Ngā Wawata o Ngā Whānau Wharekura

Aspirations of Whānau in Māori Medium Secondary Schools

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He Mihi

E kore e mutu ngā mihi ki a rātou mā kua huri te tūara ki a tātou. Haere, haere, haere oti atu ki te pō. Rātou ki a rātou, tātou te hunga ora ki a tātou, tēnā rā tātou katoa.

Ka mihi ake ki ngā whānau i whakaae kia uru mai ā rātou whakaaro hei whakakikī i te kete rangahau nei, he mihi mahana ki a koutou. Nā koutou i para i te huarahi hei painga mō ā tātou uri whakatipu, puta noa. Ko te tino tūmanako, kia puāwai ngā kākano kei roto i te pūrongo nei, kia tautoko, kia whakapakari, kia hiki ake te kaupapa hei oranga mō te iwi.

He tika tonu kia mihia ngā tāngata nā rātou te kaupapa o te Kura Kaupapa Māori i whakatō, i whakawhanake. Ki a koutou i whakapau kaha ki te whakaora i tō tātou reo rangatira, tēnā koutou katoa.

Nō reira, e ngā karanga maha, kia kaha ki te whakatutuki i tā tātou e hiahia ai. Mauri ora ki a tātou!

Ngā Ihirangi: Table of Contents

Ngā Āpitihanga: Appendices

1. Whakarāpopotonga: Executive Summary

This report is the outcome of a research project undertaken in response to widespread concerns about the educational programmes currently offered in many Māori medium secondary schooling contexts. These concerns are reflected in the large drop-off in number of enrolled students that occurs in the Māori medium sector at a national level between Year 8 and Year 9. The project centres on the evidence provided from interviews with a small sample of parents of Year 9 children attending Māori medium schools in and near Wellington.

Given the specialised nature of the context of this research, the report includes a section providing background discussions on: the history of Māori people in Western schools; the establishment and development of the Māori medium sector; and relevant theoretical issues relating to identity, language, knowledge and curriculum. These discussions are used to inform a critical analysis of conflicts, risks and opportunities for the Māori medium education community. The report also includes an account of the Kaupapa Māori research methodology employed, which takes a deliberate insider researcher perspective on the issue of objectivity and the potential for research that 'others' the research context and participants. According to the principles of Kaupapa Māori research methodology, such 'othering' processes are unnecessary, if not harmful, to the best interests of the research participants. Kaupapa Māori research praxis informs and supports the approach taken at all stages, from framing the project, through research participant recruitment, data collection and analysis, to the intended processes of its dissemination and further envisaged outcomes.

The empirical findings show that these parents have significant concerns about the lack of specialist subject teachers, particularly in mathematics and science, in secondary Māori medium schools. Restricted curriculum choices, and the place of English in the Māori medium curriculum, are two further related concerns. Balanced against these issues, however, are the considerable advantages of Māori medium secondary schools seen by these parents. These benefits centre around the cultural and social health and safety of the individual student, which parents consider more likely to be nurtured in Māori medium, and possibly placed at risk by undertaking the 'hazardous crossing' into an English medium secondary school environment. The priority given to Māori performing arts, small class and school sizes, a greater sense of belonging and ownership, and the opportunity for social development of the wider school community, were specific inter-related factors identified by parents as contributing to their choice in favour of Māori medium secondary schooling. Some of the families in the research shared stories of uprooting and moving their entire households in order to access these perceived benefits, reflecting the importance of these decisions in their families' lives and value systems.

While some of the parents saw Māori medium schools as a way to overcome the dysfunctionality that had limited their own educational experiences, and hence with transformative potential for the lives of their children, others who had experienced more successful outcomes in English medium schools saw the potential of Māori medium education as a vehicle for the regeneration of Māori society, as part of a wider rebalancing of cultural power dynamics, in social structures such as education where Māori processes and aspirations have traditionally been subjugated. Both of these aspirational profiles can be understood in terms of the wider discourse of **tino rangatiratanga**, which refers to contemporary Māori socio-political aims of relative autonomy to redress historical disadvantage brought about by hegemonic cultural, economic and philosophical oppression.

This report is written primarily to serve the Māori medium education community, with the aim of stimulating and informing critical discussion in relevant circles about the progress of Māori medium schools to date, and future adjustments that may help ensure expanded future possibilities at the level of individual graduates, school communities, and the movement as a whole. It is clear that the tension between 'Western academic' and 'Māori cultural' success (the scare quotes indicate cognisance of the contested nature of these categories) for Māori students in formal education, while different in balance, is just as relevant for Māori as for English medium schools, their communities, and those professional groups and organisations responsible for state educational provision and evaluation.

2.   He Kupu Whakataki: Introduction

In the last few decades, Māori medium education has grown out of initial flax roots efforts by Māori communities, encouraged by evidence of the imminent demise of te reo me ōna tikanga (Benton, 1985), and supported by greater tolerance for Māori political aspirations, under the umbrella of the Māori Renaissance (Walker, 1996). Today Māori medium education institutes span pre-school (kōhanga reo) through primary (kura kaupapa) and secondary (wharekura)[1] schooling, and into tertiary (wānanga). Yet, due in part to such rapid growth, key issues concerning quality and success remain pressing for many in the Māori medium education community—concerns reflected in the choices made by whānau at key transition points. For example, each year only about half of all kura kaupapa students in Year 8 continue on to wharekura in Year 9, according to Ministry of Education data (see Āpitihanga E, p. 40).

This research set out to explore the experiences of a small group of whānau who chose to send their Year 9 rangatahi to wharekura. Four whānau from wharekura in the wider Wellington region were invited to share their aspirations and opinions about education, and the values and expectations that led them to continue choosing Māori medium education at secondary level. The research also highlighted issues that challenged their commitment to this pathway.

The findings show that whānau feel a deep commitment to being engaged in wharekura. The opportunity to develop a strong sense of identity in order to 'live as Māori' (Durie, 2001) is central to their actions in pursuing and promoting wharekura education for their rangatahi. This report raises for discussion some critical influences shaping Māori notions of educational quality and success, and suggests there is urgent need for more discussion and research about these issues amongst Māori medium communities.

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[1] The terms 'kura' (school), 'kura kaupapa' (primary school), and 'wharekura' (secondary school) are used in this report to refer to Māori medium schools in general, without implying any specific legal status or model of governance.

3. He Whakamārama: Background and Context

This section briefly sketches the historical, cultural and educational context within which the study is situated, and introduces some critical questions and issues that are inevitably raised in this context. These questions become particularly acute for whānau considering next steps for their tamariki in transition from one stage to the next of the educational journey. The central focus of this study is the decision-making process of choice involved in the transition from kura kaupapa to wharekura (i.e. from Year 8 to Year 9), as a means to support and promote discussion about the goals and concerns important to whānau within wharekura. Such discussion provides a basis for identifying what remains still to be achieved, in order to bring the real-life outcomes for wharekura students more closely into alignment with the original goals and aspirations of Māori medium education, hence allowing the potential for changes that would increase retention of kura kaupapa students, and lead to greater participation in wharekura.

Historical overview of Māori in state education

The history of Māori in education has been amply documented (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Jenkins & Ka'ai, 1994) and is generally understood in terms of successive policy phases, over the course of the history of Western education in this country, from assimilation, through incorporation, biculturalism and taha Māori, through to the recent emergence of tino rangatiratanga, under which the Māori medium institutes that are the locus of this study have developed. Against ongoing Māori protest and activism, as encapsulated in Kaupapa Māori theory (G. H. Smith, 1990), however, colonising attitudes, which are implicitly hostile to Māori aspirations, continue to strongly influence state education provision, and Māori participation in education remains hegemonically defined and experienced in terms of cultural deficiency and delinquency.

Past state education policies formally discouraged the use of te reo Māori in schools, deliberately disrupting intergenerational transmission of traditional language and culture, so as to quickly assimilate Māori into the traditions and institutions of Pākehā society. This process was further exacerbated by the Hunn Report (Hunn, 1961) which officially endorsed the wholesale displacement of Māori people from their traditional kāinga to the emerging urban centres, in order to provide semi- and unskilled mass labour required in the modernising industrial sector. Today, such historical processes, which undermined traditional Māori economic and political structures, continue to negatively impact on the beliefs of many whānau, hapū and iwi. Reflecting this history of colonisation, with its deleterious effects on Māori society and culture, today one in five Māori people do not even know their tribal affiliation. Nevertheless, recent events such as the

controversy over Māori representation in the new Auckland 'supercity' structure, or the case of iwi reclaiming, against the express wishes of the deceased person, the remains of a relative for burial in their tribal area, attest to the strength of the ties that continue to bind Māori people to a notion of their ethnic identity and traditions, despite the length and strength of opposing cultural, social and economic processes and pressures. The place and role for Māori in wider Aotearoa New Zealand society today remains, as ever in the modern history of this nation-state, one of the most contentious social issues and aspects of nation building, widely debated in many forums and at all levels of public discourse.

The formal partnership since 1840 between Māori and the Crown still plays a critical role in Māori education and policy. Although there are ongoing debates about the actual meaning and intent of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, commitment to the partnership has in recent times been renegotiated to actively serve and protect, among other things, Māori educational interests and needs. A 1985 Waitangi Tribunal claim based on the application of Article Two of the treaty resulted in the official recognition of te reo Māori as a taonga (treasure), thus falling under the explicit protection of the Crown. Assumption of Crown responsibility to protect te reo Māori from extinction was associated with new allocation of government funding in areas such as broadcasting, teacher training programmes, and the establishment of agencies such as Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo, the Māori Language Commission. The education system also came under increasing pressure to better address the needs of Māori in teaching and learning through inclusion of relevant concepts, processes and values.

The public sector reforms of the 1980s included thorough restructuring of the school system, calling for schools to be more responsive to the needs of their local communities, and to develop greater parent–school collaboration in school decision-making. Meanwhile, the first kōhanga reo opened in 1981 as part of a major and deliberate flax roots movement to revitalise te reo Māori, tikanga, history, values, beliefs, practices and identity. Persistent pressure from the Māori community for greater autonomy and active involvement within the education system saw kōhanga reo flourish on a national scale, despite initially receiving little if any government funding.

Māori participation in early childhood education, which is voluntary, has traditionally been relatively low by comparison with the participation rates for Pākehā. Between 1991 and 1996, however, kōhanga reo accounted for a massive 51 percent growth in Māori early childhood enrolments, becoming the largest provider of early childhood services for Māori. The success of the kōhanga reo movement in turn created a demand for Māori medium schooling, leading to the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori, as well as other Māori medium schooling options such as immersion and bilingual units within English medium schools.

Māori medium education initiatives are a relatively recent education phenomenon, but are now a distinctive part of the educational landscape within Aotearoa New Zealand. These interventions undoubtedly provide transformative possibilities, no matter how remote, and represent collective Māori aspirations. Kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and wharekura are testament to the

capability, innovation and power of local Māori communities to manage choices for themselves in ways that benefit their own wellbeing, and that of Aotearoa New Zealand society at large.

This section has briefly touched on some of the major historical forces and events that are vital in understanding the origins of Māori medium education. It is time to outline some important concerns, first in regard to the conflicting aims of Māori medium education, and then with reference to a set of interlocking theoretical issues. These two sections lead into more detailed commentary on interaction and balance between these issues, in different phases of Māori medium education.

Conflicting aims of Māori medium education

The revival of Māori interest in formal education associated with Māori medium initiatives has been likened to the enthusiasm with which the first post-contact generations acquired literacy in te reo Māori under mission schooling, and the ironic observation has been made that not since those days (the early 1800s) have Māori been so keen to attend school. There remains considerable ambivalence amongst parents in Māori medium, however, concerning the criteria of quality and success, as kura attempt to strike a precarious balance between conflicting demands. On one hand is the desire to raise achievement, according to wider (Pākehā) notions of education. On the other hand, there is a commitment to preserving Māori identity and integrity (L. T. Smith, 1999).

From its inception, the vision for Māori medium schooling was two-fold: firstly, the need to save Māori language and culture; and secondly, to redress the significant longstanding disparity in educational outcomes (Sharples, 1994), by which Māori were disadvantaged in terms of their ability to proceed into university educations and the professions, and hence were restricted in career pathways, in political participation, and in overall profiles of citizenship and social influence. It was held that achievement of the first goal, returning to Māori students a sense of pride and accomplishment in their own cultural heritage, would facilitate the second, since Māori youngsters are clearly equally endowed by biology as their Pākehā peers. Inevitably the initial impetus was to establish the conditions of Māori immersion education, entailing an enormous language task of rapidly developing and extending the domains of language use for te reo Māori into all facets of schooling, both within the classroom and beyond. Indeed, this task has clearly absorbed, and continues to absorb, much of the human and capital resource available to the sector.

Identity, language, knowledge and curriculum in Māori medium education

Formal education has long been understood as a site of social and cultural reproduction (Apple, 1997). This is why schools (and other educational institutes) play such an important role in identity politics for subjugated social groups around the world, such as Māori, who are engaged in the quest for ethnic cultural survival. In this sense, Māori medium education represents a structural intervention that aims to reverse the alienation and identity dissonance experienced in

mainstream schools by many rangatahi (teenagers) as they develop their own personal sense of self-identity.

As a central plank of human culture, language is inextricably tied to ethnicity, and of vital importance in the identity politics of indigenous peoples such as Māori (May, 2001). Language carries the unique features of discourse through which an ethnic group maintains and transmits its characteristic ethical narratives and modes of thought, and conducts its social practices. For many, language death is equated with cultural death (Crystal, 2000). Traditional language is used to express indigenous world views that are fundamentally at odds with those of modern Western culture, which is based on scientific understandings of humanity and the natural world. For example, traditional Māori language was the perfect vehicle for traditional Māori knowledge, or 'mātauranga Māori', which is an example of what is generically referred to as indigenous knowledge (Semali & Kinchloe, 1999). Although there are difficult philosophical questions concerning the nature of indigenous knowledge, the nature of science, and the relationship between the two, it is sufficient for this study merely to note the contrast between the two systems of knowledge, and the respective world views from which they arise (Michie & Linkson, 1999).

In signalling the existence of incompatible world views and philosophical problems concerning knowledge, the preceding paragraphs have foreshadowed the difficulties that arise in constructing curriculum for Māori medium education. There is an expectation that such curricula will support the aim of rekindling traditional language and knowledge, which sits in tension with the simultaneous aim of overcoming academic underachievement, as experienced by Māori as a population in English medium school settings (Aikenhead, 1996). This tension becomes explicit in the debates surrounding the development of the national Māori medium school curriculum, or Te Marautanga o Aotearoa.[2] This development started in late 1992 when the Ministry of Education began to contract individual Māori educationalists (McKinley, 1997) to co-ordinate writing groups for each of the seven learning areas then recognised under the national curriculum (NZC), at that time approaching its first finalised form.

The first three learning areas to be addressed were Te Reo Māori, Pāngarau (Mathematics) and Pūtaiao (Science), reflecting the relative importance placed on these latter two subjects at a national level (also internationally, and in the Māori nation). The debates in the development of the Pūtaiao curriculum have been documented elsewhere (Stewart, 2005); they centred on the key question of whether Pūtaiao would be based on traditional Māori understandings of the world—or was it to be 'merely' a translation of the Science curriculum? In any such debate it is easy for issues to become over-simplified, with inevitable concealment of theoretical intricacies behind polarised positions, such as the either-or nature of the two alternatives posed in this question. So it proved with Pūtaiao. Given the historical experience of Māori people with science in service of colonisation, and science education as an academic gatekeeper, there was a strong Māori call for

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[2] See www.tki.org.nz/r/marautanga, accessed 3 September 2009.

an 'authentic' Māori science curriculum to redress these imbalances, and open the way for Māori into the world of science.

The contradictions implicit within this expectation play out in the Pūtaiao curriculum document, and affect every aspect of the teaching and learning of science in Māori medium classrooms. These tensions also hold true, if to lesser extent, in each of the other learning areas of the marautanga. Once more following behind the national re-development of the NZC in the last few years, the second, updated version of Te Marautanga o Aotearoa has recently been released into kura, who are presently charged with preparing for its full implementation in 2010. Yet under the influence of neo-liberal politics in education, the space for imaginative engagement of Māori with Western language, knowledge and values, and the rich possibilities thereof, is rapidly disappearing. So long as Māori people continue to understand who they are, however, it is likely they will continue to fight to retain that space, in whatever form.

This discussion has attempted to cast a scanty net over a deep, murky pool of controversial issues. Its main purpose in this study is to show that the issues of Māori language, knowledge, identity and curriculum are all inherently linked to each other, and to Māori socio-political histories and destinies. It is only with cognisance of this complex nexus that the full import of the choices faced by Māori parents, on which this research centres, can be understood. These issues will now be briefly considered in the context of different phases of Māori medium education.

Age-related phases of Māori medium education

Te kōhanga reo

As noted above, the kōhanga reo movement dates from approximately 1981, as an important part of the Māori Renaissance, motivated by widespread Māori recognition of the urgent need to retrench and revitalise te reo me ōna tikanga (May, 2002). It was based on the concept that older native speakers of the 'grandparent' generation would foster natural language and cultural acquisition by Māori infants, thereby overcoming the phenomenon of the post-WWII 'baby boomer' generation's complete severance from contact with te reo me ōna tikanga (a loss for which the formal education system was held largely responsible). The spectacular success of the kōhanga reo movement also facilitated renewed cohesion amongst Māori whānau and communities, synergistically reinforcing the wave of politicisation across the Māori nation, and dramatically enhancing the appetite amongst Māori for change on a wider societal level. In 1996, total participation rates in kōhanga reo accounted for 46.3 percent of all Māori pre-schoolers, enrolled in 767 kōhanga reo throughout the country[3].

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[3] Table 9 in the 1996 Education Statistics of New Zealand report. See
www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/ece/2507/edstats_nz_89-03

Te kōhanga reo has thus served as a lynch pin for political as well as sociolinguistic revival, and provided a platform for Māori medium schooling. From a child development perspective, young children between birth and five years old are in the most intense learning phase of their lives, yet much of this happens without need of formal explication of curriculum or learning objectives. The emphasis at this stage is on natural language acquisition in a rich environment of waiata and kōrero Māori, interacting with Māori caregivers and authority figures, which naturally imparts the basic elements of identity, values, practices, and relationships. Te kōhanga reo provides a Māori atmosphere that mokopuna inhale, absorbing and learning in a rich yet simple way the fundamentals of 'being Māori'.

Kura kaupapa Māori

The success of the kōhanga reo movement in turn created and supported growing Māori demands for greater autonomy and active involvement within the compulsory schooling sector, due in no small part to the recognition of the role historically played by schools in the oppression of Māori culture and society, referred to above. There was mounting pressure for schooling where te reo Māori was the primary language of instruction, to meet the linguistic and educational needs of kōhanga graduates. These factors resulted in the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori, and other Māori medium schooling contexts such as immersion and bilingual schools or units within English medium schools. Kura kaupapa were legally mandated as a new type of state school in 1989 by Section 156 of the Education Act, providing the basis for entitlement to state funding. According to the Ministry of Education's Directory of Educational Institutions, there are currently 73 kura kaupapa Māori in total, of which 30 also provide schooling at wharekura level (www.tki.org.nz/e/schools, accessed 23/08/09).

Capitalising on the potential for greater parental control of schools offered by the reforms centred on Tomorrow's Schools (Thrupp, 1999), one of the most important elements in the success of kura kaupapa Māori has been the involvement of whānau, and the close home-school partnerships that have characterised their operations. Commonly, monthly evening whānau meetings are held, which whānau (parents and caregivers) are expected to regularly attend, and where all aspects of the management and operations of the kura are (at least in theory) up for discussion. These norms of kura practice reflect the openness and transparency of traditional marae politics, in a modern setting. The intense commitment of parenthood, and an exhilarating sense of shaping the future for one's children and people, has engaged the not inconsiderable talents and energies of Māori whānau (predominantly mothers) over the years since kura first began. Deceptively simple, it is through such means that local community ownership of curriculum and other aspects of school operations has been achieved.

Wharekura

A natural outgrowth of the successes being reported for kura kaupapa by the early 1990s (Reedy, 1992) was a demand for Māori medium secondary schooling options, in order to meet the

educational needs of fluent Māori-speaking students completing primary school. The first cohorts of Year 8 kōhanga—kura kaupapa graduates began to appear around 1990, at first being catered for in a range of ways including: the Māori denominational boarding schools; staying at the kura; home schooling supported by correspondence; or informal arrangements with sympathetic local secondary schools. The first state-funded wharekura opened in 1993 with Year 9 and 10 students at Hoani Waititi Marae, in Oratia, West Auckland. Since that time, growth of the wharekura sector has largely been achieved in legislation by redesignation of kura from Year 1–8 primary schools to Year 1–15 composite schools. Unsurprisingly, wharekura continue to suffer from a lack of qualified kaiako, a shortage that is particularly severe in the subjects of mathematics and science. This is a perennial concern for wharekura whānau, who generally see these subjects as highly important for achieving longer-term Māori aspirations.

The performance of Māori medium students in NCEA qualifications has been monitored by the Ministry of Education for several years (Murray, 2007). According to their findings, the majority of these candidates (most of whom can be assumed to be attending wharekura) gain NCEA qualifications, and are more likely to do so than their Māori peers at English medium schools. Similarly, Māori medium candidates are more likely to meet the University Entrance requirements by the end of Year 13 than their Māori peers at English medium schools (Wang & Harkess, 2007). These are positive endorsements of the quality of education being delivered in wharekura, which justify the commitment made by whānau such as our study participants, and rightly deserve to be celebrated. There was, however, one cautionary finding, reinforcing the concern discussed in the previous section above about the Māori medium Science curriculum: less than 40% of Year 11–13 Māori medium candidates who gained NCEA credits in te reo Māori, English or mathematics gained any credits in science (Murray, 2007, p. 3).

At wharekura level the issues of identity and knowledge intensify, as rangatahi, no longer simply tamariki, begin to construct a deeper sense of personal and cultural identity as a platform for their adult lives. Concomitant with the growing intellectual maturity of the secondary school age cohort, it is also in wharekura that rangatahi are brought into dialogue with the realms of knowledge of the academy, as well as the socio-political realities of Māori history and society. Hence there is a need for them to learn, and learn through, the 'academic' language of the secondary curriculum, translated into Māori, which has been under construction in conjunction with the development of the marautanga. Through their engagement with these diverse forms of Māori knowledge, language and culture, they begin to see themselves as part of the Māori community within which they live, create and learn (Tocker, 2002). This suggests a fundamental shift in emphasis away from rangatahi being mere recipients of established knowledge, towards a critical role for contemplating and co-constructing what could be, and focusing on Māori strategies to achieve it. This transformative role of Māori medium education can only be fulfilled, however, if rangatahi are provided with skills and guidance to deconstruct and critique the conventions that frame their experience, as well as the space to shape pathways forward towards an as-yet undefined Māori future.

Wānanga

Wānanga play a critical, if as yet unrealised, role in fulfilling the aspirations of hapū and iwi for ongoing educational, social and economic renewal, development and growth. They offer courses ranging from certificates to post-graduate degree programmes, largely in Māori-focused fields of the humanities and social sciences. Yet their position in the field of tertiary education remains ambivalent in relation to the other types of institutes: universities, polytechnics and private training establishments.

Wānanga were legally established as a specifically Māori form of tertiary institute under Section 162 of the Education Amendment Act (1990). Today, the three wānanga represent a significant proportion of Māori participation in tertiary education. Te Wānanga o Raukawa was established at Otaki in 1981 by the Raukawa Marae Trustees, well before the legislation came into being, and received official status following the Act in 1993. Te Wānanga o Aotearoa developed out of the Te Awamutu College marae project, and also received official status in 1993. Te Wānanga o Awanui-a-Rangi was established at Whakatāne in 1992, receiving official wānanga status in 1997.

By that time, however, serious concerns had developed in the sector—both for Māori and for the government. None of these wānanga received establishment capital funding, and were severely financially disadvantaged in comparison with universities, with whom they sought to compete. This perceived unfairness was the basis of a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal taken by the three wānanga in 1998. At the same time there were numerous other community groups with plans to establish their own wānanga. In 1994 the Cabinet Committee on Education, Training, and Employment recommended that no further wānanga be established under the current arrangements, although the process of establishing Te Wānanga o Awanui-a-Rangi was seen through to completion as noted above.

Irrespective of the various complex issues involved, kōhanga, kura kaupapa, wharekura and wānanga distinguish themselves from other education services, in providing Māori with a strong sense of involvement, ownership and decision-making. These Māori medium initiatives are widely acknowledged to be instrumental in recent growth of Māori participation rates in education at all levels, from early childhood through to tertiary.

Risks and opportunities in Māori medium education

As noted above, the development in the 1980s of kura kaupapa Māori coincided with the restructuring of the compulsory education system according to neo-liberal economic principles, underpinned by market theory and the notion of the 'Invisible Hand' as the fairest way to distribute resources in society, and to effectively overcome the perceived 'provider capture' that the New Right blamed for much of the country's educational malaise (Jesson, 1999). One prominent argument used to garner wide support for these reforms was the promise of greater parental choice in schooling—a rationale linked by some educationalists to the neo-liberal discourse of public choice theory (Devine, 2004). Ironically, it was within the new educational 'marketplace' that the establishment of state-funded schooling interventions in response to Māori

priorities and aspirations was mandated. The establishment and funding of kura kaupapa was constructed as allowing Māori parents to exercise their choice of te reo Māori as the language medium for delivery of the entire curriculum. Over time, state support for Māori medium education has expanded to include curriculum, resource and professional development. More recent extensions include: provision by way of translation for Māori medium qualifications under NCEA; provision for distance education via video conferencing to address lack of curriculum specialist teachers in wharekura; the development by ERO of guidelines for Māori medium school reviews; and monitoring of Māori medium education outcomes by the Ministry of Education.

Māori medium schools provide more than an education where the dominant language of instruction happens to be Māori (May, 1999). Graham Hingangaroa Smith describes kura kaupapa as structural interventions informed by Kaupapa Māori theory, which take Māori culture, social relationships, values, history, and language as able to benefit all Māori learners and their whānau within kura settings. The reciprocal demand is that whānau in kura are implicitly obliged to advance and promote the educational values and preferences of all involved. In this way the cultural wellbeing and success of every child extends well beyond the role and responsibility of the school or individual family (Bull, Brooking, & Campbell, 2008). Whānau become involved with one another, as well as with redefining education in their own terms. This relationship of respect and reciprocity explains the connection between wharekura and whānau, and why whānau may feel forced to shift away from the area altogether, if they decide to leave the kura.

Kōhanga reo set the foundation for participation in Māori medium schooling such as kura kaupapa, yet many kōhanga graduates undergo transition at age 5 into English medium primary schools. This is concerning, since research shows it is important for tamariki to remain in Māori medium education for at least six years, in order for them to gain a conversational proficiency of te reo and tikanga Māori, and be able to effectively transfer these skills for learning into English contexts (May, Hill, & Tiakiwai, 2004). These authors suggest that moving from Māori medium into English medium schools at any level may mean students are less likely to achieve their full potential. Under educational market policies that privilege parental choice, however, Māori medium institutes must compete to be chosen by whānau: they are in effect pitted against the dominant edifice of English medium education. This choice must be re-made at each transition between institutes, if not each year, and is furthermore a unilateral attrition: at each year level, there is a flow of Māori medium students into English medium schools, yet the reverse movement is far less common, if discernible at all. Students without a history of Māori medium education are effectively unable to do so at any stage; and once students leave Māori medium, they very seldom return. In this sense, parental choice actually acts as a positive pressure in favour of English medium schools—one more disadvantage against which Māori medium schools must operate.

4. Mā te Māori, Me te Māori, Mō te Māori: Research By, With and For Māori

As a Māori researcher, one walks alongside the community that is being researched with the responsibility to ensure that Māori research by, with and for Māori is about regaining control over our knowledge and our resources. We are thus enacting our tino rangatiratanga over research that investigates Māori issues (Pipi, et al., 2004).

Choosing wharekura: a personal reflection

The following comments are made from the perspective of Māori people with multiple roles as parents, teachers, and researchers involved in kura kaupapa, Māori education, and the wider Māori community. Here we speak in the language of participatory activism and conscious co-construction of community-based education systems: a stance manifestly suited to the principles of Kaupapa Māori theory and education, and one which asserts and upholds the tenets of tino rangatiratanga (L. T. Smith, 2006). This perspective also serves to explain the adoption of the first person voice in this section.

Given the history of development of curriculum, assessment, and related resources for Māori medium schooling over the last two decades, it is timely to review and reflect on our progress, in terms of the original twin visions for achievement and cultural revival. If we believe that Māori medium education initiatives can no longer be simply about saving the Māori culture and language, and that academic achievement is just as critical to development and self-determination, we may need to consider how both these aspects can be incorporated into a broad concept of Māori success, so that we are able to function credibly across all sectors of society, in this country and beyond. This question becomes particularly acute for mātua (parents) as our tamariki grow older, first towards Year 9, and later even more so towards the senior secondary school years, and thoughts turn to future aspirations, beyond the end of schooling, for individual rangatahi. Commonly, mātua in this situation are faced with a difficult choice: launch their child into the hazardous crossing to English medium secondary schooling, or consign them to the limited educational options on offer at their wharekura. As the wharekura schooling movement matures, this poignant decision is being faced by increasing numbers of our peers. This study is framed to respectfully engage the participating parents in a discussion of the factors brought into these choices.

Kaupapa Māori research methodology

Kaupapa Māori research methodology is a critical Māori approach to educational research that derives from Kaupapa Māori theory (L. T. Smith, 1999) and can be simply understood as a set of standards or criteria for informing all aspects of research work. These provide an ethical, holistic framework for culturally appropriate research orientations, approaches, and practices that inform all stages of the research process, and allow us as researchers to hold and work across the tensions between professional and cultural demands.

The principles of Kaupapa Māori research hold that it:

- is related to 'being Māori';
- is connected to Māori philosophy and principles;
- takes for granted the legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture;
- is concerned with 'the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well being' (G. H. Smith, cited in L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 185).

Kaupapa Māori research principles are even more simply encapsulated by the phrase 'by Māori, with Māori, for Māori'. As these two alternate delineations make clear, Kaupapa Māori research methodology is mostly concerned with guiding and framing the questions we are interested in, and why, and oriented largely towards the research dimensions of ethics and paradigm, rather than specifying the methods for collection and analysis of empirical materials. Nevertheless, as a critical approach in social science research, Kaupapa Māori research methodology aligns well with other more established critical research methodologies. Accordingly, as detailed below, the research process followed in this project for data collection is similar to the recognised strategies of qualitative inquiry known as participatory action research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), while the analysis used follows the general approach of critical discourse analysis (Locke, 2004), bringing out relevant themes from the corpus of interview data.

The adoption of Kaupapa Māori research methodology is important, furthermore, in order to align the research with the context being investigated, namely Māori medium education, which is also largely based on Kaupapa Māori theory. Such alignment is crucial in order to avoid 'othering' the research topic, since this is not intended as a comparative study of Māori medium education with something else, but rather as an evaluation of Māori medium education on its own terms, and against its own purposes. Related to this point about alignment is the question of the perspective and understandings of researchers. It is critical for researchers involved in this study to adequately understand the complexities involved in Māori medium education, in order to: ensure appropriate research design and processes; facilitate participant recruitment and participation; and provide for adequate analysis and culturally sensitive dissemination of the outcomes of the study. From this perspective it is not only appropriate but essential that this study be carried out by 'insiders'— researchers who clearly lay out their position with regard to the scenario that gives rise to this study, and in its results. This helps to ensure the research is both ethically and scientifically valid and rigorous. It also bears emphasising that researchers undertaking Kaupapa Māori research, such as this study, assume a responsibility for ensuring that Māori benefit from the research.

The research approach also influences formatting decisions in the writing of the report, such as the frequent use and 'normal' appearance of Māori words—which, under Kaupapa Māori research principles, *are* normal. In this report, Māori words are translated in brackets on their first appearance, and/or listed in the Rārangi Kupu (Glossary—see Section 9).

Collecting research data

The study centred on conducting semi-structured interviews with parents from whānau of Year 9 kura kaupapa graduates about factors involved in the decision for their tamariki to attend wharekura. The following three initial questions guided the process of data collection:

1. What constitutes quality and success for whānau with rangatahi in Year 9 at wharekura?

2. What process did whānau in this research go through when choosing wharekura as an educational preference?

3. What factors did whānau consider when choosing a secondary school?

Using semi-structured interviews gave the flexibility for the conversation to flow naturally, and allow whānau to express details or discuss issues important to them at the appropriate point in the kōrero. The full interview schedule (see Āpitihanga, Section 8), comprised four sections. The first section aimed to collect background information, inviting research participants to talk about their whānau in general. The second related to the decision-making process, including questions about how whānau arrived at their decision to send their child to wharekura, and their ideas and expectations about the purpose and nature of education in general. The third section raised questions about their aspirations for, and the challenges of, secondary education. The final section sought advice for prospective whānau considering wharekura.

Recruiting participants

Four wharekura were approached to participate: the three wharekura in the greater Wellington urban region, and one within 100km of Wellington City (see below for details). Despite being a small sample group, these wharekura and their associated whānau reflect the diverse characteristics representative of the range of wharekura throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. Prior personal knowledge of all four wharekura facilitated the recruitment and data collection processes. Logistics also dictated the selection of a limited number of participating schools near Wellington.

An initial approach was made to the tumuaki of each of the four wharekura to inform them about the project, even though the focus was on whānau, rather than school characteristics. One tumuaki was happy to talk about the research over the phone; another found it more convenient to communicate via email. Meetings were held with the two remaining tumuaki in person, and at one of these latter wharekura the research proposal was also presented to a hui-ā-whānau, where the researcher was able to meet with kura whānau, clarify the project, and answer their questions.

Once tumuaki had agreed in principle for whānau from their school to participate, they were asked to nominate whānau with Year 9 rangatahi who might be suitable research participants. Two of the whānau identified in this way were already known to the researcher, who therefore contacted them personally. Another whānau was provided with the researcher's contact details by their tumuaki, and initiated contact via email. The fourth whānau volunteered to take part in the research following a hui-ā-whānau held at their kura.

Whānau were provided with an introductory letter, information sheet, interview questions and consent form before taking part in this study, and invited to include whoever they wished in the interview. Suitable dates, times and venues for the interviews were arranged with each participating whānau. Interviews were held either at their workplace or in their home, usually accompanied by food, between August-October 2007. Each interview was 1–2 hours long and was taped to support notes taken by the researcher. The four whānau were coded with a colour name (Kākāriki, Kikorangi, Kiwikiwi, and Kōwhai) for ease of reference while maintaining confidentiality.

Whānau chose to participate in this research for several reasons, including: the kaupapa of the project; whanaungatanga (our shared social networks); and the researcher as 'he kanohi kitea', which refers both to the face-to-face setting, and to personal knowledge (hence a level of trust) of that person. With reference to the discussion of methodology above, the nature of participant responses by whānau may have been quite different had the researcher been non-Māori, unprepared to meet face-to-face, or a non-speaker of Māori.

Ngā wharekura

Various legal models for the establishment and governance of Māori medium schools have appeared, of which several were represented in the research sample; for simplicity, however, these administrative intricacies are not explicated in the following descriptions, as they have little if any impact on the themes explored in this study. It is in recognition of the range of governance models that 'Māori medium' and 'English medium' have more recently become the terms of choice. The key point is that all four participating wharekura operate through the medium of te reo Māori as the language of instruction. Participants were recruited from the following four wharekura:

- Te Ara Whānui Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Kōhanga Reo o Te Awa Kairangi
- Te Kura-a-iwi o Whakatupuranga Rua Mano
- Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Mokopuna
- Te Kura Māori o Porirua.

Te Ara Whānui Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Kōhanga Reo o Te Awakairangi (Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Ara Whānui)

Te Ara Whānui Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Kōhanga Reo o Te Awakairangi opened in 1996, and have operated on their current purpose built premises in Petone, Lower Hutt since 1998.

According to their 2008 ERO report, it is a decile 3 school with a Year 1–8 roll of 190 students, and 17 Year 9–10 students. At the time of the interviews in 2007, the wharekura was operating as a 'kura teina' (little sibling school) attached to a legally established wharekura, while in the process of seeking re-designation as a composite school. This has now (2009) been achieved.

Te Kura-ā-iwi o Whakatupuranga Rua Mano

Te Kura-ā-iwi o Whakatupuranga Rua Mano opened in 1999 in Otaki, and is a composite decile 3 kura with a 2007 roll of 78 students from Year 0–13. As of 2008 the wharekura had been operating for 9 years and with 26 students from levels 9–13, and 4 teachers. Subjects offered are English, Mathematics, Science, and a range of courses provided through Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Mokopuna

Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Mokopuna, in Seatoun, Wellington, is a composite decile 6 school with a Year 0–13 roll of 65 students. The wharekura started in 2002 when 5 Year 9 students wished to remain within the kura environment, and in 2008 had a total of 14 students from levels 9–13. There are 5 wharekura teachers (most part-time), three of whom are primary trained, and the subjects offered are English, French, Mathematics, Media Studies, Music, Physical/Health Education, Social Studies, Te Reo Māori and Te Reo Rangatira.

Te Kura Māori o Porirua

Te Kura Māori o Porirua is a decile 3 total immersion school with a Year 0–13 roll of 197 students. The wharekura has operated since 2004, building up by one year level each year, and in 2008 had 39 Year 9–13 students and five teachers. Subjects offered include Te Reo Māori, English, Mathematics, ICT, Media Studies, Music, Physical/Health Education, Social Studies, Te Reo Māori and Te Reo Rangatira

Ngā whānau

Each whānau is referred to by their colour codename in this report. Whānau Kikorangi and Kiwikiwi interviews were held with the mother only, while both parents participated in the Whānau Kikorangi and Kōwhai interviews. The following paragraphs indicate the whānau composition in the home in each case, and note some personal details, including prior contact between the participants and the researcher.

Whānau Kākāriki

The researcher met with the mother from Whānau Kākāriki at her workplace in the health sector. Although never having previously met, she was positive about being involved in the study, and

enthusiastic about the opportunity to talk about her rangatahi and their education. She comfortably switched between Māori and English throughout her kōrero, and spoke in a quiet, gentle manner. She had attended university as a mature student, achieving an MEd degree. Initially she had been interested in becoming a teacher, but a personal incident during her training meant she was unable to complete her teaching qualification. Whānau Kākāriki has two whāngai children, 2 and 13 years old.

Whānau Kikorangi

Contact with Whānau Kikorangi was simplified as the researcher had previously taught one of their three children, and the interview took place in their home. Both parents were keen to participate because they wanted to share their experiences with other whānau. They spoke of similar childhood stories: for both, their parents had separated when they were growing up, and they had finished school early and begun working. These experiences were the basis for a strong shared commitment to raise their own children within a stable, positive home environment. Their children ranged in ages from 13–17 years. Their oldest child, a boy, had attended a Māori boarding school because they felt he would benefit from a structured environment. Their middle child, a girl, was enrolled at a local Catholic girls secondary school and had settled well, despite initial resistance. They had involved their youngest child, a girl in Year 9, in the decision over which secondary school she would attend, and she had chosen to continue on to wharekura, a decision based mainly on her close peer group relationships.

Whānau Kiwikiwi

The Whānau Kiwikiwi interview was held with a single mother known to the researcher, so her kōrero flowed easily over morning tea at her workplace. She was animated throughout the interview, and supportive of the research agenda. She works in the area of early childhood education and returned to tertiary studies as a mature student, completing some university level papers. She has two whāngai children aged 9 and 13 years. She had chosen wharekura for her 13-year-old son because she believed he would not cope well in a mainstream secondary school due to his shyness; he also had older cousins attending the same wharekura, which she saw as to his advantage.

Whānau Kōwhai

The researcher had previously briefly met Whānau Kōwhai, and for the interview was welcomed into their home, where the two parents lived with their five children, ranging in age from 2 to 17 years. Both parents, accompanied by their youngest child, were present for the interview, which took place around the kitchen table. Wharekura had not initially been available to the two oldest children when they reached the end of Year 8, so the whānau had moved to a different region for that specific reason, which demonstrates their profound commitment to Māori medium education.

One parent, who spoke bilingually throughout the interview, was also a qualified teacher and had many years experience working in kura kaupapa. The other parent cared for their 2-year-old during the interview, while contributing to the conversation as appropriate.

5. Ngā Kitenga Rangahau: Research Findings

This section presents and analyses the major issues whānau spoke about in the research interviews concerning navigating the choices involved in guiding their rangatahi through the learning journey towards independence. These results are presented below in three sections, corresponding to nested social units: te tamaiti (the child), te whānau (here referring to the nuclear family), and te kura (the school community). Of course, given the interwoven nature of social organisation, which cannot be neatly divided in the way these labels imply, the discussions overlap across these categories.

Te Tamaiti

Naturally enough, most of the kōrero in the research interviews concerned factors and concerns relating to the individual rangatahi on whom the data collection centred. The long-term impact in the parents' lives of their own schooling experiences—both positive and negative—had shaped their knowledge, commitment and motivation for choosing wharekura as an educational preference for their children. Parents' notions of quality and success were concerned with factors relating to identity and wellbeing equally as much as academic outcomes.

Identity and wellbeing

One of the most widely-mentioned aspects that all participants considered essential to quality and success in education was the cultural and social health and safety of their rangatahi. For mātua, wharekura represented safe cultural havens where the emotional, physical, intellectual and spiritual identity of rangatahi would be preserved, nurtured and validated.

> Sending him to kura was initially about te reo and then it changed to safety and then health. It comes down firstly to their identity, secondly their safety and their health—taha wairua, taha whānau, taha tinana, taha hinengaro—whanaungatanga, manaakitanga.(Whānau Kākāriki)

Cultural principles

Whānau saw the value of cultural principles such as manaakitanga (sharing) and whanaungatanga (kinship) within wharekura as fundamental for encouraging and developing a sense of belonging and collective ownership.

[Child] is in a safe environment around whānau—giving him the chance to be strong and to be confident in who he is. I like the [kura] whānau concept of being able to work together to help them get through. Whānau have supported us always to get through and achieve. Some children will naturally achieve, others need extra support. For [child], he would get swallowed up in a mainstream system. He's confident, he has lots of talents and abilities but is a child who needs extra support. (Whānau Kiwikiwi)

When participants were asked about their own schooling background, mātua from two of the whānau recalled having predominantly negative memories and feelings of failure. This dissatisfaction had provided them with a strong desire for their children not to become victims as well. They felt a cultural pull towards wharekura. They specifically referred to this as a means for overcoming potential barriers to success in education, such as discrimination based on ethnicity, as well as offering better opportunities for cultural and linguistic development than those available in English medium secondary schools.

Matua Tuatahi: When I had my children I decided that they certainly weren't going to do what I did—I want my kids to have a good education. **Matua Tuarua:** When I was at school, I was at school for the sport and the fun more than anything else. I wasn't really the sit down in a classroom person, so give me a turn driving a tractor on the farm. I struggled big time at school to be honest. (Whānau Kikorangi)

For these whānau, choosing wharekura was therefore (at least in part) a means of avoiding the detrimental impact associated with the dominant Māori experience in secondary schools. These concerns were included in all four research interviews.

In mainstream, the larger group don't identify with you and you don't identify with them, therefore it's a mismatch. Within kura being of your own autonomy you don't have to make any comparison, and what you are comparing with or being part of is what you are. (Whānau Kōwhai)

We like him there because we feel he is safe and often think about if we changed him over, would he benefit from it? Some do, some don't and we were wondering what group he would fall into but we didn't want to take the risk because we could lose him and everything would be for nothing. (Whānau Kākāriki)

Kapa haka

One important specific cultural aspect identified by whānau as an advantage within wharekura was the status given to kapa haka, which although acknowledged as important for Māori students in English medium secondary schools, faces a constant struggle and hardened opposition in the mainstream system to being allocated adequate learning time. All mātua showed awareness of this issue as a unique benefit their rangatahi gained through attending wharekura.

Kapa haka gives them discipline, maths, reo—all curriculum areas but people don't see it as being learning. Protocol stuff that goes with it. Kapa haka is a tool, a taonga that we need to be encouraging kids to participate in. (Whānau Kiwikiwi)

Small school size

The smaller size of wharekura compared with mainstream secondary schools was seen as a positive contributing factor in developing close and effective relationships within the kura whānau. One parent strongly believed that only in small schools could a shared understanding be effectively built, managed and communicated, likening the collective roles and responsibilities within kura to those within Māori society.

> I believe big kura can't carry Te Aho Matua because of the workload, uniting whānau, and we shouldn't have big kura. If we have a look at our whānau, hapū and iwi structures, the iwi has the economic base, but what contributed to that iwi were the hapū. What contributed to the hapū were each whānau where each had their own contribution to make. (Whānau Kōwhai)

As discussed above, the whānau structure of wharekura was regarded as being of direct beneficial influence on the quality and success of the education their children were receiving—benefits that our research participants understood were enhanced by the small school rolls found in their children's kura.

Academic outcomes

Small class sizes

Another aspect related to small school size that whānau identified as important was the tendency for wharekura to have lower student–teacher ratios than are the norm in English-medium secondary schools. Small class sizes were perceived by whānau as being able to provide better educational experiences in terms of educational outcomes, as well as for the student's personal wellbeing.

> **Matua Tuatahi:** We wouldn't have let her go to [mainstream secondary school] just for the numbers of students. There's 33 in a class, so unless you're a clever cookie, the middle ones miss out. When I was going to school, I wasn't a clever cookie, so unless the teachers actually wanted to put a little extra time into you, you miss out and you struggle and you don't get through. **Matua Tuarua:** You're just a number. (Whānau Kikorangi)

Subjects and teachers

A key issue of particular concern to all whānau was the shortage of subject specialist teachers in wharekura: teachers who are proficient in te reo Māori, qualified in the subjects, and experienced in facilitating successful academic outcomes across the curriculum, particularly at senior secondary levels. Three out of the four research whānau specifically mentioned mathematics and/or science in this regard, reinforcing the point made above in the background section about the intense interest in these subjects among Māori medium parents.

> I wanted the kura to provide him with the maths, science and those sorts of things. Unfortunately it's not there yet. (Whānau Kākāriki)

> If we had the teachers that were able to professionally provide that stability, maintenance and teaching to the kids, I wouldn't have to pay for Numberworks. (Whānau Kiwikiwi)

Related issues include teacher retention and the dearth of quality teaching and learning materials. Also, due to smaller school rolls, wharekura teachers are more likely to teach in more than one curriculum area; wharekura are also likely to offer a more restricted range of subjects than most English medium secondary schools. In one of the wharekura, senior students were learning some subjects through The Correspondence School (although this is also common in smaller English medium secondary schools). The small size of wharekura therefore had both advantages and disadvantages. For these whānau, however, the benefits offered by wharekura of better cultural and social experiences and outcomes outweighed the lack of specialist subject teachers, and having fewer curriculum choices.

The place of English

A related issue for whānau concerned the place of English in wharekura, both as a medium of instruction and as a subject. This was a point of contention within Whānau Kōwhai, with one parent, but not the other, believing teaching English was the responsibility of the kura. The Kiwikiwi mātua, however, expected individual whānau to meet the needs of their child, irrespective of the type of school that they attend.

> We need to buy in the extra support to get them to achieve at a different level… Some mainstream schools don't have the professionals to get them to a level—some of those parents do exactly what we do because Numberworks is full with all denominations of children. (Whānau Kiwikiwi)

The recent growth in this country in the number of providers of private individualised tuition indicates there are increasing numbers of families opting to supplement the education provided by state schools, including Māori medium schools. Anecdotally, this is also a growing trend amongst wharekura parents. But should whānau be expected to pay for private tuition, to fill the gaps left by the difficulties being discussed in this research, and is this a sustainable long term practice? Even more acutely, must whānau who cannot afford these extra external programmes simply accept that they could well be resigning their rangatahi to failure?

The place of English in the education offered by wharekura emphatically highlights the underlying tension between the disparate aims, discussed above, of Māori medium education overall. Decisions about the amount of English instruction, and the year levels at which it is offered, are commonly among the most difficult and contentious discussions held within kura whānau. Opinions are even more divided at the primary school level, with many kura preferring instruction in English to be kept entirely out of the grounds of the school. In this regard, it is pertinent to note that the Ministry of Education was directed to include English as a separate learning area in the latest version of Te Marautanga o Aotearoa, to the considerable consternation of many of those involved in the curriculum development work. This move has, at any rate, given the teaching of English within Māori medium school settings a new, officially mandated status—

the effects of which remain to be seen as the implementation of this version of the Marautanga proceeds in the coming years. Comments made by whānau on this matter offer insights into the size and nature of the compromises faced by parents in choosing to send the rangatahi to wharekura.

> We didn't send them to the kura to be worried about their English. We sent them there because of the kaupapa of the school. We've had so many stories about parents pulling their kids out because of not doing enough English at school, that's not why we sent our kids to the kura. We sent them there because of the tikanga and the kaupapa and carrying on from the kōhanga. That was all part and parcel of going there. My own personal opinion is that it's a waste of time sending your baby to the kōhanga if you're not going to send them to the kura. It just depends on what you want out of the school for me. From there secondary, again it depends on what you want from the kura. (Whānau Kikorangi)

As alluded to by this parent, one common way the compromise plays out is for whānau to transfer their children from Māori medium to English medium schools at the end of Year 6. In this way, it is hoped the child has enough time during the intermediate years to catch up with their peers, and gain a sufficient basis of English language to allow for successful academic outcomes at secondary school. What fails to be captured in this discussion—as in the statistics related to Māori medium retention—is the intense anguish and heartache borne by the whānau, mātua and rangatahi alike, as they weigh these potentially life-changing decisions, and live with the results.

> **Matua Tuatahi:** Maybe there could be a little English introduced at the kura but at what cost? **Matua Tuarua:** My kids can speak Māori as well as English and they will never forget [it or have it] taken away from them. (Whānau Kikorangi)

One implication from these discussions is that greater acceptance of a place for teaching English in Māori medium schools may help to stem the exodus of rangatahi into English medium referred to above. This is, however, an extremely tentative and contingent suggestion, and is not meant to be taken as blanket endorsement for opening the gates to English medium teaching within kura. It is for the whānau of each kura to weigh the advantages and disadvantages for themselves.

Te Whānau

A range of factors relating to dynamics and relationships within the whānau were also clearly important in their decisions on where their children would attend secondary school. For Whānau Kikorangi, the decision to send their Year 9 daughter to wharekura was due to her being the third child in the family, as well as her disposition to learning. The two older siblings had been sent to a Māori boys boarding school and a local Catholic girls school, respectively, initially against their wishes. The decision for their younger daughter to attend a wharekura was based partly on the fact that, as the youngest child, she was given more freedom to choose; and partly because both parents believed that her outgoing personality meant that she would succeed no matter where she went. Similarly, in the Kiwikiwi whānau, the children's different personalities were a major consideration in choosing the appropriate secondary school. The older child needed the 'extra support' available in wharekura of 'the whānau concept of being able to work together to help

them get through'. In contrast the younger child had a 'different āhua' and would 'naturally achieve' in a mainstream secondary school.

In the case of Whānau Kōwhai, although one parent (who was non-Māori) would have considered sending their oldest child to a mainstream secondary school, the other parent (Māori) insisted on wharekura. In the other two whānau, their Year 9 rangatahi was their oldest child: these three whānau had all thought about this decision and committed to wharekura as the secondary system of choice for their children, since they had been in kōhanga reo.

> From the time he had a pōwhiri at kōhanga he was going from there to there … it's always been our dream to send him all the way through to be that 'Māori boy' but now he doesn't want to move. He likes the kura, Māori—'it's my life'—ka tika. (Whānau Kākāriki)

> …tikanga and te reo Māori get a kick up the ass because [of] those parents who just pull their kids out of kōhanga and kura and decide kura Māori is not for me, not the kids, so they pull them out with the negative attitude. (Whānau Kōwhai)

Within the Kōwhai whānau, there was never any question that their children would go to a wharekura: it was a case of which wharekura they would go to. In the area where they had previously been living, no wharekura had been available. They had consciously chosen to move to their current home so that the rangatahi could attend wharekura, which indicates the importance placed on this issue by parents, and the sacrifices they are prepared to accept, for the sake of their children's education.

Whānau Kiwikiwi had undergone a similar upheaval to their family's life to follow the dream of Māori medium education. Previously living in Auckland and working within Māori medium education organisations, this parent had felt trapped in a situation she knew was detrimental to her child's education:

> The easiest thing I did, I moved to Wellington, that's why I left in Term One there, Term Two we were here—it was the easiest way out for me. I couldn't work out how I was going to pull them out of the school and still stay in the kōhanga kaupapa that I wanted to be in. I was being selfish to myself. People were saying for years to move to Wellington. But I realised in the end I wasn't doing anything good for the kids I didn't even like the school I was at. So it was easy when I left to come, because of the kura. (Whānau Kiwikiwi)

Stories such as these shared by the research participants make it clear that involvement in the Māori medium education system is far more profound than simply the choice of 'a good school' faced by parents under what is considered the 'normal' model of education in this country. Having one's children at a kura means being part of something larger than oneself: it is a form of belonging that in many ways reflects traditional Māori social structures. Relatedly, all schools are not considered equal: the choice of a specific kura may be linked to its location in one's ancestral rohe (area).

> For me, if we ever moved from here, I would only go as far as Hamilton. That's where my father is from. If we went back, I've already convinced myself that [wharekura] would be the school the kids would go to. (Whānau Kiwikiwi)

> What differentiates us from mainstream schools is te taha whanaunga, te taha wairua and our need to identify with part of something. (Whānau Kōwhai)

Whānau reported that they were fully involved in supporting their rangatahi in whatever way they could, but at times felt limited by their lack of mastery of the curriculum and national examination system. They also mentioned that their rangatahi were growing up and beginning to explore and define their boundaries of independence. Some whānau felt challenged by wanting to help, but not feeling able to do so, at a stage when teenagers often discourage their parents from getting involved at school. During the secondary years, rangatahi are maturing in all ways, and with this comes a shift in the power balance between parents and children. All whānau stated that their rangatahi had strong opinions about wanting to continue onto wharekura level, but had varied views about the extent to which the rangatahi should be allowed to decide. When asked how they would respond if their rangatahi wanted to attend a mainstream secondary school, some whānau would try to persuade them otherwise.

> If [child] wanted to go to mainstream, I would consider it but he would have to be quite strong in why. I would probably convince him not to, because of where I want to be. I wouldn't send my [primary-aged] daughter to mainstream even if she wanted to. Again it's around where we would be and who she would be with. (Whānau Kiwikiwi)

> It's not what the kid wants, it's what you think is best, you first make that decision what it is you want. (Whānau Kōwhai)

Other whānau expressed the view that it was important to actively engage rangatahi in the decision-making process. These whānau were prepared to let their rangatahi pursue their chosen pathway, as long as they could reasonably justify their decisions.

> While the parent should have a say in it, it would be wise to also let the child do the same. (Whānau Kākāriki)

> We're pretty fortunate that we talk about and we have a good relationship with them and have been straight up with them about why we're doing this and that... Talk with your kids and see what you want out of the school and what they want out of the school. (Whānau Kikorangi)

Like all parents of teenagers, whānau were actively thinking about future career and other aspirations for their rangatahi, beyond the end of secondary school. While not a major focus of these interviews, this was naturally included in the kōrero about the choice of secondary school.

> Kōrero ki ā rātou tamariki i te tuatahi [speak to their children in the first place]. They need to be close with their child so they know what their child wants. Mehemea ka mutu te kura o te tamaiti, ka aha rātou [when school is over, what will they do?]? Mehemea hiahia tēnā ki te whai i te netipaoro, haere ki te kura o [mainstream secondary school], tētahi atu rānei [if one wants to follow netball, go to (school) or one like that] ... if the child's passion is to be a builder, then put that child onto the right pathway straight away. You should already know by third form what pathway that child wants to follow and it changes sometimes, but at least you can give them a good education and find out what that child wants to be. (Whānau Kākāriki)

While presenting the subject of career planning in an overly simplistic way, collapsing together different levels of aspiration such as sporting and professional, this quote emphasises the importance felt by whānau of the need to explore and support rangatahi in their ambitions. These kōrero speak to the responsibility felt by mātua for providing an educational framework to allow rangatahi to formulate ambitious, positive life goals and choices.

> It's an individual thing for them at the end of the day when they leave school which path they go down—all we can do is guide and support them and hopefully they make the right choice and head down the right path. (Whānau Kikorangi)

Yet it was not only the rangatahi who stood to receive direct benefits from their schooling choices: mātua also spoke about what they had gained themselves from the decision for their children to attend Māori medium schools—gains that would continue and be enhanced by the rangatahi proceeding on to wharekura.

> Sometimes when you send your kids to kura kaupapa Māori you actually learn a lot more yourself. Where we come from, my decision was not just about my kids learning but also about me learning more. (Whānau Kōwhai)

> The only Māori I got was when I went to college. We've learnt a little bit off the kids. (Whānau Kikorangi)

This serves to reinforce the point that Māori medium education cannot be seen simply as an alternative type of state school: rather, it is a catalyst for whānau development at many levels. This was explicitly reflected in kōrero by one whānau, who showed perceptive insight into the transformative potential of their commitment to be the best parents they could, and to provide their children with the best, most appropriate education within their means.

> **Matua Tuatahi:** I was smoking cigarettes at 12 and I would go to college, come home for lunch and have a smoke then go back to school. Our kids don't do anything like that at all.
> **Matua Tuarua:** I didn't really have any support from my parents as far as my education went... there was never really many books or taking me to the library or what homework have you got... One of the things that we talked about when we got together was that we wanted to give our kids as much as we possibly could and not have them struggle or go through what we've been through with our parents. We've got 21 years of marriage between us now so that's part and parcel of that support for them too... We joke every now and then, but we've broken a whole cycle of stuff that was happening when we were growing up, definitely for the better. (Whānau Kikorangi)

Schooling as a vehicle for education and development of the entire whānau was explicitly envisaged by the originators of Kura Kaupapa Māori, according to Section 3.9 of Te Aho Matua ("Education (Te Aho Matua) Amendment Act 1999," 1999):

> Ehara i te mea mō ngā tamariki anake te kura. He mātauranga anō kei te kura mō ngā tūpakeke, mō te katoa o te Whānau hoki mehemea ka hiahia whakatū wānanga rātau mō rātau [School is not only for the benefit of the children. There is education within the school for the adults and the whole Whānau if they choose to establish occasions of learning for themselves].

In this aspect, therefore, the comments by research whānau indicate that the original vision for kura kaupapa Māori has proved to be durable and successful.

Te Kura

Research whānau also spoke about the choice of wharekura for their rangatahi in terms of aspects relating to their personal commitment to the kaupapa of Māori medium education. They viewed this as their contribution to an initiative for the betterment of Māori as a group within wider Aotearoa New Zealand society: an important plank of tino rangatiratanga for Māori people and culture.

Whānau talked about the integral role of kōhanga and kura in helping them to make their decision to attend wharekura, because they felt deeply committed and fiercely loyal to the kaupapa (cause) of Māori medium education. From this perspective, wharekura were seen as being a poutama (staircase) from kōhanga and kura kaupapa.

> I never separated wharekura from the kōhanga, kura tuatahi system. The ideal would be going through the same stages—ka whānau, ka tipu, kōhanga, kura, and naturally going to wharekura if you are lucky enough that your kura goes on so you don't have to leave. (Whānau Kōwhai)

Some whānau could draw on positive schooling experiences in their own backgrounds, which helped them see where improvements might be made to the system—such as a collective vision of involvement, collaboration and autonomy in decisions affecting the education of tamariki—and, more importantly, how they could make it happen. They talked about wharekura offering not only an alternative education that was more culturally appropriate, but also as a means for their children to thrive in education through Māori structures, processes and practices, without having to rely on state-imposed decisions of formulation, implementation and evaluation.

> The learning curve for me when I was at kura was we were the managers, we had to manage our school as part of a whānau—what is it that we wanted our kids to learn? How are we going to teach them? You can still actually form your own curriculum for your own kura as long as it is still part of that framework. Localising your curriculum to suit your kura. (Whānau Kōwhai)

These comments are linked to the sections in each national curriculum statement, respectively titled *Te Hoahoa Marautanga ā-Kura* (Tāhūhū-o-te-Mātauranga, 2008) and *The School Curriculum: Design and Review* (M.O.E., 2007). Perhaps due to the intense involvement of whānau in kura that has characterised Māori medium education since its inception, this is one aspect in which kura could be said to be setting national direction. The burden of this commitment on parents and teachers was also spoken about by one whānau.

> But the time and the effort becomes a bit of a hassle too—it's easier sometimes I think if I went to mainstream I wouldn't have to turn up to that hui, I wouldn't have to do this and that... For me the ideal wharekura—all we want the kaiako to do is ako i ngā tamariki... We

> need to do the other part of it, blend it properly—allow the staff to do the teaching... I think they do too much. (Whānau Kiwikiwi)

Whānau reflected on the progress that has been made by Māori medium education to this point in time. No-one is better qualified to appraise kura than parents who have made the type of long-term commitment to the kaupapa of Māori medium education shown by our research whānau. In this respect there is a need to unsettle the air of complacency and triumphalism that tends to dominate in academic writing about Māori medium education (May, 2004). While we may lead the world in community-based indigenous-language schooling, one purpose of this research was to allow insiders to speak truthfully about what Māori medium education is currently providing, or not providing, for unless we can candidly voice our concerns there is little hope for improving practices and, ultimately, outcomes for our tamariki. Dissatisfactions and concerns among the research whānau recognised that kura have not attained perfection, and that not all kura are performing to the highest level. Part of the concern was that, over time, the initial impetus of whānau enthusiasm and commitment had waned.

> There are different levels within kura who have been doing it mai rā anō and are at their pinnacle, and there are those who have got to a certain stage and have stopped because it doesn't work for their kura so they have stopped to find another huarahi. That's a process that all kura Māori are going to have to go through. Kōhanga had to go through those processes. Our numbers have dwindled. I believe years ago we had more parent help than we could do with and no money. Now we have lots of money in our kōhanga but no people... We don't have those people anymore who have that commitment to educate our tamariki. I think that's another take—teaching used to be a glamorous job but now it's not. It's actually a chore and it's a challenge. Now when kids are growing up they don't want to be a teacher. (Whānau Kōwhai)

Another set of concerns centred around the lack of progress of kura towards achieving their original goals, particularly in terms not only of te reo Māori but also transformation of educational outcomes.

> Ko te reo te mea nui o tēnei wā [the language is the big thing at this time] which is what they offer but nothing more... My concern is that we are perfecting the mainstream system.... So as far as wharekura is concerned, a lot of our wharekura are still working on the mainstream system, just the content in te reo Māori with a bit of wairua splashed there and the tikanga is different. (Whānau Kōwhai)

This parent, who is also a trained teacher with professional experience in Māori medium schools, is well placed to make informed critique of the current status of wharekura. Despite these criticisms, however, the research whānau all remained committed to staying with Māori medium schooling, preferring to work from the inside to play a role in its development, in order to improve its future outcomes. These comments can be linked back to the theme that has run throughout these discussions: Māori medium education sells itself short, and is misrepresented by others, if viewed merely as a Māori 'brand' or version of mainstream schooling. It clearly has potential to be so much more.

6. He Kōrero Whakataunga: Conclusions

These results show that whānau decisions for choosing wharekura were based not merely on the convenience of the school location, nor the quantity or quality of its facilities, but rather in accordance with parents' deeply-held values, and the resulting desire for their rangatahi to continue their education through te reo and tikanga Māori. Wharekura whānau thus differ fundamentally from parents who opt for mainstream secondary schools, since they consciously choose to have greater autonomy over key decision-making in education, with regard to Māori cultural aspirations and social preferences. Clearly, however, there is no one pathway that leads whānau to choosing wharekura as an educational option for their Year 9 rangatahi. Rather, this choice results from an overall balance between a range of factors, of which the main ones are:

- their own schooling background and experiences;
- their own cultural and language proficiency;
- their understanding and commitment concerning Māori medium education;
- the mainstream options available;
- the personality and educational needs of the individual child;
- their beliefs concerning power-sharing between parents and children; and
- the family structure and birth order of children.

In recognising this interlocking set of reasons underlying the choice of wharekura, it is clear that the dominant arguments about more resources are rather simplistic. It is certainly true that Māori medium schools need more teaching materials, and that there is a severe lack of kaiako with specialist expertise in Māori medium curriculum and assessment. While these are difficult issues, however, they are insufficient as an explanation of the solution required to address all the problems or failings currently seen in wharekura. Careful consideration must rather be given to the multiple layers of, and various roles played by, wharekura within modern Māori society, and indeed within today's larger landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand society.

The implementation of National Standards for literacy and numeracy at Years 1–8 in English medium (2010) and Māori medium (2011) schools is intended to make explicit the levels of student achievement for which schools are expected to provide. National Standards define what students need to know and be able to do at different stages in reading, writing and mathematics; they identify expected levels of achievement and rates of progress. In Māori medium, the development of National Standards has included a particular focus on oral language proficiency, defining statements of expected progression, predictors and indicators. Transparent and clear information will be reported to parents about their children's learning, which will provide even more impetus for public discussions about school quality than before. Such discussions include

the publication of comparative data such as the 'league tables' much loved by the mass media, heretofore associated primarily with the top echelon of secondary schools.

While the effect of this development on the parent choices dealt with in this research remains to be seen, it is reasonable to suppose that whānau in Māori medium schools will welcome the opportunity provided to promote discussion of quality and success in terms of learning outcomes—discussions that have until now been largely dominated by cultural and political aspects. With this in mind, the results of this study serve as a reminder and a warning to many kura that attitudes of complacency concerning the education programmes they currently provide are misplaced. Difficult though it has been to establish the structures of Māori medium education, the achievement to date has been both limited and mixed. The challenge remains ahead of us to complete the implementation of the original vision to which the founders of Kaupapa Māori education aspired. Not only must kura accept the challenge of providing a culturally safe and healthy learning environment; there is a critical need to focus on facilitating learning outcomes in literacy and numeracy in te reo Māori that will form a basis to enable kura graduates to succeed to the highest levels in any subject area, at any educational institution in the world. It is quite possible that this would require many kura whānau to move beyond their current comfort zones, to overcome limitations placed on Māori medium educational developments through the ideological deployment of simplistic or absolutist rules or slogans.

There have been references throughout this report to the fundamental difference between Māori and Pākehā, which manifests at many levels including philosophy, language, culture, and perspectives on history and society. This study has examined the dual nature of the notions of quality and success that are held by kura whānau, which can be simply stated as cultural and academic success. While this work is located in Māori medium schools, this dual-sided notion of quality and success is equally as relevant, though different in balance, within English medium schools, as indicated by the key current strategy document for Māori education, *Ka Hikitia* (M.O.E., 2009).

This study has opened up many more questions than it has answered. It is clear, for example, that kura whānau have to, and do, make huge sacrifices and compromises in their own and their children's lives, in order to follow the dream of regaining their birthright of fluency in Māori language and culture. Yet they continue to hold serious reservations about the ability of the wharekura to provide for academic success—reservations that lead many to abandon the Māori medium sector. How, then, can we encourage the recruitment and continued participation of students in wharekura? How can we improve teaching and learning in wharekura?

Underlying these is the following more in-depth question, one which a study such as this cannot begin to answer, but can perhaps provide grounds for raising in relevant circles: What compromises might be possible, necessary and/or appropriate at the level of the larger kaupapa of Māori medium education, in order to allay the fears that lead so many whānau to transfer their rangatahi to English medium somewhere between Year 6 and Year 9, and to enable them to fully

commit to Māori medium education, in the certainty that it opens Māori doors without closing those to the wider world?

On one point, however, the results of this study are conclusive: they give the lie to the widely-held belief amongst mainstream New Zealand that Māori parents do not care about their children's education. It is difficult to overstate the burden of care, and the concomitant hope, invested in schooling by these whānau. Their heroic efforts to build a better future for their families demand, in return, the highest standards and most diligent undertakings on the part of all involved in the profession of education in this country.

7. "E hoki ki ō maunga..."

Copies of this report will be gifted in person to each whānau who participated in the research, and to their wharekura. Copies of a 2-page summary paper, which includes the main points about the project and its results, will also be given to those wharekura, in quantities sufficient for each individual whānau who wishes to have their own copy to read and keep. It seems important, given the concerns with which this research deals, and to uphold the principles of Kaupapa Māori research, to clarify here exactly how the results of the work will be returned to the communities from within which it arose.

Copies of the report will also go to various government and Māori education organisations, as required by the legislation that governs the work of NZCER, and in accordance with the results of discussion with the advisory group for Te Wāhanga.

It is also intended that a conference paper and a journal article based on this report will be prepared and presented in due course.

Beyond these steps, it is the sincere wish of the authors that this report might create a ripple effect in its own community, to stimulate and support discussion amongst those whose interests it has kept squarely in view throughout, from initial inception to the completion of this report—namely, those parents and their children all around the country who choose to go to Māori medium schools.

8.   Rārangi Kupu: Glossary

This glossary lists Māori words and phrases used in Sections 1–5 above, giving translations according to their usages in this report—many also have different meanings in other contexts.

āhua	character, personality
ako i ngā tamariki	teach the children
Aotearoa	New Zealand
hapū	'sub-tribe'
he	1: a 2: some
he kanohi kitea	a familiar face, in person
hinengaro	mind, psychological
huarahi	road, way
hui	meeting
hui-ā-whānau	school parents' meeting
iwi	'tribe', people
ka tika	it's right
ka tipu	s/he grows
ka whānau	s/he is born
kaiako	teacher
kāinga	home, esp. in traditional tribal area
kapa haka	Māori performing arts (group)
kaupapa	1: social or political cause or issue 2: rationale, philosophy
Kaupapa Māori	critical pro-Māori policy or perspective
kitenga	findings
kōhanga (reo)	Māori language pre-school
kōrero (Māori)	talk, discourse
kupu	word
kura	school
kura ā-iwi	school with specific tribal identity
kura kaupapa (Māori)	primary school run according to pro-Māori policies
kura tuatahi	primary school
mā	by way of
mai rā anō	since long ago
manaakitanga	hospitality, generosity
Māori	indigenous person of Aotearoa New Zealand
marautanga	curriculum
mātauranga (Māori)	traditional knowledge

matua	parent
mātua	parents
me	with
mō	for, concerning
mokopuna	pre-school child(ren)
ngā	the (plural)
o	of
Pākehā	non-Māori New Zealander
Pāngarau	Mathematics
poutama	stepped taniko pattern, staircase
pōwhiri	formal welcome
Pūtaiao	Science
rangahau	research
rangatahi	teenager, youth
rohe	tribal area
taha	side, aspect
take	issue
tamaiti	child
tamariki	children
taonga	treasured possession or quality
te	the (singular)
teina	younger sibling of same sex
Te Marautanga o Aotearoa	name of the national Māori medium curriculum statement
te reo (Māori)	the Māori language
te reo me ōna tikanga	Māori language and customs
tikanga	customs, culture
tinana	body, physical
(tino) rangatiratanga	autonomy, self-determination
tuarua	second
tuatahi	first
tumuaki	principal
waiata	songs
wairua	spirit, spiritual
wānanga	tertiary or adult learning institution or situation
whakamārama	explanation
whānau	family, extended family, school community
whanaunga	relations
whanaungatanga	kinship (literal or metaphorical)
whāngai	adopted
wharekura	secondary school

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Äpitihanga A: Appendix A

WHĀNAU ASPIRATIONS IN WHAREKURA

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

This interview should take about one to one-and-a-half hours. You don't have to answer any questions you are not comfortable with. I would like to tape this interview as a back up for the notes we will be taking if that is alright with you.

Introduction

- Can you tell me a little about your tamaiti/tamariki and your whānau?

The decision making process

- Can you tell me how you went about deciding to send your tamaiti to this wharekura?

- How different (if different), has choosing a kura been from choosing a wharekura?

- What role did the kura play towards influencing your choice?

- Did you consider any other secondary school options and why or why not?

- How have you found the education of your tamaiti in comparison to your own education experiences?

- What do you see as the main purpose of secondary education?

Wharekura

- What do you think are the advantages of sending tamariki to wharekura?

- What do you think are the disadvantages of sending tamariki to wharekura?

- What do you think are the advantages of sending tamariki to a local secondary school?

- What do you think are the disadvantages of sending tamariki to a local secondary school?

- What do you see as the specific needs of students moving from kura kaupapa Māori to English medium secondary schools?

- How might secondary schools support this?

- Do you know of any secondary schools where this is happening?

- In an ideal world, what would education at a wharekura look like?

- In an ideal world, what would your tamaiti look like at the completion of wharekura?

Final

- What advice would you give to other whānau considering wharekura as an option?

Äpitihanga E: Appendix E

Number of Māori Students Enrolled in 81–100% Māori Medium Learning from 1 July Annual Roll Returns														
	Year 1	**Year 2**	**Year 3**	**Year 4**	**Year 5**	**Year 6**	**Year 7**	**Year 8**	**Year 9**	**Year 10**	**Year 11**	**Year 12**	**Years 13+**	**TOTAL**
2008	1,423	1,372	1,297	1,264	1,165	1,158	1,195	1,034	560	453	351	233	159	11,664
2007	1,458	1,396	1,365	1,269	1,254	1,165	1,156	1,092	527	475	314	254	151	11,876
2006	1,556	1,452	1,377	1,367	1,297	1,128	1,197	1,092	595	445	306	175	138	12,125