)

At School C overall dispositions were characterized by warmth and acceptance towards te ao Māori. Although School C aimed to provide students with a myriad of positive school experiences in te ao Māori, participating students expressed a general lack of self-confidence and a hesitancy which prevented deeper engagement (Chapter 5.3.3).

Sub-question #3: What are the educational aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori?

Parental aspirations concerning te ao Māori were difficult to determine and largely unknown at School A. While opposition to a bicultural education was absent, there was a general lack of dialogue in the home: 'It's not talked about'. This lack of dialogue was attributed to a lack of parental exposure to te ao Māori, rather than a lack of value or interest. This was confirmed

by teacher advocates at School A who suggested that parents 'from another country, or people that aren't Pākehā, will *always* engage better with Māori things. *Always*' (Chapter 5.1.4).

Similarly, at School B there was minimal dialogue and engagement with te ao Māori in the home. However, there were clear indications that parents value te ao Māori, supposing familiarity with te ao Māori holds a certain future potential. Parents expressed the opinion that a bicultural education will no doubt 'be good' for their child's future (Chapter 5.2.4).

For parents at School C, school was expressed as the near exclusive provider of engagement in te ao Māori. Engagement at home ranged from 'not a great deal' to 'nil'. Resulting from this lacking, parents held the firm expectation that their children would 'get their learning [in te ao Māori] through school'. Families indicated an aspiration towards deeper and lasting engagement in te ao Māori for their children (Chapter 5.3.4).

7.1.2 Discussions

While Chapter 5 presented the overall findings case-by-case, Chapter 6 synthesized the findings with the scholarship presented in Chapter 2, guided by the theoretical frameworks offered in Chapter 3, to unearth three overarching themes. These themes address the primary research aim of better understanding how the provision of a bicultural education is being impacted by a super-diverse student population.

The first overarching theme suggests that for ethnically diverse students, *school is the primary gateway* to accessing te ao Māori, holding near exclusive potential to shape dispositions and attitudes. Being in a unique position of influence student, five key characteristics were identified that support student engagement with te ao Māori: dedicated courses, authentic learning spaces (marae ā-kura), iwi/hapū partnerships, positivity, and normalized practices. Yet engagement is not automatic for students from ethnically diverse backgrounds. The second theme refers to a range of *touchstone school experiences* that serve to either centripetally draw students towards te ao Māori, or centrifugally push them away. Centripetal experiences often begin with personal invitations offered by trusted adults or peers and end in powerful intercultural encounters. Alternately, centrifugal experiences

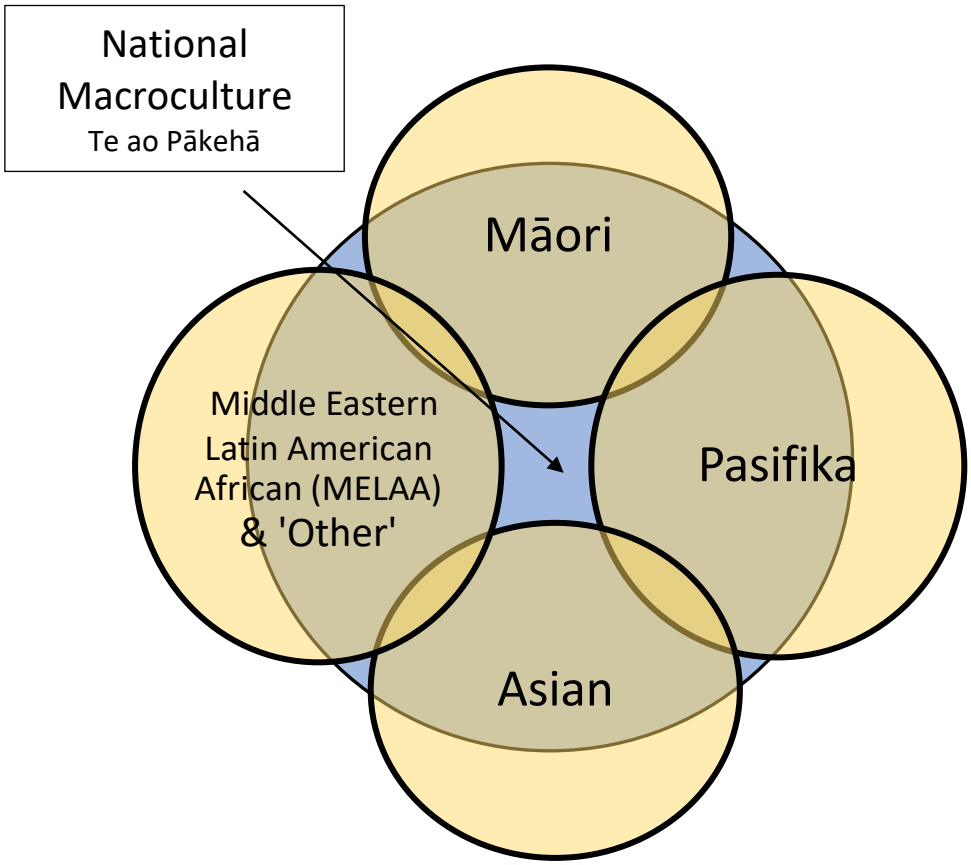
challenge, discourage, and exclude. These challenges can be interpersonal, initiated by others, or intrapersonal, initiated from within. The third theme, parental *consent and expectations*, acknowledges the general support and endorsement for bicultural education expressed by ethnically diverse families. Parents expect that te ao Māori will be part of their child's future and look to the school to provide vital experiences that would prepare them for a future in which te ao Māori plays an 'increasingly important' role.

7.2 Review of Theoretical Framework

A review of the theoretical framework first offered in Chapter 3 follows, in consideration of the overall findings of Chapter 5 and the overarching themes that emerged in Chapter 6. Theories of Multicultural Education (Banks, 2009; Grant, 2014) extend from the broader discourses of race, ethnicity, and diversity, aimed at better understanding 'How then shall we live together?' (see Chapter 2.3.4; Berry et al., 2021). Theories of Critical Multicultural Education (Alim & Paris, 2017; May & Sleeter, 2010; McCarty & T. Lee, 2014) were offered as approaches that extend the scope of Normative Multicultural Education towards actively sustaining ethnocultural pluralism and challenging systemic power imbalances. Figure 7.1 was first presented in Chapter 3 as an example of a traditional theoretical model of Multicultural Education applied to the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, utilizing the prominent scholarship of James Banks (2013).

Figure 7.1

Traditional Theoretical Model of Multicultural Education, Applied to Aotearoa New Zealand

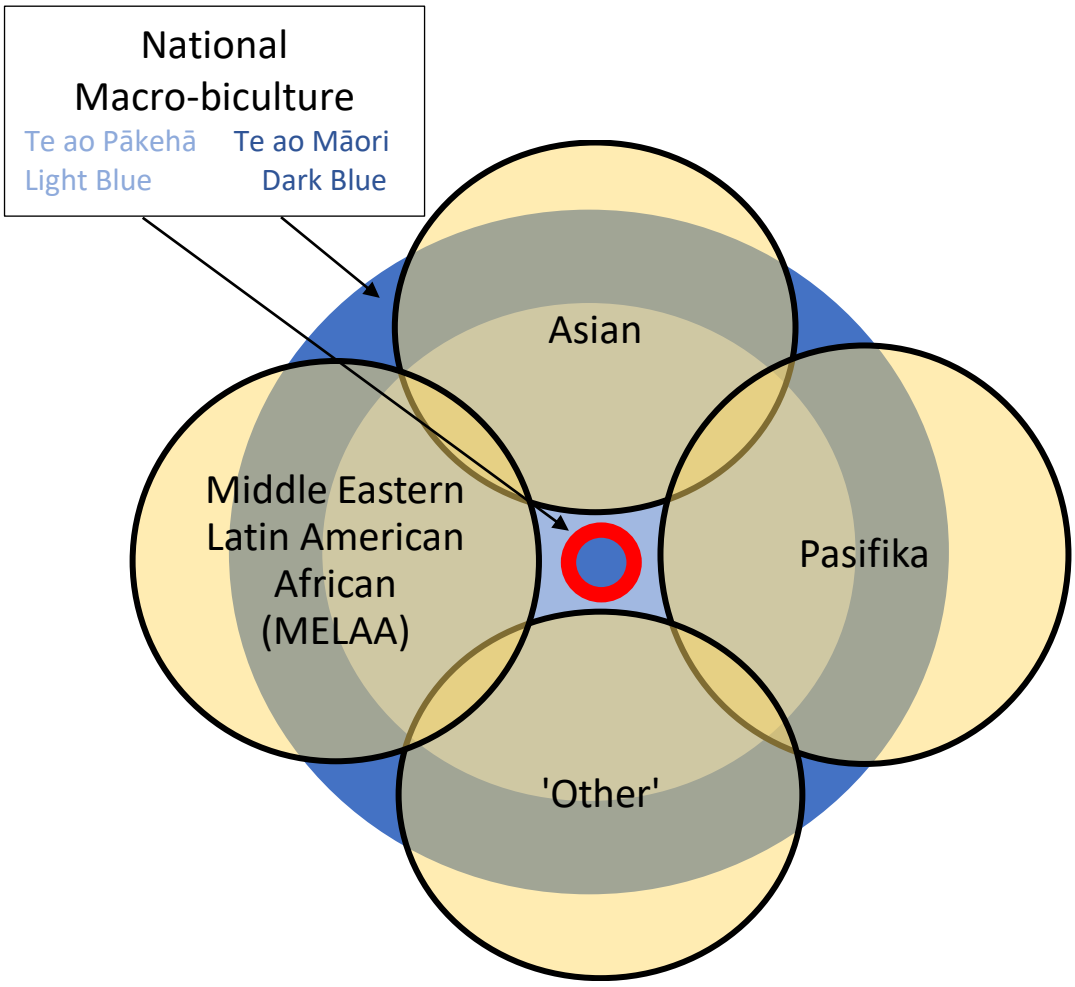


Note. Adapted from Banks (2013, p.9)

Chapter 3.1.2 offered a number of critiques and concerns with this model, most notably in the peripheral position of Māori as 'just one of many' ethnocultural groups in Aotearoa New Zealand (Sullivan, 1993). Cognizant of this 'colonial blindspot' (Calderón, 2009), an Indigenous framework, Kaupapa Māori Theory (Stewart, 2017), was put forth as a necessary and capable tool to bring Māori ways of knowing and being to the center. Figure 7.2 was first proposed in Chapter 3 as an integrative theoretical model combining Critical Multicultural Education and Kaupapa Māori.

Figure 7.2

Integrative Theoretical Model of Multicultural Education, Applied to a Bicultural Aotearoa New Zealand



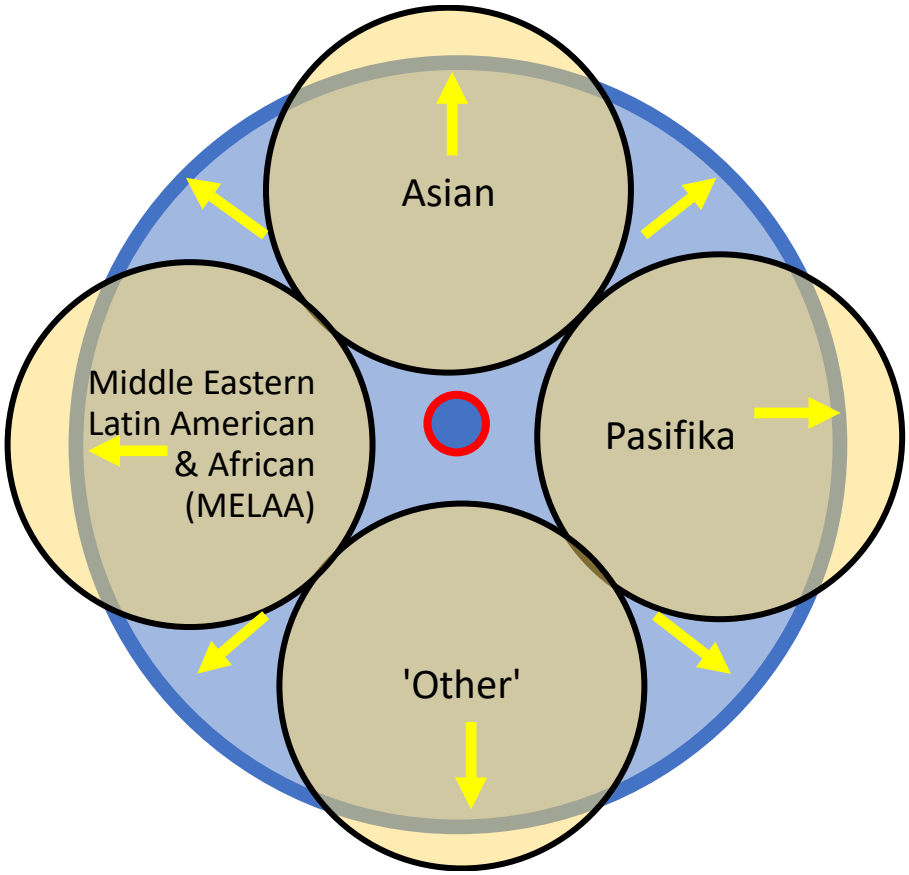
Within this integrative model, the Eurocentric 'National Macroculture' was replaced with a 'National Macro-biculture', te ao Māori alongside te ao Pākehā. Te ao Māori occupies the very center of the integrative model, followed by a distinctive red band representing te Tiriti o Waitangi (see Chapter 2.1.2). The theorizing of Will Kymlicka (1995, 2007) was embedded in this model, recognizing the differential rights of 'polyethnic' (e.g. Asian, Pasifika, MELAA, and 'Other') and 'multinational' (e.g. Māori) groups. While 'polyethnic' rights assure equitable accommodation and inclusion in wider society, 'multinational' rights acknowledge the additional claims to cultural, political, and territorial autonomy (see Chapter 2.3.4).

While the theorizing of Banks (2013) and Kymlicka (2007) do well to demonstrate the complex relationship between plurality and equity, their representations present fixed, static models.

Drawing conceptually and linguistically from the ZePA theory of language shift offered by Higgins and Rewi (2014), the integrative model of Multicultural Education offered in Figure 7.2 is marked by inertia or the absence of movement. However, the results of this study indicate no such stagnation. Rather, like the ebb and flow of the tides, a complex series of movements perpetually draws inward and pushes outward. More specifically, a range of touchtone school experiences either centripetally draw students inwards or centrifugally push them away from the richness of te ao Māori. This enabling and barring, this embracing and excluding, this encouraging and discouraging, are not well-represented in Figure 7.2. In consideration of this dynamic sense of motion, Figures 7.3 and 7.4 are revised theoretical models representing centrifugal (Figure 7.3) and centripetal (Figure 7.4) directional flows.

Figure 7.3

Integrative Theoretical Model of Multicultural Education, Applied to a Bicultural Aotearoa New Zealand (Centrifugal Flow)



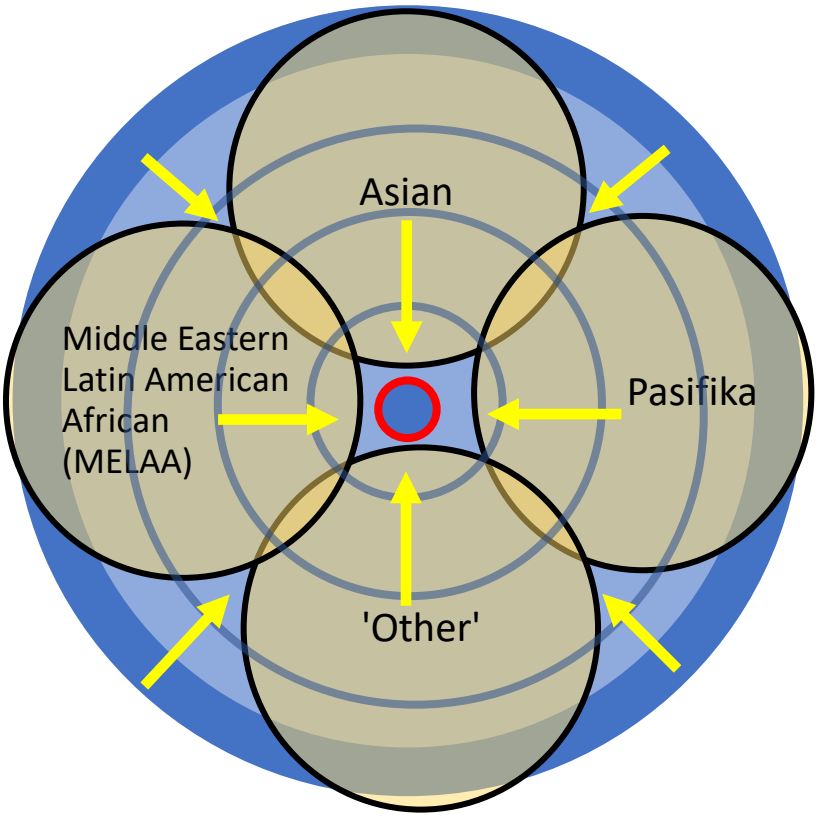
Note: National Macro-biculture is composed of te ao Māori (dark blue) and te ao Pākehā (light blue), linked by te Tiriti o Waitangi (red).

As offered in Chapter 6.2.3, centrifugal experiences expel, exclude, and generally push away from the center. Centrifugal force is fueled by interpersonal (e.g. 'You're not Māori, why you speaking Māori?') as well as intrapersonal (e.g. 'Not having the confidence or like self-confidence to go and try to be involved') challenges. Centrifugal force engenders discord, asserting ethnically diverse students are 'diametrically opposed' to te ao Māori: 'it's just different to how they are wired' (Chapter 5.1.4). As a result of centrifugal force, members of polyethnic groups are pushed away from the richness of te ao Māori. Akin to the 'left-shift' offered by Higgins and Rewi (2014), centrifugal movement is a regressive shift outward, ushering individuals away from positive attitudinal positions to neutral or negative positions. In addition to pushing polyethnic groups away from te ao Māori, a centrifugal flow also pushes polyethnic groups away from each other, rupturing 'patterns of interdependence' (Volf, 1996).

Futhermore, centrifugal force perpetuates the marginalization of te ao Māori. This is represented in Figure 7.3 by the thinning share of te ao Māori within the National Macro-biculture. Patterns of minimal normative engagement are characteristic of centrifugal flow: 'Have the pōwhiri, the Māori bit, cool, now let's move on' (Chapter 6.1.5). While there may still be an appreciation of te Tiriti and te ao Māori in this model, Elizabeth Rata (2007) notes with candor how "the term 'appreciate' suggests a view from the sidelines rather than a full involvement by all citizens" (p.92). Centrifugal force ultimately sidelines both te ao Māori and super-diversity. In contrast, Figure 7.4 offers a countermovement.

Figure 7.4

Integrative Theoretical Model of Multicultural Education, Applied to a Bicultural Aotearoa New Zealand (Centripetal Flow)



Note: National Macro-biculture is composed of te ao Māori (dark blue) and te ao Pākehā (light blue), linked by te Tiriti o Waitangi (red).

Centripetal experiences embrace, include, and draw towards the center (Chapter 6.2.2). As a result of centripetal force, members of polyethnic groups are drawn into the richness of te ao Māori. Centripetal force is fueled by personal invitations and powerful intercultural encounters, engendering a sense of belonging and nurturing an affinity towards te ao Māori (Ip, 2009a). As such, ethnically diverse students 'feel a connection' te ao Māori, recognizing the ways in which 'it links to my culture as well' (Chapter 5.3.2). Similar to the 'shift-right' offered by Higgins and Rewi (2014), centripetal movement is a progressive shift inward, ushering individuals from negative or neutral attitudinal positions to more receptive and positive positions. Additionally, a centripetal flow draws polyethnic groups into closer contact with each other, strengthening 'patterns of interdependence' (Volf, 1996).

Furthermore, centripetal force results in the thickening of te ao Māori, this is illustrated in Figure 7.4 by the increasing prevalence of te ao Māori within the National Macro-biculture. In addition to occupying both the periphery and the core, additional bands of dark blue now permeate the national macro-biculture. These successive bands serve to propel students ever inwards, progressively deeper towards the core. In contrast to minimal normative engagements that lead to 'fuzzy' understandings, these bands represent successive school experiences that provide iterative opportunities for engagement. In the centripetal flow, Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori become Mahuru Māori, compulsory te reo Māori in Year 9 becomes compulsory te reo Māori in Years 9 and 10, Noho marae to begin the year now also closes the year. Much more than an appreciation from the sidelines, the centripetal flow attracts the 'full involvement' of *all* individuals (Rata, 2007).

7.3 Recommendations

In light of the revised dynamic models offered in Figures 7.3 and 7.4, and in consideration of the findings which underpin those revisions, I conclude by offering a handful of recommendations for how this thesis could be used to further support the provision of bicultural education within a super-diverse Aotearoa New Zealand. In doing so I am mindful the admonition of Berryman and Eley (2018):

> *Gathering and reporting [student] voices is not enough-if we continue to ask students for their experiences and opinions, but do not carefully attend to what they say, do not respect and value their thoughts, and fail to act on the solutions provided.* (p.105)

Recommendations are offered under the sub-headings of policy, practice, and research.

7.3.1 Policy

The provisions of cultural responsiveness and bicultural education are not the same. While the former pursues a range of educational initiatives to better serve an ethnically diverse population, the latter is expressly dedicated to ensuring all students have access to the richness of te ao Māori. Failure to make this distinction has resulted in conceptual *confusion*, ethnic *conflation,* and perceived *competition* over resources (Chapter 2.4). It is therefore

recommended that policy makers issue clear directives which acknowledge the distinction between ethnic diversity and Indigeneity. To this end, the theorizing of Will Kymlicka (1995, 2007) which recognizes the differential rights of 'polyethnic' and 'multinational' groups may prove useful (see Chapter2.3.4). While a handful of educationalists in Aotearoa New Zealand have identified potential in Kymlicka's typology (Bartley & Spoonley, 2005; Dam, 2017; May, 2004, 2013; Sabzalian, 2019; Santamaria & Hoskins, 2015), it has yet to influence policy in meaningful ways. As such, it is recommended that policy makers offer clear guidance to support both polyethnicity via culturally responsive pedagogies *and* mulitnationality via bicultural education. Myopic, unbalanced, and uneven efforts will be 'doomed to failure' (Kymlicka, 2007).

Secondly, in addition to offering conceptual clarification and adequate resourcing for both culturally responsive pedagogies and bicultural education, there is also a need for policy makers to identify the manner in which these provisions may interact to produce better outcomes for all. This shared space considers how bicultural education can be made more responsive to super-diverse communities, and how culturally responsive programs targeting super-diverse communities can better incorporate te ao Māori. To date, te ao Māori has been given minimal consideration in the formulation of culturally responsive pedagogies for non-Māori and non-European students (ERO, 2018). As Kukutai and A. Rata (2017) point out, "the 'mainstream' into which migrants are expected to integrate remains, at its core, a fundamentally Pākehā one" (p.35). As such, school programs to support a super-diverse population focus largely on English language acquisition and western pedagogies (ERO, 2018). In terms of providing a bicultural education, it seems there may be a heavy privileging of te ao Pākehā, at the expense of te ao Māori in the school experiences of students from Asian, Pasifika, MELAA and 'Other' ethnic backgrounds. To address this imbalance, it is recommended that culturally responsive programs targeting super-diverse communities be redesigned by the Ministry of Education. This redesign must take active steps to move away from the promotion of a Eurocentric 'National Macroculture' to a fuller recognition of a 'National Macro-biculture' (see Figure 7.4). A handful of design considerations follow:

- *Reimagine English language learning programs (ESOL)* to be inclusive te reo me ngā tikanga Māori. Utilize Māori-centric pedagogies such as ako, whanaungatanga, and

wānanga as pedagogies (MoE, 2011). Reframe ESOL objectives from bilingualism (English and heritage language) to multilingualism (English, te reo Māori, and heritage language).

- *Reposition te reo Māori* from being an official but optional language, to official and expected language (Benton, 2015). Carefully monitor the participation of ethnically diverse learners in te reo Māori. Rather than offering rates of 'non-Māori' participation, Māori Language in Schooling data needs to be further disaggregated according to the six Level 1 pan-ethnic groups (See Table 2.4). Higher levels of disaggregation would potentially reveal unrecognized participation patterns.

- *Increase awareness of te Tiriti o Waitangi.* Existing scholarship indicates a lack of understanding and an uncertainty of place among super-diverse communities concerning te Tiriti (Chapter 2.3.4). Omura (2014) makes the charge that minimal effort has been made by the government to increase the accessibility of te Tiriti for super-diverse communities. The bulk existing resources are designed for Pākehā, written in highly technical language, difficult to understand for those without sufficient English language skills. It is recommended that Treaty resources be specifically designed with a super-diverse audience in mind. As such, these resources would be multilingual, utilizing comprehensible English as well as heritage languages.

- *Embed te ao Māori in NCEA assessments*. Students at all three schools were abundantly clear that te ao Māori is absent from NCEA. This absence leads to a perception of irrelevance. Given the 'educational truism that assessment drives curriculum', an absence from assessment translates to an absence from the overall curriculum (Hipkins et al., 2016, p. 5). While this fault was well-noted in the 2019 NCEA Review, the Ministry would do well to urgently implement the taskforce recommendations to ensure mātauranga Māori is a key component within NCEA.

- *Develop the proficiency of school leadership and teachers.* To enact any one of the recommendations previously offered requires high levels of proficiency in te ao Māori

among school leadership and teachers. Unfortunately, the educational workforce is currently plagued by low levels of proficiency, creating one of the primary barriers to sustaining student engagement in te ao Māori (Haemata, 2018). The Ministry has a significant role to play in promoting higher levels of proficiency. This role may include the implementation of competency standards for graduating teachers in te reo me ngā tikanga Māori (Averill & McRae, 2019; Chan & Ritchie, 2020). This role may also include the development of robust PLD for practicing teachers, such as the recent Te Ahu o Te Reo Māori initiative which saw over 700 school leaders and teachers engage in a 11-16 week course to boost their proficiency (Te Paetawhiti, 2020).

- *Increase engagement with families.* The ethnically diverse families in this study expressed having very few opportunities for engagement with te ao Māori. The bicultural education provided to their children was one of the most significant sites of engagement. Given the dearth of opportunities outside of school, it is recommended that the Ministry consider developing targeted parent education programs delivered through the school that could support ethnically diverse families in their journeys to deepen their understandings of te ao Māori. This may include facilitating key centripetal experiences such as pōwhiri and noho marae, or hosting treaty education workshops or te reo Māori courses.

7.3.2 Practice

As highly autonomous organizations, schools in Aotearoa New Zealand have the capacity to become significant drivers of change regardless of national policies. This capacity is well-evident in the offering of compulsory te reo Māori courses at each of the individual participating schools despite the current absence of a national mandate. Chapter 6.1.2 identified five key school characteristics that support the engagement of ethnically diverse students in te ao Māori: dedicated courses, held in authentic learning spaces (marae ā-kura), aligned with iwi/hapū aspirations, bathed in positivity, leading to normalized practices. Recommendations towards each of these characteristics follows.

Dedicated Courses

-Te Reo Māori: While Te Reo Māori courses are becoming increasingly prevalent in the first year(s) of secondary school, uptake in the senior years remains low for a variety of reasons (ERO, 2020a). This lack of further study limits both individual language acquisition and the collective advancement of the language (Hill, 2017). It is recommended that schools investigate Māori language options in the senior school beyond what is currently offered.

-Additional Māori-centric Courses: Te Reo Māori is one of many avenues to engage with te ao Māori (See Chapter 2.2). Depending on the aspirations of a school community, schools should explore offering additional courses which may include Māori Performing Arts, Ngā Toi, Tikanga, Mātauranga, etc.

Authentic Learning Spaces (Marae ā-kura)

As "one of the most significant developments since the introduction of Māori language in the promotion of bicultural [education]", marae ā-kura hold unique potential to bring te ao Māori to life within English-medium schools (Heremaia, 1984, p.41). However, being "the only Māori structure that exists within education", the position of marae ā-kura is constantly under threat (Penetito, 2010, p.123). Both the unique potential and the existential threat to marae ā-kura were well-noted by participants. It is therefore recommended that schools commit generous resources to fund, staff, and prioritize the needs of the marae ā-kura. As such, a growth mindset towards future potentiality should guide conversations.

Iwi/hapū partnerships

All "iwi within Aotearoa have their own stories, their own whakapapa, their own histories, and their own mātauranga-ā-iwi", established in tikanga ā-iwi and expressed though te reo ā-iwi (Doherty, 2009, p.214). While the Ministry of Education (ERO, 2020b) recommends "the development of localized te reo Māori resources, reflecting dialects and local stories" (p.24), the case studies in this thesis indicate this may not be occurring in all schools. To support this aim, it is recommended that schools endeavor to engage meaningfully with iwi/hapū to design programs that acknowledge iwi/hapū aspirations and expertise.

Positivity

Ethnically diverse students expressed a range of positive *and* negative experiences in their engagement with te ao Māori. While schools were quick to acknowledge the importance of providing as many positive experiences as possible, there was minimal acknowledgement of negative experiences. As such, in addition to promoting positive experiences, schools would do well to attend to the negative. It is highly recommended that schools converse with ethnically diverse students to identify the unique challenges and barriers that may be counteracting the positivity.

Normalized Practices

The aim of bicultural education is not merely to support the revitalization of te ao Māori, but to normalize the fullness of te ao Māori (Higgins & Rewi, 2014). While discourses of 'normal' were prolific in this research, actual practices were more limited. Te reo Māori was normalized in simple greetings, mātauranga Māori was normalized in one-off celebrations, and tikanga Māori was normalized as part of pōwhiri to start the year. The normalization of te ao Māori at deeper levels hinges upon deeper levels of understanding. Therefore, it is recommended that school leadership and teachers be provided ample opportunities to grow their understandings. This includes encouraging and incentivizing opportunities such as Te Ahu o Te Reo Māori mentioned above.

7.3.3 Research

As identified in Chapter 1, there are number of limitations to this study: limitations in the intercultural research setting, limitations in sample size and composition, and limitations in the position of the researcher. These limitations also present opportunities for further research. Recommendations include:

- Expand sample size: This thesis was limited to three schools and one researcher. While the small sample allowed for foundational understandings, a larger sample, utilizing a team of researchers (Māori and non-Māori), would offer a greater range of perspectives.

- Diversify sample composition: Participants from several ethnic groups were not included in this study. For example, there were no students who identified as Samoan, Korean, Syrian, or a number of other ethnicities. Students without English-language proficiency were also not included. These additional voices would certainly enrichen the findings.

- Explore regional variations: The schools offered as case studies in this thesis were located within a 100-kilometer radius. Exploring the school experiences of ethnically diverse students across a greater variety of geographical regions would enhance understandings.

- Design a longitudinal investigation: The vast majority of the participating students were leaving secondary school with positive dispositions towards te ao Māori and strong desires for future engagements at the university level. Examining how these attitudes and ambitions evolve at the university level would give further evidence to the state of bicultural education beyond the compulsory years.

7.4 Contribution to Research

To my knowledge, no research has been carried out in Aotearoa New Zealand that asks of the school experiences of students identifying with an Asian, Pasifika, Middle Eastern/Latin American/African, or 'Other' ethnicity in te ao Māori. In general, there exists a rather small vein of work exploring aspects of the 'indigene-immigrant' relationship that fall outside of the Māori-Pākehā binary (Kukutai, 2008). While there is a nascent understanding of historical and contemporary Māori-Chinese interactions (Lee, 2007; Ip, 2009), and to a lesser degree Māori-Indian (Leckie, 2021) and Māori-Pasifika interactions (Somerville, 2012), the impact of schooling on these relationships is largely unexplored. Yet, it is held that schooling is the government's most powerful lever to shape positive attitudes towards te ao Māori (Haemata, 2018; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2018). Although there is a substantial body of work demonstrating the efficacy of a bicultural education for Māori students (Office of Auditor-General, 2016), the impact of bicultural education on ethnically diverse students is largely unknown. Of the

handful of studies that have investigated the school experiences of 'non-Māori' students in te ao Māori, these include, and are often dominated by, students from European backgrounds (Lourie, 2013). Further, the majority of these studies look specifically at Māori language learning in schooling (Flavell, 2019). None of the participants in this study identified ethnically as European, and none were currently enrolled in a te reo Māori class. In sum, this study is the first step in understanding the evolving relationship between super-diversity and bicultural education.

7.5 Concluding Statement

> *Biculturalism creates alternate centres for New Zealand society located on maraes and rivers and mountaintops…[T]he future of Māori in the national consciousness of New Zealand may be very much influenced by the extent to which new migrants have access to these alternative spaces and learn to treasure them*.
>
> Dr, James Liu, 2005, p.85

At the time these words were published, approximately 18 percent of children in Aotearoa New Zealand identified with an ethnicity other than Māori or Pākehā. Today the number has increased to 32 percent; in 10 years' time this number is projected to reach 43 percent (See Table 2.5). There may be little doubt that "ours is one of the world's most globally super-diverse countries" (Spoonley, 2020, p.112). Super-diversity, as conceived by Dr. Steven Vertovec in 2007, is not simply about more ethnic diversity, rather it implies the potential for new relationships, new social patterns, and new identities that emerge within highly diverse settings. Super-diversity in the context of a 'bicultural' Aotearoa New Zealand presents new opportunities to sustain te ao Māori in ways previously not possible. This thesis advances the claim that in the 'new New Zealand', the future of te ao Māori may be very well dependent upon the dispositions and attitudes of non-Māori and non-European New Zealanders towards te ao Māori (Flavell, 2019). The shape of these dispositions and attitudes is largely determined by the bicultural education provided by schools. For ethnically diverse students, schools are the near exclusive gateway to accessing the alternative spaces of te ao Māori.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Participant Information Sheet: Organisations

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Bicultural Education in a Multiethnic Aotearoa New Zealand

INFORMATION SHEET FOR ORGANISATIONS

You are invited to take part in this research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

Who am I?

My name is Brian Ristow and I am a Doctoral student in School of Education at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my dissertation.

What is the aim of the project?

This project examines how school experiences are impacting student attitudes and opinions towards te ao Māori (the Māori world). It focuses specifically on the experiences of students from non-Māori and non-European backgrounds. Your organization's participation will support this research by helping us to better understand the ways in which schools are sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori in a changing world. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (reference #27811).

How can you help?

Your participation in this study is voluntary. Your organization has been invited to participate due to the ethnically diverse nature of the student population. If you agree to take part, I will interview you (or another school leader), a small group of students, and family members of participating students. These interviews will take less than one hour each and will take place at the school. Each individual participant will be asked to provide consent before involvement in the research. I will audio-record the interviews with the permission of the participants, in order to later transcribe the interview. The interviews will be confidential, meaning that I will know who participated, but the identities of the participants will be protected.

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is confidential. This means that the researchers named below will be aware of the identity of your organisation but your organisation will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation. However, you should be aware that in small projects the identity of your organisation might be obvious to others.

Only my supervisors and I will read the notes or transcripts of the interviews. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed on 1 December 2020.

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in PhD dissertation and possibly future academic publications and conferences.

If you accept this invitation, what are the rights of your organisation?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- withdraw your organisation's participation from the study before 1 August 2020, however individual participants retain the right to decide if their data will be withdrawn;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Brian Ristow
Role: PhD Student
brian.ristow@vuw.ac.nz

Dr. Hiria McRae
Role: PhD Supervisor
hiria.mcrae@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor: Dr Judith Loveridge. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 6028.

Appendix 2 – Consent to Participate: Organisations

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Bicultural Education in a Multiethnic Aotearoa New Zealand

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE
Organisation
This consent form will be held for five years.

Researcher: Brian Ristow, School of Education, Victoria University of Wellington.

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- I agree that my organisation will take part.

I understand that:

- I may withdraw this organisation from this study at any point before 1 August 2020, and the information provided by members of the organisation will be returned to them/or destroyed.
- Any information the participants provide will be included in a final report but the transcripts and recordings will be kept confidential to the researcher and the supervisor
- The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on 1 December 2020.
- The identities of the participants will remain confidential to the researcher(s).
- I understand that the results will be used for a PhD dissertation, academic publications, and/or presented to conferences.
- The name of my organisation will not be used in reports and utmost care will be taken not to disclose any information that would identify the organisation.
- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email ☐ Yes No ☐

Signature of participant: _____
Name of participant: _____
Date: _____

Appendix 3 - Participant Information Sheet: School Leadership Interviews

Bicultural Education in a Multiethnic Aotearoa New Zealand

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS
School Leadership Interviews

You are invited to take part in this research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

Who am I?

My name is Brian Ristow and I am a Doctoral student in School of Education at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?

This project examines how school experiences are impacting student attitudes and opinions towards te ao Māori (the Māori world). It focuses specifically on the experiences of students from non-Māori and non-European backgrounds. Your participation will support this research by helping us to better understand the ways in which schools are sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori in a changing world. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (reference #27811).

How can you help?

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have been invited to participate due to your role in the leadership of the school. Your perspective will help to frame the overall school context and student experience. Your insights will help to shape the content of student focus groups that will proceed from this interview. If you agree to take part I will interview you at school. I will ask you questions about how the school is defining and positioning te ao Māori. The interview will take approximately one hour. I will audio-record the interview with your permission, in order to later transcribe the interview. You can choose to not answer any question or stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. You can withdraw from the

study by contacting me at any time before 1 August 2020. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is confidential. This means that the researchers named below will be aware of your identity but the research data will be combined and your identity will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation. However, you should be aware that in small projects your identity might be obvious to others in your community.

Only my supervisors and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed on 1 December 2020.

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in PhD dissertation and possibly future academic publications and conferences.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study before 1 August 2020;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- read over and comment on your interview transcript;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Brian Ristow
Role: PhD Student
brian.ristow@vuw.ac.nz

Dr. Hiria McRae
Role: PhD Supervisor
hiria.mcrae@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor: Dr Judith Loveridge. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 6028.

Appendix 4 – Consent to Participate: Interviews (School Leadership, Parents, and Teacher Advocates)

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Bicultural Education in a Multiethnic Aotearoa New Zealand

CONSENT TO INTERVIEW

This consent form will be held for five years.

Researcher: Brian Ristow, School of Education, Victoria University of Wellington.

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- I agree to take part in an audio recorded interview.

I understand that:

- I may withdraw from this study at any point before 1 August 2020, and any information that I have provided will be returned to me or destroyed.
- The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on 1 December 2020.
- Any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and his supervisor.
- I understand that the findings may be used for a PhD dissertation, academic publications, and/or conferences.
- I understand that any observation notes and recordings will be kept confidential to the researcher and his supervisor.
- I understand that organisational consent has been provided and the organisation will/will not be named in any of the reports.
- My name will not be used in reports and utmost care will be taken not to disclose any information that would identify me.
- I would like a copy of the transcript of my interview: Yes ☐ No ☐
- I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email address below. Yes ☐ No ☐

Signature of participant:_____
Name of participant:_____
Date:_____
Contact details: _____

Appendix 5 – Semi-structured Interview Schedule: School Leadership

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SCHOOL LEADERSHIP
Semi-structured interview/kōrero

Key Question:
How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population?

Sub-questions:

1. How is te ao Māori being defined, positioned, and engaged with in multiethnic English-medium schools?
2. In what ways are school experiences influencing the dispositions and attitudes toward te ao Māori among ethnically diverse students?
3. What are aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori in the education of their children?

Aroha-based research protocols (Webber, 2019): Welcome – Koha – Connect – Affirm – Close
(all within context of continually negotiating consent and ability to opt-out)

Starting with school leadership interviews gives me a better understanding of school and community, enabling me to better target and frame questions to later ask of students. In no way evaluative, rather informative, supportive, and affirming

Generally 3 Parts – Personal and School Overview, Te Ao Māori Commitments & Programs, Ethnic Communities

Part 1 – Personal and School Overview
-Begin with introducing self, brief bio – position within school, any background information (whatever you feel significant that position yourself and your philosophy), anything that might add context to help me to better understand

-Tell me about your school community?
Follow up: Demographics, cultural background, unique opportunities, challenges, tensions, and trends

-Tell me about your staff?
Follow up: Demographics, cultural background, age, experience, nationality, gender

-How would you say your school positioned within your community?
Follow up: what are the interactions, attitudes, involvements of school in community and vice versa

Part 2 – Te Ao Māori Commitments and Programs

-What are some of the other ways do you see te ao Māori reflected in the school program, as a whole?

Follow up: BoT, school charter, year specific programs, "visibility", welcoming/pōwhiri, ToW commitment? How do you incorporate the ToW into teaching practice, strategic planning, leadership

-Tell me about the various, specific school experiences (or opportunities or programs) students have to engage with (or develop an understanding of) te ao Māori at XXXXX College?

Follow up: how did these come to be? Involvement with Māori? Are there any annual or regular local cultural events? (e.g. Te Matatini, te wiki of te reo Māori, etc.)

-Is there a whare or marae-a-kura? What is the history? If not, is there a Māori-specific learning space? Tell me about it? Does marae-based learning occur?

-Tell me about the school's relationship/engagement with local iwi/mana whenua

Follow up: patterns of iwi involvement (iwi reaching in, or schools reaching out, or both?)? Is there, or has there been a kaumātua/whānua presence at school?
Iwi aspirations regarding education. Who are the leaders at the school and in the school community guiding engagement with te ao Māori and mana whenua?

-Tell me about te reo Māori as a subject at school?

Follow up: Compulsory, enrollment numbers, "access" - who take this class? dedicated staff, trends, bilingual unit, whare wanaga in community? How supported by local iwi (or others)?

-Tell me about te reo Māori and te ao Maori outside of te reo Māori specific classes

Follow up: Māori knowledge, tikanga, kawa? Also Waiata, karakia, protocols? (ME-Normalization and legitimation underpinning)

-Tell me about staff engagement in te ao Māori?

Follow up: PD opportunities to increase knowledge? attitudes of staff? Energy level of staff? Willingness? Language proficiency of staff? Expectation/appraisal from management Demonstrate commitment to practice and develop relevant use of te reo Māori me ngā tikanga-a-iwi" in context?

Part 3 – Non-Māori/Non-Pākehā "ethnic communities" or minority groups

-Who are they in your community and school. What is their unique history? Describe them?

-Opportunities and challenges for these communities at school in general and in te ao Māori specifically?

-What does Culturally-Responsive pedagogy look like at XXXX College for this group? E.g. special programs or support personnel?

-Language learning courses?

-Describe the relationship between mana whenua and the more recent immigrants in this community

-What might be some unique obstacle/opportunities for this community to engage with te ao Māori at school?

-Finally…

When students are asked about their school experiences and engagement in te ao Māori (both in this school and previous school) what would you anticipate their responses to be, or what have you heard, noticed, etc.?

Or,

Ideally, how would you hope that a student leaver would describe their school experiences in te ao Māori? What would be the qualities, or dispositions or competencies you would hope all students would have as a result of their school experiences?

Thank and affirm…appreciate time, glimpse into school, candidness, willingness to participate, your participation/input would help to ensure that te ao Māori is sustained in changing Aotearoa. Moving forward, I'll take your responses and craft the 2nd part, the heart of the study, student experience, told in their own words.

Hoping to assemble 2-5 students for an hour long focus group, students identify as non-Maori and non-Pakeha. Wondering the best way to move forward to identity and invite these students? Who is best contact for next phase. Offer info sheets and consent forms for students.

AFFIRM, THANK, AROHA!

Appendix 6 – Participant Information Sheet: Student Focus Groups

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Bicultural Education in a Multiethnic Aotearoa New Zealand

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS
Student Focus Groups

You are invited to take part in this research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

Who am I?

My name is Brian Ristow and I am a Doctoral student in the Faculty of Education at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is part of my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?

This project examines how school experiences are impacting student attitudes and opinions towards te ao Māori (the Māori world). It focuses specifically on the experiences of students from non-Māori and non-European backgrounds. Your participation will support this research by helping us to better understand the ways in which schools are sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori in a changing world. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (reference #27811)

How can you help?

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have been invited to participate by either your principal or a peer as someone who may be able to provide insights. If you agree to take part you will be part of a focus group held at school. I will ask you and other participants questions about your school experiences with te ao Māori. There will be 1-2 focus group sessions, each lasting approximately 30-45 minutes. I will audio record the focus group with your permission in order to transcribe it later.

The information shared during the focus group is confidential. That means after the focus group, you may not communicate to anyone, including family members and close friends, any details about the identities or contributions of the other participants of the focus group.

You can withdraw from the focus group at any time before the focus group begins.

You can also withdraw while the focus group it is in progress. However it will not be possible to withdraw the information you have provided up to that point as it will be part of a discussion with other participants.

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is confidential*. This means that the researcher named below will be aware of your identity but your identity will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation. However, you should be aware that in small projects your identity might be obvious to others in your community.

Only my supervisors and I will read the notes or transcript of the focus group. The focus group transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed on or before 1 December 2020.

What will the project produce?

The information from this research will be used in my PhD dissertation, and potentially in future academic publications or conferences.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the focus group;
- withdraw from the focus group while it is taking part however it will not be possible to withdraw the information you have provided up to that point;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- read over and comment on a written summary of the focus group;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Name: Brian Ristow	Name: Dr. Hiria McRae
Role: PhD Student	Role: PhD Supervisor
brian.ristow@vuw.ac.nz	hiria.mcrae@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor: Dr Judith Loveridge. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 6028.

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* Confidentiality will be preserved except where you disclose something that causes me to be concerned about a risk of harm to yourself and/or others.

Appendix 7 - Consent to Participate: Student Focus Groups

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI
VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

Bicultural Education in a Multiethnic Aotearoa New Zealand

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN FOCUS GROUP

This consent form will be held for five years.

Researcher: Brian Ristow, School of Education, Victoria University of Wellington.

- I have read the Information Sheet and the project has been explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- ☐ I agree to take part in an audio-recorded focus group.

I understand that:

- ☐ I acknowledge that I am agreeing to keep the information shared during the focus group confidential. I am aware that after the focus group, I must not communicate to anyone, including family members and close friends, any details about the identities or contributions of the other participants of the focus group.
- ☐ I can withdraw from the focus group while it is in progress however it will not be possible to withdraw the information I have provided up to that point as it will be part of a discussion with other participants
- ☐ The identifiable information I have provided will be destroyed on 1 December 2020.
- ☐ I understand that the findings may be used for a PhD dissertation, academic publications and/or conferences.
- ☐ I understand that the recordings will be kept confidential to the researcher and the supervisor.
- ☐ I understand that organisational consent has been provided and the organisation will not be named in any of the reports.
- ☐ My name will not be used in reports and utmost care will be taken not to disclose any information that would identify me.
- ☐ I would like to receive a copy of the final report and have added my email ___ YES ___ NO
- ☐ My parents/caregivers have been informed of my participation and are in agreement., as evidence by their signature below.

Name of participant:_____
Signature of Participant/Student:_____
Signature of Participant's Parents/Caregiver:_____
Date:_____
Contact details:_____

Appendix 8 – Interview Schedule – Student Focus Groups

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE – STUDENT FOCUS GROUPS

Key Question:
How are English-medium schools sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori amongst an increasingly ethnically diverse student population?

Sub-questions:

1. How is te ao Māori being defined, positioned, and engaged with in multiethnic English-medium schools?
2. In what ways are formal and informal school experiences influencing the dispositions and attitudes toward te ao Māori among ethnically diverse students?
3. What are aspirations of ethnically diverse families concerning te ao Māori in the education of their children?

Aroha-based research protocols (Webber, 2019): Welcome – Koha – Connect – Affirm – Close (all within context of continually negotiating consent and ability to opt-out)

Aim:
The student experience and student voice is at the heart of the study: understanding their dispositions and responsiveness towards te ao Māori, in their own words, and through their own lens

Whanaungatanga/Icebreaker ideas:

Name and favorite pizza topping?
Meaning of name and family history (siblings, languages)
How long at this school? Study focus?
Next year plans?
Tell me about this school? What kind of school is this?

1. What comes to mind when you think of "te ao Māori"/ the Māori world?
   a. What do you think are the central elements to te ao Māori? Name as many as you can
   b. Describe it?

2. Journeying in te ao Māori. What role has te ao Māori play in your school experiences this far?
   a. What school experiences have you had, or are available here, that influenced your knowledge of te ao Māori?
      i. In what ways is Māori culture is visible and validated in classroom and school context?
      ii. Have you had any involvement in voluntary Māori activities or clubs at school (e.g. kapa haka)? Why or why not?

iii. How has te reo been used at your schools by teachers, students, parents, and others in the school community?
iv. Have any of the schools you've attended had a marae, wharenui, or other dedicated space on campus for te ao Māori? If so, describe your experiences there?
v. What has been your school experiences with the Treaty of Waitangi? Describe your own understandings and connections to the Treaty of Waitangi?
vi. Most memorable experience(s) in te ao Māori? Why?
vii. Have these experiences at school helped your growth of te reo Māori or tikanga Māori, that you wouldn't get outside of school?

3. How comfortable and competent do you feel in te ao Māori (e.g. pōwhiri, on marae, te reo, tikanga)? Why?
    a. Which of these elements (of te ao Māori) have you had the most experience with, or feel most competent/comfortable with?
    b. Which do you feel most uncomfortable in? Why?
    c. Are any values similar/dissimilar to your own?

4. Who/what have been your sources of knowledge and support within te ao Māori? Who has influenced, encouraged, or modelled these experiences, and in what ways (e.g. teachers at school, other students, local iwi members, etc.)? How were they helpful?

5. Who/what has been less helpful or discouraging?
    a. What have been some of the limitations or challenges you've faced in your engagement with te ao Māori? Explain
    b. Have you found any challenges unique to your ethnic identity as Asian, South African, etc.

6. What suggestions do you have for your school regarding the teaching and learning of te ao Māori from your perspective?

7. What role does te ao Māori play in your life outside of school? What role do you envision te ao Māori playing in your future?
    a. How important/relevant to you see te ao Māori?
    b. Have you visited a marae, wharenui, or other dedicated space outside of school? Describe your experiences.

8. Finally, What is your parents experience in te ao Māori? What are their impressions, engagements, experience?
    a. What are their aspirations for you in te ao Māori?

Closing: Introduce and explain Parent/family questionnaire. AFFIRM, THANK, AROHA!

Appendix 9 – Participant Information Sheet: Family Questionnaire and Interview

Bicultural Education in a Multiethnic Aotearoa New Zealand

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS
Family Questionnaires and Interviews

You are invited to take part in this research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

Who am I?

My name is Brian Ristow and I am a Doctoral student in School of Education at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?

This project examines how school experiences are impacting student attitudes and opinions towards te ao Māori (the Māori world). It focuses specifically on the experiences of students from non-Māori and non-European backgrounds. Your participation will support this research by helping us to better understand the ways in which schools are sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori in a changing world. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (reference #27811).

How can you help?

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have been invited to participate because your child has been participating in a focus group as part of this research. Your perspective will help to provide a more holistic understanding of your child's experience. If you agree to take part I will send home a written questionnaire. The questionnaire will ask you questions about your goals for your child concerning te ao Māori. Following the written questionnaire you will also be given the opportunity to participate in an optional follow-up interview to offer additional input. The interview will take approximately one hour and be held at school. I will audio-record the interview with your permission, in order to later transcribe the interview. You can choose to not answer any question or stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. You can

withdraw from the study by contacting me at any time before 1 August 2020. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is confidential. This means that the researchers named below will be aware of your identity but the research data will be combined and your identity will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation. However, you should be aware that in small projects your identity might be obvious to others in your community.

Only my supervisors and I will read the questionnaire and transcripts of the interview. The questionnaire, interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed on 1 December 2020.

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in PhD dissertation and possibly future academic publications and conferences.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study before 1 August 2020;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- read over and comment on your interview transcript;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?
If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Brian Ristow
Role: PhD Student
brian.ristow@vuw.ac.nz

Dr. Hiria McRae
Role: PhD Supervisor
hiria.mcrae@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor: Dr Judith Loveridge. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 6028.

Appendix 10 – Written Questionnaire for Families

Written Questionnaire for Families

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. You may skip any questions that you wish to not answer. Questionnaire can be completed by a single individual or by a group of individuals.

1. What words to mind when you think of "te ao Māori"/ the Māori world?_____
_____
_____
_____

2. Which of these elements of te ao Māori have you had the most experience with, or personally connect with the most?_____
_____
_____
_____

3. What aspects of te ao Māori are the most important to you for your child? Why?
_____
_____
_____
_____

4. What experiences has your child had with te ao Māori in school?_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5. What experiences has your child had with te ao Māori outside of school?_____
_____
_____
_____

6. What role would you like to see te ao Māori play in his/her future?_____
_____
_____

7. What are the ways in which you have contributed to your child's understandings of te ao Māori?_____
_____
_____
_____

8. What are the ways in which your child has contributed to your understandings of te ao Māori?_____
_____
_____
_____

9. What have been some of the challenges you've faced in your engagement with te ao Māori?_____
_____
_____
_____

10. Would you be interested in a follow-up interview with the researcher to more fully explore your perspective?

    - No
    - Yes, please contact me at _____

Thank you for your time. You may return this form to the school office (Attention: Brian Ristow) or email directly to the researcher at brian.ristow@vuw.ac.nz

Appendix 11 – Participant Information Sheet: Teacher Advocate

Bicultural Education in a Multiethnic Aotearoa New Zealand

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS
Teacher Interviews

You are invited to take part in this research. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to participate, thank you for considering this request.

Who am I?

My name is Brian Ristow and I am a Doctoral student in School of Education at Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my thesis.

What is the aim of the project?

This project examines how school experiences are impacting student attitudes and opinions towards te ao Māori (the Māori world). It focuses specifically on the experiences of students from non-Māori and non-European backgrounds. Your participation will support this research by helping us to better understand the ways in which schools are sustaining the teaching and learning of te ao Māori in a changing world. This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee (reference #27811).

How can you help?

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have been invited to participate due to the significant role you play in encouraging student engagement in te ao Māori. Students at your college have identified you as playing this role. Your perspective will help to frame the overall school context and student experience. If you agree to take part I will interview you at school. I will ask you questions about how the school is defining and positioning te ao Māori. The interview will take approximately one hour. I will audio-record the interview with your permission, in order to later transcribe the interview. You can choose to not answer any question or stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. You can withdraw from the study by contacting me at any time before 1 November 2020. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed or returned to you.

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is confidential. This means that the researchers named below will be aware of your identity but the research data will be combined and your identity will not be revealed in any reports, presentations, or public documentation. However, you should be aware that in small projects your identity might be obvious to others in your community. Further, given the unique role you perform at the school, there is a risk that you will be identifiable from comments reported or other findings. To address this risk, the interview transcript may be amended in an effort better protect confidentiality.

Only my supervisors and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed on 1 February 2021.

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in PhD dissertation and possibly future academic publications and conferences.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study before 1 November 2020;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- read over and comment on your interview transcript;
- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?
If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Brian Ristow
Role: PhD Student
brian.ristow@vuw.ac.nz

Dr. Hiria McRae
Role: PhD Supervisor
hiria.mcrae@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convenor: Dr Judith Loveridge. Email hec@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 6028.

Appendix 12 – University Ethics Approval

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
TE HERENGA WAKA

Phone 0-4-463 6028
Email judith.loveridge@vuw.ac.nz

TO	Brian Matthew Ristow
FROM	Associate Professor Judith Loveridge, Convenor, Human Ethics Committee
DATE	17 December 2019
PAGES	1
SUBJECT	**Ethics Approval** **Number:** 27811 **Title:** Bicultural Education in a Multiethnic Context: Sustaining Te Ao Maori

Thank you for your application for ethical approval, which has now been considered by the Human Ethics Committee.

Your application has been approved from the above date and this approval is valid for three years. If your data collection is not completed by this date you should apply to the Human Ethics Committee for an extension to this approval.

Best wishes with the research.

Kind regards,

Judith Loveridge

Convenor, Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee