

Place, Power and Pedagogy: A critical analysis of the status of Te Ātiawa histories of place in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools and the possible application of place-based education models

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This thesis is the original work, under the sole authorship, of Richard Francis Manning

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(November 2008)**

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Abstract

This research examines the status of Te Ātiawa historical knowledge in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools.¹ It uses the metaphor of tuna (eels) inhabiting the Waitangi Stream in Central Wellington (now pumped underground) to argue that Te Ātiawa histories of place need to be resurfaced in local schools, much as the Waitangi Stream has been resurfaced at Waitangi Park. A pre-interview questionnaire enables nine Te Ātiawa experts and nine senior history teachers to reflect upon the cultural continuities and discontinuities they experienced when learning about history in familial and secondary school settings. A series of elite interviews also encourages the participants to discuss the dominance of Pākehā grand narrative accounts of New Zealand, local and Māori history. A survey of unit topics taught in 24 Port Nicholson Block secondary school history and social studies classes, meanwhile, provides a snap-shot of topics taught in local history and social studies classes in 2005. These survey results are compared with those of a nationwide survey conducted by the New Zealand History Teachers' Association (2005).

Te Ātiawa interviewees experienced higher levels of cultural discontinuity than their teacher counterparts. Though the Te Ātiawa interviewees' relatives employed a holistic view of history and frequently used landscapes, flora and fauna to serve as historical texts, their teachers (like the teacher participants' relatives and teachers) were less inclined to do so. The Te Ātiawa interviewees, moreover, believed their teachers held stereotypical views of Māori historical figures and events. Only one teacher shared similar concerns about the stereotyping of Māori. Some teachers, however, did value familial narratives and particularistic (e.g. local) knowledge. Consequently, these teachers, like their Te Ātiawa counterparts, experienced some degree of cultural discontinuity when Eurocentric forms of universalistic knowledge were accorded greater status than the particularistic knowledge of their families and/or local communities.

This research, moreover, indicates that Te Ātiawa histories of place are still rendered largely invisible in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools' history and social studies classes. Skills associated with GIS mapping and visual, ecological and optimal functional literacy, also appear to be undervalued. Additionally, most of the teacher participants know little about the tribes inhabiting the area they work in and their topic preferences

¹ There are variations in the naming of this tribal grouping. In addition to Te Ātiawa, the names Te Ati Āwa and Ngāti Awa have also been used to describe the same tribal grouping. I have followed the advice of the principal historian of the Wellington Tenth Trust and used the name Te Ātiawa throughout this research.

reflect their feelings of disconnectedness. However, the teacher participants are generally supportive of the potential development of a place-based education partnership between the participating schools and local Te Ātiawa people.

While the Te Ātiawa interviewees want meaningful input into the design and delivery of a partnership model, the teachers feel unable to fulfil these wishes. Insufficient professional development opportunities, resource constraints, professional rivalries, student/parental prejudices and timetable constraints are all cited by the teachers as hurdles to be overcome. Consequently, the Te Ātiawa interviewees remain alienated from local secondary schools, while the teacher participants feel trapped in an institutional secondary school culture that I liken, metaphorically, to a hīnaki (eel trap). Given the barriers that separate the two groups of participants, this research concludes with recommendations for the consideration of all interested parties.

Abbreviations

ANKN	=	Alaska Native Knowledge Network
APL	=	Adult Performance Level (US Office of Education)
ATL	=	Alexander Turnbull Library
CMP	=	Community Mapping Project
ERO	=	Education Review Office
GIS	=	Global Information System
GPS	=	Global Positioning System
ICT	=	Information and Communication Technology
LINZ	=	Land Information New Zealand
NAGs	=	National Administration Guidelines
NEGs	=	National Education Goals
NCEA	=	National Certificate of Educational Achievement
NOHANZ	=	National Oral History Association of New Zealand
NZHA	=	New Zealand Historical Association
NZHTA	=	New Zealand History Teachers' Association
NZQA	=	New Zealand Qualifications Authority
OM	=	Otago Museum
PBE	=	Place Based Education
SSiNZC	=	Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum (1997)
TPK	=	Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development)
WAHTA	=	Wellington Area History Teachers' Association
WINHEC	=	World Indigenous Nations' Higher Education Consortium

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Chapter One: Introduction

Whakataukī (Proverb):

Ka patua te whenua i te kino,
ka ngaro te mana me te wairua mō te iwi.

*Violence against the land is as destructive to
the mana [authority] and wairua [spirit]
of the people of that land as it is to the land itself.*

Introduction

This chapter uses the history of a local stream, including the tuna (eel/s) that inhabit it, to create a metaphor that sets the backdrop for an overview of this research. This overview illuminates the ecological, historical and contemporary political contexts in which this research occurred. Another metaphor, also involving tuna swimming in a stream, will be developed at the end of this thesis to illuminate the barriers that might prevent the teacher participants from entering a pedagogical partnership with their Te Ātiawa counterparts. This closing metaphor revolves around the imagery of a hīnaki (eel trap).

The decision to begin and end this research with metaphors associated with a specific place was inspired by some insightful comments made by one of the research participants mentioned in chapter seven.² I have chosen to draw upon the imagery of tuna inhabiting the subterranean reaches of the Waitangi Stream, now piped below the inner suburbs of New Zealand's capital city (Wellington), because, like that stream, local tribal histories of place need to be resurfaced in local schools. This needs to be done in ways that involve meaningful consultation and engagement with local iwi (an alliance of related hapū).

The Waitangi Stream, like the schools central to this research, is situated within an area known by Māori as Te Upoko o te Ika (the Head of the Fish). British authorities later described this area as the Port Nicholson Block. This area encompasses the cities of Wellington and Lower Hutt, situated in the south-western corner of the North Island of New Zealand.³ The Port Nicholson Block was the focus of a significant Waitangi Tribunal

² See Interviewee Two's comments about the Waitangi Stream.

³ I will describe the boundaries of area in more detail later in chapter two. Meanwhile, see Appendix One: Waitangi Tribunal map of the Port Nicholson Block.

Report (2003) titled: *Te Whanganui a Tara me ona Takiwa: Report on the Wellington District*. For those readers who are unfamiliar with New Zealand history or the mechanisms of its judicial system, the Treaty of Waitangi Information Programme (State Services Commission) provided the following helpful description (2005: p. 19) of the Waitangi Tribunal:

In 1975, the Waitangi Tribunal was established [via the Treaty of Waitangi Act] as a permanent commission of inquiry to consider claims by Māori against the Crown regarding breaches of principles of the Treaty, and to make recommendations to government to remove the prejudice and provide recompense. Initially, it had the power to only hear claims relating to Crown actions after 1975. The jurisdiction of the Waitangi Tribunal was extended in 1985 to cover Crown acts and omissions dating back to 1840. This has provided Māori with an important means to have their grievances against the actions of past governments investigated.⁴

The tuna of the Waitangi Stream, a place-based metaphor

Like the tuna of the Waitangi Stream, and indigenous peoples elsewhere, local tribes have witnessed the obliteration of their natural environs and much of their traditional cultural landscape, following British colonization (since 1839). Acts of what have been called ‘ecological imperialism’ (including land clearing, swamp-draining, rapid urbanisation and the growth of poorly-planned waste discharge systems) have left harmful ecological legacies that many residents of Wellington City now wish to address. One of these legacies is the ongoing pollution of the Waitangi Stream. Having recently been resurfaced at its lower reaches, the stream now features as the centre-piece of the new Waitangi Park complex. This park sits on the eastern side of Barnett Street directly opposite *Te Papa* (*Te Papa Tongarewa*: the National Museum of New Zealand). The park also borders Cable Street and the Lambton Harbour walkway.⁵

⁴ For more information about the history of the Treaty and its texts/principles see Treaty of Waitangi Information Programme (2005: pp. 2-15).

⁵ See Appendix Two: Map One of Wellington Central, Wellington, New Zealand.

The Waitangi Stream system

Wood (2007), via a poster, described Waitangi Park as ‘Wellington’s newest, most exciting, urban park, covering some three hectares of waterfront.’⁶ She added that ‘the park has won international and national landscape design and architecture awards that recognise it’s sustainable, ecological and social attributes and its sophisticated design.’ Central to this ‘sophisticated design’ is a resurfaced reach of the Waitangi Stream within a man-made wetlands area. The Waitangi Park wetlands were designed to be ‘practical.’ Wood explained that the stream was resurfaced, or ‘day-lighted’, via ‘a pumping system located 100m upstream [south] of Waitangi Park.’ According to Wood (p. 1), this pumping system is ‘linked to level and salinity sensors to exclude seawater at high tide.’ Water now ‘enters a sub-surface wetland designed to reduce turbidity in the stormwater to levels suitable for UV disinfection (<10-15mg/L).’

Wood explained that, as a result of these engineering processes, the ‘disinfection of flows prior to entering the wetland now results in a 90-99% reduction in bacterial levels (faecal coliforms).’ She added that ‘flows within the Waitangi wetland are treated through filtration [partly via the re-introduction of native species of flora], absorption and biological/chemical transformation.’ Treated stormwater from the wetland is used to ‘irrigate the park and the neighbouring grounds of *Te Papa*’. Wood added that ‘in addition to the reintroduction of native flora in the park wetlands’, native flora is also used, in a ‘series of planters placed strategically around the park’, to ‘catch park stormwater run-off from the roads and pavements, clearing away most pollutants before they reach the stormwater culvert.’ She noted that Waitangi Park ‘is named after the Waitangi lagoon that existed nearby until the mid-19th century.’ The decision to allocate this name to the park was made by the Wellington City Council based on a recommendation given by its Built and Natural Environment Committee on 3 June 2003. This recommendation followed advice given the Committee by the Wellington Tenth Trust.⁷

⁶ Waitangi Park is located on the eastern side of Barnett Street (opposite Te Papa Tongarewa) and on the northern side of Cable Street. Herd Street provides the Park with its north-eastern boundary. The park also borders Lambton Harbour. See Appendix Two: Map One of Wellington Central, Wellington, New Zealand

⁷ This Trust, as explained by the Waitangi Tribunal (2003: p. 8), was ‘...established in 1985 and represents the interests of the beneficial owners and the beneficiaries (the families of the owners) of the Wellington tenths reserves. The beneficial owners are the descendents of the Te Ātiawa/Taranaki whānui people who were living in the Wellington Harbour area at the time of the New Zealand Company’s Port Nicholson deed of purchase in 1839, as determined by the Native Land Court in 1888.’ The Wellington Tenth Trust assisted me to undertake this research (see chapter three).

As Wood (2007) recognised, the Waitangi lagoon and swamp, fed by the Waitangi stream system, was still an important food source for Taranaki whānui (tribes originating from Taranaki) who inhabited the Te Aro area when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by local rangatira (chiefs) at Port Nicholson on 29 April 1840. According to numerous sources, the lagoon largely disappeared from sight following the huge 1855 earthquake. The Waitangi swamp and stream system then began to disappear following the gradual development of an urban wastewater system from 1859 onwards that piped the stream system underground. The Waitangi Stream system was associated, by local tribes, with the area still known as Te Aro. The archaeological remains of a pā (fortified/palisaded village) named Te Aro were uncovered during building excavations in lower Taranaki Street in 2006.⁸ When discussing the relationship between the Taranaki whānui people of that pā, the stream and the wider Te Aro environs, Gilmore and Mellish (2004: p. 18) explained that:

Te Aro is an important physical and cultural landscape in the Port Nicholson Block and it includes the Waitangi stream system. The stream system is still a vital life force, a topographical and cultural icon. The boundaries markers of the rohe (area) include Te Aro Pā and stream, Moe-i-ra, Omaroro, Ohiro, Kaipakapaka, Paekawakawa, Pukeahu, Maranui, Athletic Park/Russell Terrace, Waitangi Stream and College Street/Huriwhenua. The tangata whenua [people of the land] also shared rights with other tangata whenua [Te Ātiawa/Taranaki whānui] at Karori, Ohariu and Wiremutaone (now Johnsonville). The stream rises in several places in the Newtown/Huriwhenua area. It rises in the Town Belt in the Prince of Wales and Macalister Parks, at the children's playground and Newtown Kindergarten on Hospital Road, and on Te Ranga-a-Hiwa (Mt Victoria) Ridge and according to Louis Ward [1975] off Newtown Park.⁹

Three tributary streamlets flow from about the tops of Ellice, Elizabeth and Majoribanks Streets. At Hospital Road the stream in its past state was led from two lagoons which could possibly have been spring led. You can now stand at the man holes on the children's playground and hear the strong water flows. From the headwaters Macalister/Prince of Wales Parks the various stream courses cross Wright, Tasman, Rolleston, Hanson Streets, Adelaide Road and Riddiford Street

⁸ See Appendix Two and Appendix Three: Te Aro Pā, looking (northeast) towards the Hutt River.

⁹ See Appendix Two and Appendix Four, Map 2, Wellington Central, Wellington, New Zealand.

before following Adelaide Road through the Basin Reserve, down Cambridge and Kent Terrace to enter the Harbour in the area of Clyde Quay marina.¹⁰

In addition to Gilmore and Mellish's description of the Waitangi stream and its environs (above), Ward (1975: p. 277, 304) observed that:

From Newtown Park to Clyde Quay a deep boggy stream wound its sluggish way through a morass of flax, raupō and tussock grass. A swamp impassable in winter when herds of cattle sometimes perished miserably, and where the first surveyors, jumping from tussock to tussock, occasionally slipped, plunging into mud sometimes up their armpits¹¹ ... In 1853, Te Aro swamp burst through the narrow bank which separated it from the sea. The bursting caused a loud noise, which was heard from a considerable distance, and flooded the town acres in the waterfront. Te Aro flat was merely flax bushes, fern and streams, where inanga [whitebait/*Galaxias maculatus*] and eels could, with very little skill, be easily captured.¹²

This lagoon, according to Gilmore and Mellish (p.18), was located at what is now the 'junction of Oriental Parade and Kent Terrace' and its location is marked by a pouwhenua (carved pole/sign post) that now stands at the northern tip of a traffic island located at the intersection between Kent Terrace and Courtenay Place, opposite the Embassy Theatre (near Marjoribank Street).¹³ Gilmore and Mellish noted:

If in our minds we remove the encroachment of post [British] settlement/development we should see an extensive stream system that was a significant physical, cultural and spiritual resource, watered extensively off the hills through which it flowed on to the Huriwhenua flat [Newtown] and into Te Whanganui-a-Tara.

¹⁰ See Appendix Five: Map three of Wellington Central, Wellington New Zealand. See too Appendix Six: Map of the Waitangi Stream system developed by Gilmore and Mellish (2004). Also see Appendix Seven: Subsoil survey map of Central Wellington City (1936) and Appendices Two and Four.

¹¹ See Appendix Eight: Te Aro 1852: A painting by C.D. Barraud.

¹² Louis Ward's *Early Wellington* was originally published by Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, Wellington in 1928.

¹³ See Appendix Two.

It is difficult to comprehend the scale of the changes inflicted upon the stream system that fed the lagoon. The Waitangi Stream system's pollution does not endear it to all residents of Wellington. Some argue that, for public health reasons, the stream should be left 'out-of-sight', whilst others have complained about the pollution of Lambton Harbour.¹⁴ Wood (2007: p. 1) notes that:

Waitangi Stream was piped during construction of the city's oldest stormwater system from 1859 onwards. Urban stormwater quality can be influenced by the condition of the wastewater assets within the catchment and other contaminants including nutrients, sediment, heavy metals and hydro carbons. The build-up of heavy metals and hydro-carbons in the marine sediments in the vicinity of the stormwater outfall has been a concern for years.

Though Wood briefly described the historical degradation of the Waitangi stream, she wrote little about its contribution to the development of local tribal identities. Gilmore and Mellish (2004: p. 3), however, were able to offer insights into the relationship between local tribes and the environs encompassing this stream system. Writing on behalf of the Wellington Tenth Trust, Gilmore and Mellish emphasised that the Māori history of the wider Port Nicholson Block area is 'complex' because 'tribes from the area have moved over time with tribes from the north, and from both the east and west coasts, moving south as pressure in land and urges to explore new territory, encouraged people to move.'¹⁵ The Wellington harbour area has seen various tribes occupying in succession 'with times of simultaneous occupation by different tribes.' The Waitangi Tribunal likewise notes (2003: p. 18) that:

Before the arrival of Māori from Taranaki and Kawhia, Te Upoko o te Ika [the 'head of the fish'¹⁶] was populated primarily by people of kuraphaupō waka [canoe] descent, including Ngāi Tara, Rangitāne, Muaupoko and Ngāti Apa.

These east coast tribes, who constituted the earliest occupants of the area, were also described by the Tribunal as 'Whatonga-descent peoples' because 'they all claimed descent from the early explorer Whatonga.' The Tribunal also notes (p. 18) that:

¹⁴ For example, see Shotbro.com (22 April 2008). *Waitangi Stream – Is it Hazardous for your Health?*

¹⁵ Both of these writers possess whakapapa (genealogical) ties to Te Ātiawa and other Taranaki iwi.

¹⁶ This is the traditional name used to describe a wider area encompassing the Port Nicholson Block. It refers to the southern most areas of the North Island, which is traditionally likened to the shape of a fish.

It is generally accepted that until the 1830s Ngāti Ira were the most recent inhabitants of Te Whanganui a Tara and environs. They had arrived in previous generations from the east coast of the North Island, and, on their way south, they had intermarried with the descendents of Tara and his brother Tautoki, including [the iwi named] Ngāi Tara and Rangitāne.

When describing these early tribal occupations of the Port Nicholson Block area, Gilmore and Mellish (p. 4) observed that:

Tautoki, the founder of the Rangitāne tribes, was the brother of Tara of the Ngāi Tara. Tautoki's tribe occupied the Wairarapa with their boundary up the Heretaunga River (Hutt River) and along the Tararua range. Ngāi Tara occupied the area to the west and the southern coast [of the Port Nicholson Block area]. Ngāti Mamoe of Hawke's Bay and Ngāi Tahu ki Wairoa are said to have coexisted around the harbour with Ngāti Ira people. Although Ngāti Ira were considered to be subsumed into Ngāti Kahungunu, even with the arrival of the last of the Taranaki tribes in 1832, people of Ngāti Ira were still resident in this area. Ngāti Kahungunu were finally driven from this area just prior to the arrival of the [British] settlers [1839]. They followed their relatives who had already returned to the Wairarapa and the eastern coastline.

Gilmore and Mellish (2004: p. 3) concurred with the Waitangi Tribunal's assessment (2003: pp. 13-44) that the 'most complex and turbulent time was the period of the European arrival in and around the area at the beginning of the 19th Century until the time of the arrival of the New Zealand Company settlers in 1839.' Despite these different and complex layers of occupation, all the tribes concerned would probably have shared similar views regarding the intrinsic value of the Waitangi lagoon, swamp and stream system. As Durie (1985: p. 3) pointed out, 'few textbooks emphasise land as a foundation for Māori health, but Māori people have always regarded it as crucial.' Noting that land is still critical to the 'internalized identity' of Māori people, Durie argued that the 'pollution of the earth, lakes, rivers and sea' was 'as much an assault on the mind as it is on the land.' Gilmore and Mellish (2004: p. 8) advised the Wellington City Council that the waters of the Waitangi Stream system are viewed by local tribes as a taonga (treasure) and a mauri (life force). They noted:

Water is a very significant resource for Māori and plays a central role in both the spiritual and secular worlds. The oceans and other large water bodies are often characterised as being the “food basket” of the tangata whenua and Te Whanganui a Tara is no exception. Not only was the harbour the “pathways” of the people, with the canoe as the principal mode of transport, but the resources of the harbour were a principal food source in an area where little cultivation was carried out until the 19th Century. A simple examination of the location of settlements of tangata whenua over a long period of time shows the central importance of the harbour. Pollution has forced tangata whenua off the harbour except for fin fishing, but the long-term goal of tangata whenua is to return to the harbour for the full range of fisheries activities.

When describing the mauri of the Waitangi Stream system, Gilmore and Mellish argued:

Mauri in relation to water means life and the living. It has the capacity to generate and regenerate and uphold creation. Because of this, all living things in the water and its environs, which include people, are dependent on the mauri for their well being and sustenance. Hence, often particular water bodies are seen as taonga (a highly prized possession) and are sacred due to the potential prosperity they can give to Māori associated with them.

The power imbalances resulting from British colonisation dramatically altered the prevailing cultural values associated with the use of local land and seascapes. Gilmore and Mellish (pp. 5-6) argued that, ‘the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi was predicated on the purchase of the Port Nicholson Block by the New Zealand Company and the deed associated with that purchase was perhaps a more significant document in this instance.’ After the signing of the Treaty came a Crown investigation into the Company’s dealings, which was then followed by a Crown grant to the Company in 1847. Gilmore and Mellish advised that the tangata whenua believed there were major flaws in the ‘perceived nature’ of this ‘purchase’ and the ‘subsequent “arrangement” of the Crown leading to a Crown grant.’ They declared (pp. 6-7) that:

The transfer of the colony from the Hutt delta to the flood-free regions on the opposite side of the harbour in what is now Wellington, had a profound and lasting effect on the people of the pā in Wellington especially; Te Aro Pā, Kumutoto, Pipitea

also Pakuao, Tiakiwai and Kaiwharawhara.¹⁷ Te Ātiawa were active participants in rural industry and had supplied the new colony with primary produce for a period of nearly twenty years. Te Ātiawa have occupied the area continuously since 1835 until the present day. They have had to change more radically than most other tribal groupings as a result of the rapid influx of colonial settlers. The large areas of gardens and horticulture gave way to pastoral farming which was then overtaken by industry, commerce and urban expansion. The Te Ātiawa/Taranaki urupā [burial grounds], wāhi tapu [sacred sites] and sites of significance have been severely decimated in this area but many remain to confirm the continuing and continuous presence of Te Ātiawa/Taranaki in this region.

The Waitangi Tribunal (2003: p. 338) stressed that Governor Grey had noted that the Te Aro Pā site was located on one of the most ‘valuable’ pieces of land in the Port Nicholson Block area. Grey noted that the inhabitants would be ‘reluctant’ to sell a place they had ‘inhabited’ for years. The Tribunal (p. 343) was critical of the Crown and its treatment of the inhabitants of Te Aro Pā and other local pā:

... the Crown, in adopting the policy that it was desirable to remove Māori from the town of Wellington, and as a consequence of facilitating the sale of their land in Te Aro and Pipitea Pā, acted in breach of its Treaty duty actively to protect the best interests of Māori in their land, and in so doing failed to meet its obligation to act reasonably towards its Treaty partners, who, as a consequence, have been prejudicially affected by the loss of their valuable land.

The Waitangi Stream remains a heavily-polluted waterway. Irrespective of the engineering achievements on display at the Waitangi Park complex, the tuna inhabiting the Waitangi Stream system remain unfit for human consumption. Little is known about these hardy tuna (*Anquilla dieffenbachia* and/or *Anquilla Australis Schmidtii*) that migrate up the storm water outfall and through the subterranean pipes/culvert system of the Waitangi stream system below the suburbs of central Wellington. The following section considers the lives of these durable species and how they, and the subterranean world they inhabit, provide a

¹⁷ As the Waitangi Tribunal (2003: pp. 336-343, 460-478) noted, the people of Te Aro Pā and other local iwi were removed from their lands via legislation. They were unable to prevent their fisheries from becoming severely damaged by land reclamations, urbanisation and other alterations made to the landscape. See Appendix Nine: Visual essay depicting survey plans, maps and photos depicting the changing landscape of the Te Aro area (1839–1903). This visual essay has been provided to illustrate how quickly the British settlers divided the land into blocks, removed the tangata whenua from the land and dramatically altered the ecology of the swamp and stream concerned.

potent metaphorical backdrop for my description of the objectives, context and structure of this research.

Te ara o tuna: The pathways of tuna

Though many people view tuna with repulsion, largely because of their serpentine appearance and slimy bodies, others view them as a delicacy, Māori all around New Zealand have long viewed them as a delicacy and developed elaborate technologies and rituals to coincide with the harvesting of different species.¹⁸ The Department of Conservation (2008: p. 1) noted that ‘there are fewer eels today because of the loss of wetlands and commercial fishing.’ Little is known about which species of tuna inhabit the Waitangi Stream system today. The Greater Wellington Regional Council (2005: pp. 1-2) has, however, noted:

Short-fin and long-fin eels have a fascinating life cycle. In autumn or early winter male and female eels migrate downstream to the sea to breed. The timing depends on their species and sex – for example, short-fin females are mature and migrate at around 23 years, while long-fin females usually don’t mature and migrate until they are around 34 years old. After breeding, the adults die. The fertilised eggs float to the surface and hatch into leaf-shaped larvae, which then drift with the ocean currents, feeding on plankton.

When they leave freshwater and enter the sea, eels stop feeding. Nobody knows for sure where they go to spawn (lay their eggs), but it could be as far away as the Tonga Trench between Tonga and New Caledonia [near the so-called ‘cradle’ of Polynesian cultures]. When the larvae reach the New Zealand continental shelf, they change into miniature transparent eels (glass eels), which enter New Zealand’s rivers, coastal streams and wetlands. Eels are fished commercially, and some people are concerned that commercial catches are depleting eel numbers too drastically. Short-fin eel is the main species fished commercially, but the long-fin eel is the greater problem. Their numbers are now reduced and they are considered a nationally threatened species, in gradual decline.

¹⁸ For example, Best (1977) wrote extensively about tuna migrations, the status of tuna in tribal mythologies, traditional tuna fishing calendars, rituals and technologies associated with harvesting tuna.

The Department of Conservation (2008: p. 1) noted that long-fin eels are ‘legendary climbers’ that have travelled great distances inland in ‘most river systems’, including those flowing over formidable natural barriers. The ‘elvers (young long-fin eels), swimming up rivers, will climb waterfalls and even dams by leaving the water and wriggling over damp areas. It is not unheard of for an eel to climb a waterfall of up to 20 metres.’ Thus, some of the durable tuna inhabiting the upper-most reaches of the Waitangi Stream may well be long-finned. Until a survey is conducted, however, little will be known about the tuna of the Waitangi Stream. Irrespective of their species, these remarkable tuna do provide a potent metaphor to describe the durability of local iwi since British colonisation.

Like these hardy tuna, Te Ātiawa and other local iwi have endured major disruptions to their ways of life. Just as the tuna of the Waitangi Stream have journeyed thousands of nautical miles before swimming upstream, through a maze of pipes, Te Ātiawa and other local iwi have conducted their own remarkable heke (migration/s) over the centuries, despite many obstacles. Their histories of place, in turn, often refer people back to these epic journeys. However, Te Ātiawa and other local iwi have long had their histories of place suppressed in public places like state-funded secondary schools. Moreover, some of these schools now sit atop historic sites that were, and still are, of great cultural/historical significance to local (and other) iwi. The degree to which teachers of history in local schools are aware of the history of their local landscape is a question that this research seeks to address.¹⁹ Having provided a metaphorical backdrop to illuminate my research objectives, part two addresses the research objectives in relation to the contemporary political contexts that informed my research and the structure of this thesis.

An overview of the research

The research objectives and the contemporary political contexts that informed their development

This research was designed to examine the status of Te Ātiawa historical knowledge of place in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools. It invited nine senior history teachers in the Wellington district to describe what they felt about the teaching of New Zealand, local, Māori and environmental histories, and to reflect upon any cultural continuities and discontinuities they may have experienced in relation to how history was taught to them at

¹⁹ I knew at the outset of this research of schools that occupy former pā sites and cultivation grounds. Other schools are located in very close proximity to sites of great cultural/historical significance, such as battle grounds.

home and secondary school. A pre-interview questionnaire, followed by a series of ‘elite’ interviews, encouraged the teacher participants to reflect on the dominance of Pākehā grand narrative accounts of New Zealand history, especially in relation to the omission of local Te Ātiawa histories from course outlines, unit plans, textbooks and other teaching resources. A survey of unit topics (taught in 24 Port Nicholson Block secondary school history and social studies classes) was also conducted (2005) to provide a snap-shot of the status of Te Ātiawa histories in local history and social studies classes. These survey results are compared with those of a similar, nation-wide survey conducted by the New Zealand History Teachers’ Association (NZHTA) that same year.

This research also invited nine Te Ātiawa experts (nominated by the Wellington Tenth Trust) to identify what they felt should be taught in Wellington district secondary schools about their tribal histories of place. Like the teacher participants, the Te Ātiawa experts were asked a series of questions, via a pre-interview questionnaire, to determine the extent to which they had experienced cultural continuity and discontinuity when learning about aspects of New Zealand history in familial contexts and at secondary school. They were also asked, during their interviews, to describe how they felt history (particularly Te Ātiawa histories of place) should be taught and why. Likewise, they and their teacher counterparts were asked questions about the value of different modes of historical information.

This research was conducted in the immediate wake of the release of the Waitangi Tribunal’s (2003) *Te Whanganui a Tara me ōna Takiwā report*. It was not designed to critique the Tribunal’s report, or to comment on the role of the Wellington Tenth Trust in the presentation of claims central to that report. Instead, it serves to relate what was happening in the historical/political contexts of the Port Nicholson Block environs, at that time, to the concerns of one of New Zealand’s most prominent historians – Professor James Belich. In summary, Belich cited in Catherall (2002: p. A2), complained that the teaching of New Zealand history was a ‘national disgrace’ and that this inevitably produces people who are ‘unduly afraid of difference.’

The research occurred during a period when the national curriculum was the subject of an official review, facilitated by the Ministry of Education. Thus, the status of New Zealand historical topics was the subject of greater scrutiny than normal. Though a review of the national curriculum may have been in motion, it was not the purpose of this research to record that process. Rather, this research sought to draw upon the Tribunal’s report and

Belich's (p. A2) allegations to identify loopholes in the Ministry of Education's policy framework which undermine the objectives of the new national curriculum (launched by New Zealand's Minister of Education, November 2007).

An overview of the research structure

This research begins with a literature review (chapter two) that describes the research problem in relation to literature. It starts by telling a tale from the field about a memorable lesson observed (2002). Bronfenbrenner's (1979) 'ecological model of human development' will provide a theoretical framework for critiquing the lesson and its wider political implications. The work of Cajete (1999) is also used to consider the anthropocentric nature of Bronfenbrenner's model and to discuss the biophobic nature of contemporary Western epistemologies, particularly as they relate to the construction of historical knowledge and colonial constructs of place and space.

These ideas relate to a public debate sparked by allegations made by Professor James Belich cited in Catherall earlier that year (2002). In doing so, the discussion will link the limitations of the official history curriculum/social studies guidelines during that period, formulated at Bronfenbrenner's macrosystem level, to the challenges posed by local whānau, hapū and iwi perspectives that relate more closely to the inner (microsystem and exosystem) contextual levels of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model. It will also draw upon an international body of place-based and indigenous education literature to consider how a critical pedagogy of place might provide an alternative pedagogical approach to the teaching of contentious aspects of New Zealand history. The literature review then concludes by providing an overview of the research questions and the overall research objectives.

The methodology chapter (chapter three) discusses the critical action research methodology adopted to identify the research problem and to inform data collection, analysis, presentation and verification procedures. The methodology adopted was the result of much negotiation and trust-building with local Te Ātiawa people and former teacher colleagues. This chapter also explains why this research resembled the 'action research process' illustrated by Hart (2002: p. 92) and the 'critical action research' process described by Kincheloe, Slattery and Steinburg (2000: p. 291). Kaupapa Māori research frameworks also informed the research design. A detailed discussion of the different (technical) phases of the primary and secondary data collection, analysis and verification procedures follows. This discussion addresses the limitations of this research and

concludes with a profile of the two groups of research participants: the Te Ātiawa interviewees and the teacher participants.

Chapter four revolves around the participants' responses to a pre-interview questionnaire. It compares and contrasts their experiences of learning about national, local, Māori and environmental histories in their respective familial and secondary school contexts. This questionnaire was developed in the hypothesis that the participants' responses to interview questions would likely be influenced by their familial and schooling experiences. This chapter allows for comparisons to be drawn. These comparisons allow readers to see how and why certain participants would have experienced higher levels of cultural discontinuity, between their home and secondary school experiences.

Chapter five draws attention to which group's cultural capital dominates social studies and history programmes offered by Port Nicholson Block secondary schools. It provides a snap-shot of history education in New Zealand by drawing upon a 2005 survey of 24 local secondary schools and comparing this data to that generated by a national survey conducted by the New Zealand History Teachers' Association (NZHTA) in the same year. It relates these surveys to the participants' interview responses to questions about topic preferences. Chapter five, therefore, explores the extent to which local Te Ātiawa people, and other local iwi, were rendered invisible in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools' history and social studies programmes (2005). It also explains why certain New Zealand topics were avoided by some schools. Chapter five, moreover, draws upon Bronfenbrenner's ecological model to further identify cultural discontinuities that might exist as a result of the two groups' topic preferences. It does this by relating the topic interests of both groups of participants to the contextual levels of Bronfenbrenner's model. This links into the next chapter, which focuses upon the participants' skills preferences and their preferred mediums of historical information.

Chapter six revolves around the participants' views on the value they felt secondary school history programmes should accord to written, oral and visual forms of historical information. It explains why the teachers interviewed favoured the use of written information and writing skills for summative assessment purposes, whereas the Te Ātiawa interviewees preferred summative assessment tasks that involved a much wider range of historical information. It then focuses upon the participants' views regarding the value of oral information and oral communication skills before outlining the responses of the

participants to questions related to the value they give to visual information and visual communication skills.

After reflecting upon the participants' communication and skills preferences, chapter seven addresses the benefits the participants believe are likely to accrue from the potential development of a place-based education (PBE) partnership between local Te Ātiawa people and the schools participating in this research. This chapter begins by considering the perspectives of the Te Ātiawa interviewees, and explaining why their responses tended to be supportive of the possibility of developing a PBE partnership. It then explains why the teachers' responses were also generally supportive of a potential PBE partnership model underpinned by what Gruenewald (2003, 2007) has coined a 'critical pedagogy of place.'

Chapter eight adapts the work of Berlak and Berlak (1982) to provide a theoretical framework that addresses those barriers identified by the participants that are most likely to obstruct the development of a PBE partnership model. This chapter discusses various dilemmas faced by both groups. These, amongst other things, are largely associated with control and societal dilemmas that underline the dominant culture's ability to reproduce its cultural capital within New Zealand secondary schools at the expense of the indigenous other. This chapter closes by comparing and contrasting the barriers identified by both groups.

The concluding chapter (chapter nine) discusses the implications of the research findings and offers recommendations. The chapter begins with a hīnaki metaphor, adapted from the work of McCarthy (1994). This metaphor likens the plight of the teacher participants to tuna because they feel trapped in an institutional culture that resembles an hīnaki. Chapter nine then considers the implications of the findings in relation to the current academic discourse about the nature of culturally responsive teaching in New Zealand secondary schools. It considers that discourse, and the implications of this research, in relation to Belich's criticisms of the teaching of history in New Zealand secondary schools. Chapter nine then addresses the national and international policy implications of the research findings. To conclude, a series of recommendations are offered as possible steps that might be taken to help alleviate the concerns of Belich and others – concerns which were shared by most of the research participants.

Chapter two: The research problem and its significance in relation to literature

Introduction

This chapter outlines the research problem and its significance in relation to literature by describing a lesson observed (2002). Bronfenbrenner's (1982) 'ecological model of human development' is used to provide a theoretical framework to critique that lesson. The anthropocentric scope of Bronfenbrenner's theoretical model is also considered and Cajete's (1999: pp. 189-206) description of the biophilic nature of indigenous people's (traditional) education systems is used to draw attention to the importance of place in any discussion of indigenous people's epistemologies. This chapter also relates the lesson, observed, to a public debate ignited by allegations made by Professor James Belich, earlier that same year.²⁰ It also considers that lesson in relation to the limitations of official curriculum guidelines and the challenges posed by Māori narratives of the past which tend to emphasize people's genealogical (whakapapa) ties to other people and places.

The works of place-based education theorists and indigenous academics are also used to describe place-based education and to consider how a critical pedagogy of place might provide a more just (and sustainable) approach to the teaching of New Zealand history (thus addressing Belich's concerns and those of most of the research participants). The chapter concludes by outlining the questions which encapsulate the research problem and, in turn, inform the objectives of this research and its methodology.

A lesson's contextual implications

Before describing the lesson, concerned, I will pause to describe the region and area in which the school is located.

The Port Nicholson Block: An energetic and contested landscape

The Hutt Valley (originally named Heretaunga and, later, Te Awa Kairangi) is located at the northern end of Te Whanganui a Tara (the great harbour of Tara), now more commonly known as Wellington Harbour. The Hutt Valley and Wellington Harbour are located within the Raukawa Moana (Cook Strait) region of New Zealand. When describing the

²⁰ Amongst other things, Belich claimed that the teaching of New Zealand history was a 'national disgrace' and that New Zealanders, unfamiliar with their nation's own contested history, were 'unduly afraid of difference.'

geological structure and strategic significance of this region to its indigenous inhabitants during pre-European times, Davison and Leach (2002: pp. 257-259) wrote:

New Zealand is a long, narrow country, divided in the centre by a narrow but turbulent stretch of water. The significance of Cook Strait in pre-European times as a 'bridge' rather than a 'barrier' is clear not only from Māori oral narratives but from archaeological evidence of the transport in both directions of valuable resources such as greenstone ... argillite, and obsidian (Leach: 1978). Control of traffic across the strait would always have been important ... Cook Strait is only 17.7 km across at its narrowest point. It lies in the latitude of the Subtropical Convergence and on the boundary zone between the Pacific and Indo-Australian plates (Harris 1990: p. 5). It is a region of high energy, of wind and water, tectonically and in almost any way one can think of. The shores of the Strait are characterized by considerable diversity of structure and sediments (Harris: 1990: pp. 25-47). On the North Eastern side, the shore of the inner Strait is dominated by a rocky coast of greywacke or associate rock. A narrow and in places almost non-existent coastal platform extends from Cape Palliser to Paekakariki, broken by two sheltered harbours, Wellington and Porirua.

Davidson and Leach also made the following telling observations (pp. 268-270) regarding pre-European Māori settlement patterns:

Māori settlement in the Cook Strait region was inevitably influenced by constraints of topography, climate and distribution of resources ... The Wellington area seems likely to have had a small and probably transient population before the historic incursion of Ngāti Toa and Te Ati Awa [Te Ātiawa] in the early nineteenth century. This is suggested by the paucity of evidence on the coast between Wellington and Porirua, where the few stream mouths and landing places seem to have been occupied briefly once or twice during prehistory and briefly again by Te Ati Awa in the Nineteenth century (Davidson 1976: p. 24), despite their importance as staging posts for inter-island travel.

In 1839, Heretaunga and Te Whanganui a Tara were included by the New Zealand Company in its deed of purchase for the Port Nicholson Block. This large block of land was the focus of the Waitangi Tribunal's (2003) report. When attempting to define the

boundaries of the land concerned, the Tribunal (2003: p. 57) advised that New Zealand Company officials described these boundaries in a ‘scarcely intelligible way’ as running:

North from Turakirae Head along the summit of the Tararua Range to the head of the Hutt Valley, then south-west across the base of the Tararua Range, then along the summit of the Rimarap (sic) Range (To the West of Te Whanganui a Tara) until it reached the sea at Cook Strait outside the Western headland of Te Whanganui a Tara at Rimurapa (Sinclair Head), and then back to Turakirae.

Because of the inadequacy of this description, the Tribunal (pp. 57-58) concluded that it is ‘impossible to make an accurate map of the lands included in the New Zealand Company’s deed.’ Consequently, the Tribunal (p.13) declared:

This report is concerned with Te Whanganui a Tara (‘the great harbour of Tara’) – known to Pākehā as Port Nicholson or Wellington Harbour – and with the lands surrounding it. These lands include, to the north, Heretaunga (sometimes also called Te Awa Kairangi, and known in English as the Hutt Valley) and, to the south-west, the rugged hill country from Makara to Rimurapa (Sinclair Head). The inquiry area covers a large part of Te Upoko o te Ika a Maui (‘the fish of Maui’ otherwise known as the North Island). In Māori mythology, Maui, the great Polynesian ancestor, fished up the North Island from his waka [canoe], the South Island (‘Te Waka a Maui’). The Remutaka (Rimutaka) mountain range and the ridge running from Heretaunga to the sea at Rimurapa are sometimes called Ngā Kauwae o te Ika (‘the jaws of the fish’). This report is concerned not with the whole of Te Upoko o te Ika but only with the Port Nicholson Block.²¹

For the sake of clarity (and manageability) I adopted this description of the Port Nicholson Block because it allowed me to determine easily which schools might participate in this research. Whatever the exact boundaries of the Port Nicholson Block, the dynamic environs of the area have long been contested by various tribes who have often used it as a stepping-stone to the South Island.²² Thirteen separate, but often overlapping, claims were

²¹ See Appendix One: Waitangi Tribunal Map of the Port Nicholson Block.

²² See Davidson and Leach’s (2002: pp. 260-261) concise summary of the waves of migration that have led different groupings to occupy the Cook Strait region and lay claim to the Port Nicholson Block area.

lodged with the Tribunal by various individuals and groups in relation to that area. Though various claimant groupings insist that they have retained customary rights within the area concerned, this research will only focus upon one of these claimant groupings – Te Ātiawa. I chose to focus upon Te Ātiawa because it was the iwi at the centre of the lesson that enabled me to identify the problem central to this research. It was also one of the largest claimant groupings in the area concerned.

Being familiar with this contested landscape I was looking forward to this lesson, because the trainee concerned had specialized in the history of New Zealand race-relations during her studies at university. She was passionate about teaching New Zealand history and she was going to address an event that was of great significance to local Te Ātiawa and other local Taranaki whānui groupings (e.g. tribes that originate in Taranaki, but now inhabit places elsewhere). On the basis of her verbal input into workshops at the College of Education, she appeared aware of the complexities of Māori historical experiences, whereas many of her peers seemed unaware or indifferent. The lesson I observed, however, left me deeply concerned. It suggested that tribal narratives might be absent from history and social studies classes not only locally but also nationally. The following section describes the lesson that caused my concern.

A description of the lesson content

The lesson focused upon Te Whiti o Rongomai, a nineteenth century Te Ātiawa prophet and revered tipuna (ancestor) of Te Ātiawa and other Taranaki whānui people living in the Port Nicholson Block area. The lesson sought to address how and why Te Whiti led the Parihaka community's passive resistance to the state's creeping confiscation of tribal lands in the Taranaki region during the 1870s onwards.²³ However it proved to be problematic because the focus on Te Whiti down-played the role of Tohu Kākahi, Te Whiti's Ngāti Ruanui uncle and fellow Parihaka prophet. It also ignored the significance of earlier Taranaki prophets and, consequently, overlooked Taranaki's reputation for spawning a succession of spiritual visionaries whose teaching would impact upon the lives of many people around New Zealand.²⁴ Still, the significance of Te Whiti should not be underestimated. For example, a number of the people I met in conjunction with this

²³ Parihaka is located near Rahotu on the western coastal plains, beside Mount Taranaki, approximately 300-350 km northwest of the Port Nicholson Block. The ancestors of Te Ātiawa migrated from their ancestral homes in Taranaki to Te Upoko o te Ika in the 1820s.

²⁴ As Scott (1994: p. 27) suggested: 'Taranaki had seen many prophets: it was a long line of revelation that produced Te Ua [Haumene]. Dreams, visions and the inspirational techniques of religions both Māori and European had thrown up charismatic personalities in abundance.'

research (and previously as a teacher) are the living descendents of Te Whiti o Rongomai. Furthermore, photographs of Te Whiti are hung in significant positions inside the two local Te Ātiawa/Taranaki whānui wharehenui (meeting house/s).

The wharehenui most closely located to the school concerned is named *Te Arohanui ki te Tangata* (Goodwill to all Mankind). It is the wharehenui most closely associated with the Hamua/Te Matehou hapū (Te Ātiawa) and those Taranaki whānui who choose to affiliate with that marae (meeting place). The name of this wharehenui is derived from the pacifist teachings of the Parihaka prophets. Followers of the teachings of Te Whiti still live around it, located approximately 25-30 metres west of the now heavily polluted Waiwhetū stream on a block of land, resting at the foot of the Pukeatua Range, which was renamed 'Section 19' by colonial officials.

Another wharehenui, named *Te Tatau o te Pō* (The Door of the Night) is located further away to the southwest of the school in Pito-one-one/Petone (Lower Hutt). This wharehenui is shared by people descended from Te Whiti, but affiliated more closely to the Ngāti Te Whiti and Ngāti Tawhirikura hapū of Te Ātiawa and those Taranaki whānui who choose to affiliate to that marae. *Te Tatau o te Pō* is the older of the two wharehenui. Although Te Ātiawa people share similar historical and familial experiences they do live in different places and they are not a homogeneous entity. The hapū of Te Ātiawa inhabiting the Port Nicholson Block area, though closely related, have always exercised agency (as have the whānau constituting these hapū) and they retain ties to places in Taranaki and elsewhere.

Te Ātiawa people, moreover, have multiple hapū and iwi affiliations and exercise agency whenever choosing which whānau, hapū, iwi they will affiliate to in different social/political settings. Therefore, it is worth noting that the Te Ātiawa people participating in this research chose, strategically, to respond to questions solely as Te Ātiawa participants only for the sake of providing a manageable case study. Having discussed the lesson's content and objectives in relation to area and the tangata whenua (people of that area), the following section now addresses the delivery of the lesson observed.

The delivery of the lesson

Before the lesson, the trainee told me she felt she was asked to teach this lesson simply because her more experienced (Pākehā/non Māori) associate teacher recognized that she is Māori. Moreover, she suspected her associate felt uncomfortable teaching a unit of lessons

that addressed ‘Māori history’ in front of her. The topic of the unit was *The Treaty of Waitangi*. It was very similar, in its (Pākehā) grand-narrative scope to many of the other *Treaty* units I had encountered in secondary schools, around New Zealand, since the early 1990s.²⁵ When I attempted, indirectly, to discuss the trainee’s concerns with the associate teacher, after the lesson, the associate confirmed that she did feel that it would be more culturally appropriate to ask the trainee to teach this unit/lesson.

Whether this logic was valid or not is debatable. The trainee, after all, did not consider herself to have any whakapapa connections to Te Ātiawa. The associate teacher should not have assumed that the trainee, by the simple virtue of being a Māori woman, would have known a lot about Te Whiti o Rongomai and the colonial state’s invasion of Parihaka. In fact, the trainee and her associate, in separate interviews, both admitted to not knowing about the existence of local Te Ātiawa people. They thought that the rohe (territory) of Te Ātiawa was confined to one area surrounding Waitara in northern Taranaki and they were surprised to discover that Te Ātiawa are a scattered tribal grouping inhabiting places both within and beyond Taranaki, and are now widely recognized as the tangata-whenua of the lands encompassing the school concerned. As a result, the trainee and associate teacher were unaware how the two outer (macro and exosystem) contextual settings of Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) ‘ecological model’ of human development might have informed the identity formation processes of Te Ātiawa students.²⁶

Although the associate teacher had lived in Lower Hutt for most of her life, she never learned about local Te Ātiawa histories at school, nor did she study New Zealand history at university. What the trainee knew about Te Whiti, she had learned from course literature at University. However, the trainee (prior to the lesson) said she felt well-equipped to teach her students about Te Whiti and the Crown’s invasion of the Parihaka community on 5 November 1881. She reasoned that the textbook, central to her lesson plan, would provide her students with all they needed to know.²⁷ Following the school’s unit

²⁵ Such units tend to be organised around chronologies resembling progress narratives that reach a crescendo with their descriptions of the advent of the Waitangi Tribunal (1975) and the ensuing Treaty settlements process.

²⁶ These settings will be further defined in the following passage.

²⁷ As a young teacher, I too felt I could rely upon New Zealand history and social studies textbooks. Moreover, my senior colleagues expected me to teach from the unit plans and textbooks provided to me and deviations often seemed to be frowned upon. Subsequently, the lesson I observed was something akin to a cathartic experience for me.

guidelines, she used her textbooks and screened video-taped extracts from a recently televised documentary series – *The New Zealand Wars*.²⁸

The trainee began the lesson by guiding her students through a chapter of a textbook titled *Te Mana o te Tiriti*. She asked individual students to read various passages aloud to their classmates.²⁹ At the conclusion of each passage, the trainee asked a set of prompt questions to diagnose whether the students comprehended what they had just read. The students were also invited to ask questions for the sake of clarification, but most chose not to do so. Although the extract from the Belich documentary aligned with the textbook's interpretation of events, it did not stimulate the sort of lively discussion the trainee anticipated. As Belich anticipated, prior to the kits' release, most students expressed great boredom watching him (Belich the narrator) talking at the screen.³⁰

During the lesson, I roamed around the room and asked groups of students whether they felt connected to Te Whiti o Rongomai, or the people of Parihaka, as a result of this lesson. They consistently responded in the negative, describing him as a figure from a far-off time and place that had no connection to them or people living in their community. Yet I knew that Te Ātiawa rangatahi (youths) lived in their community and attended that school. Additionally, many of that school's students would have played different sports at *Te Whiti Park*, approximately 100 metres opposite *Te Arohamui ki te Tangata* (on the eastern banks of the Waiwhetū stream). Therefore, it seemed remarkable that the students could not draw any connection between the naming of a major local park, a local tribe or the people and events they had just studied.³¹ Neither could they see any connection between the name of the wharenuī overlooking that park and the pacifist teachings of the Parihaka

²⁸ This series was based on the book written by Professor James Belich. The resource had recently been provided to the school as part of a resource kit developed by Mark Sheehan for the Ministry of Education (2000) titled: *The New Zealand Wars: Changing Perceptions of a Shared Past*.

²⁹ See Naumann, R., Harrison, L. and Winiata, T.K. (1990: pp. 50-53).

³⁰ Belich (pers. comm. 24. 11. 04) advised me that he had no input into the design of this resource and that he felt like an artist who had 'lost control' of his work. He felt that his concerns about the appropriateness of this resource were ignored by the Ministry of Education.

³¹ Liz Mellish (pers. comm. 25. 2. 08), the Executive Officer of the Wellington Tenth's Trust, advised me that 'Te Whiti Park was named after Eruera Te Whiti o Rongomai, who was a descendent of the prophet and the first lieutenant Colonel of the 28th Māori Battalion. The owner of the land before the public works taking in 1939 was his [Eruera Te Whiti's] mother Ripeka Love, my grandmother. She named the park after him. The name Te Whiti is passed to each generation of our whānau. The [tribal] connection is to the hapū Ngāti Te Whiti of Ngā Motu in New Plymouth [North Taranaki].'

prophets.³² Similarly, the students couldn't make any connection between Te Whiti o Rongomai and the people of *Te Tatau o te Pō* marae, located to the Southwest of that school. Local Te Ātiawa people, like the tuna of the Waitangi stream (located across the harbour), were rendered invisible.

When I suggested to a group of four or five students that there might be a link between the naming of *Te Whiti Park* and local people related to Te Whiti o Rongomai they were surprised. In fact, they wanted to discuss this connection further. Our discussion quickly extended to other groups within that class and to the trainee and associate teachers. However, the lesson ended, abruptly, with the ringing of the school bell. The associate teacher insisted that these students must move off to their next class to avoid causing unnecessary delays elsewhere in the school, such is the inflexible nature of school timetabling.³³ Because the trainee and her associate teacher lacked local knowledge, the students I spoke to left that classroom unaware that Te Ātiawa people had arrived in the greater Wellington region in a series of heke (migrations) from the early 1820s onwards.

These heke were of great historical significance to Te Ātiawa because they transformed Te Ātiawa into an iwi of many places, often traveling to and from northern Taranaki. During the post-lesson critique discussions, I told the trainee and her associate about these migrations and I advised them that numerous writers, including Carkeek (1966: pp.11-43, 83-91), Ballara (1990: pp. 9-34), and Caughey (1998: pp. 41-60), had described the commuting of Te Ātiawa/Taranaki whānui between Te Whanganui a Tara/Kapiti (north of Te Whanganui a Tara) and Taranaki. The trainee, and her associate were unfamiliar with this body of literature and neither of them had visited either of the two whareniui mentioned earlier. They did not know who to approach when I suggested that they should make such a visit to these whareniui to learn more about local Te Ātiawa histories of place (e.g. directly from local Te Ātiawa people, themselves).³⁴ To appreciate fully the theoretical implications of this lesson, the following section will now refer to Bronfenbrenner's (1979)

³² The fact that these students didn't know the name of the local whareniui/marae complex disturbed me and further underlined the 'disconnections' between that school and the Māori community it purported to serve.

³³ I will discuss the ideological implications of school time, further, in chapters six and eight.

³⁴ When school finished that day I took the trainee and three of her (Pākehā) peers for a brief visit to the office of the manager of *Te Arohanui ki te Tāngata* (Mrs Patsy Puketapu), whom I rang to arrange this visit. The trainees were warmly welcomed and provided with a comprehensive booklet that detailed the history of the whareniui. I am confident that these students would also have been warmly welcomed by the trustees of *Te Tatau o te Pō*, if I had arranged a similar visit there.

ecological model so as to provide a framework for further consideration of the significance of this lesson.

Bronfenbrenner's 'ecological model' of human development

Bird and Drewery (2000: p. 13) claimed that New Zealand educators should appreciate the significance of Bronfenbrenner's work because:

Bronfenbrenner's emphasis on the influences of society and culture on the child's development makes the important point that development is always grounded in a particular society at a particular time in history. His ideas also draw attention to the interaction between these different aspects of a person's "ecology" and their ability to change the course of development for individuals and families.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological model involves the concept of interlinking social systems to talk about four different systems that encircle the development of a child. This 'systems approach', as Bird and Drewery described it, begins with the microsystem. The microsystem refers to a child's immediate environment (such as members of the family or members of a class at school). The outer mesosystem, they argued, refers to the 'system of connections' that link microsystems together such as 'relationships between parents and teachers that bring the world of home and school together.' Bird and Drewery advised that the third outer concentric structure, the exosystem, refers to 'larger social systems which include public media such as television, communities, and neighbourhoods.' They described succinctly (p. 13) the fourth outermost structure, or the macrosystem, as the 'large cultural patterns which include social class and the political system of the country.'

³⁵ Although the ecological model is a relatively new development in the evolution of Western psychology, it is not a new model from the perspective of indigenous peoples. MacFarlane (2001: pp.46-47), for example, noted that the encircling social systems of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model are not 'new ideas.' He reasoned that:

In the late Nineteenth Century, at about the time Piaget and Vygotsky were beginning to write about developmental processes, another scholar, Makereti, also known as Maggie Papakura, was writing about a Māori ecological perspective of development. Makereti (1986) described Māori as a culture that put people before the self. She considered this to be a key factor of Māori development. Makereti referred to the

³⁵ See Appendix Ten: Diagram illustrating the concentric structures that comprise the 'ecology of human development.'

individual as being absorbed in the whānau, just as the whānau was absorbed in the hapū, and the hapū in the iwi.

MacFarlane further argued:

It is a stunning realization that it is only in recent decades that psychologists have recognized the quintessential role of culture in the field of human development. The introduction of psychology in Aotearoa [New Zealand] was part of the imposition of a colonial tradition that systematically undermined Māori social and cultural lore in favour of a Western worldview.

In light of MacFarlane's analysis, the following section considers the lesson's political implications in relation to the microsystem level of Bronfenbrenner's 'ecological model' of human development.

Learners as spectators: The lesson's microsystem implications

Bronfenbrenner (p. 22) described the microsystem as a 'pattern of activities, roles, and inter-personal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting with particular physical and material characteristics.' He emphasized that experience is pivotal to his definition of the microsystem and he drew upon the works of Husserl (1950), Köhler (1938) and Katz (1930) to explain that:

The term [microsystem] is used to indicate that the scientifically relevant features of any environment include not only its objective properties but also the way in which these properties are perceived by the persons in that environment. This emphasis on a phenomenological view springs neither from antipathy to behaviouristic concepts nor from a predilection for existential philosophical foundations. It is dictated simply by a hard fact. Very few of the external influences significantly affecting human behavior and development can be described solely in terms of objective physical conditions and events; the aspects of the environment that are most powerful in shaping the course of psychological growth are overwhelmingly those that have meaning to the person in a given situation.

In relation to the value placed upon experience in Māori ecological contexts, Johnson and Christensen's work (2000) also noted that experience determines 'how people relate to each other' and how they are 'predisposed by each other.' Levstik and Barton (1997: pp.

36-37), likewise, suggested that those ‘aspects’ of the environment that are most ‘powerful’ in shaping human development are those that have been ‘experienced.’ Moreover, they claimed:

One of the most crucial challenges in teaching history to children lies in linking the subject to what they already know ... people can only make sense of new experiences when they compare it to the knowledge they have. Without such a connection, people are unlikely to understand the history they encounter at school ... The challenge for the teacher, then, lies in deciding what aspects of important historical content match up with elements of students’ lives. Finding that link is the key to broadening students’ understanding of history beyond their own experience, and family histories provide one of the most useful ways of doing that.

Rosenzweig and Thelen’s research (which examined popular uses of history in American life) supports this argument. They noted (1998: p.6), for example, that:

For most of the people who talked with us, the familial and intimate past, along with intimate uses of other pasts, matter most. They prefer the personal and first hand because they feel at home with the past: they live with it, relive it, interpret and reinterpret it; they use it to define themselves, their place in their families, and their families’ place in the world.

When describing the implications of Rosenzweig and Thelen’s research for Australian teachers, Taylor, Young, Hastings, Hincks, and Brown, (2003: p. 6) noted that:

Many survey respondents spoke of feeling excluded from lesson content and activities because of their teachers’ unwillingness to hear views and stories other than their own. On the other hand, others spoke with admiration about teachers who helped them to investigate the past, involving them as participants rather than spectators, and creating opportunities to explore questions of morality, their own lives, relationships and identity.

Rosenzweig and Thelen’s research suggests that, universally, people do appreciate history teachers who have ‘helped them to investigate the past’ in a manner that involves them as ‘participants’ not ‘spectators.’ Unfortunately, the textbook-driven lesson I observed, like so many of the lessons I have taught myself, did not draw upon the lived experiences of the

students. Rather, it reduced students to bored spectators who could not draw connections between what they learned in class and what they had previously experienced outside the school gates. Therefore, the cultural discontinuities that are experienced by students of history, between their schooling and familial settings, draws further attention to Bronfenbrenner's mesosystem.

A not so well-hidden curriculum: The lesson's mesosystem implications

The mesosystem is an important context in relation to the research problem because, as Taylor et al. (2003: p. 6) argued, history teachers and students bring different 'capacities' and 'beliefs' into their history classrooms. Accordingly, they may bring different attitudes to certain subject matter:

The teacher brings personal and professional histories, knowledge about subject matter and pedagogy, beliefs about students, their families and communities, and ideas about the purposes of teaching history. This professional knowledge frames teachers' decisions about what content, strategies and resources to select for teaching purposes. In particular, teachers' perceptions of their students have a powerful influence on classroom climate and practice. These perceptions are woven from beliefs about students' personal qualities, socio-cultural backgrounds and academic capabilities. Teachers use these characteristics to construct academic and behavioural profiles of their students and tailor teaching and learning experiences accordingly.

Learners, according to Taylor et al. (2003: p. 6), bring to the classroom 'their home backgrounds and ideas about the purposes of school history.' Thus, Taylor et al. (p. 6) concluded that young people arrive at the classroom door with 'their own versions of the past, and views about the importance of particular events and people, drawn from home, community, popular culture and the media.' As Taylor et al. suggested, it is 'not surprising' to discover that an extensive body of international research indicates that where students' 'informal knowledge' is 'excluded' from classroom conversation and debate, 'reconciliation' seldom occurs. Subsequently, history learning becomes little more than a 'matter of mastery.' As Taylor et al. (p. 6) propose, the 'first step' in 'connecting learners with the history curriculum' lies in 'acknowledging' and 'building on prior learning.'

Taylor et al., therefore, recognised that it is within various mesosystem contexts that teachers will decide how to connect students' lived-experiences with course content and

that the lived (e.g. microsystem) prior experiences of these teachers will consciously and/or unconsciously determine their lesson-planning decisions. In relation to the lesson I observed, no attempt was made, as Taylor et al. (p.8) recommended, to 'integrate new subject matter with students' prior knowledge' or to 'make learners' prior knowledge explicit.' It was the textbook and video which allowed the trainee teacher (and her associate) to side-step the students' lived experiences and/or familial links to the historical figure (and events) studied. This was significant because as Levstik and Barton (1997: pp. 13-14) observed:

...schools rarely engage students in authentic inquiry; their experiences are usually determined in the content of textbooks or curriculum guides rather than the pursuit of meaningful knowledge. Children have few chances to investigate questions that have meaning for them, or that engage them in realistic challenges. As a result, schools rarely provide students with any clear sense of purpose; many have no idea why they are expected to study math, science, history, or any other subject, since they rarely see what it means to use those subjects. Although students may sometimes be admonished that they will "need this later," they rarely see before them examples of expert performances in science, history, writing, and so on; instead they see only artificial exercises removed from meaningful application. Once again, the study of history has been one of the worst offenders ... Studying history all too often means reading a chapter in a textbook and answering the questions at the end (or worse, memorizing the names of presidents).

Levstik and Barton (1997: p. 37), similarly, drew upon the work of Pappas, Kiefer, and Levstik (1995), to suggest that although classrooms are sometimes described as 'teacher-centred' or 'student-centred', most history classrooms focus 'neither on the interests of the students *nor* teachers, but on whatever is in the textbook.' Taylor et al. (2003: p. 7), meanwhile, drew upon Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) to challenge the authority of textbooks and to advise Australian history teachers against ignoring their students' familial backgrounds. They also drew attention to Seixas' (1997) research to propose that Australian learners, like their American counterparts, will probably approach the notion of 'historical significance' from one of three positions.

Firstly, some learners will ascribe significance to events as told to them by 'objective authorities' (e.g. textbooks and the teachers' own life experiences). Secondly, others will approach the idea of historical significance from the position of their own 'personal

interests.’ Lastly, some will apply ‘criteria’ that reflect the values of their ethnic groupings and/or group membership. They believed that Seixas’ research presented serious implications for Australian teachers of history, especially those with cohorts of students from ‘ethnic’ and ‘minority’ backgrounds. Such students, they reasoned, might have great difficulty in ‘reconciling their own and teachers’ perspectives on what is ‘historically significant.’ The lesson I observed had similar implications for New Zealand. When critiquing Māori experiences of schooling, Walker argued (1996: p. 2) that:

At its inception in New Zealand, schooling became one of the sites of [cultural] domination, resistance and struggle despite its attractive ideology of equal access to the world of the metropolis ... At the outset the [colonial] authorities invalidated Māori language and cultural practices by excluding them from the curriculum. Thus was Māori epistemology displaced by the textual authority of the grand narrative emanating from Europe. The hidden curriculum of the grand narrative served to legitimate the ideological hegemony of the colonizer over the colonized by depicting whitemen from Plato, to Shakespeare, Newton, Darwin, Captain Cook, Governor Grey and Lord Rutherford as the noble movers and shakers of history. Māori, on the other hand were marginalized as the subalterns, bystanders or merely bit players.

Wink (2000: pp. 54-55) also described an encounter with a ‘hidden curriculum’, whilst observing a teacher, that was relevant to the lesson I observed:

Vicky teaches in the Northwest. She is located in a very rural area that has a history populated by Native Americans, their culture, their language, and their ways of knowing. When she started teaching the junior high students, she noticed that the history of the local Native Americans was never studied or mentioned. The week before Thanksgiving, she asked a Native American eighth-grade boy what Thanksgiving was all about, and his response was, “The white man taught the savages how to plant.” The room, filled with European Americans and Native American students, nodded in agreement. Only Vicky, the teacher, realized the devastating nature of the hidden curriculum.

The ideological agenda of a hidden curriculum is not necessarily always ‘hidden’ from indigenous students and/or their communities. For example, the works of numerous Native American writers, including Horn (2003), Francis (2003), Waters (2003) and Stephenson (2003), suggest that young Native Americans are, to some degree, aware of the existence

of a hidden curriculum. The Te Ātiawa interviewees (chapters 4-8) also believed that a hidden curriculum dominated the mesosystem settings of the secondary schools they attended as rangatahi (youths). They also suspected that I would find a hidden curriculum thriving in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools during my research. When one seeks to explain the durability of the hidden curriculum I did encounter during this research, one should not underestimate the role of teacher agency. For example, after the lesson I observed, the associate teacher told me she enjoyed being a head of department (history) because official policy dictated that she could freely determine what, where, why and how history would be taught. Hunter and Farthing's research in the Waikato region (2004: pp. 56-57) also suggested that experienced Waikato history teachers enjoyed exercising agency. They wrote:

Most teachers in the survey expressed their enjoyment with the autonomy of teacher choice of topics to be offered within programmes. This flexibility enables teachers to make "their" curriculum meaningful and reflective of their set of beliefs that can be either elitist or inclusive.

Moreover, they concluded (p.85) that:

The research evidence indicates that teachers have powerful agency in classrooms. Teacher perceptions about the nature of history shape the learning experiences of young people. There is considerable difference in beliefs about the purpose of history in the curriculum between older experienced teachers, and recently qualified less experienced history teachers. Recently qualified teachers bring in a range of research experiences to history teaching, and they are able to articulate a sense of connectedness to personal identity and the past in relation to their lived experiences. Ideas of the functional purpose of history including more social contexts and more critical approaches to history were strong features of their narratives. Experienced older teachers view history within intellectual frameworks with emphasis placed on the development of their students as whole persons. Very experienced teachers expressed views about the subject history as prestigious or academic in contrast with other curriculum areas, particularly those in the social sciences.

These analyses rekindled my initial unease at the imbalance of power that existed between the experienced associate teacher and the trainee teacher I observed.³⁶ During the debriefing session after that lesson, I asked the trainee to reflect upon the dislocating hidden curriculum underpinning the lesson she taught. I then asked her if she would like to engage with the associate teacher and local Te Ātiawa people to re-design the lesson/unit plan so that it might reflect a more authentic, culturally-responsive, social inquiry learning process. Though the trainee appreciated the rationale of my invitation, she was too afraid to question the design of her associate teacher's unit plan because she feared her senior colleague might (later) write a negative appraisal of her performance as a trainee. Hunter and Farthing's research suggested that the trainee's fears were not unique.

They, too, concluded (p.86) that 'newly qualified teachers with understandings of recent historical theory and scholarship, and interests across a breadth of historical contexts, become assimilated into existing traditional history programmes.' In conclusion, it appears that the dominant (Pākehā) culture reproduces itself often via the decisions of senior history teachers in mesosystem settings that are not dissimilar to the mesosystem setting in which I observed a lesson about Te Whiti o Rongomai. This, in turn, holds implications that are relevant to the exosystem settings of Bronfenbrenner's 'ecological model' of human development.

Biophobia: The lesson's exosystem implications

Though Bronfenbrenner (1979: pp. 237-257) acknowledged the existence of various system 'blueprints' for different ethnic groups when describing his ecological model's exosystem and macrosystem contexts, I would argue that the anthropocentrism of his model recalls Cajete's (1999) critique of the innately 'biophobic' worldview encountered by indigenous peoples in Western systems of schooling. Cajete (p. 190) adapted the work of Wilson (1984) to describe 'biophobia' as a cultural sensibility existing in a binary oppositional relationship to 'biophilia,' which he defined as the 'innate human urge to affiliate with other forms of life.'

Cajete argued that the biophilic sensibility 'appears to be a primal and innate dimension of our humanity' and that the 'development' and 'nurturance' of this 'sensibility' plays a significant role in maintaining 'our physical, mental and psychological health.' This

³⁶ Similar teacher v. teacher issues relating to the control of pedagogical operations and standards were identified by teacher participants as barriers to a potential PBE partnership between the participating schools and local Te Ātiawa people (see chapter eight).

'sensibility', according to Cajete, has an 'aberrant' and 'counteracting' sensibility called 'biophobia' which is indicative of a culturally innate 'fear of nature.' He suggested that this 'fear of nature' is often reflected in the Western cultural tendency to 'affiliate with technology and human artifacts and to concentrate primarily on human interests when relating to the natural world.' Cajete also argued (p. 190) that:

The biophobic tendency is associated with a kind of "urbanity of the mind" that seems to be learned and internalized as a result of living a life largely disconnected from nature and propagated by the advent of and development of cities. Because biophobia underlies aspects of the prevailing mindset of modernism, it influences the "hidden curriculum" of modern western education. Indeed the evolution of biophobia as expressed in the attempt to control and subdue nature has its own unique historical progression in Western religious, philosophical, artistic, and academic traditions. Biophobia also underpins the epistemological orientation of most western governmental, economic, religious and educational institutions. Although largely unconscious, this orientation contributes to the dysfunction of modern relationships to the natural world.

He claimed that traditional indigenous education systems are inherently biophilic and quite different to the scientific (biophobic) forms of curricula favoured by Western societies and writers like Bronfenbrenner (1979). He reasoned (p. 189) that:

Indigenous education is an education that focuses on the core aspects of human biophilia. It is an education about community and spirit whose components include: the recognition of interdependence; the use of linguistic metaphors, art, and myth; a focus on local knowledge and direct experience with nature; orientation to place; and the discovery of "face, heart and foundation", in the context of key social and environmental relationships.

Cajete proceeded to draw a connection between his interpretation of biophilia and an emerging 'indigenous curricula of place', which he believed holds great promise for the development of new and more liberating models of 'ecological' education that link lived experiences in exosystem settings to curriculum design and delivery processes. This 'indigenous curricula of place' that Cajete identifies provides an interesting lens through which one can consider the exosystem implications of the textbook-driven lesson I observed. For example, this 'indigenous' lens draws attention to the fact that the lesson

paid no attention to how the biophilic worldview of Te Whiti (and the wider Parihaka community) may have influenced decisions preceding and following the events studied. No attempt was made to draw connections between the natural ecologies of the places that were loved by the people of Parihaka and how their aroha (love) for these places informed their community's resistance to the Crown's acquisition of these places. As Freire (1995: p. 90) recognised:

People as beings "in situation", find themselves rooted in temporal-spatial conditions which mark them and which they also mark. They will tend to reflect on their own "situationality" to the extent that they are challenged by it to act upon it. Human beings *are* because they are in a situation. And they *will be more* the more they not only critically reflect upon their existence but critically act upon it.

The students in the lesson I observed were not empowered to reflect upon their own situation in relation to the local Te Ātiawa people (descended from Te Whiti) who are the tangata-whenua of the lands encompassing their school. They were certainly not encouraged to take the sort of 'action' that Gruenewald (2003: p. 4) suggested might have had 'some direct bearing on the well-being of the social and ecological places' that they (and their Te Ātiawa schoolmates/neighbours) 'actually inhabit.' This is salient when one considers the implications of the lesson in relation to its macrosystem implications. The following section relates the lesson to the public debate triggered by Professor Belich's criticism of the lowly status of New Zealand history in New Zealand's secondary schools. It describes the responses of politicians, teachers and bureaucrats, and then considers all of these perspectives in relation to the limitations of the official curriculum guidelines.

'Tudor England Day': The lesson's macrosystem implications

To support his allegation that the teaching of New Zealand history was a 'national disgrace', Belich (Catherall, 2002: p. A5), highlighted the following statistics, collected from the New Zealand Ministry of Education:

In 2000, 5198 of the 27, 000 bursary students studied history: 3243 chose the Tudor-Stuart option, and 1955 took New Zealand history.

Belich was 'shocked' to discover that in 1999, only 15% of New Zealand's year eleven students sat the school certificate history paper, and joked that Waitangi Day should be re-

named 'Tudor England Day.'³⁷ In an interview, he stated, with reference to New Zealand history (p. A5) that:

History should be as important as Maths and English in Secondary schools ... most other countries in the western world would try to engage young people in their past and so they can have a concept of how their present emerged ... a knowledge of a country's history is crucial for our capacity to handle a challenging future and accommodate differences ... There's a notion that there's something parochial or noble or second-rate about learning New Zealand history but that's bullshit. New Zealand history makes the 'wild-west' look like an old people's tea party. There is sex and violence coming out of the ears of New Zealand history.

His allegation of neglect of New Zealand history prompted defensive responses from politicians, teachers and bureaucrats. For example, the National (opposition) Party MP, Simon Upton (2002: p. 1), dismissed Belich's critique as a 'recolonial deconstruction' of 'historical reality.' He even suggested that Belich's allegation was conveniently timed to coincide with the release of his new book, *Paradise Reforged*. Upton underlined his own stance in relation to what might be called this New Zealand campaign of the 'international school history wars'.³⁸ He argued that:

Modern New Zealand's history didn't start in New Zealand. It started in Europe. And understanding that part of our cultural, political and economic heritage as 'ours' (rather than something alien that occurred almost on another planet) is the sine qua non of understanding ourselves in the modern world. Understanding what romanticism did to the 19th Century mind might help us to get to grips with the curious mirage of utopia that has afflicted New Zealand. Understanding that "there's sex coming out of the ears of New Zealand history" simply confirms the dystopia we all know about.

Some history teachers were also quick to respond publicly to Belich's allegations. For example, Jim Froom, editor of the Auckland History Teachers' Association Newsletter (and a leading figure in the NZHTA) explained (2002:p. 1) that his school offered students a

³⁷ Because most (New Zealand) teachers of Year 13 history classes opt to teach the 'Tudor-Stuart' option instead of the 'New Zealand in the nineteenth century' option.

³⁸ These school history wars are described in more depth, elsewhere, by writers like Nash, Crabtree and Dunn (2000: pp. 128-148), MacIntyre and Clark (2003: pp. 171-190) and Clark (2006: pp. 48-66).

'choice' of Year 13 topics. He believed that it was 'probably' parental responses to media constructs of New Zealand race-relations which had influenced the majority of his affluent (predominantly Pākehā) students' preference for the *Tudor England* topic option:

The rancour directed towards Helen Clark [New Zealand's Prime Minister] probably does not help the process of engaging and interesting people in healthy constructive debate about Waitangi and New Zealand history in a wider context ... Does the study of English History at Year 13 seem just that more attractive and positive? Some Māori and Pākehā might argue that issues simply need to be pushed in an even more confrontational manner to make us aware of past and present injustices. But I doubt such a strategy works, in the long term, to attract more students to the study of History.

Mark Sheehan, the head of department (history) at Wellington College, was quoted by Catherall (2002: p. A5) as believing that his school offered the *Tudor-Stuart England (1558-1667)* option at the year 13 level because it was more 'popular' with (predominantly Pākehā) students in his affluent boys' school. Sheehan reasoned that 'the problem with 19th Century New Zealand history is that students feel it is politically correct and doesn't foster much debate. They find it boring.'³⁹ Sheehan concluded that the time had come for a review of the history syllabus, particularly at the year 13 level, and that there should be a 'wider' range of topics on offer. His claim, that many students viewed New Zealand history as 'politically correct', was later supported by Steve Watters of Wellington High School. Watters (2003:p. 2) suggested that the 'problem' emanated from 'Pākehā guilt' and that:

Historical revisionism has created a backlash where New Zealand history is seen as too "PC." In one school I taught, my use of the word Pākehā caused a stir as some students, backed up by their parents, felt it was an offensive and derogatory term. It can be an uncomfortable topic to learn. More importantly, it can be an uncomfortable topic to *teach*. I thought students were not receptive enough to New Zealand history, hence my apologetic approach. Recent experience has however, made me re-think this. Perhaps the problem lies in the attitude of the teachers to the subject ... One of the major obstacles to many teachers is that New Zealand

³⁹ Sheehan's comments suggest that he was confronted by a challenge described by Berlak and Berlak (1982: pp. 140-141) as the teacher v. child control of operations dilemma. Chapter eight will discuss this dilemma and others like it.

history is seen as Māori history and as most teachers are not Māori they are forced beyond their comfort zone. It requires learning an appreciation of another language, cultural and historical tradition to be done properly. Many lack the training to do this.

The Ministry of Education's Curriculum Manager, Alison Dow (Catherall, 2002: p. A5), criticized Belich's interpretation of her Ministry statistics. She noted that:

The bursary (year 13 examination) figures masked the number of students that were learning about New Zealand history in class, as 40% of the bursary year was internally assessed ... Throughout school, students learned about New Zealand history in social studies, gaining an understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi, for example.

Although Dow noted that New Zealand history is taught in social studies, one should not assume that Treaty of Waitangi issues, which often include the environmental concerns of different tribal groupings, are embraced by all New Zealand social studies teachers. Hunter's (1999) critique of the Ministry of Education's (1997) *Social Studies in the New Zealand Curriculum* (SSiNZC) suggested that it had plenty of 'should' guidelines but not enough 'must' statements. Hunter (pp. 54-57) was also concerned about the political lobbying that had informed the development of the *Essential Learning about New Zealand* (ELaNZ) requirements within the SSiNZC document, and about the responses of New Zealand social studies teachers to these requirements since their inception. She concluded (p. 57) that social studies teachers need to 'update' their knowledge about 'aspects of New Zealand society' and that 'school planning teams' need to 'critically appraise' the rationale for their decisions in relation to 'topic/context selection or omissions.' Moreover, she suggested that the following 'hard questions' need to be asked of 'popular [e.g. traditional New Zealand history] topics' taught in social studies classes:

Why is ANZAC Day given such prominence as a learning context, and in such sentimental ways, at the expense for example of the New Zealand wars? Is it easier to look at conflict "off-shore?" Why do Treaty of Waitangi topics relegate inquiry to the event of the 1840 signing? ... Why develop a topic of citizenship in New Zealand without mention of exclusive immigration policies and Māori and Pākehā partnership issues?

The limited scope of New Zealand history topics made available to New Zealand's history teachers via the Ministry's outdated (1989) *History: Forms 5 to 7 Syllabus for Schools* document is also relevant to the debate. As Hunter and Farthing (2004: pp. 36-37) observed, the history syllabus is an anachronism 'situated on the cusp of the 1980s-1990s fifteen years later. In 2004, it remains locked in, in relations to attitudes, values and subject knowledge that predate 1989.' They noted that changes made to the history curriculum through the period 1990 to 2003 were essentially driven by the introduction of standards based assessment and that (p. 37) despite the 'contractual models of successive governments' [curriculum] developments, very little research (if any) or associated scholarship has supported changing emphases of assessment in relation to ways of knowing about the past.' They observed (pp. 37-38) that:

History does not sit in a privileged position in the school curriculum. The 1997 social studies curriculum (Years 1-13) is positioned uncomfortably alongside the history syllabus [1989] because it offers approaches to historical understandings and the lived experiences of the past framed partly by postmodern theory. In the social studies curriculum there is more opportunity and more recent guidance and resource support to teach studies of New Zealand history with connections to the present and the possible future in a range of social, cultural, environmental and economic contexts. There are many tensions evident within the history teaching community in schools and in the enacted curriculum.

Many experienced teachers [e.g. like the associate teacher mentioned earlier] with traditional approaches to history have not been able to adopt new ways of thinking and reshaping the discipline of history. Recently qualified history teachers [e.g. like the trainee teacher mentioned earlier] bring new visions of the past and a more functional critique to their understandings of history. It appears however, that traditional approaches and teacher preoccupations maintain the status quo in very many schools. New ideas, experiences and beliefs about history are largely silenced. The enacted school history curriculum is different to the official curriculum, and any change has occurred by default rather than through strategic review and rationalization of the curriculum.

The out-dated 1989 history syllabus encouraged the reproduction of Māori stereotypes similar to those I observed during the problematic lesson described earlier (2002). The Ministry (1989: p. 13) recommended that history teachers 'should', not 'must', give

consideration to incorporating a 'Māori dimension' in their 'programme planning'. It vaguely defined this 'Māori dimension' as providing New Zealand with 'a unique past and present perspective.'

These curriculum guidelines did not take into account the recommendations of distinguished academics, compiled in the *Heritage and History in Schools* report (1988), which was produced by the Departments of History of the New Zealand Universities. The academics involved in the production of this report refuted (p. 3) the notion of a singular 'Māori history' and recommended that 'Māori people may wish to develop themes in tribal history.'⁴⁰ The Ministry's guidelines also did not incorporate the advice of those experts who attended a Department of Education sponsored hui (meeting/summit), held at Whakato marae, near Gisborne (30 October-1 November, 1988). When describing its objectives Binney (1988: p. 47) reported that:

This hui was called by the Curriculum Division of the Department of Education to discuss ways of teaching Māori history, and Māori perceptions of their history. The hui was organised within the Rongowhakaata tribal district, and was also attended by people from other tribal areas, most particularly Tūhoe (Rose Pere) and Ngāti Porou (Api Mahuika and Koro Dewes). There were also several teachers of Māori language and history from East Coast and Hawke's Bay schools.

She also noted that those attending the hui believed that:

Māori history must be taught on a tribal basis ... Māori cultural diversity, which is central to Māori thinking, can only be retained on a tribal basis. The introduction of Māori history into schools therefore has to be conceived in conjunction with the regional tribal areas.⁴¹

Like the attendees at this hui, Keenan (2000) argued that a tribe's customary knowledge differs from traditional Pākehā histories because it is not assembled from official Government records or other written sources. He contended (p. 39) that:

⁴⁰ This report (p. iv) was originally commissioned by W.L. Renwick, Director-General of Education. He requested Professor Colin Davis to convene a group of university 'teachers of history' with the view to consider the Curriculum Review Committee's recommendations and to propose topics that might be included in a revised national history syllabus.

⁴¹ To see how the findings of this hui aligned with the responses of the Te Ātiawa interviewees' topic preferences read chapter five (part one).

Māori historians are increasingly interested in depicting the Māori past in ways which recognise Māori customary forms of organising knowledge, including knowledge of the past. Such presentations not only provide Māori histories with a customary infrastructure, but they also incorporate material from a wide array of sources: waiata, tauparapara (incantation), whaikōrero (marae oratory), whakairo (carving), oral testimony and ancient stories ... It should not be surprising that when writing about the past Māori prefer to focus on the years prior to European arrival. Pre-contact histories are invariably affirming in nature; they open up a window to Māori society before the changes wrought by Pākehā, and they offer opportunities to work with customary forms of knowledge such as whakapapa.

According to Keenan (p. 40), Māori researchers recognise that customary knowledge is a 'complex' and 'contested' issue frequently debated on marae. Consequently, he warned 'Māori will take issue with Pākehā historians who seek to define or qualify the nature of customary knowledge, adding further to the historiographical debate around it.'⁴² Keenan (p. 40), therefore, saw flaws in generic models of Māori history (like the 'Māori dimension' advocated by the Ministry). He wrote that though a 'national description' of Māori customary knowledge might be possible at a superficial level, 'changes and variations meant that certain customary rules did not always become fixed despite the existence of underlying certainties.'

Although various doctrines of customary knowledge may not have obtained the authority of a 'Māori canon', there is, as Keenan noted, still some regularity in the fundamental core belief systems of different iwi and hapū. Keenan (p. 40), though, suggested that this 'unity' emerged from the inherent 'diversity' of Māori customary knowledge in the sense that customary knowledge always involved a myriad of local stories and that 'kinship' groupings in different places stressed the significance of different individuals, areas, experiences and associations. Although Keenan stressed that such stories appear 'fragmented' as a result of their 'independent' nature, when 'combined', these stories 'exceeded the sum of their disparate parts and constituted a greater historical unity and tradition.'

⁴² I would remind readers that it was not my intention to 'define' or 'qualify' Te Ātiawa customary knowledge. Rather, this research considers the status of Te Ātiawa histories in local secondary schools following Belich's (2002) allegations and the release of the Waitangi Tribunal's (2003) report about the Port Nicholson Block.

Therefore, it appeared that the 'Māori dimension' approach recommended by the Ministry (1989) was, at best, as Keenan (p. 40) suggested, 'superficial' and vulnerable to the generalisations of a largely Pākehā-dominated teaching profession. It did not appear, to this writer, that the complexities of the 'historical unity' described by Keenan were fully understood or appreciated by many of the history teachers I had worked with (locally and/or nationally) since 1990. During my teaching practice in the Wellington region, and later during my practice as a College of Education lecturer, I often noticed that local tribal narratives of place were silenced by senior colleagues in favour of Pākehā constructs of a homogenous Māori past (usually set in the far-off northern regions of the North Island). By not being exposed to local tribal narratives, I suspected that many local students would be left oblivious to the existence of local iwi and the complexities of their Treaty claims.

A better alternative could be seen to be Keenan's (p. 41) proposition that, when researching Māori histories, 'scholars should focus upon their own home area and people, especially if they are using whakapapa, which cannot be avoided in any meaningful study of Māori histories.' This, then, would require teachers to engage with local iwi to co-develop culturally-responsive courses that do address the whakapapa of local iwi in authentic contexts that can be related to distant tribes' experiences of past events. Given the value that, I argue, should be afforded to genealogy and place when teaching about the past, part two, below, will now draw upon the work of Gruenewald (2003), and others, to discuss how a 'critical pedagogy of place' might address the limitations of the lesson I observed if adopted in a manner that is attentive to Keenan's recommendations.

What is a critical pedagogy of place?

Place, space and contested cultural notions of belonging in New Zealand

Tuan (2003) provides a concise definition of place in relation to contested notions of space. He argues (p. 3) that place is synonymous with an innate human sense of 'security', whereas space tends to reflect an innate human sense of 'freedom.' He adds (p. 6) that:

In experience, the meaning of space often merges with that of place. "Space" is more abstract than "place." What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. Architects talk about the spatial qualities of place; they can equally well speak of the locational (place) qualities of space. The ideas "space" and "place" require each other for definition.

Tuan's definitions of place and space, though anthropocentric in scope⁴³, are helpful to the objectives of this research because they lead to significant political questions about whose sense of place holds most value in contemporary New Zealand society. A survey conducted by Kelly Barclay indicated that his Pākehā research participants did not 'identify as strongly with the land' (2002: p. 1) as Māori.⁴⁴ Barclay's preliminary thesis findings also suggested that 'Māori and Pākehā have a different view of New Zealand.' Barclay's survey, 'How Kiwis saw themselves in the new millenium', was sent to 5000 homes around the country between November 1999 and January 2000. A total of 816 responses indicated that Pākehā-New Zealanders (people of European descent) did not have as strong a sense of place as Māori, in relation to the land.

The survey suggested that though Pākehā identified just as strongly as Māori with New Zealand as a whole, this was based more on individual and personal senses of 'space.' Though rural Pākehā may have identified more with the land than urban Pākehā, they did not, according to Barclay's survey results, have as strong a sense of place as Māori. Barclay concluded: 'I don't think Pākehā can sustain a claim to indigeneity as Māori can, not just yet.' He added that 'it's not necessary to claim indigeneity on the same basis as Māori for Pākehā to have their own unique sense of identity in New Zealand.' Barclay's research (Napp: p. 1) was triggered by the reflections of Michael King (1999), a prominent New Zealand historian, who had declared (p. 239) that:

For me ... to be Pākehā on the cusp of the 21st Century is not to be an alien or stranger in my own country. It is to be a non-Māori New Zealander ... who identifies as intimately with this land as intensively and as strongly as anybody Māori. It is to be ... another kind of indigenous New Zealander.

Barclay contested King's claim to indigeneity largely because he felt it reflected 'the all-kiwis-are-equal argument' which 'relied on [social democratic] rhetoric' and was not 'backed by critical analysis.' He said 'I would like to promote a more critical approach to our cultural politics than an unthinking repetition of standard arguments' (Napp: p. 1). However, it should be remembered that King had spent most of his life drawing the attention of many Pākehā to Māori concerns, often at great personal cost. Barclay, in turn, was responding to one of King's latter works which had been used by politicians to

⁴³ See McGinnis (1999: pp. 61-80) also McGinnis, House and Jordan (1999: pp. 222).

⁴⁴ Kelly Barclay was a fellow PhD candidate at Victoria University of Wellington.

challenge Māori aspirations.⁴⁵ Both writers influenced my decision to relate the problems of the lesson I observed to the tenets of place-based education (PBE) and critical pedagogy. The following section outlines the relationship between the principles of these two pedagogical traditions which are integral to the formation of a ‘critical pedagogy of place.’

The relationship between critical pedagogy and PBE

When examining the relationship between critical pedagogy and PBE, Gruenewald (2003:p. 3) argued that:

Unlike critical pedagogy, which evolves from the well-established discourse of critical theory (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993; Burbules & Berk, 1999; Freire, 1970, 1995; Giroux, 1988, McLaren, 2003), place-based education lacks a specific theoretical tradition, though this is partly a matter of naming. Its practices and purposes can be connected to experiential learning, contextual learning, problem-based learning, constructivism, outdoor education, indigenous education, bioregional education, democratic education, multicultural education, community-based education, critical pedagogy itself, as well as other approaches that are concerned with context and the value of learning from and nurturing specific places, communities, or regions.

Leading PBE theorists, like Orr (1992: pp.125-131), Bowers (1993: pp.155-190) Jackson (1996: pp. 6-13, 87-103) and Sobel (1994: pp. 1-98), have all suggested, in different ways, that the last century of compulsory schooling has rendered young people disconnected from their neighbourhoods, communities, and local ecologies of place. In response to this ‘disconnectedness’, Zucker called for the introduction of PBE to prevent young people from further becoming ‘mobile, rootless and autistic’ towards their places of residence. When writing a forward entry for Sobel (2004), Zucker reasoned (p.iii) that place-based pedagogies challenge the meaning of education because they ask seemingly ‘simple’ questions like ‘Where am I? What is the nature of this place? What sustains this community?’ Furthermore, she suggested (in Sobel, 2004: p.ii) that place-based

⁴⁵ In a speech delivered to the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, the coordinating minister for race-relations (and Minister of Education), Trevor Mallard, used King’s work to argue (28 July 2004) that ‘Māori and Pākehā are both indigenous people to New Zealand now.’ Accordingly, he reasoned that ‘paranoia politics and playing on prejudice will not advance New Zealand one iota. Nor will race-based politics and race-based social delivery. [Government] services must be on the basis of need and not because of a sense of race-based entitlement.’

pedagogies ‘will challenge’ the (political) status-quo by employing what she described as a ‘re-storying process’ whereby:

Students are asked to respond creatively to stories of their home-ground so that, in time, they are able to position themselves, imaginatively and actually, within the continuum of nature and culture in that place. They become part of the community, rather than a passive observer of it.

Zucker, moreover, suggested (in her forward for Sobel, 2004, p. ii) that a place-based approach to education would:

... begin with the effort to learn how events and processes close to home relate to regional, national and global forces and events, leading to a new understanding of ecological stewardship and community ... a local/global dialectic that is sensitive to broader ecological and social relationships at the same time as it deepens people’s sense of community and place ... Place based education might be characterized as the pedagogy of community, the reintegration of the individual into her home-ground and the restoration of the essential links between a person and her place.

Kawagley and Barnhardt (1999: p. 117), advocating for an education that is indigenous to place in Native Alaskan communities, believed that:

Students in indigenous societies around the world have, for the most part, demonstrated a distinct lack of enthusiasm for the experience of schooling in its conventional form – an aversion that is most often attributable to an alien school culture, rather than any lack of innate intelligence, ingenuity, or problem-solving skills on the part of the students. The curricula, teaching methodologies, and often the teacher training associated with schooling are based on a worldview that does not always recognize or appreciate indigenous notions of an interdependent universe and the importance of place in their societies.

Despite the merits of these arguments, readers should note that PBE does have its limitations and some of these were most clearly described by Gruenewald (2003) when he called (p. 3) for a ‘convergence’ of place-based and critical pedagogies. The following section addresses the rationale underpinning Gruenewald’s call for the development of a critical pedagogy of place.

A critical pedagogy of place: The twin goals of decolonization and reinhabitation

Gruenewald (p. 3) proposed that critical pedagogies and place-based pedagogies are 'mutually supportive educational traditions' that have grown apart and need to be re-converged. He drew attention to the fact that place-based education is now 'frequently discussed at a distance from the urban multicultural arena, territory most often emphasized by critical pedagogues.' This is ironic, because as McLaren and Giroux (1990: p. 154) observed:

While critical pedagogy in its early stages grew largely out of the efforts of Paulo Freire and his literary campaigns among peasants in rural areas of Brazil and other Third World [sic] countries, subsequent generations of North American [and New Zealand] teachers and cultural workers influenced by Freire's work have directed most of their attention to urban minority populations in major metropolitan centers. Very little writing exists that deals with critical pedagogy in the rural school classroom and community.

Gruenewald argued (p. 3) that:

Despite clear areas of overlap between critical pedagogy and place-based education (such as the importance of situated context and the goal of social transformation), significant strands exist which do not always recognize the potential contributions of the other. On the one hand, critical pedagogy often betrays a sweeping disinterest in the fact that humanity has been, is, and always will be nested within ecological systems (Bowers 1997, 2001). In a parallel story of neglect, place-based education has developed an ecological and rural emphasis that is often insulated from the cultural conflicts inherent in dominant American [and I would add New Zealand] culture. Additionally, in its focus on local, ecological experience, place-based approaches are sometimes hesitant to link ecological themes such as urbanization and the homogenization of culture under global capitalism (see Hay, 1996, chap. 6). In short, both critical pedagogy and place-based education have through these silences missed opportunities to strengthen each respective tradition by borrowing from the other.

Gruenewald proposed that critical pedagogy and PBE can contribute to the sort of 'critical pedagogy of place' that, in my assessment, would assist the future reorganisation of schooling in the Port Nicholson Block area and elsewhere in New Zealand. He reasoned

(p.3) that whereas critical pedagogy ‘offers an agenda of cultural decolonization, PBE leads the way towards ecological reinhabitation.’ Because the term ‘decolonization’ may invoke a range of negative or stereotypical connotations in some quarters, I will clarify exactly what I mean by this term, in the context of this research. When describing the pedagogical goal of ‘decolonization’ Gruenewald (2003, p. 9) argued:

In many ways decolonization describes the underside of reinhabitation; it may not be possible without decolonization. If reinhabitation involves learning to live well socially and ecologically in places that have been disrupted and injured decolonization involves learning to recognize disruption and injury and to address their causes.⁴⁶ From an educational perspective, it means unlearning much of what dominant [e.g. Pākehā] culture and schooling teaches, and learning more socially just and ecologically sustainable ways of being in the world.

Gruenewald (p. 9) also recalled how Smith and Katz (1993: p. 71) believed ‘decolonization’ can be seen as a ‘metaphor’ for a process of ‘recognising’ and ‘dislodging dominant ideas, assumptions and ideologies as externally imposed.’ hooks (1992: p. 1), likewise, defined decolonization as a ‘process of cultural and historical liberation; an act of confrontation with a dominant system of thought.’ The pedagogical objectives of decolonization and reinhabitation are relevant to the development of a pedagogy that would remedy Belich’s fears. The final section of this chapter outlines the questions that both encapsulate the research problem and have guided this research.

The research questions

This research was driven by the following questions:

1. In response to the lesson observed, and the concerns of Professor James Belich (2002), what would students learn about New Zealand and local history in Port Nicholson Block secondary school history and social studies classes? Specifically, what would they learn about local Te Ātiawa people in relation to these histories? Are alternative pedagogical approaches to teaching about local histories needed to enable students/teachers to engage with local Te Ātiawa people?
2. If the answer to the latter is yes, could a critical pedagogy of place empower local students/teachers to engage with Te Ātiawa experts in activities that encourage

⁴⁶ For example, those neighbourhoods (or exosystems) that border the ‘injured’ environs of the Waiwhetū Stream in Lower Hutt, or the Waitangi Stream in Wellington City.

them to reflect critically upon the inter-relationship between local colonial history and ecologies of place, not to mention their own senses of identity and place?⁴⁷

With these questions in mind I will conclude this chapter by reiterating that the primary objective of this research was to ascertain whether, in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools, Belich's concerns were valid. If Belich's concerns appeared valid, as suspected, I wished to explore whether the research participants believed a critical pedagogy of place might assist the recovery and renewal of what Bowers (2001) and Gruenewald (2003: p. 9) described as 'traditional, non-commodified cultural patterns such as mentoring and inter-generational relationships.'⁴⁸ Moreover, I wished to explore whether the research participants would support the development of a pedagogical partnership, between local Te Ātiawa people and the participating schools which (as Gruenewald suggested) aims to:

- (a) Identify, recover, and create material spaces and places that teach us how to live well in our total environments (reinhabitation) and;
- (b) Identify and change ways of thinking that injure and exploit other people and places (decolonization).

Having discussed the research problem in relation to literature, and its possible implications, I will now outline the research methodology in chapter three.

⁴⁷ I will discuss the negotiations process, central to the development of the research objectives revolving around these questions, in chapter three of this research.

⁴⁸ Which are associated with local Te Ātiawa histories of place.

Chapter Three: Research methodology

Introduction

This chapter outlines the research objectives and the methodology underpinning both phases of the overall data collection process. It also provides a personal position statement. The research objectives and methodology central to this project emerged after two years of dialogue with local Te Ātiawa people and my former teaching colleagues. This dialogue involved a cyclical process similar to the ‘action research process’ illustrated by Hart (2002: p. 92). It also resembled the ‘critical action research’ process that Kincheloe, Slattery and Steinburg (2000: p. 291) described as typical of ‘people’s history projects.’⁴⁹

Critical action research in relation to the identification of a research problem and the development of research objectives and methodology

Kincheloe et al. (p. 291) cited Gramsci (1988) to argue that:

People’s history, like critical action research, rests upon the proposition that ‘non-intellectuals’ do not exist. Nobody is incapable, people’s history advocates argue, of influencing the construction of his/her own history or the history of the community.

Kincheloe et al. also suggested that when applied to the context of education, people’s history focuses researchers on:

1. The historical experience of consciousness construction of the student, other teachers and the action researchers themselves;
2. The student’s understanding of his/her own school experience and the forces that shaped it;
3. The effort to blur the boundaries of professional and amateur educational history to subvert the cult of the expert, as action researchers construct their own educational histories of groups, communities, schools and individuals; and
4. The attempt to understand the role of schooling and such informal agencies as media, religion, advertising and so-forth in consciousness (or popular memory) formation.

⁴⁹ See Appendix Eleven: Diagram illustrating the ‘action research process’ underpinning the negotiation of appropriate research objectives and methodological processes.

An action-based research approach was adopted because, like Hart (p. 91), I believed that:

Research should not be the activity of a select few but, rather, the fundamental starting point for all people to look critically at their social and environmental condition as a basis of acting to change it. In adopting an action research perspective ... it is important to recognize that the investigator's perspective will probably change through the process of carrying out the research.

As a Pākehā researcher I wished to develop a methodology compatible with the kaupapa Māori and/or bicultural research methodologies advocated by writers like Te Awēkotuku (1991), Bishop (1992, 1996), G. Smith (1992), Cram (1997), Cunningham (1999), L. Smith (1999), Pihama, Cram and Walker (2002) and Tolich (2002). Five 'pre-requisite' definitions of critical action research, identified by Kincheloe et al. (2002, p. 274), informed the identification of the research problem, objectives and methodology:

1. Critical action research is always designed and pursued in relation to practice; in fact it exists to improve practice.
2. Critical action research rejects positivist notions of rationality, objectivity and truth and assumes that the researcher is always aware of his or her own value commitments, the value commitments of others and the values promoted by the dominant culture. In other words, one of the main concerns of critical action research is the exposure of the relationship between individual values and practice.
3. Critical action research requires an awareness of the social construction of the professional consciousness.
4. Critical action researchers attempt to uncover those aspects of the dominant social order that undermine efforts to pursue emancipatory goals.

The following section begins the process of discussing the negotiation and trust-building activities that informed the identification of the research problem, objectives and the design of a suitable methodology.

Negotiating the research design: Building trust with local history teachers and secondary schools

After identifying the research problems, objectives and methodologies in collaboration with friends and contacts within the local Te Ātiawa community, I visited a former work

site to test the responses of former teaching colleagues to ideas that had emerged from this dialogue. During this visit in July 2003, I was accompanied by one of my research supervisors (Professor Wally Penetito), who contributed to the discussion surrounding the identification of the research problem and to the development of appropriate research objectives and methodology.

My former colleagues (including that school's principal) were keen to participate in a research project that addressed the status of local tribal and New Zealand histories in Port Nicholson Block schools. They were also happy to make suggestions in relation to the research design.⁵⁰ Initially, I considered naming all the research participants and participating schools so that these issues could be addressed more openly. However, my former colleagues suspected that some local history teachers may have good reason to fear a backlash from employers, students and parents, especially if they were openly critical of their schools' and/or students' attitudes to certain topics.

Although my former colleagues felt the research problem and objectives presented to them were reasonable, they wanted my methodology to guarantee that heads of department/teachers in charge (history) could speak freely about curriculum politics without being identified by their employers or peers. Therefore, they suggested that I should protect the identities of participating schools so that Boards of Trustees/principals would allow their employees to participate in this research, and so that prospective teacher participants would feel safe to do so. Though these requests seemed reasonable, I had to reassure local Te Ātiawa people that I would not 'white-wash' my research findings simply to placate the participating schools or teachers.

Since 1991, I had developed and maintained a number of informal and professional relationships with local Te Ātiawa people. During that time some of these people advised me they were very wary of researchers, irrespective of their ethnicity. It was evident that, during this cross-cultural exercise, I would have to earn more trust than is usually needed in fieldwork that involves researchers and participants from identical ethnic backgrounds. The following passage explains how I gradually built trust.

⁵⁰ This school later participated in my research.

Negotiating the research design: Building trust with local Te Ātiawa people

When discussing the need to build trust, a friend (pers. comm: February 2001) advised me that a ‘bicultural’ research team had recently ‘plundered’ knowledge from her whānau for commercial gain (despite promising not to). Furthermore, these researchers did not treat her elderly uncle with an appropriate level of courtesy when he was interviewed. For example, he was not provided with adequate time to rest, or any opportunity to take sustenance to replenish his waning energy levels.

Other friends/contacts amongst local Te Ātiawa initially doubted that any research would change local teachers’ perceptions about local Te Ātiawa people, or Māori in general. Given the history of schooling experienced by local Te Ātiawa people (and other Māori people, elsewhere), and according to the literature, this mistrust was to be expected. However, I did not believe that such mistrust afforded me a licence to wallow in a state of pākehā-paralysis which, as Tolich (2002) suggested, enables non-Māori researchers to avoid conducting research that involves Māori participants. Like Cram (1997: pp. 48-49), I believed that non-Māori researchers working with Māori, need to work harder to encourage the ‘movement’ of research ‘beyond the descriptive’ (e.g. describing the so-called: ‘Māori problem’) and into a context whereby ‘findings hold the promise of informing solutions.’

L. Smith (1999: p. 177) advised non-Māori researchers to consider the tiaki (mentoring) model when negotiating research partnerships with indigenous communities, one involving a process whereby ‘authoritative Māori people guide and sponsor the research.’ Cram (1997: p. 49) likewise suggested that ‘research partnerships’ with Māori communities were essential if research conducted by non-Māori researchers was to be ‘beneficial’ to those Māori participating in research activities. This, she proposed, required the building of ‘trust.’ To help build trust, I invited local Te Ātiawa custodians of historical knowledge to act as my ‘guides’ (or kaiarahi) and to identify the problems they wanted me to research.⁵¹

I accepted Cram’s (1997: p. 57) proposal that working with ‘guides’ from Māori communities involved a ‘two-stage process’, whereby the ‘guide’ firstly introduces the researcher to the community and, secondly, the researchers attempt to gain the trust of the community ‘through their own conduct ... helping out with other tasks, being up front

⁵¹ I liaised with the principal historian of the Wellington Tenth Trust to discuss the design of an appropriate methodology, and he ‘guided’ the design of this research by introducing me to key people such as the CEO of the Wellington Tenth Trust.

about who you are and what you are doing, passing a test etc.’. The gaining of trust may in turn ‘signal the beginning of a long term relationship that exceeds the limits of just one research project; especially if the researcher is seen to be doing some good.’

My research adopted a trust-building process similar to the ‘two stages’ described by Cram, including being passed from one ‘authoritative’ person to another and of being ‘tested’ in the process. This process began after a discussion with one of my former university classmates and her husband (February 2001). I advised these friends that I was considering undertaking further post-graduate research, but that I wanted to do something useful for them and that I was open to suggestions. As a result, I was guided by my friend to meet with her mother, a well-known Te Ātiawa figure.⁵²

My friend alerted her mother to the fact that I was willing to do some useful research and that she should identify issues that she believed I should research. Eventually, I had morning tea with my friend’s mother, and during this we discussed my experiences as a history teacher in relation to the environmental issues she felt were confronting her whānau and hapū. On the advice of my friend’s mother, I spent many hours that summer walking with my children along the banks of the Waiwhetū stream, near our home, to observe and research local flora and fauna. Gradually, I began to study the history/whakapapa of that stream, with her guidance.

Like the Waitangi Stream system mentioned in the introductory chapter, the Waiwhetū Stream had been severely altered by the landscape changes and pollution that followed in the wake of British settlement of the Port Nicholson Block area. Initially, all I could see was a toxic stream that had long posed a severe public health threat during flooding. However, my children and I began to look differently at the Waiwhetū stream that summer. We became aware of the existence of tuna (eels) that still lived in shady reaches of the stream, near busy roads and factories. We were surprised that kahawai (*Arripas Trutta*) still chased herring (*Spratus antipodum*) far upstream on the high tide, despite decades of industrial waste that had contaminated the sediments of the streambed. Moreover, we enjoyed sitting still under pohutukawa trees (*metrosideros excelsa*) that lined the stream banks, especially on hot days when we observed native birds like kererū (*Hemiphaga novaeseelandiae*), Kōtare (*Todiramphus Sanctus*) and Pūkeko (*Porphyrio melanotus*). These resilient birds still inhabit the environs of the Waiwhetū, despite the deforestation,

⁵² I had met my friend’s mother on other occasions. From her perspective, I was not a stranger.

urbanization and the introduction of pests (e.g. cats, dogs and rats) that has occurred since 1839.

In the process, I was able to view the native fauna and flora of that stream as a metaphor for the resistance of my friend's hapū and iwi. This, in turn, forced me to reconsider the anthropocentric nature of the New Zealand history I had learned at home and school, and the biophobic nature of the history I had taught in local schools. Like Park (p. 15) I increasingly came to view my local landscape as a 'fertile site' for 'contemplating fundamental if elusive truths' about the nature of history. I identified with Park's view (pp. 15-16) that:

Some landscapes can tell us more about ourselves than others, but our histories are remarkably silent on such things. Focusing on people, they pay little attention to the original land, just as our environmental literature tends to marginalize people as wreckers of a mythical, ancient world that had no need of them. We need more than that ... As I found what still lay hidden in the ground, tracked my way into archives and had Māori memories revealed to me, I came to know the lost forests of the plains. I found that the ecology of a stretch of country and its history are far from unrelated. They work on one another. They shape one another. If you go in search of one, you are led to the other.

Due to the prompting of my friend's mother, I was also drawn to the writings of Crosby (2000), Cronon (2003), Dunlap (1999) and Russell (1997). Their works triggered a cathartic experience for me. For example, this literature, grounded by my experiences beside the Waiwhetū Stream, reignited my prior deep interest in archaeological sites located within the Port Nicholson Block and the Porirua areas, north of Wellington, where I grew up. To develop a deeper historical appreciation of the inter-relationship between local tribes and ecologies, over time, I read the works of Best (1918), Palmer (1956), Beckett (2001), McFadgen (1963), Daniels (1965), Keyes (1970), the Wellington Archaeological Society (1988), Davidson (1976), Leach, Davidson, Horwood, and Boocock (1995), Schmidt (1996), Leach, Davidson and Fraser (2001), Davidson and Leach (2002), and Walton (1988, 1997, 2000, 2001).

Whilst reappraising my deepest cultural assumptions about the nature of history, I slowly became conscious that I was being tested by my friend's mother for my readiness to undertake the next step in my research journey. For example, during one unplanned

encounter at a local café (September 2002), she asked me whether or not I had visited one of the polluted sites, along the Waiwhetū stream, that she had mentioned a few weeks earlier. After answering yes and describing what I had seen and felt, my friend's mother asked me what actions I felt teachers of history should take to address the degradation of the Waiwhetū stream. In hindsight, this was reassuring because as Cram (p. 57) suggested:

In a collaborative research setting knowledge is seen as flowing in both directions, participants and researchers both have something meaningful to contribute. This model works to overcome the power imbalance inherent in “objective, scientific” research.

My friend's mother later advised me (October 2002) to approach her brother, because she felt he knew more about the history of her hapū's relationship with the Waiwhetū stream and associated historical matters. I met with him in February 2002. He advised me to read several scientific reports about the condition of the Waiwhetū stream and Wellington harbour. These reports included, amongst other things, management and action plans developed by the Wellington Regional Council (1997), the Wellington Regional Council's Waiwhetū Stream Working Group (2000, 2001) and a Public Health Project report written by Group C, 5th Year Wellington Medical School students (2001). He also identified reports by Deely, Tunnicliffe, Orange and Edgerley (1992) and Howard-Williams (1994), plus a newspaper article by Roger (1978).

Four months later, I met with my friend's uncle again and he asked questions regarding the material he had earlier provided. These questions tested whether I was able to appreciate the wider cultural significance of the historical problems concerned. Whilst answering his questions, I was able to reassure him that I had not only read these documents, but that I had also identified additional material, some of which was unknown to him. For example, I found a journal article by Stoffers, Glasby, Wilson, Davis and Walter (1986) which discussed links between heavy metal pollution in Wellington harbour and factories pumping waste into the Waiwhetū stream. I also located an earlier essay, written by Maslin (1989), which asked if the Waiwhetū stream was ‘dead or alive.’ Additionally, I discovered Liddell's (1995) thesis, which examined pollution threats to the Hutt aquifer system.

The identification of this additional literature was appreciated by my friend's uncle, who recommended that, before our next meeting, I should read another series of reports written

by Anstey and Armstrong (2002), Sheppard and Goff (June 2001), Sheppard and Goff (September 2001) and Edmonds (2001). Due to the demands placed upon him in association with the presentation of Te Ātiawa claims before the Waitangi Tribunal, our next meeting was to be frequently postponed. Thankfully, an opening in his schedule did emerge a few months after I observed the Te Whiti o Rongomai lesson described in chapter two. When I again met with my friend's uncle, in December 2002, we discussed his views on the environmental impact reports he had provided me and the lesson I observed. My observations concerned him. Until then, he had assumed that local secondary schools had moved beyond the monocultural worldview he encountered as a teenager.

In February 2003, my friend's uncle and aunty invited me to facilitate a workshop at their marae for visiting students from a local tertiary institution.⁵³ Held in March 2003, it compared and contrasted the application of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in both educational and health sector settings. During the workshop I described the lesson I had observed as a classic example of a situation in which public servants were not consulting with local whānau, hapū or iwi in the design and delivery of community programmes.⁵⁴

This lack of consultation, I suggested, was problematic for both sectors, not to mention those whānau, hapū and iwi who were recipients of such social services. With the benefit of hindsight, I now suspect that this workshop allowed my friend's uncle, and other key Te Ātiawa people, to assess me as a person and/or as a potential research partner. Following this workshop, my friend's uncle advised me that he supported my wish to research the status of Te Ātiawa histories in local schools. He agreed that, to conduct such a project, I should consult with former teacher colleagues to seek their input into the research design process. He also later recommended that I should contact the principal historian of the Wellington Tenth Trust, to discuss a tentative proposal and to discuss the appropriateness of the research objectives and methodology. My friend's uncle was now passing me onto his cousin (the historian) who, he felt, possessed the research background needed to help me get this research off the ground.

The historian was happy to meet with me because I had been referred to him by his cousin and because he already enjoyed a good professional relationship with one of my research

⁵³ These students were staying at the marae overnight as part of their (Māori) cultural orientation course.

⁵⁴ I did not name the teachers or the school concerned.

supervisors, Professor Richard Hill. At the conclusion of this first meeting I was advised to list some potential research objectives and later to meet with him and a trustee of the Wellington Tenth Trust (accompanied by Professor Hill). The objective of this next meeting, he advised me, would be to brainstorm collaboratively some concrete research objectives that could inform the research methodology and, consequently, the design of a formal research proposal. Accompanied by Professor Hill, I participated in a meeting at the offices of the Wellington Tenth Trust (May 2003). During this meeting I outlined my interest in researching the status of local Te Ātiawa histories in Hutt Valley secondary schools.

The trustee and the historian listened intently, but then asked me to consider widening the scope of my research. They asked me to consider the feasibility of involving *all* Port Nicholson Block secondary schools. The trustee predicted that the foreshore and seabed case (which was still before the Court of Appeal) would soon create the sort of waves that might need a public education campaign, and that my research findings – while completely independent – might be useful in this. Additionally, the Waitangi Tribunal (2003) had just released its *Te Whanganui a Tara me ōna Takiwā report* and the trustee felt that my research might help Port Nicholson Block history teachers, students and parents to better understand local iwi claims. The trustee's wish for greater understanding was shared by the Waitangi Tribunal in its (2004, p. 740) report on the Tūranganui a Kiwa claims:

We cannot help but think that the unsettled state of relations between Māori and Pākehā in this country is in part due to the fact that these stories are remembered only by tangata whenua and a few historians who specialise in New Zealand history. While only one side remembers the suffering of the past, dialogue will always be difficult. One side commences the dialogue with anger and the other side has no idea why. Reconciliation cannot be achieved by this means. Thus it seems no more than common sense that if stories such as these from Tūranga [Gisborne area] were more widely known in the community, particularly local communities more directly affected, the need to heal the wounds of the past before moving forward would be better understood by all. There is in our view, an enormous unmet need for community education in the history of race relations in New Zealand, particularly in the local communities where the settlement of historic grievances has real meaning and practical effect for all.

With the need for developing a research project that might contribute to greater public awareness in mind, I developed a formal thesis proposal which was submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington's Human Ethics Committee. This proposal was approved by that Committee on 3 June 2004.

Objectives of the first phase of the research process: The collection of primary and secondary source data

The following objectives were developed to facilitate the first phase of the data collection process:

- a) Consider whether or not the teaching of New Zealand history in Wellington district secondary schools could be considered culturally responsive in relation to the needs of local Te Ātiawa people.
- b) Consider the wider philosophical debate surrounding the inclusion of Māori history as an academic subject in the New Zealand Curriculum.
- c) Consider the implications of the above findings for the future of secondary schooling in the area concerned.

By exploring a wide body of literature, guided by these objectives, I became more familiar with the nature and scope of the research problems discussed in chapter two. This, in turn, enabled me to draw conclusions and to make recommendations from a more informed position, particularly in relation to the objectives determining the second phase of the research process.

Objectives of the second phase of the research process: The collection of oral primary source data

The second phase of the data collection process provided for a much deeper investigation of data collected in the first phase, and allowed me to identify other sources of data. The following objectives directed this second phase:

- a) To identify what those historical experts nominated by Te Ātiawa consider as critical events, and identify significant issues of local and wider New Zealand history that have impacted upon Te Ātiawa, that local secondary school history teachers and students should know about;

- b) To identify and critically evaluate what history teachers in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools are teaching their students about local and national historical events and issues in relation to Te Ātiawa;
- c) To diagnose whether or not a gap in (pedagogical) priorities exists between the responses of nominated Te Ātiawa representatives and those of local teachers, and if so, why; and
- d) To identify potential benefits and barriers related to the possible development of a place-based education partnership between the participating schools and local Te Ātiawa people.

Having discussed the process of negotiating the design of the research objectives and methodology, the following section describes the first phase of the data collection process.

Phase one methodology: The collection and analysis of primary and secondary source data

Phase one of this research consisted of the collection and analysis of predominantly historical primary and secondary data. This initial phase of the data collection process, in turn, involved a logical progression through a six-step process.

The six steps of the data collection and analysis process

Anderson (1990: p. 114) outlined a 'six step' process as being typical of most historical data collection procedures, and this was followed.

Step one: Specification of the universe of data required to address the problem

This step required me to specify whether there was enough relevant primary and secondary data available to address the problem. The quality and quantity of this data also needed to be confirmed before any research was undertaken.

Step two: Initial determination that sufficient data are available

During this step (which overlaps the first 'step'), I was able to confirm that sufficient data did exist, and was available, by contacting and visiting local, national and international data storage sites.

Step three: Data collection

At this step I had to consider the implications of known data in relation to my research objectives. This process drew upon the expertise of my supervisors (Dr. Wally Penetito and Professor Richard Hill – Victoria University of Wellington) to identify known data from primary and secondary sources. It also required me, with the advice of my supervisors, to seek new and previously unknown data in a variety of storage sites located in New Zealand and abroad.

Step four: Initial writing of the report and descriptive phase of the research

This step overlapped the second phase because it required the development of a first draft report for the critical appraisal of my research supervisors. This process was assisted by the development of full interview transcripts, and lists of quotes extracted from the interview transcripts, which were given to the research participants to check. These documents assisted participants to reflect upon their answers to questions during their

interviews, and to make any adjustments they felt were necessary. The verification process was complete once all participants had signed their pre-prepared statements of verification.

Step five: Interaction of writing and additional data search and examination

Step five involved the interaction of writing and additional data search and critical examination. For example, the collection of additional manuscript evidence from archives to confirm an eyewitness account of an event.

Step six: Completion of interpretative phase

The final step in the interpretative phase involved the submission of a final draft thesis for examination.

To sum up, the first phase of the research primarily involved the collection, identification and analysis of documents in a variety of locations. In terms of data analysis procedures, the first step of data analysis involved an evaluation of all the data collected, including consideration of source and content. As Anderson (1990: p. 117) suggested:

...historical criticism includes external criticism, establishment of the authenticity of the source including its date, author and legitimacy, and internal criticism, evaluating the accuracy and worth of the statements contained in an historical document. This implies evaluating and weighing data according to the extent to which the primary source was a credible witness.

Accordingly, I developed a matrix framework to facilitate my interpretative process.⁵⁵ Both date and concept determined the composition of this matrix. Although a chronological sequence was established, more emphasis was placed upon the identification of the key issues and themes to emerge. Furthermore, I identified relevant primary and secondary data, which I recorded via a reading journal at various sites.

Sources of data

The Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL) provided a wide range of manuscripts (e.g. diaries, personal correspondence) belonging to those early Pākehā who settled upon lands encompassing today's Port Nicholson Block school sites. It also provided me with access to documents detailing the activities of significant local Te Ātiawa historical figures, and

⁵⁵ See Appendix Twelve: A conditional matrix to inform the construction of research questions and to direct the data collection and analysis procedures.

the minutes of the Native Land Court. The ATL also possesses invaluable cartographic, painting and photographic collections and these resources helped me to visualize better the people and historical, places, events and issues described by Te Ātiawa research participants.

The ATL also possesses a large collection of primary and secondary data relevant to those New Zealand history topics taught in some Port Nicholson Block secondary schools. Of particular interest were its collections of local and national newspapers, genealogical information, photos, cartoon collections and extensive collections of local histories, academic journals and scientific reports on the environmental degradation of the Waiwhetū stream, Waitangi stream, Te Whanganui a Tara, archaeological sites and other local sites of cultural and/or historical significance.

Archives New Zealand (with the approval of the Ministry of Education) provided me with access to the files of the History Revision Sub-Committee and Taha Māori in the Curriculum Committee established by the Department of Education in the early 1980s.⁵⁶ These documents provided me with valuable insights into the historical contexts that framed the development of the Ministry of Education's (1989) *History: Forms 5 to 7 Syllabus for Schools*. The Hutt City Central Library, meanwhile, holds a collection of local newspapers, local histories and other collections of local data that were relevant to framing the backdrop for this research. For example, the Lower Hutt City Council's District Plan is stored at this site, and it is central to current debate surrounding the preservation of local archaeological sites.

Land Information New Zealand (LINZ) provided me with access to the records of Crown Grants and Deeds of Title. Although I had originally considered undertaking block analyses of the history of the lands beneath the participating schools, I soon recognised that this would be too time consuming given some of the unanticipated barriers to public information that I would encounter from local schools. In terms of the information that was eventually provided by twenty-four Port Nicholson Block secondary schools, only eight responded to my initial request to conduct research in their schools while another eventually chose to participate fully in this research.

My research was greatly assisted by the staff of the Wellington Tenths Trust who helped me to gain access to the submissions of Te Ātiawa claimants that were presented to the

⁵⁶ See Ministry of Education (1990a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k).

Waitangi Tribunal during the Port Nicholson Block claims' hearings and to various other reports produced for the Trust in relation to other matters. Key staff provided me with guidance and access to appropriate data whenever requested. The Wellington Tenth Trust also encouraged me to liaise with its principal historian, who directed me to reports commissioned by the Trust, including a cultural impact report presented to the Wellington City Council and a submission made to the Wellington Regional Council by Mr Morris Love (2004). The Wellington City Archives, which stores many useful subsoil maps and plans, provided information about the culverting of the Waitangi Stream. The Wellington Regional Council's library staff, similarly, provided me with advice and access to scientific reports and journal articles related to the health and histories of local waterways, including the Waiwhetū and Waitangi streams. This allowed me to conduct more of the background reading required to inform my trust-building with key Te Ātiawa people.

Not all data were collected from sites located within New Zealand. Following the advice of Professor Ray Barnhardt (University of Alaska Fairbanks), I made contact with Mr Andy Hope and his colleagues from the Southeast Alaska Tribal College.⁵⁷ When I visited Alaska during August-September 2003, Mr Hope introduced me to the work of Tlingit historians including Dr. Richard Dauenhauer. Similarly, I met various primary, secondary, tertiary and community educators involved in the development of Tlingit education programmes, including a digital community-mapping project. Mr Hope also introduced me to the work of the Axe-Handle Academy (1997) and to PBE literature, which I had not previously encountered.⁵⁸ This work had a profound impact upon the design of this research.

Prior to my visit to Alaska, I also made contact with Dr. Rosita Worl, director of the Sealaska Heritage Foundation.⁵⁹ As a result of my communications with Dr. Worl and her ethnologist colleague Kathy Millar, I was hosted by the staff of the Foundation, who provided me with photocopies of journal articles relevant to Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian historical accounts of colonization and schooling. This enabled me to consider the historical experiences of Te Ātiawa in a wider international context. The Sealaska

⁵⁷ I was introduced to Professor Barnhardt by Professor Wally Penetito and Mr Turoa Royal during a World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium meeting, held at Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki, November, 2002. See W.I.N.H.E.C. (2003).

⁵⁸ Much of this work can now be viewed online. See Hope, A. (2008). *Axe Handle Academy Curriculum*.

⁵⁹ According to the Sealaska Corporation (2000: p.5) the Sealaska Heritage Foundation was established by the Sealaska Corporation in 1981 to 'perpetuate' the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian cultures and to 'preserve' and 'enhance' Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian languages.

Heritage Foundation also provided information about PBE initiatives it was resourcing, including the development of culturally-responsive teaching resources. This information, along with that provided by Andy Hope and his colleagues, gave me an extensive, international body of place-based literature to draw upon and this was very helpful when analyzing the primary and secondary data I collected in New Zealand.

Potential risks and ethical considerations

From the outset, I recognized that my past experience as a teacher and lecturer posed a potential risk.⁶⁰ Consequently, I formally advised Port Nicholson Block schools, and prospective interviewees, that I had taught in a number of local schools and that I had lectured primary and secondary teacher trainees at the Wellington College of Education. I also advised them that I was prepared to provide any requested follow-up information about myself if requested to do so. Ultimately, each Board of Trustees was able to decide, from an informed position, whether or not they would proceed any further in this research. My entry into participating schools was negotiated with local Boards of Trustees via letters detailing the research objectives, methodology and ethical considerations, once approval had been received from the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee.⁶¹

Cultural protocols were observed, where and when applicable, under the guidance of my research supervisors. In relation to my adherence to cultural protocols during my visit to Alaska, I followed the advice of Mr Andy Hope, Dr. Rosita Worl and Kathy Millar. I also followed the advice of Professor Barnhardt and familiarized myself with the *Guidelines for Research*, developed by the Alaska Federation of Natives (1993) and the *Guidelines for the Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous People*, developed by the Alaska Native Knowledge Network (2002). In terms of verification processes, constant dialogue with my research supervisors, research participants, professional historians (Māori and Pākehā), librarians, archivists and environmental scientists provided me with ongoing critiques of my interpretations of various primary and secondary data collected during the first phase of the research. This, in turn, allowed me to develop a defensible hypothesis to support the second phase of the data collection process.

⁶⁰ My views on the Treaty of Waitangi and the status of New Zealand histories in local schools were known because I had taught in the Port Nicholson Block area since 1991.

⁶¹ See *Letter One* in Appendix Fourteen: Table summarising my correspondence with Port Nicholson Block Schools. This letter was sent to Boards of Trustees inviting them to participate in this research and requesting permission to approach each school's Head of Department/teacher in charge (history). Also see Appendix Fifteen: Letter sent to the chairman and CEO of the Wellington Tenth Trust requesting the support of the Wellington Tenth Trust for the development of this research.

With so many claimant groups involved in the Port Nicholson Block claims, I was mindful that I needed to avoid allegations of capture or bias in favour of one claimant grouping or another.⁶² Mead's (1997) discussion of whenua tautohetohe (contested lands) reminded me of the implications of my familial ties to Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa. Because I have an older brother of Ngāti Toa/Ngāti Raukawa descent, I felt I should acknowledge that historical disputes between Ngāti Toa/Ngāti Raukawa and Te Ātiawa, about customary rights in the Port Nicholson Block and elsewhere, might constitute a perceived conflict of interest that prospective Te Ātiawa participants should know about. Te Awekotuku (1991: p.15), though primarily addressing Māori researchers, offered some helpful advice to researchers grappling with conflict scenarios. She wrote:

And often, although we [Māori researchers] discuss such matters amongst ourselves, the differences, hostilities and misapprehensions between specific tribal groupings can be as profound, as alienating, and as significant, as those between Māori and Tauwi (non-Māori). This would suggest that specific tribal research be restricted to researchers only from that tribe, thus evolving a form of active separatism that would move in ever decreasing circles ... Obviously, the ideal situation – highly trained, sensitive and motivated researchers of Māori descent working on Māori issues – is not yet a reality, and any proposed ethical guidelines should reflect this. However, in application of such a proposed code, such factors as inter-tribal differences, historical difficulties and background that may cause a conflict of interest, or clouding of perspective, should be recognized.

I followed Te Awekotuku's recommendation that any potential 'conflict of interest' should be 'recognized' and developed strategies to ensure that my data collection and analysis processes remained transparent. For example, both Te Ātiawa research guides and potential Te Ātiawa research participants were advised of my familial ties to Ngāti Toa and Ngāti Raukawa. As for any perceived 'risks' that may be posed by my Pākehā ethnicity, I note Cram's (pp. 56-59) observation:

It is important to bear in mind Mason Durie's (1996) exhortation that what is empowering for the community must be decided by that community ... In some ways I have avoided the debate about whether or not there is a place for Pākehā researchers within Māori communities. On the other hand, much of what I have discussed may also speak to Māori researchers. One bottom line is that it is up to a community to

⁶² For an overview of the history of this contested local landscape see Waitangi Tribunal (2003: pp. 13-44).

decide and they must be given the information with which to make an informed choice.

Having described how Te Ātiawa participants were enabled to make informed decisions, the following section discusses the methodology underpinning the second phase of the data collection and analysis process. This second phase of the research overlapped the first phase and sought to provide a deeper investigation of data already collected. It also allowed for the identification of additional sources of data.

Phase two methodology: Elite interviews

This phase of the data collection allowed two distinct groups of people to share their expertise, and some life experiences, without the research becoming an accumulation of life-stories. Subsequently, it consisted of two sets of 'elite interviews.' Elite interviews, according to Anderson (1990: p. 25), are directed at respondents who have 'a particular experience or knowledge about the subject being discussed.' Nine heads of department/teachers in charge (history) were interviewed, as were nine Te Ātiawa people from a pool of potential interviewees nominated by the Wellington Tenth Trust. Prior to each interview, participants were invited to complete pre-interview questionnaires to assist the development of a comprehensive profile of the research participants and their relevant life experiences.⁶³

General and specific prompt questions provided clear objectives for each interview, and served my own specific data collection and analysis requirements.⁶⁴ The incorporation of open questions generated a broad range of general information relevant to the study and these questions were sequenced in sections according to relevant themes and coded to allow for a smooth data analysis process.⁶⁵ All interviews were recorded with the assistance of a *Sony WM-D6C Walkman Professional Recorder* with *Sony ECM T140 Detachable Microphones* and transcribed by a person, unknown to the interviewees, who had signed a pre-prepared statement agreeing to respect the confidentiality of

⁶³ See Appendix Seventeen: Preliminary interview questionnaire completed by Te Ātiawa participants. Also see Appendix Eighteen: Preliminary interview questionnaire completed by heads of department/teachers in charge (history).

⁶⁴ See Appendix Nineteen: Interview schedule for interviews with heads of department/teachers in charge (history), including possible prompt questions. Also see Appendix Twenty: Interview schedule for interviews with local Te Ātiawa people, including possible prompt questions.

⁶⁵ Leading questions were avoided.

interviewees.⁶⁶ The second phase yielded significant data related to addressing the research problem described in chapter two. It also required the management of potential risks.

Ethical considerations in relation to the methodology and risk management strategies

A key objective was to avoid misrepresenting the participants' views. In recognition of the concerns of Te Awekotuku (1991), Bishop (1992, 1996), Ganguly (1992), Coyle (1996), Griffin (1996), Fine (1997), Cram (1997), Cunningham (1999), L. Smith (1999), G. Smith (2000), Penetito (2002), Pihama, Cram and Smith (2002), and Tolich (2002) regarding issues of colonial power imbalances, I strived to be transparent about my own position, particularly as a Pākehā researcher, whenever describing the research problem. I also adapted Huberman and Miles' (1995) model for participant involvement in data analysis to ensure the research participants were provided with every opportunity to verify the accuracy of their own interview transcripts and the quotes taken from these transcripts.⁶⁷ Full transcriptions were provided to all participants to assist them to participate in the data analysis and verification processes. The research participants were also provided with written acknowledgement that quotes from their interviews might be slightly edited or condensed for reasons of coherence or length, but only with their permission.⁶⁸

Additionally, each interviewee was provided with written acknowledgement that words which are 'normal' in spoken language but did not translate into written language, would need to be edited. To enable participants to have input into this translation process, I invited them to edit my translations during the final stage of verification process. All participants were informed that some quotes might need to be condensed but only for reasons of length and that this would only be done with their written permission. The interview dialogue was categorised into the theme group categories of place, power and pedagogy, reflecting the inter-connecting, thematic questions described above. As themes

⁶⁶ See Appendix Twenty-one: Confidentiality statement signed by the person employed to transcribe the interviews recorded during the research.

⁶⁷ See Appendix Thirteen: Model for participant involvement in data analysis and verification processes (phase two).

⁶⁸ See Appendix Twenty-two: Letter sent to local heads of department/teachers in charge (history), inviting their participation in this research, once permission had been granted by the teachers' schools to make such an approach. Also see Appendix Twenty Three: Letter sent to Te Ātiawa people, identified by the Wellington Tenth Trust, requesting their participation in this research. Additionally, see Appendix Twenty Four: Declaration of informed consent, completed by all interviewees prior to their participation in the research.

emerged, full quotes, as appropriate, were highlighted. Participants were invited to participate in, and to receive feedback on, the data analysis process.

Thus all participants were aware that all quotes and translations used would be cleared with the interviewees concerned.⁶⁹ As in the first phase of the data collection and analysis process, the ethical considerations for this phase of the research were informed by the ethical guidelines established by the New Zealand Association for Research in Education, the School of Education Research Committee (Victoria University of Wellington), the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee and the National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ) (2002).

My access to Te Ātiawa participants was first negotiated via formal correspondence with the Wellington Tenth Trust.⁷⁰ Māori cultural protocols were observed where and when applicable, under the guidance of Professor Wally Penetito and the principal historian of the Wellington Tenth Trust, following the Trust's acceptance of my formal invitation. Similarly, my access to heads of departments and entry into Port Nicholson Block secondary school sites was initially negotiated with each school's respective Board of Trustees and Principal.⁷¹ Like the interviewees, the names of the participating schools were withheld to protect them from identification. All interested parties were formally advised that the research would be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines established by the Human Ethics Committee of the Victoria University of Wellington, in consideration of the code of ethical and technical practice developed by NOHANZ.

The participants were invited to participate in the verification process and requested to sign a statement of verification to declare that they had been provided with adequate opportunity to participate in the verification process and that they had been quoted accurately.⁷² Confidentiality was respected and care was taken to ensure that the interview process did not hinder the various interviewees' professional and/or cultural obligations. Each school was offered funds towards payment for a relief teacher during the time of each interview. Similarly, Te Ātiawa interviewees were provided with koha, in the form of gift

⁶⁹ See Appendix Twenty-four.

⁷⁰ See Appendix Fifteen: Letter sent to the Chairman and CEO of the Wellington Tenth Trust requesting the support of the Wellington Tenth Trust for the development of this research.

⁷¹ See summary of *Letter One* in the table provided in Appendix Fourteen. This letter has been viewed by my supervisors and is available for further examination upon request.

⁷² See Appendix Twenty-five: Interviewees' statement of verification, sent to all interviewees with copies of interview transcripts and relevant quotations from their interviews in relation to specific questions.

vouchers, identical in monetary value to the cost incurred for payment of a relief teacher for the period of three hours. Koha was given to Te Ātiawa interviewees to acknowledge their generosity when choosing to share their personal time and knowledge with me. All interviewees and participating organizations were informed that an executive report would be produced for interviewees and their respective organisations to review critically, on completion of the research. Additionally, assurances were given that all recordings and transcripts would be destroyed, in accordance with the Victoria University of Wellington Ethics Committee guidelines, twelve months after the completion of the research.

The limitations of this research

This section describes barriers that were encountered during the data collection which limited the scope of this research. It also considers other perceived limitations.

Barriers posed by some Port Nicholson Block secondary schools and Crown officials

In relation to the difficulties I encountered while engaging with Port Nicholson Block secondary schools, to elicit their support and/or to acquire public information, readers should refer to my summary of correspondence with these schools (see Table 1, Appendix Fourteen). Likewise, to appreciate the obstacles I encountered dealing with Crown education agencies and the Minister of Education, readers should refer to the summary of my correspondence with the Ministry of Education, Secretary for Education, Minister of Education and the Chief Review Officer of the Education Review Office (ERO) (see Table 2, Appendix 16).⁷³

In summary, it took a long time for a number of state-funded schools to provide me with basic public information about the topics taught in their schools. The Ministry of Education, Secretary for Education, Minister of Education and Chief Review Officer (ERO) were adamant that they could not request public information on my behalf from these schools, and that it was the responsibility of the schools concerned to provide it, although I had advised them that these schools were withholding public information. In addition to my correspondence with schools, politicians and Crown officials, I followed the advice of my supervisors by attending a meeting of the Wellington Area History Teachers' Association (WAHTA), 30 June 2005. At this meeting I drew the WAHTA management committee's attention to the barriers I had encountered. I also told them that I had been

⁷³ Given the word limits imposed upon this thesis, I have not been able to include all of my correspondence in the appendices section. However, it should be noted that my supervisors have viewed this correspondence and that it is available for further examination if requested.

advised to consider using the provisions of the Official Information Act to obtain this information from schools, if that proved necessary. The WAHTA committee resolved, unanimously, to support my request for assistance and it emailed all WAHTA members (31 July 2005) to encourage members to forward this information to me.

In response to my second letter to Boards of Trustees and the WAHTA communiqué, I eventually started to receive a trickle of information, via email and telephone, from teachers of history and social studies. By the week ending 6 April 2006, one year after my second request for public information, only one of the twenty five Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (a private school) had not provided any information.⁷⁴ However, the information provided to me, frequently restricted to topic titles, was problematic. I could not be entirely certain that all history students undertaking the year 13 *Tudor-Stuart England (1558-1667)* option were not studying aspects of New Zealand history in their schools' internal special studies activities. One teacher, for example, told me that his students addressed the formation of the New Zealand 'welfare state (1891).'

Therefore, it is possible that New Zealand content was being covered in some of these schools' special studies. However, I repeatedly advised the schools, and WAHTA committee members, about my research objectives. They had every opportunity to advise me that they were addressing topics related to local iwi and/or other Māori histories etc. Additionally, the non-participating teachers who contacted me had enough time and resources to provide the relatively small amount of information I requested at this latter stage of the data collection.⁷⁵

The perceived limitations of a small-scale project

Because this research sought only the views of experts the findings must be viewed in this light. It cannot be assumed that a larger scale project, involving a wider pool of local Te Ātiawa people, or teachers, would generate similar results. One cannot assume that all local Te Ātiawa people, for instance, would be familiar with GIS technologies or possess the same high levels of ecological literacy as those who were interviewed. Irrespective of their age differences the Te Ātiawa interviewees often shared similar views on a range of matters. This was probably because most of them were involved in their tribe's Treaty

⁷⁴ I requested that they provide me with a list of all the social studies and history topics taught in their school.

⁷⁵ As I would later discover, see chapters eight and nine, time is a major ideological barrier to the potential formation of a place-based education partnership between local Te Ātiawa people and the nine schools who fully participated in this research.

claims process and/or possessed some form of 'expert' knowledge about the Port Nicholson Block area and/or had shared similar life experiences to acquire their expert knowledge.

It is also possible that the teacher participants and their employers, for whatever reasons, may have been more receptive to discussing aspects of local tribal history than other teachers/schools. However, I suspect that time constraints, in most instances, did deter other teachers/schools from participating in this research. It is possible that there are teachers of history and social studies, who couldn't participate in this research, who are much more knowledgeable about local tribal histories and ecologies of place than those who did participate in this research. Although it might be perceived that the number of people and schools involved in this research constitutes too small a sample, the nine schools that did participate still represented over a third (37%) of the 24 schools surveyed. Moreover, this research was intended to be a place-based, micro-history exercise. As Levy (2001: p. 116) suggested:

It may be that historians, like physicists, will have to learn to live with alternative and apparently incompatible concepts, the particles of the microhistorians coexisting with the long waves of the macrohistorians ... Whether or not this will happen, we ought at least to be asking ourselves, as some historians, sociologists and anthropologists have been doing, whether or not it is possible to link the microsocial with the macrosocial, experiences with structures, face-to-face relationships with the social system or the local with the global.

Therefore, the limited scale of this research may constitute its greatest strength, simply because it generated a depth of qualitative and quantitative data that may not have been attainable via a larger scale (macro) project.

Participant profile

This profile (below) introduces the teachers and provides a description of their personal and professional backgrounds. It also introduces the Te Ātiawa interviewees and describes their personal and professional backgrounds before comparing the two groups of participants.

The teacher participants and their schools

Before describing the teacher participants and their schools it is worth noting that the Education Review Office (27 July 2005) has advised that:

The Ministry of Education uses a decile rating system for school funding purposes. Each decile contains approximately 10% of schools. Schools in decile one have the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic backgrounds. Schools in decile ten have the lowest proportions of these students.⁷⁶

The schools participating in this research provided an equal mix of upper, middle and lower decile schools and represented a cross-section of local state, integrated (e.g. Catholic/Anglican) and private secondary schools. Those nine schools that fully participated in this research included an integrated girls' school, a state-funded girls' school, four state co-educational schools and two boys' schools.⁷⁷ Māori and Pacific Island students tended to comprise the majority of students in the lower range of decile schools, whereas Pākehā students generally constituted the majority of students in the middle and upper decile range of schools.

The first teacher interviewed was identified as Teacher One.⁷⁸ He was interviewed at his workplace on the 9th September 2004, between 11.15am and 2.15pm. Unlike all the other teachers interviewed, he was born in Wellington and attended secondary school during the period 1986-90. Teacher One had ten years teaching experience and was now Head of Department (history) in the upper decile boys' school he attended as a teenager.⁷⁹ In terms of ethnicity, Teacher One defined himself as a 'Pākehā New Zealander' without any iwi affiliations.

Teacher Two was Head of Department (social sciences) in another upper decile boys' secondary school. He was interviewed at his workplace on the 12th of November 2004, between 9.30am and 12.30pm. Like Teacher One, he, too, was also working in a school

⁷⁶ For more information about the school decile rankings system, see the Education Review Office website's *Commonly Asked Questions*.

⁷⁷ One of the participating schools was a private school.

⁷⁸ I have avoided using fictional names to further reduce potential speculation about the identities of the participants or the participating schools.

⁷⁹ I have withheld the exact decile rankings of each participating school to further protect their identities.

that was similar to the secondary school he attended. Teacher Two, like most of the other teacher participants, had not been born in Wellington. Born in Dunedin, he attended an affluent boys' school during the period 1985-89. Teacher Two had been a teacher for six years. In terms of ethnicity, he defined himself as a 'New Zealand European' without iwi affiliations.⁸⁰

Teacher Three was the Head of Department (social sciences) in a co-educational, lower decile state school. He was interviewed at his workplace on the 14th September 2004, between 11.45am and 2.45pm. Born in Christchurch, he was the only teacher interviewed who had attended a Christchurch secondary school located in a low socio-economic status area. Like Teachers One and Two, Teacher Three was teaching in a school not too dissimilar to the one he attended during the years 1987-91. Teacher Three had six years teaching experience and he defined himself as a 'New Zealander.' He had no iwi affiliations.

Teacher Four taught in the lowest decile school. She was interviewed at her work place on the 26th October 2004, between 10.10am and 12.10pm. An unanticipated interruption meant that she had to, temporarily, halt the interview and recommence at 2.00pm. The interview eventually concluded at 3.00pm. Teacher Four was the 'Teacher in Charge of History' at her school. She was born in Palmerston North and attended a secondary school in the Manawatū region during the period 1980-84. The school she attended mainly served students from low and middle socio-economic status households. She had been a teacher for twelve years and defined herself as a 'Pākehā.' Although she did not declare any iwi affiliations, her husband and children are members of a northern iwi and this, she acknowledged during her interview, influenced how she views her ethnicity and how she responded to interview questions.

Teacher Five was born in Christchurch and first attended a co-educational rural state secondary school in Canterbury. This school served students from middle/upper socio-economic status households. She later attended an affluent Christchurch girls' school during the period 1986-90. Teacher Five was the Head of Department of an integrated girls' school and she was interviewed at her workplace on the 9th November 2004, between 9.40am and 12.40pm. Teacher Five had been a teacher for six years. She considered herself to be a 'New Zealand European' without iwi affiliations. The school she taught in

⁸⁰ Most of the teachers confused their ethnic identity with nationality.

was a mid decile integrated school, serving students from a wide range of low, middle and upper socio-economic level households.

Teacher Six was also born in Christchurch. She attended a mid-upper income level, co-educational secondary school, in Christchurch, during the period 1983-87. Teacher Six was Head of Department (history, social studies and classical studies), and had taught for nine years. She considered herself to be a 'New Zealand European', without iwi affiliations. She was interviewed at her workplace on the 16th November 2004, between 9.15am and 1.15pm. Like Teacher Five, she taught in was a mid decile integrated school, serving students from a wide range of low, middle and upper socio-economic level households.

Teacher Seven was interviewed at her workplace on the 19th November 2004, between 9.08am and 12.08pm., the first of two teachers interviewed who was not born in New Zealand. She did not disclose any iwi affiliations. Though Teacher Seven was born outside of New Zealand, she did attend a secondary school in the wider Wellington region during the period 1976-80. Teacher Seven, during her sixteen years of teaching, had always taught in low socio-economic level schools. She was the Assistant Head of Department (social sciences) and Teacher in Charge of History at her school.

Teacher Eight was also born outside of New Zealand. He grew up in the Taranaki region and attended one of that region's rural, co-educational, state secondary schools during the period 1964-68. In terms of his sense of ethnicity, he described himself as a New Zealand European. He had no iwi affiliations. Teacher Eight was the most experienced teacher interviewed. He had taught for thirty three years and now held the title: 'Teacher in Charge of History.' Teacher Eight was interviewed at his upper decile, co-educational state school on the 23rd November 2004, between 10.05am and 12.05pm.

Like most of the other teachers interviewed, Teacher Nine was born in Christchurch. She attended an affluent girls' school during the period 1979-83, and was the Head of Department (social sciences) in an upper decile, co-educational, state secondary school. Teacher Nine had taught for thirteen years. Because of her partner and son, she indicated that she had familial affiliations to the Tainui confederation of tribes, located in the Waikato region, and the Ngāti Kahungunu iwi of the Wairarapa/East Coast regions. Teacher Nine was one of only two teachers who categorised themselves as Pākehā. She

was interviewed at her workplace on the 7th December 2004, between 9.06am and 12.06pm.

Five of the participating schools were located in Wellington, three were located in Lower Hutt, and one was located in Upper Hutt. This small but diverse group of schools included three boys' schools, two girls' schools and four state co-educational schools, not to mention three upper decile (8-10) schools, three middle decile (5-7) schools and three lower decile (1-4) schools. Only one of the teachers had attended a secondary school inside the Port Nicholson Block area. Five of the participants, however, had attended secondary schools in Christchurch, while eight had trained to become teachers at the Christchurch College of Education.⁸¹ Only one of the teacher participants had taught before the fourth Labour Government's (1988) *Tomorrow's Schools* reforms. This reflected a very different age range to that represented by the Te Ātiawa interviewees outlined below.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees

To protect the identity of each Te Ātiawa interviewee I have not disclosed their stated hapū or iwi affiliations.⁸² The following numbers of Te Ātiawa interviewees affiliated themselves to the following hapū (listed in no particular order): Ngāti Tuaho (1), Ngāti Rāhiri (2), Ngāti Tawhirikura (2), Ngāti Te Whiti (3), Te Matehou/Hamua (4), Puketapu (3), Otaurua (1), Parihaka (1), Manukōrihi (1), Ngāti Kura (1) and Ngāti Tama (1).⁸³ The following numbers of Te Ātiawa interviewees, similarly, affiliated themselves to the following iwi, located around New Zealand: Ngāi Tahu (1), Taranaki Tūturu (3), Ngāti Ruanui (3), Ngāti Mutunga (2), Ngāti Tama (3), Ngāti Raukawa (2), Ngāti Rārua (1), Ruapāni (1), Tūhoe (1), Ngāti Haupoto (1), Ngāti Toa (1), Ngāti Raukawa (2), Ngāti Wehiwehi (1), Ngā Ruahine (1).

Interviewee One was born in Stratford and attended an affluent Wanganui secondary school during the years 1963-66. He did not live in the Port Nicholson Block area as a

⁸¹ Until the mid-late 1990s, most New Zealand secondary school teacher trainees had to attend either the Auckland or Christchurch Colleges of Education. Wellington College of Education focused largely on primary and early childhood teacher education.

⁸² Like people of other ethnic/cultural/tribal groupings, it is possible for Te Ātiawa people to, simultaneously, affiliate to more than one social grouping and to do so for a wide range of reasons.

⁸³ Whether or not all Ngāti Tama people consider themselves to be a hapū of Te Ātiawa is another matter. Some Ngāti Tama people still consider themselves to be a separate iwi and they have challenged Te Ātiawa claims in the Port Nicholson Block area. See Waitangi Tribunal (2003: pp. 10-12, 42-44).

teenager. Interviewee One was a ‘researcher’.⁸⁴ Interviewee Two was born in Masterton and attended a rural Wairarapa secondary school that served mainly middle-upper socio-economic level households during the period 1963-68. He defined his occupation as executive officer.

Interviewee Three was the first Te Ātiawa person interviewed who was born within the Port Nicholson Block area (Lower Hutt). He attended a Māori Boy’s College in Southern Hawke’s Bay. This school has always served Māori households from a wide range of socio-economic levels. He described himself as an ‘environmental manager’. Interviewee Four was born in Greymouth but grew up in Lower Hutt. He attended an affluent Hutt Valley secondary school, during the early 1990s. To further protect Interviewee Four’s identity I have described his current occupation as ‘project manager’.

Interviewee Five was born in Lower Hutt and attended a secondary school in Wellington during the period 1956-60. The school she attended served girls from a wide range of socio-economic level households. To protect her identity I have described her current occupation as ‘researcher’. Interviewee Six was born in New Plymouth and attended the same secondary school that Interviewee Four attended, but during the period 1967-71. Interviewee Six defined his occupation as a ‘specialist advisor’. Interviewee Seven was born in Wellington and attended a Wellington secondary school during the period 1953-55. He was the only Te Ātiawa person interviewed who did not identify whakapapa links to another iwi. To protect Interviewee Seven’s identity, I have described his occupation as ‘project manager’.

Interviewee Eight was born in New Plymouth. She attended a rural, Taranaki secondary school during the period 1958-60 and described her occupation as a ‘manager/coordinator’. Interviewee Nine was born in Wellington and attended two well-known Māori Girls’ schools in the Manawatū and Hawke’s Bay regions during the 1940s. She was one of three Te Ātiawa research participants who had attended a rural secondary school.⁸⁵ Interviewee Nine was the oldest research participant and had ‘retired’ from fulltime employment.

⁸⁴ To protect his identity, I have not identified his specialist area.

⁸⁵ Interviewees Three, Eight and Nine attended rural schools.

The research participants' backgrounds: Some comparisons

Eight of the teachers attended a secondary school during the 1980s and the other in the 1950s. The oldest Te Ātiawa interviewee attended secondary school during the 1940s, three Te Ātiawa interviewees attended during the 1950s, and one attended in the mid 1960s. Interviewee Six attended secondary school during the 1960s-70s, Interviewee Three during the period 1987-92, and Interviewee Four from 1990-94. There was, therefore, at least one Te Ātiawa interviewee to represent each decade of the period 1940-2000. In relation to gender composition, 50% of the research participants were women. Whereas the majority of teachers (5) attended secondary schools that generally served upper income level households, only three Te Ātiawa interviewees had attended such schools. Two teachers had attended schools that generally served middle income level households, whereas another two teachers had attended schools that generally served lower income level households. Only two of the Te Ātiawa interviewees attended such schools, whereas four attended schools that generally served households from middle-income levels. Like the teacher participants, five Te Ātiawa interviewees attended secondary schools outside the Port Nicholson Block area.

However, two of them attended boarding schools and returned home during school vacations. Therefore, six of the Te Ātiawa interviewees had resided in the Port Nicholson Block area while they were teenagers, as opposed to only one of the teachers.⁸⁶ Most of the Te Ātiawa interviewees were employed in the professions.⁸⁷ They were also more familiar with the Port Nicholson Block environs than the majority of teachers. The next chapter illuminates the extent to which these two groups shared different and similar life experiences in relation to what and/or how they learned about history in their familial and secondary school settings.

⁸⁶ Six Te Ātiawa interviewees attended Port Nicholson Block primary schools.

⁸⁷ I had invited the Wellington Tenth Trust to nominate a pool of potential research participants with 'expert' knowledge. Most of these people, as it transpired, were from professional backgrounds. My sample reflects this. A project seeking the views of all local Te Ātiawa people may have produced different results.

Chapter four: The participants' experiences of cultural continuity and discontinuity

Introduction

This chapter examines the participants' experiences of learning about New Zealand, Māori and local histories in familial and secondary school contexts. It enables readers to consider how these experiences influenced the participants' responses to questions discussed in following chapters. It is important to do this because, as Hunter and Farthing (2004: p. i) found, New Zealand 'history teachers' beliefs, knowledge preferences, and practices are significantly influenced by their own school and university studies.'

This chapter begins by addressing responses to questions related to what and how the participants learnt about the past in familial and secondary school settings. This first section, therefore, allows comparisons to be drawn between the experiences of both groups of research participants. It also reveals which group experienced the highest levels of cultural discontinuity between what was/was not taught at home and school and examines how the participants were taught about local, Māori and New Zealand histories in their secondary school and familial settings. The second section of this chapter explores what and how the participants were taught about place in their respective secondary school and familial settings. With reference to both sections of this chapter, the findings, broadly, support the views of New Zealand academics like Adams, Clark, Codd, O'Neill, Openshaw and Waitere-Ang (2000: p. 131) who, below, have often drawn upon Bourdieu's (1974, 1977, 1984) theories about the relationship between 'cultural reproduction' and schooling, to argue that:

[New Zealand] schools are structured and organised in such ways as to support those children who already have the cultural capital as defined by the dominant group [e.g. Pākehā]. The cultural capital of the dominant group, embedded in the school as curriculum, attitudes, rules, traditions, appears 'natural', with all children seemingly having equal access to it. However, while there is a continuity between home and school for those possessing the cultural capital of the dominant group, there is a marked discontinuity or even conflict between home and school for those children [e.g. Māori] who do not possess the dominant cultural capital.

These findings also resonates with the work of G. Smith (1990: p. 188), below, who drew upon the Freire (1972) to support his interrogation of New Zealand schools:

Freire has argued that the maintenance of power and oppression by dominant groups is closely aligned to control over knowledge and learning. In his terms “the control over what is deposited as valid knowledge is employed to avoid conscientising the oppressed.” As such, maintaining power and control in schools is linked to the maintenance of power and control in the wider society. The control of the New Zealand curriculum by ‘Pākehā dominant state’ interests directly correlates with the inferior positioning of ‘Māori subordinate iwi’ interests, both in and outside of schooling. The exclusion of Māori language, knowledge and culture would not only mean accepting the unsavoury aspects of colonial history, it would also lead to an increased conscientisation of Māori people of their social, cultural, economic and political oppression.

Personal experiences of learning about the past

This section identifies which participants were inspired by their history teachers and family members to explore/value their senses of ethnicity and/or cultural heritage. An identical number of teacher participants and Te Ātiawa interviewees felt uninspired by their teachers (but for different reasons). The majority of research participants were inspired by their familial networks, but for different reasons and in very different ways. The following section also addresses those themes, issues or personalities relevant to the study of New Zealand history, that the research participants could recall learning about. It illuminates which research participants encountered stereotypical representations of individuals or groups associated with New Zealand history.

When the research participants were asked if they were taught New Zealand history at home, only one teacher recalled contradictions between what was taught at home and school, but three teachers advised New Zealand history wasn't valued in either setting. Five teachers recalled that their families were more interested in familial narratives than any official or textbook grand-narrative of New Zealand history. The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses indicated that they were far more concerned than the teachers by the cultural discontinuities they experienced in terms of what they were taught at home and school.

Five of the teachers did not recall studying any local history at school, while four teachers recalled studying some local history. Though most of the teachers did not study local histories at school, their families did enjoy discussing familial accounts and experiences of local (colonial) social history. All of the Te Ātiawa interviewees, however, complained that their ancestors were misrepresented or rendered impotent by acts of British colonisation. The Te Ātiawa interviewees experienced familial narratives associated with land loss and environmental changes that affected Te Ātiawa customary activities, prompting feelings of alienation. Their responses, accordingly, were more sombre in tone.

When asked to recall aspects of the Māori history they encountered at secondary school, eight of the teachers (and the two youngest Te Ātiawa interviewees) referred to Māori figures associated with events of the late nineteenth/twentieth centuries. Only one teacher felt that Māori were stereotyped during her lessons, whereas all the Te Ātiawa interviewees did. Some Te Ātiawa interviewees, for example, encountered teachers who divided nineteenth century Māori figures into a good Māori v. bad Māori dichotomy.⁸⁸ This was in stark contrast to what they were taught about being Māori at home. Most teachers explained that they learnt little or nothing about Māori history at home, and hence they did not encounter such discontinuities.

The questions asked of the interviewees are now canvassed. The first related to:

The extent to which the participants were encouraged by their history teachers to explore/ value their senses of ethnic identity and/or cultural heritage

The teachers' responses

Seven of the nine teachers stated that none of their history teachers encouraged them to explore or value their senses of ethnicity and/or cultural heritage. Only teachers Four and Seven encountered such teachers. They were, also, the only participants who identified 'traditional' (e.g. behaviourist) pedagogies as having benefited their identity formation processes.

⁸⁸ Not too dissimilar to the dichotomy described by Mc Creanor (2005:pp. 52-68).

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses

Seven Te Ātiawa interviewees responded in the negative to this first question. The two Te Ātiawa interviewees who responded positively were the youngest participants.⁸⁹

Interviewee Four was the most positive. He advised that his (year 11) history teacher was a trained historian who specialised in the history of New Zealand race-relations.

Interviewee Four liked this teacher because:

He encouraged me to be proud of my heritage whilst there was little encouragement around me [in that school]. It made me feel good that someone was genuinely interested in Māoritanga, who was not a Māori himself.

Interviewee Three, however, displayed mixed feelings. His teacher 'covered all bases after 1840, but not much before then', so he was disappointed that Māori histories were 'always tied to Pākehā histories.' Most Te Ātiawa interviewees (like most of their teacher counterparts) were not encouraged by their history teachers to explore or value their senses of ethnic identity or cultural heritage.

The following section illuminates other differences (and some similarities) in the life experiences of the two groups of participants. The question posed was:

Did a member of your family, whānau, hapū or iwi inspire you to learn about your familial history or to learn about local history?

The teachers' responses

Only three teachers offered a negative response to this question. They indicated that history was not discussed at home and that this had not bothered them.⁹⁰ Six teachers responded positively. Teacher One recalled how his father enjoyed 'story-telling' and had taught him local history 'during road trips around the greater Wellington region.' He also joined his father on 'bush walks' and enjoyed 'travelling with him to Kapiti Island.' He wrote: 'these experiences gave me an interest in where I'd come from and what had happened on the land where I lived.' Teacher Two, similarly, wrote that visiting places of family significance 'inspired' him and gave him a feeling of 'connectedness' he never felt

⁸⁹ Interviewees Three and Four attended secondary schools during the period 1987-94 after the introduction of the 'Taha Māori in the Curriculum' reforms (1989) which required all subject areas to incorporate a 'Māori' or 'bicultural' dimension (albeit, in an additive manner).

⁹⁰ Teachers Three, Five and Nine.

at school. Teacher Four also enjoyed hearing family members' 'story-telling' about her family because it involved 'expressing feelings' about past situations. Teacher Six, likewise, stated: 'my mother talked about her family history a lot. My father talked about local history.' When describing how this made her feel, she wrote: 'I really liked hearing the family stories. I liked knowing where my family came from and where and how they had settled in New Zealand.' Teacher Seven also enjoyed how her father 'told stories' about his family 'back home.' This made her 'proud' of her 'family history' and 'identity.' It gave her a sense of 'security.' Teacher Eight explained that because of his mother's 'pride in her ancestry' he 'had an interest in the subject of British history from a very early age.' The majority of teacher participants were encouraged by their relatives to reflect upon their senses of identity and cultural heritage. The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses were similar in some ways, but still indicated a subtle cultural gap.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses

Two of the older Te Ātiawa interviewees made a negative response to this question, but for very different reasons to those given by the teachers who responded in the negative.⁹¹ This outcome was anticipated by my hypothesis that older Te Ātiawa interviewees and their caregivers may have felt pressured by the state (via assimilation policies) not to value or explore their senses of Te Ātiawatanga (e.g. Te Ātiawa values/cultural capital). Interviewee Five, for example, responded with a 'nil' comment, but later acknowledged during her interview that:

We didn't tap into our grandfather's mātauranga Māori [Māori knowledge]. In Pākehā terms he was considered "illiterate." He was born in the 1870's, I think, and he only spoke te reo [the Māori language] until he went to school aged about 5 or 6 years old. Because he couldn't speak English he was sent straight back home and, apparently, he never went back to school again. So, for a while there, he could not speak any English. Later on, of course, he learnt some English, got married and then he decided to speak English. He also decided that everyone else in our family was to speak English because his wife was English ... I also think my grandfather, like so many other Māori, was trying to take up the tools of the Pākehā, like Apirana Ngata [a prominent Ngāti Porou politician of the early twentieth century] said we should ... I mean, if he was going to survive in tough times, and his family was very poor, he had little choice but to look to Pākehā system and to make his way in a Pākehā world. There were no subsidies for Māori farmers.

⁹¹ Interviewees Five and Nine.

Interviewee Nine felt she was prevented from learning te reo Māori and, consequently, exploring her senses of identity and cultural heritage more closely. She wrote: 'I attended hui with my parents, but I struggled to understand the language, so I could not understand what was being discussed.' Younger Te Ātiawa interviewees also offered responses that illuminated cultural gaps. Though most teachers shared experiences involving only their parents, the Te Ātiawa interviewees made frequent reference to aunts and uncles who, in turn, drew upon members of their wider genealogical networks to share historical knowledge. Interviewee Two typified this trend when he wrote:

In being taught and inspired to learn Te Ātiawa histories, key kaumātua [elders] used quite indirect methods such as just showing hospitality [manaakitanga] and whanaungatanga [family values emphasising inclusiveness] to people who I thought were strangers, but, in fact, were kin. Many of our older people wanted me to learn more in te reo Māori and through them. Not many bothered with written, non-Māori, histories of our people.

This statement illuminated another significant cultural gap. The Te Ātiawa interviewees often stressed that certain forms of familial knowledge were 'restricted' or 'special', whereas the teachers paid less attention to whether restrictions to such knowledge existed in their own families. The high status that Te Ātiawa interviewees' whānau (families) accorded to local histories represented another major cultural gap. Only Teachers One, Four and Six indicated that their families valued sharing local historical knowledge with them, whereas all of the Te Ātiawa interviewees' families did so. To conclude, the Te Ātiawa interviewees' whānau placed greater emphasis upon local histories than the majority of their teacher counterparts and they appeared much more alert to restrictions imposed on certain forms of familial historical knowledge than their teacher counterparts.

As the responses to the next question indicate, the Te Ātiawa interviewees were also more likely to experience a lack of cultural congruence when studying themes, issues or personalities relevant to New Zealand history.

Can you recall any themes, issues or personalities relevant to New Zealand history that you were taught at secondary school?

The Teachers' responses

Teachers Four, Eight and Nine, could not recall learning anything about New Zealand history at school. Although four of the remaining teachers could recall syllabus themes and/or topics, only two described, in any detail, the key personalities or issues they studied.⁹² To gauge further the quality of the history teaching encountered by the participants, a follow-up question was prepared to ask them whether they had encountered any stereotyping of individuals or groups associated with New Zealand history and, if so, how they felt about that. In response, Teacher Seven believed that she had encountered stereotyping and this had caused her 'confusion.' She wrote: 'Formal learning, at school, resulted in confusion. I was often bored. Māori were portrayed as helpless victims in texts. Local fieldtrips, however, brought Māori history to life.'

This was significant for three reasons. Firstly, Teacher Seven was the only teacher to state that stereotyping of Māori had occurred. Secondly, she was the only teacher who did not define herself as a New Zealander, New Zealand-European or Pākehā. Lastly, she noted a major difference between the monotony of textbook-driven lessons and the intrinsic motivation to learn that was sparked by place-based activities. Thus, the 'hidden curriculum' of the dominant culture was not as well 'hidden' from her as it was from her colleagues, who all affiliated to the dominant culture.

When these teachers stated that they did not enjoy studying New Zealand history, their displeasure was related to pedagogy, rather than to stereotyping or teacher topic preferences. Teacher Six, for example, complained: 'I remember being incredibly bored with New Zealand history, particularly in Year 13, but that had a lot to do with the teaching methods.' To conclude, most teachers felt they had not encountered any stereotyping during the teaching of New Zealand history, and most were satisfied in relation to what topics were taught, if not how they were taught. This was in stark contrast to the Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses.

⁹² Teachers Two, Three, Six and Seven.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses

Three Te Ātiawa interviewees could not recall studying any themes, issues or personalities relevant to New Zealand history. However, their responses to other similar questions, posed later in this questionnaire and/or during their interviews, suggested that they had learnt about some aspects of New Zealand history whilst attending secondary school. When other Te Ātiawa interviewees responded to this question, their responses were very critical of what they had/had not been taught or how they were taught. Interviewees One, Two, Three, Four, Eight and Nine, in particular, condemned what they saw as the biased Pākehā accounts of New Zealand history they encountered.⁹³ In relation to how schools reproduce the cultural capital of the dominant culture, the composition of this group is significant because it included interviewees who attended secondary schools during every decade during the period 1940 - 2000. Interviewee Nine, who attended secondary during the 1940s, said that all she had learnt about New Zealand history was that 'Hone Heke cut down the flagpole!' Meanwhile Interviewee Eight, who attended secondary school during the 1950s, could only recollect that:

The history that I was taught was always to do with overseas, nothing in New Zealand. I wasn't interested, really, probably because it was all taught through a textbook. At the time it went through one ear and out another!

Interviewee One, who attended secondary school during the early 1960s, also felt that his teachers were obsessed with European histories:

I learnt very little New Zealand history ... There was no specific New Zealand history taught, it was more geography. Any New Zealand history that was taught was ethno-centric and I felt unmotivated to learn.

Interviewee Two, who attended secondary school during the mid 1960s, stated:

I learnt a lot about the wars in the north and particularly in the Waikato but little of the wars in Taranaki ... In the histories taught to me at school, it seemed that the key Māori players, the fighting chiefs, were portrayed as both blood-thirsty and courageous ... It was later at university, though, that I learnt more about equally

⁹³ Interviewee Four did enjoy studying aspects of New Zealand history during year 11-12 classes, but was disappointed by the treatment of the (year 13) *New Zealand in the nineteenth century* topic: [See chapter five]

complex characters such as Bryce and Fox in the Taranaki conflicts and of course my own tūpuna [ancestors] Te Whiti, Tohu Kākahi and Tītokowaru and the strong sense of the “benefits” of colonisation and the lack of ability of the Māori people to see and take advantage of these “benefits”. Māori seemed to remain a “primitive people” until modern times in the minds of many historians. Taranaki was regarded as one of the most primitive.

The tendency of some history teachers to address inter-racial conflict in an ethnocentric manner may have left the research participants vulnerable to a process that Walker (1987: p. 29) described as the ‘recycling’ of ‘historical myths’ that portray Māori people as ‘blood thirsty natives’ rather than ‘human beings.’ Such an intergenerational ‘recycling’ process, can be seen in the comments of Interviewee Three who attended secondary school during the period 1987-92:

I learnt that Captain Cook discovered New Zealand, that Te Kooti was a rebel and that Māori owed everything they had to the Pākehā. I have always been stereotyped and I still am to this day. I blame a wanting curriculum and unethical journalism.

Clearly, the Te Ātiawa interviewees felt more marginalised than their teacher counterparts by what they were and were not taught about ‘their’ country’s history at secondary school. The following section explores the extent to which the research participants experienced continuities and/or discontinuities between familial and schooling accounts of New Zealand history.

Did what you learnt at secondary school, about New Zealand history, differ from what you learnt from your family/whānau, hapū and iwi?

The teachers’ responses

Only one of the teachers indicated that what they learnt at home (about New Zealand history) differed from what they had been taught at secondary school.⁹⁴ Every Te Ātiawa interviewee, however, indicated that what they were taught at home was contradicted by, or differed from, what they were taught at school. Teachers Three, Six and Eight believed their families and teachers accorded little value to New Zealand history, while six teachers

⁹⁴ Interviewee Four, from a ‘Christian’ family background, wrote ‘the public history and general ideas of the school system contradicted specific private family histories.’

indicated that their families were much more interested in familial histories than official or textbook accounts of New Zealand history.⁹⁵ This latter stance resonates with Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998: p. 116) who observed that many 'white' Americans were actively engaged with preserving knowledge of their familial past, downplaying the 'official history' they were taught at school:

Respondents rarely mentioned the triumphal national narrative favoured by those who write textbooks or advocate history as a means of teaching patriotism and civics. ... Most white Americans kept their historical narratives focused on the family; when they discussed public events they usually personalised them.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses

Whereas the teachers' responses to this question were characterised by brief and 'objective' statements, the Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses were detailed and subjective. Their responses were much more passionate in tone. Clearly, they had experienced narratives of the past in familial settings that challenged, or differed, from the grand-narratives of the dominant culture which had been regurgitated by their teachers. For example, Interviewee Two wrote:

At school, the histories were quite limited, in particular almost nothing was taught about Taranaki history. Of the local Wellington personalities, only Te Rauparaha had featured but he was stereotyped as a blood-thirsty and cunning chief who held sway over large parts of the country. There was little taught of how the people lived or how they subsisted. The usual pieces about the 'great migration' and broad tribal and waka structures etc were covered. However, from my whānau I learnt about how and where people lived, what were important places and who were the people of those places.

Rosenzweig and Thelen's research suggests that these Te Ātiawa people's experiences were not unique to indigenous people groups in New Zealand. They noted (pp. 167-168) that their Oglala Sioux respondents at the Pine Ridge reservation (South Dakota) also reacted more passionately to questions about discontinuities than their 'white' counterparts:

⁹⁵ Teachers One, Four, Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

In contrast to the indifference with which white respondents viewed textbook narratives of American history, the Sioux spoke with the passionate interest of the outside critic. In fact, the Oglala Sioux sometimes seemed to enjoy giving our interviewers their take on the cherished symbols of Americana.

All of the Te Ātiawa interviewees emphasised that *how* they were taught New Zealand history at school provided the biggest discontinuity, indicating that process is more significant than content. Interviewee Eight typified this pattern when she wrote:

History throughout secondary school was always taught through the textbook. Whereas what we learnt through our hapū and iwi was always taught through oral and “hands-on” activities. We learnt more, actually, through that oral and “hands-on” process.

Her response has resonance with Rosenzweig and Thelen’s survey, especially their (p. 170) report that:

The Oglala Sioux, like black, white and Mexican American respondents, valued historical evidence that came out of “personal accounts from grandparents or other relatives” and “conversations with someone who was there.” But the Sioux sharply differentiated between oral and non-oral sources. White Americans, on average, rated oral sources 16 percent more trustworthy than films, books, museums, college professors, and High school teachers; the Sioux gave them a 42 percent higher ranking. Put another way, Pine Ridge residents thought the gap between the value of the two sets of sources was more than twice as large as white Americans did.

Interviewee Four identified the mechanical nature of his secondary school and the pedagogical constraints imposed by his school’s timetable as being principally responsible for his experiences of cultural discontinuity:

In class, personal aspects, i.e. histories of the Taranaki region, were not focused on in-depth when in comparison to whānau and hapū teaching. I believe it was due to the fact that the school history topics are a broad overview with some aspects of detail integrated when focusing on a particular theme and as a result of time constraints, only being dealt with to the detail allowed within the timeframe allowed. Whereas the whānau and hapū teachings are very focused on specific themes and

characters and are continuously revisited and discussed in detail until the student is able to grasp a full understanding of it.

His observation was particularly significant because the teachers also felt (see chapters seven and eight) that timetabling constraints would pose one of the biggest barriers to the potential development of a PBE partnership between their schools and local Te Ātiawa people. Furthermore, Interviewee Four, like Interviewees One and Two before him, identified the lowly status accorded to local/regional histories at school as constituting a major source of cultural discontinuity.

Describe what you remember learning at secondary school about the key issues, themes and individuals associated with the history of the ‘local’ area (and how you felt as a result)

The teachers’ responses

Five of the teachers (teachers Two, Five, Six, Eight and Nine) could not recall studying any local history at secondary school. Teacher Six’s response typified the nature of these teachers’ responses. She said: ‘I remember very little or no local history being taught.’ None of these teachers shared any comments or feelings about the fact that they had not been taught about local history, whereas those teachers who had learnt about aspects of local history spoke fondly of their experiences. For example, Teacher One wrote:

In year 12 history, I did an individual research assignment where I chose to study the history of roads in Wellington! I wanted to know where the Māori tracks were, where the reclamation of land was and I looked at Bragg’s photos of Wellington and the Wairarapa. My study of Wellington’s roads was probably inspired, even driven, by my dad rather than school. I was interested in that stuff because it had happened around us in the past.

Likewise, Teacher Three stated:

We completed a case study on the history of Akaroa. We looked at the local iwi and European histories. I really enjoyed it. This may have been because it was [at] a camp.

Teacher Four advised:

I learnt about local European history, the ‘founding’ of the area, about the founding of central government and the results of it for our area. Being able to see evidence, I felt an attachment with that history and I understood why things had happened.

Teacher Seven also enjoyed learning about her community’s history:

It’s very hard to recall, in detail. It was mostly to do with Te Rauparaha in social studies and history. In English, it was the local poets, like Patricia Grace – who was a local. Also, we studied themes of migration, change and social/economic factors leading to a change in our [Porirua] community. I felt rather pleased that someone of such importance, i.e. Te Rauparaha, was a local!

If these teachers were positive about what they learnt about their local histories at school, their Te Ātiawa counterparts were less so.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees’ responses

Some of the Te Ātiawa interviewees could not recall studying much about local histories at school. Those who could remember certain aspects were critical of what was taught or avoided. Interviewee One, for example, wrote: ‘I don’t remember learning anything about the Wellington area that had a Māori focus. It was disarming and devaluing. It ignored who we [Te Ātiawa] were and the value of our mātauranga Māori.’

Similarly, Interviewee Two stated:

I learnt about Te Rauparaha and his battles with other Māori of this area, but little was taught about them or who their important people were. In fact, very little was taught about the local Kahungunu, Rangitāne, Ngāti Ira or their leaders. With Te Rauparaha, the Wairau incident always seemed to dominate and little was said of his later years and Governor Grey’s actions against him. It was strange that local people of either Wairarapa or Wellington, like the people of Taranaki, did not rate a mention. I guess the materials used by teachers were standardised and that local variations were simply not included or allowed for.

Thus, Interviewees One and Two felt that their Te Ātiawa ancestors were rendered invisible by their history teachers when local histories were addressed in class. The following section now revolves around a question developed to elicit whether research

participants experienced any discontinuities between home and school in relation to what they learnt about local history.

Did what you learnt at secondary school, about local history, differ from what you have learnt from your family/whānau, hapū and iwi?

The teachers' responses

Teacher Three simply stated 'I didn't really learn anything from my family that I can remember' while Teacher Seven explained 'My family were first generation immigrants.' They indicated, however, that they held no concerns about what little their families had taught them. Although Teacher Four's teachers focused her attention upon local forms of 'European' government, her family still preferred to recall 'stories about extended family members and their reputations around the region.' Teacher Six advised that, though she did not study local history at her Christchurch secondary school, members of her family and neighbourhood did share accounts of local history with her.

Such statements, accordingly, suggest that some of the teachers' families were interested in local or familial histories. However, the evidence suggests that the teachers felt nowhere near as alienated from their secondary schools as their Te Ātiawa counterparts, as a result of teacher representation, or avoidance, of local histories.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses

In some respects, the finding mirrors the research of Ronsenzweig and Thelen (1998; pp. 147-177), whose account of their Oglala Sioux survey respondents indicated that they shared similar feelings of alienation. Like the Oglala respondents, the Te Ātiawa interviewees shared a collective sense of identity bound to an ancestral landscape. This sense of attachment to place was often characterised by feelings of marginalisation and injustice that was quite different to anything the teachers described. Keenan's (2003: p. 246-248) analysis assists with understanding this phenomenon:

Turbulent change, substantially arising from colonisation affected Māori at every level of society in the Nineteenth Century. Underpinning this was the transformation of the land into which Māori society and culture had long been firmly anchored. Māori people responded to change in many ways, but perhaps most markedly by reaching back into ancient knowledge in order to emphatically locate a presence and legitimacy on the land ... When recalling the past it is customary for Māori to

mediate history through certain traditions, always with a strong sense of identity, legitimacy, and mana to the fore. These mediated histories were always firmly located in specific historic landscapes, though these landscapes may have undergone marked and permanent change, and may even have slipped from the ownership of the people. In a sense, such assertions of identity and mana were as important as the history of how that land was changed and even lost.

Throughout this research, Interviewee One claimed that the spatial constructs of his (Pākehā) history teachers undermined the legitimacy of Te Ātiawa claims to ancestral lands. McLean's (1996: pp. 46-47) work helps put this into a framework that assists understanding:

Histories and geographies are political constructions created in ideological discourse. The 'past' and 'present' are constructions of the present and represented in ways that construct or deconstruct various competing identities. Cultural groups (including nation states) define themselves according to a space. This means that representations of these spaces are always contested ... Various groups use ideas such as space and time to create or reproduce identities ... By marking out boundaries and naming the place within the boundary, the space is acquired by a group who claim some right of occupation. The boundaries marked by the 'Us' group are also used to define and exclude those 'Others' who may seek to undermine the hegemony of the 'Us' group. This kind of *spatialized politics* refers to a 'legitimacy to speak' that is defined in and by social constructions of space.

Interviewee Two was another interviewee who felt marginalised, and alluded to the existence of 'spatialized politics' when he stated that 'the difference in terms of what I was taught [at home and school] about local history could not have been more starkly different!' Interviewee Six, likewise, complained that 'there was no local history taught' at his secondary school during the 1960s-70s. Interviewee Four, who attended the same school during the 1990s, wrote: 'I learnt far more about local history from my whānau and hapū. I did not learn anything about local Māori history at secondary school!'

Other Te Ātiawa interviewees also enjoyed learning about local tribal histories of place during walking expeditions and/or motor vehicle journeys. However, these sorts of learning experiences were not unique to the Te Ātiawa interviewees. Teachers One, Two, Three, Four, Six, Seven and Nine also enjoyed traveling on foot over the historical

landscapes concerned, or listening to stories about historical landscapes whilst in a car with loved ones.

Because customary food-gathering activities (e.g. the collection of shellfish and tuna) and hākari (feasts) were also frequently mentioned by the Te Ātiawa interviewees, their accounts of learning about local histories often conjured mental images of smelling, touching and/or tasting history. This tendency has resonance with Penetito's (2001; pp. 52-65) observation that Māori eating habits, including tastes and preferences, contribute to the social construction and maintenance of Māori identity (just as the eating habits of other ethnic groups might contribute to their identity formation processes). However, only one teacher (Teacher Four) referred to food or food gathering activities. During her responses to the questionnaire and interview questions, she repeated a story of how her father had killed a 'Captain Cooker' (wild pig) and then told her that the dead pig was descended from pigs introduced to New Zealand by early Pākehā explorers like Captain James Cook. Henceforth, Teacher Four associated the taste and smell of pork with one of New Zealand's most famous historical figures.

Though the majority of participants enjoyed learning about local histories via physical or mobile learning experiences (and had learnt more about local histories at home than school), it was clear that the teachers did not share the same feelings of cultural discontinuity as the Te Ātiawa interviewees. The latter group of participants experienced familial narratives of place that challenged the dominant culture's spatial narratives of place, conquest and national identity. The evidence suggests, moreover, that some of the teachers' families and the participants' schools tended to ignore local Māori histories of place. Their portrayal of the past, in turn, rendered their communities' landscapes essentially empty of indigenous peoples' histories - thus *terra nullius*.

What issues, themes and individuals do you most remember learning about in relation to 'Māori history' at secondary school, and how did you feel as a result of this learning?

The teachers' responses

Six of the nine teachers could not easily recall what they had learnt about Māori individuals, issues or themes at secondary school.⁹⁶ Teacher Three, for example, wrote: 'I

⁹⁶ Teachers One, Three, Four, Five, Eight and Nine.

don't remember doing any 'Māori' history, but I did study New Zealand race-relations.' He had completed a year 11 course that focused on twentieth century Māori-Pākehā Race-relations, and he had been exposed to some aspects of Māori history. Teacher One stated: 'there was no Māori history that I can remember at all, except for those that I encountered through my own research.' However, he later indicated during his interview that he had studied local Māori people in relation to a year 12 research project. Teacher Four said she could not remember learning anything, whereas Teacher Five blamed the colonial history of the Christchurch area for what little she learnt about Māori history: 'I learnt very little, it was Christchurch in the 1980s! It was very conservative. We did not do New Zealand or Māori history at school. Now I feel disadvantaged.'⁹⁷

Unlike seven of the Te Ātiawa interviewees who recalled learning about warrior figures of the early-mid nineteenth century (e.g. Te Rauparaha, Hongi Hika and Hone Heke), eight of the teachers (and the two youngest Te Ātiawa interviewees) recalled studying historical Māori figures of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁹⁸ Teacher Two, for example, could remember Māori leaders like 'Maui Pomare, Peter Buck and Sir Apirana Ngata.' Teacher Six recalled learning about 'Te Puea and Whina Cooper.' She felt 'quite disinterested' in these prominent women leaders, an outcome of 'the teaching methods rather than the content.' Teacher Seven, meanwhile, recalled 'Māori responses to the problems of population loss, poor health, low standards of living and a lack of educational achievement.' She felt that Māori were always portrayed as the 'victims of Pākehā [teacher] stereotyping' because 'what was taught was rather depressing, due to the focus on negative aspects, only.' The Te Ātiawa interviewees shared similar concerns to Teacher Seven.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses

Only Interviewee Four shared positive feelings about his (year 11) study of twentieth century Māori/Pākehā Race-relations:

There were a number of themes and personalities that related to my [Te Ātiawa] people. Of course I enjoyed learning about them and the issues of their time ... It

⁹⁷ Teachers who came from Christchurch frequently blamed the colonial history of their region and the monoculturalism of Christchurch schools and tertiary institutions for their lack of knowledge about the diversity of Māori histories (see the barriers identified by the teachers described in chapter eight).

⁹⁸ Most of the Te Ātiawa interviewees were older than Interviewees Three and Four (and the majority of their teacher counterparts). Consequently, their learning experiences were informed by earlier curriculum documents.

was empowering and it was good to see a better understanding, within the classroom [e.g. amongst his Pākehā classmates] of our Māori ancestors and their deeds.⁹⁹

Later, during his interview, Interviewee Four complained about the ‘noble-savage’ stereotyping of nineteenth century Māori leaders (see his comments in chapter five for further detail). Older Te Ātiawa interviewees were also critical of the portrayal of nineteenth century Māori leaders, but for different reasons. Interviewee One, for example, wrote:

I learnt that Pākehā were the “winners” and that their culture was of the greatest worth. We learnt about Hone Heke and Te Rauparaha and the negative aspects were always emphasized. We knew, however, that these notable leaders were given grudging respect. We also learnt that there were “good” Māori and “bad” Māori and that the Treaty of Waitangi made us all one people and that, therefore, we should value the Pākehā way [of doing things].

His allegations regarding a ‘good’ and ‘bad’ Māori dichotomy aligned with McCreanor’s (1989) study of Pākehā racial stereotypes. McCreanor (p. 93) observed that:

Māori people fall into two groups – good and bad. Good Māori fit without a fuss into Pākehā society. Bad Māori fight against it or otherwise refuse to fit in. Good Māori are mostly old, passive, polite and dignified, and tend to live in the countryside or are quietly successful members of the business or professional classes. Bad Māori are mainly young, urban, aggressive and demanding.

Interviewee One’s claim that he was taught ‘the Treaty of Waitangi made us all one people’ accords with McCreanor’s (p. 92) identification of a ‘one people’ argument or ‘theme’ emerging in his research data. This was characterised by his Pākehā respondents’ shared belief that ‘unless we forget our differences and unite as a single grouping called New Zealanders or kiwis, racial tension will continue to grow.’ Interviewee Two’s response to the question suggested that he, too, had confronted Pākehā myths about bad (or violent) Māori when studying New Zealand history:

The key themes were about major fighting chiefs in war and their large altercations with other tribes, particularly where they were the aggressor with the object of

⁹⁹ See chapter five.

gaining more land. The musket wars certainly predominated as the key period of history. Some information and learning centred around the 'great migration' and the voyaging ability of Māori to cross great tracts of ocean. The histories of the musket wars left a feeling that Māori were ruthless in plundering land to acquire it and settle their people and that the conquered people [e.g. Moriori, Maruiwi that followed the arrival of the great fleet] were enslaved forever and then had no human rights.¹⁰⁰

Consequently, Interviewee two's response recalls the durability of the 'Moriori myth', recycled by New Zealand schools and the mass media, since its inception. At the turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries, leading members of the Polynesian Society, particularly Elsdon Best and Stephenson Percy Smith, were preoccupied with explaining the origins of the Māori race. It was their flawed research methodology that led to the development and entrenchment of the Moriori myth. This myth, reflecting the prevailing social Darwinist ideas of that time, alleged that New Zealand had firstly been settled by an aboriginal (pre-Māori) people, called Maruiwi or Moriori. These primitive people, according to the myth, were thought to have most likely been of Melanesian descent.

Moriori, or Maruiwi, according to the myth makers, were exterminated by the more warlike and technologically-advanced (eastern Polynesian) ancestors of today's Māori people. These early ancestors of Māori were alleged to have arrived, simultaneously, in a great fleet. The durability of the Moriori myth should not be underestimated. It continues to be used by social commentators to legitimate the alienation of Māori from their ancestral lands etc. As Clayworth (2001: p. 172) wrote:

The authority imparted by the recognition [of the Moriori myth] within the colony was added to by the fact that at least some overseas scholars acknowledged that Smith and Best were experts in their fields ... By the 1910s, both Best and Smith had good reputations not only in scholarly circles, but also among the interested general public who saw the idea of the Moriori myth being spread through their schools, media and literature. They saw local experts tended to agree with the idea and that recognised authorities, such as Smith and Best, promoted this version of the past.

¹⁰⁰ For a more thorough analysis of the development and limitations of the ideas underpinning the Moriori myth, see Clayworth (2001) *An innocent and chilly folk: The development of the idea of the Moriori myth*. Also, see King (1989) *Moriori: A people rediscovered*.

When considering the ideology underpinning the creation of the ‘great fleet’ myth and the extermination of a supposed early ‘aboriginal’ people given the same name as Chatham Islands’ Moriori (e.g. by blood-thirsty Māori warriors), Howe’s (2003: pp. 166-167) emphasis on the durability of social Darwinian notions of ‘progress’ is pertinent. In explicating the mythology that was often used to legitimate Pākehā teachers’ constructs of national identity, he asserted that:

[Stephenson Percy] Smith’s great fleet (myth) offered much more than a solution to an esoteric problem of nineteenth-century archaeology. It also came to lie at the heart of colonial justification of and redemption for the act of colonisation itself ... That Māori had caused the extinction of Moriori and were now in turn being supplanted by European colonists was nobody’s fault, but simply the way it must be.

To conclude, unlike the majority of teachers, most Te Ātiawa interviewees were deeply disappointed by what they were taught about Māori history at secondary school. What they did learn often implied Pākehā racial supremacy.

Did what you learnt about Māori history at secondary school differ to what you learnt from your family/whānau, hapū and iwi?

The teachers’ responses

Six of the teachers provided very little information in relation to this question. Four of them (teachers Two, Seven, Eight and Nine) wrote that they had learnt no Māori history at home. Teacher Three wrote: ‘I learnt nothing about Māori history from home.’ Similarly, Teacher Five stated: ‘I didn’t learn anything about Māori history from my family. I learnt about my own ancestry, Scotland etc.’ Teacher Six, likewise, wrote ‘not really, it [family discussions about history] was much more about family stories in relation to Māori history.’ However, she did not elaborate on the nature of these relationships or explain whether these family stories about Māori were described to her as positive or negative experiences. Teacher Four provided the most information when she wrote:

I learnt a little at home about tribal relationships within the area and what had happened previously to gain the present circumstances. I also learnt of Pākehā/Māori relationships of previous family members. This was all learnt at home, none of it was learnt at school.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees, meanwhile, were clear that they had encountered cultural discontinuity.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses

Interviewee Seven typified most of the Te Ātiawa responses when he wrote that: 'there was no Māori history at school.' He did, however, encounter Māori histories at home. Interviewee One simply noted that his home and secondary school 'were two different worlds!' Whereas none of the teachers consciously linked their responses to the development of their moral sensibilities, some Te Ātiawa interviewees linked their familial experiences of learning about Māori history to tikanga (customary rules and obligations), and thus to their values systems. Interviewee Two, for example, claimed that learning about the teachings of his ancestors constituted another worldview that was different to anything he encountered at school:

From the whānau side of things I gradually learnt another whole worldview, particularly from the actions and teachings of Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu [Kākahi], but also my tipuna [ancestor] Wi Tako Ngātata, as a member of the legislative council. There were not only large amounts of history about the heke [migrations] to Wellington, but, also, how we've retained our links to Taranaki, Ngā Motu [New Plymouth], Waitara and Parihaka.

Interviewee Two, therefore, connected the teachings of his ancestors with his tribe's history of land-loss and the development of his own 'moral compass.' Interviewee Four's response also illuminated another experience of discontinuity shared by all Te Ātiawa interviewees at different stages of this research:

'I learnt a lot more about personalities outside my region at school. I learnt more about my ancestors within our region, from my whānau and hapū.'

The discontinuity described by Interviewee Four connects with McLean's earlier description of 'spatialized politics' and further illuminates the intersection that exists between the issues of place, power and pedagogy around which this research rotates. Interviewee Eight identified pedagogical preferences as another form of discontinuity (something frequently identified by the Te Ātiawa interviewees) when she stated:

No Māori content was mentioned and, as previously stated, through whānau, hapū and iwi teaching, it was much easier to take stuff in, and to absorb historical information, because it was always taught orally and in a “hands-on” way.

Interviewee Eight, likewise, believed that ‘at school, everything was mainly gained from books, whereas at home it was gained from daily hapū activities and from contact with our kamātua [male elders] or kuia [female elders].’ Because it was anticipated that some participants might identify cultural activities as sources of discontinuity between home and school, the following section compares how respondents were taught about the past by interacting with the landscapes and flora/fauna of the places they inhabited or resided in.

Personal experiences of learning about place in relation to the past

Two questions, designed to elicit whether the participants’ relatives or history teachers had used local landscapes to teach them about the past and/or their senses of identity, underpin this section. Most teachers indicated that their families had not used the local landscape to teach them about such matters, whereas all of the Te Ātiawa interviewees’ relatives did use landscapes as pedagogical props to teach about the past. Furthermore, the Te Ātiawa interviewees’ responses were different from those of the teachers who had responded in the affirmative given that they consistently referred to traditional food-gathering activities.

Most of the research participants did not encounter teachers who used landscapes as pedagogical props. Even when participants did encounter such teachers, it appears that their teachers did not use landscapes in ways that were free of ideological assumptions regarding notions of progress. Furthermore, when the research participants were asked if their families had used local wildlife (and native flora) to teach about the past and how this impacted upon their senses of identity, only two teachers responded in the affirmative, whereas all of the Te Ātiawa interviewees did so. Moreover, none of the research participants encountered history teachers who had drawn upon wildlife or flora to teach about the past.

Did members of your family/whānau, hapū, iwi use the local landscape to teach you about the past? If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had on your sense of identity

The teachers' responses

The families of five teachers (teachers Two, Three, Seven, Eight and Nine) did not use local landscapes to teach them about the past. This was in stark contrast to all of the Te Ātiawa interviewees. The four teachers who did answer this question in the affirmative, however, provided responses that, at first glance, appeared similar to those given by the Te Ātiawa interviewees. Teacher Five recalled 'family adventures' which helped her to appreciate the 'physical hardships' her early settler ancestors experienced. Teacher Six also stated that her relatives used the landscape to teach her about her early settler ancestors. They did this by showing her 'the places they had lived' and 'the places where they walked over the Bridle Path [from Lyttelton to Christchurch].' Teacher One enjoyed 'walking the historical landscape.' He recalled: 'Walks in Wilton's bush, walks up Colonial Knob [a peak overlooking the Porirua Basin/Cook Strait area], walking on Kapiti Island, driving along Wellington's earliest roads, with dad, and watching 'Landmarks' on TV!'

Meanwhile, Teacher Four felt that growing up on a farm had 'fuelled' her historical interest in local landmarks and her interest in relics:

I was taken, by relatives, to a pā [fortified village] site to consider 'how' a pā was built where a battle had occurred. Growing up on a farm in the Manawatū, we kids would fossick through old gear and make up stories as to how the equipment was used.

Despite some similarities, these teachers' responses were still very different to the Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses

The Te Ātiawa interviewees often emphasised the significance of traditional food-gathering activities when learning about the past and thinking about their personal/collective senses of identity. For example, Interviewee Nine wrote:

I was taught about the landscape by my parents. We would gather our food from the sea and rivers where our tūpuna also gathered their food.

Similarly, when stressing the intrinsic motivational value gained from learning about the past whilst gathering food with relatives, Interviewee One noted:

Yes, stories were told to us, as children, about mahinga kai [food gathering places] by my grandmother. These stories had a profound impact on me and were the impetus for my future study into the relationships that exist between past and place.

Interviewee Four recalled that his relatives often emphasised who and/or what lay buried within the local landscape. This had a profound impact upon his senses of place and identity:

I have been taught about local histories by my whānau and hapū through the use of the local landscape. An example is our hapū urupā [cemetery] and the ancestors that lie within it and around its boundaries, as well as the activity that took place around our urupā. This bound me to the land.

Interviewee Six used similar imagery to describe her relationship with the land. During her interview she indicated that she had been inspired by discussions related to submissions presented to the Waitangi Tribunal, as part of the WAI 105 (Waiwhetū) claim hearings. 'There was kōrero [talk] about lifestyle, such as fishing spots, cultivations and uses of the Waiwhetū stream. It has given me a closer sense of "belonging" to Waiwhetū.'

None of the teachers, however, described themselves as feeling bound, or 'belonging', to any place. Moreover, no teacher at any stage of this research claimed that their familial interactions with local landscapes resembled a meta-physical relationship. The Te Ātiawa interviewees, however, did make constant reference to the metaphysical nature of their relationships with different places. For example, Interviewee Eight alluded to the need to strictly adhere to tikanga. 'Different places of the area required various protocols on beaches, rivers and other land around us. There are the "dos" and the "don'ts", I suppose! I mean, you have to have a lot of respect at all times.'

Such findings align with international literature. For example, they reflect the research of Basso (1996: pp. 37-70) and Thornton (1993: pp. 294-301, 1997: pp. 295-308, 2000: pp.

79-86). These scholars argued that place names and senses of place continue to shape Western Apache and Tlingit senses of morality, identity and community. Teddy (2003) and L. Carter (2005: pp 8-25) also shared similar views in relation to Māori tribes' epistemologies. L. Carter (pp. 8-9) drew upon Basso's research (1996) to argue that in New Zealand there are 'two differing languages used to define cultural spaces and perceptions of place within the environment.' She argued (p. 8) that one of these languages, the Māori language, was 'expressed through stories centred on genealogical connections' and that:

Everything has a whakapapa: every person, tree, stone, mountain, fish, plant, the earth, and stars, absolutely everything that makes up the human, spiritual and natural worlds. The whakapapa, or lists of names that connect relationships, open the way to understanding the Māori worldview.

L. Carter contended that the other 'environmental language', English, has 'portrayed' Māori in a 'temporal context within New Zealand, rather than a spatial one.' She argued that this trend constructs 'past Māori occupation' in another distant time and place, reducing the ongoing relationships between tribes and landscapes to something 'seemingly irrelevant in a contemporary situation.' She suggested (pp. 8-9) that:

Recent events in New Zealand have reawakened the discourse that insists New Zealand is a culturally homogenous nation state, with all 'true' Māori people firmly embedded in past history, and their knowledge systems and practices described as outdated beliefs. However, despite historical and modern discourse that leaves Māori firmly in the past, Māori groups have persisted as definite cultural identities ... Maps are not value-free objects or interpretations of a geographical region: they are used to locate human actions in a spatial context. Like other texts, they contain ideology-based perceptions of the world and contain the values and beliefs of a people. Thus, they illustrate 'difference' in ways of knowing [epistemologies] how the world was shaped.

This has resonance with the Te Ātiawa interviewees' comments, as does Bowers' (1995: p. 1) following description of the pervasive nature of Western hegemony and its assumptions of progress:

Most citizens appear not to recognize the connections between Western ideas and values they were inculcated with in schools and universities, their consumer-oriented lifestyle, and the depletion of fish stocks, aquifers, old growth forests, petroleum reserves, and the accumulation of toxic wastes at all levels of the biosphere. In effect, the cultural message systems that sustain the images and values upon which the consumer-oriented society rests continue unchallenged to reinforce the taken-for-granted attitudes toward material progress and individual opportunity – even as the evidence mounts that the destruction of the environment now puts the entire technological/economic infrastructure at risk.

Inspired by the arguments of writers like L. Carter and Bowers, and Bourdieu's (1974, 1977, 1984) analyses of the role of schooling in cultural reproduction, the following section explores whether or not the research participants could recall any history teachers who had inculcated them with taken-for-granted assumptions about the relationship between technology, land usage and progress.

Did your history teacher(s) at secondary school use the local landscape to teach you about the past? If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had upon your sense of identity

The teachers' responses

Five teachers gave a negative response to this question.¹⁰¹ The other teachers indicated their teachers did use local landscapes to teach them about the past, but their learning experiences were clearly not acquainted with any local tribal counter-narratives that might have challenged their teachers' taken-for-granted assumptions about the inter-relationships between technology, land usage and progress. For example, one of Teacher Three's classes undertook a case-study of Akaroa. The teacher advised me that this focused on a battle fought at Ōnawe Pā (1832) by Ngāi Tahu against the invading Ngāti Toa forces and their allies (including Te Ātiawa). He enjoyed this experience and recalled:

When I was a child, at school, we went on a field trip to the pā, opposite Akaroa. We also did some work before we went on the field trip. When we got to that place, we could relate to it. You were able to sit there and say, "I've seen that hill", or

¹⁰¹ Teachers One, Two, Six, Eight and Nine.

whatever it was. Being able to stand there, in a place where things happened, is very different to just reading about it from a book.

Though Teacher Three enjoyed ‘being able to stand there, in a place where things happened’, he later told me that he felt his teacher’s comments and textbooks probably skewed his view of the people, events and site studied. In L. Carter’s (p. 9) terms, he was not enabled to interact with local Ngāi Tahu people, to learn about their ‘ongoing relationship’ with Ōnawe and its surrounding environs. The narrow scope of the lesson/fieldtrip described to me overlooked further campaigns (1832, 1834) in which Ngāi Tahu forces, armed with muskets, counter-attacked the northern invaders with varying degrees of success. It also overlooked the peace-making processes that later settled this conflict and affirmed the ongoing Ngāi Tahu occupation of the Banks Peninsular area encompassing Ōnawe. Therefore, Ngāi Tahu were not, like the Moriori of the Moriori myth, totally annihilated by a group of invaders equipped with superior technology. Ngāi Tahu had acquired similar technology and they continued to resist their northern foes after the fall of Ōnawe.¹⁰²

Teacher Four’s response also suggested that she encountered a history teacher who had used a field trip to inculcate her with what Bowers (2005: p. 13) has described as a Western cultural myth which ‘equates change with a linear form of progress.’ For example, she stated:

We were once taken on a field trip to the town museum and then we were taken to the highest local point to consider the view with evidence seen during the summer months. We walked to a particular place to consider evidence of how a hole blasted in a sand hill to change the course of the Manawatū River had brought [beneficial] changes to the economic fortunes of the region.

Teacher Four later confirmed, during a break in her interview, that the ecological alterations were described by her teacher as having had a positive economic impact for the growing colonial economy of her region. Though these alterations may have been ‘economically beneficial’ for some people living in the Manawatū region, Pond’s (1997)

¹⁰² See Tau and Anderson (2008:pp. 190-199) and Mitchell and Mitchell (2004:pp. 100-131). Also see Ballara (2003:pp. 378-380).

research suggests that Māori, in general, were not consulted about such alterations to their local waterways. Pond (1997: p. 123) noted that:

Each locality had its own unique body of Māori knowledge, and its own history of encounter with land clearance ... practices of agriculture, forestry, industry, drainage, culverting and roadworks, hydro-electric dam construction, and foreign fish introductions have impoverished and destroyed Māori fresh water fisheries ... Hapū lost their harvesting resources apace with their loss of whenua, their knowledge base, and the role of caretakership (kaitiakitanga). The settlers who occupied their lands did so with an absence of protection for habitat and an absence of respect for a hapū knowledge base.

Teacher Four confirmed that Māori perspectives regarding the value of the Manawatū River/tidal swamp plain were not addressed. Thus, her response is relevant to the Waitangi Stream metaphor (chapter one) which links the plight of indigenous fauna, inhabiting that stream, to the wellbeing of local iwi (like Te Ātiawa) and the value they afforded to a lowland swamp. As Park (2003: pp. 161-162) observed:

The high regard for lowland swamps in the traditional Māori landscape derived from the often vast areas of country that they watered and gave access to, from the birds that were attracted to them for food and breeding sites, and from the native fish that came to spawn. Dominating the swamps were rushes, reeds, flax, and the kahikatea, or white pine. Mature fruiting kahikatea were a seasonal mecca for birds and people. Waikākā (spring eels, mudfish), a traditional delicacy for presentation at feasts, hibernated during summer drought beneath kahikatea roots. Myriad indigenous fish species such as inanga, kōaro, waikākā, and the kōkopu species migrated through the estuaries and lagoons that would be taken by Crown law for swamp drainage scheme spillways, through into the pools enclosed by flax and raupō in the gaps in the kahikatea swamp forests. It was these conditions that made tidal swamp-plain rivers such as the Waihou, Waikato, and the Manawatū great fisheries prior to British agricultural settlement. Ecologically, these were landscapes of interconnections and interaction, the antithesis of the boundary lines and the subdivision of the country into legally separated units desired by English land laws.

As the following section suggests, some of the Te Ātiawa interviewees did encounter teachers who had used landscapes to teach about the past. However, none had encountered

history teachers who used their local landscapes to engage with local tribal epistemologies that challenged the dominant culture's assumptions about progress, place and political power.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses

Seven Te Ātiawa interviewees gave a negative response to this question.¹⁰³ The two youngest interviewees gave the most positive responses, confirming a previous pattern. Interviewee Three stated that his history teacher 'was very knowledgeable about the history around the school' whereas Interviewee Four enjoyed a few outdoor activities as part of his history education but acknowledged that these were both less frequent and different from those he had experienced in familial settings. For him, outdoor activities at school involved 'a visit to a local cinema or a bus tour, driving past local historic sites.' He stated that 'although my history teachers referred to the landscape it was not quite the same as being on the actual landscape while learning about it!'

Thirteen of the eighteen research participants (Te Ātiawa and teachers) had not encountered any history teachers who had enabled them to interact with local land/seascapes to learn about the past. The six research participants who did give a positive response to this question all attended secondary schools during the late 1980s and/or early 1990s. This finding probably reflects how the curriculum guidelines and the economic circumstances of the 1980s-90s differed from those earlier years, when the older (mainly Te Ātiawa) participants attended secondary school. Although six participants enjoyed learning activities that occurred outside the classroom, the pedagogies they experienced were devoid of any local tribal (epistemological) perspectives that would have enabled them to critique the dominant culture's intersecting narratives of past, place, power and progress.

The next section further illuminates the discontinuities between the participants' home and schooling experiences. It does this by exploring whether the research participants' families had used local wildlife (flora/fauna) to teach them about the past and/or their senses of identity.

¹⁰³ Interviewees One, Two, Five, Six, Seven, Eight and Nine.

Did members of your family use local wildlife to teach you about the past? If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had upon your sense of identity

The teachers' responses

Only teachers One and Four indicated that their families had used local wildlife to teach them about the past. Teacher One noted:

We lived near Wilton's bush. We would walk up to the old rimu trees. My father was so interested in native birds and he could tell us which bird call belonged to which bird. I would then ask dad questions like "what was New Zealand like before Māori arrived here?" "What was it like 200 years ago?" "How has Wellington changed?"

Teacher Four wrote:

Once we caught a Captain Cooker [wild pig] in a maize field nearby. Afterwards we talked about the introduction of European settlers and their livestock to New Zealand, the breeds of pigs they brought and how pigs' snouts were different.

The relative proximity to native bush (the other seven teachers grew-up in urban environs) is likely to have shaped these two responses. Although their parents did use wildlife to teach about the past, neither of them (unlike the Te Ātiawa interviewees) suggested that wildlife shaped their ontological senses.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses

When considering local Te Ātiawa people's ontological sensibilities, Puketapu-Hetet's following proposition (1989: p. 9) is pertinent to any discussion of traditional Māori worldviews: 'To a Pākehā, harakeke is just a plant. To a Māori it is a descendent of the great god Tāne-mahuta ... thus today's Māori are related to harakeke and all other plants.' Gilmore and Mellish (2004: p. 8), similarly, examine related matters, from their Te Ātiawa perspectives:

Māori ideology and Māori identity come from the natural environment. When a Māori introduces him or herself in a situation where they are not familiar they will generally introduce themselves in relation to their tribal boundaries, their tūrangawaewae [place to stand/belong] with reference to their mountain, to the rivers

from that mountain, to the lands adjacent to the mountain, to their tribe and down to their hapū and marae, thence out to their moana, the sea into their river flows, or in the case of inland tribes often a large lake. In the tribal consciousness, the markers of the natural environment provide the identity.

In view of such perspectives, each of the Te Ātiawa interviewees, all of whom were steeped in the traditions of their whānau, hapū and iwi, made a positive response to this question.¹⁰⁴ Interviewee One linked his familial history and identity formation processes to the local natural environment by stating: ‘We observed our grandmother as she used rongoā [traditional medicine] to treat us and others.’ Interviewee Two also linked his answer to an historical sense of communal wellbeing and connectedness to place when he responded:

Yes, much of this related to kaimoana [seafood] and the use of the marine environment, largely as a food resource for the people. The stories related were about how people managed to live off the natural resources in those places.

It might be expected that traditional subsistence activities would be emphasised by older Te Ātiawa interviewees, but the two youngest Te Ātiawa interviewees also stressed their significance. Interviewee Three, for example, wrote:

Yes, I learnt about the past through fishing, hunting and gathering kai [food]. That’s because it is a link or conduit of time and consequence, of cause and effect. For example, there are fewer resources now and the older generations still talk about the past and how we arrived at where we are today, with fewer natural resources [e.g. fish] in certain places.

Similarly, Interviewee Four stated:

My whānau and hapū frequently discussed species of wildlife which are prevalent in the region and their importance for tribal sustenance and wellbeing. For example, the

¹⁰⁴ However, it *is* possible that if a larger number of local Te Ātiawa people were interviewed (e.g. including people not considered ‘experts’ on their tribe’s local histories of place), the findings in relation to this question might have been different. Therefore, it may be worthwhile to conduct further research to examine the extent to which local Te Ātiawa people, today, have been influenced by the anthropocentrism of the dominant culture.

types of plant life used in order to attend to people's health. Also, flax and its importance to local iwi for trade etc.

Such comments gelled with the comments of older Te Ātiawa interviewees. For example, Interviewee Five noted that subsistence activities 'determined the identity and wellbeing of [her] whānau, hapū and iwi.' Interviewee Seven, meanwhile, wrote: 'Yes, local wildlife was essential for survival in my early years and I was taught by my father.' Subsistence activities, it emerged, were not a hobby but a matter of survival for his whānau. Interviewee Six also learnt about the past partly through 'food gathering, the preparation of food and associating the physical landscape with [past] events.' Interviewee Nine, likewise, stated: 'I was taught about the landscape by my parents. We would gather our food from the sea and rivers where our tūpuna also gathered food.' Interviewee Eight reiterated her belief that subsistence activities provided a context for maintaining and transmitting ethical behaviour from one generation to another:

We were always taken to the river and shown how to go eeling. At the beach, when gathering pāua [abalone], we learnt how you must throw the rock back over to leave it just how you found it and, of course, different plants and wildlife were always mentioned in relation to the past.

This comment, amongst other things, suggests that Interviewee Eight, like the other Te Ātiawa interviewees, was conscious of the Māori cultural concept of mauri (life force) inherent within everything.¹⁰⁵ Two internationally renowned (local) Te Ātiawa artists – Erenora Puketapu-Hetet and Darcy Nicholas provide perspectives on mauri. According to Puketapu-Hetet (1989: p. 9), mauri is a 'life-cycle' concept central to Māori epistemologies. It applies to all manner of projects, including food-gathering and artistic activities. Thus, humans are part of the natural world, not separate from it. Nicholas (1986: p. 32), similarly, observed that:

Nothing dies in the Māori world. Things merely move through different dimensions – the flax, for example, becomes a cloak of immense beauty. Those we love become part of the beautiful land around us. This is our bond with the land. It is our ancestor and as such, part and parcel of who we are. It has sustained us for hundreds of years.

¹⁰⁵ During the Te Ātiawa participants' interviews, it became abundantly clear that all Te Ātiawa interviewees were consciously aware of mauri.

None of the teachers, however, related history to a metaphysical cycle of life, or a life-force that challenges mechanical (Western) constructs of time or materialistic assumptions regarding the virtues of progress. The reason could be in Patterson's suggestion (1992: p. 19) that 'the idea of a life force (mauri) is not taken very seriously in the scientifically-orientated world' and that 'the Māori version of this idea is viewed as a radical one.' Or in Bowers' (2005: p. 13) words: 'The assumption held since the time of Socrates is that critical inquiry should lead to change and since the time of the French enlightenment traditions have been viewed by Western thinkers as sources of backwardness and protection of privilege.' Patterson's and Bowers' observations inform the following section, which discusses whether the research participants encountered history teachers who had used wildlife or flora to teach them about their senses of past, place or identity.

Did your history teachers at secondary school use local wildlife (e.g. flora/fauna) to teach you about the past?

The research participants' shared experience

The teachers could not recall any history teachers who had used local wildlife to teach them about the past, nor could the Te Ātiawa interviewees. The Te Ātiawa interviewees, accordingly, encountered the greatest levels of discontinuity because, unlike the teachers, all of them identified relatives who had used flora and fauna to teach them about the past.

Conclusion

Orr (1992: p. 142) posed the following set of questions which should be asked in any future, official review of history education in New Zealand schools, for they are directly relevant to findings of this chapter:

The aim of education is often described as teaching people how to think. But think what? How is this learning to occur? If we strive to educate intelligence alone, which aspects of intelligence do we select? What about other traits, such as character intuition, feeling, practical abilities and instincts, which affect what people think about and how well they think? If harmony with nature is important, how is this taught? Can ecologically appropriate values be communicated if students are passive receptors of information in a highly competitive setting? Can one teach about the interrelatedness of biological phenomena without reference to the potential for personal wholeness? Even more basic, can we teach about environmental affairs

without also reworking the physical setting of education to favour greater environmental harmony?

As Penetito (2004: p. 12) suggested, one important reason for seriously considering PBE is its potential to enable people to become better-informed about their physical environments and, in turn, to develop the sort of 'ecological consciousness' required to 'maintain sustainable communities.' Moreover, a key attribute of PBE (Kawagley, 2003) is its capacity to emphasise teaching through, rather than about, culture. Therefore, as Penetito (p. 13) suggested, PBE has the potential to 'breathe life' into the teaching of New Zealand history. He noted (p. 11):

We know that Māori learners, like all other learners, like to see themselves reflected in most aspects of the schooling experience but what we do not know are answers to questions like the significance of knowledge teachers have of locality, community, ecology and history? That is social knowledge and not just the knowledge they have of individuals, curriculum areas and pedagogy.

Given that this chapter indicates that most participants encountered teachers of history who knew very little about local tribes, local colonial histories or the ecologies of the places surrounding them, the following chapter addresses questions similar to those posed by Orr and Penetito. The extent to which Te Ātiawa secondary school students might have been able to see themselves and their environs reflected in the history and social studies programmes delivered by twenty four Port Nicholson Block secondary schools during the year 2005, is canvassed.

Chapter five: The participants' topic preferences

Introduction

This chapter indicates that local Te Ātiawa people (and other local iwi) were rendered largely invisible in local secondary schools' social studies and history programmes, a finding based on a survey (and observations) conducted during the year 2005. Moreover, New Zealand history topics were often avoided by history and social studies teachers because they would require addressing unsavoury aspects of a contested past. These findings are not inconsistent with those of other New Zealand researchers¹⁰⁶ or wider international literature. For example, Clark (2006: pp. 49-50) observed that, internationally, 'contested' public histories, or 'culture wars', have influenced history teaching and led to 'school history wars.' Though Clark may have drawn international attention (p. 49) to the fact that Māori perspectives of New Zealand history are debated in New Zealand's public arena, she did not explain how this debate influenced history teachers in New Zealand schools. As this chapter suggests, public debate surrounding Treaty of Waitangi issues did influence the topic preferences of Port Nicholson Block history/social studies teachers. Moreover, their topic preferences were frequently at odds with those of their Te Ātiawa counterparts.

Chapter five identifies the topics that the Te Ātiawa interviewees felt should be taught in Port Nicholson Block social studies and/or history classes. It then relates their topic preferences to Bronfenbrenner's 'ecological model' of human development. This is followed by a discussion of survey results which provided a snap-shot of social studies and history topics taught in twenty-four Port Nicholson Block secondary schools in 2005. It also relates the Port Nicholson Block survey results to those of a survey conducted by the New Zealand history Teachers Association (2005). Factors that influenced the topic selection choices of the nine teachers who participated fully in this research are also discussed. The teachers' topic preferences are related to Bronfenbrenner's model and the topic preferences of the Te Ātiawa interviewees.

This chapter concludes that local teacher topic preferences (2005) added further weight to the claims of Adams et al. (2000) and G. Smith (1999) that New Zealand schools reproduce social inequalities by privileging the dominant (Pākehā) culture's cultural capital.

¹⁰⁶ See Derbyshire (2004), Hunter and Farthing (2004), Bargas (2005) and Kunowski (2006).

The topic preferences of the Te Ātiawa interviewees

From the outset the Te Ātiawa interviewees recommended that local history teachers needed to adopt a more holistic approach to teaching history. They reasoned that an integrated (holistic) curriculum would better equip students to become informed participants in public debates about Treaty claims, contested visions of national identity and environmental concerns. The Te Ātiawa interviewees' stance was easily contextualised in PBE literature. Bowers (1993: p. 170), for example, challenged history educators to adopt a shift away from an 'anthropocentric understanding' of history to a more 'interdisciplinary' or 'ecological model of understanding history.' He reasoned that:

Currently, presentations of history involve putting humans in the foreground – their thoughts, artistic achievements, wars, political struggles, technological developments, and so on. This anthropocentric bias is further strengthened by representing social change as the expression of progress. This narrative tradition seldom gives an adequate account of how different aspects of cultural development – political ideas, arts, technologies, economic practices and so forth – were influenced by the unique features of local ecosystems. Nor does it provide an adequate understanding of the culture's impact on soil fertility, wildlife, and the non-renewable elements of the environment. Historical understanding should situate humans in the context of natural systems, and it should avoid anaesthetizing students with the myth of progress.

As the following two passages suggest, the Te Ātiawa interviewees believed that local students should explore Māori origins and examine how the natural environs of different regions shaped different Māori social structures during the so-called 'pre-European' era.

An integrated curriculum: Māori origins and the role of the natural world in shaping Māori social structures

The Te Ātiawa interviewees shared similar views about why they felt it was important for students to draw upon the skills of different disciplines to study *Māori origins*. Interviewee Three typified the logic of the Te Ātiawa interviewees when he said:

There's definitely a unique local history here [in the Port Nicholson Block area], simply because there is no other place like it! In many ways it is a history that is dictated by the geography. For example, it [the area's land/seascapes] dictated the way people gathered food and the way battles were fought. War was fought in direct

relation to the geography of this particular place, which determined where each pā [fortified village, in this instance] was located! People lived in places in relation to the geography, how close it was to get to this or to that cultural site, how close it was to get to this or that particular natural environment for their food etc.

Interviewee Seven, likewise, said:

You can't divorce history from other subjects or from the natural environment. That's one of the big problems with the teaching of history. History teachers are still saying things like "this event happened in 1887, that event happened in 1900, that event happened in 1977." It is too simplistic because you can't divorce those events from the natural environment that they took place in. For instance if I'm talking about the history of this place, I will talk about the Waiwhetū Stream and how we've lived here for a long time and how important that stream is to us because it represents the mauri of water and how essential that is to being alive. I'll talk about the history of things that happened around that stream in the time that we have been here and explain why that has been important to us and why it's important for the future because that stream has now become contaminated. So, you shouldn't exclude from history those other aspects of living like science, maths or spiritual things.

In relation to place-based educational theories, Interviewee Three and Seven's arguments aligned with Orr (1992: p. 129), who observed that:

Places are laboratories of diversity and complexity, mixing social functions and natural processes. A place has a human history and a geologic past: it is a part of an ecosystem with a variety of microsystems. It is a landscape with a particular flora and fauna. Its inhabitants are part of a social, economic and political order: they import or export energy materials, water and wastes, they are linked by innumerable bonds to other places. A place cannot be understood from the vantage point of a single discipline or specialization. It can be understood only on its own terms as a complex mosaic of phenomena and problems. The classroom and indoor laboratory are ideal environments in which to narrow reality in order to focus on bits and pieces. The study of place, by contrast, enables us to widen the focus to examine the interrelationships between disciplines and to lengthen our perception of time.

Interviewee Three and Seven's arguments resonated with recommendations made by the Departments of History of the New Zealand universities (1988: p. 9) that students should explore 'local archaeological evidence' and the 'oral traditions' of 'local kamātua.' They reasoned (p. 28) that 'ninety percent of the period of human habitation of New Zealand is Māori history' and, therefore, any study of this period should include a study of 'the natural world of the Māori in Aotearoa' and 'Māori occupation of and adaptation to a strange new environment.' The 'Māori history experts' who participated in the 'Māori history education hui' held at Whakato marae (near Gisborne), in October 1987, shared concerns similar to those voiced by Interviewee Seven about the alleged preoccupation of history teachers with a 'linear' view of time.¹⁰⁷ Binney, who attended this hui, advised Department of Education officials (1988: p. 47) that:

The linear notion of history through time is not a part of the Māori world view. For Māori, time is a unity: the past is in the present. Consequently, the telling of history in the marae encounters is the telling of living history. The ancestors are present; the dialogue is with them as well as with and between their living descendents. In a culture that is still oral, because the people choose to retain their orality as the primary way of telling history, the past is always contemporary and with the present. It is therefore structured by the present. It is structured by the context of the encounter. It is structured by kinship. The backbone of Māori history is genealogy (whakapapa). Many variations therefore exist, and tribally they co-exist. Therefore it is a distortion of Māori history to turn it into European forms of narrating history as a fixed body of knowledge and as events that are sequential. We cannot translate Māori history into our own. Māori history is part of a holistic cultural view and cannot be divorced from it.

The following section discusses the Te Ātiawa interviewees' shared belief that local students need to develop a more holistic worldview and understand bioregional factors to overcome the limitations of Pākehā constructs of a homogeneous Māori and/or New Zealand history.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ According to Tait (1988: p. 8), this hui 'originated from the Director General of Education's directive to Mr Wiremu Kaa to obtain Māori input on heritage and history in schools following the report from the universities.'

¹⁰⁸ Flores (1999: pp. 43-60) provides a helpful introduction to bioregional approaches to thinking about history and explains how the study of place can assist this process.

The bioregional diversity of Māori historical experiences

Interviewee Two encapsulated the views of his peers when he stated:

I think students need to understand that though our [Te Ātiawa] experiences might have been similar to some of the experiences of Ngāti Whātua and Ngāi Tahu, they are still very different from those of Tūhoe, Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Porou and other tribes who, of course, stayed in a rural state of being for much longer than us.

Understanding the importance of that [bioregional] diversity, I think, is the key to not coming up with this prescribed formula which is sort of like: “this is how all Māori will be.”

The Te Ātiawa interviewees’ arguments mirrored the recommendations supporting local and regional studies developed during the Māori history education hui which endorsed local and regional case studies. Tait (1988: p. 8), for example, reported that hui attendees agreed that Māori history should be taught on a local or regional basis because:

Any idea of a national “Māori” history does not exist in Māori terms. Identity is tribal, whakapapa is tribal as are customs and beliefs. Any attempt to look for rational commonality in detail is to impose a Pākehā desire for a simple structure which does not and did not exist.

Binney (1988: p.47) noted that hui attendees recommended Māori history must be taught on a ‘tribal basis’ because:

The Māori cultural diversity, which is central to Māori thinking, can only be retained by tribal teachings. The introduction of Māori history into the school curriculum therefore has to be conceived in conjunction with the regional tribal areas. The classroom must relate to the local tribal groups.¹⁰⁹

The Te Ātiawa interviewees also wanted students to learn by participating in authentic learning activities that grounded these topics in local contexts which involve non-Māori students’ own families plus local whānau, hapū and iwi.

¹⁰⁹ The Te Ātiawa interviewees, however, were not opposed to students studying pan-tribal movements. They wanted to see students examining how such movements, like the Māori Women’s Welfare league, operated at local, regional and national contexts. They also wanted students to interact with members of these movements, where possible.

Linking students' familial and community narratives to larger narratives of New Zealand history and identity

Levstik and Barton, like the Te Ātiawa interviewees, argued (1997: p. 38) that 'family histories can link students' backgrounds to important historical themes.' Accordingly, they encouraged (p. 41) history teachers to develop 'authentic tasks' that would enable history students to study familial stories of the past so that they can see that they are 'part of [macrosystem] narratives larger than their own lives.' Interviewee Seven suggested that:

New Zealand history is like a jigsaw and there are little parts of that jigsaw making up that big picture. Every piece of that jigsaw is worth exploring because, from it, you can develop your own understanding of so many things from all of those pieces of that picture. There is one particular thing about that jigsaw, though, and that is that when you're just about to finish it, there's still one piece missing. Now, you want to find it because your picture is not complete until you do find it. That missing piece is often your local or family history and, in that light, Māori history is a complex jigsaw in its own right!

The views of writers like Levstik and Barton (p. 42) concur with Interviewee Seven's analysis in noting that 'family histories can give students a sense of their place in the broader society'. All of the Te Ātiawa interviewees believed however, that the teaching of history in local secondary schools did not often encourage such connections to be drawn. Interviewee One, for example, said:

The generic New Zealand history content, today, just continues to reinforce the racial prejudices of the past and the stereotyping. That means students don't have the interaction with local whānau and hapū to the degree where they would be able to better understand Māori things. I mean, let's face it they [non-Māori students] wouldn't have any understanding of what place means to Māori.

Interviewee Four also epitomised the thinking of most Te Ātiawa interviewees when he suggested that the development of oral history projects, in collaboration with local Te Ātiawa people, might assist local teachers to incorporate Māori perspectives:

I don't think the history teacher can be an expert on everything. It would be very difficult! If they do require expertise, particularly in topic areas that they are a bit unfamiliar with, well, surely the community can offer expertise. Personally, I think it

would be very beneficial for students to hear that expertise, first-hand, instead of receiving it, relayed, through textbooks or a history teacher who is not really up with the play.

Interviewee Four's argument mirrored Crocco's (2006: p. 227) observation that:

Oral history is well-suited to a multiple-perspectives approach in social studies. The counter-veiling forces of any period can be brought to light through interviews with even a small set of individuals, each of whom comes to the historical moment from a unique personal perspective. The process raises questions about historical reasoning, methodology and historiography. For students in diverse classrooms, one important question that inevitably arises concerns whether their interview subjects have had the same experiences as those described in the textbook.

Though they recognised the potential for family and community oral histories to challenge a dominant culture's prevailing narratives of the past, Levstik and Barton (p. 42) cautioned that 'the point of family histories is for students to learn historical content in a meaningful way, not to put themselves or their families on display.' Thus, it should be noted that though oral history exercises are potentially rewarding, they also require a lot of careful negotiation and 'trust-building.' This is because oral history projects involve the management of the sorts of 'moral dilemmas' that Penetito (2005: pp. 273-275) believed teachers should address whenever attempting to incorporate Māori perspectives into their programmes.

Penetito, for example, explained (p. 274) that 'in Māori terms knowledge is particularistic whereas school knowledge is universalistic.' Certain questions need to be asked of teachers considering the incorporation of Māori knowledge into their teaching programmes. Penetito suggested that these questions include: 'What knowledge should be made available for teaching and evaluating in the classroom? What knowledge should teachers have of their pupils in order to be able to empathise and help them learn more effectively?' He added that: 'Not all local knowledge is appropriate in institutionalised settings and nor would these local sources want all their knowledge to be made publicly available if that is possible, which of course it is not.'

Penetito's analyses are relevant because the Te Ātiawa interviewees believed (see chapter eight) that similar questions/dilemmas need to be resolved before their iwi can formally

develop any PBE partnership with the schools participating in this research. For example, the Te Ātiawa interviewees believed that certain family heirlooms, or aspects of familial histories, should not be put on display in a classroom. The rationale for this stance was best explained by Interviewee Seven. He considered that although Te Ātiawa people might occasionally share heirlooms and aspects of their familial histories with Crown agencies (and/or the general public), they would only do so for strategic purposes:

I guess the only time when that [sharing of historical information] would happen would be when something contentious arose, in the public domain, which needed to be challenged. Like where the City council wanted to put a road over a piece of land that has some historical significance or they want to alter the shore line for a marina in an area that has strong significance to us. Then, that whānau history would be brought out and discussed and argued. That's happening right up till today, that scenario. Our family histories have been brought out into the open during the Waitangi Tribunal land claims process where all that historical content has to be shown and proven before any [Treaty] settlement can be reached.

There are other issues associated with oral history projects that would require teachers to exercise caution in a potential PBE partnership with local Te Ātiawa people. Though all of the Te Ātiawa interviewees said oral history projects are excellent authentic learning tasks, they also recognised that the process of identifying Te Ātiawa people for students to talk to could be problematic. Interviewee Five best described these problems when she said:

I think having Te Ātiawa people telling [students] their own experiences is a lot more exciting than doing something like reading a textbook which is removed or distant. I suppose the difficult part, though, is that you really have to make contact with the “right people” and deciding who the “right people” actually are is probably the biggest problem. We also have to be mindful that the people with the ability to do that sort of thing are probably wanted in all sorts of fields, already. So, the key question, then, is “are you adding to their burden?” If that is a burden for that person, then teachers need to ask “who is the next best person to ask for help?” Teachers need to have realistic expectations and the ability to be flexible because some of our expert people already have a big load of expectations, from a number of organisations and different sectors, placed upon them.

The beliefs of interviewees Five and Seven (above) could be aligned to PBE literature. Bowers (1999), for example, warned against the dangers of teachers ‘adopting uncritical approaches’ to the incorporation of ‘traditional knowledge.’ He emphasised (p. 168) that students need to recognize the difference between ‘elder knowledge’ and the ‘advice of older people who are passing on the dream of modernity.’ Despite illuminating the various challenges associated with identifying the ‘right’ Te Ātiawa people to interview, it was still evident (as the following passage suggests) that the Te Ātiawa interviewees did want local students to engage with Te Ātiawa people when covering topics like the NCEA (level 2) *Nineteenth Century Māori Leadership* topic.

Topics centred on nineteenth century Māori leaders and the ‘once were warriors’ syndrome

Interviewee Four was one of the most vehement critics of how nineteenth century Māori leaders were/are portrayed by history and social studies teachers. Amongst other things, he said:

As much as I enjoyed looking at nineteenth century Māori leaders in the Sixth Form [year 12], I think that some teachers, today, tend to get carried away with telling stories about our ancestors that are quite romanticised. I think we really need to go beyond just treating them like noble savages. Students should be looking at the natural environments in which they lived and consider how their thought patterns were affected by these environments. I mean, Māori leaders were flesh-and-blood people, like you and me, not just emotionless savages that could quickly turn on the tap of aggression and heroically take on a thousand enemies at one time. There was some real pain that they were feeling. Maybe, some of them felt like they were being ripped to shreds, from the inside-out, for them to have reacted in the ways that some of them did. So, I think we need to help students to get a much deeper understanding of these leaders, as people, before they draw any conclusions about their actions or their effectiveness as leaders.

Older Te Ātiawa interviewees often encountered ‘conservative’ history teachers who also failed to recognise the human-ness of nineteenth century Māori leaders like Te Rauparaha and Te Kooti. For example, Interviewee Two recalled:

What little history we learnt in New Zealand about New Zealand was that Hone Heke chopped down the flag pole and Te Kooti was a “rebel” who went about killing

people. It was the negatives, always the negatives! Te Rauparaha was portrayed as “the Māori Napoleon” so, just in that statement, you were told everything the teachers thought about him, although he was a much more complex character than that. But, that sort of mentality has always been inherent in colonialism because there’s always been the portrayal of the “good” and the “bad’ Māori. If Māori didn’t agree with the colonists they became “rebels”, in the colonists’ minds. So, teachers had to deal with them in that way too, as “rebels.” So, getting out of that colonial mentality was the difficulty for my teachers, I think.

When Interviewee Six was asked what he felt about teacher portrayals of nineteenth century Māori leaders, he joked that it would be nice to see an end to the ‘once were warriors’ approach. Before him, Ramsden (1994) also assessed that there was a ‘once were warriors’ approach to the teaching of New Zealand history. In fact, she claimed (pp. 20-21) that this approach was not only responsible for the recycling of racist attitudes, but that it was detrimental to the ‘psychological wellbeing’ of young Māori:

What is largely offered to Māori students throughout the primary and post-primary education system is a powerfully reconstructed version of history utterly deprived of the vigorous truth of colonial and subsequent Māori, Pākehā and Crown interaction ... Deprivation of powerful role models and replacement with unrealistic song, dance and warrior/sport or assimilationist imagery have left many young Māori with few identity choices. It is scarce wonder that many have selected role models which relate to brown resistance movements such as Rastafarianism or other collective brown identities of their own creation. The forensic admission and re-admission of young Māori men to psychiatric hospitals attest to the severe ego destruction undergone by young colonialisised Māori.

Teaching about the Treaty of Waitangi was also seen as problematic.

Using the Treaty of Waitangi to teach about local tribal histories

Interviewee Five epitomised the general thrust of the concerns of the Te Ātiawa interviewees when she suggested:

Ha! Mention the Treaty of Waitangi and over half of the population will turn-off without even listening to anything you have to say. Over half of the population thinks it’s a gravy train, full of us Māori, trying to get money out of them.

Although Interviewee Five had her doubts about teacher attitudes towards the Treaty, she offered the following advice to those teachers willing to grapple with Treaty issues:

I suspect that if you try to bring a study of the Treaty down to the local level it'll become much more immediate and understandable for them. I think that sort of localised approach to teaching would be quite good. I mean, if you're a teacher, well, you can't really ship or bus [students] all up to the Bay of Islands to view the immediate surrounds, where the first Treaty signings occurred, can you? It'd be too expensive! The logical thing to do would be to start in your own area and to apply your study of the Treaty, here, by bringing it all down to some practical local experiences.

Interviewee Seven, similarly, emphasised that it was important for non-Māori students to explore local Treaty narratives, especially when reflecting upon issues related to their personal constructs of citizenship and/or national identity:

Treaty histories don't pertain just to Māori because tied up in all of that is everyone else. So, you need something that is personalised and engenders an enquiring mind in the student where they might say: "Well, that's not what I was told. My grandfather said da-da-da-da-da, so that can't be right!" I'm talking about teaching in a way that means students might go that one step further and explore the Treaty in relation to their own family's experiences, irrespective of whether they're Māori or not.

Therefore, the Te Ātiawa interviewees wanted local students to draw connections between their own 'particularistic' knowledge and the 'universalistic' knowledge that Penetito (2005: p. 274) rightly suggested is traditionally favoured by New Zealand schools. As the following section suggests, the Te Ātiawa interviewees also wanted local students to engage with local Te Ātiawa people to learn about Te Ātiawa histories of place.

Local Te Ātiawa histories of place

Interviewee Eight exemplified the thinking of the Te Ātiawa interviewees when she said:

I think they [students] should learn about Te Ātiawa and the heke [migrations] and things like that. I think they should be learning how the tūpuna [ancestors] came down to Wellington [from Taranaki] and had to cross through rivers and do other things on the way. However, you can read textbooks and think, “ooh, that’s dreadful!” So, I think that information, about Te Ātiawa, should come from somebody belonging to Te Ātiawa, not from a textbook!

Interviewee Eight’s comments about who owns local Te Ātiawa knowledge of place reflected a widely held belief within te ao Māori (the Māori world), a belief of which teachers must be cognisant. For example, Tait (1988: p. 8) earlier noted that:

In European academic tradition, history is public property, open for exploration and interpretation by the keen historian. The integrity of the result is based upon how it stands up to continuing academic scrutiny. In the Māori world, tribal history is a taonga, to be treated with great care, because it is inseparable from the mana of the tribe. Only the tribe has the right to disseminate its history, and it must decide what can be disseminated and to whom. Some tribal history will always be reserved for tribal members only, and some for selected people within the tribe. There is a desire, however, to share knowledge of tribal history with all children of the local community and New Zealand society at large. Its integrity is based upon the right of those who own it to share it. In a purely practical sense, the in-depth knowledge of the tribe is in tribal hands anyway.

In terms of providing an outline of things that students should learn in relation to local Te Ātiawa people, Interviewee Two encapsulated the views of all of the Te Ātiawa participants when he said:

No doubt about it, students should learn about how the events in Taranaki and the concern for our ancestral lands have shaped us. Wellington was always a place of coming and going for us. The events in Taranaki, and the concern for the land, meant that many of the people who came here in the various heke went back, but, also, those who came and stayed also formed, I think, a unique group that’s not so well understood. Even though there are different Taranaki tribal groups in Wellington, they’re all inter-related. Sure some of that’s by marriage, and things like that, but in fact there was a close kin relationship all around the harbour, which is not surprising.

Another thing that shaped us of course was the arrival of the New Zealand Company and the very rapid experience of colonization associated with their arrival which meant we needed to rapidly change our traditional way of doing things. That process of colonization happened to us much more quickly than it did to Māori living in other places. So, it affected our tikanga, our language and all those sorts of things. We had to become “urban Māori” very quickly and that was a huge struggle. It shaped a particular character in a lot of our people. But, having said that, we have still maintained the strong contacts we have with Taranaki to this day and that’s ok.

Interviewee One, similarly, emphasised the need to draw links between the local and regional experiences of Te Ātiawa and a national overview. For example, he suggested that local students should learn more about the debate surrounding the Waitangi Tribunal’s stance in relation to the (1846) ‘war in the Hutt Valley’ which he and his peers believed had national and international implications.¹¹⁰ Interviewee One said:

I think teachers need to focus on things local in relation to big picture issues. For example, in relation to the New Zealand wars, they need to ask: “Is the history of the Hutt Valley, as reported in the Waitangi Tribunal’s [2003] report, correct?” Well, mostly, but I would also say that there are a couple of things in the Tribunal’s report that I would take issue with. For example, there’s ... what I consider to be misunderstandings about the 1846 war. I say that because I actually know many of the Māori participants by name in that war, whereas most military historians who have written about it don’t!

I know the whakapapa connections, I know in a deeper sense what that means, if you like, in terms of what was going on for those people. So, I have a different view to most military historians. It was much more than a “disturbance” because people withdrew from the centre of the Hutt Valley. I mean, you’ve actually got people like Mason [a local settler] fleeing to Hobart, leaving the land and asking Ngāti Tama to look after the grave of his daughter to protect it from desecration. There are more issues there that have not been dealt with. Yet the whole point of historical argument is that it is supposed to be about expanding knowledge.

¹¹⁰ See Waitangi Tribunal (2003: pp. 205-226).

Having provided an insight into the study preferences of the Te Ātiawa interviewees, the following section relates these preferences to Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of human development.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' study preferences in relation to Bronfenbrenner's ecological model

This model, as Bronfenbrenner (1979: p. 3) emphasised, not only displays how a person's development is affected by the settings he/she has experienced, but also how it is 'profoundly affected by events occurring in settings in which the person is not even present.' As stated earlier (see chapter two), Bronfenbrenner (p. 3) likened his 'ecological environment' to a 'set of nested structures [or settings], each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls.' He posited that at the inner-most level of this set of 'Russian dolls', rests the microsystem. This includes a person's 'immediate setting' (e.g. home and classroom settings).

The next outer-level is the mesosystem. This refers to a system that connects microsystems together (such as those that exist between parents and teachers which link a child's home experiences to his/her schooling experiences). The third outer-level, or exosystem, describes larger social systems which, as Bird and Drewery (2001: p. 12) observed, include 'public media such as television, communities and neighbourhoods.' Finally, the fourth outer-most level of Bronfenbrenner's model is the macrosystem, which Bird and Drewery summarised as being the setting which refers to 'large cultural patterns which include social class and the political system of the country.'

It was significant that none of the Te Ātiawa interviewees placed any great value on national/international histories being taught in isolation from environmental, regional, familial and local settings. In other words, the Te Ātiawa interviewees did not believe that the national and international contexts of the outermost macrosystem provided the only or most suitable settings for the study of history. Rather, they preferred the development of historical topics/themes that were aligned more closely to the students' lived experiences in the microsystem (familial) and exosystem (community) settings of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees, moreover, frequently recommended the development of topics like Māori origins, Māori and regional diversity and Māori adaptation to the natural world. The Te Ātiawa interviewees all stressed the need for a holistic, interdisciplinary (or

integrated) curriculum approach. This approach, they felt, would better enable all students to appreciate the historical interrelationships between Māori people and the places, flora and fauna they identify with.

Having outlined the Te Ātiawa interviewees' study preferences (and the extent to which they aligned with settings in Bronfenbrenner's ecological model), this chapter will now address the teachers' topic preferences by firstly providing a snap-shot of those junior (year 9-10) history and social studies topics that were taught in local schools and elsewhere in New Zealand (2005).

Topics taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005)

Even if New Zealand or Māori histories were addressed in Port Nicholson Block history and social studies classes, local Te Ātiawa histories of place remained, like the Waitangi Stream, largely invisible. Furthermore, local histories of place did not enjoy the same status as national and international conflict histories. In relation to Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, it was evident that local history and social studies teachers preferred topics grounded in macrosystem settings that most students would not have experienced. The absence of environmental history topics was also noteworthy, given the Te Ātiawa interviewees' concerns about anthropocentric constructs of past and place. These findings, therefore, further illuminated the cultural gap that existed between the two groups of research participants.

Year 9 social studies topics

Five (21%) of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed, offered *Māori Origins*¹¹¹ as an independent or stand-alone unit topic at this level, whereas seven (30%) of the schools surveyed addressed *Māori Origins* as a case-study within their *New Zealand Migration Case Studies* topic. Notably, three of the teachers participating in this research advised that their schools had merged *Māori Origins* into a broader narrative of a multicultural national identity because they were striving to manage a crowded curriculum.¹¹² Though I could appreciate the teachers' concerns about time-constraints, it also seems that an ideological undercurrent may have been in motion. For example, the three unit plans I observed often

¹¹¹ This was the title most frequently used by local schools when describing their coverage of pre-European Māori histories. See Appendix Twenty-six: Table 3, displaying year 9 social studies topics taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005).

¹¹² Teachers Five, Six and Nine.

resembled subtle appeals for national unity hidden under the guise of multiculturalism. This multicultural approach could be viewed as problematic, because as McCreanor (2005: p. 59) argues:

This appeal to national unity seeks to bury the actual diversity under a single category in much the same way that Hobson sought to create a unified nation by declaring ‘he iwi tahi tatau’ [we are all one people] to Treaty signatories at Waitangi in 1840. In spite of the continuing tensions, this remains a powerful part of the standard [Pākehā] story as the prescription by which harmony is to be achieved.

When local pre-European histories were (briefly) addressed in topics that I have labelled *Local Community Heritage Studies*, the information provided to me suggested that local teachers, including teachers Seven and Nine, often used outdated worksheets or local histories that were informed by the work of early Pākehā authors like Best (1910, 1918b), S. Smith (1910) and Adkin (1959). These teachers spent most of their limited time addressing a popular story about two local taniwha (water monsters) traditionally associated (by Māori) with the geological processes that shaped Te Whanganui a Tara (Wellington harbour).¹¹³ Though some readers might view this as a reasonable starting-point, teachers Seven and Nine’s unit plans indicated that they did not move far beyond the study of Māori creation myths into an in-depth study of local tribal histories of place, or their dispossession of lands.¹¹⁴ This preoccupation with non-contentious material is contextualised by Interviewee Seven’s comments:

There is one [secondary] school that once asked me “can you come and talk to the class?” Well ok, I might have done that once, but what they expected from me and what I wanted to tell them were poles apart.¹¹⁵ I’m not interested in going there to tell creation stories about local taniwha. I want to tell them that the land that they’re sitting on, at that school, was taken by the Crown. I want to tell them that the land their school is built on is Te Ātiawa land. I want to tell the students that the land their school is built on was taken by the Crown and that we’ve actually got a claim on it.

¹¹³ Ngāke and Whataitai.

¹¹⁴ Teacher Seven’s school used worksheets that drew students’ attention to local eighteenth and Nineteenth Century pā sites by referring to Adkin’s work, while Teacher Nine’s school used worksheets and a local history (written by a Pākehā author) which briefly identified Te Ātiawa as a local tribe before quickly focusing upon the European history of that suburb.

¹¹⁵ The school concerned did not participate fully in this research.

I want to tell them that our people originally came from Taranaki and that we had migrations down here and that we settled here, where the school is located. I want to say to them that this [the school site] was the place where some of my ancestors lived and that out there [the school playing fields] was a garden and over there was a stream. The stream was named after the last place we came from in Taranaki. It was also where my ancestors fought their last battle with Waikato, just before we came, here. But all they [the teachers] wanted to know was a story about two bloody taniwha [laughter]!

When Interviewee Seven was asked if he felt that this school's preference for taniwha stories reflected the political nature of curriculum control, he replied:

Well, they [the school] know what the Wellington Tenth Trust is. Maybe they're frightened that they're going to get the wrong answer from us, that what we might say will not fit in with what the school wants its students to hear. I think that a lot of local schools and organisations are like that, you know. They just don't want to be told that they're interlopers, sitting on Māori land. You don't have historians in schools. All you have are history teachers. So they expect you to give them a watered-down version of local history just to suit them. Well, some things we can't water-down. Sure, we'll try to share facts in a nice way because it's got nothing to do with giving them a guilt-trip. All we are saying is "this place is really important to us!"

Seven (30%) of the schools surveyed offered topics that addressed environmental issues at the year 9 level. Most of the schools were located in the (upper) decile 9-10 range. Although these *Conservation* topics afforded teachers every opportunity to incorporate local Māori perspectives, none of the teachers approached during this research had taught their students about the environmental concerns of local Te Ātiawa people (or any other local iwi).¹¹⁶ Moreover, only two of the teachers interviewed were aware of the Waitangi Tribunal's (2003) *Te Whanganui a Tara me ōna Takiwā report*, prior to being interviewed.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ For the sake of clarity, I have placed all of these topics under the title of *Conservation* in Table 3, Appendix Twenty-six.

¹¹⁷ These teachers were Teachers One and Four. Both were disappointed that a copy of the report, or an executive summary, had not been provided to every school located within the Port Nicholson Block.

These teachers, in turn, believed that most local teachers would struggle to name any of the claimant groupings related to the Tribunal's (2003) report. They were not wrong. The vast majority of non-participating teachers spoken to, during this research, had not seen the Tribunal's report, nor could they name any of the claimant groupings. Many of these teachers believed that poor media coverage was to blame for the fact that they had not addressed local Treaty claims in relation to local environmental issues.¹¹⁸

Most teachers interviewed claimed that the *Treaty of Waitangi* was not a topic taught in their schools at this level, a *Treaty* topic existed (as a year 9 topic) only in three (13%) of the schools surveyed.¹¹⁹ Though a *Treaty* topic did provide three schools with an opportunity to expose their year 9 students to local iwi Treaty concerns, these schools did not address local Treaty issues. To conclude, Te Ātiawa histories of place, like those of other local iwi, were rendered largely invisible in Port Nicholson Block schools' year 9 social studies programmes.

Year 9 history topics (2005)

Five (21%) of the schools surveyed offered history classes as an independent (optional) subject at this year level.¹²⁰ In terms of the various history topics taught at this level, *Ancient Civilizations* proved to be the most popular, with a total of four (17%) of the schools surveyed, teaching it. The civilizations that were most frequently studied were *Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, Rome and China*. Other topics taught were more closely related to the origins of civilization. For example, one school taught a topic titled *Pre-History*, another taught a topic titled *Early Man*, whilst a third school taught a topic titled *The Middle Ages*. The remaining topics, specific to a school, included titles like, *The Holocaust, The American West, Heroes and Heroines* and *Rugby and Identity*. Te Ātiawa histories of place (like those of other local iwi) were not covered in local schools' year 9 history programmes.

¹¹⁸ However, it should be noted that local newspapers did continue to address the findings of the Waitangi Tribunal's (2003) report long after its release. For example, see Berry (17 May, 2003), Milne (18 May, 2003, a, b). Moreover, see Churchouse (29 September 2005).

¹¹⁹ This topic was taught in Teacher Four's lower decile school. The *Treaty* was also addressed as a case study within an upper decile school's *Systems of Government* unit.

¹²⁰ See Appendix Twenty-eight: Table 5, displaying year 9 history topics taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005).

Year 10 social studies topics

Human Rights proved to be the most popular year 10 social studies topic.¹²¹ Nineteen (79%) of the schools surveyed taught this topic. The second most popular topic was the *Treaty of Waitangi*. Fifteen (63%) of the schools surveyed elected to provide an ‘independent’ (or ‘stand-alone’) study of the Treaty of Waitangi at this level. Therefore, it could be argued that, at the very least, eighteen (75%) of schools surveyed, enabled students to study the *Treaty of Waitangi*, as an independent unit topic during either their year 9 or year 10 social studies programmes.

Additionally, three (13%) of the schools surveyed included the *Treaty of Waitangi* as a case study within other topics during their year 9 or year 10 social studies programmes. One school indicated that its students studied the Treaty of Waitangi as a case study within its *Human Rights* topic at the year 10 level. In summation, twenty-one (87%) of the schools surveyed had enabled their students to study the *Treaty* as a unit topic, or as a case study within a broader unit. Three (13%) of the schools surveyed did not teach the *Treaty* as an independent unit topic or as a case study (within another unit) during either their year 9 or year 10 social studies programmes.¹²² Research by Kunowski (2006: pp. 134-140) may be relevant: it suggests that the social studies teachers she encountered in Christchurch schools struggled with the *Treaty* topic because they lacked adequate content knowledge. Consequently they feared ‘contentious’ issues and sought to avoid them. Similar findings were made by Simon in her (1992) research about how social studies were taught in two Auckland schools.

None of the schools teaching the *Treaty* topic at the year 10 level specifically addressed local Treaty histories or local Treaty claims. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that most year 10 students (2005) would enter their year 11 classes in 2006 oblivious to the findings of the Waitangi Tribunal’s (2003) report. The only information that I found about Te Ātiawa people in year 10 textbooks referred to the sacking of Parihaka, the imprisonment of its people and their loss of land.¹²³ In some respects, this portrayal resembled a fatal impact narrative in the sense that it left the story of the Parihaka people

¹²¹ See Appendix Twenty-seven: Table displaying year 10 social studies topics taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005).

¹²² Although the information provided by some schools made it impossible to determine exactly how many schools avoided the *Treaty* topic, it is possible that up to three schools, or 13% of schools surveyed, did not address this topic in junior social studies classes.

¹²³ They also discussed Te Ātiawa involvement, at Waitara, in the outbreak of the ‘Taranaki war’ (1860-63).

during their darkest hour, thus rendering them passive victims of progress and, subsequently, a people of the past. Without wishing to minimise the injustice or trauma experienced by the Parihaka community over the years, I found it noteworthy that little or no attention was paid to the fact that the Parihaka community still exists and that it continues to exercise passive resistance to the actions of the state, via a wide range of creative outlets.¹²⁴

These were not the only limitations. None of the textbooks made available to local teachers made any reference to local Te Ātiawa people, or to other local iwi originating from Taranaki (e.g. those Taranaki whānui groupings like Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Ruanui or Ngāti Mutunga), who had maintained their familial ties to the people and lands of Parihaka and the wider Taranaki region in which the lesson I observed was located.¹²⁵ In relation to audio/visual resources, other problems existed. Though James Belich's *The New Zealand Wars* TV documentary series did mention local Te Ātiawa in relation to Te Rangihaeata's (1846) campaign against Crown forces, a lack of other available video/DVD resources constituted a major barrier for those teachers who were interested in teaching about local tribal histories and/or local Treaty claims.

Eight (33%) of the schools surveyed were teaching a *Conservation* topic at this level. This meant that 63% of the schools surveyed had included an independent or stand-alone *Conservation* topic in either their year 9 or year 10 social studies programmes. Most of the schools teaching *Conservation*, at this level, indicated that they did so by drawing upon textbook and resource kit activities that incorporated some form of generic 'Māori perspective' on environmental concerns.

To conclude, Te Ātiawa histories of place, like those of other local iwi, remained virtually invisible in Port Nicholson Block schools' social studies programmes.

¹²⁴ Such as art exhibitions and, more recently, the development of an annual international Peace festival that has featured internationally renowned artists and musicians.

¹²⁵ This is not to suggest that teachers should be reliant on textbooks, but that local teachers would benefit from possessing a range of pedagogical resources that are rooted in local contexts and draw connections to wider macro settings.

Year 10 history topics (2005)

Year 10 history programmes were offered by nine schools, mostly located in the middle and upper decile ranges.¹²⁶ Two topics shared the distinction of being most popular. *Ancient Societies* was taught by three (13%) of schools surveyed. So too, was the *American Revolution*. Topics related to the British monarchy were very popular. For example, two (8%) of the schools surveyed, taught an introductory *Tudor-Stuart England (1558-1667)* topic. Another two schools taught topics I have loosely labelled *Henry VII, Charles Ist and the English Civil War*.¹²⁷ *The Middle Ages* (which also covered the British monarchy) was taught by two schools, as was *The Age of Discovery*.

At least fourteen of the topics appeared to relate exclusively to historical figures and events in Europe, whereas six topics focussed on New Zealand content. When New Zealand topics were taught, they were normally related to European political and conflict histories. For example, four (17%) of schools surveyed, addressed New Zealand's twentieth century military campaigns via topics like *New Zealand and World War Two*, *New Zealand and World War One* or *Gallipoli and the ANZAC Tradition*.¹²⁸ Alternatively, two (8%) of schools surveyed, taught topics I have labelled *Local Wellington and Hutt Valley Histories*.

In both instances, this involved a case study of the (1846) *War in the Hutt*. Although two other schools also taught a topic I have loosely labelled *Māori Resistance in the Wellington District (1846)*, all of these four schools relied heavily upon the works of Cowan (1922-23), Belich (1986) and Pugsley (1994a, 1994b). They had not drawn upon information available from other secondary sources, including those produced by local iwi.¹²⁹

To conclude, Te Ātiawa historical perspectives remained largely invisible in Port Nicholson Block schools' junior history and social studies programmes. The following three passages will now draw upon data compiled by the New Zealand History Teachers' Association (NZHTA), as well as the survey information used above. This will allow

¹²⁶ See Appendix Twenty-nine: Table displaying year 10 history topics taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005).

¹²⁷ This title loosely describes the core contents of each school's topic.

¹²⁸ Two of these schools had participated fully in this research. They were represented by teachers One and Nine.

¹²⁹ None of these teachers were aware, for example, of Gilmore's (1996) *The Myth of the Overlords: Tenure in Te Whanganui a Tara, 1819-1847* report which outlined the rationale for Te Ātiawa opposition to Te Rangihaeata's war against the Crown.

comparisons to be drawn between the topic preferences of local history teachers and those of teachers elsewhere in New Zealand. This will enable further conclusions to be drawn about the status of local tribal histories and that of NCEA approved 'Māori history' topics taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools and elsewhere.

NCEA level one (year 11) history topics

The *Origins of World War II (1919-1941)* was the most popular National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) level 1 topic identified by the NZHTA survey (2005).¹³⁰ One hundred and seventeen (93%) of the one hundred and twenty six schools it surveyed taught this topic. It was also the most popular topic in the twenty four Port Nicholson Block schools I surveyed (2005).¹³¹ Twenty three (96%) of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed taught the *Origins of World War II*. The second most popular NCEA level 1 history topic according to the NZHTA survey and my survey was the topic titled *New Zealand's Search for Security (1945-85)*. Both surveys recorded that 75% of schools surveyed taught this topic.

Black Civil Rights in the USA (1954-70) was the third most popular topic choice identified by both surveys. The NZHTA survey revealed that seventy eight (62%) of the schools it surveyed, taught this topic, whereas thirteen (54%) of the schools I surveyed taught it. Given that inter-racial conflict was the underlying theme of the *Black Civil Rights* topic, it was noteworthy that only 29% of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed taught the *Māori and Pākehā (1912-1980)* topic. However, this was still a larger percentage than that recorded by the NZHTA survey. The NZHTA reported that only 23% percent of schools it surveyed taught this topic. Although four new 'Māori history' topics were introduced by the Ministry of Education in 2002, the NZHTA found that 3% of the schools taught the new topic titled *The Place of the Tiriti [Treaty] of Waitangi in New Zealand Society (1975-1985)*. No Port Nicholson Block schools offered this topic. This finding was expected because as Hunter and Farthing (2004: p. 60) had already observed:

In 2002 four Māori topics were added to the Appendices for the Level 1 history Achievement Standards. These topics suggestions were added during the writing of the Level 1 Achievement Standards. They were not the result of curriculum review

¹³⁰ See Appendix Thirty: Table displaying NCEA level 1 history topics taught by schools surveyed by the NZHTA and schools surveyed in the Port Nicholson Block (2005).

¹³¹ See Appendix Thirty-one: Table displaying NCEA level 1 history topics taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools.

or consultation with history teachers, nor was there any consideration given to the review of existing topics across Years 11-13 programmes in light of these [new topics]. None of the “new topics” have been supported by implementation and/or resourcing guidance. As an example, the topic, The Place of the Tiriti o Waitangi in New Zealand 1975-1998 has been placed in Year 11 history, yet in the existing curriculum it is not until the Year 13 programme that studies of the Treaty in [the] nineteenth century are developed.

None of the other new topics identified by Hunter and Farthing were taught in the schools surveyed by the NZHTA, or in the schools surveyed by this writer.¹³² To conclude, though the *Māori-Pākehā* topic was taught in some year 11 Port Nicholson Block history classes, students were largely dependent on textbooks and video/DVD resources that overlooked local tribal narratives of the events and issues concerned.

The following section examines the status of local Te Ātiawa histories in relation to NCEA level 2 topics taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools.

NCEA level 2 (year 12) history topics

According to the NZHTA survey, *Vietnam and the Conflict in Indo-China (1945-75)* was the most popular NCEA level 2 topic in the schools it surveyed. Ninety four (75%) of the schools it surveyed taught this topic.¹³³ It was also the most popular level 2 topic taught in the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed. Eighteen (75%) of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed offered this topic. The *Origins of World War One* was the second most popular Level 2 topic identified by the NZHTA survey and this writer’s survey. According to the NZHTA, seventy five (60%) percent of the schools it surveyed taught this topic, whereas sixteen (67%) of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed did so. The *Revolution in Russia* topic was identified by both of these surveys as the third most popular topic. The NZHTA reported that 55% of schools surveyed taught this topic, whereas my survey found that 63% of local schools surveyed taught it. Both surveys indicated that there was little New Zealand history taught in Port Nicholson Block or other New Zealand schools at this level.

¹³² These other new topics were titled: *Social Welfare in the Māori World (1918-1998)*, *Tangata and Whenua: Effect of Population Movement on Māori Society (1946-1998)* and *Māori in a Post-Colonial World*.

¹³³ See Appendix Thirty-two: Table displaying NCEA level 2 history topics taught by schools surveyed by the NZHTA and schools surveyed in the Port Nicholson Block (2005).

For example, my survey revealed that one (2%), of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed, offered the *Women, Family and Work in New Zealand (1880-1960)* topic, and the NZHTA survey indicated that 1% of schools it surveyed taught this topic.¹³⁴ The NZHTA survey revealed that *The Growth of New Zealand Identity (1890-1980)* was taught by 6% of the schools it surveyed, whilst this writer's survey indicated that no Port Nicholson Block schools taught this topic. The *Māori Leadership in the Nineteenth Century* topic was identified by both of the surveys concerned as being the most popular New Zealand history topic. However, the NZHTA's survey still indicated that 93% of the schools it surveyed did not offer this topic while my survey indicated that 87% of Port Nicholson Block schools did not offer it.

Additionally, none of the schools surveyed by the NZHTA, or this writer, taught any of the new 'Māori history' topics added to the Appendices to the level 2 history Achievement Standards in 2002.¹³⁵ These findings mirrored the lowly status of the new, year 11 'Māori history' topics mentioned previously. The *Vietnam and the Conflict in Indo-China* topic was identified by both surveys as the most popular topic taught in relation to the course theme of *Imperialism, Indigenous Peoples and the Emergence of New Nations*. Whether or not this topic provided the most accessible case-study in which to improve local students' understanding of this theme is debatable. 'Māori history' topics, related to this theme, were available for local history teachers to select and these topics could have provided students with authentic learning opportunities. However, like the year 11 *Black Civil Rights* topic, the *Vietnam* topic was more popular with the teachers I interviewed simply because it could be taught by using a textbook and incorporating a wide range of movies and popular music. The teachers emphasised that their students liked watching Hollywood movies and listening to popular American music.

A similar range of audio/visual resources, however, was not available to those history teachers wishing to cover the *Māori Leadership* topic or other new 'Māori' topics. Just as Hunter and Farthing had complained about the new level 1 'Māori history topics not being supported by 'implementation and/or resourcing guidance', it was evident that none of the new level 2 Māori history topics were supported by adequate resources or 'implementation

¹³⁴ Women's historical perspectives were usually overlooked. The topics taught were usually dominated by stories about male historical figures and political events dominated by the actions of men (e.g. politics and combat).

¹³⁵ These 'new topics' were *Tino Rangatiratanga/Sovereignty: New Zealand and the Māori Nation (1984-1999)*, *Christianity and Māori (1814-1999)* and *Māori Participation in International Theatres of War in the 20th Century*.

guidance.’ Those few local teachers who did offer the *Māori Leadership* topic relied heavily upon secondary Pākehā accounts to enable their students to make judgments about the Māori leaders concerned, especially during field trips to distant places.¹³⁶ These secondary accounts paid little attention to how natural environments or natural phenomena influenced the worldviews and actions of the leaders studied.¹³⁷ Again, the video/DVD resource most frequently used was Belich’s (TV) documentary series *The New Zealand Wars*.

Most of these teachers, however, did take their students on field-trips to visit nineteenth century battlefields in distant regions of the North Island, some of which were connected to the plight of Te Ātiawa. These field trips were organized in ways that did not allow for students engaging directly with representatives of local whānau, hapū, iwi who were connected to the leaders and events studied. In terms of describing the nature of visits to different sites, students would generally follow their teachers around each site and their teachers, in turn, would draw upon selected (Pākehā) historians’ accounts to tell stories and/or to prompt questions about the Māori people and/or events being studied.

The teachers, it should be acknowledged, did concede that their field trips were problematic. They were eager to find ways that would allow them to incorporate, appropriately, informed local Māori perspectives that might challenge the perspectives of Pākehā historians. Moreover, they advised me that what they needed most was not new textbooks or DVDs, but information about which Māori historical experts they should work with and how they should go about doing so (e.g. to improve their course design and delivery processes).¹³⁸

However, they also recognized that this process might prove easier said than done because it would require them to let go of their absolute control of course design and delivery processes.¹³⁹ Teacher One, like his peers, concluded that teacher education programmes

¹³⁶ Learning activities during fieldtrips were mostly influenced by the works of Belich (1986) and Cowan (1922-23, 1935) and a series of articles written by Pugsley (1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1996d, 1997a and 1997b). I found no evidence of student interactions with local kamātua (elders) or visits to wharenuī (meeting house/s), which are repositories of tribal histories.

¹³⁷ As feared by Interviewee Four (see previous section of this chapter that refers to the Te Ātiawa interviewees’ perspectives).

¹³⁸ Similar comments are repeated (later) in chapters seven and eight, when the teachers describe the benefits and barriers they associate with the potential development of a potential PBE partnership.

¹³⁹ Similar issues (revolving around the control of operations) are discussed in chapter eight.

were ‘urgently needed’ to enable teachers like him to learn how they could collaborate with local whānau, hapū, iwi representatives during field trips. To summarise, most year 12 history students in Port Nicholson Block schools learned very little, if anything, about local Te Ātiawa people or other local tribes in their history classes. Accordingly, the following section will address topics taught at NCEA level 3.

NCEA level 3 (year 13) history topics

Although New Zealand topics were avoided by most year 12 Port Nicholson Block history teachers, the *New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century* topic was held in higher regard by teachers of year 13 students. Whether all students or their parents approved of this topic was another matter. In relation to the Tudor England Day debate (sparked by Belich, 2002), the NZHTA survey (2005) revealed that seventy (58%) of the schools it surveyed taught the *Tudor-Stuart England (1557-1665)* topic.¹⁴⁰ Forty eight (40%) of the schools it surveyed taught the *New Zealand* topic. Three (8%) of the schools the NZHTA surveyed gave students a choice of topic.

These results differed from this writer’s survey, which found that only ten (46%) of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed taught the *Tudor-Stuart* topic and an identical number taught the *New Zealand* topic.¹⁴¹ Two (8%) of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed, declared that they offered students a choice of both topics, while two schools indicated that they could not provide a level 3 history class due to student/parental resistance to the introduction of the New Zealand topic. In relation to the ten Port Nicholson Block schools that offered only the *Tudor-Stuart* topic, seven of them were located in the upper decile range where Pākehā students dominated their school rolls.¹⁴²

Eight (33%) of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed, avoided teaching a New Zealand history topic in their NCEA level 2 courses, and two (8%) of the 24 schools surveyed also avoided teaching any ‘New Zealand’ topics in their NCEA level 1

¹⁴⁰ See Appendix Thirty-four: Table displaying NCEA level 3 history topics taught in schools surveyed by the NZHTA and schools surveyed in the Port Nicholson Block (2005). Also see Appendix Thirty-five: Table displaying NCEA level 3 history topics taught by Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005).

¹⁴¹ It is possible that students in some schools offering the *Tudor-Stuart* option may have conducted special studies (e.g. internal assessment activities) that covered aspects of New Zealand history in the nineteenth century. However, none of these schools advised me that their students had conducted special studies addressing local tribal histories. These schools were repeatedly advised of the objectives of this research.

¹⁴² Only one school was located in the decile 6-8 range and the other was positioned in the decile 1-5 range.

courses.¹⁴³ Moreover, seven (29%) of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed, appeared to have avoided teaching any ‘Māori history’ topic during their NCEA level 1-3 history programmes.¹⁴⁴ Although 8% of Port Nicholson Block schools appeared to give students a ‘choice of topic’, often by a process of a ‘class-vote’, this choice was problematic. The *Tudor-Stuart* topic prevailed because, arguably, Pākehā students numerically dominated their classes. Certainly the teachers interviewed believed that many of these students and/or their parents felt challenged by Māori content. It was also evident that the outcomes of class votes had not always been respected by teachers. Interviewee Four, for example, became quite animated when he shared his recollection of the year 13 class vote he experienced at one of these schools:

When I was in the Seventh Form [year 13], the course outline literature clearly stated that the class would have the “option” of choosing which subject we wished to study as the major focus for that year. A vote was taken and the overwhelming majority of students wanted to learn about New Zealand history. I think the teacher was quite surprised because, at the end of that same day, she came back to us and told us we would be covering the Tudor England option, instead! Now, those of us, who weren’t afraid to speak up, did so. We asked her “why?” We also made it clear to her that we had only enrolled for this class because we had been given the understanding that we were going to have an “option” and that we had clearly voted for the New Zealand “option.”

Her response to that was to say that she didn’t have any background or understanding of the New Zealand topic. She said her expertise was in the Tudor England topic. So we ended up following that so-called Tudor “option.” But it wasn’t an “option” because that choice was imposed upon us. I mean, she actually said we had to “like it or lump it.” I wasn’t impressed with that, at all. That decision turned me off from the very subject I loved the most! I talked to my father about it, because my father is quite pro-Māori in his thinking, and he was pretty disappointed too! But, we didn’t take any further action, except that I reacted to my teacher’s decision by missing a lot of the classes. I didn’t pass seventh form history, as a result. Prior to that, I had

¹⁴³ Pākehā students dominated the school rolls of these two upper decile schools.

¹⁴⁴ It is, again, possible that some teachers may have failed to advise me that their students did conduct special (internal assessment) research projects related to New Zealand and/or Māori histories during their level 1 and/or level 2 courses.

consistently averaged passes, in the 65-85% range, for all my assessment activities and exams.

One conclusion that can be drawn is that local history teachers should, as the Ministry of Education (2007a: p. 21) suggested, recognise that ‘Māori children and students are more likely to achieve when they see themselves reflected in teaching content, and are able to be Māori in all learning contexts.’ Another is that a class vote process legitimates the reproduction of the cultural capital in ways similar to those contended by Adams et al. (2000) and Smith (1990).

There is evidence from the surveys to support such arguments. Teacher Six, for example, noted that the majority of her students were Pākehā and that they mistakenly associated the *New Zealand* topic with a study of the Treaty of Waitangi and/or Māori history.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, they did not want to study New Zealand history as it was considered ‘too Māori.’ She also noted that she was prevented, by her school principal, from offering the *New Zealand* topic at NCEA level 3. She told of how her principal had advised her that a lack of student interest meant that the introduction of the *New Zealand* topic was not warranted. According to Teacher Six, her (Pākehā) principal shared the view of the majority of her students that New Zealand history was ‘boring’ and a ‘less-academic’ topic. She was not the only teacher to make such allegations. In fact all of the teachers interviewed suggested that the negative attitudes of predominantly Pākehā students, parents and colleagues posed the biggest barrier to the teaching of New Zealand history at this level.¹⁴⁶ For example, Teacher Four said:

I’ve had major concerns regarding my [mainly Pākehā] students’ attitudes towards New Zealand history. A lot of it has to do with their families’ perspectives of New Zealand history and attitudes commonly held in the local community. For example, the Treaty of Waitangi is a major issue, within New Zealand history, but a number of students think it is a total “waste of time.” They say things like “we’ve done this in social studies.” They say “I know all about this” when in fact they know nothing. Let’s face it, the Treaty’s only one aspect of nineteenth century New Zealand history.

¹⁴⁵ Most of her students were Pākehā.

¹⁴⁶ Consequently, this situation resembled Berlak and Berlak’s (1981: pp. 140-141) description of a teacher versus child - control of operations dilemma (see chapter eight).

Teacher Nine shared similar concerns:

Since Don Brash's first Orewa speech [January 27, 2004]¹⁴⁷, I've definitely noticed that more Pākehā students are ready to say, "I find that boring" or "It means nothing to me" and I'm talking about anything to do with Māori now! They're much more open to saying it aloud, whereas before they used to feel guilty for thinking it. Now, they don't even feel a sense of guilt at saying it or feeling that way. We haven't been able to deliver a Year 13 history programme for the last two years [2004-2005] and that's simply because we only offer the *New Zealand* topic. Well, at least that's what the kids [who are predominantly Pākehā] have told me! I've asked them: "If we were doing the *Tudor-Stuart* option, would you do that?" They've said "Oh yeah, we'd definitely do it then!"

If Pākehā fears of Māori Treaty claims, rekindled by Don Brash's 'Orewa speech', did contribute to the demise of level 3 history classes in some local schools, as was suggested by Teacher Nine, they may also have contributed to the introduction of the *New Zealand* topic at another school. Teacher Two contended that it was incorrect to assume that the teaching of the *New Zealand* topic is indicative of a 'liberal' school community:

Thanks to Don Brash and his Orewa speech, I'm now in a position where I have to introduce the *New Zealand* topic because some of my right-wing [predominantly Pākehā] clientele, all of a sudden, have become concerned about gathering information about why Māori Treaty claims are there! But, that's only to back up their own prejudices towards any further Government investigation into Treaty claims, particularly those involving foreshore and seabed issues. Now, the fact is I'm dealing with a group of *very* wealthy and materialistic students and they are really concerned about why they are "funding a grievance process" even though none of them, as far as I know, are actually paying taxes yet.

One of the teachers interviewed was openly positive about teaching the *Tudor-Stuart* topic. When I asked Teacher Eight to explain why he enjoyed teaching this topic, he referred to his ancestry and the fact that he'd 'always' taught this topic. He also believed sustainable

¹⁴⁷ See Brash (January 27, 2004). *Nationhood*. An address by Don Brash, Leader of the National Party, to the Orewa Rotary Club, on 27 January, 2004.

student numbers were an important factor, and that most of his students and their parents held negative attitudes towards New Zealand history. I asked Teacher Eight for his views on Belich's (2002) 'Tudor-England Day' allegations:

In relation to Belich and his "Tudor England Day" remarks, my recollection was: "you bloody stupid man!" Here was bigotry gone rampant and he's not a very good historian anyway, in my opinion. I just felt that it was an ass of a statement for the man to make, quite frankly! I don't allow him that much credibility. My biggest criticism of his work is that he paints it [the past] as he wanted it to be rather than as it actually was. I think that there are probably better historians writing, they just haven't got the high profile and a big criticism of his book *The New Zealand Wars*, was made by Christopher Pugsley, the Military Historian. Well, Pugsley just ripped him apart in *The National Review*.¹⁴⁸

To conclude, it should be noted that Māori aspects of New Zealand history were treated like a political hot-potato in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools, just as they were elsewhere in the public domain. Even where New Zealand history was taught by some local schools at the year 13 level, local Te Ātiawa people had not been invited to engage with these schools to teach students about events that had impacted directly upon their Te Ātiawa ancestors. Just as rapid urbanisation has driven the Waitangi Stream and its tuna population under-ground and out of mind, most Port Nicholson Block history students would leave their secondary schools totally oblivious to the modern life of local Te Ātiawa people and their histories of place.

Conclusion

The previous chapter concluded that a cultural gap existed between the schooling and familial experiences of the two groups of research participants. This chapter concludes that a similar gap existed in relation to their study/topic preferences. Ultimately, local schools' social studies and history programmes were dominated by European political and conflict histories and this, arguably, does not equate to the 'balanced' curriculum required by the Ministry of Education (1987, 2004a, 2004b). As was suggested by the Waitangi

¹⁴⁸ Pugsley's criticisms of Belich's account of Māori trench warfare were presented in an article titled *Māori did not invent Trench Warfare*, which appeared in the *New Zealand Defence Quarterly*, not *The National Review*, as suggested by Teacher Eight. See Pugsley (1998).

Stream/tuna metaphor used to introduce the objectives of this research, local iwi histories of place were left largely out of sight and out of mind by the majority of Port Nicholson Block secondary schools. When applying Bronfenbrenner's 'ecological model' (1979), the teachers' topic preferences most frequently aligned to Bronfenbrenner's macrosystem settings, located at the exterior of his ecological model.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees, on the other hand, preferred topics grounded in the inner contextual settings of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model. Their preferences also required that students make more effort to draw connections between their own micro system/exosystem settings and those of Bronfenbrenner's outer macrosystem settings. Although social studies teachers were more likely than history teachers to address Māori topics or concepts, they too did so in ways that focused on macrosystem settings which left local Te Ātiawa people (and other local iwi) largely invisible. The Te Ātiawa interviewees felt that local teachers should teach about local pre-European Māori and New Zealand histories by using an 'integrated', 'inter-disciplinary' or 'holistic' curriculum. Local history teachers generally preferred a fragmented curriculum and topics that were popular with the majority of their students. They particularly preferred topics that could be easily taught by using textbooks and videos/DVDs in the relative safety of their classrooms, where they retained control of curriculum operations and standards.

It was significant that New Zealand history was often confused by senior history students with a study of the Treaty of Waitangi, and this reinforced many students' already negative perceptions. Moreover, some teachers claimed they were prevented from teaching New Zealand history because they, or their principals, were concerned that student choice might undermine the future financial viability of their history programmes. In fact, two teachers claimed that internal (school) surveys of students suggested they could no longer afford to offer NCEA level 3 history classes because they had persevered with the *New Zealand* topic against the wishes of the majority of their (Pākehā) students and their parents. Like the Waitangi Stream and its population of hardy tuna, local tribal histories of place have, metaphorically-speaking, been driven underground by most of the schools surveyed. The Te Ātiawa interviewees made it clear that they wanted to see these schools resurface their tribe's histories of place in much the same way as the lower reaches of the Waitangi Stream have been day-lighted at Waitangi Park, following a process of consultation and engagement. The findings of this chapter, furthermore, align with the findings of Adams et al. (2000) and G. Smith (1990). They indicate that locally and nationally, schools reproduce the cultural capital of the dominant (Pākehā) culture.

Chapter six: The participants' historical information and skills preferences

Introduction

This chapter reveals that the majority of teachers favoured written historical information and the development of writing skills for summative assessment purposes, whereas the Te Ātiawa interviewees preferred a wider range of historical information and that this should be reflected in the design of summative assessment tasks. This finding constituted a significant cultural gap between the two groups of participants regarding what constitutes the medium of historical information most worthy of summative assessment.

The status afforded to written information and written assessment tasks is the first issue addressed by this chapter. Though the Te Ātiawa interviewees agreed that written information and writing skills are important, they also identified other forms of historical information and associated skills as being of equal or greater value in the process of teaching critical thinking skills. The majority of the teachers, on the other hand, felt that written information and writing skills were by far the most essential to the process of critical thinking and, thus, historical research.

The status of oral historical information in relation to assessment presentation tasks is also examined. Although the Te Ātiawa interviewees placed high value on students conducting authentic, social inquiry oral history research projects, most teachers believed that oral history projects are problematic and noted that time pressures prevented them from developing oral history tasks. These teachers described their preference for less time-consuming, written tasks in ways that recalled Scott's (1982) description of time as ideology. Scott (1982:p. 33) contended that 'time and capitalism are intimately related.' In relation to New Zealand schools, he proposed (p. 43) that:

With the concept of bourgeois time, both at work and at school, ideology moves not as a system of mental and verbal statements but as a physical mechanism which constructs space and time. It thus orders and shapes the actual material world of people and determines their space and movement through space, and their movements through time; and their movements through space and time. In other word's Marcuse's one dimensional man is controlled by a three dimensional ideology. It is little wonder, then, that people come, largely through the process of

schooling, to internalise and construe as part of nature what is really an ideological arrangement of time. Perhaps freedom will come if, like latter day Luddites, people smash the clocks.

The cultural gap that existed in relation to the value accorded to different forms of visual historical information and the assessment of such information is also addressed by this chapter. The Te Ātiawa interviewees, again, afforded greater value to the collection, analysis and presentation of visual sources of historical information than their teacher counterparts.

The status of written information and associated skills

L. Smith's (1999: pp. 28-29) observation, below, forms a starting point for this section:

Writing or literacy, in a very traditional sense of the word, has been used to determine the breaks between the past and the present, the beginning of history and the development of theory. Writing has been viewed as the mark of a superior civilization and other societies have been judged, by this view, to be incapable of thinking critically and objectively, or having distance from ideas and emotions. Writing is part of theorizing and writing is part of history. Writing, history and theory, then, are key sites in which Western research of the indigenous world have come together.

Although every Te Ātiawa interviewee believed that written historical information is important, and that the development of sound writing skills is essential for all students, they believed that written information and writing skills are afforded greater status by history teachers than oral and visual forms of historical information. This concerned the Te Ātiawa interviewees, who believed that oral and visual forms of information are at least equally important. Though all of the teachers agreed that it is important to develop a wide range of data collection, analysis and presentation skills, they believed that they lacked the time to give equal status to the collection, analysis and presentation of oral and/or visual forms of historical information.

From a theoretical perspective, this pattern recalled Scott's (1982) argument that the timetabling of New Zealand schools resembles a form of ideological indoctrination, pivotal to the dominant culture's reproduction of its cultural capital. In relation to the role that the

teacher participants played in the reproduction of this cultural capital, seven of the nine teachers stated that they believed that the collection, analysis and presentation of written information constituted the most important set of skills for students to develop. The Te Ātiawa interviewees also valued written historical information and writing skills, but their rationale for doing so was consistent with L. Smith's (p. 28) observation that:

Indigenous peoples want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes. It is not simply about giving an oral account or a genealogical naming of the land and the events which raged over it, but a very powerful need to give testimony to and restore a spirit, to bring back into existence a world fragmented and dying. The sense of history conveyed by these approaches is not the same thing as the discipline of history, and so our accounts collide, crash into each other.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' preferences

The Te Ātiawa interviewees saw value in students being able to collect, analyse and present written information in a coherent and critical manner. Interviewee Five, for example, stated:

I wonder how good the students' reading and writing skills really are because, [she stated her profession], I'm not confident that they are taught to read historical literature that well. Do history teachers really teach all the other things that allow students to write, well, in the first place? Are history students taught grammar, well? I've heard some experts say that grammar and spelling doesn't matter, that spelling evolves. But, it's really hard to be able to write about history so that others can understand, or feel excited about what you've written, if you haven't been taught how to use grammar appropriately, or how to spell.

Although she was the most passionate advocate for the development of sound reading and writing skills, she suspected that history teachers might be too preoccupied with skills associated with essay writing.¹⁴⁹ She believed that this might disadvantage some students:

I think written exams only benefit those who have good memory and the ability to regurgitate information. I'm sorry, but there are some people who are blessed with

¹⁴⁹ Interviewees One, Two, Five, Six and Seven were the most eager to improve students' reading and writing skills.

those skills and who can handle it well and then there are others who recall information better by expressing themselves in other ways. These people tend to express their historical knowledge orally or through their art. So, having those sorts of visual people always sitting a written exam is, perhaps, not the best way to enable them to perform what they have learned as well as they could in other situations ... I think a written exam is great for those students who shine in that sort of written assessment situation, but maybe that sort of assessment doesn't do justice to all the other students who perform better in other types of assessment situations.

Interviewee One shared similar concerns:

I don't know much about the NCEA, but I suspect that it would involve conducting research to produce written reports and that it would mainly involve the assessing of written projects. I think group assessment is good because it helps you think clearer, it gives you different perspectives that you wouldn't have considered otherwise ... I think history students should have the opportunity of experiencing something else, something they own and that's new and fresh, like an oral presentation to a group of their peers. Oratory and oral history skills can actually empower you as a person. They help you to read people, to be able to deal with people, effectively. I mean if you don't have that challenge, there's something you haven't learned. History is not just about books and essays!

Interviewee Five and One's calls for the development of a wider range of assessment tasks are supported by an international body of history education literature. For example, Levstik and Barton (1997: pp. 160-161) advocated the development of 'constructive evaluation' of students' learning. They explained that:

By constructive evaluation, we mean that first and foremost that it serves a constructive purpose – it has beneficial effects on teaching and learning. For students, this means that evaluation tasks allow them to show what they know rather than what they don't know ... Most teachers at one time or another worry that students' performance doesn't accurately reflect what they have learned; they believe (or hope) that students know more than they have been able to show on tests or other assignments. Constructive assessment confronts this problem head-on by giving students as many ways of showing what they know as possible – through formal and

informal measures, through tasks chosen by both teacher and student, through formal speaking, writing and other forms of presentation

Alton-Lee (2003: p. 62), likewise, noted that:

Research on task contexts suggests students are most likely to learn and remember new information when they have the opportunity to engage with new information across multiple task contexts, including tasks that enable co-operative learning in small groups or pairs.

The teacher participants' responses, however, suggested that 'multiple task contexts', involving group tasks and oral or visual historical information were not accorded the same status as individualistic essay-writing or written examinations tasks.

The teacher participants' preferences

Not all of the teachers were comfortable with the predominance of essay writing and written examinations following the introduction of NCEA. In fact, the general consensus amongst the teacher participants was that NCEA had created a tidal wave of administrative tasks that left them little alternative but to persevere with easily prepared, and easily verified written assessment activities. Other teachers share this view. For example, the Post Primary Teacher's Association (PPTA) released a report, written by Alison (2005), indicating that many secondary school teachers were concerned that written assessment tasks were now 'driving' the delivery of the national curriculum. They complained (p. 13) that they were 'losing richness and fun from their courses because of trying to get their students success in the assessment of work.' To illustrate her point, Alison (p. 13) quoted a teacher of English and history, who complained that:

There's not the time to do the learning-rich things that people want to do because there's not the time. And if you believe you've got to give [students] the best opportunities to achieve at internals [internal or school-based assessment as opposed to the national exams] then you've really got no time.

Issues of time management, bemoaned by many of the teachers in this research and Alison's research, relate to Scott's (1982: p.39) proposition that time is ideology:

The obsession with time ... has a far broader sweep than merely habituating children to punctuality. The blocking of the secondary school day into neat hour-long parcels, where the kids move on the bell every hour from one expert to another is the first real introduction school pupils have to a systemized division of labour. We must not ... underestimate the mechanical aspects of schooling in relation to time, for in schools there is a time for everything. Every function is allotted a certain time, and whatever its nature can only be performed at a certain point in the day.

All of the teachers in effect agreed with Scott's critique of the pedagogical limits imposed by the 'mechanical aspects of schooling.' In contrast to oral and visual information and presentation tasks, the teachers saw essay-writing skills as being the most time-efficient skills-set to teach. However, despite time constraints, seven of the teachers indicated that they felt written information was the most reliable historical source and that writing skills were the most valuable set of portable skills. Occasionally, some teachers' comments mirrored the logic of Dench (2002, p. 11), who criticised O'Connor's (2002: pp. 5-7) support for the new (NCEA) system of assessment. When defending traditional assessment tasks, Dench claimed:

A well constructed, well argued literate history essay is a beautiful thing. I get no greater satisfaction in my job than from teaching students to write well and I believe it is the most valuable thing I teach. I also believe it is still the best way to express historical understanding, particularly for assessment. I am not sure why we would want to assess History students for their speech-making or letter-writing techniques instead. Is anyone else concerned that we seem to be spending a great deal of time and effort pretending we are not doing History to make History more interesting or accessible – like some sugar coated pill?

Irrespective of Dench's concerns, this research suggests that the introduction of NCEA has consolidated the premier status of written information and writing skills in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools. Teacher One typified the views of most of the teachers interviewed when he said: 'In terms of junior history, we choose to focus on the [written] skills assessed in year 11 and above and we've worked those senior [NCEA] skills, backwards, down into the junior school.' Though Teacher Five accepted that NCEA does not theoretically value one form of information above another she, like all of her peers, acknowledged that:

Every year the same skills are developed but we tend to get more in-depth the higher the year level. So at all year levels, there's a lot of time spent teaching students about essay writing skills. You know, it's teaching them skills like how to structure an essay and teaching them about what sorts of things to write about in an essay. With NCEA there's not supposed to be one skill valued more than another. The students have to research and present information, they have to analyse [written data] and they have to write essays. Ultimately, though, NCEA history is all about communicating written information because whether it's an essay or a paragraph or a diary or a poster it's all presenting and communicating written information, isn't it? Yeah, it's mostly written stuff. The written presentation is always more important but visual presentation with some activities, sometimes counts for a few marks.

NCEA left history teachers, then, focused on the collection, analysis and presentation of written historical information. The two teachers most concerned about this trend were those who taught in two of the lowest decile schools participating in this research, schools with rolls dominated by Māori and Pacific Island students. Reflecting upon the cultural biases that existed, Teacher Seven said:

The reality of NCEA is that it's always the written presentation that counts. It's all about the writing of paragraphs or essays. That's it! In the end it all comes down to what the students have written. I mean at present the NZQA can't even come up with a decent system of moderation where the written stuff is "safe!" You know, whereby there is some kind of national standard that can be applied across New Zealand for the written stuff, let alone with any experiential or oral history stuff! NCEA has a huge cultural bias because of that. What NCEA hasn't come up with is a way of, effectively, dealing with diversity and of dealing with the different kinds of alternative approaches to teaching and learning to make assessment of those activities safe. You know, so that it's able to be safely moderated and all of that kind of thing!

Teacher Four also feared that NCEA reflected the dominant culture's preference for written historical information. She believed that this constituted a barrier to learning that disadvantaged students from 'ethnic minority' groups within her 'multicultural' school. Although she was aware that writers like Kunowski (2000: p. 74) claimed that NCEA gave teachers the flexibility to 'adapt' programmes, she concluded that:

There is still, definitely, a British or Western cultural bias in terms of the dominant mode of assessment. That's mainly because the written form of [external] assessment is always seen [by the majority of predominantly Pākehā parents/employers etc.] to be the top academic format for assessment.

Teacher Four was not alone in expressing concern that NCEA had eroded her ability to be 'creative.' Every teacher I interviewed expressed similar concerns. Alison (2005: pp. 122-123) observed that Heads of Department 'were particularly vocal about the impact [of NCEA] on their workloads.' When describing how an increased workload undermined her ability to meet the needs of students in her multicultural school, Teacher Seven said:

With NCEA, the Ministry of Education says it provides all sorts of opportunities for us to take achievement standards from different areas and to build an integrated course and that's really good. What the bad thing is, though, is that it's [NCEA] actually robbed us of the time that we used to have for planning such quality lessons! Also, it appears that subjects like history are suffering because it is increasingly viewed by many of our students, and their parents, as being "too academic." I think that the teaching of history in New Zealand schools is very much about the Western cultural way of learning history and that it's all about writing.

She also suggested solutions:

I think the way forward is to become much more aware of other ways of knowing, teaching and learning about the past. Kids having fun with experiential learning and that sort of thing would be a good start! Sure, as a teacher you can't leave the academic writing skills behind you, you just can't. But, history is a subject that is suffering because it's seen by many students as being "too academic" and so they opt for subjects which are easier to pass. There is too much emphasis on writing in history and there's a lack of appeal to a wider cultural audience that may value oral and visual forms of history.

Alison's research indicated that other teachers shared similar concerns to Teacher Seven regarding the literacy requirements associated with NCEA. She reported (2005: p. 103) that:

Teachers across a wide range of subjects perceive that the way the standards have been established, or that the exams have been written in some subjects, places high demands for literacy on students and this is not always relevant to the skills being assessed.

In conclusion, though all of the teachers interviewed agreed with the Te Ātiawa interviewees that it is important to use a wide range of sources of historical information for summative assessment purposes, the majority did not believe that they had time to do so. Moreover, only two of the teachers interviewed provided any form of critical analysis regarding which culture determines what modes of information and skills are valued.

The status of oral information and associated skills

The Te Ātiawa interviewees agreed that skills associated with the collection, analysis and presentation of oral historical information should form a significant component in local schools' history programmes. Although some teachers were sympathetic to this idea, others were sceptical. Amongst other things, they identified time and resource constraints as problematic. Irrespective of time constraints, seven of the teachers stated that they did not believe that oral or visual data provided the most reliable sources of historical information. The view that oral or visual data is inferior is problematic because as McWhinnie (1996/97: p. 8) suggested:

The simple proposition that the way people remember and make sense of their own past is a valuable historical source, seems for many history scholars to require so much qualification as to render it practically impotent. The bottom line remains that the written word has more authority than the spoken word, that if oral evidence cannot be supported by documentary evidence then the oral evidence is in doubt. These ideas apply, of course, to written as well as to spoken material. Documents are, after all, written by people; are retrospective and reflect their values, attitudes and perspectives. But sitting across the table from your historical source, forces the historian to confront these problems of evidence more directly. And, while documents reflect values and perspectives that have been frozen on a page, oral history deals with memories that are never finished.

Though this writer would support McWhinnie's argument that 'a number of academic historians' do 'regard oral history as 'having a marginal role to play in the reconstruction of the past', it is important to recognise that not all New Zealand historians (or teachers of

history) would support this stance. Phillipson ((2004: p. 41) provides the following insight into the Waitangi Tribunal's usage of oral and written histories that rejects the academic position described by McWhinnie and resonates with the views of the Te Ātiawa interviewees and two of the teachers:

Historical evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal takes a variety of forms. In many cases, it appears as professional reports, researched and written by historians. But this is only one type of evidence considered by the Tribunal. In addition, there are eyewitness accounts of historical events; visual demonstrations of places and their significance; oral traditions handed down over on the marae or in the home; and ceremonial songs and orations that illustrate a context or create powerful moods and impressions. These different forms of evidence contribute to a complex, layered interpretation of historical claims, and produce Tribunal reports and findings that may surprise those who did not attend the hearings, and whose impression of the evidence is limited to the papers they can read on the Tribunal's record of inquiry.¹⁵⁰

The absence of oral history tasks, in seven of the nine participating schools, occurred despite the flexibility offered by the Ministry of Education's new NCEA history guidelines (2001a,b; 2002a,b) and despite the fact that the Ministry of Education's syllabus (1989: p. 8) also indicated that: 'students should be able to gather information for a defined purpose by developing the abilities, appropriate to the level of study, to select information from ... community resources such as older people, historical sites, libraries, and museums.' The Ministry of Education (p. 9), moreover, had also noted that students 'should be able to present findings in written, visual and oral form.' To assist history teachers, the Ministry suggested that 'oral presentation can include reporting, class discussion, debates, role-plays, panels, recorded projects and seminars.'

The following sections indicate that although the Te Ātiawa interviewees' recommendations were consistent with the syllabus skills objectives, prescribed by the Ministry of Education's (1989) *History Forms 5 to 7 Syllabus for Schools* document and complimented by the introduction of relatively loose NCEA guidelines 2001a,b, 2002a,

¹⁵⁰ Because the Te Ātiawa interviewees had participated in the Port Nicholson Block claims process, in different ways, it seems that this experience led them to draw similar conclusions. The Te Ātiawa interviewees believed that, like Tribunal historians, secondary school history students should engage with different forms of historical data to develop more complex understandings of the past.

most teachers felt ill-equipped to facilitate oral history research and/or oral presentation tasks.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' preferences

The Te Ātiawa interviewees identified the collection, analysis and presentation of oral historical information as constituting one of the most realistic or authentic set of research tasks for students to undertake. They believed these tasks would enable students to develop deeper levels of historical empathy and a more critical appreciation of their personal and familial notions of national identity, citizenship and morality. The Te Ātiawa interviewees' collective stance was well-supported by a large body of international literature associated with the study of indigenous histories and the development of oral histories and oral history education.

For example, writers like Attwood (2001: pp. 183-213), Beckett (2001: pp. 123-142), Bird Rose (2001: pp. 61-79), Magowan (2001: pp. 41-60) and Parsonson (2001: pp. 21-40) demonstrated that indigenous histories not only contest conventional national histories because they tell different stories, but they also confront the prevailing definitions of history that have been imposed by colonial powers. The Te Ātiawa interviewees' stance, furthermore, was supported by numerous Māori historians/oral historians. For example, writers like M. Carter (2005: pp. 43-44), Collins (2005: pp. 83-88), Parekowhai (2005: pp. 38-42), Pere (2005: pp. 50-53), Soutar (2005: pp. 4-15), Walker (1996: pp. 2-4), Walsh-Tapiata (2005: pp. 33-37) and Whaanga (2005: pp. 23-27) have all, differently, illustrated how oral histories support the maintenance of whānau, hapū and iwi identities.

Similarly, writers like Keenan (2005: pp. 54-61), Mead (2005: pp. 28-32), McLean (2005: pp. 19-22) and Royal (1992a, 1992b: pp. 21-25, 1997: pp. 10-14, 1999: pp. 2-6, 2005a: pp. 16-18, 2005b: pp. 45-49) have demonstrated that oral histories not only maintain tribal identities, but contribute to the settlement of historical grievances while supporting the economic initiatives of different whānau, hapū and iwi. In a wider context, oral historians/historians like Church (1994: p. 23), McWhinnie (1996/97: pp. 8-10), Moodie (2004: pp. 1-8), Robinson (2003: pp. 12-16), Rushbrook (1991: pp. 1-3), Seixas (1993: pp. 301-327), Tamasese (1994: pp. 66-79), Tuapola (2005: pp. 26-27), Vansina (1985: pp. 13-25), Wigginton (1985), Wilson (1998a: pp. 24-26, 1998b: pp. 27-36) have demonstrated that oral histories *can* contribute to a deeper understanding of contested pasts and futures.

Likewise, oral history educators like Chadwick (2006; pp. 173-180), Crocco (2006: pp. 225-236), Grele (2006: pp. 329-338), Kuhn, McLellan, Nixon, Moon and Daspit (2006: pp. 35-54), Mc Carthy (2006: pp. 313-326), Olmedo (2006; pp. 163-171), Porter (2006: pp. 301-310), not to mention Sidwell (2006: pp. 349-356), Walbert (2006: pp. 147-160), Whitman (2006a: pp. 85-114, 2006b: pp. 239-252) and Whitman and Wood (2006: pp. 281-282) have identified different ways in which oral history activities can or should be developed to enable students to participate in authentic historical research activities that allow them to critique official narratives of the past in relation to their own identity formation processes. Porter (pp. 301-302), for example, argued that:

Students do not necessarily find traditional methods of historical education – lectures, discussions, document sets videos and so forth – the most engaging way to spend fifty minutes. Students see themselves outside the process of historical inquiry without authentic tasks and no sense of what historians do ... However, this need not be the case. The inclusion of oral history in the classroom, at nearly any [year] level provides students with a genuine sense of history and historical methods. Properly implemented, oral history allows students to model the work of professional historians, gathering the raw material of history, analyzing these resources, and reporting their understandings. Beyond modelling opportunities, oral history is authentic, experiential learning that allows links from local incident to national occurrence, and the reverse, to be forged. The most geographically isolated of students can participate in oral history activities, but only if their instructors are aware of the benefits and have the training to implement the techniques.

Rushbrook (1991: pp. 1-2), similarly, suggested that advantages can be gained from incorporating oral history in New Zealand school history programmes:

It gives us a personal perspective on history, making us feel part of the past through our understanding of the people who are interviewed. It often records material that would not be preserved in any other way. It can reveal social undercurrents and a variety of experience that is not recorded in written evidence. It allows aspects of history which have been ignored to take centre stage ... What is more, oral history absolutely requires the use of primary resource material as a balance to the textbook history which can so easily dominate our courses.

Walbert (2006: p.148) reflected the logic of the Te Ātiawa interviewees' collective stance when she suggested that oral history projects help students to 'feel a personal connection to the past and to the life of their community.' She reasoned that:

When students sit down to talk to an older person in their community about the past, history ceases to be a random sequence of names and dates. It starts being something that happened to (and because of) real people like themselves – people with feelings, hopes and aspirations much like their own. Oral history allows students to understand the past in a first person way and to gain a palpable sense of the joy, pain, sorrow, fear and hope that others experienced as history unfolded.

Parekowhai (2005: p. 42) added that the ability to 'listen' to other people, constituted a highly valuable research skill in its own right, and all the Te Ātiawa interviewees agreed that listening skills are highly valuable. For example, Interviewee Four said:

I think that listening is far more important than writing in some ways. I mean, ultimately, it's the listening skills that will "make or break them [students]." It's the listening skills that will determine whether or not they gain a deeper understanding of what a person is trying to tell them. There's been so many times, in New Zealand history, when the written record's only focused on a particular sort of viewpoint and failed to capture what the person is actually trying to tell them. They [Pākehā researchers] go in there with a particular bias and they just pull those parts from the interviewee's discussion that will support what they are trying to say. They seem to misconstrue and twist things around.

Parekowhai (p. 40) however, gave the example of the Pākehā oral historian, Bev McCombs, to support her argument that Pākehā oral historians can be 'aware of and act on the shifts in perspective and relationship implied in Māori narrative without necessarily succumbing to some kind of culturally sensitive paralysis.' Similar views were shared by experts who attended the Māori history education hui at Whakato marae (1987).¹⁵¹ For example, Binney (1988: p. 51) reported that:

At no stage of the hui were written resources ever used. The value placed on the ability to speak, and even more important to listen, is paramount in the Māori

¹⁵¹ This hui was previously discussed in chapter four.

teaching process. Accurate and intuitive listening (i.e. listening to what is *not* said, and is beyond literal meaning) is a skill the learner needs to develop in the Māori context. This is not to say, however, that the written word has no place.

The Ministry's *History Forms 5 to 7 Syllabus for Schools* document (1989: pp. 12-14) failed to take much heed of the advice offered at this hui. For example, the Ministry did not place emphasis upon encouraging teachers to develop authentic research tasks, like oral history projects, to enable students to develop listening skills, attitudes, values and empathy. Instead the Ministry emphasised that history teachers should create simulated classroom activities to develop skills like empathy. The Ministry's logic was most evident when it explained (p. 12) that:

Students will examine beliefs and values that have motivated individuals and groups to act as they did within their historical context. Such knowledge will help students to develop empathy with men and women in history and clarify their own attitudes on matters of belief and principle. Through discussion, role play, and imaginative writing, students can explore their own feelings and reactions in simulated historical situations. This experience should provide not only insight into historical events but also a commitment to values such as concern for others, an appreciation of cultural differences, respect for human dignity, and a belief in social justice.

The Ministry, therefore, advocated the development of simulated or artificial learning activities that writers like Orr (1992: pp. 133-140), Cajete (1994: pp. 25-32), Bowers (2000: pp. 19-20, 48-75, 111-139), Hollings (1996: p. 120), Lipka, Mohatt and the Ciulistet Group (1998: p. 29, 108, pp. 111-112), Sober (2004: pp. 1-98) and Penetito (2004: pp. 10-16) later described as being poor substitutes for authentic (e.g. place-based) activities.¹⁵²

The Ministry also noted, however, (p. 14) that school history programmes should 'develop the concept of place' and 'reflect the perspective of more than one culture, avoiding a Eurocentric approach.' None of the Te Ātiawa interviewees believed that 'simulated historical situations' provided the best means to enable students to develop such a concept of place, a 'concern for others' or an 'appreciation of cultural differences' (as per the

¹⁵² PBE often incorporates the collection, analysis and presentation of oral information to support a plethora of community-initiated projects.

Ministry's suggestions). The Te Ātiawa interviewees, like their expert counterparts at the Whakato marae hui, preferred the establishment of authentic tasks which would enable students to engage with tangata whenua to conduct research that is beneficial to all parties involved.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' recommendations reflected Hart (2002: pp. 89-157), who believed that it was vital to involve young people in community development and environmental care projects. For example, they wanted to see history students undertaking oral history projects precisely because such activities would require students to engage with members of the tangata whenua in projects that are mutually beneficial.¹⁵³ Likewise, they wanted students to develop historical empathy by engaging with older members of their own families, or communities, in local places of cultural significance. Interviewee Five, for example, reasoned:

Ultimately, written history tasks are a Pākehā way of doing things, which leads me to my second concern. Do the students really have that same feeling for the past, coming through from reading books, alone? Have they ever been in a cultural situation where oral history is dominant and more highly valued, like it is within a Māori setting? Well, what are the skills of a good historian? Perhaps doing oral history projects would teach history students to listen to other people and that would definitely be a good thing. Not just in relation to history, but in other disciplinary fields as well. I think oral history projects would allow students to learn how to interact with older people. I think interacting with older people would be a really good way to help students to grow up as people, whilst widening their knowledge base. I also think the kids will get a much more immediate sense of history by learning that way.

Interviewee Four, likewise, suggested that:

Social interaction skills are very important because a lot of history is carried out through the interviewing process. Therefore, the interviewing process requires that a relationship needs to be established. It's the small details like, the way you hold yourself, your personality and all that type of thing. For example, speaking as a Māori interviewee, if I found that the interviewer was sort of arrogant or dismissive

¹⁵³ Thus, one should not underestimate the importance of the concept of utu/reciprocity in the development of place-based learning initiatives in the New Zealand context.

of my culture, my answers would be quite different to the answers I'd give to someone interacting with me by treating me and my culture with respect. School history students need to learn that interviewees will feel more comfortable, and be much more open to the needs of the interviewer, if the interviewer treats the interviewee with respect.

Interviewee Four and Five's beliefs are supported by a substantial body of oral history literature, including the work of McDowell (1989: pp. 5-7), Selby (1999: pp. 6-8) and the National Oral History Association of New Zealand (1993: pp. 22-27), and by the works of numerous oral history educators. Sitwell (2006: p. 352), for example, observed that:

When sharing oral histories with each other, students can also learn in authentic ways that diversity is a good thing and that our stories and our experiences make us who we are and give us the various talents we need to contribute to our communities. It was Shakespeare's Hamlet who remarked "There are more things in Heaven and Earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy." Taking learners beyond their "philosophies" is what learning; diversity and oral history are all about.

That is not to say that the Te Ātiawa interviewees did not see any challenges associated with the collection, analysis and presentation of oral historical information. For example, Interviewee Two said:

Being able to write in a comprehensible form is, relatively speaking, easily taught. I think, however, that we really need to make more effort to teach history students the skills of interviewing, of listening, of knowing how to conduct interviews. For example, a friend of mine is an avid student of war histories and he was interviewing his partner's father who was in the war [World War II] and as they talked, it was not really a formal interview in any sense, he ... occasionally gave prompts and reminded his partner's father about what was happening in this battle. Well, the daughter had never heard any of these stories from her father and she was fascinated because he probably hadn't related those stories to anyone for fifty years. So, I think students need to learn a few of those interviewing skills. They can easily practice them on their parents, grandparents and people like that. I think people in the community would be surprised just what they [students] will come up with. I mean, these are skills that all history students should be learning.

Interviewee seven best articulated the Te Ātiawa interviewees' fears regarding the limited amount of time they believed was given to teaching students listening, prompting and oral recall skills. His comments, below, align with Lummis (1987: pp. 117-131) and McDowell's (1989: pp. 5-7) analyses of 'human memory', and Bowers' (2000: pp. 48-75, 111-139) concerns regarding the 'false promises' of computer-based education:

I think oral history skills are essential. Having the capacity of memory is something that's disappearing and it's disappearing fast. That is because we're now much too reliant on machinery to hold memory for us. I mean, for example, you've got the tape recorder going as we speak right now! We have calculators to do maths, we've got TV sets, CDs, any amount of computers and all these things are used to retain information. So all you're doing is watering down your natural memory bank! Young people, today, really need to build their memory banks. They're too dependant on technology! They don't have to exercise their memory. Yet, we've become aware, in the last twenty years or so, just how much we have to exercise the body to stay healthy, but what do we do to exercise our memory? Memory is a very powerful thing!

To conclude, though the Te Ātiawa interviewees indicated that written information writing skills were of great importance, they also believed that a range of oral history skills, particularly listening and prompting skills, were of equal or greater value. Although the collection and presentation of oral information was recommended by the Ministry of Education's (1989) syllabus guidelines, the Te Ātiawa interviewees' stance was not shared by the majority of the teachers interviewed.

The teacher participants' preferences

Only two of the participating schools enabled their students to conduct oral history projects for summative assessment purposes, in conjunction with NCEA, during the year 2005. However the teachers concerned were not familiar with the National Oral History Association of New Zealand's (2002) *Code of Ethical and Technical Practice*.¹⁵⁴ If a lack of knowledge about oral history technical practice was a cause for concern so, too, was the shadow cast by the teachers' responses to NCEA administrative requirements, such as moderation processes. For example, when I asked Teacher Seven if she felt most local

¹⁵⁴ It should be noted that both of these teachers were very receptive to the idea of gaining advice and training, from NOHANZ to improve their development of oral history projects.

history teachers preferred written assessment tasks because they were less risky in terms of meeting official moderation guidelines, she said:

Yeah! It's an irony, though, because when you look at it, critically, even the NZQA [New Zealand Qualifications Authority] doesn't seem to feel that it has successfully found the formula for moderating any of the written stuff, yet. The argument that's often brought up to defend the emphasis on writing is that oratory skills are a barrier, that if you use oratory presentation skills as the main mode of assessment then it's a barrier to a lot of history students, because they can't present themselves, verbally, in that way. Ok, that's true to some extent, but on the other hand, the other way of assessing learning, through written tasks alone, is also a real barrier to other students.

Teacher Seven's argument reflected Olmedo's proposition (2006: pp. 166) that:

Content-area teachers who have students with limited English-speaking ability in their classes quickly learn that they have to be cognizant of the language-learning needs of these students. They have to recognise that the importance of developing the students' oral skills. Teachers need to provide many opportunities for these students to *listen* [my emphasis] and speak, using natural language wherever possible. Oral history is an ideal way to focus on the oral skills because students have to use these skills in the interview process and in presenting the information to their classmates.

Olmedo went further:

In addition, the children's literacy skills are also enhanced when the students translate and transcribe the oral interviews or abstract from them what is most valuable for sharing with others in the class. As they develop their presentations, the children need to identify the main idea, the supporting details, and the critical examples. These are language and literacy skills that all teachers want to develop in their students. And they are no less important for the ESL [English as a Second Language] student. Moreover, because students need to use their native language to conduct the interviews, an oral history project provides a legitimate role for the

native language without necessarily dedicating actual classroom time to it as would be the case in a bilingual classroom.

Seven teachers however still felt that oral history projects constituted shaky pedagogical vehicles that were too risky to drive in the NCEA era.¹⁵⁵ Teacher Five, for example, said students were:

... not given any grades for oral research, mainly due to the difficulties of NCEA moderation, that's what I would say. For example, our year 11 students are new to history and you've got the 6 subject classes with twenty eight students per class. I mean, it's a bit hard to do things like that, but if you've got a small group, like if I only had ten kids in a class, then I'd easily be able to do something like that. You know, where they give an oral presentation to the class about something and they get graded on that. But, when you've got twenty eight it's much harder because of the volume of data. It would take a week or more to get all the presentations heard and to expect the girls to sit there? Well, they're not that good at being an audience and listening to someone else.

There were other difficulties:

Also, the girls get nervous and in terms of evidence of proving authenticity, for moderation purposes, you'd have to video them too. They do that in English and they're always complaining about the video cameras. Then, there's all the listening to the tapes! I think some girls would have really good access to technology and others wouldn't and they may be disadvantaged because of it. Heck, the teacher would also have to sit there and listen to the tape, maybe more than once. If it is written down on paper you can just flick back to it and quickly go over it again. Whereas, if it's on tape, well, you have to listen to it again and again and it might be of poor sound quality or hard to understand. There are all those sorts of issues that make oral assessment activities too hard for teachers.

Teacher One's comments epitomise why these seven teachers believed that NCEA administration requirements were having a negative impact upon how history was taught:

¹⁵⁵ Teachers One, Two, Three, Five, Seven, Eight and Nine.

NCEA has really wiped [oral history research and oral presentation tasks] out for us because we have to be able to say that “this is what this student can do” and as a result, we’re not even doing those oral history skills in the junior school either, where we *could* have the ability to do that! We could do [oral research and presentation] work in groups, and stuff like that, but the whole thing about NCEA is that it’s about [teachers] having to pin a grade to a specific student and that has led us to be in a situation whereby the development of oral history skills doesn’t happen.

Teacher One’s comments align with Bowers’ (2000: pp. 12, 58, 63, 72, 178, pp. 98-99), observations of contemporary ‘Western’ schooling systems and how their competitive, standardized assessment systems promote a culture of individualism. Though these teachers could rationalize their preferences, their notions of literacy might be related to their own deep cultural assumptions about progress, or assumptions they held about their roles as cultural mediators in their classrooms. As Bowers (2005: p. 115) observed:

The language of colonization – of the environment and of other cultures – has only to be examined in order to see how language reproduces the moral norms of the culture. An example that comes to mind is the way in which literacy has been represented in classrooms as an expression of progress and “illiteracy” (that is, oral cultures) as backward. Ignorance about the complexity of oral cultures became the basis of a cultural prejudice which, in turn, became a moral judgement that opened the door for missionaries and other promoters of Western Enlightenment ideas. As the content of the curriculum can only be shared through the use of language, the teacher needs to understand that teaching one of the sciences, history, or whatever, is also a form of moral education (or, as is often the case, moral mis-education).

In relation to Bowers’ concerns regarding the ‘moral mis-education’ of history students, only Teachers Four and Seven (who worked in lower decile multicultural schools) identified oral history activities as possessing the potential to address a range of moral issues associated with the teaching dilemmas they faced in their own classrooms. Teacher Seven proposed that oral information tasks would assist her to address equity issues:

Personally, I think that history isn’t just about the English language and promoting functional literacy. It’s more about thinking, critical thinking. And you can access those critical thinking skills in all sorts of ways. The fact remains that a lot of our kids come from oral history cultures. Those oral cultures are very real to them

because that's what's practised at home ... I think the key thing is that if we've got such a huge cultural range of students in our schools, we should have a much more flexible assessment system to allow them all to 'shine' in terms of their different patterns of historical thinking.

This proposition aligned with the work of Tamasese (1994) and Tuapola (2005). For example, Tuapola, when describing the Alofa atu i Kalaisetete project which traced the 'migration stories of Samoan pioneers to Christchurch', noted (p. 27) that:

During some of the interviews this process allowed the interviewees to return to the stories of their parents and grandparents, and demonstrate the oratory skills which they had been taught by their elders. This format has provided an ideal basis for ensuring their stories have been appropriately recorded, in a manner which has been approved by the interviewees. The beauty of the interviews, in part, was recording their voices, especially in song. The activities have given us an insight into the early political and social activities of the Samoan community in Christchurch.

Teacher Four was the only teacher to indicate that she had specifically instructed students to interview a Māori person (in this case, about the causes and consequences of post-World War II Māori rural-urban migration). As she suggested, this research involved a small group of mainly Pākehā students moving outside their 'cultural comfort-zones' and taking what she perceived to be 'risks':

Last year, I took a class out to visit a Ngāti Porou kuia [an elderly woman from the Ngāti Porou iwi] who was living nearby. They were studying the impact of Māori urbanization. The reason I took them out to see her, rather than bringing her into the school, was because I wanted her to feel comfortable and I also felt that my kids needed extending. So, it was an exercise not just in interviewing her, but an exercise in extending their ability to function out of their safe place [the school] and helping them to be able to cross thresholds that they might otherwise never have been crossed. Everyday, this kuia has visitors to her house but these students would never ever have attempted to go and visit somebody like her. So to actually cross her threshold, sit down and present their interview questions to her was something new, that they weren't necessarily comfortable with.

This teacher was married to a member of the interviewee's iwi, and the personal relationship, as she acknowledged, helped her to initiate the group interview. Most of the other teachers felt detached from their local Māori communities because they had little or no contact with Māori adults during, or after, work hours.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, none of them had had any experience of facilitating oral history research projects in Māori community contexts that would assist them, or their students, to interview Te Ātiawa repositories of knowledge, should the opportunity arise. Therefore, what follows addresses the status of visual historical information and associated skills.

The status of visual information and associated skills

If oral history research and oral presentation skills were afforded low status, in the participating schools, so too were visual information and associated skills. This was despite the fact that the Ministry of Education (1989: p. 8) noted that students should be able 'to gather information' and 'record it in an organized form' from 'a wide variety of other resource material, such as posters, pictures, films, filmstrips, tapes, records, videos, computer files, cartoons, maps, graphs and diagrams.' Furthermore, the Ministry of Education (p. 9) clearly stipulated that 'students should be able to present findings' in a 'visual form' and that 'visual presentation can include time lines, posters, collages, photographs, slides and videos.'¹⁵⁷

The Te Ātiawa interviewees placed great value on visual historical information and the development of students' visual presentation skills and in this their views aligned with the Ministry of Education (1989) guidelines for the development of visual information collection, analysis and presentation skills. Although visual information tasks were incorporated by the nine teachers into their history programmes, they were only accorded a minor percentage of the overall presentation marks available at each NCEA year level. The teachers cited NCEA assessment moderation requirements for not according greater status to visual information and presentation skills during summative assessment tasks. However, some of them could see a case for the development of summative assessment

¹⁵⁶ This problem is discussed, further, in chapter eight.

¹⁵⁷ The drawing of time lines depicting major events in New Zealand history constitutes one of the most popular visual presentation activities I encountered in local history and social studies classrooms. These timelines were not culturally neutral. They reinforced a linear view of New Zealand history and a social-Darwinian concept of progress. To view a classic New Zealand history time line, see Appendix Thirty-Seven: 'The Road to Progress': A photograph (ca. 1928) of a timeline that illustrates some classic cultural biases inherent within a teacher's visual presentation of New Zealand history.

activities that would test their students' collection, analysis and presentation of visual information.

Two teachers, in particular, believed that Information and Communication Technology (ICT) presentation tasks (involving power-point presentations) constitute 'culturally inclusive' pedagogies that meet the needs of students from ethnic minority groups or supposedly 'less academic' students. Furthermore, all of the teachers placed high value on their students possessing the ability to collect, process and present information retrieved from the internet. They also believed their students should be able to deliver visually attractive power-point presentations. However, these activities were not, as Bowers (2000: pp. 123-139) recognized, 'culturally neutral' tasks. Though the majority of the teachers interviewed had incorporated computer literacy skills into their history programmes, they often overlooked the potential of other visual communication activities (such as film-making, photography and traditional/contemporary visual arts) which were recommended by writers like Hart (2002), Robinson (2003) and Thomashow (2002).

These mediums of visual communication, though also susceptible to the cultural biases of the dominant culture, could enable students to benefit from what Gruenewald (2003: pp. 8-10) described as a 'critical pedagogy of place.' For example, a critical pedagogy of place might draw upon visual information in ways that assist students to interrogate the authority of those written colonial historical narratives and/or definitions of history that were criticized by L. Smith (1999: pp. 33-35).

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' preferences

When Interviewee Seven was asked whether students should be assessed through a wide range of activities (rather than merely essay writing or written examination), he epitomised the views of the Te Ātiawa interviewees by responding:

Oh, yes! I guess it's about assessing historical knowledge by using different mediums or different methods of expression. I mean knowledge of history can be expressed simply by carving, weaving or painting something. History can actually engender so much enthusiasm in individuals that they will go on and become artists, for instance. I guess there is a rationale for assessing people with a written exam, whereby everyone takes the same exam and answers the same questions. That's an accepted method, worldwide, but the opportunity for someone to actually express their historical knowledge, in a different way, well, the only time that I've seen that

happen is with people who take art. They have a freer scope, in their artistic expression, to share their historical knowledge. It can vary from telling history through carving, weaving, painting, poetry, or even that whole range of stuff, mixed together. But, that wasn't something I experienced when learning history at school.

Interviewee Seven, then, recognized that historical information could easily be communicated and assessed through a wide range of traditional and contemporary visual art forms. Thus, various mediums of art (symbolism etc) can serve as mnemonic devices. This logic was consistent with the work of writers like Mead (1996, 1997a, 1997b), Nicholas (1986), Puketapu (1989), Whaanga (2005) and Webster (1995), who all described traditional and contemporary Māori art-forms as providing valid mediums for enhancing the recall and transmission of tribal histories. It should be noted that local Te Ātiawa people (including some of the interviewees and other Taranaki whānui people) hosted a major exhibition at the City Gallery Wellington, during the period 26 August 2000 –19 January 2001. Memories of this exhibition, titled *Parihaka: The Art of Passive Protest*, were still fresh in the minds of some interviewees, and this may have influenced their responses. It is also worth noting that writers like Brown (2005: pp. 172- 178), Curnow (2005: pp. 139-144), Hohaia (2005: pp. 43-65), Manē-Wheoki (2005: pp. 129-138), Mack (2005: pp. 117-120), O'Brien (2005a: pp. 148-153) and Strongman (2005: pp. 154-160), developed arguments, in conjunction with this exhibition, that correlated with the Te Ātiawa interviewees' stance. Brown, for example, argued (p. 172) that:

The history of Parihaka is more than a narrative written in books. It is an ever evolving story, spoken on marae, discussed on campuses and expressed through canvas, paper and wood. Certain critical paths or events have inspired Māori and non-Māori artists to respond to the Parihaka story. Some of the paths are cultural, while the events are derived from literature, the media, and art.

Given that art inspired so many people to 'respond to the Parihaka story', Interviewee Five's suggestion was pertinent:

Students could collate and present aspects of Te Ātiawa history in tapes, films, photography, videos or books and they could become repositories for other pupils, or for the wider community, as a result. Maybe then, hopefully, it would raise the awareness of everyone in the community of what really happened to us [Te Ātiawa] and what is still happening to us, today.

Hart (2002: pp. 182-192), Robinson (2003: pp. 12-15) and others have encouraged the development of creative teaching activities such as photo-conversations (in the form of participant-generated images), photo-documentaries and movie-making tasks which, in turn, could be fused with oral, written and other visual activities. They have drawn attention to the possibilities of students producing radio programmes, televised interviews/documentaries, the composition and performance of music, the choreography and performance of dance, the writing and production of drama, and so forth. The Te Ātiawa interviewees frequently linked the development of authentic, creative learning activities to the goal of becoming familiar with one's place and/or one's ability to read the landscape as a text.

This indicated that educators advocating such developments are not just inhabitants of the ivory tower, but citizens connected to the communities they serve and places they inhabit. Thomashow (2002: pp. 186-187) proposed that 'multiple learning styles' need to be incorporated into curriculum programme planning processes to support the development of students' senses of 'ecological identity.' He (p. 186) reasoned that:

People have highly individualized learning styles – approaches to information, ways of interpreting experience, methods of conveying ideas, and so on, that vary according to how they learn and what is important to them ... For ecological identity work, respecting multiple learning styles is crucial as the goal is to find whatever means possible to convey and interpret one's experience of nature ... For some people, an essay couldn't possibly convey their ideas, especially their psycho-spiritual understanding of the material, hence other forms of expression are more suitable. Others are intimidated by the prospect of using their artistic imagination, seeking shelter in their proficiency in, let's say, analytical writing.

The teacher participants' preferences

The Te Ātiawa interviewees were not intimidated by the prospect of history students 'using their artistic imagination' to collect, analyse and present visual historical information while most teacher participants placed less value on such information and skills. Seven of the nine teachers were uncomfortable at the prospect of assessing visual skills and the analysis and presentation of other visual information was accorded lower status than that afforded to skills associated with written information. When Teacher Four was asked to describe the status of visual literacy skills in her school, she typified the views of the teachers interviewed:

No grades are allocated to visual presentation skills at [this school]. I think it's probably because even though it is presented in picture or diagram of some description, if it is not explained in written form, the perspective of the marker might be slightly different and so therefore it will not be graded accurately. [The assessment of visual presentations] could be done with a written explanation to decode the picture or symbols, I suppose, but it would be very hard for the marker to set up an assessment schedule for it.¹⁵⁸ It's something I haven't really thought about, to be honest ... Why would it be difficult? I guess it's because we've never worked in that sort of format before so it would always be difficult to start doing that, now.

Similarly, Teacher One said:

It's very hard to say what value is placed on visual information or visual forms of presentation. We might do something like [write] a brochure for the Low Cartoon Exhibition or something like that, where there's a visual element of it involved. You know, there's sort of 'flair' and things like that, that can come into it, yeah, subjective stuff! But, otherwise, there's nothing, really, in terms of value placed on the assessment of visual presentation skills. There's always the writing that goes with that visual presentation that gets assessed. There is always a written element even to those visual, or so-called visual things. So, only a tiny percentage of grades are allocated to assessing visual skills.

Although Teacher Two acknowledged that he did not test visual information skills for summative assessment purposes, he strived to incorporate visual literacy and presentation skills during his lessons:

We don't do anything, visual, in terms of formal [summative] assessment. However, I do things with the kids during the [year 12] Indo-China topic about trying to imagine you're the Viet Minh. In that activity, students have to produce propaganda posters for an illiterate audience. Another activity is that they're allowed ten words only to show how NZ trade diversified between 1945 and 1985. So yeah, I've got an awareness of the potential of visual presentation, largely because my year 12 class, last year, had a high incidence of crossover between art and graphics students and

¹⁵⁸ English and art already assess static or visual images for NCEA purposes. Therefore, local history teachers could choose to consult with their colleagues in these curriculum areas to develop assessment activities that comply with NCEA requirements.

these guys tended to find the depth of reading, required, made it quite a struggle for them. So, one of my major tasks last year was to assist them with their revision and to get them to think about presenting historical information in symbolic terms which would be easy for them to recall. So, yeah, it was really just about catering for a different, more visual, type of learning style.

When he was asked if he felt that visual information tasks encouraged higher levels of critical thinking, he replied:

Yeah, I think visual assessment activities can encourage a higher level of thinking and help develop greater levels of empathy, too. One of the things that would be interesting to explore, further, is how some of our students, who favour the more traditional and dominant learning styles, would cope with this [visual presentation of information] as a form of formal [summative] assessment, because I'm sure this would cause them a lot of resentment. They've certainly got their arrogance about how academically able they are! Within this college we tend to have a very well developed academic self image among the so-called 'A' stream students and I think they would find that visual assessment quite challenging. I do a couple of revision activities around pictorial dictation and funnily enough, my very able linguistic learners, who favour text based learning, loathe it. Why? [He laughed] Because it takes away their way of doing things! Quite often they'll cheat and they'll write notes instead. But, I find that the majority of my kids use pictorial dictation as it's one of the best ways to retain information, even though they say they loathe it, it's the thing that always comes back to them during revision.

Teacher Two's comments about his student's discomfort with using art or visual symbols could be contextualised in an international body of history education literature. Levstik and Barton (1997: p. 155) argued that:

Producing your own historical art is quite different from using the arts as historical data. It is like the difference between reading a novel and writing one. Making historical art, in particular, can seem like a very risky business to a youngster. Faced with the problem of combining the symbology of art and the requirements of history students will need plenty of supportive instruction.

They proposed (pp. 155-159) that students and teachers alike ‘think of producing historical arts as both problem solving and intellectual risk taking.’ Levstik and Barton (p. 150) also encouraged the use of historical art as ‘source material’ because, like interviewees Five and Seven, they believed that the ‘arts can speak across race, class and cultural differences.’ Teacher Seven also proposed that the assessment of visual information skills would benefit students in her low decile school. Like most of her peers, she bemoaned the fact that her history students had limited access to a computer suite and she viewed the ability to use a computer, for visual presentation tasks, as constituting the most important sets of visual information gathering and presentation skills.

The reality is that we’re doing all right in terms of knowing ‘how’ to use computers ... but we don’t get enough access to them. I’d like to be able to use them a lot more often, using programmes that are designed for analysing, organizing text, sorting ideas, using lots of really great graphics that you can find on various programmes, like *Inspiration* for example. I don’t know if you know it, but kids *love* using *Inspiration*, it makes them into better history writers, just because of the graphic content. Using things like the Internet is really important for teaching history. I think giving kids the opportunities to design web sites, those sorts of things are important activities. The reality is, though, that we need more of that technology and much more time to learn about new [technologies].

She added:

I use posters, sort of like static displays/static images in some assignments, PowerPoint kind of presentations which have got sort of video clips that you can stick into them. So, yeah, there’s really a whole lot of scope for visual presentation skills to be developed and I really think it’s important, particularly in cross-cultural settings. There’s a whole lot of good reasons, particularly in multicultural schools, in terms of ‘why’ that [visual] way of presenting historical information *is* useful. There are barriers for some schools in doing that, though. It’s mainly about accessing the [computer] equipment. It would be very appropriate for students of minority cultures, especially in low decile schools, to be presenting their ideas, visually, but there might be a real barrier as far as getting the resources needed for presentation and moderation purposes.

Teacher Eight also believed that computer presentation tasks, involving power-point, could overcome many of the learning difficulties experienced by students from different cultural backgrounds and those students whom he described as being ‘less academically-gifted.’ He said, for example, that:

They’re surprisingly up to date, these kids. It’s amazing just how good some of our kids are on the computer when, otherwise, you would say “they’re as thick as two short planks!” But, get them in front of a computer and a whole new world opens up for them.

Some 15 years ago the Ministry of Education (1993: p. 13, 18) stressed that ICT would play a major role in determining the future direction of the New Zealand education system. A number of New Zealand educators like Brown (1991: pp. 32-34), Devlin (1991: p. 31), Fisher (2000: pp. 46-58) and Maindonald (2001: pp. 23-27) have also argued for using computers to assist ‘indigenous students’ and/or to facilitate the teaching of history. The reasons they have presented for this argument are often, however, problematic. Scholars like Bowers (1988, 1995, 2000, 2005), Ellul (1964, 1966), Illich (1970: p. 37), Foucault (1982: pp. 208-226), Mumford (1934, 1967, 1970) and Weizenbaum (1976) have posed philosophical questions that challenge teachers to critically reflect upon the nature and uses of technology in their classrooms. Bowers (2000: pp. 22-34), for example, expressed deep concerns regarding ‘cyberspace as a cultural experience.’ In considering why teachers Seven and Eight believed that using computers constituted a ‘culturally-neutral’ means of enabling ‘minority’ students to collect, analyse and present visual (historical) information, Bower’s views (pp. 123-128), below, are relevant:

For students sitting in front of a computer screen, moving a cursor, and accessing data, the fundamental relationship is not between them and their machines. Rather, it is between the mind of the student and the minds of the people who designed the mechanical systems of the computer and who wrote the software that contains the conceptual matrix within which students think ... When we examine the cultural assumptions, values and patterns of thinking encountered in educational software, the power of Roszak’s [1994] insight into the “mind meeting mind” relationship becomes clearer.

As most educational software reproduces the same cultural patterns experienced as normal in our modern, technological, and consumer-driven society, few middle-class parents and teachers recognize the double-binds created by these assumptions and values – particularly how they contribute to ecologically degenerative economic and technological practices. Few parents and teachers will recognize the historical linkages between their highest values (including their own view of personal success) and the Industrial Revolution, with all its ecological implications.

Bowers (2000: p. 138), what is more, argued that teachers often ignore non-Western forms of ‘cultural storage’ and ‘renewal’, such as ‘elder knowledge’ and ‘the need to develop symbolic forms of expression (music, dance, narrative, ceremony) that do not diminish the process of nature.’ This chapter indicates that the teacher participants consistently accorded greater value to written information, and this was often collected via the internet. They tended to overlook other forms of cultural storage and renewal such as elder knowledge and/or symbolic forms of expression.

Conclusion

The Ministry of Education (1989) has specified that history teachers should teach students the skills of information gathering and information processing by using a wide range of written, oral and visual sources. Te Ātiawa interviewees responded to questions in ways that aligned with the Ministry’s (1989, 2001, 2002) history syllabus guidelines which noted that history students should be able to develop written, oral and visual presentation skills in the interests of a ‘balanced’ curriculum.

There was little congruence evident between the views of the Te Ātiawa interviewees and those of the teacher participants. The teachers argued that systemic constraints (including time constraints, assessment moderation procedures, lack of professional development, equity issues etc.) prevented them from according oral and visual historical information and presentation skills the same value as written information and written presentation skills. The Ministry expected - at least in theory - that teachers would implement learning programmes based on all of the essential skills of their respective syllabus/curriculum documents, and adhere to the relevant equity provisions of the National Administration Guidelines (NAGs) and National Education Guidelines (NEGs), in order to deliver a ‘balanced curriculum.’ However, as chapter three indicated, the Ministry has no policy mechanisms to ensure that all New Zealand secondary school teachers do, indeed, deliver a ‘balanced’ curriculum. On the evidence of my research, they have not.

Chapter seven: The perceived benefits of a PBE partnership characterised by a critical pedagogy of place

Introduction

This chapter discusses what the research participants considered to be the benefits most likely to accrue from a PBE partnership between local Te Ātiawa people and schools. Both groups of research participants agreed that an effective PBE partnership model could be beneficial to all parties. The perspectives of the Te Ātiawa interviewees will be considered first. All of the Te Ātiawa interviewees indicated that they favoured the adoption of pedagogical approaches that were consistent with those found in the PBE models this writer encountered in literature and/or learned about in Alaska. Equally, the teacher participants were positive about the potential development of a critical pedagogy of place resulting from a partnership between their schools and Te Ātiawa. The research participants' general endorsement of a critical pedagogy of place lends weight to the arguments of indigenous academics. L. Smith (1999: pp. 34-35) for example, observed that:

Coming to know the past has been part of the critical pedagogy of decolonization. To hold alternative histories is to hold alternative knowledges. The pedagogical implication of this access to alternative knowledges is that they can form the basis for alternative ways of doing things. Transforming our colonized views of our own history ... requires us to revisit, site by site, our history under Western eyes. This in turn requires a theory or approach which helps us to engage with, understand and then act upon history.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees' perspectives regarding the potential benefits of a PBE partnership model

The Te Ātiawa interviewees consistently argued that the local natural environs and cultural/historical landmarks should be used to support the teaching of local Te Ātiawa histories of place and the teaching of New Zealand history. They also believed that this should involve an inter-disciplinary or holistic approach to the design, delivery, assessment and evaluation of inquiry-based curriculum activities. The Te Ātiawa interviewees reasoned that an inter-disciplinary, or 'holistic', approach would give students a wider range of authentic and meaningful learning experiences than the textbook-driven lessons they had encountered on a daily basis, at school.

They felt that it was important for students to learn to develop ecological literacy skills, outside their classrooms, that would enable them to critically read the word and the world, whilst simultaneously drawing links between people and land through time. The Te Ātiawa interviewees stressed the importance of acquiring knowledge of te reo Māori (the Māori language) so that students can detect different layers of historical information associated with place names and/or natural phenomena located in the Port Nicholson Block area.

All of the Te Ātiawa interviewees were familiar with Global Information System (GIS) and Global Positioning System (GPS) technologies. Consequently, they could easily envisage how such technologies would facilitate the development of community mapping projects and/or other educational activities. The Te Ātiawa interviewees were familiar with GIS/GPS technologies largely because they had encountered GIS/GPS during the collection and presentation of information at recent Waitangi Tribunal land claims hearings, or during recreational events such as waka ama (outrigger canoe) races.¹⁵⁹ More significantly, however, all of the Te Ātiawa interviewees felt that it was imperative that Te Ātiawa human repositories of local knowledge, and other people nominated by their iwi, should play an active role in overseeing the design, delivery, assessment and evaluation of courses that address local Te Ātiawa histories of place, or any aspects of Te Ātiawa history that occurred in other regions, like Taranaki. By extension, local Te Ātiawa people should have meaningful input into determining how local Te Ātiawa histories might be related to traditional Pākehā grand narratives of New Zealand history.

The need to develop an ‘inter-disciplinary’ or ‘holistic’ approach to teaching history

Five of the Te Ātiawa interviewees identified anthropology as the academic discipline that history teachers should first turn to when planning an inter-disciplinary approach to teaching about tribal, local, Māori or New Zealand histories.¹⁶⁰ Interviewee Two argued, for example, that:

Students need to know what was happening, what was in the minds of people and this is the problem I’ve found with New Zealand history, it’s difficult, but you’ve got to, at least to some extent, have access to the Māori mind or worldview being studied.

¹⁵⁹ However, it should not be assumed that all local Te Ātiawa people are familiar with GIS/GPS.

¹⁶⁰ Anthropology, however, is not a distinct subject in the New Zealand schools curriculum. The Te Ātiawa interviewees recognised this fact (they were aware of the existence of social studies), but still felt that history teachers should study anthropology in conjunction with their pre-service/in-service professional development.

To do that, I think that history and anthropology have to cross-fertilize skills, somewhat. So in making sense of something, I think you need to analyse history with a wider range of disciplinary lens to better understand what was actually happening.

Interviewee Seven, similarly, argued that:

I guess teaching history is a complex task. However, even if you do have the resources available, for example, to do a GIS mapping exercise of a local tribal history, with the students, and even if you can say to the students: “well, here’s a map of a pā [village] in this nearby location and this is the tribe that lived there and they built this meeting house and they had a canoe”, well, even all of that’s superficial. You’ve still got to be able to get inside the minds of those people. You’ve actually got to understand their cultural concepts of why that canoe was there, why that meeting house was there, why that pā was in that location, or why it was only a seasonal fishing village. You’ve actually got to try and get inside their minds and understand that their customs were as such for a reason and, for example, that that’s the reason why that group of people went to that particular place in the summer. History is not just about a teacher saying: “here’s a place and something happened at that place” or that “someone built something at that place” and that’s the end of it. History is much broader and much deeper than that.

Anthropology was not the only discipline identified by the Te Ātiawa interviewees as a source of skills worthy of incorporating into the teaching of history. Interviewee Two, for example, believed that history teachers should collaborate with economics and biology teachers. He noted that the ‘most exciting subject’ he studied at University was economic history and that the Port Nicholson Block area’s biological history was closely related to its economic history. He advised that the inter-connections he saw between both subjects, helped him to comprehend the historical changes in relationships between different Māori tribes and the natural environs of New Zealand:

What that [economic history course] did for me was help me to understand the current economic systems shaping this country. Now, if you know their whakapapa [genealogy] and where these systems come from, well, that’s the only way you can understand economics, today. Many of the subjects are intimately connected through history. For example if you are studying biology and you want to study flora and

fauna in New Zealand you ultimately need to know the human history of what happened, both in terms of the pre-colonial history and economics, right through to the present day.

Interviewee Four, like most of his peers, saw great potential in merging the teaching of New Zealand geography and history. He said:

I think that by drawing upon their geography skills and participating in on-site excursions, to learn about historical geographies and aspects of [local] archaeology, students will broaden their understanding of history and their development as individuals. It's not all about going to the library and picking up a history book or going through the archives to pull out written primary resources. History is also about being, physically, on-site. It's about looking at the land, possibly having that textbook there with you, but looking at the sites and asking oneself, "could these things really have been done here, or where this pā site is situated, like it says in this book, or has the landscape changed?"

However, the Te Ātiawa interviewees recognised that a holistic approach might prove too difficult for local history teachers to adopt without appropriate professional development opportunities, or the support of local Te Ātiawa people and Crown agencies. Interviewee One best articulated the Te Ātiawa interviewees' concerns when he said:

To bring all those [subjects] together would require a fairly interesting curriculum development. But, I'm sure it can be done. Whether they, the Crown, would pay for something like that is another thing. I think it would be most beneficial to integrate all subject experiences. So, yeah, I think you should be able to represent all aspects of time and place so that every angle can be explored and assessed.

In relation to the relatively high value that the Te Ātiawa interviewees placed upon the development of ecological literacy skills, it was significant that the Te Ātiawa interviewees appeared critical of an approach to the teaching of literacy that reminded this writer of Lankshear and Lawler's (1987: pp. 62-72) description of 'official functional literacy.'

Reading the word and the world: Drawing links between people and land through time

The Te Ātiawa interviewees implicitly rejected the ‘official functional literacy’ approach which was described by Lankshear and Lawler (p. 67) as:

... a classic instance of a literacy which negates personal control and critical, informed, rational engagement with one’s world. Instead of enhancing control and understanding, it offers a deep induction into and further affirmation of that very (distorted) consciousness of daily life which maintains and reinforces social relations and practices of structured advantage and disadvantage. The irony here is that it is precisely these social relations and practices that yield (among other ills) structured adult illiteracy in the first place. Thus a deep paradox emerges: whereas functional literacy is presented as being functional for illiterate disadvantaged persons, it appears, rather, to be *dysfunctional* for them, *and functional instead* for those persons and groups whose interests are best served – at the expense of the disadvantaged – by maintaining the economic, political, social, and cultural status quo. Adjusting and accommodating potentially disaffected and politically active people to the status quo is precisely what such (official) functional literacy achieves.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees endorsed the teaching of literacy, through history, but in ways that aligned more with L. Smith’s view (1999: pp. 28-29) that ‘every [historical] issue has been approached by indigenous peoples with a view to *rewriting* and *rerighting* our position in history.’ Therefore, the views of the Ātiawa interviewees aligned more clearly with Lankshear and Lawler’s goals (pp. 71-72), for ‘optimal functional literacy’, whose model:

... begins from the assumption of structured domination and subordination, advantage and disadvantage. As a definite theory and practice of reading and writing it promotes understanding of these structures and, ultimately, their transformation into more truly democratic forms: in which the interest of (class, race, gender, ethnic, etc.) groups disadvantaged by current economic, social, cultural and political arrangements, are promoted to a position of equal status with those of all other human beings and pursued on that basis. To engage in this literacy *is* to engage in the process of understanding and transforming social relations and practices of oppression and inequality.

When explaining their opposition to a New Zealand variant of official functional literacy, each of the Te Ātiawa interviewees stated that they preferred to see the teaching of what can be called multiple literacies through history, rather than (official functional) literacy through history. This multiple-literacies approach required students not only to read books critically, but also to read landscapes, flora, fauna, and other natural phenomena as accompanying texts. This, they reasoned (with different examples), would help students to identify flaws in many of the dominant culture's written accounts of tribal, local, Māori and New Zealand history.

This thinking aligned with Freire and Macedo's (1987) belief that teachers need to assist their students to read the word and the world. The Te Ātiawa interviewees' arguments also aligned with the work of Russell (1997), who urged historians to read landscapes in order to better understand how human history may have impacted upon contemporary ecosystems and landscapes. Russell suggested that the ability to 'read landscapes' would, in turn, help historians to recognise how changing environments may have influenced human history. Interviewee Seven, likewise, stated:

There is a lot to be said for visiting historic sites. The ability to read books, well [e.g. critically], is also essential, I think. They [students] need to not only be able to read the landscape well, but to read the history books well, too.

This statement underlined the value that the Te Ātiawa interviewees placed on reading landscapes, and it aligned with Russell's (p. 36) attempts to encourage historians to bring documentary evidence 'down to earth.' Russell, like Interviewee Seven (throughout his interview), argued that:

The evidence gleaned from written sources comes to life for ecologists when they apply it to specific landscapes and their component ecosystems. They can then evaluate the importance of historical factors in affecting the structure and functioning of these systems. Physical and biological remnants like cultivated plants and old ditches also reveal many details about what people did in the past and where they did it, and this amplifies archaeological, historical, and geographical understanding. Because written records are often not spatially precise or detailed, making the connection between documents and landscapes often involves painstaking research [which can be greatly assisted by using GIS/GPS technologies] to decipher the physical remains of past land use in terms of historically documented activities,

logging or farming, to name just two. The physical traces left on the land are clues that confirm and frequently amplify the documentary record. By establishing patterns of past landscapes we can see the variety of uses that have shaped the present and the interactions over time between changing uses and changing cultures.

When asked to explain why he felt it was important for history students to learn to read a landscape, Interviewee Seven's response articulated the belief of all the Te Ātiawa Interviewees that a range of ecological literacy skills should be taught throughout the New Zealand curriculum:

I think that knowledge about flora and fauna in the natural world should be a very important part of young people's overall learning and that it should be assessed. To understand the natural world *is* to understand yourself and if you can feel comfortable in the natural world you can feel comfortable with yourself and other people. The true benefit in knowing about the history of people's interactions with the natural world is not only gaining the ability to survive in it, but also understanding what makes it work, understanding the changing weather patterns, understanding the natural ebb-and-flow of life so that you can anticipate things and survive. If you can understand, historically, how people survived, how they lived and survived there's a really good lesson in that, a strong lesson in terms of surviving in today's world. It's also going to become much more important, in the future, to have that sort of knowledge because of the degradation of the natural environment that is now happening all around us.

All of the Te Ātiawa Interviewees wanted to see experiential learning activities that enabled critical thinking skills to be tested in the natural environment and cultural settings they preferred. Interviewee Four's following comments aligned with Gruenewald's (2003) call for the development of a critical pedagogy of place, and Bower's (2001: pp. 175-180) concerns regarding the lack of consideration given by teachers to ecological influences upon the development of language, culture and narratives that connect the past with people's senses of place. He said:

Textbooks have their place, but I think there should be much more emphasis placed upon going out and doing some experiential learning and assessment on-site, particularly at places where things happened. You could do that by having guest lecturers, experts come to these places and giving their differing viewpoints to the

students to reflect on and/or to debate in front of experts. It's all right to have different viewpoints, on subject matter. It just gives the students a wider understanding of issues and it helps them to critique ideas.

I mean, it's quite easy to regurgitate facts from a textbook. But, for students to actually elaborate upon their learning, in a very practical sense, and apply the knowledge they've gained from a textbook to an actual [historical/environmental] setting, well, that is quite different and much more rewarding! For example, if you were assessing students about their understandings of a nineteenth century Māori leader, you could assess whether or not a student's actually got any understanding of how the environment, that the leader lived within, would have impacted on certain decisions made by that leader.

Every Te Ātiawa interviewee was aware that dialectical variations of te reo Māori were historically shaped by various tribal groupings' unique interactions with the flora, fauna and land/seascapes found in the different bioregions in which these dialects evolved.

Learning te reo Māori to read landscapes and teach history

The Te Ātiawa interviewees believed that history teachers who can comprehend te reo Māori are better equipped to teach about local tribal histories of place and New Zealand history in general. Interviewee Five epitomised the thinking of her counterparts when she used the analogy of a GIS mapping exercise to propose that different layers of local tribal histories can be detected at local sites of historical and cultural significance by history teachers who are able to comprehend te reo Māori. She also believed that teachers who cannot comprehend te reo Māori are at the greatest risk of viewing the places they teach in as being devoid of tribal/Māori histories. She said:

... having that knowledge of te reo Māori would be like adding another dimension to appreciating a series of historical layers on a [GIS] map. I mean, you've got all those people who can only look at a place name like Te Whanganui a Tara [The great harbour of Tara, or Wellington Harbour] and think "oh, it's a Māori word" and then you've got those who can instantly look at it and think "ok, it's the great harbour of Tara". Yeah, it's a "big harbour", but why was it named after somebody called "Tara?"

By developing knowledge of te reo Māori, you're adding another level of analysis to the history of a place. I must say I didn't grow up with te reo [the language] and that I have only come to it at a later point in my life, but I do think it adds an extra dimension to your historical understanding! A sound knowledge of te reo Māori does give you another insight into something much deeper, something that happened, here, in this place, or that this other particular place was named after someone or something that had happened and that you may be in peril by being in that place.¹⁶¹

Her argument mirrored L. Carter's contentions (2005: pp. 21-22):

Language contains the essence of a people. The shared histories, beliefs, perceptions of how the world works, and knowledge needed to operate within it are contained in language. The relationships expressed through the various linguistic performances about the landscape are associated with time and space, ancestors, histories, events, of persons and social activities. Sometimes, as illustrated with the Ngāi Tahu example, appropriation of the landscape can subdue or eliminate the earlier occupiers of the space, removing them to a temporal context only. The way an introduced culture uses language to maintain relationships with the places can often subdue or render other associations invisible ...

When describing the political and genealogical importance of place names for Ngāi Tahu, L Carter (p. 22) proposed that 'place names and their associated stories help to verify both historical and contemporary associations, allowing enduring temporal and spatial connections between groups of speech communities and the landscape they occupy.' She added:

The presence of place names, and the reinstating of place names into the official record, such as in the Ngāi Tahu case, is one way that can contradict ideas of a homogenous cultural identity within New Zealand. The different ways of reading and understanding the environment – environmental literacy – illustrate how language links place and space to the communities who occupy it. How the space is utilised, perceived and understood is through the linguistic performances of each of the speech communities who have formed relationships with it.

¹⁶¹ Only one of the teachers identified limited knowledge of te reo Māori as posing a major barrier to the process of engaging with local iwi and/or to teaching about different aspects of 'tribal', 'local' or wider 'New Zealand' history topics.

The potential application of GIS/GPS technologies

Interviewee Five's GIS mapping analogy also illuminated the fact that the Te Ātiawa interviewees were aware of the potential pedagogical opportunities afforded by GIS/GPS technologies, whereas most of the teachers interviewed were not aware. The teachers had not been exposed to such technologies in their working or recreational lives. The Te Ātiawa interviewees, however, had already encountered GIS/GPS technologies in conjunction with the Waitangi Tribunal claims process and/or during workplace and recreational activities. Consequently, they had little difficulty envisaging how these technologies could be adopted to support history students in their development of ecological and optimal functional literacy skills. They also believed that the appropriate application of such technologies could assist students to improve their grasp of te reo Māori and raise students' levels of historical empathy. For example, when explaining how GIS/GPS technologies might enable students to read the historic landscape to develop these overlapping skills, Interviewee Four suggested that:

It would be very interesting for students who are looking at the Te Ātiawa migrations from Taranaki to Wellington in the 1820s to use GPS/GIS technologies. I say that because I'm familiar with GPS. We've used it primarily for waka ama [outrigger canoe] events in order to map our courses. The GPS system that we used showed us the different routes that we've taken, the depth of water we've travelled across and things like that. So, it would be really useful technology to have in recording the paths that our tūpuna [ancestors] took along the land and through the coastal areas, to record the key landmarks that they would have encountered such as the mountains, hills and so forth. Also, that would help students to get a much deeper appreciation for the physical and spiritual endurance of our tūpuna, who had to locate different natural resources in order to pass through the different landscapes. By using GPS and GIS technologies, you can also learn a lot about the types of tools and resources that the people would have required in order to make their journeys.

Interviewee Five also drew upon the heke (migration) experiences of her tribe to emphasise how GIS/GPS technologies might motivate students, like her grandchildren, to use their 'historical imagination' and recognise the different tribal layers of history that are embedded within their local land/seascapes. She said:

When I went to Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa [a local inter-tribal college/university located in Ōtaki] I learnt about the history of the Te Ātiawa migrations from Taranaki

to Wellington. It was the first time I'd been taught about how Te Ātiawa migrated down from Taranaki. Consequently, as I drove up to that wānanga each morning, going along the Kapiti Coast, I'd look out to sea and almost have visions of Te Ātiawa people in their waka and of people marching down the coastline. I don't think I'll ever look at that coastline again without sort of being fully aware of that history. In relation to that life transforming experience of mine, I think that GIS has the potential to help my grandchildren to have the same sort of revelations that I had. You know, that there are different layers of history to the places they know so well. I mean a lot of kids don't really take to reading books and I don't know how many of them have good imaginations, but, when you see GIS like that, as a potential tool for encouraging kids to have imaginative experiences, I think they'll probably get a lot out of it.

This does not mean that the Te Ātiawa interviewees were unaware of the limitations of GIS/GPS technologies. Interviewee Seven, for example, felt teachers and students should be aware of the limitations of GIS technologies in order to use them appropriately:

I've already seen GIS being used in our tribal situation, particularly during the process of putting together our claim to present to the Waitangi Tribunal. All those GIS maps we've developed can show the Tribunal exactly where the previous pā sites and wāhi tapu [burial grounds] were. Now, for those who weren't aware of that information, because of the lack of their oral history input, that's been great and I'll explain why. Today, I'll shortly be turning 66 years old and there were things that I've learnt, as a result of that GIS mapping, that I didn't know about, even though I've been living here all those years! That's because it was information that was probably forgotten by most of our old people. So, yeah, GIS skills can really help students to learn history, but it's important that it's factual information that's entered. If something can be verified and put into that GIS data format, then it's invaluable.

Interviewee Nine also addressed the limitations of GIS technologies. Her argument aligned with Bowers' (2000: p.138) concerns regarding the need for students to interact with elders, to acquire 'elder knowledge':

To a certain extent, yes, using GIS technology would help. But, a personal approach, that involves my grand-daughter talking to me directly, is much better than just a

teacher using that technology on its own [in the isolated confines of a classroom].¹⁶² I've got the GIS maps and things like that. I suppose I could relate them to my grandchildren. I must admit that I can do that. Who knows, maybe my sense of direction is a bit better than what I used to think it was! [laughter] Yeah, I would like to do that sort of [GIS] mapping with my grandchildren. I'd enjoy that.

All the Te Ātiawa interviewees envisioned a PBE partnership along the lines of both the partnership implicit within the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), and the collaborative nature of school/community (PBE) partnership models described by authors like Audet and Ludwig (2000: pp. 47-54, 55-62), Lowe (2002: pp. 51-64), Alibrandi (2003: pp. 76-96) and Knapp and the Oreton Family Foundation Community Mapping Program (2003: pp. 1-60). Their visions of a partnership with local schools also appeared similar in nature to those partnerships underpinning community mapping exercises this writer learned about in Alaska (2003).¹⁶³ In Knapp et. al's (p. 2) words:

Community mapping projects [CMP] are as varied as the partners who develop them. Imagine how many issues and problems a wildlife agency, a national historical park, a planning commission, and an ambulance service face every day. Sometimes organizations as diverse as these will come together over common issues, managing elk and bears, for example, in a ski area. Generally, when a teacher expresses an interest in certain topics and disciplines, a community partner can readily provide authentic issues that address specific curricular goals, and a mapping component can be easily inserted ... An activity as simple as marking on an area map the locations of the studios of artists or the homes of elder residents who have contributed stories to an oral history project can shed new light on the culture of a community, cultivate a sense of place, and open new doors for further [historical] study.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees believed that local history and social studies teachers should collaborate with Te Ātiawa people in the design, delivery, assessment and evaluation of community mapping projects, or any other place-based learning activities that address local Te Ātiawa histories of place.

¹⁶² Interviewee Nine's grand-daughter attended one of the schools participating in this research.

¹⁶³ For example Professor Ray Barnhardt provided me with information about the Old Minto mapping project that he was involved with, which was occurring near Fairbanks in central Alaska. Similarly, Mr Andy Hope provided insights and information about a Tlingit cultural atlas and other community mapping projects being conducted by Tlingit communities in southeast Alaska.

The role of Te Ātiawa people in the teaching of local Te Ātiawa history

The Te Ātiawa interviewees also believed that local Te Ātiawa people should assist local history and social studies teachers to teach about events that involved their Te Ātiawa ancestors in other regions of New Zealand, particularly Taranaki.¹⁶⁴ Interviewee Five proposed that if history teachers were officially required (and resourced) to work alongside their local hapū/iwi to design, deliver and assess units of work, about local hapū/iwi histories of place, their students might be better enabled to critique the dominant culture's grand narratives of New Zealand history. She reasoned that:

For students to make any real sense of Te Ātiawa history, their teachers have to go to the source of it and hopefully find somebody who has the knowledge and time to share some of that information with their students and the time to assess it. If you don't have that tribal history properly assessed [e.g. by people who have been nominated by local tribal authorities to oversee course assessment and evaluation activities] you're not really delving very far beneath the surface of New Zealand's history. New Zealand history, as a subject, tends to provide students with a very general and misleading account of the past because Māori weren't a pan-tribal entity and a "one-size-fits-all" account of Māori history is misleading.

Hapū were quite distinctive and so hapū was the key term used for describing the main political unit in pre-European times, than iwi. Each hapū developed in their own ways.¹⁶⁵ But if you're describing all of that, at a very general level as being "Māori history", or "the Māori experience" of New Zealand's history of race-relations, then you'll probably be giving students a very simple or generic view of our history, one that may be more problematic in the long run.

Interviewee Four also claimed that it was important to challenge the 'ignorance' that results from 'misconceptions' about a generic Māori past:

I'd want to break down barriers and address some of the ignorance, common biases and misconceptions held by the general public about our Te Ātiawa people ... Ok, some people will never be shaken from holding those stereotypes. But we still have

¹⁶⁴ For example, events like the various heke (migrations) of Taranaki people in the 1820s led to their ancestors moving between Taranaki and the Port Nicholson Block/Kapiti Coast areas during later upheavals in Taranaki from the 1850s onward.

¹⁶⁵ This argument is supported by Ballara's research. See Ballara (1998) *Iwi: The dynamics of Māori tribal organisation from c.1769 – c.1945*.

to go to generations younger than myself to try to alleviate those stereotypes and replace them with a bit more sensitivity towards our Te Ātiawa history. I mean, at the moment, there would be very few teachers within our local secondary schools that would even know anything about Te Ātiawa and they'll need our help to teach about our histories.

When the Te Ātiawa interviewees were asked how they would like to go about teaching local history teachers and students about their local Te Ātiawa histories of place, they favoured traditional learning experiences, such as the whare wānanga model involving forum-like discussions of highly evolved/specialist knowledge. They wanted these 'learning experiences', or wānanga, to be conducted at sites of cultural/historical significance, and to incorporate activities like walking the land and having their own Te Ātiawa-nominated experts assisting teachers and students to conduct authentic research tasks. These tasks, as suggested earlier in this chapter and chapters five-six, tended to involve oral history research projects and community mapping exercises that could involve the application of GIS/GPS technologies. When describing the traditional nature of whare wānanga, Interviewee Four provided the following helpful explanation:

Traditionally, the whare wānanga was not literally a house of learning, it was an environment. For Māori, when they were in the whare wānanga they were actually in the environment in which they were going to be learning about. But, people today often think of a whare wānanga as being literally a house of learning. But, a whare wānanga could actually have been in a particular area, a significant cultural site. It could be somewhere very sacred in which the students and their mentors would come together to take part in learning. It's not just about going to a wharenuī [meeting house] and sitting around and talking about Māori history all day! The traditional whare wānanga were held outdoors, in the environment, and they involved learning about the environment in which they were a part of. So, although, generally, noho marae [marae sleepovers/workshops etc] do take place within the marae settings, if we want to assist history teachers to teach about Te Ātiawa history, we would have to take them into the wider [natural] environment to learn things at the appropriate historical sites and to see these sites for themselves.

When the Te Ātiawa interviewees were asked to explain how a wānanga process might help non-Māori history teachers and students, Interviewee Nine typified the Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses by recalling that:

When the Wellington Tenth had a meeting to discuss our claims in Palmerston North [north of the Port Nicholson Block area] they took us there and showed us what land is ours and what we've done with it and things like that. So, yeah, I think it's really important that teachers would be able to actually see what we're talking about, to see the places we're going to study. Learning about historical events and places out of a book is ok, but if you don't know where that place is situated, where that place is, well, it's totally out of mind or meaningless. But if you've actually been to that certain area, or river, whatever, it's there and it's locked in your head. You know, it's a bit like: "I've been there and I know exactly what they're talking about in that book."

Interviewee Two talked of the potential benefits of the wānanga approach for history students, stressing the importance of interacting with a stream to develop a deeper understanding of local Te Ātiawa/Taranaki whānui histories of place. He explained that the Wellington Tenth Trust had recently taken Wellington City Councillors along the different reaches of the Waitangi Stream to explain how the history of that stream was related to the proposed naming of Waitangi Park.¹⁶⁶ Amongst other things he said:

Consider why it's called "Waitangi Park." In doing that redevelopment [e.g. the 'daylighting' of the lower reaches of the Waitangi stream] and naming it "Waitangi Park" the history of human occupation of that area suddenly comes alive! Think of Te Aro Pā, our [Taranaki] people living there, the Waitangi stream coming down and passing through what is now the Basin Reserve [a local sports stadium]. That was a mahinga kai, a place to gather crops. People [Councillors] were also quite surprised to find that though there's no stream, because it's all in an underground pipe now, there's still a large quantity of eels living in the Waitangi stream.

They hadn't learned the history of that stream [at school] or that the stream's now in a pipe. But, despite that pipe and other pipes, the eels still migrate up and down the pipes below the city. They travel up into the Newtown area of the city and heaven knows how they survive, but they do survive in that subterranean stream. You know what? I think it [knowledge of the historical plight of Waitangi stream] gives other people the opportunity to develop a better sense of place because during the recent resource consent process, that we went through to develop and rename the park area

¹⁶⁶ Refer back to chapter one for a full description of the origins and history of this stream and its resident tuna (eel) population.

“Waitangi”, well, it actually changed people’s views about what was happening there and even those who were initially opposed [to raising or ‘daylighting’ the stream] sort of said: “well, this really is appropriate isn’t it.”

When he was asked whether he felt that a similar exercise would assist local history teachers and/or their students to comprehend the complexities of local iwi histories of place, he replied:

Well, it certainly helped us in that instance. I think that when those [predominantly Pākehā] people understood those elements of that place’s history you could just see it was one of those “ohhhhhhh” moments for them. They said things like: “I’d never even thought about the potential of looking at historical things that way before.” It’s kind of like “out of sight, out of mind” and, as a result, it’s also a bit like how Māori culture is now. It’s just like the stream that’s piped underground so that we never have to think of it again!

Like Interviewee Two and his peers, the teacher participants identified a range of benefits that might arise from adopting a place-based approach to the teaching of history, in partnership with local Te Ātiawa people. What follows, below, outlines the benefits that the teachers believed might accrue from a PBE partnership.

The teacher participants' perspectives regarding the likely benefits of a potential place-based education partnership model

The teacher participants' responses to interview questions suggested that most were willing to experiment with place-based pedagogies, especially if they are supported by their school management teams, Crown agencies and local Te Ātiawa people to do so.¹⁶⁷ The teachers also believed that the teaching of ecological literacy skills would assist them to grapple with the concepts of citizenship and identity which were identified as key concepts during the Ministry of Education's review of the social science curriculum.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, most teachers described the process of answering the preliminary interview questionnaires and interview questions as being akin to a cathartic experience.

For example, I was often advised that my questions had awakened, or reawakened, their desire to experiment with the incorporation of landscapes, flora and fauna into their teaching of New Zealand history.¹⁶⁹ However, these teachers' responses to my questions also indicated that a wider range of professional development opportunities was needed to enable them to teach the 'ecological literacy' skills central to a critical pedagogy of place. This sort of professional development would require a much more holistic, or interdisciplinary, approach than the specialist/technicist professional development activities they had experienced to date.¹⁷⁰

Like their Te Ātiawa counterparts, the teachers frequently suggested that the adoption of place-based education strategies could help their students to develop 'historical empathy' and better appreciate the political implications of the dominant culture's stereotypical constructs of a homogeneous Māori culture. Despite their risk management concerns, discussed further in chapter eight, most teachers felt positive about the possibility of co-developing authentic research tasks that would enable their students to work alongside local Te Ātiawa people.

¹⁶⁷ Control issues posed a series of overlapping teaching dilemmas discussed, further, in the following chapter (chapter eight).

¹⁶⁸ This review process was conducted at the same time this research occurred (2003-2007).

¹⁶⁹ Teacher Eight, though sympathetic to a place-based pedagogical approach, was much less inclined to experiment. He feared that his students' poor behaviour, the difficulties of negotiating a pedagogical partnership and variable climatic conditions constituted an overwhelming set of risks.

¹⁷⁰ See the teachers' criticisms of their pre-service teacher education experiences, discussed in chapter four. This 'barrier' is also discussed in the following chapter (chapter eight).

Using ecological literacy skills to address curriculum concepts of citizenship and identity

When discussing how ecological literacy skills could be applied to address the Ministry of Education's evolving concepts of 'citizenship' and 'identity', Teacher One stated that participation in this study had made him much more aware of his professional development needs. He, like the majority of his peers, shared a view of history education that aligned with Barton and Levstik's (2004: pp. 91-109) description of a 'moral response stance.' When describing this stance, Barton and Levstik concluded (pp. 106-107) that:

Responding morally – affirming what we believe should or should not be the case in human affairs - is an inescapable part of our encounter with the past. It also forms a major component of history education in schools, although its role is generally unacknowledged and, as a result, unanalyzed. Although we [teachers] rarely phrase our objectives in moral terms, we invariably expect students to admire some people or events and to condemn others. If we hope to prepare students for democratic life, this is as it should be. Our hopes for the future are necessarily rooted in our moral visions, and history provides the opportunity to apply those visions to the real world of human action. The past not only serves as a source of analytical examples – a way of examining cases and consequences – but as the training ground for moral response. Although some aspects of morality will vary among groups, others are rooted in the nature of the democracy we envision.

Teacher One noted that my research questions had prompted him to re-consider how place attachment issues were directly related to moral questions associated with unresolved Treaty of Waitangi issues. He believed that this realisation should inform his future attempts to address contentious (e.g. Treaty) issues related to his students' prevailing notions of a singular New Zealand 'identity.' He added that:

This [PBE] is something that, to be honest, I hadn't really thought about, a lot, until I talked to you. But, I can see a lot of merit in it and I would love to do some more work [professional development] in that area ... Now that I've done your pre-interview questionnaire I think it [place based education] would be really good because I think that, in terms of the general aims of history education, which I believe is all about informing people about the past so that they can take part [as 'informed citizens'] in contemporary debates, well, the most powerful piece of evidence that you've got in those sorts of debates is what's happened right here. There's a

connectedness [place attachment/mauri] that people feel with the land, that really *does* exist, and students might be better able to consider issues like Treaty claims [e.g. when reflecting upon their own senses of place, identity or feelings of resentment towards those lodging local land claims].

He also suggested that a PBE approach might enable students to reflect upon curriculum themes of ‘citizenship’ and to participate constructively, as ‘citizens’ when debating/discussing Treaty matters:

Ok, our kids might be able to give you the [dominant culture’s] grand narrative of the Treaty, like “this is what the Treaty said, these are some breaches of the Treaty etc, this is when the Waitangi Tribunal was set up to do, etc, etc.” But, if they can actually go further and look specifically at what happened here in this place [he pointed in a circular motion to the area encompassing his school site], if they could say something more about what happened here and what’s in the land around them [which now covered some early Māori archaeological sites], it’s surely going to add another layer to that narrative which didn’t exist before. It’s really going to enhance their understanding of those sorts of Treaty [land alienation] issues and be more useful for them when they participate in those discussions and debates. They will be more equipped.

Teacher Nine also articulated a view of history teaching that resembled a ‘moral response stance.’ She argued that a place-based pedagogy would encourage much more ‘critical thinking’ amongst her mainly Pākehā students, because it would challenge them to reflect upon how their own cultural assumptions had informed their senses of place. This, in turn, she reasoned, would prompt them to consider how their cultural constructs of New Zealand identity and citizenship, were challenged by local tribal narratives of place:

I think it [a place-based pedagogical approach] would really open my students’ eyes. Everywhere they go they’d have to be looking out for things and thinking “what does that mean, why is that there?” Even things like why places are named what they’re named. For example, I go past places like *Te Rauparaha Park* [named after the famous nineteenth century Ngāti Toa leader], in Porirua, and I’m thinking “yeah I know about him”, but then other people are saying things in public like; “why is it called that? What’s he [Te Rauparaha] got to do with anything?” Or “who is that guy?”

She added:

I used to do a street study in Porirua, with my [previous school's] year 11 class.¹⁷¹ That was very interesting. The street names around Porirua were all about Captain Cook and nautical terms, or the English navy, especially in Whitby [a wealthy suburb of Porirua City, dominated by upper/middle-class Pākehā residents]! The students were allowed to choose a local place and explore the history behind the naming of its streets. Often, what the streets were named after were so out-of-place that it wasn't funny. I mean, fancy having places, smack in the middle of Porirua City, with names like Endeavour School, Jibe Place, Northumberland Place and all that sort of stuff! It's just like, "ohhhh – puh-leeease!" It's *so* wrong! Where are all the Māori or Pacific Islanders' names for streets, huh? There's none that I can think of.

These reactions echoed the majority of her colleagues' receptiveness to the core tenets of critical pedagogy, which aligned with McLaren and Giroux's (1990: p. 263) proposition that 'at the most general level ... a critical pedagogy must be a pedagogy of place, that is, it must address the specificities of the experiences, problems, languages, and histories that communities rely upon to construct a narrative of collective identity and possible transformation.' Gruenewald (2003: pp. 8-9) called for the development of a 'critical pedagogy of place' that arises from the 'intersections' between critical pedagogy's 'sociological focus' and place-based education's 'ecological focus', one driven by the overlapping goals of 'decolonization' and 'reinhabitation.' He reasoned that:

A critical pedagogy of place ... embraces the link between the classroom and cultural politics, and further, it explicitly makes the limits and simulations of the classroom problematic. It insists that students and teachers actually experience and interrogate the places outside of school – as part of the school curriculum – that are the local contexts of shared cultural politics ... A critical pedagogy of place, moreover, proposes two broad and interrelated objectives for the purpose of linking school and place-based experience to the larger landscape of cultural and ecological politics:

¹⁷¹ Porirua sits within the rohe (territory) of Ngāti Toa. It is widely recognised as being one of New Zealand's most multi-cultural cities. Porirua is located northwest of the Port Nicholson Block. Different tribes occupied that area, long before the arrival of European settlers. This writer grew-up in the Porirua East suburb named Cannon's Creek. This suburb that has often been (unfairly) stigmatised by media due to the fact that it has high levels of unemployment, poverty and high percentages of Māori and Pacific-Islands peoples living there.

decolonization and reinhabitation. These themes broadly mirror the thematic emphases of critical pedagogy and ecological place-based education, respectively.

It was significant, then, to hear Teacher Four state that she believed it is important for her, as a history teacher, to encourage her Māori history students to ‘see’, ‘feel’ and ‘touch’ history at significant historic places and cultural landmarks. This aligns with Gruenewald’s goals of ‘decolonisation’ and ‘reinhabitation’. The teacher elaborated:

I don’t know if I can put it into words. I had a Māori student who went on the recent field trip to Tauranga and though he’s not a traditional, so-called “academic” sort of historian, he is an historian and he’s really keen to know his whakapapa and any evidence that can show him his whakapapa. By going on the trip to Tauranga he was actually entering one of his own tribal areas [where vast tracts of land had been confiscated by the Crown and local ecologies were subsequently altered].¹⁷² He had never been up Mount Maunganui, before and when we walked up and got to the top of Mount Maunganui, he stood there and took in all the surroundings.¹⁷³ He just stood there, quietly and eventually I said “Are you ok?” Well, he looked at me and he said, “Yes Miss. This is where my Grandmother comes from.” For me, that was the historian in him saying “this is the past, this is the present and this is what I’m all about.” That was the evidence that he, personally, needed to actually fill in the picture of who he is.

Teacher Two shared similar sentiments to those of Teacher Four, especially when he argued that the development of ecological literacy skills would help his ‘privileged’ Pākehā students to recognize the existence of pre-European histories and challenge them to reflect critically upon their Euro-centric constructs of place, citizenship and nationhood.¹⁷⁴ He said:

I think one of the terrible dilemmas of teaching New Zealand history is having this prevailing tendency of construing it as the period of European contact onwards and

¹⁷² For example, see Belich (1986: pp. 177-202) and Tapsell (2003: pp. 278-279).

¹⁷³ Mount Maunganui, or Mauao, as it was originally named, features a massive terraced fortress built upon its slopes. Geologically speaking, Mauao/Mount Maunganui remains the dominant landmark of the Western Bay of Plenty area.

¹⁷⁴ As chapter four indicated, the Te Ātiawa interviewees all agreed that the complexities and diversity of pre-European, early Polynesian/Māori historical experiences must be addressed in secondary school history classes.

compressing everything else. It's this idea that the only meaningful history happened post 1769 [after the arrival of the British explorer – Captain James Cook]. So, yeah, “reading the landscape” is a cool idea and it'd help us to include Māori people before 1769 and then there'd not be so much of that tokenism anymore. One of the big criticisms I do get from my [Pākehā] students about New Zealand history courses is that “there's not very much New Zealand history, is there?”, and you really have to confront that sort of thinking, you know, that New Zealand history only began in 1840.

I think that sort of thinking is largely down to immaturity in our overall Pākehā conception of how the process of history can only be read as occurring within something resembling a colonial play. Now, this idea of looking at flora and fauna, that you've proposed, well, it never really occurred to me before! It's just really cool! As I mentioned before, regarding the geography trip through the Hell's Gate [Tikitere] Thermal Reserve, we had a really good local guide who did just that, who brought that sort of extra Māori environmental history dimension into it and whoosh, the Year 13 [Pākehā] geography students got it. That was tremendously cool for me as a history teacher to see that happen.

Teacher Two, like his peers, saw great merit in supporting his students to develop their ecological literacy skills so they might become ‘more rounded’ as historians. Moreover, his responses to various questions relating to ‘ecological literacy’, suggested that he, like the majority of his peers, were undergoing a cathartic research experience that posed major challenges for them.

PBE: Re-awakening the creative spirit of local history teachers

Teacher Two reflected Orr's (1992: pp. 85) proposition that the failure of history teachers to develop students' ‘ecological literacy’ skills amounted to a ‘sin of omission and commission.’ This was most evident when he said:

I think place-based education is a really interesting approach. It's not one I've thought of before, but this question you've asked suddenly opens that up. For example, I can remember traveling through areas like Marlborough and North Otago and wondering “how on earth did we get to this? What forces and things shaped this landscape?” At that time, I only thought of these questions from a geographical standpoint rather than a historical one. So, yeah, I think that [PBE] is a really cool

thing to develop because to me, from my time in the UK, I now realize that one of the things that really separates us New Zealanders from people living in the UK is the landscape! I mean, one of the things that really struck me about New Zealand, when I was in the UK, was our illusions of wildness and I'm aware it's an illusion. It's an illusion that our landscape is untamed and untouched and stuff like that.

Teacher Two was referring here to the 'clean-green-New Zealand' brand promoted by the New Zealand Government and various marketing experts. He added:

Yeah, New Zealand history is about people and their impact on the landscape, and vice-versa, at the different stages of [Polynesian/Māori and Pākehā] colonization etc. I'm beginning to see that link, again! Place Based Education sort of taps into the geographical experience I had in the UK and Otago and Marlborough. To me, there seems to be a clear overlap between history and geography, yet most historians, who get trained to teach in the New Zealand schooling system will teach stuff that will never intersect with geography. So, yeah, I see real merit in adopting the humanities approach to dealing with these sorts of topics and bringing in skills from other subject areas and dissolving the traditional boundaries between subjects like history and geography.

Teacher Two was not the only teacher to believe that his pre-service and in-service teacher training had poorly equipped him to co-design/co-deliver curriculum activities in partnership with members of local whānau, hapū and iwi. Teacher Seven encapsulated the frustration of most teachers when she reflected upon the inter-disciplinary nature of the university course that some of her former students have recently taken:

I think there's enormous scope for that [the application of place-based pedagogies] in the teaching of local history. It's interesting that many of our students, who've studied history and geography, have gone on to university and taken that sort of direction, you know, environmental geography or environmental history, or else they do New Zealand research topics that are just like that! So, yes, I do think there's a lot of scope for that [PBE] to happen. But, again, the need for upskilling teachers, for creating a greater awareness amongst teachers of what's around them and having the resourcing, the people with expertise to help them to do that *is* vital!

Teacher Five raised another set of problems. Like most of her colleagues, she said she felt ‘disconnected’ from the natural environs of the Port Nicholson Block and ‘distant’ from local iwi. She believed some form of cultural and ecological orientation programme, designed specifically for local history teachers, would enable her to become more familiar with the environs of the area and the various iwi laying claim to it:

I don’t know who to approach here in Wellington, mainly because I grew-up in white middle-class Christchurch. So, it’s all very threatening to me. I don’t speak any te reo Māori, though I’ve tried many times to go on courses. My brain just doesn’t seem to function like that, I just have no aptitude, whatsoever, for learning other languages. I’ve really tried, though, but I just find those sorts of things incredibly threatening. However, I still want my students to get out there and learn about it [local tribal histories of place], but I just don’t know who to go to and I’m scared they’ll be offended. So, I need to meet someone in a collegial environment where I can feel safe, even if I don’t know anything about this or that [inter/intra tribal] issue.

When the teachers were asked to describe their visions of what would constitute an ideal PBE partnership model, they offered similar responses. Generally, the teachers wanted local Te Ātiawa people, through the Ministry of Education, to provide an iwi education advisor to support them to teach about Te Ātiawa histories of place and assist them to interact with local Te Ātiawa ‘experts.’ Additionally, they wanted assistance to collaborate with local Te Ātiawa experts to develop teaching resources for use in school, community and natural environmental settings. However, the teachers were also cautious about how far this collaboration might go in terms of altering the curriculum. Teacher Four’s following comments typified the cautious stance of her peers:

There’s major “pros” and “cons” because, number one, if a local iwi comes along and says at a senior [curriculum] level that “you should be teaching this” and it’s not part of the [official] curriculum, you can’t do it. Then they [the local iwi] turn around and say “well, we told you what we want you to teach!” But, if you are constrained by the curriculum then there’s just no way that we can put that into place! However, if Te Ātiawa has an education officer that knows the “whys” and “wherefores” of the education system and can say “look, we can work it this way” and “here’s what’s happened there, in that place, well, then it could be done. But if a local iwi, like Te Ātiawa comes along and says “we don’t believe that what you’re doing is correct”, well, it’s not actually very helpful because it’s a two sided thing.

Similarly, Teacher One stressed that:

We would like to work closely with Te Ātiawa to ensure that our assessment requirements and things like that are met so that the kids don't have this dual focus and miss out on [NCEA] assessment when they are trying to pursue another [Te Ātiawa] objective. Otherwise, all that partnership stuff would be really good. Maybe we could say to Te Ātiawa people "ok, this is an area you want some research done and these are the things we need the kids to be able to demonstrate [for NCEA assessment purposes]. Will this work?" Ultimately, it would be all about having a meaningful relationship with those Te Ātiawa people to do that. It's a matter of [Te Ātiawa] being tolerant and the teachers being flexible in terms of our aims, too.

When the teachers were asked to describe the ideal personal attributes of an iwi education adviser they would like to work with, Teacher Two encapsulated the thoughts of his colleagues by stating:

The big one for me would be ... someone who has an approach to dealing with teachers that would be robust enough to cope with the fact that we [teachers] will be reticent, uncertain, uncomfortable and particularly worried about causing offence. So, we would need someone that was familiar with both the Pākehā and the Māori worlds and is comfortable with the fact that a lot of the teachers they will be dealing with are not going to be feeling comfortable [stepping out of their cultural comfort zones]. In fact, they're going to be feeling bloody vulnerable, actually. We need someone of immense interpersonal skill and warmth, someone who could inevitably "smooth the waters" when we do things wrong, or when we feel there are wrongs being done back to us, that might cause conflict. Someone like that would be great.

The teachers were clearly looking for someone very special. This fact was not lost on Teacher Four who, jokingly, stated:

We need a third party for consultation purposes ... I think that it would need to be somebody that is very neutral, that doesn't have any iwi bias, or cultural bias or any other bias, really. So, yeah, we're looking for God!

In terms of teaching resources, the teacher participants agreed that it would be very helpful if a resource kit was developed to support the teaching of Te Ātiawa histories of place.

Teacher Eight articulated the views of all his colleagues when he advised:

I'd like to see a resource kit developed that comes complete with maps, documents, opinions, a series of "then" and "now" perspectives, an outline of Waitangi Tribunal rulings, all that standard sort of stuff. A good video/DVD that narrates the tribal stories well and moves the audience along, as opposed to dragging it on and on, would also be good ... It's helpful to have good visual stuff like maps, action shots, computer-generated reconstructions and diagrams. It would be no good having something that was an amateurish production. You would need really good professionals [film makers] to make such a video/DVD. You would really need some good professional people to make it worthwhile.

The teachers, however, did not support the prospect of developing a resource kit independent from the establishment of an iwi education adviser position. They preferred that a resource kit be developed in conjunction with the establishment of an iwi education adviser position. They agreed that this adviser should support teachers to work alongside local Te Ātiawa people to design the resource kit and to assist students/teachers to apply that kit, alongside Te Ātiawa experts, at local Te Ātiawa sites of historical/cultural significance. Teacher Seven summed up:

I'd like something [a resource kit] which could be interactive on the computer, so that the kids could ask questions and do that sort of thing. I'd like tours, or guides, something that would help us to either do tours around local cultural and historical sites, ourselves, or that we could access someone [from Te Ātiawa] to provide that sort of guided tour of sites for us. I think we've got to have the people resources attached to the [resource] kit. You've actually got to have the people who will help you to integrate that kit into your teaching, to make it useful and relevant in the context of your school's learning programme. There are some great resource kits out there in school resource rooms that are just sitting there, gathering dust, because they don't have the people resources to back them up.

So, though the teachers were positive about the possibility of developing a PBE partnership, they felt ill equipped to engage with Te Ātiawa people, let alone to meet their expectations. The Te Ātiawa interviewees, likewise, suspected that local history teachers

would struggle to develop a critical pedagogy of place without their input and the financial/technical support of Crown agencies.¹⁷⁵

Conclusion

Both groups felt that a critical place-based approach to teaching would assist local history students. Such an approach could enable students to engage with local Te Ātiawa people in authentic and meaningful learning activities. All of the research participants believed that the development of ecological literacy skills would enable local students to reflect critically upon their personal understandings of key curriculum concepts like identity and citizenship. Despite these similarities, there were also some differences in the two groups' responses to questions.

Though the Te Ātiawa interviewees emphasized the need to strengthen local teachers' knowledge of te reo Māori, most teachers did not express concern about their inability to comprehend te reo Māori. Whereas the Te Ātiawa interviewees could envisage how GIS/GPS technologies could be applied in pedagogical contexts, most teachers had not considered activities like the community mapping projects I had encountered in Alaska. As the following chapter notes, most teachers saw GIS/GPS technologies as a geographical tool only. Only one teacher (from the most affluent participating school) had considered purchasing a GIS/GPS package for his school's social sciences department. Teachers from lower-decile schools, featuring the largest percentages of Māori students, explained that such technologies were too expensive for their schools' limited budgets. These were not the only major barriers identified by the teachers and their Te Ātiawa counterparts.

¹⁷⁵ The Te Ātiawa interviewees frequently identified the Ministry of Education, Te Puni Kōkiri/Ministry of Māori Development and the Ministry of Culture and Heritage as agencies that should support a future PBE partnership initiative.

Chapter eight: Barriers likely to impede a PBE partnership

Introduction

This chapter draws largely upon the work of Berlak and Berlak (1981) to discuss the barriers identified by the research participants as being most likely to obstruct the development of a PBE partnership between the Wellington Tenth Trust and the nine participating schools. This chapter begins by introducing the ‘dilemmas of teaching’ framework developed by Berlak and Berlak. It then relates this framework to the barriers identified by the Te Ātiawa interviewees, before relating the framework to the barriers identified by the teachers.

Reflecting the findings of earlier chapters that acts of teacher agency tend to undermine the status of local Te Ātiawa histories in local secondary schools’ social studies and history programmes, the research participants agreed that all parties would need to negotiate their way through a net of dilemmas spiralling around questions of control. The research participants’ responses often recalled Berlak and Berlak’s (pp. 136-156) descriptions of the dilemmas of teaching, including the existence of pedagogical dilemmas that hold political ramifications. Like Berlak and Berlak, Kincheloe (2004: pp. 1-2) also concluded that:

Educators walk minefields of educational contradictions in the contemporary pedagogical landscape. On some levels teachers and students discover that schools pursue democratic goals and education for a democratic society; on other levels they find that schools are authoritarian and pursue antidemocratic goals of social control for particular [dominant cultural] groups and individuals ... Advocates of critical pedagogy are aware that every minute of every hour that teachers teach, they are faced with complex decisions concerning justice, democracy, and competing ethical claims.

In relation to the competing ethical claims that emerged in relation to this research, the Te Ātiawa interviewees wondered if local history teachers would relinquish control of ‘their’ curriculum for the sake of a PBE partnership, reflecting Jones et al. (1995: p. 199) view that:

New Zealand schools facilitate (produce) as well as reflect (reproduce) the processes of domination found in wider society. Schools actively protect the

cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) of the dominant group and maintain their privileged position of power and control by creating then upholding the integrity of the accepted cultural capital.

The Berlak's dilemmas of teaching framework

Berlak and Berlak (1981: pp. 135-176) identified sixteen dilemmas of teaching. They argued (p. 135) that their dilemmas provide a 'language of inquiry for describing schooling and exploring systematically the origins and consequences of the schooling process upon children, and its contribution to social and cultural reproduction and change.' Those people who participated in this research were frequently perturbed by dilemmas that closely related to those described by Berlak and Berlak as being associated with questions of 'control.' For example, the Te Ātiawa interviewees believed that people nominated by local Te Ātiawa should have meaningful input into the design, delivery and assessment of learning activities addressing local Te Ātiawa histories of place. Most teachers, however, were wary of relinquishing their control of decision-making processes.

Both groups anticipated the emergence of barriers, because a PBE partnership would, inevitably, demand a power-sharing relationship between local secondary schools and Te Ātiawa people. Berlak and Berlak (p. 136) argued that four control dilemmas constitute a set of dilemmas that 'may be used to describe and analyse differences in the locus and extent of classroom control.' These dilemmas include: the teacher versus child control of operations dilemma; teacher versus child control of time dilemma; teacher versus child control of standards dilemma; and the whole child versus child as student dilemma. Of these four dilemmas, it was the teacher versus child control of operations dilemma that most closely and frequently aligned with the barriers anticipated by the research participants. Berlak and Berlak (p. 140) suggested that:

This dilemma captures the pull, on the one hand, towards the teacher exerting detailed and specific control over how children are to behave in the various curriculum domains (that is within particular realms of development) and, on the other hand, towards allowing children to exercise control over their behaviour. 'Programmed learning', and most forms of 'behavioural management', in theory at least, represent the most extreme forms of control over operations, with children granted virtually no control over what is learned, how it is to be learned, or how much one must do.

While it did not address the wider power relationships that exist amongst British teachers, between British teachers and parents, or between British teachers and members of their local communities, this ‘dilemma’ can be adapted to address similar power struggles that occur in the meso/exosystem settings of the Port Nicholson Block, New Zealand. For example, both participant groupings wished to exert ‘detailed’ and ‘specific’ control over how children are to ‘behave’ in a ‘curriculum domain’ (e.g. history or social studies). They also wished to control the setting and evaluation of curriculum ‘standards.’ When Berlak and Berlak described (p. 141) their ‘control of standards’ dilemma, their description had resonance with this research:

The setting of standards and monitoring of student’s performance in terms of these standards is one of the most powerful means of control in school settings. In attempting to represent a teacher’s control over *time, operations* and *realms* of development, one must therefore look at the locus of control. Use of the standard dilemma brings into relief an often subtle but powerful way that teachers or other school authorities exert control over time, operations and some realms of child development. A teacher may control how a child does a task not by specifying operations or directly controlling time but by the monitoring of standards of performance.

It was the control of time that caused the most concern for the teacher participants, and their concerns could be aligned to Berlak and Berlak’s description of the teacher versus child control of time dilemma. They stated (p. 138) that ‘the [control of time] dilemma captures the pull, on the one hand, toward teachers controlling when children will begin activities and the duration of the activity and, on the other, towards allowing children to control their own time.’ What this writer observed, however, was that the teacher participants felt pulled between the demands imposed by their rigid school timetables and the loss of their personal time. They feared that they might have to work additional hours (unpaid), alongside local Te Ātiawa people, to initiate a PBE partnership. The Te Ātiawa interviewees were equally concerned about the need for remuneration for lost personal time. All of the research participants, then, viewed time as a commodity, giving some weight to Scott’s (1982) description of the mechanical nature of the New Zealand economy and its ‘industrial’ secondary schools system.

The PBE partnership models envisaged by the participants would pose a challenge to the prevailing institutional culture of the New Zealand secondary schools system. Though

they often resembled dilemmas described by Berlak and Berlak, the dilemmas I encountered differed insofar as they related to a colonial context and the politics of colonisation and neo-colonisation. This chapter describes political tensions that might emerge in relation to what, why, how, where and when local Te Ātiawa people's historical knowledge should be shared with schools participating in a hypothetical PBE partnership.

The barriers identified by the Te Ātiawa interviewees

Though the Te Ātiawa interviewees wished to see local secondary schools address aspects of local Te Ātiawa and other tribal histories of place, this had to occur on the basis of ongoing engagement, including local history teachers sharing control over certain curriculum decision-making procedures. This expectation was consistent with the principle of partnership argued by the Waitangi Tribunal and various courts as being implicit within both the Māori and English texts of the Treaty of Waitangi.¹⁷⁶ The Te Ātiawa interviewees also expected that people approved by Te Ātiawa should be able to work alongside teachers to conduct quality assurance audits to prevent acts of misappropriation and/or to protect the mana (integrity/authority) of Te Ātiawa knowledge. This expectation aligned with the principle of active protection implicit within the Treaty.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees, moreover, expected that Te Ātiawa people (or people nominated by Te Ātiawa to collaborate with teachers of history) should have a direct, or *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) relationship with local history teachers. The Te Ātiawa interviewees opposed local history teachers using their *taurahere* (non-local Māori) colleagues as intermediaries to broker the development of a PBE partnership. They felt these (*taurahere*) teachers already had enough work to contend with, and that it is not their responsibility to act as intermediaries between non-Māori colleagues and local *iwi*.

As much as the Te Ātiawa interviewees wished to nominate Te Ātiawa representatives to engage with local history teachers and students, they suspected the Ministry of Education would not be interested in resourcing such a partnership. The Te Ātiawa interviewees also wondered whether low decile schools had the resources to initiate such a partnership, or whether wealthier schools would choose to commit resources.

¹⁷⁶ For more information about the legal status of the Treaty principles see Treaty of Waitangi Information Programme (2005: pp. 14-15).

Concerns regarding the control of operations and standards

Interviewee Six was the most cautious Te Ātiawa participant when discussing whether local Te Ātiawa people should engage in a partnership with the participating schools. When I asked him if he felt local Te Ātiawa people might embrace a PBE partnership with local schools, he responded:

Well, let's put it this way; it's not high on our priority list, particularly when we look at all the other [Treaty claims] issues that we are currently involved with. But, if it is something that our people really want, or if it is perceived that our people really need to do that, then it will happen. We would pursue it. But, it's going to be about what our people want, not just what the education system wants.

In terms of who should decide what is to be taught, the Te Ātiawa interviewees agreed that such decisions should not be left to teachers. They were wary of a schooling system that has a long history of ignoring, misappropriating, distorting and/or trivialising Māori knowledge.¹⁷⁷ The Te Ātiawa interviewees felt that much consideration would need to be given by local Te Ātiawa people, themselves, as to what, why, how, where and when their historical knowledge of place should be taught and assessed. The questions of where and how local Te Ātiawa histories should be assessed generated the most discussion. In relation to where this knowledge should be shared, Interviewee Five typified the views of her peers when she advised that local wharehenui constitute repositories of important mnemonic devices:

The classroom is a little too remote for our people. I'd prefer to take students down to a local marae to be assessed, simply because if they are assessed about Te Ātiawa, in the actual [Te Ātiawa] environment, itself, well, that's much more immediate. ... I think when you go into a wharehenui there's a whole sense of history behind it and hopefully that history will come through in the work that the students would be doing. For students to stand in a local marae and talk about the local people is tangible for us, whereas assessment in a classroom situation is intangible, it's not authentic.

Interviewee Four encapsulated the Te Ātiawa interviewees' stance that all parties should benefit. He said:

¹⁷⁷ See Walker (1987: pp. 29-32, 36-38,), G. Smith (1990: pp. 187-192) and L. Smith (1999: pp. 64-65) for more insights into how New Zealand schools have misappropriated Māori culture and knowledge.

Yes, I do think students should be assessed about their knowledge of Te Ātiawa history, to some degree. Don't get me wrong, though, I don't want to "ram" Te Ātiawa history down their throats, just for the sake of doing it. I would just like to know that, if we do this teaching, it's not going to be just for the sake of it, or just to appease us [Te Ātiawa], but that it'd involve an assessment activity that is actually useful and valued by the students themselves.

Interviewee Three, like all of his peers, concluded that:

If teachers want to deliver a quality product that is all about us [Te Ātiawa], they'd be pretty foolish not to consult or engage with us. I suppose it's all about trying to anticipate risks and it's also about considering "damage control" before that sort of thing occurs. From my perspective, local Te Ātiawa histories should be taught and assessed in Te Ātiawa cultural and historical sites of significance and in relation to the students' own senses of place.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees, however, were aware of barriers imposed by the New Zealand secondary schools system, and understood that these might prevent local history teachers from responding to their visions of an ideal PBE model.

The following section relates the barriers identified by the Te Ātiawa interviewees to Berlak and Berlak's (pp. 144-146) description of the 'curriculum set' dilemma titled 'personal knowledge versus public knowledge'. It also relates these barriers to Penetito's (2005) discussion of the relationship between the 'particularistic' knowledge of whānau, hapū and iwi and the 'universalistic' knowledge traditionally favoured by New Zealand schools.

Personal knowledge v. public knowledge and particularistic knowledge v. universalistic knowledge dilemmas

Interviewee Six and other Te Ātiawa interviewees cautioned that the subjective skills/knowledge held in high esteem by Te Ātiawa people may not be valued as highly by the education system. He suggested that this would constitute a barrier to partnership:

I do think teachers need to use the local landscape to teach about the past ...

But, what tends to happen is that it doesn't actually fit in with the preferred methods of teaching at the moment, largely because teachers have got to be sort of visibly

quantifying everything they do. They've got to have measureable outcomes and all the rest of it, whereas a lot of the skills that I'm talking about are quite subjective.

This aligns with the curriculum dilemma that Berlak and Berlak (pp. 144-146) believed exists whenever teachers choose between giving greater status to the personal knowledge of their students or public knowledge sanctioned by the state. This dilemma, in turn, recalled the paradoxical relationship that Penetito (pp. 274-275) described as existing whenever New Zealand teachers must choose between the particularistic knowledge favoured by whānau, hapū and iwi and the universal knowledge traditionally favoured by New Zealand schools.¹⁷⁸ Berlak and Berlak (pp. 144-145) noted (with my interpolations, to bring the extract into direct relevance with this research):

This [curriculum] dilemma represents, in its most general form, a cleavage in the Western tradition over what is worthwhile and adequate knowledge. On the one hand, teachers are drawn towards the position that worthwhile knowledge consists of the accumulated traditions of the ages, traditions which have a value external to and independent of the knower. On the other hand, teachers [like some of the teacher participants] are drawn towards the position that the value of knowledge is established through its relationship to the knower [e.g. local Te Ātiawa people] ... From the *public knowledge* perspective a body of information, skills, perspectives, facts, ways of knowing [e.g. the New Zealand History Syllabus] is valued because it is accepted within the [Western] traditions of knowledge, that is, it has received some degree of acceptance using public principles that stand as impersonal standards to which both teacher and learner must give their allegiance. Public knowledge may be seen as composed of [typically Western] traditions of knowledge which have stood the test of time.

Personal knowledge, however, involves a different pedagogical emphasis. As Berlak and Berlak (pp. 145-146) argued:

Implicit in the *personal knowledge* emphasis is a view [shared by all Te Ātiawa interviewees and some teacher participants] that worthwhileness of knowledge cannot be judged apart from its relationship to the knower. Knowledge is useful and significant only in so far as it enables persons to make sense of experience. Personal

¹⁷⁸ These dilemmas recalled Apple's (1993: pp. 1-14, 44-63, 151-162) description of 'the politics of official knowledge.'

knowledge is gained from the 'inside' [consequently, it is subjective, as claimed by Interviewee Six]. To know in this sense has the connotation of *verstehen* or holistic understanding [which was clearly preferred by the Te Ātiawa interviewees].

Although the Te Ātiawa interviewees supported the incorporation of personal knowledge when teaching aspects of New Zealand history, the teachers (see part three) were fearful that control dilemmas would arise whenever they might try to reconcile the personal knowledge preferences of students with the public knowledge they felt is sanctioned by the state (e.g. via its NCEA examination system). Their concerns, accordingly, aligned with Penetito's description (2005: p. 274) of the dilemmas confronting New Zealand teachers when considering the incorporation of particularistic [e.g. local tribal] knowledge:

In Māori terms knowledge is particularistic whereas school knowledge, traditionally, is perceived as being universalistic. This has the potential to pose another dilemma for teaching, namely, what knowledge should be made available for teaching and evaluating in the classroom? What knowledge should teachers have of their pupils in order to be able to empathise and help them learn more effectively? I think that the Māori knowledge that gets into the learning institutions should be selected from local whānau/hapū/iwi sources ... My argument is that local whānau, hapū, iwi must decide what should be taught and how it should be made accessible. In traditional Māori terms knowledge has a spiritual [hence subjective] dimension in that it is handed down from one generation to the next and is often referred to as ngā taonga tuku iho (the treasures handed down).

Penetito also stressed that teachers must not overlook the relationships between people and places when they determine the value they will give to the particularistic knowledge of local whānau, hapū and iwi:

Knowledge is always perceived of in relational terms rather than as something fixed in time and space, tuia i runga, tuia i raro, tuia i roto, tuia i waho, tuia te here tangata, ka rongō te po, ka rongō te ao (combined across all space and time). Knowledge is specific to place, Mokau ki runga, tamaki ki raro (the region designated by Mokau above and Tamaki below). Knowledge is tied to one's identity through language, ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori (my language is the foundation of my being as a

Māori).¹⁷⁹ Māori knowledge serves all these purposes and much more. It is contemporary as well as being traditional; it is secular as well as being sacred; it is theoretical as well as being practical; it is idealist and materialist, otherwise, how could we talk about Māori being and existing in the world if the only knowledge we valued was traditional, ngā taonga tuku iho?

However, Penetito did not adopt an essentialist stance to label Māori knowledge as particularistic. He cautioned (p. 275) that:

Pākehā do not have a monopoly on universalistic knowledge. Almost 200 years of colonialism cannot deny the liberating effects that that European universalising knowledge has had on countless Māori people. But, as stated earlier, there has been a price. With particularism comes community, solidarity, connectedness and meaning which is the counter or up-side of what Berger (1979:169) refers to as “the rootlessness of modernity.”

In Penetito’s view then, Māori exercise agency when participating in the construction of universalistic or public knowledge. In this research, each of the Te Ātiawa interviewees stipulated that local history students should have a sound grasp of historical events pertaining to the macrosystem (e.g. public knowledge).¹⁸⁰ However, they also believed that local students’ personal or particularistic knowledge should be connected to the teaching of that universalistic or public history. They added that this type of knowledge should, ideally, be incorporated via oral history, community-mapping and other typically place-based activities. They reasoned that such activities would create space and time for students to compare and contrast the personal experiences of their interviewees/community research partners with the universal or public knowledge found in their textbooks.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees recognised that to gain a PBE partnership model, systemic constraints would require some sort of negotiated curriculum to be developed. But they shared misgivings about the possible role of taurahere teachers (Māori/Māori teachers who are not tangata whenua/people of the land/local tribes) in these negotiations.

¹⁷⁹ It should be remembered that only one of the teachers interviewed felt that her limited knowledge of te reo Māori constituted a barrier to teaching about local iwi histories of place. None of the teachers interviewed were fluent speakers of te reo Māori.

¹⁸⁰ Like New Zealand’s involvement in World War II.

Concerns regarding the role of taurahere teachers

The Te Ātiawa interviewees opposed taurahere teachers being called upon, by their non-Māori colleagues, to act as facilitators of a relationship between local Te Ātiawa people and teachers of history. They preferred to see non-Māori teachers engaging in a more direct relationship with Te Ātiawa and reasoned that this would ensure that Te Ātiawa perspectives are accurately represented in the teaching of local histories of place. The Te Ātiawa interviewees reasoned that teachers of te reo Māori already had heavy workloads and that they should be free to concentrate on teaching te reo. They also believed that a *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face-to-face) relationship would protect teachers from breaching local *tikanga* (customary obligations). Interviewee Five epitomised the concerns of the Te Ātiawa interviewees when she said:

I think that amongst Te Ātiawa, here in Wellington, there is a deep resentment of anyone from another tribe standing up and talking about us ... However, I do think there might be an expectation, amongst us [local Te Ātiawa people] that Pākehā teachers might do something just like that ... But, in their defence, they just don't really know what they're doing in terms of *tikanga* [customary protocols/obligations], or what they're talking about ... I think that the traditional expectation [e.g. *tikanga*] is that Māori teachers, or teachers from Ngāti Porou, for example, will recognise that they don't know our local Te Ātiawa history and that we know our history better than them.

Some of the Te Ātiawa interviewees also claimed that, by depending upon taurahere teachers, non-Māori teachers may place their (taurahere) colleagues in what I would describe as the *indigenous teacher's professional expectations v. customary obligations* dilemma.¹⁸¹ For example, when I invited Interviewee Four to identify the risks associated with non-Māori history teachers relying on taurahere colleagues for information about local Te Ātiawa histories he replied:

A good example of the "risks" involved is what's happened to a friend of mine who is [viewed by his colleagues as] a "Māori." He's from Taranaki, but he's only got a limited understanding of te reo Māori. He joined one of the local high schools to be a PE teacher, but he was the only Māori teacher in the school. So, he instantly became

¹⁸¹ This dilemma, I would propose, involves the pull felt by some taurahere teachers between the professional expectations of their non-Māori colleagues and the customary obligations of other Māori people. This writer suspects similar dilemmas may be faced by indigenous teachers elsewhere (e.g. Alaska/USA, Australia and Canada).

the social studies teacher and then they made him responsible for taking the third form [year 9] te reo Māori classes, just because he's a "Māori!" Now that's totally irresponsible. It's, like, worse than giving a science teacher, who just happens to be English, an English literature class to teach.

I mean, that teacher is there primarily to teach science, so what would a science teacher know about English literature unless she or he specialised in that subject? You need to have a specialist teacher teaching te reo Māori just like any other subject matter and you need to have a Te Ātiawa expert teaching about Te Ātiawa. Now, I think that's a real issue because I know that sort of thing is commonly happening throughout schools in the Wellington region. Just because they're Māori teachers, they're expected [by their non-Māori colleagues] to be these all-knowing "Māori" cross-curriculum experts and they're not.

Barriers that relate to the equal allocation versus differential allocation of resources dilemma

When explaining the nature of this dilemma, Berlak and Berlak (p. 159) stated that:

The dilemma represents two contrasting conceptions of *distributive* justice. On the one hand, teachers are pulled towards the view that all children deserve equal shares and, on the other, towards the idea that some students deserve merit more than others. Throughout history the criteria for deciding who deserves more or less of these resources and how much more or less one deserves have been a source of strife. Should the allocation of valued resources be based on individual merit, or the public good? If the criterion is individual merit, should this be defined in terms of native [sic] ability, individual effort, history of oppression of a group, or cultural 'disadvantage?' If the criterion is social benefit, should this be defined in quantitative, material terms, or in more 'subjective' terms such as the degree of alienation or satisfaction with one's work?

In relation to this dilemma, some Te Ātiawa interviewees were mindful that many local schools operated on tight budgets. They suspected that most history teachers would resist a 'differential allocation of resources' stance because their schools would not pay guest speakers at the same levels as those paid by government agencies to local tribal experts

during Crown/iwi consultation exercises.¹⁸² Other interviewees added that local schools are preoccupied with maintaining an ‘equal allocation’ stance – namely, equal funding across subject departments. They also suspected that local schools did not value Te Ātiawa knowledge enough to prioritise spending more of their finite resources on a PBE partnership.¹⁸³ This latter group of Te Ātiawa interviewees, however, suspected that topics addressing local iwi histories would remain marginalised if they continued to be subjected to an ongoing equal allocation stance. From their perspective, the introduction of new ‘Te Ātiawa topics’ would need a differential allocation of resources if these topics were to ever gain an equal status with topics already taught.¹⁸⁴

They reasoned that additional funds would be needed for teacher education purposes and the development of new pedagogical tools such as resource kits. Meanwhile, some Te Ātiawa interviewees felt strongly that local schools (and the Ministry of Education) should ‘cough up’ the resources and that Te Ātiawa experts should be given financial remuneration at the same payment rates as ‘other educational consultants.’¹⁸⁵ Interviewee Five encompassed the concerns of all the Te Ātiawa interviewees when she said:

I know there is a problem when you’ve got one or two kamātua, around the countryside, who would like to charge people five hundred dollars for their services. But, on the other hand, I *do* think people need compensation for their time ... The problem is though, that there are history teachers in schools that don’t have that sort of money to spend ... The fact remains that there are two valid sides to the story and most schools are ‘stretched’ financially. However ... our key people should be committed to their jobs as such and local schools must realise that our key people may not have the freedom to just drop everything and come running to their aid. There’s got to be some realistic expectations.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees agreed that Government agencies, like the Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK, or Ministry of Māori Development), should provide

¹⁸² Interviewees: Four, Eight and Nine.

¹⁸³ Interviewees: One, Two, Three, Six and Seven.

¹⁸⁴ As evident in the Eurocentric nature of the majority of history topics that were favoured by the twenty-four Port Nicholson Block schools I surveyed in 2005.

¹⁸⁵ Interviewees Three and Six.

resources to support an iwi partnership with schools. However, they were not optimistic this would occur. For example, Interviewee Six warned:

It needs to be done through central government funding. Otherwise you'll be tending to rely on the limited resources of the delivery agencies [e.g. schools], iwi or individuals in the community.

Interviewee Eight agreed. She believed that:

A Government agency like TPK [Te Puni Kōkiri/Ministry of Māori Development] should provide the funding. I say that because, in the past, we've had our wānanga [in this context, workshops] and they [TPK] actually helped us with funding. You can apply for that sort of funding through them. I've never given it a thought before, but maybe the Ministry of Education should also provide funding.

Interviewee Six shared the following thoughts (which typified the views of his peers) about what will be required to establish a relationship between the participating schools and the Wellington Tenth Trust:

If the scenario is that there *has* been dialogue and that an agreement has been reached [e.g. a memorandum of understanding between the schools' Boards of Trustees and the Wellington Tenth Trust] then I would assume the project would involve a joint approach which, in my opinion, should involve members of local iwi and other people who *are* appropriate to make sure that it *is* an effective project. Also, I would assume that, from within the schools, some sort of resourcing will be provided to ensure that it [the teaching of local tribal histories] is firmly fixed in as a part of the school curriculum rather than being something that is just "tagged on."¹⁸⁶ All of these things need to be put in place before we [The Wellington Tenth Trust] even get to the stage of meeting with teachers and determining *who* talks to *who* and *how* we should talk to each other.

¹⁸⁶ Therefore, Interviewee Six, like his peers, rejected what Banks and Banks (1997: pp. 232-242) described as the 'contributions' and/or 'additive' approaches to the 'integration' of 'minority [e.g. ethnic] group' knowledge.

The barriers identified by the teacher participants

The teacher participants also believed that the Ministry of Education should provide resourcing to support the potential development of a PBE partnership. Like the Te Ātiawa interviewees, they saw many barriers, or dilemmas, to be addressed before a partnership could develop. The barriers most frequently identified by the teachers were those most easily related to Berlak and Berlak's 'control set' dilemmas. The teachers' inability to control time was most frequently identified as the steepest barrier to overcome. The teachers' fears about time management issues reflected Scott's (1982) argument that school time is a form of ideology pivotal to the cultural reproduction of the dominant culture. Furthermore, control issues were foremost in most teachers' minds when they acknowledged they feared how they would manage the racist attitudes of some Pākehā students (and/or their parents), should a PBE partnership occur.¹⁸⁷ This fear could easily be related to Berlak and Berlak's description of the 'teacher versus student control of operations' dilemma.

The teachers also feared they might fail, cause offence or be embarrassed should they enter into a PBE partnership with the Wellington Tenth Trust. Moreover, some feared they would lose their ability to determine what, why, where, when and how they teach history and social studies. Others feared the prospect of having 'their' curriculum 'captured' by Te Ātiawa, and also feared the possibility of, somehow, becoming enmeshed in local tribal politics.¹⁸⁸ Older teachers believed that the development of an education marketplace, since the 1980s, had fostered a culture of competition which made it difficult for history teachers to work collaboratively with their colleagues from rival subject disciplines within their schools and/or rival schools.¹⁸⁹

Professional rivalries, then, triggered by a competition for 'bums on seats' (as some of these teachers described it), constituted a 'barrier to partnership' that added further layers to an already complex netting of 'control-set' dilemmas. This netting could be related to Berlak and Berlak's description (pp. 150-152) of a curriculum set dilemma labelled 'learning is holistic versus learning is molecular' and another (pp. 144-146) labelled 'personal knowledge versus particularistic knowledge.' The teachers' concerns about resource constraints, meanwhile, resonated with Berlak and Berlak's description of the

¹⁸⁷ Teachers: Two, Four, Five, Six, Eight and Nine.

¹⁸⁸ Teachers: Two, Three, Four, Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

¹⁸⁹ Teachers: Two, Three, Seven, Eight and Nine.

'societal set' dilemma labelled an 'equal allocation of resources versus differential allocation'.

However, not all of the 'barriers' identified by the teachers could be so easily related to Berlak and Berlak's theoretical framework. Though most teachers were unaware of the pedagogical potential of GIS/GPS technologies, I could not easily relate this finding to Berlak and Berlak's theoretical framework. Likewise, I found it difficult to relate Berlak and Berlak's framework to the teachers' feelings of 'disconnectedness.'

The barriers related to control of time dilemmas

The teachers believed that time management issues would hinder their participation in a potential PBE partnership. This was not surprising, given the findings of Alison's (2005) research about teacher workload issues. Teacher Two's comments typified their concerns:

The biggest obstacle for me is what I call my "personal time", or the lack of it. Now, what I'm saying is that I wouldn't want to do anything half-assed! For example, it's supposed to be Sunday, but I'll end up doing four or five hours of planning for a field trip. At the same time I'm supposed to be attempting to maintain a marriage where I don't have to reintroduce myself to my wife every school holiday! Clearly, I'm not succeeding at doing that ... Now, I'm talking about having to get all the risk assessment forms completed and getting the parental permission slips completed and getting all the medical information forms done ... Even in the six or seven years that I've been teaching, I've noticed that the size of all these [risk management] forms has increased by up to three full pages of A4 sized paper and that's a lot more than we did before! If we go anywhere, now, senior [school] management have become more concerned about things like kids coming back without their necks in a sling. I simply haven't got the time to plan something beyond the school gates that I would be happy delivering anymore.

Administrative tasks were not the only time-related matter that concerned the teachers. Rigid school timetable policies were also identified as barriers. For example, Teacher Five said:

I was quite lucky this year because I did an Art History trip as well as a history trip. That was because last year I went and said: "Ok, I'm doing this trip, this trip and this trip!" So, I put them [the field trips] all into the school calendar last year and they

were already booked and I was able to take them [students] out for quite a few days this year! You've got to be quite strategic and very well organised, well in advance, if you want to take students on field trips in this school.

The teachers frequently associated a lack of time with a lack of money, which might lend weight to Scott's (1982) proposition that school time reflects an oppressive form of capitalist ideology, and Freire's (1972: p. 44) observation that:

The oppressor [e.g. Western capitalist] consciousness tends to transform everything surrounding it into an object of its domination. The earth, property, production, the creations of men, men themselves, *time* [my emphasis], everything is reduced to the status of objects at its disposal.

Interviewee Three epitomised the concerns of his colleagues regarding the oppressive and mechanical nature of school timetabling when he said:

If I'm going to take them [students] out for a day I have to justify it to school management. That's because school management wants to know: "Why are we paying money for relief teachers for the day?" I mean, I'd be taking [students] out of their other classes and there are four other classes also scheduled to be out of school that day, too. So, because I'm not going to be there, at school, to teach my other classes, school management wants to make sure that what I'm doing on that field trip is very much a "valid" learning activity and that it has to be done. In fact, the rule here is: "if it can be done by not going, you don't go."

From a history teacher's perspective, that makes it a bit awkward, mainly because field trips are often adding something extra to what you've already done in class. Sure, I could do it from a textbook, but when I take students somewhere and I can say "Look this is where it happened", well, that's a whole lot better. But, the school will turn around and say to me: "If it can be done [taught] from a textbook you are not going to take students out because it disrupts four other classes." Ok, I can partly understand where they [school management] are coming from, but, heck, it's a real shame.

When I asked Teacher Three whether he felt that such a stance by management undermined the viability of history as an optional subject in an internal (school) subjects ‘marketplace’ he replied:

Absolutely! It [the ability to conduct field trips] actually determines whether or not my students will choose to carry on with the subject from 5th form [year 11] to 6th form [year 12] and 7th form [year 13]. Heck, I remember as a kid, in the 6th form, going to Akaroa for a field trip and looking at local tribes [Ngāi Tahu] and European settlement. I still, to this day, have my photos of me at that camp taken with my classmates! It was one of the key events of my life!

Now, I don’t remember our ‘core topics’ of that year, but I *do* remember that history camp and what I learned about the Akaroa area! As a teacher I’ve even used that experience to inform some of the trips that I’ve planned. I have also pointed out to my Board of Trustees that my job description says that I’m to promote history and to do what I can just like geography, maths or science would do for their annual field trips. By making it harder for me, as a history teacher, to take kids on field trips, they are putting me in a position that makes it harder for me to promote history as an exciting subject choice. Let’s just say that the principal and I “agree to disagree.”

Teacher One also felt trapped by his school’s ‘inflexible’ timetable. He complained that:

The trouble is the way a school like this is run. It is very much run in terms of specialists and specialist subjects and their timetables are locked in concrete! That’s actually a *big* barrier to overcome. It’d take a lot of very good leadership to pull all that sort of thing together, especially when kids aren’t really in core classes that much, anyway, because of all their field trips, cultural activities and sports ... What that partnership with a tribe [e.g. Te Ātiawa] would require is leadership and coordination. I mean place-based education is like integrated studies isn’t it?

Teacher One typified his counterparts’ concerns when he complained that a standard fifty minute lesson left him with little opportunity to fully unleash his creativity:

I think we [teachers] are quite restrained by the standard fifty minute long period [lesson]. It’s like every time we take our kids for a history field trip, the English department’s furious, largely because that’s two whole days of students being out of

their classes! I also tend to think that we [teachers] live a day-to-day existence. You know, there's a certain amount of planning that goes into the local field trip for fifty minutes [e.g. a fifty minute class walk to sites of significance in that school's immediate neighbourhood]. I think that the planning requirements sometimes work against that [place-based teaching approach] happening. I mean, the fact is that, at different times, I'm actually only thinking a day ahead in terms of my own planning or whatever else may contribute to that. Also, it's all the other [time] pressures like short periods and kids that can't be late back to school because they've got a sports practice at lunch time. So, it's not just the "crowded curriculum", but it's the other things that impinge upon that curriculum. So, we're not well-placed in terms of going outside and looking at stuff within the short period of time we have available to us. We are very much bound to our classrooms!

This aligned with Berlak and Berlak's (pp. 150-152) description of the 'learning is holistic versus learning is molecular' dilemma thrust upon teachers by official curriculum requirements, which inevitably fragment knowledge into specialist subject silos. To help explain the relevance of this fragmentation to this research, I have made insertions into the following extract from Berlak and Berlak (p. 151):

The dilemma *molecular v. holistic learning* is a way of analyzing differences in teachers' responses to tensions within them (and in the culture) over how people learn and retain what they have learned. From the molecular [e.g. the teachers'] perspective, learning is the taking in and accumulation of discrete parts or pieces; when one has mastered the pieces one knows the whole. Retention of knowledge from this perspective depends on the introduction of parts properly divided, sequenced and reinforced. From the *holistic* [e.g. the Te Ātiawa interviewees'] perspective, learning is the active construction of meaning by persons, the understanding of a whole, a process that is in some essential way different from learning a series of parts or elements. People [like the Te Ātiawa interviewees] remember better what has been learned because it has 'meaning.' The root idea of the holistic position is that for learning to occur the student must think, mentally act upon the material, and 'make sense' of the piece (idea, skill) by seeing it in relationship to something already known [e.g. local Te Ātiawa people's knowledge of place]. Thus aspects of knowledge are introduced when students are ready to integrate them – in other words, when the students are able to place them in some context [e.g. that they have experienced].

Berlak and Berlak's research (pp. 151-152) can be related to Penetito's (2005) account of the relationship between 'universalistic' and 'particularistic' knowledge:

From the molecular perspective a student learns if the teacher breaks down what is learned into parts that, if properly sequenced, 'add up' to the entire skill or knowledge. There is no concern that the material to be learned to be seen as 'meaningful', that is, its parts understood in relationship to a whole before, during, or after the learning experience. The fit between what the learner already knows and what is to be learned are not salient. Prior public [or Penetito's 'universalistic'] knowledge is likely to be regarded as more important to learning than personal [or Penetito's 'particularistic'] knowledge, the relevance of which is largely discounted. Finally, motivation is viewed as depending heavily upon extrinsic reinforcement properly regulated.

The teachers were unsure how they could 'gain time' to resolve interdisciplinary 'demarcation disputes' with their colleagues in other 'molecular' subject areas. Though all of the teachers indicated they wanted to collaborate with their 'specialist colleagues' (i.e. from other subject areas) to develop 'holistic' learning activities, they believed that their school timetables prevented them from doing so. A perceived 'lack of time' was also seen as the barrier most likely to prevent these teachers from forging stronger collegial ties with their colleagues in other schools (e.g. before approaching Te Ātiawa as a cluster of schools to seek a partnership). For example, teachers from the Hutt Valley and some Wellington suburbs felt disadvantaged by the fact that Wellington Area History Teachers' Association (WAHTA) meetings are normally held in central Wellington city venues.¹⁹⁰ Teacher Eight, said:

The key problem, of course, is that if you have a meeting after school, in Wellington [during 'personal time'], you get caught in traffic. Even when you're coming into town from outside of Wellington, you still get caught in the southbound traffic! It would be good if, once every six weeks, we history teachers could meet somewhere accessible with easy parking and just sit down and talk for a couple of hours. Now that would really help to get a lot more cooperation between teachers at different schools and to get teachers [e.g. instead of university staff] driving the association [WAHTA] again.

¹⁹⁰ Teachers: Three, Four, Six, Eight and Nine.

Though the teachers accepted that people nominated by the Wellington Tenth Trust should ‘gain time’ (e.g. remuneration) to work alongside them and their students, they feared losing their own ‘personal time’ should they have to administer their school’s role in a PBE partnership with local Te Ātiawa people. Not surprisingly, the teachers wished to have their timetables significantly altered to allow them to collaborate with local Te Ātiawa people to design more holistic learning activities. The control of time, however, was not the only ‘control set’ dilemma identified by Berlak and Berlak that was relevant to the barriers identified by the teachers.

Overlapping barriers associated with the control of operations and standards

This section addresses a series of overlapping barriers that aligned with Berlak and Berlak’s descriptions (pp. 140-141) of the ‘control of operations’ and ‘control of standards’ dilemmas. These focused upon power relationships that occurred within British microsystem settings, but this New Zealand-based research suggests that similar power struggles can occur between secondary school teachers and other groups of people in a wider range of settings.¹⁹¹ For example, most of the teachers this writer interviewed were concerned that the racist attitudes of some of their more vocal Pākehā students and caregivers (not to mention fellow teachers), might constitute a finally woven net of ‘control set’ dilemmas spread over a wide range of microsystem, mesosystem and exosystem settings. Therefore, it appeared that an overlapping series of teacher v. teacher control of operations and standards dilemmas existed.

The overlapping nature of these dilemmas was most visible when all of the teacher participants acknowledged that they were dependent upon their taurahere colleagues for information about local whānau, hapū and iwi. Furthermore, it was evident when some of these teachers shared that they were afraid of upsetting their taurahere colleagues and/or entering Te Ātiawa settings without their taurahere colleagues to guide them.¹⁹² Some also feared becoming enmeshed in local tribal settings where they could not control the passage of time, let alone determine operations or standards. Subsequently, these teachers feared the prospect of becoming enmeshed in local tribal politics they could not understand or control.

¹⁹¹ For example: ‘teacher v. parents’, ‘teacher v. school management’, ‘teacher v. local whānau, hapū, iwi’ and ‘teacher v. teacher’ control of ‘operations’ and ‘standards’ dilemmas.

¹⁹² Teachers: Three, Four, Five, Six, Seven, Eight and Nine.

Furthermore, most teachers (see chapter five) believed that it is difficult to offer New Zealand history topics in year 13 classes (normally dominated by Pākehā students) because Māori content will be included. Most teachers suspected a PBE partnership with local Te Ātiawa might be resisted by some Pākehā students and/or their parents and fellow teachers. Teacher Two best described the classic teacher versus student control of operations dilemma when he said:

I'm more concerned about the racism of my students [who were predominantly Pākehā] than my colleagues' attitudes. It would be a very "polite" racism in the sense that they wouldn't say anything offensive [e.g. to a Te Ātiawa person], but that's because they're too well-mannered to do that! But, in their minds, I know they wouldn't be open to seeing local Māori as having, firstly, a unique identity, or secondly as having anything of value to contribute to them. The students, generally, would have a very negative perception based on their own senses of class and racism, really!

According to Teacher Two the absence of Māori teachers from his school was also problematic. He felt that a Māori teacher should be employed urgently to 'improve the teaching of te reo Māori' and to challenge the ingrained racism of many of his students and their parents.¹⁹³ Though seven teachers were happy to rely upon their taurahere colleagues to provide them with information about local whānau, hapū and iwi, two teachers were not. Teacher Eight felt he was too dependent upon a Māori colleague. He explained:

It's my fault, it's largely ignorance on my part, not knowing and not finding out who to go to, to gain that knowledge [about local hapū and iwi]. To start with, I'd probably ask the Māori teacher, but then you've got another problem to overcome. The Māori teacher will often clam-up and say: "I don't know", either out of shyness or because he simply doesn't want you to get involved in their [e.g. Māori] issues. You face a major problem that doesn't often come to the fore in our training as teachers. Sometimes Māori just don't want us [Pākehā] involved in their [intra/inter-tribal] politics.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ However, this might leave that Māori teacher trapped in what I have called the *indigenous teacher's professional expectations v. customary obligations* dilemma.

¹⁹⁴ It is possible that Teacher Eight's 'Māori' colleague may not have known 'who' to contact amongst local Te Ātiawa people.

Though seven of the teachers did feel they could share the control of operations and standards with their Māori colleagues, some were hesitant about sharing control with local Te Ātiawa people. Teacher Three epitomised these teachers' concerns when he said:

I don't know a lot of people in this [local Māori] community and it might be that there are some really good people out there, but I do think that we do have to be careful that, when we do get people into school to speak, that we do get a good balance of community perspectives ... I mean, we're talking about 13-14 year olds who are just forming their ideas and we don't want to influence them *too* heavily. I mean, if you had someone come in from one of the local iwi to talk about that local [Port Nicholson Block] Treaty claim, and I don't know who the local iwi are, well, another tribe might turn around and say to me: "Well hang on ... Why weren't we asked to come and speak too?" And, so, sometimes, it's much easier to say "fine, no one [from any local iwi] comes into school at all."

These comments, however, reflect G. Smith's (1990: p. 193) proposal that it was actually Pākehā parents, students, bureaucrats and teachers – not Māori people – who had 'captured' the curriculum:

The control over what is to be regarded as valuable knowledge and, therefore, what is to be taught in schools, is maintained by numerically dominant Pākehā people who occupy key positions of decision-making within the education system ... Where consultation has occurred with minority interest groups, it has more often only been to seek answers which conform to the liberal preconceptions of 'state dominate Pākehā' interests ... In this way, the real power lies within the dominant Pākehā population who are able to control what will be taught, how it will be taught and by whom it will be taught.¹⁹⁵

Though some teachers were fearful of becoming enmeshed in local tribal politics, others viewed these rivalries as a natural part of the political landscape.¹⁹⁶ However, even these teachers feared causing offence and acknowledged that they relied too heavily upon their taurahere colleagues for information about local iwi. Teacher Seven explained:

¹⁹⁵ Similar arguments were developed by Walker (1987, 1996).

¹⁹⁶ Teachers One, Two, Four, Five, Seven and Nine

The members of our school's whānau group [a Māori parents' support group] are the first ones we'd go to for advice and it's difficult to make sure that we have them coming into school regularly ... I think I'm a bit affected by my reliance upon the Māori teacher to be doing the communicating with the local [tribal] community for me. But as you know, often those teachers, well, they're from outside the [local tribal] community so they'll have their own personal contacts, their own tribal networks and that may by-pass the local [Te Ātiawa] people right outside our doorstep ... A lot of that local tribal knowledge is quite difficult to sort through, because it's a very complicated history. There have been so many different claims by different groups to our local area ... So, it's those claims, you know, it's the claims process that's going on, now. It hasn't sorted itself out yet, not properly, not completely. It creates quite a bit of anxiety because it makes it a "no-go-zone" because you don't want to be putting your foot wrong anywhere.

Most teacher participants believed they needed to maintain control of curriculum operations and standards to ensure the delivery of a balanced curriculum.

A significant research finding was the extent to which most teachers were wary of their colleagues in other schools. Teacher Eight (the most experienced teacher) offered a logical explanation. He argued that the economic and social policy reforms of the early 1980s led to the formation of a Wellington schools' marketplace during the 1990s, and this intensified levels of competition between rival schools for prospective students (the 'bums-on-seats' syndrome).¹⁹⁷ He felt this competition had had a 'detrimental impact' upon relationships between teachers. When I asked him if he felt competition might prevent history teachers in rival schools from sharing decisions or resources, he replied:

It may well have done. Once upon a time it was a case of "yeah, I've got a good resource and I'll give it to you. Now, though, it's a case of me thinking "ohhhhh, I'd better keep that [resource] to myself." There just isn't the great level of cooperation that there once was. From my perspective, the sort of cooperation amongst teachers we used to enjoy went out the window with [Prime Minister] Lange's Government and the advent of Rogernomics.¹⁹⁸ The values all got warped. The values of teachers

¹⁹⁷ His argument was supported by empirical research. See Lauder et al.: 1994.

¹⁹⁸ 'Rogernomics' is a colloquial term used to describe the restructuring of the New Zealand economy, instigated by Roger Douglas (the Minister of Finance) during the period 1984 - 1988.

changed, they shifted just like the economy. Once upon a time there was a lot of assistance that could be given and gotten, but now it's a case of "I'm too busy."

Teacher Seven agreed with Teacher Eight's assessment of the 1980s reforms and, referring to more recent times, argued:

There was this assumption held by the Ministry of Education, during a lot of those change processes of the 1990s through to the introduction of NCEA that teachers would volunteer a lot of their personal time to consult with each other, to get our assessment moderation processes going. But alongside that time pressure there was that element of inter-schools competition [for students] going on. So, teachers were thinking "Why am I sharing my stuff with them [teachers in rival schools] when we don't want to lose our students to them?" It felt like "You give with one hand and they take with both hands."

Because most (seven) of the participating teachers seemed wary of their professional colleagues in 'rival' schools, this undermined the capacity of WAHTA to act on their behalf. Those who were positive about WAHTA were the two teachers who described themselves as being 'actively involved.'¹⁹⁹ When I asked Teacher Seven whether she felt that the education reforms of the previous two decades had undermined WAHTA's 'effectiveness', she said:

I think we've become more closed, more insular and that's undermined WAHTA. I think that there's only been a lot of encouragement [from the Ministry of Education] for the teachers to critique themselves, to look at their own schools and do nothing else! Also, I think that there was also, from within the Ministry of Education, an agenda whereby a lot of "control" and participation in curriculum design processes was being taken away from teachers and put into the hands of administrators employed by the Ministry of Education. They didn't really want us [WAHTA]. They only wanted us for the "freebies", you know, the free work we did around the design of NCEA moderation processes.

As far as history teachers contributing to new curriculum ideas goes, and testing the rigour of all those new initiatives out here at the "chalk face", well, I don't really believe that the Ministry of Education wanted to hear what WAHTA members have

¹⁹⁹ The other teachers described themselves as 'non-active' members.

had to say about anything, actually. I don't know who they were listening to, in terms of the teachers who were "advising" them, but I'd be interested to find out ... I don't feel that the curriculum changes of the 1990s onwards have been "democratic", largely because I didn't see it happening.

Teacher Seven was not the only teacher to suggest that WAHTA was struggling in a time of change. Teacher Two, below, was critical of WAHTA:

I wouldn't say that WAHTA speaks for me! I sense that because some people are running WAHTA, and consequently the NZHTA, they're making themselves "visible."²⁰⁰ So it [the curriculum review process] is now *their* ballgame and it's easy for the Ministry of Education to "see" and "catch" these people in a curriculum review process. I mean, let's be honest, the people that *are* getting to be involved in the current social sciences curriculum review process are only in that situation by default, largely because they *can* afford to give up time to run WAHTA! They don't necessarily represent those of us who are working more or less in isolation. [Often in lower decile schools]

I just feel that there are these powerful people within the local history teaching community who *do* wield a huge amount of influence and I'm not one of them. I've never heard them justify why they're now in the position where they are influencing the Ministry of Education. I've not found any forum where these sorts of things, that I want to know, are adequately explained to me. So, I feel that the current curriculum review process is not so much a "trickle-down" process but a "dumped on" process and that does cause me some resentment. It does seem profoundly undemocratic and elitist and I'm just very uneasy about it all.

Given that there were such mixed levels of trust between local history teachers, possibly resulting from 'market forces' (or perhaps for other reasons, such as personal rivalries), I would conclude that teacher versus teacher control of operations and standards dilemmas

²⁰⁰ At the time of Teacher Two's interview, the NZHTA was governed by the WAHTA committee as per the NZHTA's constitution (which allows the different area associations to take turns at managing the NZHTA). Therefore, the NZHTA did not possess a permanent governing body consisting of representatives from all the regional/area associations. Likewise, the NZHTA does not have any mechanism to ensure the representation of Māori, women or other groups. This was problematic because, without a permanent (national) committee of regional delegates (with representation from a wide range of schools/regions), the NZHTA was vulnerable to accusations that teachers from mid/upper decile schools, located in the larger regions, tend to 'capture' the NZHTA to serve their own (career) interests. Likewise the NZHTA was vulnerable to allegations of 'Pākehā capture' and male bias.

do exist and that they constitute major barriers to any potential PBE partnership with local Te Ātiawa people. WAHTA did not possess a mandate from all of the participating history teachers to be able to facilitate their schools' collective participation in the potential development of a PBE partnership model.

Though numerous overlapping control-set dilemmas were identified by the teachers as barriers, it was evident that other problems existed. These problems could not be so easily related to Berlak and Berlak's dilemmas language. Thus, the following section begins to address these problems by discussing the teachers' inability to use or acquire GIS/GPS technologies for conducting community-mapping activities, as recommended by the Te Ātiawa interviewees.

The inability of the teachers to acquire or use GIS/GPS technologies

Teacher Four appeared to be the teacher who was most adept at incorporating the natural world into her teaching of history. She incorporated pedagogical strategies that recalled Russell's (1997: pp. 19-51) philosophy of 'bringing documentary evidence down to earth.' For example, I asked Teacher Four to explain how she used the natural world during a fieldtrip and she replied:

What we do is start off at the monument to the dead British troops on High Street in Lower Hutt ... Then we go to the Boulcott Golf Course [encompassing the battle site where so-called 'rebel' Māori attacked British troops camped at the Boulcott Stockade in May, 1846], right at the same time of the year that that conflict occurred ... Now, because we're talking about April/May, we're talking about morning mist. I mean the British version of the battle was that the mist was starting to lift, as the warriors came across the [Heretaunga/Te Awa Kairangi or Hutt] river and through the bush to attack the Boulcott stockade. By putting them there, in that place, in those natural conditions, at that time of the year, my students can see and feel that historical picture so much better ... Battle Hill [Near Pauatahanui] is the same. We build the story by actually starting them off walking into the bush and up the hill so they can get an idea of what the landscape was actually like [at that time of the year], to see how long it actually took and to understand the sort of [natural] barriers [e.g. flora/mud] that confronted both parties, who were traveling and fighting each other in that difficult terrain.

Though Interviewee Four sought to bring documentary evidence down to earth, she had no idea how her students might use GIS/GPS technologies in partnership with local iwi to illuminate opposing, or complementary narratives about the battles studied. She acknowledged: 'I'm not familiar with GIS technologies, so, until I get familiar with them, it wouldn't be something that I could actually put in front of the kids.' Four of the nine teachers had little or no knowledge about GIS or GPS technologies prior to this research. This finding illuminated both the resource constraints they had to contend with and the lack of professional development opportunities they had experienced. Those teachers who described themselves as being unfamiliar with GIS/GPS technologies could not envisage how their students might apply these technologies to conduct mapping projects like those described by Audet and Ludwig (2000: pp. 47-70), Alibrandi (2003: pp. 76-96), Rumsay and Williams (2002; pp. 1-18), Lowe (2002: pp. 51-64), Beveridge (2002: pp. 65-78) or Pearson and Collier (2002: pp. 105-116).

Moreover, those teachers who had some familiarity with GIS/GPS technologies could only guess at how to apply these technologies, and tended to view GIS/GPS technologies as a complicated set of spatial tools best suited to geographers. Their responses aligned with the work of Kelly Knowles (2002) who, when explaining the difficulties she encountered while introducing historical GIS to her colleagues (p. xi), suggested that one of the first barriers to be overcome was the 'old saw that history is the study of when, geography is the study of where.' For example, Teacher One said:

I've never really thought of that [GIS] as being a really significant thing. GIS is not something that naturally occurred to me as something that I would find useful for studying history. I would associate GIS technologies much more with geography. It's not really something that I've really thought of. I guess that it's not something that I'm really familiar with.

Likewise, Teacher Three said:

For me GIS is a geography thing. That's the first thing that sprung to mind when you mentioned it [GIS]. I don't know why, but it just is. History, for some reason, I don't see as being so important in terms of using GIS. I'm only vaguely familiar with it. The first thing that comes to my mind thinking about GIS is that it's good

when you get lost, like when you're fishing. I'm always open to new technologies but I've never really thought about using that one.

These teachers were not entirely dismissive of GIS/GPS technologies and were clearly receptive to the idea of working alongside Te Ātiawa people (with the support of nominated GIS/GPS experts) to learn how to use such technologies in a PBE initiative. However, with the exception of one teacher (who worked in an affluent upper decile school), most teachers felt their schools could never afford to adopt a differential allocation of resources stance to purchase a GIS/GPS kit.²⁰¹ They also felt that the cost of training history teachers to apply GIS/GPS technologies would be too prohibitive. Teacher Three, said:

I remember getting a flyer [about GIS in classrooms] some time ago and I know the geography department was keen, but we couldn't afford it ... Now, if Mr Mallard [the Minister of Education at that time] wants to give us some extra money, sure, we'd look at GIS! So long as the training comes with it. What we don't want is new technology and no training because you'll achieve nothing. In a low decile school like this, you are going to struggle with your budget. Ok, the budget you've got will keep you going, but to make the big changes to content, or to go and get involved with some of the new GIS technology, and to buy new books ... well that can be very awkward. In saying that, sometimes you simply just have to say that "we're doing it" and you've got to cut back [spending] in other topic and subject areas, but what area?

Despite the prohibitive costs associated with GIS/GPS technologies, all of the teachers agreed that a well-organised community mapping exercise, involving local iwi experts, would be beneficial for their students and communities. Teacher Four explained:

If I could take someone [e.g. from Te Ātiawa] with me to do that, someone that could actually tell the story from another point of view, that'd be great. I'm only telling the story as it's written ... from the English perspective, because it *is* written. But, if we could tell the story from Te Rangihaeata's side and if we could tell the story from some other oral traditions [e.g. of rival iwi like Te Ātiawa] that have been passed down about Battle Hill, then that would finish the picture off as far as I'm concerned, because then you'd have different sides' stories ... I'm not saying that secondary

²⁰¹ During this research, I could only find evidence of two affluent (decile 10) girls' schools using GIS/GPS technologies.

sources and Western historians aren't valid, what I am saying is that my students tend to remember the primary source material a lot more because they often remember *who* said what and why.

Though Teacher Four and her colleagues wished to work alongside representatives of local tribes, most teachers (with the exception of Teacher Four) had not established a professional rapport with any local Te Ātiawa people and most of them felt disconnected from Te Ātiawa. Eight of the nine teachers had previously indicated that they spent their formative years outside of the Port Nicholson Block and some had not begun teaching in the area until quite recently (see chapter four). Some of these teachers stated (during conversations before and after their interviews) that they felt like 'new migrants' in the area concerned. The following section suggests that a cultural divide exists between the participating schools' history students and local Te Ātiawa people, largely because 'migrant' teachers remain fearful of local iwi or uncertain how to establish a pedagogical partnership with them.

Residency in relation to some teachers' feelings of disconnectedness

In some respects the feelings of disconnectedness and fear shared by the self-defined 'migrant' teachers, recalled Orr's (1992: p. 130) description of people who 'reside' in a place, as opposed to those who 'inhabit' that place:

A resident is a temporary occupant, putting down few roots and investing little, knowing little, and perhaps caring little for the immediate locale beyond its ability to gratify. As both cause and effect of displacement, the resident lives in an indoor world of office [or school] building, shopping mall, automobile, apartment and suburban house, and watches television an average of four hours each day. The inhabitant, in contrast, "dwells" as Illich puts it in an intimate, organic, and mutually nurturing relationship with a place. Good inhabitation is an art requiring detailed knowledge of a place, the capacity for observation, and a sense of care and rootedness. Residence requires cash and a map. A resident can reside almost anywhere that provides an income. Inhabitants bear the marks of their places, whether rural or urban, in patterns of speech, through dress and behaviour. Uprooted, they get homesick. Historically, inhabitants are less likely to vandalize their's or others' places. They also tend to make good neighbours and honest citizens. They

are in short the bedrock of the stable community and neighbourhood that Mumford, Dewey, and Jefferson regarded as the essential ingredient of democracy.

When evaluating the relationship that might exist between the ‘migrant’ teachers and the television-viewing habits of Orr’s resident category, one should consider Teacher Two’s comments:

For me, what I know about the local Māori community comes from the ten minutes of Māori news on National Radio between 6.25 and 6.35pm, or it’s whatever happens on TV3 News. Otherwise, I’ve got no contact with anyone, Māori, at all. Probably the only “flesh and blood” Māori person that I’ve ever had any contact with, since arriving here in Wellington, was a colleague of my wife, who worked at the Ministry of Education. I’m not even sure which iwi he’s affiliated to, but it is one of the local ones. Anyway, once he found out I was a history teacher he said to her “Does he know about this stuff? Does he know about that?” My wife came home with all these amazing stories of local people [e.g. the followers of Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi] being bundled up by the [Wellington] wharves and of other [Taranaki] people being taken-off to the Chatham Islands [as prisoners] and things like that. She said ‘Did you know about any of this?’ I said “no, I didn’t have any idea.”

Teacher Six also displayed the classic symptoms of Orr’s resident category when she admitted that:

I don’t know who to approach here in Wellington, mainly because I grew up in white middle-class Christchurch. So, it’s all very threatening to me ... I need to be taught about local tribal histories so that I can teach my students better.

None of the teachers interviewed believed there was enough support from the Ministry of Education to help them to build bridges with local iwi. Even Teacher Four, who had established a relationship with some local Te Ātiawa people, alleged that there was inadequate support from the Ministry to enable her to implement the Ministry of Education’s NAGs 1(v) and 2 (iii).²⁰² She said:

²⁰² As mentioned earlier, the NAGs require all state/integrated schools’ Boards of Trustees and staff to ‘consult’ with their respective ‘Māori communities to ‘set goals’ and ‘report’ on progress.

Although the NAGs are in place, who's actually prepared to help our school with the time and resources to put those in place? ... There's no support from the Ministry. When we rang NZQA to enquire about this level 1 [Māori history] unit standard and about a level 2 unit ... they just said "find your own provider" [for external assessment moderation procedures] and that was the end of the conversation. I mean, that was me talking to the person that was the head of that particular area within NZQA at that time ... Later, the NZQA turned back to us and said "well, of course in your [tribal] locality, your provider will be different to a person in another locality", to which we agreed. But, that was no help to us.

Similarly, when Teacher Seven was asked whether she felt that there are adequate support structures provided by the Ministry of Education, she replied:

No. But, do they exist? That is my question. That sort of support may exist for Māori language teachers, but certainly not across other curriculum areas. When you look at the lack of support available for history and social studies teachers you realise that that sort of support from the Ministry of Education would be really helpful.

Conclusion

Control issues were frequently identified by the research participants as barriers to the potential development of a PBE partnership. The Te Ātiawa interviewees and teacher participants shared concerns that aligned with Berlak and Berlak's descriptions of control of operations and control of standards dilemmas, but the teachers were concerned about control of time dilemmas. The Te Ātiawa interviewees were more concerned that the history teachers should not operate in isolation from local Te Ātiawa people when teaching about aspects of Te Ātiawa history. They wanted people authorised by local Te Ātiawa people to be involved in the design, delivery, assessment and evaluation of courses that address aspects of Te Ātiawa history.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees also wished to remove students, from time to time, from the allegedly sterile confines of school classrooms and to place them in the natural environment and authentic Te Ātiawa cultural settings, such as marae. This, they reasoned, would enable students to reflect critically upon their own cultural assumptions about place, identity and citizenship. The teacher participants, however, provided various reasons to explain why they felt unable to provide the sorts of learning experiences desired by the Te Ātiawa interviewees.

The most pressing problem for the teachers was their inability to control time. This finding added weight to Scott's argument that the mechanical nature of school time is an ideological construct, and to Freire's proposition that an oppressive (Western capitalist) ideology reduces the natural (cyclical) passage of time to a commodity. The teachers repeatedly complained that they lacked time to organise field trips and/or to teach things well. They also believed that time constraints prevented them from liaising with teachers from other 'rival' subject areas within their schools and/or with teachers from rival schools, to co-plan the sorts of interdisciplinary or holistic activities favoured by the Te Ātiawa interviewees. Because most teachers viewed themselves as being in a competition with rival subject teachers, a teacher versus teacher dichotomy existed. This posed another barrier to any potential PBE partnership.

The personal time costs associated with the administrative tasks of fieldtrips was also identified by the teachers as problematic. Though all of the teachers said they wanted to spend time with local Te Ātiawa people, they said that they had little time to do so and that they should receive remuneration for any personal time that is lost. Additionally, none of the teachers felt they could resolve the challenge of reconciling the personal or particular (and holistic) knowledge of local Te Ātiawa people with the public or universal (and molecular) knowledge, traditionally favoured by the majority of their students.

The teachers also feared that if they failed to adhere to school protocols (which demand that they rely on their taurahere colleagues as intermediaries between their schools and local whānau, hapū and iwi) they might risk doing something wrong. For example, they feared having an outside (Māori) group capturing the control of 'their' curriculum operations and/or standards. Though the Te Ātiawa interviewees recognised that systemic constraints would require some form of negotiated curriculum to be developed, to underpin a PBE partnership, they opposed taurahere teachers being relied upon to act as intermediaries. They reasoned that taurahere teachers had enough work to contend with and they wished to have a more direct relationship with teachers of history.

Though the Te Ātiawa interviewees preferred a direct relationship, the teachers were uncertain about whom to contact amongst local Te Ātiawa people to establish such a relationship. Both groups of participants criticised the Ministry of Education for this impasse and for not doing more to support the strengthening of ties between the two groups of research participants. The Te Ātiawa interviewees, furthermore, doubted that the Ministry of Education would resource a PBE partnership between the Wellington Tenth

Trust and the participating schools. They also suspected that most local schools would lack the willingness to prioritise the allocation of additional resources to support such a partnership.

Most teachers, in turn, felt incapable of meeting the expectations of their Te Ātiawa counterparts, largely because they felt under immense pressure to maintain an equal allocation of resources stance. For example, eight of the nine teachers interviewed did not believe they possessed a budget that would allow them to purchase a GIS/GPS kit for their schools (or the funding required to learn how to apply such technologies). Despite these constraints, the teachers, like their Te Ātiawa counterparts, were open to the idea of sharing curriculum control in a PBE partnership, but only if a formal agreement (in the form of a memorandum of understanding) was developed (with the support of Crown agencies) between their Boards of Trustees and the Wellington Tenth Trust. Notably, all of the research participants concurred that this sort of agreement should establish the expectations of all parties and provide clear guidelines on how to manage a PBE partnership.

The teacher participants felt that a partnership should be resourced by the Ministry of Education, while the Te Ātiawa interviewees believed that Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development) should also collaborate in support of such a venture. Chapter nine, which follows, will relate the barriers identified in this chapter to a hīnaki (tuna trap), recalling the metaphor used to introduce the research objectives (chapter one). This will illuminate research findings related to deep cultural assumptions underpinning the dominant discourse about culturally-responsive teaching in New Zealand secondary schools today.

Chapter nine: Place counts

Introduction

This concluding chapter is divided into four parts. Part one draws upon a portion of McCarthy's (1994) hīnaki tukutuku analogy, to provide a metaphorical backdrop that will inform the discussion that follows. Part two draws upon the work of Gruenewald (2003, 2007) to question assumptions about culturally-responsive pedagogies and their application in the hīnaki-like institutional cultures of New Zealand secondary schools. It also explains why the Te Ātiawa interviewees experienced higher levels of cultural discontinuity, between familial and secondary school contexts, when learning about past and place (1940-2000). Part two ends by suggesting that the topic and skills preferences of local teachers of history (2005) reproduced the cultural capital of the dominant (Pākehā) culture, rendering local iwi largely invisible.

Part three considers the national and international policy implications of this research. It begins by relating its findings to the Ministry of Education's (2007b) new national curriculum document *The New Zealand Curriculum for English-medium Teaching and Learning in Years 1-13 (The New Zealand Curriculum)*. It also relates these findings to the Ministry's *National Administration Guidelines (NAGs)* (2004a) and *National Education Goals (NEGs)* (2004b).²⁰³ The conclusions drawn in part three are informed by this writer's interpretation of NAGs 1-2. NAG 1 (v) states, quite clearly, that each New Zealand (state-funded) school's Board of Trustees, through the principal and staff, is 'required':

... In consultation with the school's Māori community, to develop and make known to the school's community, policies, plans and targets for improving the achievement of Māori students.

NAG 2 (iii), in turn, states that each Board of Trustees, through the principal and staff is 'required' to:

²⁰³ The Ministry stated that the NAGs 'set out statements of desirable principles of conduct or administration.' These guidelines are 'mandatory.' The Ministry also advised that the NEGs provide 'goals for the education system of New Zealand.'

Report to students and their parents on the achievement of students as a whole ... including the achievement of Māori students against the plans and targets referred to in 1, (v) above.

The following NEG's also inform the conclusions and recommendations drawn in part three:

NEG 1: The highest standards of achievement, through programmes which enable all students to realise their full potential as individuals, and to develop the values needed to become full members of New Zealand's society.

NEG 2: Equality of Educational opportunity for all New Zealanders, by indentifying and removing barriers to achievement.

NEG 9: Increased participation and success by Māori through the advancement of Māori education initiatives, including te reo Māori, consistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

NEG 10: Respect for the diverse ethnic and cultural heritage of New Zealand people, with acknowledgement of the the unique place of Māori, and New Zealand's role in the Pacific and as a member of the international community.

The international implications of this research, meanwhile, will then be addressed by relating the research findings to key articles of the United Nations (2007) *Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People* (these will be fully outlined later).

Part four will conclude this research by offering a series of recommendations which attempt to synthesise the participants' suggestions relating to a PBE partnership, and suggest ways this might be effected – ways which may have national application, including additional policy mechanisms that might give real 'teeth' to the guidelines of *The [new] New Zealand Curriculum*, which will become mandatory at the beginning of 2010.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ Therefore New Zealand schools can use both the old and new curriculum guidelines, until 2010, to inform their planning and review procedures.

Part one: He Hīnaki Tukutuku (the baited trap)

McCarthy (1994: p. 97) drew upon the analogy of a hīnaki tukutuku (baited eel trap), to illustrate the similarities between the funding dilemmas confronting whare wānanga (in this instance, tribal colleges/universities) and the decisions facing tuna when they are confronted by a baited trap, while swimming in a stream devoid of food.²⁰⁵ She noted:

The analogy of an hīnaki is an interesting one that captures the essence of the relationship Māori share with the state. An hīnaki tukutuku is a baited eel trap that is highly effective at attracting eels. Laid on the bottom of a river or creek the eels swim into the hīnaki to feed on the delicacies provided. More importantly however, is the fact that once the eels enter the hīnaki it is difficult for them to escape. The question that the eels fail to ask is who will really be doing the eating? Beyond their own bellies being satisfied, whose bellies will they eventually satisfy? Is it possible to escape?

McCarthy's hīnaki analogy can be adapted to serve the objectives of this research. Tuna trapped in a hīnaki tukutuku provide a metaphor to describe how the teacher participants viewed their plight as professionals, all of them describing themselves, for example, as feeling trapped by the ideological constraints of the institutional cultures of their schools. The teacher participants resembled hungry tuna, trapped in a hīnaki, who could not swim alongside the Te Ātiawa tuna – swimming freely outside the hīnaki-like culture of their schools system.

Moreover, the entrapped tuna (teachers) recognised that they had to compete with other hungry tuna/teachers to gain access to the limited supply of bait (funding and time). Outside the hīnaki-like culture of these schools, the Te Ātiawa interviewees' stance resembled wary tuna which, based on prior life-experiences, were now loath to enter the hīnaki-like cultures of local secondary schools. Rather, they were prepared to wait for these cultures to be dismantled in ways that would allow them to swim freely beside those (teachers) tuna, who would otherwise choose to be free.

The metaphor can be adapted to many aspects of the research findings. Chapter eight, for example, indicates that most of the teacher participants felt entrapped by an intricate net of

²⁰⁵ McCarthy (p. 97) acknowledged that this analogy was first used by Turoa Royal to 'describe the situation Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa faced when it sought state funding in the mid 1990s.'

teaching dilemmas similar to the Berlaks' descriptions of control-set, curriculum and societal dilemmas. This net of dilemmas, like the aka (vine) netting of a tubular hīnaki, could be described as being woven tightly around the rigid ribs and spines of the institutional culture of each school. These ribs and spines, in this case, would symbolise the rigidly mechanical nature of school timetables and the unyielding ideological assumptions of the dominant culture regarding its ability to control time and space.²⁰⁶ However, the metaphor needs adjusting insofar as the teacher participants can always choose to exercise agency and at least try to resist the reproductive process of an hīnaki-like school culture (or remove themselves from it). Tuna, once trapped, cannot remove themselves so easily from such a formidable trap.

Part two: The pedagogical implications of this research in relation to intersecting themes of place and power

Belich (2002) has argued that New Zealand's secondary schools produce people who are unduly afraid of difference. This was despite the fact that much thought had already been given to enabling New Zealand secondary schools to become more culturally-responsive to the learning needs of Māori students. Writers like Bishop and Glynn (1999), Bishop et al. (2003) and Tuuta et al. (2004) have all argued that contemporary New Zealand education policies and practices have emerged from within an historical framework of colonialism. The Ministry of Education (2007a: pp. 21-22), too, has recognised that 'colonialism' has entrenched 'epistemological racism' in New Zealand classrooms.

For Māori to achieve as Māori, The Ministry has thus called for the development of culturally-responsive pedagogies to alter the power imbalances that exist between Māori students and their non-Māori teachers and to improve the educational outcomes of Māori students. This remains problematic because as Gruenewald (2007: p. 137) recognised:

The phrase "culturally-responsive" teaching begs an important question that needs to remain open: that is to what in culture should educators be responsive? Diversity educators have successfully fore-grounded one answer to this question: culturally responsive educators must be responsive to differences among students so that no child is left behind ... this response, as important as it is, tends to trap classroom teachers in the grammar of schooling and limits the role of teaching to a relatively

²⁰⁶ See Appendix Thirty Seven: The view from inside an hīnaki. Also see Appendix Thirty Eight: Peter Buck/Te Rangihiroa studying Paratene Ngata making an hīnaki (ca 1922).

narrow set of increasingly prescribed classroom interactions. Place consciousness educators propose a different but related focus for ecological attention and cultural responsiveness: the cultural/ecological places common to the lived experiences of the learners ... A focus on the lived experience of place puts culture in context, demonstrates the interconnection of culture and environment, and provides a locally relevant pathway for multidisciplinary inquiry and democratic participation.

Māori epistemologies and ontologies are not, then, separate from the natural environs/places in which they were/are formed. Because Māori people's experiences of 'colonialism' have differed from place to place, over time, the nature and scale of epistemological racism in New Zealand schools is also likely to have differed from place to place, over time. Those calling for the development of culturally-responsive pedagogies need to take this into account. Moreover, research is needed urgently to explore whether Māori 'underachievement' is inextricably linked to the natural ecologies and political complexities of different places, and to examine how and why the formation of hīnaki-like school/institutional cultures have emerged in different places. Failure to address the complexity of the numerous interconnections that exist between local histories of place, power and pedagogy will only serve to further disconnect teachers from Māori communities.²⁰⁷

This research suggests that a critical pedagogy of place, like that envisaged by most of the research participants (see chapter seven), would enable Wellington area history teachers to draw closer to local indigenous people (and their Taranaki whānui relatives). It may also provide a helpful pedagogical model for schools and iwi elsewhere in exploring how they might respond to the Ministry's call for the development of a culturally-responsive pedagogy to enhance Māori academic achievement levels. However, a critical pedagogy of place should not be seen as some sort of pedagogical 'silver-bullet' that will right all of New Zealand's educational wrongs.

Nor are the goals of a critical pedagogy of place likely to be universally welcomed by Ministers of the Crown, public servants, Pākehā-dominated Boards of Trustees, and Pākehā teachers, parents and students. For a critical pedagogy of place is driven by the twin goals of 'reinhabitation' and 'decolonization', which challenge people to question

²⁰⁷ Including those Māori communities located in urban settings where much of that history remains buried underground.

their own deep cultural assumptions about concepts like past, place, citizenship, progress, sustainability, justice and national identity. Moreover, these goals pose questions that demand concrete responses and actions from students and teachers alike. As Gruenewald (2007: p. 149) observed:

Pedagogically, these two interrelated goals translate into a set of questions that can be put to any group of learners on any place on earth: what is happening here? What happened here? What should happen here? What needs to be transformed, conserved, restored, or created in this place? As Jackson (1994) asked, how might people become “native” to their places? Such questions provide a local focus for socio-ecological inquiry and action that, because of interrelated cultural and ecological systems, is potentially global in reach. In other words, place-consciousness suggests consciousness not only of my place, but of others and the relationship between places.

Thus, he suggested that getting results is not just a matter of well-intentioned teachers doing inspired work as individuals:

Obviously these inquiry questions point to a very different kind of school experience than what is typically assumed by multicultural education or culturally responsive teaching. These questions turn one’s gaze outward from schools to the culturally rich contexts of community life. This does not mean abandoning the classroom, but rethinking its relationship to the wider community. The institution of school and the space of the classroom *cannot* [my emphasis] be expected to solve cultural or ecological problems. This is especially so when schools remain disconnected from actual communities outside their own institutional boundaries.

Eight of the nine teachers participating in this research stated that they felt disconnected from the local landscape and local iwi like Te Ātiawa. Most of the teachers had come to the Port Nicholson Block from other places (most frequently Christchurch), and were unaware of the existence of the Waitangi Tribunal’s (2003) *Te Whanganui a Tara me ōna Takiwā report* or the identity of the claimants. These senior teachers had experienced relatively little cultural discontinuity in terms of what and how history was taught to them at home and school (see chapter four), and their selection (or avoidance) of New Zealand history topics was influenced by the views they inherited about different aspects of New Zealand history in their own familial and secondary school settings.

A cycle of cultural reproduction was also apparent when the teachers outlined their skills preferences. Like their families and secondary school teachers, the teacher participants generally placed far greater value on the collection, analysis and presentation of written information. The Te Ātiawa interviewees, in contrast, tended to place equal value on students' development of skills associated with the collection, analysis and presentation of written, visual and oral (historical) information (see chapters four and six). This is not to say that they downplayed the need for students to develop optimal functional (or critical) literacy skills alongside ecological literacy, oral history and such things as GIS/GPS mapping skills. The teachers' frequent accounts of experiencing cultural continuity between familial and school settings differed greatly from those shared by the Te Ātiawa interviewees.

The cultural continuities and discontinuities experienced by the research participants (as youths) in their familial and secondary school settings

Seven of the nine teachers (and an identical number of Te Ātiawa interviewees) stated that none of their history teachers had encouraged them to reflect upon their ethnicity and/or cultural heritage. However, six of the teachers indicated that their families did encourage them to do so, with three indicating that their families did not place any value on exploring their cultural heritage and/or ethnicity. Two older Te Ātiawa interviewees indicated that their whānau had not encouraged them to reflect upon their ethnicity and/or cultural heritage, their relatives having been pressured by the assimilation policies of the state to discourage them from exploring their senses of Te Ātiawa identity and heritage. Three teachers recalled their families placing value on knowing about local histories, whereas all the Te Ātiawa interviewees indicated that their whānau placed great value on having a deep historical knowledge of place.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees, consequently, experienced far higher levels of cultural discontinuity between their familial and secondary school settings when learning about themes, issues, or personalities associated with the study of New Zealand history, since the teaching of history often focused upon distant places (normally the northern half of the North Island). Pākehā teacher stereotyping of Māori also provided an interesting contrast between the two groups' responses. For example, only one teacher, born outside of New Zealand, identified stereotyping of Māori as problematic. She wrote that Māori were always portrayed by her teachers as passive victims, incapable of exercising agency. Most of the Te Ātiawa interviewees, meanwhile, stated that they had encountered stereotypical

portrayals of Māori themes, issues and personalities when learning about New Zealand history at secondary school.

Older Te Ātiawa interviewees, for example, complained that Māori were always portrayed as ‘blood thirsty savages’, whereas younger Te Ātiawa interviewees felt their teachers were preoccupied with ‘noble savage’ warrior chiefs. Accordingly, the Te Ātiawa interviewees were concerned that Māori historical figures might still be portrayed by local teachers of history in ways that disconnect these figures from the natural environs that shaped their epistemologies, ontologies and their political actions. Only two teachers, however, identified a contradiction in terms of what they were taught about New Zealand history at home and school.

Three of the teachers indicated that their families were disinterested in textbook style narratives of New Zealand history, but interested by familial histories. This, in some respects, aligned with the Te Ātiawa respondents’ preference for familial and local histories. However, it was noteworthy that the three teachers’ responses to questions of cultural discontinuity were characterised by brief, dispassionate statements, whereas the Te Ātiawa interviewees’ responses were more detailed and passionate in tone. Clearly, the Te Ātiawa interviewees were more alarmed, than their teacher counterparts, by the cultural discontinuities they experienced between home and school.

Seven of the Te Ātiawa interviewees suggested that local colonial histories were avoided by their teachers who preferred Pākehā grand-narratives of a singular New Zealand history. These grand narratives tended to focus on events and figures in distant places (again, located in the northern half of the North Island). The two older Te Ātiawa interviewees, who did encounter local history at school, complained that what they were taught was sanitized and/or portrayed local Māori figures like Te Rauparaha in a negative light. Moreover, none of the Te Ātiawa interviewees were taught anything about their own iwi at secondary school. Interviewee One concluded that ‘this was disarming and devaluing and it ignored who we [Te Ātiawa] were and the value of our mātauranga.’

Five of the teachers could not recall learning anything about local history at secondary school, whereas four were positive about what they were taught. None of the teachers’ responses suggested that they felt alienated by what they were/were not taught. The Te Ātiawa interviewees’ responses, alternatively, suggested that they *were* aware as youths that their teachers’ treatment of local history contributed to the ‘spatialized politics’

described by Mclean (1996: pp. 46-47). The Te Ātiawa interviewees had experienced familial narratives of place that clearly challenged their teachers' accounts of the past.

In terms of Māori history, seven of the Te Ātiawa interviewees indicated that they had only studied early nineteenth century figures at secondary school. However, the two youngest Te Ātiawa interviewees, like eight of the teachers, recalled learning about Māori figures of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Te Ātiawa interviewees, again, expressed concern that their teachers were preoccupied with Pākehā tales of barbaric or noble warriors. Their responses also indicated that they had, again, suffered the greater levels of discontinuity in terms of what they were taught about Māori history at home and school. Six of the teachers, despite being asked, said little (in their interviews) about what they were taught about Māori history at home and/or how this might have differed from, or complemented, what they were taught at school. Six teachers also wrote, in their questionnaires, that they learned 'nothing' about 'Māori history' at home.

Unlike the teachers, every Te Ātiawa interviewee stated that they had experienced some form of discontinuity between home and school when studying Māori history. They critiqued the cultural biases of their teachers and textbooks. Two of them believed that learning about Māori histories and sites of cultural significance in familial settings had informed the development of their moral sensibilities. They added that learning about Māori history at secondary school did little to shape their 'moral compasses'. None of the teachers drew any similar connections between the teaching of Māori history and the formation of their moral codes.

In relation to the research participants' senses of place, the families of five teachers did not use local landscapes as historical texts to teach them about the past or their familial identities. The four teachers who provided a contrasting perspective gave answers that, at first glance, aligned with the sentiments of the Te Ātiawa interviewees. These teachers described activities like walking the land, or visiting places that were once inhabited by their (settler) ancestors. The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses, however, placed greater emphasis upon the repetition of stories during the gathering of tuna, kaimoana (seafood) and other customary foods. None of the teachers described themselves as feeling literally 'bound to the land' or 'belonging to a place' like their Te Ātiawa counterparts did. The Te Ātiawa interviewees' responses, therefore, recalled a widely-known whakataukī (proverb):

Ko te whenua ki te whenua.

We cannot separate ourselves from the land.

When the teachers reflected upon whether their history teachers had used local landscapes as historical texts, five responded in the negative. Though four teachers did encounter teachers who attempted to use local landscapes, none of the experiences they described involved any interaction with local whānau, hapū or iwi. One teacher described a field trip which ignored how local settlers' alterations to the course of the Manawatū River had impacted upon the tangata whenua of the Manawatū region. None of the teachers had encountered teachers of history who used local landscapes to engage with the epistemological and ontological perspectives of local tribes to critique the dominant culture's perspectives of concepts like progress, sustainability and justice or eco-justice.

Seven of the Te Ātiawa interviewees, similarly, indicated they had not encountered history teachers who had used local landscapes as historical texts. The two youngest Te Ātiawa interviewees encountered teachers who attempted to incorporate local landscapes. Therefore, twelve of the eighteen research participants, who attended schools during decades covering the period 1940-2000, did not encounter a teacher of history who had used local landscapes as pedagogical props. Though six of the research participants stated that they did enjoy learning history outside the classroom, the pedagogies they described did not enable them to engage with local tribal representatives who might have offered perspectives that challenged the dominant culture's spatialized politics and grand narratives of New Zealand history.

Questions related to the use of flora and fauna also prompted responses which had resonance with the twin concepts of 'biophobia' and 'biophilia' described by Cajete (1999: pp. 189-206). Two teachers indicated that their families had used flora and fauna to teach them about the past and/or to enhance their ontological senses of being. All of the Te Ātiawa interviewees, however, indicated that their whānau had used local flora and fauna to teach them about the past. This suggests that the Te Ātiawa interviewees shared a biophilic view of the past whereas the teachers shared a more biophobic or anthropocentric viewpoint. Clearly, none of the research participants encountered a teacher of history who, together with representatives of local iwi, used local flora and fauna to teach them history. It was evident that an anthropocentric Western epistemology and ontology dominated the history classrooms the research participants entered at various times during the six decades following 1940.

Cultural reproduction: The research participants' topic preferences

If major gaps existed between the lived experiences of the two groups of research participants at various times during the period 1940-2000, similar gaps existed in relation to the two groups' curriculum/syllabus topic preferences in 2005. As this research indicates, local Te Ātiawa people, like other local iwi, were still largely invisible to students because of teacher topic preferences. International commentators, including Clark (2006: pp. 49-50), have already noted that Māori perspectives of New Zealand history are hotly debated in the New Zealand public arena. New Zealand history topics were avoided by local teachers of history in my research largely because of this: they would require Pākehā students, parents and teachers to address a contested past. Port Nicholson Block secondary schools social studies and history programmes in 2005 focused upon Eurocentric political and conflict histories, often side-stepping contentious local, environmental and Māori/tribal historical content. This did not equate to the 'balanced' curriculum required by the Ministry of Education (1987, 2004a and b).

When aspects of New Zealand history were taught they appear to have been dominated by Pākehā grand narratives of the past. Local teachers' topic preferences were most frequently aligned to the macrosystem settings at the exterior of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model of human development. The Te Ātiawa interviewees, on the other hand, preferred topics that were more closely related to the interior microsystem and exosystem settings of the model. Furthermore, they were eager to see local history/social studies teachers developing integrated curriculum activities that would better enable local students to understand the role of the natural world in shaping different tribal identities and social structures. They stressed that the teaching of Māori history should not always revolve around interactions with Pākehā and that it is important to link students' particularistic (e.g. familial and community) knowledge to a critique of larger universalistic (macrosystem) narratives of New Zealand history and identity.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees wished to see students move beyond textbook stereotypes of Māori people as bloodthirsty warriors or noble resistance fighters. They wanted the Treaty of Waitangi to be taught in ways that did not allow teachers to side-step local tribes' narratives in favour of northern tribal narratives. Their recommendations seemed consistent with Williams' (2001) formula that 'place + people = politics'. Their topic preferences were, moreover, compatible with the critical pedagogy of place advocated by Gruenewald (2007). As Gruenewald (p. 143) argued:

Place is essential to education ... because it provides researchers and practitioners with a concrete focus for cultural study, and because it expands a cultural landscape to include related ecosystems, bioregions, and all the space-specific interactions between the human and the more-than-human world. Place based educators are especially interested in the power of place as a context for diverse experiences that do not and probably cannot happen in the institution of school. It is diverse places that make possible diverse experiences and diverse cultural and ecological formations. The attention to experience in place-based education locates its pedagogy in the broader traditions of experiential and contextual education and in the philosophical tradition of phenomenology.

Places and our relationships to them, are worthy of our attention because places are powerfully pedagogical. Casey (1996) writes "To live is to live locally, and to know is first of all to know the places one is in" (p. 18). Such an idea may seem obvious. But when considered against the background of standardized educational practices or the homogenizing culture of global capitalism, claiming the primacy of place is revolutionary: It suggests that fundamentally significant knowledge is knowledge of unique places that our lives inhabit; failure to know those places is to remain in a disturbing sort of ignorance.

Though the Te Ātiawa interviewees offered recommendations that resembled the foundations for the development of a critical pedagogy of place, most teachers of history this writer surveyed preferred to deliver topics resonant of Derbyshire's (2004: pp. 99-111) description as being 'anyone's but our own.' Even when New Zealand, local or Māori historical content was addressed in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools, the information provided to me suggested that local Te Ātiawa histories of place, like those of other local iwi, remained largely invisible. For example, 79% of the schools this writer surveyed did not address *Māori Origins* as an independent or stand-alone topic/unit in year 9 social studies classes. Furthermore, when 'local' (largely European/colonial) histories were addressed, teachers were clearly dependent on material often derived from outdated Pākehā secondary sources.

Local conflicts and other histories were frequently side-stepped in favour of a creation myth featuring two taniwha and 70% of the schools surveyed did not offer topics that addressed conservation (e.g. environmental) issues at the year 9 level. Those that did avoided linking these environmental issues to local tribes' concerns. Year 9 history classes

did not cover issues that had any relationship to local iwi concerns. Year 9 history teachers favoured topics that involved the study of ancient civilizations (e.g. *Mesopotamia*, *Egypt*, *Greece*, *Rome* and *China*) and 21% of the schools surveyed offered history at this level. In terms of year 10 social studies topics, *Human Rights* was the most popular topic with nineteen (79%) of the schools surveyed teaching it.

Fifteen (63%) of the schools surveyed taught the *Treaty of Waitangi*, making it the second most popular topic, and one school taught this topic as a case study within its broader *Human Rights* topic. Therefore three (13%) of the schools surveyed did *not* teach their students about the Treaty as an independent topic/case study during their year 9 and year 10 social studies programmes. Moreover, none of the schools that did grapple with this contentious topic addressed local Treaty claims or issues and none of the teachers spoken to had seen the Waitangi Tribunal's (2003) *Te Whanganui a Tara me ōna Takiwā report*. This report relates to the natural environs of the Port Nicholson Block and its neglect might be related to the fact that eight (33%) of the schools surveyed were teaching the *Conservation* topic at this level. In summary, Te Ātiawa histories of place, like those of other local iwi, were largely invisible in year 9 social studies classes.

Year 10 history programmes also left Te Ātiawa and other local iwi with very low visibility levels. These programmes were offered by nine schools, mostly located in the upper and mid decile range. Topics related to the British monarchy were most popular, and fourteen of the twenty topics delivered were related to European historical events. Six topics focused on New Zealand content, especially New Zealand's martial history of the twentieth century (e.g. topics like *ANZAC* and *Gallipoli*), and they tended to be dominated by a nationalist discourse (e.g. New Zealand's identity was born on the blood-stained shores of Gallipoli). Two (18%) of the schools offering history at this level taught topics that I have loosely labelled *Wellington and Hutt Valley histories*.

In both instances these topics involved a study of the 1846 war in the Hutt which focused upon Te Rangihaeata's resistance to colonisation, but relied primarily upon Pākehā secondary sources for information. Te Ātiawa voices remained silent and local Te Ātiawa rangatira appeared, at best, to be portrayed as peripheral figures as the focus was on chiefs like Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata. As this research has already suggested, New Zealand schools have long portrayed both of these chiefs as one-dimensional warrior figures. Te Ātiawa visibility levels did not improve in NCEA level one (year 11) history classes. While 29% of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed offered the *Māori and*

Pākehā (1912-1980) race relations topic, this was a larger percentage than the 23% recorded by the NZHTA's national survey that same year.

Although four new Māori history topics were introduced by the Ministry of Education in 2002, none of the schools I surveyed were offering these topics; the NZHTA reported that 3% of the schools it surveyed offered the new topic *The Place of the Tiriti*, whereas the other two new topics were not offered anywhere in New Zealand. Within this general context of neglect of Māori subjects, I found no evidence to suggest that local tribal and environmental Te Ātiawa histories of place were addressed in year 11 (NCEA level 1) history classes.

Local Te Ātiawa people were also afforded little account in year 12 (NCEA level 2) history classes. The topic *Vietnam and the Conflict in Indo-China (1945-75)* was the most popular year 12 topic in eighteen (75%) of the Port Nicholson Block secondary schools surveyed, exactly the same percentage for the schools participating in the NZHTA survey. Both surveys indicated that the *Māori Leadership in the Nineteenth Century* topic was the most popular New Zealand topic. The NZHTA's survey revealed that 93% of the New Zealand schools it surveyed did *not* teach this topic, while my research revealed a reasonably similar percentage at 87%.

None of the schools surveyed by the NZHTA or myself taught any of the new NCEA level 2 Māori history topics (mentioned previously). Those Port Nicholson Block schools that did offer the *Māori Leadership* topic tended to focus on warrior chiefs and battles of the New Zealand Wars, as anticipated by the Te Ātiawa interviewees. Though most of these teachers enabled their students to visit battlefields and other sites in distant regions, little was taught about local Te Ātiawa leaders and/or other local tribal leaders. One of the teachers interviewed concluded that teacher education programmes were urgently needed to enable teachers (like him) to learn how to collaborate with local hapū and iwi representatives to develop a more culturally-responsive approach to the teaching of the level 2 *Māori Leadership* topic. To conclude, most local year 12 history students would have learned little, if anything, about local Te Ātiawa people or other local iwi.

Although New Zealand topics were not offered by most Port Nicholson Block history teachers at NCEA levels 1 and 2, the *New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century* topic was held in relatively high regard by local teachers in their NCEA level 3 classes. Whether all students and/or their parents approved is another matter. When assessing Belich's

allegations (2002), and his ‘Tudor England Day’ remark, it is noteworthy that in the 2005 NZHTA survey, 58% of the schools preferred the *Tudor-Stuart England (1577-1665)* topic, as opposed to 40% of the schools offering the *New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century* topic (while 8% of the schools gave their students a choice of topics in a class vote).

These results differed from this research, in which 41% of the twenty four Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed in 2005 taught the *Tudor-Stuart* topic and an identical percentage taught *New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century*. While the same percentage (two schools) in Port Nicholson Block claimed they offered students a choice of topic, local history teachers did not always respect the outcomes of class votes. Of the ten Port Nicholson Block schools that favoured the *Tudor-Stuart* topic, seven of them were located in the upper decile range of schools. Eight (33%) of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed avoided teaching a New Zealand topic in their NCEA level 2 (year 12) and two (8%) of these schools had also avoided New Zealand topics in their NCEA level 1 (year 11) courses. Most significantly, seven (29%) of the schools surveyed avoided teaching any Māori history topic in their NCEA levels 1-3 courses during the year 2005.

If local teachers’ topic preferences indicated that their lessons were contributing to the ‘reproduction’ of the dominant (e.g. Pākehā) culture’s cultural capital, so too did the teacher participants’ skills preferences. The following section draws conclusions regarding the cultural implications of the skills preferences of both the Te Ātiawa interviewees and their teacher counterparts.

Cultural reproduction: The research participants’ skills preferences

The majority of teachers interviewed preferred to measure written historical information and writing skills for summative assessment purposes, whereas the Te Ātiawa interviewees preferred tasks that involved a wider, eclectic range of written, oral and visual information. Moreover, the Te Ātiawa interviewees placed high value upon the development of history students’ ecological literacy and GIS/GPS mapping skills, whereas these skills were not familiar to the teacher participants - although it should be noted that the Te Ātiawa interviewees tended to have used these technologies during the Waitangi Tribunal claims hearings process or during waka ama events.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees’ preferences aligned with the Ministry of Education’s (1989) history guidelines, its NCEA guidelines (2001a, b and 2002a), and its history syllabus and

social studies curriculum guidelines (1989 – 2002). But it appeared that these guidelines were not being fully enacted by all Port Nicholson Block secondary schools in 2005. The teachers I interviewed noted that systemic constraints, including timetable pressures and a lack of in-service professional development opportunities, prevented them from according higher value to skills associated with the collection, analysis and presentation of anything but written information. Likewise, the Te Ātiawa interviewees noted that they did not possess the resources required to enable them to work alongside local secondary schools to develop some form of PBE partnership, thereby giving meaningful pedagogical effect to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Barriers to partnership: The politics of curriculum control

Though all the research participants saw potential in forming a PBE partnership between the Wellington Tenth Trust and the participating schools, issues around curriculum control were frequently identified as obstacles to such an initiative. The Te Ātiawa interviewees appeared to focus upon potential control of curriculum operations and standards dilemmas, and the teachers were equally concerned about the control of mechanical time. The Te Ātiawa interviewees reiterated their desire to see their nominees involved in the process of teaching local students about local Te Ātiawa histories of place; with those mandated by Te Ātiawa participating in a pedagogical partnership, this would enable them to protect the integrity of their own Te Ātiawa knowledge.

The Te Ātiawa interviewees also wished to remove students, from time to time, from their allegedly ‘sterile’ classroom settings and place them in Te Ātiawa sites of cultural/historical significance. They reasoned that this would allow authentic learning opportunities to occur and simultaneously alter the power imbalances that exist between teachers and local Te Ātiawa people. Most teacher participants did not respond positively to such suggestions because of constraints associated with issues of control: as well as ‘risk management’ (e.g. administrative) concerns. The biggest challenge confronting the teachers revolved around their inability to control time. This supports Scott’s (1982) suggestion that school time is mechanical and an ideological construct. According to the teachers, time is closely associated with money and increased workload issues.

The teachers also felt that they lacked the ability to invest time in planning field trips, or meeting with rival colleagues from other optional subject departments and other schools against whom they competed for so-called ‘bums-on-seats’: student roll numbers, Ministry of Education determined resource allocations. Though all of the teachers said they would

like to spend time with local Te Ātiawa people, to learn about Te Ātiawa histories of place and/or to co-develop place-based units of work, most indicated they had little or no time to spare. They believed they should receive remuneration for any additional time they might spend working outside normal hours, which was in line with Te Ātiawa interviewees who also felt that their mandated people should be adequately reimbursed for the time they might spend working alongside local teachers.

Each of the teacher participants stated they would struggle to reconcile the universal or public knowledge traditionally favoured by the New Zealand secondary schools system with the personal or particularistic knowledge held in high esteem by their Te Ātiawa counterparts. To reconcile such knowledge, and to develop more holistic approaches to teaching and learning, the teachers believed they would need active support from their Boards of Trustees and the Ministry of Education. The teachers, moreover, identified teacher versus teacher control dilemmas as major obstacles to the development of a PBE partnership. For example, they feared that if they stopped following traditional school protocols that require them to rely upon their taurahere colleagues as their points of contact with local iwi, they would cause offence. Some teachers also feared the risk of allowing an outside group to capture 'their' control over the setting of curriculum operations and/or standards.

Therefore, most teachers were fearful of both upsetting their taurahere colleagues and becoming enmeshed in local inter-tribal politics. The Te Ātiawa interviewees, for their part, were concerned that taurahere teachers were being used by their employers to regulate relationships between schools on the one hand and whānau, hapū and iwi on the other. Each of the Te Ātiawa interviewees opposed Boards of Trustees using taurahere staff as filters to determine what could/should otherwise be a direct, Treaty-based relationship between Te Ātiawa and state-funded secondary schools. They reasoned both that taurahere teachers had enough work to contend with, and that local teachers of history needed to have a face-to-face (kanohi-ki-te-kanohi) relationship with the nominated historical experts of their iwi.

Although the Te Ātiawa interviewees preferred having a 'meaningful' (i.e. face-to-face) relationship with local schools, based on the principles of partnership and power sharing, most of the teachers did not know how to go about establishing such a relationship. This finding, in particular, holds major implications for those teacher education institutions that are responsible for delivering professional development services to school Boards of

Trustees and their teaching staff. Significantly, both groups of participants were critical of the Ministry of Education for not doing more to support the strengthening of ties between local whānau, hapū, iwi and schools. The Te Ātiawa interviewees, like their teacher counterparts, firmly believed that the Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri should resource some form of PBE partnership between local Te Ātiawa people and the participating schools.

Part three: Policy implications

Local and national implications

Clearly, local teachers of history and their employers, Boards of Trustees, were struggling to adhere to the Ministry of Education's policy requirements during the period 1989-2005. Generally speaking, these requirements obliged teachers to deliver a balanced curriculum, but a hīnaki-like schooling culture, described by the teacher participants earlier in this research, prevailed in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools. In view of this, local teachers of history may well find it difficult to respond meaningfully to the objectives of *The New Zealand Curriculum*, which was launched by the Ministry in November 2007.²⁰⁸ For example, the Ministry's 'purpose and scope' statement (2007b: p. 6) advises that the new curriculum is intended to help schools form partnerships in a manner consistent with the principle of partnership that is embedded within the Treaty of Waitangi:

The New Zealand Curriculum is a statement of official policy relating to teaching and learning in English-medium New Zealand schools. Its principle function is to set the direction for student learning and to provide guidance for schools as they design and review their curriculum. A parallel document, *Te Marautanga o Aotearoa*, will serve the same function for Māori-medium schools ... Together the two documents will help our schools give effect to the partnership that is at the heart of our country's founding document, Te Tiriti o Waitangi / the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Ministry (p. 8) articulated a vision for young people 'who will work to create an Aotearoa New Zealand in which Māori and Pākehā recognise each other as full Treaty partners and in which all cultures are valued for the contributions they bring.' It also

²⁰⁸ It is also worth noting that the New Zealand Teachers' Council (2007: p. 1) produced a Code of Ethics for registered teachers which requires them to recognise that 'the application of the code of ethics shall take account of the requirements of law as well as the obligation of teachers to honour the Treaty of Waitangi by paying particular attention to the rights and aspirations of Māori as tangata-whenua.'

envisaged a curriculum which helps to develop young people who are confident in their identity, 'connected' to the 'land and environment', and 'members of communities' that are 'able to relate well to others.'²⁰⁹ The Ministry also sought a curriculum which encourages young people to be 'actively involved' as 'participants in a range of life contexts.' None of this was inconsistent with the fundamental objectives of a critical pedagogy of place.

To underpin these 'vision' statements, the Ministry (p.9) developed a set of curriculum 'principles' designed to 'embody beliefs about what is important and desirable in school curriculum – nationally and locally.' It reasoned that 'these principles put students at the centre of learning, asserting that they should experience a curriculum that engages and challenges them.' The Ministry, additionally, advised that its eight curriculum 'principles' are different to the curriculum 'vision' statements because:

The principles relate to how curriculum is formalised in school; they are particularly relevant to the processes of planning, prioritising, and review. The values are part of the every day curriculum – encouraged, modelled, and explored. All curriculum should be consistent with these eight ['principle'] statements.

Amongst these eight principles were four statements that are significant in considering the objectives of this research and the fundamentals of PBE:

Treaty of Waitangi: The curriculum acknowledges the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the bicultural foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand. All students have the opportunity to acquire knowledge of te reo Māori me ōna tikanga [Māori language and customs].

Cultural diversity: The curriculum reflects New Zealand's diversity and *values* [my emphasis] the histories and traditions of all its peoples.

Inclusion: The curriculum is non-sexist, non-racist, and non-discriminatory; it ensures that students' identities, languages, abilities, and talents are recognised and affirmed and that their learning needs are addressed.

²⁰⁹ These vision statements, therefore, are entirely consistent with the overall objectives of place-based education discussed elsewhere in this research.

Community engagement: The curriculum has meaning for students, connects with their wider lives, and engages the support of their families, whānau, and communities.

When considering the implications of this research in relation to the ‘vision’ and ‘principles’ statements, and in relation to the NAGs and NEGs outlined previously, it should be noted that the Ministry made some significant statements (p. 12) about what it considers constitute the ‘key competencies’ that are the ‘key to learning in every learning area.’ For example, the Ministry indirectly affirmed the oral history skills preferences of the Te Ātiawa interviewees when it stated (p. 12) that:

Relating to others is about interacting effectively with a diverse range of people in a variety of contexts. This competency includes the ability to *listen* [my emphasis] actively, recognise different points of view, negotiate and share ideas. Students who relate well to others are open to new learning and able to take different roles in different situations. They are aware of how their words and actions affect others.

Similarly, the Ministry (p. 13) indirectly affirmed the Te Ātiawa interviewees’ belief, and that of most teachers interviewed, that learning activities ‘should’ enable students to participate in ‘authentic’ learning activities that contribute to community wellbeing:

This competency is about being actively involved in communities. Communities include family, whānau and school and those based, for example, on a common interest or culture ... Students who contribute in communities have a sense of belonging and the confidence to participate within new contexts. They understand the importance of balancing rights, roles, and responsibilities and of contributing to the quality and sustainability of social, cultural, physical and economic environments.

Although NCEA and the new social sciences curriculum will supercede the old history syllabus (1989), and hardwire ‘New Zealand’ content into the teaching of history, via the development of a New Zealand focus through new history curriculum levels 6-8 Achievement Objectives, this does not guarantee that teachers will choose to incorporate Māori concepts or contexts.²¹⁰ While the Ministry may have used a number of non-

²¹⁰ Likewise, the development of a social studies achievement objective requiring ‘understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi’ (level five: social studies curriculum), does not guarantee that local hapū or iwi perspectives will be incorporated.

prescriptive 'should' statements to frame the purpose, vision, principles and key competencies of the *New Zealand Curriculum*, this research suggests that the Ministry has not developed adequate policy mechanisms to ensure that teachers will incorporate a range of learning 'concepts' and 'contexts' (note that 'topic' is now defunct in contemporary New Zealand education 'policy speak') to ensure that a culturally responsive, or 'balanced', curriculum is delivered by every New Zealand school. As discussed in chapters three and six, the Ministry and ERO could not advise me what history or social studies topics [concepts/contexts] were taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools during the years 2005-06.

Since the introduction of the new *New Zealand Curriculum*, my inquiries have not found any recent policy development that requires the Ministry and ERO to instruct schools to report on what history and social studies concepts/contexts (e.g. topics) they address. Whilst this policy loophole gives teachers of history and social studies (who are predominantly Pākehā) the freedom to pick and choose topics that appeal to them, Māori students and their tribes (like people from other minority groups) remain vulnerable to the topic/skills preferences of Pākehā teachers, students and their parents. Consequently, a non-prescriptive, laissez-faire curriculum policy framework continues to absolve the Crown from fully exercising what are arguably its Treaty of Waitangi obligations to protect local tribal knowledge - in accordance with the principles of partnership and active protection implicit within the Treaty, as accepted by the Crown since the 1989 Principles for Crown Action on the Treaty of Waitangi. Current policy loopholes fail to ensure that local tribes are treated as partners by Crown entities (i.e. state-funded schools) in accordance with the Treaty.

Furthermore, this research indicates that Te Ātiawa (and other local iwi), are not adequately enabled to participate in the curriculum design, delivery, assessment and evaluation procedures of local schools as per the principle of participation implicit within both texts of the Treaty. It might be argued, therefore, that the Crown's non-prescriptive approach to curriculum design results in the delivery of a not-so-well hidden curriculum. This curriculum reinforces the values of the dominant culture. This result, in turn, holds international implications, including (at least prima facie) contravening the intent of the United Nation's (2007) *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*.

International implications

Though the New Zealand Government did not ratify this, the vast majority of member nations voted in favour of the *Declaration*, which included the following three articles relevant to this research:

Article 8 (2.), States shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for:

- (a) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them [indigenous people] of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values and ethnic identities.
- (b) Any form of assimilation or integration.
- (e) Any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them.

Article 13.

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.
2. States shall take effective measures to ensure that this right is protected and also to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative procedures, where necessary through the provision of interpretation or by other appropriate means.

Article 15.

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to dignity and diversity of cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education and public information.
2. States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society.

By comparing my research findings to the articles of the *Declaration*, I would conclude that the Ministry of Education's new curriculum is undermined by policy loopholes that tend to:

- a. Enable New Zealand teachers to teach history and social studies in ways that deprive local Te Ātiawa people, and other iwi, of their ‘integrity as distinct peoples.’
- b. Enable the teaching of New Zealand history to occur (or not occur) in ways that support the dominant culture’s processes of cultural reproduction. This neglect supports the cultural assimilation of whānau, hapū and iwi (locally and nationally).
- c. Enable the teaching of New Zealand history to occur (or not occur) in ways that have the potential to ‘promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination.’
- d. Undermine the attempts of local Te Ātiawa people and/or other iwi to ‘revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions and philosophies.’
- e. Fail to ‘ensure’ that local Te Ātiawa people and/or other iwi can be ‘understood in political and administrative procedures.’ [such as Boards of Trustees’ decision-making processes]
- f. Fail to ‘ensure’ that local Te Ātiawa people and/or other iwi have the ‘right’ to have their ‘dignity’ and ‘diversity of cultures, histories and aspirations ... appropriately reflected in education and public information.’
- g. Fail to ‘ensure’ that local teachers ‘consult’ adequately or ‘cooperate’ with local Te Ātiawa people and/or other iwi to ‘combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination’ and to ‘promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous people [iwi] and all other segments of [New Zealand] society.’

With these conclusions in mind, I will draw upon the needs and wants of the research participants to offer the following recommendations for the consideration of the Wellington Tenth Trust, Port Nicholson Block secondary schools, the NZHTA, Ministers of the Crown, Crown agencies and hapū/iwi and schools elsewhere. While the recommendations are generally couched in terms of this research and its findings, they can be adapted for other areas.

Part Four: Recommendations

I offer the following recommendations (or variations thereof) to the participating schools, the Wellington Tenth Trust, WAHTA, the NZHTA and any other parties that may be affected by the ramifications of this research:

1. Port Nicholson Block secondary schools consider approaching the Wellington Tenth Trust to discuss the possibility of forming a PBE partnership.

2. The chairpersons of their schools' Boards of Trustees consider requesting a meeting with the trustees of the Wellington Tenth Trust to discuss the possibility of developing a memorandum of understanding regarding a PBE partnership initiative.
3. Upon a memorandum of understanding being developed, all parties consider approaching the Ministers of Education and Māori Affairs for financial and technical support to develop a pilot PBE partnership model, in accordance with the guidelines of *The New Zealand Curriculum*.
4. The WAHTA committee consider rotating meetings and events around the Wellington area to ensure that members teaching outside Central Wellington can attend meetings.
5. The NZHTA consider revising its constitution to establish a governing body representative of all regions and decile schools, and which ensures that Māori, women and other groups are always involved in governance/decision-making processes.
6. The NZHTA consider inviting NOHANZ and Te Pouhere Kōrero (an organisation of Māori Historians) to nominate representatives who can attend its meetings, as well as the nominated representative of the New Zealand Historians' Association who currently attends.

The following six recommendations are for the consideration of the Ministry of Education, Te Puni Kōkiri and their respective ministers:

1. The Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri consider supporting the nine schools that participated in this research to develop a pilot PBE model, should the Wellington Tenth Trust agree to participate in such a project.
2. The Ministry of Education consider amending the National Administration Guidelines and National Education Goals in ways that will ensure that the participation of whānau, hapū and iwi in New Zealand secondary schools occurs in accordance with the principles of partnership and protection implicit within the Treaty of Waitangi.

3. The Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri consider collaborating to assist all New Zealand schools to liaise more closely and appropriately with their local hapū and iwi authorities with a view to deepening students' knowledge of local tribal histories and knowledge of place.
4. The Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri consider collaborating to ensure that all New Zealand teachers, during their pre-service/in-service training, are exposed to critical place-based educational theories and pedagogies to support schools to implement the 'vision', 'principles', and 'key competencies' statements now underpinning *The New Zealand Curriculum* (2007b: pp. 8, 9,12).
5. The Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri consider collaborating with iwi authorities and teacher education providers to develop programmes that enable all new teachers, to have access to appropriate 'cultural orientation' programmes when they enter schools as trainees or new employees. These might reflect those recommended by the Alaska Native Knowledge Network's (1998) guidelines for 'culturally responsive schools'.
6. The Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri consider collaborating with hapū and iwi to establish a Māori Education Authority, equipped with statutory powers, that, among other things, can serve as a 'consumer watch-dog' to protect the interests of whānau, hapū and iwi in the schooling process. I envisage that this authority could work alongside ERO by adopting a model of (regional) inter-tribal partnerships similar to that advocated by Penetito (2006).
7. The Ministry of Education consider developing strategies to ensure that 'new' Māori history topics (NCEA levels 1- 3) are developed following extensive consultation with a wide range of iwi representatives and representatives from such organisations as NZHTA, NOHANZ, Te Pouhere Kōrero and the NZHA.
8. The Ministry of Education consider providing funding for the development of resources and appropriate professional development opportunities for history teachers to ensure that 'new' Māori history topics are viewed by New Zealand history teachers as viable NCEA topics.

The reporting of this research commenced and concluded with metaphors pertaining to tuna. In final conclusion, I present a whakataukī (proverb) from Mead and Grove (2001: p. 39), chosen because it reflects how the research participants were all eager to share their visions for the possible reorganisation of history education in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools and beyond. This whakataukī suggests that ‘those who are content with mediocre returns need not be attentive to their work, but those who try for more desirable goals must ever be alert for possibilities’. It states:

E moe te mata hī aua, e ara te mata hī tuna.

The mullet-fisher sleeps but the eel catcher is alert.

Appendices

Appendix One: Waitangi Tribunal map of the Port Nicholson Block (2003)

Figure 1.0. Map of the Port Nicholson Block produced by the Waitangi Tribunal (2003: p. 2).

Appendix Two: Map One of Wellington Central, Wellington, New Zealand

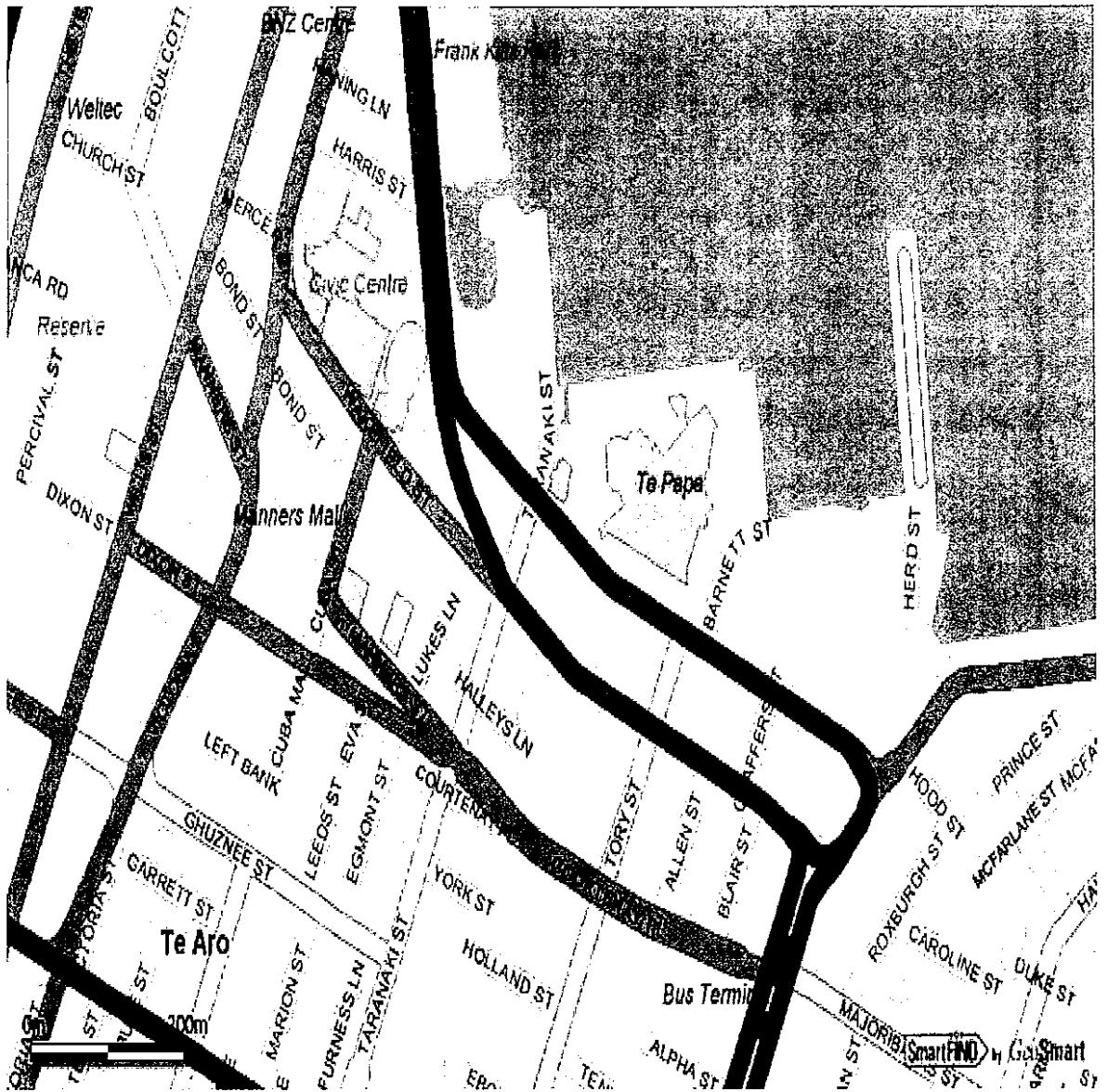


Figure. 1.1. A map of Wellington Central, Wellington, New Zealand, retrieved from <http://www.wises.co.nz/1/Wellington+Central/Wellington+Central/>. 6 May 2008. Waitangi Park is located on the eastern side of Barnett Street (opposite Te Papa Tongarewa) and on the northern side of Cable Street. Herd Street constitute's the Park's northeastern boundary.

Appendix Three: Te Aro Pā, Wellington, looking (northeast) towards the Hutt River.



Figure 1.2. A drawing by Norman Edmund (1842 or 1843?) showing some inhabitants with pigs in the foreground. It also shows a carved canoe prow, buildings and palisade of the pā. Ships and harbour are visible in the background. Reproduced with the permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (ATL: A-049-001).

Appendix Four: Map Two of Wellington Central, Wellington, New Zealand.

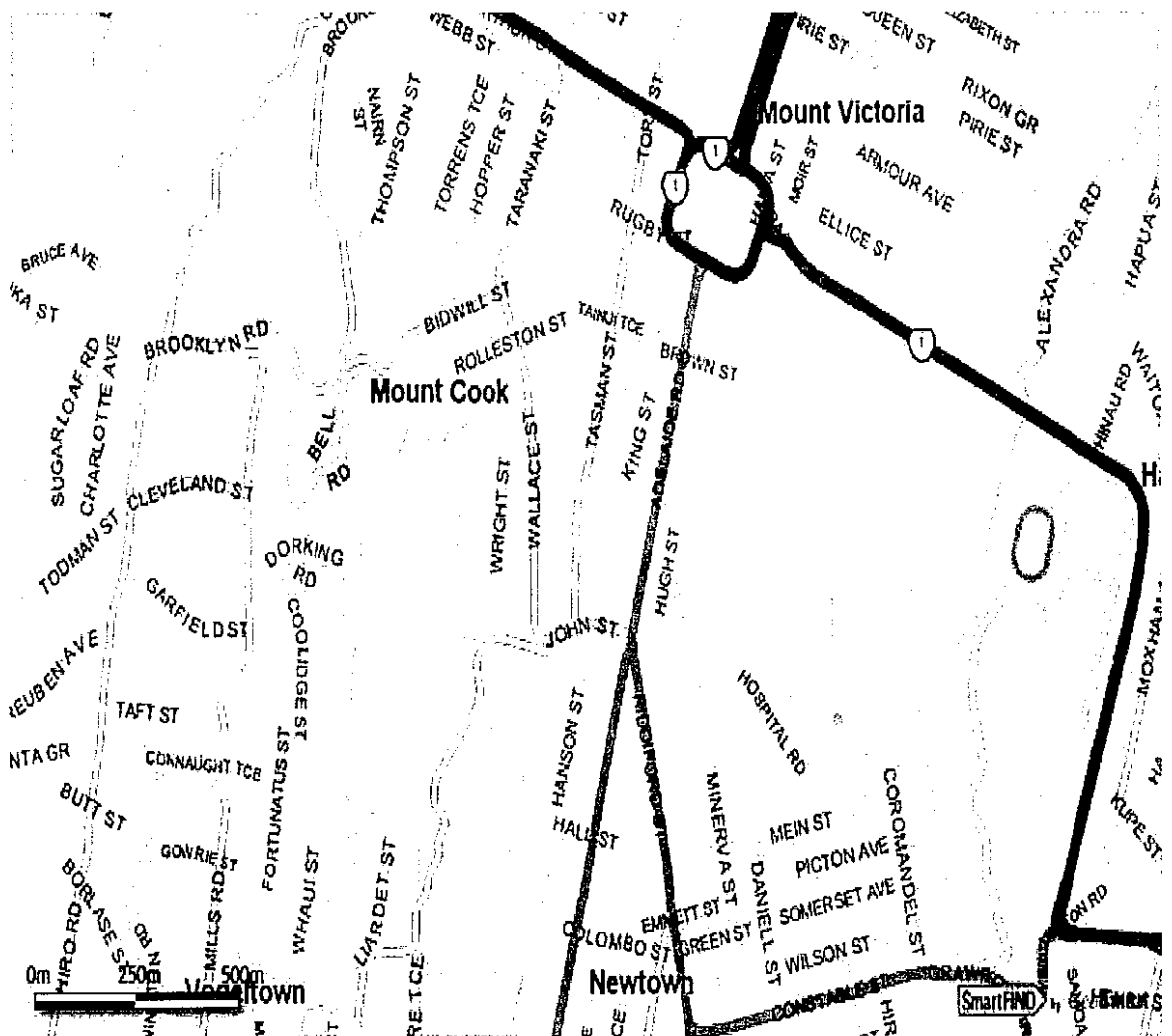


Figure 1.3. A map of Wellington Central, Wellington, New Zealand, retrieved from <http://www.wises.co.nz/1/Wellington+Central/Wellington+Central/>. 6 May 2008.

Appendix Five: Map Three of Wellington Central, Wellington, New Zealand.

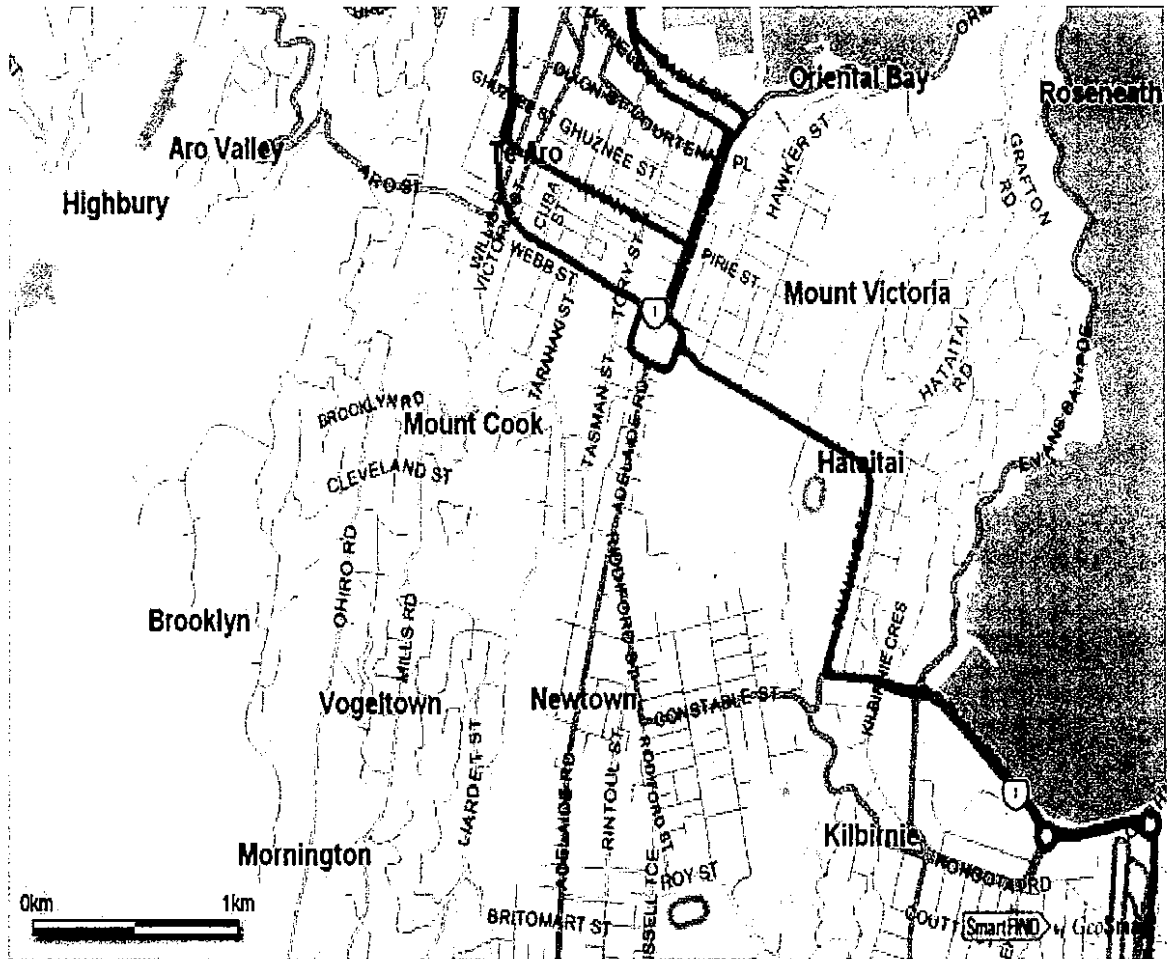


Figure 1.4. A map of Wellington Central, Wellington, New Zealand, retrieved from <http://www.wises.co.nz/1/Wellington+Central/Wellington+Central/>. 6 May 2008.

Appendix Six: Map of the Waitangi Stream System (overleaf) developed by Gilmore and Mellish (2004).

Figure 1.5. A map of the Waitangi stream system, overleaf, developed by Gilmore and Mellish (2004). This map is an adaptation of a map which originally appeared in Adkin (1959: pp. 118-119).

Appendix Seven: Subsoil survey map (overleaf) of Central Wellington City (1936)

Figure 1.6. Subsoil Survey of Central Wellington City (overleaf). Reproduced with the permission of the Wellington City Archives (WCA: 2002/21:59:152). Amongst other things, this survey plan depicts suspected old stream beds (including the Waitangi stream system – highlighted), authenticated stream beds (including the Waitangi Stream system – highlighted) swamp mud near surface and the original waterfront.

Appendix Eight: Painting of Te Aro showing Waitangi Stream and Te Aro Pā (1852)



Figure 1.7. A painting by Charles Decimus Barraud showing Te Aro flat with the Waitangi Stream meandering through it to the right. Te Aro Pā is also visible, near the shore, to the right of houses, buildings and churches. Reproduced with the permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (ATL: C-007-007).

Appendix Nine: Visual essay depicting survey plans, maps and photos depicting land reclamation activities and the rapidly changing landscape of the Te Aro area (1839 – 1903)

Sketch Plan/s (overleaf) showing the original sections (including Te Aro area) sold by ballot in London, July 29th, 1839.

Figure 1.8. Ward, Louis Ernest. Sketch-plans showing original sections sold by ballot in London, July 29th 1839 (including the original purchasers and claimants, or subsequent owners in parenthesis). These plans were compiled by Louis E. Ward from T.H. Fitzgerald's 1840 survey (ca 1925) and, amongst other things, show native reserves and the Te Aro and Pipitea Pā sites. The large plan also depicts how the New Zealand Company planned to turn the Waitangi Stream into a canal system. Ships would dock in the area where the Basin Reserve is now situated at the southern end of Cambridge and Kent Terrace (see map two, Appendix Four and Map three, Appendix Five). Reproduced with permission of the Alexander Turnbull library (ATL MapColl – 832.4799gbbd/1840-1916/Acc.16123).

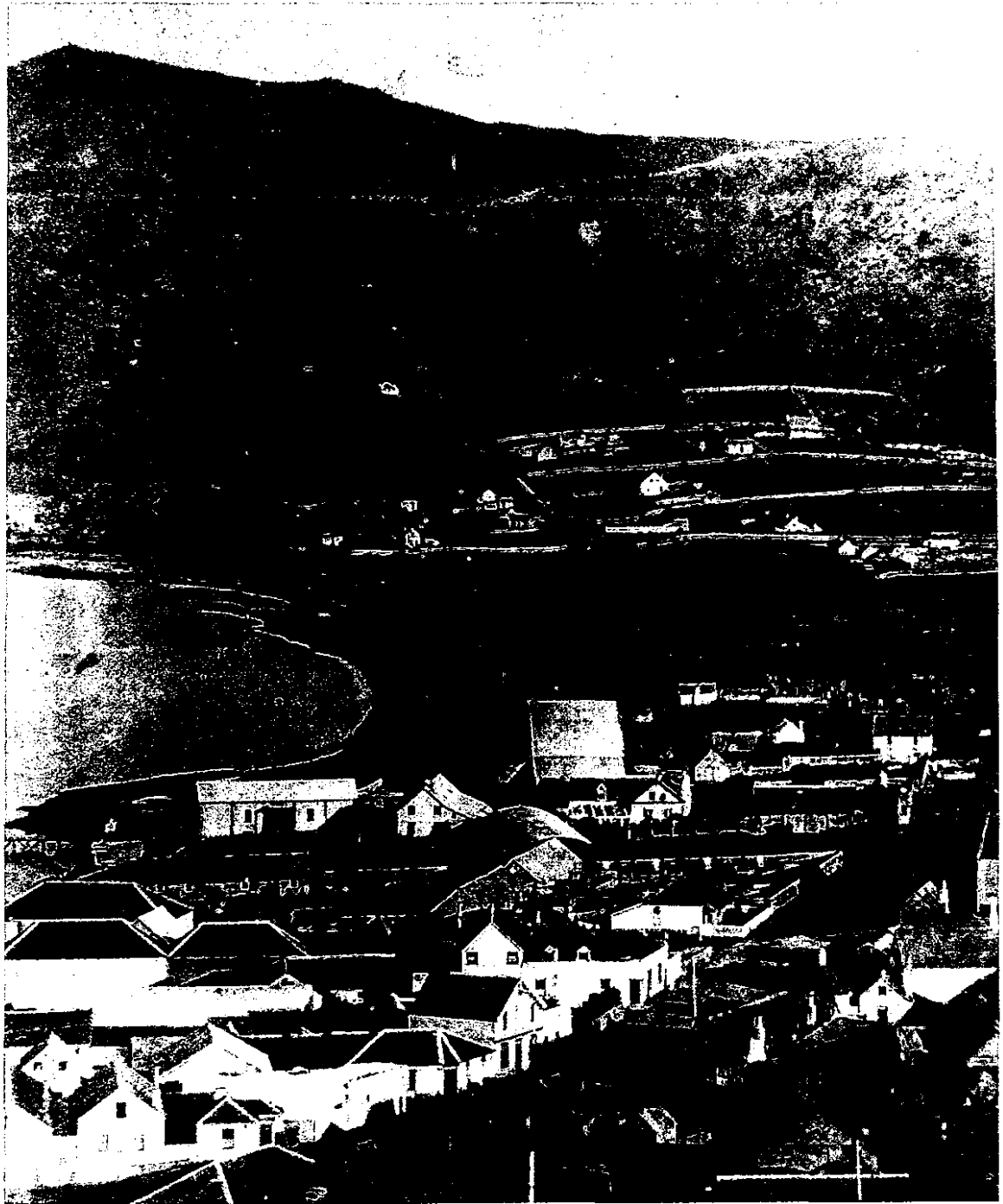
Map (overleaf) of Lambton Harbour (Port Nicholson) From HMS Acheron, 1849.

Figure 1.9. Map of Lambton Harbour (Port Nicholson) from HMS Acheron. Reproduced with permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL MapColl 832-47aj/1849/Acc.24811).

Panorama of Port Nicholson 1841 (overleaf), Part 1, Native Pad [sic] to Watt and Tyser's.

Figure 2.0. Hilliard, George Richard (1841). Far left section of a detailed drawing of Wellington looking (southward) from the harbour, showing the Te Aro end of the view, with the position of houses and other buildings, including the Te Aro Pā. Reproduced with permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL C-012-005-1).

Te Aro Flat Wellington (ca 1846?*)



building with arched roof is Kebbell's
Tannery Mill, now site of Grand Opera House,
and Te Aro Pahi beyond.

TE ARO FLAT-1846

Manners Street is shown connecting
with track now Courtenay Place.

Figure 2.1. Photo of Te Aro Flat, Wellington City (ca 1846?). This photo, taken by an unidentified photographer, looks southeast along Manners Street and Courtenay Place. Mount Victoria (Matai-rangi or Tangi te keo) and the Te-Ranga a-Hiwi Ridge are in the eastern background. The arched roof of Kebbell's Mill is in the middle ground, at centre. The Te Aro Pā can be seen a little further behind the mill and below the Waitangi Swamp/river mouth area (look for picket fencing). Photo reproduced with permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL 1/2-0-20810F).

* This photo may be one of the earliest photos taken in New Zealand, or it may well have been dated earlier than it should have been. Eggleston (2006:p. 8) states that 'No-one is quite sure who took the first photograph in New Zealand. But whoever it was certainly captured the image using a daguerreotype ... Though it's possible that itinerant daguerreotypists [based in Australia] were crossing the Tasman [ocean] periodically, the record is blank in New Zealand until 1848 when all at once there are several mentions in correspondence and newspapers of daguerreotypists being active.'

Te Aro Flat area (c1870s)



Figure 2.2 This photo of Te Aro, Wellington (c1870s), taken by James Bragge, shows Manners and Boulcott Streets in the foreground. Mount Victoria (Matai-rangi or Tangi te keo) and Te-Ranga-a-Hiwi ridge is in the eastern background. Notably, Te Aro Pā is no longer visible. Likewise, the Waitangi Swamp and stream system are no longer visible. Land reclamation trestling, however, is clearly visible. It runs parallel to the shoreline (east-west) and out into Lambton Harbour (south-north). Photo reproduced with permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL pa7-30-11).

Stranded blackfish/pilot whales underneath Te Aro land reclamation trestling at the foot of Taranaki Street, Wellington (1882-1883)

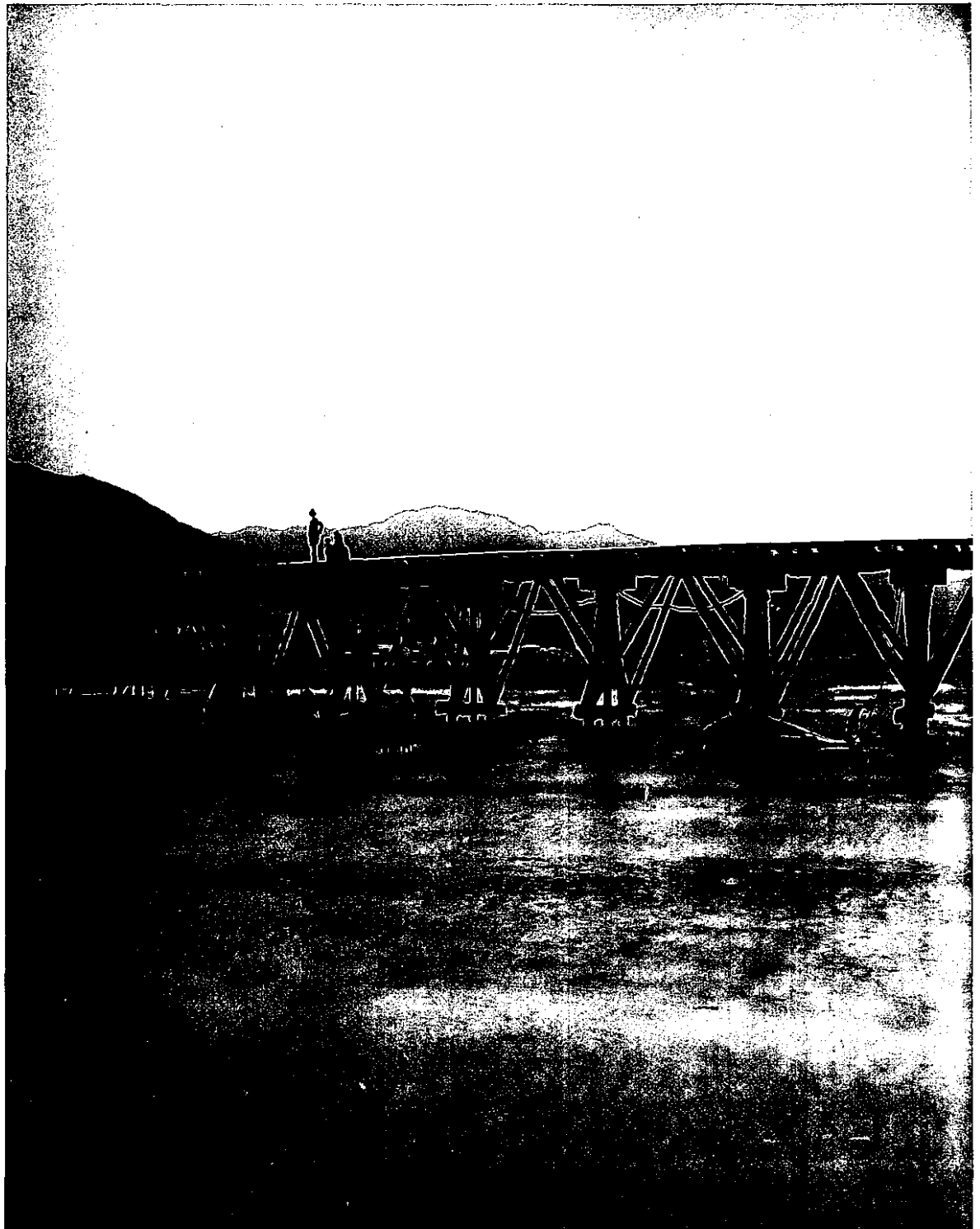


Figure 2.3. This photograph, taken by William Williams between 1882-83 shows stranded blackfish or pilot whales (*Genus Globicephala*) underneath the Te Aro land reclamation trestling at the foot of Taranaki Street (near the Te Aro Pā site). The Waitangi Tribunal (2003: pp. 457-458) noted that claimant groupings (including Te Ātiawa) alleged that these land reclamation activities, along with pollution, ‘destroyed fisheries’ and ‘deprived tangata-whenua from using the foreshore as a tauranga waka (landing place for canoes)’. Subsequently, the Tribunal (p. 478) found that ‘the failure of the Crown to make legislative provision for the involvement of Wellington Māori in the management of Wellington Harbour and its resources until very recently is in breach of its Treaty obligation to protect the customary rights of Māori in the harbour and the foreshore and that the claimants have been prejudicially affected thereby.’ Photo reproduced with permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL 1/1-025538-G).

Te Aro Flat area (1883)

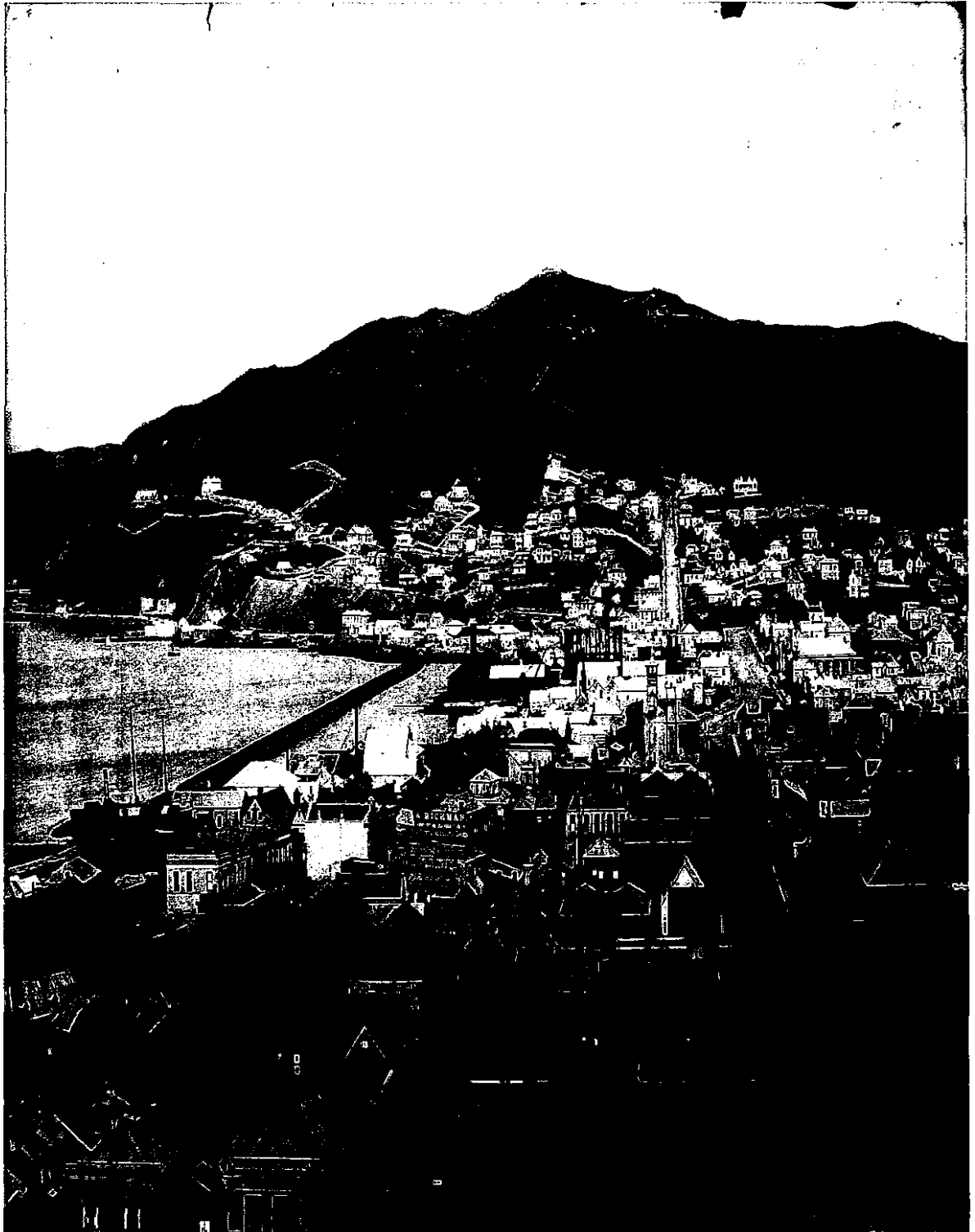


Figure 2.4. This photo of Te Aro, Wellington (1883), taken by Edgar Richard Williams, shows Manners Street, Courtenay Place and Majoribanks Street. Mt Victoria (Matai-rangi or Tangi-te-keo) is in the eastern backdrop. The Waitangi lagoon and swamp is no longer visible at the eastern end of Courtenay Place. The Te Aro land reclamation trestling is visible to the left of a City slowly being built on reclaimed lands. Photo reproduced with the permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL 1/2 -140304-G).

General View of Wellington (including Te Aro Flat area) taken from Kelburn looking East (ca 1903)

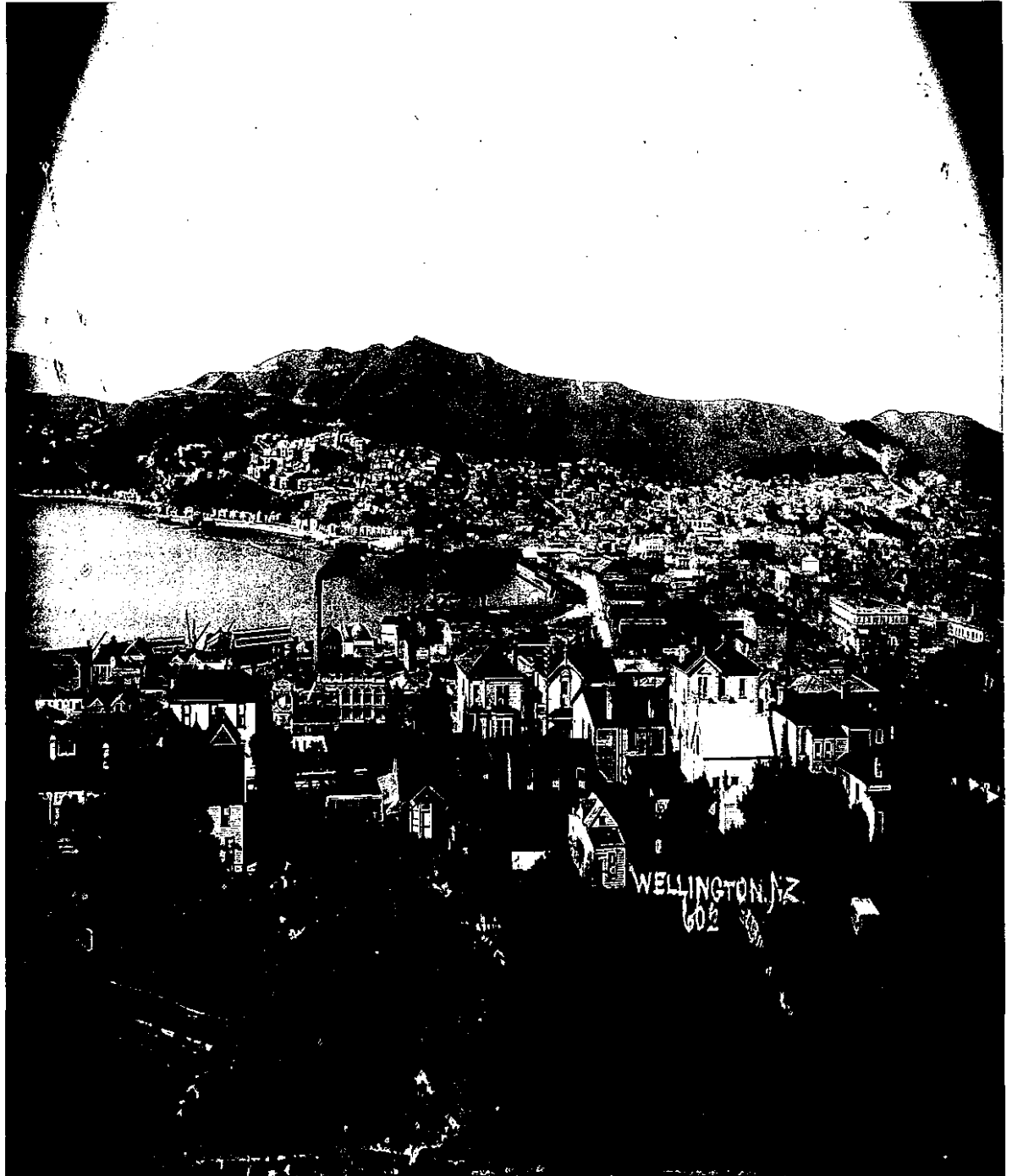


Figure 2.5. Photo taken by William Archer Price in the early 1900s (ca 1903). This provides a view taken from Kelburn, looking east, towards Oriental Bay and Mt Victoria (Matai-rangi or Tangi te keo). The houses on the Terrace are in the foreground. Additionally, Wellington Town Hall can be seen under construction. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of the Te Aro Pā (like the tuna of the Waitangi stream system) have had their ecologies of place altered by the sprawling city that has grown atop of their lands and reclaimed lands. Reproduced with permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL ½-001212-G).

Appendix Ten: Diagram illustrating the concentric structures that comprise the 'ecology of human development' and the reciprocal interaction between the environment and people, constituting a process of 'mutual accommodation.'

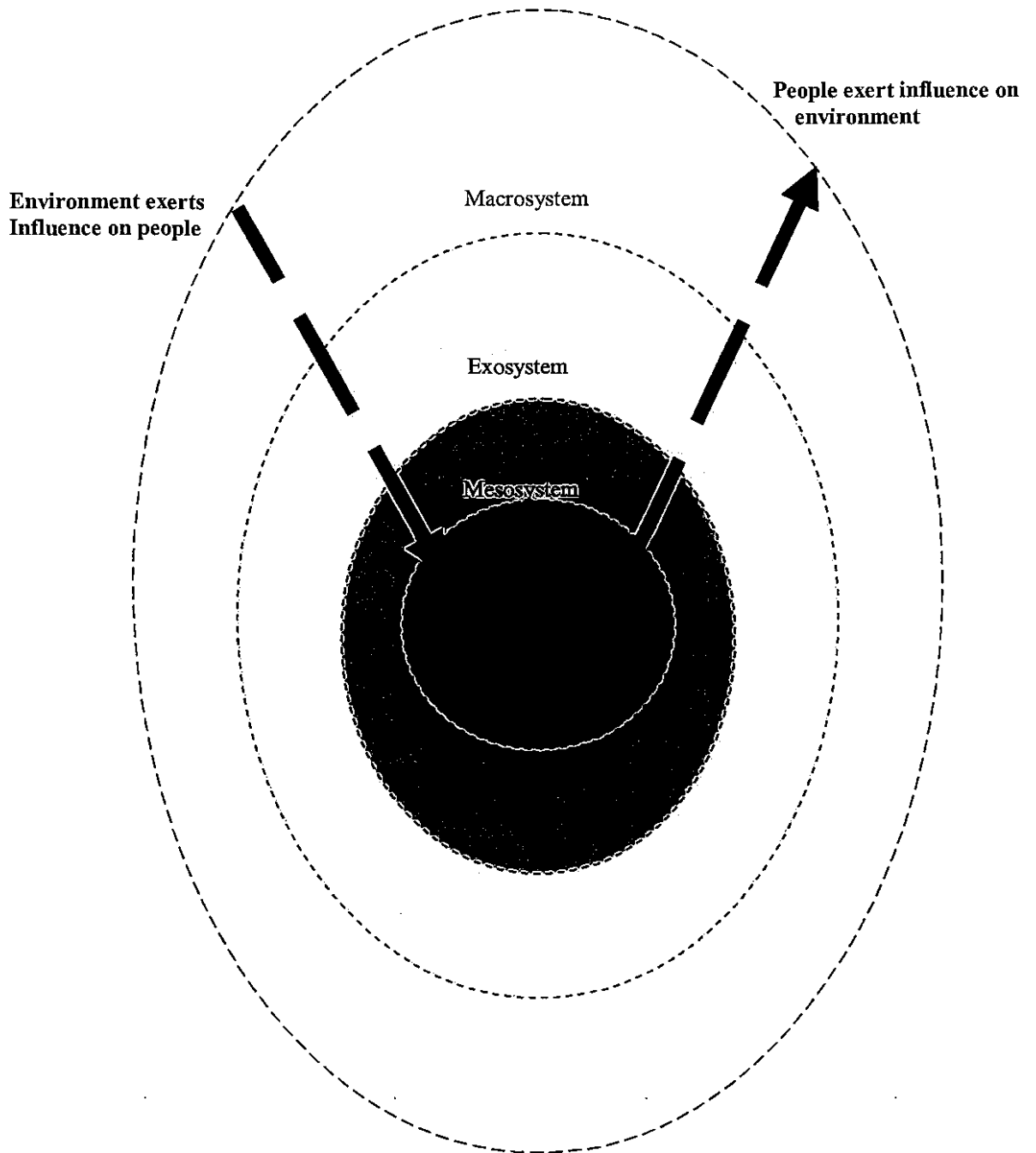


Figure 2.6. 'The ecology of human development,' adapted from Bronfenbrenner (1979).

Appendix Eleven: Diagram illustrating the ‘action research process’ underpinning the negotiation of appropriate research objectives and methodology.

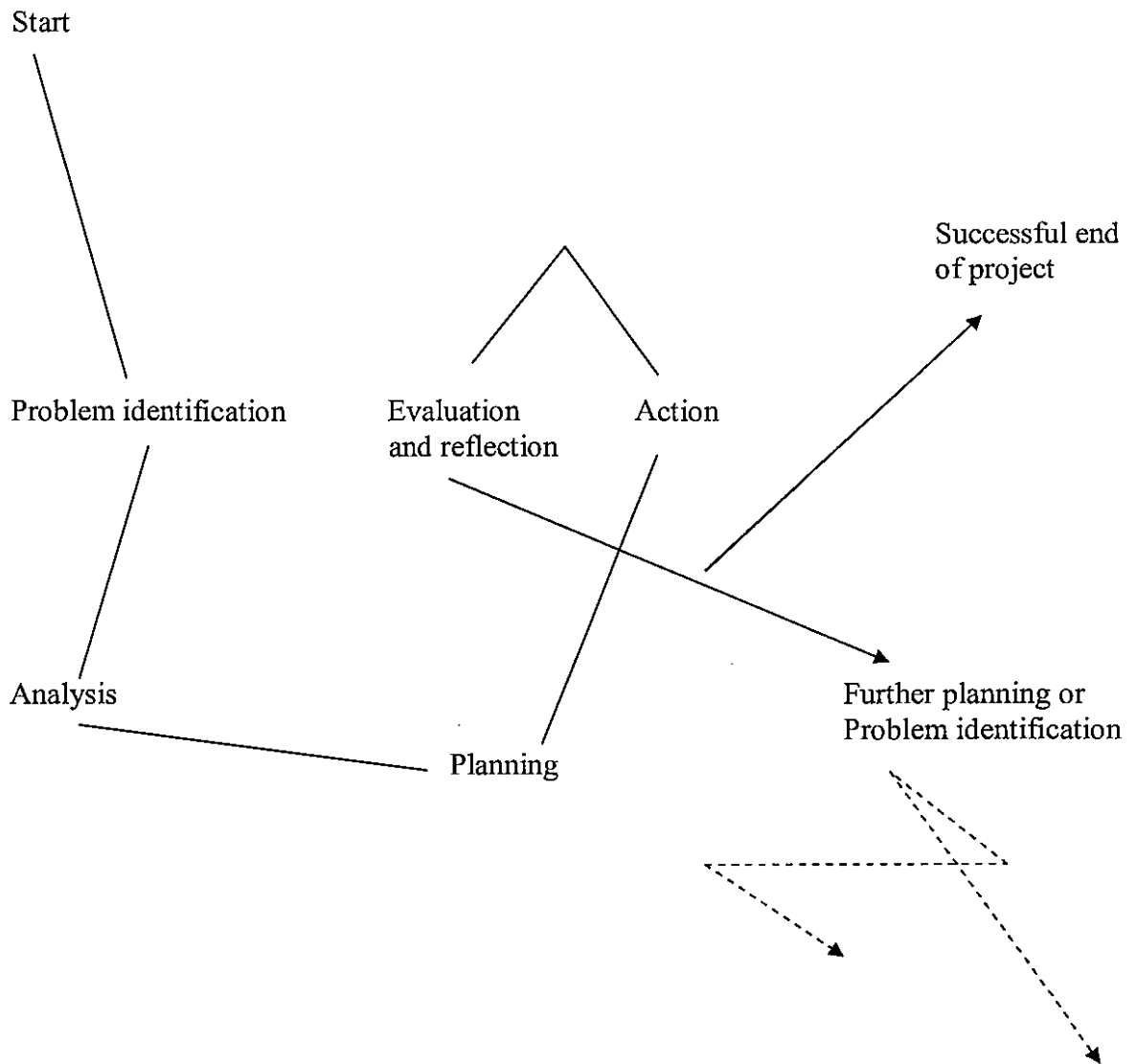


Figure 2.7. The ‘Action Research Process’ adapted from Hart (2002)

Appendix Twelve: A conditional matrix to inform the construction of research questions and to direct the data collection and analysis procedures

Figure 2.8. The 'Conditional Matrix' (adapted from Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Please see page overleaf for further information about the conditional matrix

Further information regarding the adaptation of the conditional matrix for the purposes of this research

The outer-most level of the conditional matrix may be thought of as the 'international level' and it enabled me to consider issues of globalisation, corporate imperialism, and neocolonisation in a global 'knowledge economy.' The second outer-most level may be regarded as the 'national' level. This level encouraged the collaborative development of research questions that allowed me to consider the implications of national history, politics, economic trends and their impact upon local educational and environmental problems and policies.

The third outer most level, the 'community level', or local level, was adapted to represent the Port Nicholson Block and enabled me to address all the items, listed above, as they pertained to schools/school communities, within the Port Nicholson Block. Moving inward, the 'organisational' and/or 'institutional' levels, in this research were adapted in a manner to make them synonymous with participating schools and the Wellington Tenth Trust. These organisations have their own structures, rules, problems and histories in relation to the research questions.

The next inward cycle represented the 'sub-organisational' and/or 'sub-institutional' level. This level was adapted in a manner which rendered it synonymous with particular features of a school's social sciences department. In relation to the Wellington Tenth Trust, this level related specifically to the workings of that organisation's historians and other researchers. Whereas, the 'collective group' and 'individual levels' of this research reflected the experiences, knowledge and philosophies of those people who participated in the 'elite' interviews. Therefore, the 'interactional' level was adapted to provide interviewees with ample opportunity to interact with me, as a researcher, to analyse and verify the data collected. This self-reflection encouraged the inner-most level of 'action', which in relation to this research, encouraged the research participants to act upon the research findings.

Appendix Thirteen: Model for participant involvement in data analysis and verification processes (phase two)

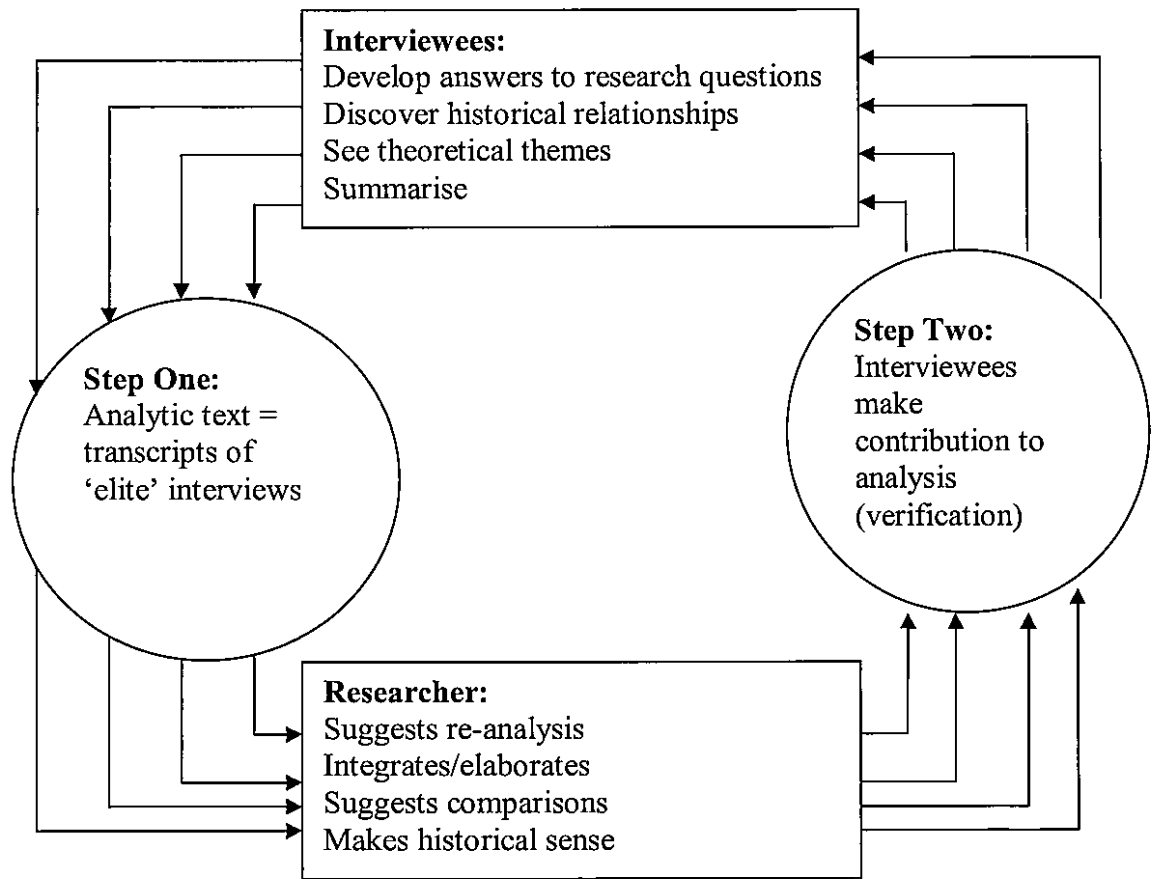


Figure 2.9. Model for participant involvement in data analysis/verification procedures, adapted from figure 27.2: Huberman and Miles (1995)

Appendix Fourteen: Table 1, summarising my correspondence with Port Nicholson Block (PNB) secondary schools

Letter, date and recipient	Summary of content	Summary of recipient responses
<p><i>Letter One:</i> Sent to PNB Boards of Trustees (April 2004)</p>	<p>I introduced myself and:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Outlined my research objectives • Requested permission to interview Head of Department/teacher in charge of history • Requested permission to examine and pay for photocopying selected extracts of: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. History and social studies unit plans focusing upon aspects of New Zealand history b. Minutes of history/social science departmental (staff) meetings c. Extracts from school charter equity/Treaty affirmation statements d. School policy statements in relation to how each school will consult with Māori parents and communities (as per the requirements of the National Administration Guidelines). • Explained my research methodology and how ethical considerations would protect the participating schools and teacher interviewed. • Advised that I would comply with the ethical guidelines of Victoria University of Wellington's Human Ethics Committee and those set by the New Zealand Association Research in Education. • Advised that I would cover the cost of relief teachers. • Invited Principals to contact my research supervisors, or myself, to discuss project or any concerns. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eight schools responded to Letter One. • Seven schools advised that they wished to participate. • Only four schools wrote to advise me (as requested) that they did not wish to participate in this research. • One school advised me (July 2004) that it believed that 'little benefit is likely to accrue to the school in return for the expenditure of time [my emphasis] involved.'
<p><i>Letter Two:</i> Sent to PNB Boards of Trustees (August 2004)</p>	<p>I amended the contents of my initial letter (above). I now advised schools that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I was willing to extend my interviews completion date so that teachers can be interviewed following senior exams or early in the next school year (2005). • I would adhere to the same methodology/ethical procedures and pay for relief teachers and conduct my research without disturbing their school timetables. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One school responded in the positive. • Three schools responded in the negative.
<p><i>Letter Three:</i> Sent to Boards of Trustees of state-funded schools (21 February 2005).</p>	<p>I wrote to non-participating State-funded schools and:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • requested them to simply provide me with copies of public information in the form of course outlines which are normally distributed to students at the beginning of history and social studies courses students or to parents at school 'open day' events. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One school replied. It advised me that it had advised me (14 July 2004) that it felt 'no benefit' would accrue from this research.
<p><i>Letter Four:</i> Sent to Boards of Trustees of State-funded schools (6 April 2005)</p>	<p>* I repeated my previous request for public information, but stipulated that, given teacher workload concerns, I only wanted teachers to tell me <i>what</i> topics they taught.</p>	<p>* Following this letter, and WAHTA message to members, I received topic titles from 24/25 PNB schools</p>

- These letters *have* been viewed by my research supervisors and *are* available for examination, upon request.

Appendix Fifteen: Letter sent to the Chairman and CEO of the Wellington Tenth Trust requesting the support of the Wellington Tenth Trust for the development of this research.

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



**School of Education
Pūtahitanga o te Mātauranga**

**P O Box 600, Wellington
Ph 04 463 5070 or 04 463 5348
Fax 04 463 5349**

Richard Manning
c/o The School of Education
Victoria University of Wellington
Kelburn Parade
PO Box 600
Wellington 6015

Date: _____

The Chairman and CEO
Wellington Tenth Trust
9 Pipitea St.
Thorndon
PO Box 536
Wellington

Tēnā Korua

My name is Richard Manning and I am a former secondary school history teacher who has taught in the Wellington area. I have also trained primary and secondary teachers at Wellington College of Education. I am now studying for a doctorate under the supervision of Dr Richard Hill and Mr Wally Penetito, and I am writing to you to request your support to enable me to conduct research about local Te Ātiawa historical perspectives of place evident within local secondary schools.

I will be interviewing heads of department (history) in a number of secondary schools. I also wish to interview up to ten people identified by yourselves, as key repositories of

historical Te Ātiawa knowledge of place. The focus of these Te Ātiawa interviews would be to ascertain what Te Ātiawa experts believe should be taught about their tribe's experiences of local history and senses of place. Eventually a series of recommendations will be developed which draw upon both the information I have gathered and international place-based education models. This will be for the benefit of local students, teachers, school communities, tribes and wider New Zealand society. I am happy to provide you with a copy of a detailed research proposal should you request it.

As you will know, I have had informal contact with the Trust and this has been very helpful. I would like your permission to continue such contact, especially liaising with Mr Neville Gilmore. More specifically, I would like your permission and assistance to interview Mr Gilmore and up to ten local Te Ātiawa people, identified by yourselves as repositories of local Te Ātiawa knowledge, and photocopy selected extracts (on Mr Gilmore's advice and guidance) from research papers and submissions presented to the Waitangi Tribunal by Te Ātiawa claimants.

Primarily, I will be requesting assistance with identifying those Te Ātiawa people who possess local knowledge and who are willing to be interviewed. Care will be taken so that my research will not hinder the work of Mr. Gilmore, or any other interviewees. I am willing to pay for all photocopying costs and to conduct my data collection in a manner that is not disruptive to your staff. Please note that I am also willing to provide koha (in the form of grocery or petrol vouchers) to Te Ātiawa interviewees to the same value as the funding that I will provide to each school to cover the costs of hiring a relief teacher for a three hour period (e.g. \$130.00). I am willing to offer this koha to each interviewee as a small gesture of reciprocity in exchange for the time they have shared with me. Please inform me in writing if you feel that this gesture is either appropriate or necessary.

I can assure you that this research will be conducted in strict accordance with the code of ethics established by the New Zealand Association for Research in Education (1981) and the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee. Te Ātiawa interviewees will be asked for their informed consent and will be advised in writing of any hazards or inconveniences that participation may involve, such as people speculating about 'who' said 'what'. Moreover, I wish to invite you and Mr Gilmore to inform me if you perceive there to be hazards or inconveniences from the perspective of the Wellington Tenth Trust.

Although it is possible that some people might speculate about 'who' said 'what', in response to the research questions, I will take appropriate steps to ensure the complete confidentiality of the Wellington Tenth Trust and that of Te Ātiawa interviewees nominated by the Trust. If you agree to participate, the Wellington Tenth Trust and the interviewees will retain the right to discontinue support for the project at any time. I am willing to interview Te Ātiawa participants at a place, date and time that is of mutual convenience. Again, I am happy to be flexible and to fit in with the needs of the interviewees and your staff. In relation to the interview process, all interviewees will be requested to fill in a pre-interview questionnaire. This questionnaire has been designed to assist the development of a profile of the interviewees and their life experiences of learning about New Zealand history.

Each interview will be transcribed by a person experienced at transcribing interviews, to whom all interview participants and schools will be unidentifiable, and who will be bound by a confidentiality agreement. To ensure that I interpret what is discussed in each interview accurately, I will offer to provide each interviewee with a full transcript of their interview recorded, and extracts from the draft thesis that include quotes from his/her interview. Each interviewee will eventually be required to sign a statement of verification stating that extracts used in the final draft of the thesis have been accurately quoted.

As part of my verification process, I propose to invite people to participate in an Iwi Reference Group, consisting of individuals nominated by all claimant groupings which have publicly identified an interest in the 'Port Nicholson block'. The objective of this group is to enable tribal claimant groups to verify the accuracy of my interpretation of their perspectives on the 'Port Nicholson block'.

One year after the completion of the research process, all recordings and transcripts etc of the interview (and photocopied data collected at the Wellington Tenth Trust under the supervision of Mr Gilmore), will be destroyed in accordance with the guidelines of the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee. On completion of the final product, a report that summarise all of the research findings and recommendations, will be presented to yourselves, Mr Gilmore, each Te Ātiawa person interviewed, the Iwi Reference Group members, and the participating schools and teachers.

Like all the other participants (above), you will be advised when my completed thesis will be deposited at the Victoria University of Wellington library for storage purposes, and how

the research findings will be disseminated. If you wish to discuss this project with me, you can easily contact me by emailing me at the following email address: rmanning@xtra.co.nz. Additionally, Dr Richard Hill, will be available to respond to any questions that you might have. You can contact Dr Hill via the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, by emailing him at the following email address: Richard.Hill@vuw.ac.nz. Should you wish to support this project, I would be obliged if you would give me written permission to formally approach Mr Gilmore, and to consult you further on such matters as potential interviewees.

Thank you for considering this request to conduct research in partnership with the Wellington Tenth Trust, I look forward to your written reply.

Noho ora mai

Richard Manning

Appendix Sixteen: Table 2, summarising my correspondence with the Ministry of Education, Secretary for Education, Minister of Education and Chief Review Officer (Education Review Office)

Letter recipient	Letter's content	Summary of recipient's response
<p>Letter One: Sent to Ministry of Education (21 February 2005)</p>	<p>I wrote to the Ministry of Education and after introducing myself and my research objectives. I cited the provisions of Official Information Act (1982) and:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explained the difficulties I had encountered when requesting public information from Public information from 13 state-funded secondary schools. • Requested public information about history and social studies topics taught in 13 Port Nicholson Block (PNB) secondary schools • Requested public information about teaching resources used by these schools to deliver the history and social studies topics they teach. 	<p>The Ministry (2 June 2005) advised me that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It does not 'determine' or 'hold information about how each school delivers the curriculum, selects and purchase resources.' • This information <i>is</i> held by these individual schools and 'must be requested from the schools concerned.' (who were withholding this information) • Senior Ministry staff agreed to meet with me. I accepted the invitation and asked my primary research supervisor (Dr Wally Penetito) to attend a meeting (late July 2005). • At this meeting, Ministry staff advised me to contact the Education Review Office to ask whether it had collected information about history and social studies topics <i>were</i> being taught in local schools (2005). • My supervisor and I were dissatisfied with the outcome of this meeting.
<p>Letter Two: Sent to Secretary for Education (9 June 2005)</p>	<p>Following the letter from the Ministry (above) and following my meeting with senior Ministry staff, I was advised by my research supervisors to cite the Official Information Act and to ask the Secretary for Education:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How he could be certain that aspects of New Zealand history <i>are</i> being taught in New Zealand secondary schools, if the Ministry <i>cannot</i> request public information from state-funded schools about what <i>is</i> being taught? 	<p>The Secretary for Education (7 July 2005) refused my request for public information under the auspices of the Official Information Act and advised me that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My questions 'seek views or positions that assume particular policy stances and directions to schools.' • 'Policy statements in relation to these questions do not exist.'
<p>Letter Three: Sent to the Minister of Education (30 July 2005)</p>	<p>Following the letter from the Secretary for Education, above, I was advised my research supervisors to cite the Official information Act and to write to the Minister of Education. I wrote and asked him:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How could he be sure that New Zealand's state-funded secondary schools were complying with the equity provisions of the National Administration Guidelines and National education Goals, if the Ministry <i>cannot</i> request public information from state-funded schools about what <i>is</i> being taught within those schools? 	<p>The Minister of Education (25 August 2005) advised me:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'Students <i>choose</i> the subjects they study and teachers design the programmes on the basis of the syllabus to enable assessment of students for qualifications. They [teachers] have <i>freedom</i> to <i>choose</i> the topics that are taught. [My emphasis]
<p>Letter Four: Sent to the Chief Review Officer, Education Review Office (8 May 2006)</p>	<p>Following the meeting with senior Ministry staff (late July), I was advised by my thesis supervisors to write to the Chief Review Officer (ERO). I asked him:</p> <p>* Could he supply the public information I required (described above)?</p>	<p>The chief Review Officer (1 August 2006) advised me that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 'The Education review Office does <i>not</i> [my emphasis] gather the kind of information you require. I suggest you contact the schools directly.'

- These letters have been viewed by my research supervisors and are available for examination, upon request.

Appendix Seventeen: Preliminary interview questionnaire completed by Te Ātiawa interviewees

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



School of Education
Pūtahitanga o te Mātauranga

P O Box 600, Wellington
Ph 04 463 5070 or 04 463 5348
Fax 04 463 5349

Preliminary Interview Questionnaire for Te Ātiawa Participants

Instructions:

1. If you do not wish to answer any question please ignore it. Please read the whole questionnaire first, before you fill it in, as this will assist you to appreciate the overall thrust of the questions (e.g. some questions may at first appear similar, but have very different emphases).
2. If you would like to answer any of the questions in more detail than is possible in the space(s) provided, please write a more detailed response on separate paper (identifying the relevant question(s) related to your comments), and return your additional detailed responses attached to the completed questionnaire, in the self-addressed and stamped envelope provided. If you have any further questions in relation to the preliminary interview questionnaire, please contact Richard Manning via email at the following email address: rmanning@xtra.co.nz.
3. If you are happy to proceed, please complete the following questions as follows:

Preliminary Interview Questionnaire

a. Personal Profile:

1. Name. _____

2. Place of Birth. _____

3. Name all the Te Ātiawa hapū you relate to and identify that one which you most closely relate to.

All hapū: _____

Hapū most closely related to: _____

4. List any other iwi you are related to. _____

5. Did you live in the Wellington district when you attended secondary school? _____

6. Current occupation. _____

b. Personal Experiences in Relation to Learning about the Past

7. Which secondary school(s) did you attend, where and when? _____

8. Did a secondary school history teacher inspire you to hold on to your Māoritanga? If so, please describe the teaching methods he/she used and how this made you feel.

Method(s): _____

How I felt: _____

9. Did people within Te Ātiawa inspire you to learn about Te Ātiawa histories, including those of the Wellington district? If so, please describe the teaching methods used and how this made you feel.

Methods: _____

How I felt: _____

10. Can you recall any themes, issues, personalities relevant to New Zealand history that you were taught at secondary school? If so, please describe what you learned and how you felt as a result of this learning.

What I learned: _____

How I felt (e.g. did you feel any group(s)/individuals were being stereotyped?): _____

11. Was what you learned at secondary school about New Zealand history different to what you had learned from your whānau/hapū/iwi? If so, please elaborate.

12. Describe what you remember learning at secondary school about the key issues, themes and individuals associated with the local history of the area you lived in (e.g. Wellington district) and how you felt as a result of this learning.

What I Learned: _____

How I Felt: _____

13. Did what you learn at secondary school about local history differ to what you have learned from your whānau, hapū and iwi? If so, please elaborate.

14. Describe what issues, themes and individuals you most remember learning about in relation to Māori history at secondary school and how you felt as a result of this learning.

What I Learned: _____

How I Felt: _____

15. Did what you learn at secondary school about Māori history differ to what you learned from your whānau, hapū and iwi? If so, please elaborate:

16. Did you learn about Te Ātiawa issues, themes and individuals in history lessons at secondary school? Whatever the answer, please describe how you felt as a result of this learning.

What I Learned: _____

How I Felt: _____

17. Did what you learn (or not learn) about Te Ātiawa history at secondary school, differ to what you learned from your whānau, hapū and iwi? If so, please elaborate.

If you attended university, please answer questions 20-29. Otherwise please feel free to skip the university section that follows and answer all questions after question 29.

18. Which university /universities did you attend? _____

19. What years did you attend university? _____

20. Please list your university qualifications: _____

21. If you studied history at university please list all the history subjects you remember studying.

22. If you studied New Zealand history at university, please recall the most memorable themes, events and personalities you learned about and also describe how you felt as a result of this learning.

What I learned: _____

How I felt: _____

23. If you studied New Zealand history at university, did what you learn differ to what you had already learned at secondary school and from your whānau, hapū and iwi? If so, please elaborate.

School: _____

Whānau etc: _____

24. If you studied Māori history as part of your New Zealand history course(s) at university, recall some of the most memorable themes, events and personalities covered. Please also describe how you felt as a result of this learning.

What I learned: _____

How I felt: _____

25. If you studied aspects of Māori history at university, did what you learn differ to what you had already learned at secondary school and from your whānau, hapū and iwi? If so, please elaborate.

School: _____

Whānau etc: _____

26. If you studied aspects of Māori history in New Zealand history courses at university, did you learn anything about the tribes of the Wellington district? If so, please recall what you learned and also describe how you felt as a result of this learning.

What I learned: _____

How I felt: _____

27. Did what you learn about the tribes of the Wellington district differ to what you had already learned at secondary school and from your whānau, hapū and iwi? If so, please elaborate.

School: _____

Whānau etc: _____

28. Did your New Zealand history lecturer(s) work closely with local whānau, hapū and iwi to deliver content about local history and/or local Māori experiences of colonisation? Whatever the answer, please elaborate on what happened and explain whether or not you felt this was effective teaching.

29. Have you ever participated in any Māori culture and/or language course at a tertiary institution? If yes, please identify the institution(s) and the level(s) of study (e.g. introductory, first/second year level papers).

Institution(s): _____

Level(s) of study: _____

c. Personal Experiences in Relation to Learning about Place

30. Have members of your whānau, hapū and iwi used the local landscape to teach you about the past? If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had upon your sense of identity.

How: _____

Impact: _____

31. Did your history teacher(s) at secondary school use the local landscape to teach you about the past? If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had upon your sense of identity.

How: _____

Impact: _____

32. Did your whānau, hapū and iwi use local wildlife (animals/fish/birds etc) to teach you about the past? If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had upon your sense of identity.

How: _____

Impact: _____

33. Did your history teacher(s) at secondary school use local wildlife to teach you about the past? If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had upon your sense of identity.

How: _____

Impact: _____

34. Did your history teacher(s) at secondary school work alongside people of local knowledge in the 'general' community to teach you about the past? If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had upon your sense of identity.

How: _____

Impact: _____

35. Did your history teacher(s) at secondary school work alongside members of your own whānau, hapū and iwi, who possessed local historical knowledge, to teach you about the past. If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had upon your sense of identity.

How: _____

Impact: _____

d. Personal Reflections in Relation to the Quality of History Teaching in Secondary Schools today

36. If you were willing to work alongside local secondary school teachers, to teach about local Te Ātiawa historical experiences, describe those factors that present difficulties for you. Please also describe those factors that would contribute to a successful teaching partnership from your perspective.

Factors that pose difficulties: _____

Factors for success: _____

37. Please offer some recommendations as to how you think Wellington/Hutt Valley teachers can work with Te Ātiawa to ensure that local students have an appropriate knowledge about local Te Ātiawa history.

Appendix Eighteen: Preliminary interview questions completed by heads of department/teachers in charge (history)

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



School of Education
Pūtahitanga o te Mātauranga

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Fax 04 463 5349

Preliminary Interview Questionnaire for Teacher participants

Instructions:

1. If you do not wish to answer any question, please ignore it. Please read the whole Questionnaire first, before you fill it in (e.g. some questions may initially appear similar, but have different emphases). Please return the completed questionnaire in the self-addressed envelope provided.
2. If you would like to answer any of the answers in more detail than is possible in the space(s) provided, please write a more detailed (written) response on separate paper (identifying the relevant question(s) related to your comments) and return your additional detailed responses attached to your completed questionnaire, in the self-addressed envelope provided. If you have any further questions in relation to the preliminary interview questionnaire, please contact Richard Manning via email at the following email address: rmanning@xtra.co.nz, before proceeding to answer the questionnaire.
3. If you are happy to proceed, please complete the following questions as follows:

Preliminary Interview Questionnaire

a. Personal Profile

1. Current employer (name school). _____
2. Title of current teaching position. _____
3. List the subjects you currently teach. _____

4. How long have you been teaching (years/months)? _____
5. List the names of any other areas / regions where you have taught outside the Wellington district.

6. State your place of birth (if born outside New Zealand, please specify *location* and *date* of arrival in New Zealand).
7. Please state any iwi affiliations. _____
8. Gender. _____
9. In your own words, briefly define your own sense of ethnicity / identity (e.g. Chinese, New Zealand-born Samoan, New Zealand European/Pākehā etc).

b. Personal Experiences in Relation to Learning about the Past and Place

Secondary school years:

10. What secondary school(s) did you attend, where and when? _____

11. What years did you attend secondary school? _____
12. Did a secondary school history teacher inspire you to explore/value your sense of cultural identity? If so, describe the teaching methods he/she used

-
-
13. Did members of your extended family inspire you to learn about your family and/or local history? If so, please describe the teaching methods they used to inspire you and how you felt as a result of this learning.

Methods: _____

How I felt: _____

14. Can you recall any themes, issues and personalities relevant to *New Zealand* history that you were taught at secondary school? If so, please describe what you learned and how you felt as a result of this learning.

What I learned: _____

How I felt (e.g. did you feel any groups were being stereotyped?): _____

15. Did what you learn at school about New Zealand history differ from what you had learned from your family? If so, please elaborate.
-
-
-

-
16. Describe what you remember learning at secondary school about the key issues, themes and individuals associated with the local history of the area (e.g. Wellington district) and how you felt as a result of this learning.

What I Learned: _____

How I felt: _____

17. Did what you learn at secondary school, about local history, differ to what you had learned about the local area's history from your family? If so, please elaborate.

18. Describe what issues, themes and individuals you learned about in relation to Māori history at secondary school and how you felt as a result of this learning?

What I learned: _____

How I felt: _____

19. Did what you learn at secondary school, about Māori history, differ to what you had learned from your family? If so, please elaborate.

20. Was your experience of learning about your family history different in nature to the experience of learning about history you encountered at secondary school? If so, please elaborate.

Historical sense of place:

21. Did your history teacher(s) at secondary school use the local landscape to teach you about the past? If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had upon your sense of identity.

How: _____

Impact: _____

22. Did members of your family use the local landscape to teach you about the past? If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had upon your sense of identity.

How: _____

Impact: _____

23. Did your history teachers at school use local wildlife (e.g. animals, fish, birds and/or plants) to teach you about the past? If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had upon your sense of identity.

How: _____

Impact: _____

24. Did members of your extended family use local wildlife to teach you about the past? If so, please explain how and also describe the impact this had upon your sense of identity.

How: _____

Impact: _____

University:

25. Which University did you attend? _____

26. What years did you attend University? _____

27. List University qualifications. _____

28. Please list the history subjects you remember studying at University.

29. If you studied New Zealand history at university, recall the most memorable themes, events and personalities you learned about and also describe how you felt as a result of this learning.

What I Learned: _____

How I felt: _____

30. If you studied New Zealand history at university, did what you learn differ to what you had already learned at secondary school and from your family? If so, please elaborate:

School: _____

Family: _____

31. Please recall some of the specific Māori historical events, themes and personalities covered in any New Zealand history course(s) you undertook at university and also describe how you felt as a result of this learning.

What I learned: _____

How I felt: _____

32. If you studied Māori history at university, did what you learn differ to what you had already learned at secondary school and from your family? If so, please elaborate.

School: _____

Family: _____

33. If you studied aspects of Māori history in New Zealand history courses at university, did you learn anything about the tribes of the Wellington district? If so, please recall what you learned and how you felt as a result of this learning.

What I learned: _____

How I felt: _____

34. Did what you learn about tribes of the Wellington district differ to what you had already learned at secondary school and from your family? If so, please elaborate.

School: _____

Family: _____

35. Did your New Zealand history lecturers work closely with local whānau, hapū and iwi to deliver content about local history and/or local Māori experiences of colonisation? Whatever the answer, please elaborate on what happened and explain whether or not you felt this was effective teaching.

36. Have you ever participated in any Māori culture and / or language course at a Tertiary institution? If yes, please identify the institution and the level(s) of study (e.g. introductory, first/second year papers etc).

Institution: _____

Level of study: _____

c. Teaching Training and Teaching Experience:

Teacher Training:

37. Where did you train to become a teacher and when? _____

38. Briefly describe the types of teaching methods that your lecturers encouraged you to use in the delivery of history lessons.

39. What satisfied and/or dissatisfied you in relation to the preparation you received to teach about New Zealand history? Please elaborate.

Satisfied: _____

Dissatisfied: _____

40. Were you trained to incorporate the local natural environment (e.g. to use the local topography, coastline, flora and fauna) when teaching history? If yes, briefly describe what you were taught.

41. What satisfied and/or dissatisfied you in relation to the preparation you received to incorporate the local natural environment into your history teaching? Please elaborate.

Satisfied: _____

Dissatisfied: _____

42. Briefly describe the preparation you received to enable you to engage with local whānau, hapū, iwi and/or urban Māori communities to design, deliver and evaluate history courses.

43. What satisfied and/or dissatisfied you in relation to the preparation you received to engage with whānau, hapū, iwi and/or urban Māori communities to teach history? Please elaborate.

Satisfied: _____

Dissatisfied: _____

Teaching Experience

44. List any Subject Associations that you are or have been actively involved with (e.g. Wellington History Teachers' Association, Wellington Social Studies Teachers' Association).

45. Briefly list your key sources of knowledge about the history of the local community that encompasses your school (e.g. books, newspapers, residents).

46. Briefly list what you feel have been the most positive and negative changes/trends that you have experienced as a history teacher since you started teaching and explain why.

Positive: _____

Negative: _____

47. If you were willing to work alongside local community historians to teach local history, describe those factors that might pose difficulties for you. Please also outline those factors that what you believe would contribute to a successful outcome of such a partnership.

Factors that pose difficulties: _____

Factors that contribute to successful outcomes: _____

48. If you were willing to work alongside local tribal historians, describe those factors that might pose difficulties for you. Please also outline those factors you believe would contribute to a successful outcome of such a teaching partnership.

Factors that pose difficulties: _____

Factors that contribute to success: _____

Appendix Nineteen: Interview Schedule for Interviews with heads of department/ teachers in charge (history), including possible prompt questions

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



School of Education
Pūtahitanga o te Mātauranga

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Fax 04 463 5349

Heads of Department: Schedule of Interview Questions

Introduction:

The following interview questions are designed to elicit responses from Heads of Department in relation to a range of issues. 'Open' interview questions appear in bold font, with interviewer's discretionary prompts italicised below. These prompts will only be used if necessary. The key objective is to generate a broad range of general information relevant to the stated research objectives, outlined earlier in a formal proposal.

Opening Introductory Statement: Read aloud just prior to the commencement of each interview

This interview with *(State name of interviewee)*, Head of Social Sciences Department at *(School details)*, was conducted at *(venue)* on *(date)*. This interview has been recorded by Richard Manning using a *(State technology: e.g. brand and model of recorder and microphones)*. The interview has commenced at *(state time interview commenced)*.

Interview questions and prompts

A.) Course Design: The incorporation of the local environment and local community knowledge in the design of history courses.

1. What makes history a unique subject? Please explain.

a.) *What is your school's definition of history? Please explain.*

b.) *What does your school consider to be the most important skills for its history students to develop and why?*

c.) *Why should students learn about history?*

d.) *What makes history a unique subject?*

2. What topics do students study at each year level and why?

a.) *How do these history topics compliment those topics taught in other subject areas at the same year levels?*

b.) *James Belich once described the teaching of New Zealand history in New Zealand's secondary schools as a 'national disgrace'. Do you agree or disagree? Please explain.*

c.) *Do you think that the history of the 'Port Nicholson block' is a unique part of New Zealand history? Please explain.*

d.) *Do you think that the history of the 'Port Nicholson block' is an important subject for local students to study? Please explain.*

e.) *Do you think that history should be integrated with other subjects (e.g. maths, science, geography, PE and te reo Māori) so students learn about the interrelationships between local and 'big picture' issues in a holistic manner? Please explain.*

f.) *Do you think that history is a subject that should enable students to engage in local social and environmental issues (e.g. by researching the history and pollution of the Waiwhetū stream, Wellington harbour or coastline) Please explain.*

3. What resources are most frequently used to teach history in your school and why?

a.) *What do you feel are the strengths/weaknesses of the resources in your school? Please explain.*

- b.) *How important are video-taped TV documentaries and movies etc in terms of the design of courses in your school? Please explain.*
- c.) *What historical resources located outside your school does your history department use? Please elaborate.*
- d.) *Do you feel that history students need to be familiar with emerging technologies such as GIS and GPS? Please explain.*
- e.) *Does your school have a copy of the Waitangi Tribunal's recent Report on the Port Nicholson Block claims and is it a 'useful' teaching resource? Please explain.*

4. Are oral history skills developed at each year level in your school? Please explain.

- a.) *Approximately what % of course time at each year level is given to the development of oral history research skills why? Please explain.*
- b.) *What does your school believe to be the most important oral history skills for students to learn and why?*
- c.) *Does the teaching of oral history in your school allow students to research their local community histories and/or their own family histories? Please explain.*
- d.) *Do you feel that oratory skills are as important as writing skills? Please explain.*

5. Do parental perceptions influence student choices to study history and/or influence the choice of topics taught in your school? Please explain.

- a.) *Do parents influence students' decisions to study history in your school? How/why?*
- b.) *Do the media influence parental perceptions and/or student choices to study history? How/why?*
- c.) *Do parents and/or students influence what topics are taught in your school? How/why?*
- d.) *Do parents and/or students influence the style of teaching that occurs? How?*

B.) Course Delivery: The incorporation of the local environment and local community knowledge in the delivery of history courses.

- 1. Does the local community participate in the delivery of the history curriculum in your school? Please explain.**

- a.) *Please describe the local community in which your school is located and your school community.*
- b.) *Is life in the local community and school community reflected in how and why history is being taught at each year level? Please explain.*
- c.) *Are local people (with local historical knowledge) involved in the delivery of history courses? If so, please describe the frequency of such involvement.*
- d.) *Who are the people from the local community that you work with most to deliver history lessons and why?*

2. Does the local Māori community participate in your school's delivery of the history curriculum in your school? Please explain.

- a.) *Describe what the school considers to be its local Māori community?*
- b.) *Can you name the local tribes who claim manawhenua status over the area encompassing your school site? If yes, please name them.*
- c.) *Have you worked with people from these tribes to teach your students about local history? Please explain.*
- d.) *What / who are the key sources of information about the local Māori community for you and your colleagues? Please explain.*

3. Please describe how history is taught outside the classroom by your school.

- a.) *Aside from the local 'man-made' environment, is the local natural environment used to enable students to appreciate historical concepts and /or experiences at each level? Why?*
- b.) *Does the local natural environment get used by history teachers in your school to teach about the 'pre-European' and/or 'colonial' periods of New Zealand history? Please explain.*

C.) Course Assessment: The incorporation of the local environment and local community knowledge in course assessment.

1. What assessment activities occur at each year level and why?

- a.) *How do history teachers in your school find out what students already know about history? Please explain.*
- b.) *Do history teachers in your school provide feedback to students on their work in progress? Please explain.*

c.) *Describe the different types of assessment that you use to measure student performance and allocate grades? Please explain.*

2. Does the local environment serve as a tool/context for assessing student learning at each year level? Please explain.

a.) *Do you think that students should be taught and assessed in relation to their ability to 'read' the local landscape (e.g. to detect and analyse historical clues evident in the local landscape) as an integral part of their skills base? Please explain.*

b.) *Is the local natural environment used by teachers as an 'assessment tool' to assess students' skills? Please elaborate.*

c.) *What overall % of course grades would incorporate the local natural environment at each year level as a tool and/or context for assessment activities? Please give a rough estimate.*

3. In relation to assessment for grades, what presentation skills are allocated the greatest percentage of grades at each year level and why?

a.) *What would you estimate is the overall % of course grades given to written forms of assessment per year level (e.g. exams and/or essays = 100% of course grades for year 11)? Please explain why.*

b.) *What would you estimate is the overall % of course grades given to oral forms of assessment per year level and why?*

c.) *What would you estimate is the overall % of course grades given to visual forms of assessment per year level and why?*

d.) *What would you estimate is the overall % of course grades given to group assessment activities per year level and why?*

f.) *What would you estimate is the overall % of course grades is given to measure various emerging technology skills (e.g. GIS/GPS) at each year level and why? Please identify technologies and explain.*

D.) **Course Evaluation: The incorporation of the local environment and local community knowledge in course evaluation.**

1. Are history courses in your school evaluated? Why?

a.) *Do history teachers work with teachers of other disciplines, in your school, to evaluate whether or not the teaching of history compliments the content covered in other subject areas? Please explain.*

- b.) *Do students in your school participate in the evaluation of history courses at different year levels? Please explain.*
- 2. Is the local environment incorporated into your (history) course evaluation processes?**
- a.) *Aside from the local 'man-made' environment, is the local natural environment used as a tool and/or context to evaluate senior history courses and why?*
- b.) *Where do course evaluation activities generally occur and why?*
- 3. Do members of the local community participate in (history) course evaluation processes?**
- a.) *Do members of the 'general' population in your local/school community participate in the evaluation of history courses? Please explain.*
- b.) *Do members of the local Māori community participate in the evaluation of history courses in your school? Please explain.*
- c.) *Do members of local iwi participate in the evaluation of history courses in your school? Please explain.*
- E.) Professional Development: The needs and wants of history teachers in relation to enabling students to develop an historical sense of place
- 1. To what extent are history teachers in your school active members of subject associations? Please explain.**
- a.) *Are the history teachers in your school actively involved with WAHTA and/or WSSA? Please explain.*
- b.) *Are the history teachers in your school actively involved with the New Zealand History Association? Please explain.*
- 2. What obstacles do history teachers confront when attempting to teach history outside the classroom? Please elaborate.**
- a.) *What are the biggest challenges to overcome when attempting to teach history in the local environment, outside the school grounds? Please explain.*
- b.) *Do current 'Education outside the Classroom' (EOTC) procedures encourage history teachers to teach outside the classroom? Please explain.*
- c.) *What forms of support are available in your school to assist historical learning to occur outside the classroom/school and are these adequate? Please elaborate.*

- d.) *What current learning activities outside the classroom/school seem to work best at each year level and why?*
3. **Do history teachers in your school encounter obstacles when attempting to incorporate local community knowledge into history courses? Please explain.**
- a.) *What are the biggest challenges to overcome when attempting to incorporate local community knowledge? Please explain.*
- b.) *What forms of community support are available to assist historical learning to occur outside the classroom/school and in the local community, and are these current support structures adequate? Please elaborate.*
- c.) *What current learning activities based in the community, work best at each year level? Why?*
4. **Do history teachers in your school encounter obstacles when attempting to incorporate Māori community knowledge into history courses? Please explain.**
- a.) *What are the biggest challenges for your school to overcome in terms of incorporating the knowledge of the local 'urban' Māori community and local iwi? Please explain.*
- b.) *What forms of support are available to enable teachers to engage with the local 'urban' Māori community and local iwi?*
- c.) *Are these current support structures adequate? Please explain.*
- d.) *What current learning activities, involving people from the local 'urban' Māori community and local iwi work best at each year level and why?*
- e.) *Would you like local 'urban' Māori community and local iwi input into the development of future history courses in your school? Please explain.*

Closing statement: read at the conclusion of the interview:

This interview with *(state interviewees name)*, was recorded by Richard Manning on *(state date)* at *(state venue)*, and concluded at *(state time interview ends)*.

Appendix Twenty: Interview schedule for interviews with local Te Ātiawa people, including possible prompt questions.

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



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Te Ātiawa: Schedule of Interview Questions

Introduction:

The following interview questions were designed to elicit responses from Te Ātiawa participants in relation to a range of issues. ‘Open’ interview questions appear in bold font, with the interviewer’s discretionary prompts italicised below. These prompts were only used if necessary. The key objective was to generate a broad range of general information relevant to the stated research objectives, as outlined earlier in a formal proposal

Opening Introductory Statement: Read aloud just prior to the commencement of each interview:

This is a recording of an interview with *(state name of interviewee)* of Te Ātiawa. This interview is being conducted at *(state venue)* on *(state date)*. This interview has been recorded by Richard Manning in conjunction with his doctoral thesis, using a: *(state technology: e.g. brand and model of recorder and microphones)*. The interview has commenced at: *(state time interview commences)*.

Interview Questions and Prompts

- A. What is history? Te Ātiawa experiences of learning about local history in the 'Port Nicholson block'.
1. **How does your whānau record its experiences of local history, in relation to how local history was recorded at secondary school? Please explain.**
 - a.) *Was learning about your whānau and its experiences of local history different to learning history at secondary school? Please explain.*
 - b.) *Was learning about your whānau and its experiences of local history similar to learning history at secondary school? Please explain.*
 - c.) *Does your whānau use the local natural environment to record, celebrate or commemorate its experiences of local history? Please explain.*
 2. **How does your hapū record its experiences of local history, in relation to how local history was recorded at secondary school? Please explain.**
 - a.) *Was learning about your hapū and its experiences of local history different to learning history at secondary school? Please explain.*
 - b.) *Was learning about your hapū and its experiences of local history similar to learning history at secondary school? Please explain.*
 - c.) *Does your hapū use the local natural environment to record, celebrate or commemorate its experiences of local history? Please explain.*
 3. **How does Te Ātiawa record its experiences of local history, in relation to how local history was recorded at secondary school? Please explain.**
 - a.) *Was learning about Te Ātiawa and its experiences of local history different to learning history at secondary school? Please explain.*
 - b.) *Was learning about Te Ātiawa and its experiences of local history similar to learning history at secondary school? Please explain.*
 - c.) *Does Te Ātiawa use the local natural environment to record, celebrate or commemorate its experiences of local history? Please explain.*
 4. **How does your whānau share experiences of local history with each other, in relation to how local history was shared by your teachers at secondary school? Please explain.**

- a.) *Does your whānau share its experiences of local history differently to how local history was shared by your teachers? Please elaborate.*
- b.) *Does your whānau share its experiences of local history similarly to how local history was shared by your teachers? Please elaborate.*
- c.) *Does your whānau use the natural environment of the Wellington district to share its experiences of local history with the general public? Please explain.*
- 5. How does your hapū share experiences of local history with each other, in relation to how local history was shared by your teachers at secondary school? Please explain.**
- a.) *Does your hapū share its experiences of local history differently to how local history was shared by your teachers? Please elaborate.*
- b.) *Does your hapū share its experiences of local history similarly to how local history was shared by your teachers? Please explain.*
- c.) *Does your hapū use the landscape/natural environment of the Wellington district to share its experiences of local history with the general public? Please explain.*
- 6. How do members of Te Ātiawa share their tribal experiences of local history, in relation to how local history was shared by your teachers at secondary school? Please explain.**
- a.) *Does Te Ātiawa share its experiences of local history differently to how local history was shared by your teachers? Please explain.*
- b.) *Does Te Ātiawa its experiences of local history similarly to how local history was shared by your teachers? Please explain.*
- c.) *Does Te Ātiawa use the local landscape/natural environment to share its experiences of local history with the general public? Please explain.*
- B.) Course Delivery: The incorporation of Te Ātiawa knowledge and the local environment.**
- 1. In relation to other subjects taught in schools today, do you think local history is an important subject? Please explain.**
- a.) *Do you think that the history of the 'Port Nicholson block' is a unique part of New Zealand history? Please explain.*
- b.) *Do you think that the history of the 'Port Nicholson block' is an important subject for students in the Wellington district to study? Please explain.*

- 2. What topics/issues should be explored by history students in local secondary schools and why?**
- a.) *Should local historical knowledge be regarded by schools as being just as important as knowledge of the 'big picture' issues often covered in class (e.g. 'Origins of World War One', 'Tudor England' and the 'Cold War')? Please explain.*
- b.) *Do you think that history should be blended/integrated with other subjects (e.g. maths, science, geography, PE and te reo Māori) so that students can appreciate the interrelationships between local and 'big picture' issues in a holistic manner? Please explain.*
- c.) *Do you think that history is a subject that should enable students to participate in local social and environmental issues that affect their community (e.g. by researching the history/pollution of the Waiwhetū stream and/or Wellington harbour, with a view to sharing these findings with their local community, iwi and regional council)? Please explain.*
- 3. What skills should history students develop to become 'good' historians and why?**
- a.) *Are writing skills the only skills that young historians need to develop? Please explain what you consider to be important skills (e.g. oratory skills) and why.*
- b.) *Do you think that oral history skills should be taught? Please explain.*
- c.) *Are there any emerging technologies (e.g. GPS/GIS) that you feel history students should be familiar with? If so, please explain.*
- 4. Should members of the local community (with an intimate historical knowledge of place) participate in the design and teaching of history courses? Please explain.**
- a.) *How should history teachers go about gaining access to people who possess such local knowledge? Please explain.*
- b.) *What are the possible benefits of including such people in the design or teaching of history courses?*
- c.) *What are the possible risks of including such people in the design or teaching of history courses?*
- 5. Should Te Ātiawa people (with an intimate historical knowledge of place) participate in the design and teaching of New Zealand history courses? Please elaborate.**

- a.) *Have you ever been invited to share your historical knowledge with a local school, if so, which school(s) and what happened? Why? How did you feel about it?*
- b.) *What do you think all local Secondary school history teachers should know about Te Ātiawa in relation to local history and why?*

6. What do you feel are the risks for Te Ātiawa, if local secondary schools incorporate local Te Ātiawa history without direct Te Ātiawa input into the course design and delivery? Please explain.

- a.) *Would you like Te Ātiawa historians to have a 'hands-on' role in the training/retraining of local history teachers? Please explain.*
- b.) *Do you think it is important to use the local landscape/natural environment when teaching today's teachers and students about local Te Ātiawa historical experiences and current Treaty of Waitangi issues? Please explain.*

C.) Course Assessment: The incorporation of Te Ātiawa knowledge and local environment to assess learning.

1. Did the way you were tested at school differ to the ways your historical knowledge was evaluated in a tribal setting? Please explain.

- a.) *Was the emphasis placed on recalling facts (learned from textbooks) similar or different? Please explain.*
- b.) *Was the emphasis placed on written exams similar or different? Please elaborate.*
- c.) *Was the emphasis placed on the recitation of speeches, songs and poetry similar or different? Please explain.*
- d.) *Was the emphasis placed on dance at school similar or different? Please elaborate.*
- e.) *Was the emphasis placed on group activities at school similar or different? Please explain.*

2. How do you feel secondary school students should have their historical knowledge evaluated today? Please explain.

- a.) *Are you a fan of students learning predominantly from a textbook? Please explain.*
- b.) *Are you a fan of videotaped documentaries and movies being used frequently in class? Please explain and share any concerns.*
- c.) *Are you a fan of written exams as the major vehicle for evaluating students' historical knowledge base and/or their analytical skills? Please explain.*
- d.) *Do you feel that oratory skills are as important as writing skills? Please explain.*

- e.) *Should students be able to use languages other than English when having their historical knowledge tested?*
- f.) *Do you feel that performing arts skills and visual arts skills should be incorporated and recognised by schools as legitimate skills worthy of assessment by history teachers? Please explain.*
- g.) *Do you feel that working in groups should be assessed in relation to their ability to work collaboratively to analyse or re-enact historical issues/problems? Please explain.*
- h.) *Do you feel that familiarity with emerging technologies (e.g. GIS/GPS) should be assessed? Please explain.*

3. Should the local landscape and natural environment play a role in evaluating students' historical knowledge and skills? Please explain.

- a.) *Do you think that students should be able to display an ability to 'read' the landscape (e.g. to detect and analyse historical clues evident in the local landscape) as an integral part of their historical skills base?*
- b.) *Is knowledge of Te Reo Māori important for budding historians and history teachers in terms of being able to read and/or fully appreciate the local landscape? Please explain.*

4. Do you think local students should have their knowledge of local Te Ātiawa history evaluated? Please explain.

- a.) *If you believe that local students should learn about local Te Ātiawa history, what are the three most important historical facts that you believe all local secondary school students should know about Te Ātiawa in relation to the 'Port Nicholson block'?*
- b.) *If you believe that local students should learn about local Te Ātiawa history, where should such knowledge be evaluated (e.g. in school classrooms or marae, significant local landmarks, sites of local cultural/historical significance)? Please explain.*
- c.) *If you believe that local students should learn about local Te Ātiawa history, how should students' knowledge of this history be assessed? Please explain.*

D.) Course Evaluation: Incorporating Te Ātiawa perspectives and the local environment in the evaluation process.

1. **Do Te Ātiawa historians participate in the evaluation of local secondary school history courses? Why/why not?**
 - a.) *Do you have any concerns about the current status of local Te Ātiawa history in Wellington district secondary schools? Why?*
 - b.) *Do you have any concerns about the future status of local Te Ātiawa history in Wellington district secondary schools? Why?*

2. **Would you like to see Te Ātiawa historians involved in the evaluation of local secondary school history courses? Please explain.**
 - a.) *Would you like to see teachers engage with Te Ātiawa historians to ensure that local Te Ātiawa perspectives of local history are taught, and/or taught in an appropriate manner? Please explain.*
 - b.) *What **constraints** do you feel exist for Te Ātiawa in terms of being able to work closely with local history teachers, to further develop their knowledge base about local Te Ātiawa histories? Please explain.*
 - c.) *What **support** do you feel is needed to enable Te Ātiawa members, and local history teachers to come together to evaluate 'what' is being taught about local Te Ātiawa history? Please explain.*
 - d.) *How **frequently**, should this type of 'joint' evaluation occur? Please explain.*
 - e.) *Have you, personally, ever been invited to participate in and/or evaluate a local school's (history) course to ensure that the course reflects Te Ātiawa histories are accurately addressed? Please elaborate.*

3. **Would you like to see wānanga held to ensure that teachers possess adequate knowledge to teach about local Te Ātiawa historical experiences? Please explain.**
 - a.) *Do you feel that local history teachers need to improve their knowledge of local Te Ātiawa histories? Please explain.*
 - b.) *If yes to the above, should **wānanga** for teachers be held to address this matter? Please explain.*
 - c.) *If yes to the concept of wānanga, **how often** should such wānanga be held and **what** kind of educational activities would you like to see occur? Please explain.*
 - d.) *If yes to the concept of wānanga, who do you believe should **fund** such wānanga and why?*
 - e.) *If yes to the above, who should **host and/or facilitate** such wānanga and why?*

f.) *If yes to the above, should such wānanga be **compulsory** for local history teachers responsible for teaching local/New Zealand history? Please explain.*

4. **Do you feel that the local landscape and natural environment should be used to evaluate the quality of teaching about local Te Ātiawa histories of place? Please explain.**

a.) *Should the evaluation of teaching about the history of a local place occur solely in a classroom or building? Please explain.*

b.) *Should history courses that address local Te Ātiawa histories require evidence of 'hands-on' learning experiences that occur in the local environment when they are being evaluated? Please explain.*

Closing Statement: Read out at conclusion of interview.

This interview with: (state interviewee's name) was recorded by Richard Manning on: (state date) at: (state venue) and concluded at: (state time interview ends).

Appendix Twenty One: Confidentiality statement signed by the person employed to transcribe interviews recorded during the research

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



School of Education
Pūtahitanga o te Mātauranga

P O Box 600, Wellington
Ph 04 463 5070 or 04 463 5348
Fax 04 463 5349

Statement of Confidentiality

To whom it might concern.

I (*full name*), hereby agree to transcribe interviews recorded by Richard Manning in conjunction with his PhD research project. I also undertake to ensure the continued anonymity of those people interviewed during and after the research process is completed.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix Twenty Two: Letter sent to local heads of department/teachers in charge (history), inviting their participation in this research, once permission had been granted by the teachers' schools to make such an approach.

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



School of Education
Pūtahitanga o te Mātauranga

P O Box 600, Wellington
Ph 04 463 5070 or 04 463 5348
Fax 04 463 5349

Richard Manning
c/o School of Education
Victoria University of Wellington
Kelburn Parade
PO Box 600
Wellington 6015

Date: _____

Name of Head of Department
School: _____
School Address: _____

Tēnā koe: _____

My name is Richard Manning and I am a former secondary school history teacher who has taught history in secondary schools in the Wellington area. I have also trained primary and secondary teachers at Wellington College of Education, and I am now studying for a PhD at Victoria University of Wellington. I have been permitted by your school's Board of Trustees to approach you and to formally seek your permission to allow me to interview you in conjunction with my doctoral research project.

My research project involves, among other things, inviting secondary schools in the 'Port Nicholson block' (Hutt Valley/Wellington) to provide information on the extent of teaching local Te Ātiawa historical perspectives of place, particularly in relation to the

design of history course outlines, unit plans, textbooks and other teaching resources. I will also interview people identified by the Wellington Tenth Trust as key repositories of local Te Ātiawa (historical) knowledge of place. Eventually I will recommend, if necessary, ways of developing the sharing of Te Ātiawa historical knowledge within schools. A series of recommendations will be developed which will draw upon international place-based education models. This would be for the benefit of students, teachers, school communities, tribes and wider New Zealand society. I am happy to provide you with a copy of a more detailed proposal, should you request it.

Essentially, I would like your permission to spend time during the course of a week in your school (during the period 1 August – 10 December 2004) to collect research data, whenever it is mutually convenient for me to visit you and your history/social studies department. This will involve two types of information gathering. First, I would like your permission to interview you during school hours. Please note that I am willing to provide the necessary funds to your school to cover the cost of a relief teacher for the duration of this interview, and that the interview (including briefing/debriefing sessions and breaks for rest/refreshments) would total a maximum of three hours. Secondly, I would like your permission and assistance to examine (including photocopying selected extracts from):

- History and/or social studies unit plans and teaching resources available to your school's history and social studies teachers which specifically focus upon New Zealand historical subject matter, for the purpose of analysis.
- Minutes of history, social studies and social science departmental meetings for the period 1984-2004, related to the teaching of New Zealand historical content etc.
- Relevant extracts related to the development of school charter equity/Treaty of Waitangi issues, and your school's responses to the National Administration and Education Guidelines for consulting with Māori parents and communities, as recorded in the minutes of Board of Trustees' and Board of Governors' meetings during the period: 1984-2004.

I am willing to pay for all photocopying costs, and can assure you that I will conduct my research and photocopying in a manner that is not disruptive to your school's administration/teaching staff or students.

Your interview (and the wider data collection process) will be conducted in accordance with the code of ethics established by the New Zealand Association of Research in

Education (1981) and the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee. I have already invited the Board of Trustees at your school to advise me what it considers to be any hazards or inconveniences and I would invite you to do likewise. Should you choose to participate in this project, you will be asked to sign a (pre-prepared) declaration of informed consent, stating that you are satisfied with the steps that I have taken as a researcher to manage perceived hazards and/or inconveniences that you, I and your school have identified.

Although it is possible that some people might speculate about 'which' schools participated and 'who' said 'what', in relation to the research questions, I will take appropriate steps to protect the identity of your school (and other schools) via the creation of a fictitious name. Similarly, I will use a fictitious name to protect your identity and that of your colleagues. No confidential information will be provided to your employer, other interviewees, participating organisations and/or researchers. The only exception to these confidentiality provisions (above) would be where and when the kind of professional relationship between researchers (e.g. between the research supervisors: Dr Richard Hill and Mr Wally Penetito and I) clearly implies that such communication may occur.

If you agree to participate, you will retain the right to discontinue support for this project at any time. Care will be taken so that the research process does not hinder your teaching programme or that of your colleagues and/or disrupt the learning of your students. I will be happy to be flexible and fit in with your needs and those of your colleagues and the school's administration staff. In relation to the interview, please note that I am prepared to provide funds to cover the cost of employing a 'relief' teacher for a period of three hours and this will allow you to be adequately briefed, interviewed and debriefed during school time. A component of the interview process will not be covered by the provision of payment for a relief teacher and this component is the need to fill in a pre-interview questionnaire. This questionnaire has been designed to assist me to develop a profile of all the interviewees and their life experiences in relation to learning about New Zealand history.

Each interview will be transcribed by a person experienced at transcribing interviews, to whom all schools/interviewees will be unidentifiable, and who will be bound by a confidentiality agreement. To ensure that I interpret what is discussed in the interview accurately, I will be happy to provide you with a full transcript of the interview recorded, and those relevant extracts from the draft thesis (that include quotes specifically from your

interview). Eventually, you will be requested to sign a statement of verification, stating that you have received all of the above advice, and that any quotes from you that have used in the final draft of my thesis have been accurately quoted.

One year after the research process is complete, all recordings and transcripts of the interview (and photo-copied data collected in your school etc) will be destroyed in accordance with the research guidelines of the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee. On completion of the final product, a report that summarises all of the research findings and recommendations will be presented to you, your board of trustees, other interviewees, participating schools and the Wellington Tenth Trust. Like all the other participants (above) you will be advised when my completed thesis will be deposited at the Victoria University of Wellington library for storage purposes, and how the research findings will be disseminated.

If you wish to discuss this project with me, you can easily contact me by emailing me at the following address: rmanning@xtra.co.nz. You can also contact my supervisor: Dr Hill via the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, at the following email address: Richard.Hill@vuw.ac.nz. Should you wish to participate in this project (without wishing to discuss it further) please complete the declaration of informed consent (attached) and return it to me in the self-addressed and stamped envelope provided. Once I have received this statement of informed consent in the post, I will contact you directly to negotiate the timeframe for my visit and to identify a suitable date/time to conduct the interview concerned. Thank you for considering this invitation to participate in my research project, I look forward to your written reply.

Noho ora mai

Richard Manning

Appendix Twenty Three: Letter sent to Te Ātiawa people, identified by the Wellington Tenth Trust, requesting their participation in this project

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



School of Education
Pūtahitanga o te Mātauranga

P O Box 600, Wellington
Ph 04 463 5070 or 04 463 5348
Fax 04 463 5349

Richard Manning
c/o School of Education
Victoria University of Wellington
Kelburn Parade
PO Box 600
Wellington 6015

Date: _____

Name of Potential Te Ātiawa Interviewee
Address (as advised by the Wellington Tenth Trust)

Tēnā koe: _____

My name is Richard Manning and I am a former secondary school history teacher who has taught in the Wellington area. I have also trained primary and secondary teachers at Wellington College of Education. I am now studying for a PhD under the supervision of Dr Richard Hill and Mr Wally Penetito at Victoria University of Wellington. As you are probably already aware, I have been referred to you by the Wellington Tenth Trust, and I am writing to you to formally invite you to participate in my research project.

I will be interviewing Heads of Department (history) in a number of secondary schools and I also wish to interview up to ten people identified by the Wellington Tenth Trust as key repositories of local Te Ātiawa historical knowledge of place, and you are one of the people I would like to interview. Ultimately, I wish to ascertain what you believe local

secondary school history students should be taught about Te Ātiawa experiences of history in the 'Port Nicholson block'. Eventually, a series of recommendations will be developed, which will draw upon both the information I have gathered and international place-based education models. This will be for the benefit of local students, school communities, local tribes and wider New Zealand society. I am happy to provide you with a more detailed research proposal, should you request it. Primarily, I would like your written permission to interview you during the period August-December 2004.

Please note that I am willing to interview you at a place and time during this period that is mutually convenient, and that I am willing to offer you koha (e.g. in the form of \$130.00 worth of grocery and/or petrol vouchers) as a small gesture of reciprocity in exchange for the time that you spend with me. The interview (including briefing/debriefing sessions and breaks for rest/refreshments) would total a maximum of three hours. I can assure you that your interview (and the wider data collection and analysis process) will be conducted in strict accordance with the code of ethics developed by the New Zealand Association of Research in Education (1981) and the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee.

I have already invited the Wellington Tenth Trust to advise me what it considers research hazards or inconveniences from its perspective, and I would now invite you to do likewise. Consequently, should you choose to participate in this project, you will be required to sign the (pre-prepared) declaration of informed consent (attached) stating that you have been advised (prior to your interview) of any hazards or inconveniences that participation may involve (e.g. such as potential speculation about 'who' said 'what') and that you are satisfied with the steps I have taken as a researcher to manage the potential hazards and/or inconveniences that you and I, have identified.

Although it is possible that some people might speculate about 'who' said 'what', in response to the research questions, I will take appropriate steps to ensure your confidentiality and that of all other participants and participating organisations. No confidential information that you share with me will be provided to the Wellington Tenth Trust, to other interviewees and/or to other participating organisations and/or researchers. The only exception to these confidentiality provisions would be where and when the kind of professional relationship between researchers (e.g. between the research supervisors: Dr Richard Hill and Mr Wally Penetito and I) clearly implies that such communication may occur. If you agree to participate, you will retain the right to discontinue support for this

project at any time. Care will be taken so that the research process does not hinder your work or private life, and I will be happy to be flexible and fit in with your needs.

A component of this interview process will need you to complete a pre-interview questionnaire. This questionnaire has been designed to assist me to develop a profile of all the interviewees and their life experiences in relation to learning about New Zealand history. Each interview will be transcribed by a person experienced at transcribing interviews, to whom all schools and interviewees will be unidentifiable, and who will be bound by a confidentiality agreement. To ensure that I do interpret what is discussed in the interview accurately, I am happy to provide you with a full transcript of the interview recorded, and extracts from the draft thesis that include quotes specifically from your interview. Eventually, you will be requested to sign a statement of verification, stating that you have received all of the above advice, and that any quotes used in the final draft of my thesis have been accurately quoted.

As part of my verification process, I propose to invite people to participate in an Iwi Reference Group, consisting of individuals nominated by all claimant groupings, with an interest in the 'Port Nicholson block'. The objective of this group is to enable claimant groups to verify the accuracy of my interpretation of their perspectives on the 'Port Nicholson block'.

One year after the completion of the research process, all recordings and transcripts of the interview will be destroyed in accordance with the research guidelines of the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee. On completion of the final product, a report that summarises all of the research findings and recommendations will be presented to you, and all other participants/participating organisations. Like all the other participants, you will be advised when my completed thesis will be deposited at the Victoria University of Wellington library for storage purposes, and how the research findings will be disseminated.

If you wish to discuss this project with me, you can easily contact me by emailing me at the following email address: rmanning@xtra.co.nz. Additionally, Dr Richard Hill, will be available to respond to any questions that you might have. You can contact Dr Hill via the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, by emailing him at the following email address: Richard.Hill@vuw.ac.nz. Should you wish to participate in this project (without wishing to discuss it further), please complete the

declaration of informed consent (attached) and return it to me in the self-addressed and stamped envelope provided. Once I have received this statement of informed consent, I will contact you directly to negotiate a date, time and venue to conduct the interview concerned.

Thank you for considering this invitation to participate in my research project, I look forward to your reply.

Noho ora mai

Richard Manning

Appendix Twenty Four: Declaration of informed consent, completed by all interviewees prior to their participation in the project

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui



School of Education
Pūtahitanga o te Mātauranga

P O Box 600, Wellington
Ph 04 463 5070 or 04 463 5348
Fax 04 463 5349

Declaration of Informed Consent

To whom it may concern,

I give permission to Richard Manning to interview me as part of his doctoral research project and I agree to complete a pre-interview questionnaire prior to the interview, and to participate in the verification process as requested by Richard. I have been made fully aware of any hazards and/or inconveniences that my participation in this project may involve and I have advised Richard of any hazards or inconveniences from my perspective. I am satisfied that these hazards and/or inconveniences identified by Richard and I, will be managed in a manner that adheres to the code of ethics established by the New Zealand Association for Research in Education (1981) and the research guidelines developed by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee. I am also aware that I may withdraw my participation from this project at any stage of the research, should I choose to do so.

Name: _____

Signed: _____

Dated: _____

Appendix Twenty Five: Interviewees' statement of verification sent to all interviewees with copies of interview transcripts, relevant questions and quotations from their interviews (in relation to specific questions)

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
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School of Education
Pūtahitanga o te Mātauranga

P O Box 600, Wellington
Ph 04 463 5070 or 04 463 5348
Fax 04 463 5349

Statement of Verification

To whom it might concern.

I (*full name*), hereby acknowledge that the transcript of my interview, provided to me, is an accurate interpretation of an interview between Richard Manning and I, which was recorded by Richard Manning at:

Venue: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

I accept that I have been provided adequate opportunity to participate in the research verification process, and I also acknowledge that quotes from this interview, which appear in Richard Manning's PhD thesis, have been accurately quoted.

Signed: _____

Dated: _____

Appendix Twenty Six: Table 3, displaying year 9 social studies topics taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005)

Topic*	Decile			Total (n=24)
	1-5	6-8	9-10	
Systems of Government	5	4	9	18 (75%)
Pacific Island Communities	5	2	5	12 (50%)
Conservation	1	1	5	7 (30%)
New Zealand Migration Case Studies (Including Māori origins)	1	3	3	7 (30%)
New Zealand Migration Case Studies (Excluding Māori origins)	2	2	2	6 (25%)
New Zealand Identity	1	2	3	6 (25%)
Māori Origins	2	2	1	5 (21%)
Work and Employment	0	2	2	4 (17%)
Ancient Civilizations	4	0	0	4 (17%)
Local Community Heritage Studies	1	0	2	3 (13%)
Treaty of Waitangi	3	0	0	3 (13%)
International Migration Case Studies	1	1	1	3 (13%)
Geography: New Zealand Case Studies	0	0	2	2 (9%)
Human Rights	1	0	1	2 (9%)
Ancient Rome	0	0	2	2 (9%)
The Sixties	0	0	2	2 (9%)
Asia in Relation to New Zealand	1	0	1	2 (9%)

* The following topics were only taught in one school each. These schools fell in the Decile 9-10 range: New Zealand Geography, Human Rights, Asia in Relation to New Zealand, Making of Multicultural Australia, ANZAC/Battle of Gallipoli (New Zealand identity case study), Australia, World Sport, Germany, America, Geographical Skills Unit, Tourism, Trade, The Middle Ages, The Twentieth Century, Rich World/Poor World and Conflict.

Appendix Twenty Seven: Table 4, displaying year 10 social studies topics taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005)

Topic*	Decile			Total (n=24)
	1-5	6-8	9-10	
Human Rights	4	6	9	19 (79%)
Treaty of Waitangi	2	5	8	15 (63%)
Work/Employment/Careers	4	4	5	13 (54%)
Migration/Mobility Case Studies (American Wild West, Refugees etc)	3	3	2	8 (33%)
Conservation/Sustainability Issues (Global/National Case Studies)	4	2	2	8 (33%)
Systems of Government (New Zealand, Nazi State, China etc)	3	0	1	4 (17%)
Asia/SE Asia: Developing Nations	1	1	1	3 (13%)
Tourism	2	0	0	2 (8%)
Ancient Rome	0	0	2	2 (8%)
Technology	0	1	1	2 (8%)
Changing role of Women (NZ and International Case Studies)	0	0	2	2 (8%)
Crises and Challenges: Case study of New Zealand during WWII	0	1	2	2 (8%)
Crises and Challenges: Natural Hazards and political crises (e.g. NZ in WWII)	1	1	0	2 (8%)

* The following topics were taught in one school each and most of these schools were in the Decile 9-10 range: New Zealanders at war, Citizenship (New Zealand identity), Middle Ages, Social Studies Skills, Later Migrants (Case Studies of migration to New Zealand in the Twentieth Century), 1918 Influenza Epidemic (New Zealand Crises and Challenges), Rugby: new Zealand National identity, 'Open Topic' (Teacher's discretion), World Religions, You and the Law (Human Rights), Leadership, School heritage studies, One Port Many People: Wellington Colonial Heritage Study, Taiwi: Colonial Settlers in New Zealand, Origins of Māori Society.

Appendix Twenty Eight: Table 5, displaying Year 9 history topics taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005)

Topic*	Decile			Total (n=24)
	1-5	6-8	9-10	
Ancient Civilisations	0	3	1	4 (17 %)
Pre-History	0	0	1	1 (4%)
Early Man	0	1	0	1 (4%)
The Holocaust	0	0	1	1 (4%)
The American West	0	0	1	1 (4%)
Heroes and Heroines	0	0	1	1 (4%)
The Middle Ages	0	0	1	1 (4%)
Rugby and New Zealand Identity	0	0	1	1 (4%)

Appendix Twenty Nine: Table 6, displaying Year 10 history topics taught in Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005)

Topic*	Decile			Total (n=24)
	1-5	6-8	9-10	
Ancient Societies	0	2	1	3 (13%)
The American Revolution	0	1	2	3 (13%)
New Zealand and World War II	0	2	1	3 (13%)
Tudor/Stuart England	0	2	0	2 (8%)
Henry VII – Charles 1 st and the English Civil War	1	2	0	2(8%)
The Middle Ages	0	1	1	2 (8%)
The Age of Exploration and Discovery (European)	0	1	1	2 (8%)
Hitler/Nazi Germany	1	0	1	2 (8%)
The French Revolution	0	1	1	2 (8%)
The Industrial Revolution	0	1	1	2 (8%)
Revolution: The USSR (1917-57)	1	0	1	2 (8%)
The Chinese Revolution	0	1	1	2 (8%)
Local Wellington/Hutt Valley Histories (Some Māori content)	0	1	1	2 (8%)

* The following topics (mostly focused on New Zealand) were taught in one school each. Most of these schools, in turn, were located in the Decile 9-10 range: New Zealand and World War One, Gallipoli and the ANZAC Tradition (New Zealand Identity), Rugby and New Zealand's national identity, Amazing British Monarchs, The Dark Ages, The Reformation, Systems of Government, Women's History (Global), Vietnam Conflict (1963-75), Portraits: Art as Propaganda, America since 1776, The American West, The Glorious Revolution, Mughal/British India, The Sexual Revolution (New Zealand Women's history) and *Māori Resistance to Pākehā Expansion in the Wellington District*.

Appendix Thirty: Table 7, displaying NCEA level 1 history topics taught in schools surveyed by the NZHTA and schools surveyed in the Port Nicholson Block (2005)

Topic	NZHTA Survey (%) (n=126)	Port Nicholson Block (%) (n=24)
Origins of World War II (1919-1941)	93	96
New Zealand's Search for Security (1945-85)	75	75
Black Civil Rights in the USA (1954-85)	62	54
Ireland (1909-1922)	40	42
Revolutionary Leadership: USSR (1924-1957)	24	21
New Zealand Māori and Pākehā (1912-1980)	23	29
Palestine/Israel (1935-67)	21	33
Race relations in South Africa (1938-1976)	11	17
Social Change: Women's Impact on New Zealand Society, Health (1915-85)	10	21
Social Welfare: New Zealand (1891-1980)	4	0
The Place of the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand Society (1975-85)	2	0
China (1921-49)	2	4

Appendix Thirty One: Table 8, displaying NCEA level 1 history topics taught by Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005)

Topic*	Decile			Total (n=24)
	1-5	6-8	9-10	
Origins of World War II (1919-1941)	5	6	12	23 (96%)
New Zealand's Search for Security (1945-1985)	5	3	10	18 (75%)
Black Civil Rights in the USA (1954-1985)	4	5	4	13 (54%)
Ireland (1909-1922)	2	0	8	10 (42%)
Palestine/Israel (1935-67)	1	1	6	8 (33%)
Race Relations: New Zealand Māori and Pākehā (1912-1980)	4	0	3	7 (29%)
Social Change: Women's Impact on New Zealand Society: Health (1915-1985)	0	3	2	5 (21%)
Revolutionary Leadership: USSR (1924-1957)	4	0	3	7 (29%)
Race relations in South Africa (1938-1976)	0	1	3	4 (17%)
Revolutionary Leadership: China (1921-49)	1	0	0	1 (4%)
The Place of the Treaty of Waitangi in New Zealand Society (1975-85)	0	0	0	0 (0%)

Appendix Thirty Two: Table 9, displaying NCEA Level 2 history topics taught by schools surveyed by the NZHTA and schools surveyed in the Port Nicholson Block (2005)

Topic	NZHTA Survey (%) (n=126)	Port Nicholson Block (%) (n=24)
Vietnam and the Conflict in Indo-China 1945–75	75	75
Origins of World War One	60	67
Revolution in Russia	55	63
The Weimar Republic and the Nazi State	32	29
The Search for Security in the Nuclear Age (Cold War)	22	29
Gandhi and his Contribution to the Independence of India	19	8
The American Revolution and the Making of the Republic (1774–1791)	8	8
Māori Leadership in the Nineteenth Century	7	13
The Growth of New Zealand Identity (1890–1980)	6	0
Participation of Women in the Emerging British Democratic System	3	0
The Unification of Italy	3	0
The European States System (1815–1856)	3	8
New States in the South Pacific (Western Samoan/NZ) 2	2	8
Small Power Conflict since 1945	2	4
The First Industrial Society: Britain (1930–1870)	2	0
Bismark and the Creation and Consolidation of the German State	1	4
Women, Family and Work in New Zealand (1880-1960)	1	4

Appendix Thirty Three: Table 10, displaying NCEA level 2 history topics taught by Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005)

Topic*	Decile			Total (n=24)
	1-5	6-8	9-10	
Vietnam and the Conflict in Indo-China (1945-75)	5	4	9	18 (75%)
Origins of World War One	3	2	11	16 (67%)
Revolution in Russia	3	6	6	15 (63%)
The Weimar Republic and the Nazi State	2	1	4	7 (29%)
The Search for Security in the Nuclear Age (Cold War)	1	1	5	7 (29%)
Māori Leadership in the Nineteenth Century	1	1	1	3 (13%)
Gandhi and His Contribution to the Independence of India	1	1	0	2 (8%)
The American Revolution and the Making of the Republic (1774-1791)	0	0	2	2 (8%)
The European States System (1815-1856)	0	0	2	2 (8%)
New States in the South Pacific (Western Samoa/NZ)	1	0	1	2 (8%)
Bismark and the Creation and Consolidation of the German State	0	1	0	1 (4%)
Women, Family and Work in New Zealand (1880-1960)	1	0	0	1 (4%)

Appendix Thirty Four: Table 11, displaying NCEA level 3 history topics taught in schools surveyed by the NZHTA and schools surveyed in the Port Nicholson Block (2005)

Topic	NZHTA Survey (%) (n=126)	Port Nicholson Block (%) (n=24)
Tudor–Stuart England (1558-1667)	58	46
Nineteenth Century New Zealand	34	46
Schools offering students a choice of topic (.e.g. class vote)	8	8

* It should be noted that two of the Port Nicholson Block schools surveyed did offer the New Zealand option, but internal school surveys indicate that student numbers dropped as a result of student antipathy toward the Māori and Treaty content covered by this course.

Appendix Thirty Five: Table 12, displaying NCEA level 3 history topics taught by Port Nicholson Block secondary schools (2005)

Topic*	Decile			Total (n=22*)
	1-5	6-8	9-10	
Nineteenth Century New Zealand*	3	2	5	10 (45.5%)
Tudor-Stuart England (1558-1667)**	1	3	6	10 (45.5%)
Schools offering students a choice of topic (e.g. class vote scenario)***	0	0	2	2 (9%)

* Another two schools did offer the New Zealand option, but internal school surveys indicate that student numbers have dropped as a result of student antipathy toward Māori and Treaty content covered by this course.

**The teachers who contacted me were aware of my research objectives and none of them advised me that any of their students had undertaken any special studies that addressed local tribal histories of place.

***One of the schools that offered both options has done so for the last 15-20 years (approximately). However, the evidence provided by one Te Ātiawa interviewee would suggest that even when his class did elect the New Zealand option, their vote was overruled by the teacher concerned. Having taught in this school, the time Interviewee Four was a student, I accept his account of what happened. I have also met classmates of Interviewee Four, previously, who confirmed his account. Of further interest, a teacher participant from the other school offering a class vote advised me that although her school does offer Year 13 students the chance to 'vote' for which option will be delivered, the majority of students (who are Pākehā), vote against the New Zealand option because they view it as a course about 'Māori' or 'Treaty' History.

Appendix Thirty Six: 'Road of Progress': A photograph (ca. 1928) of a timeline illustrating classic cultural biases in a teacher's visual presentation of New Zealand history

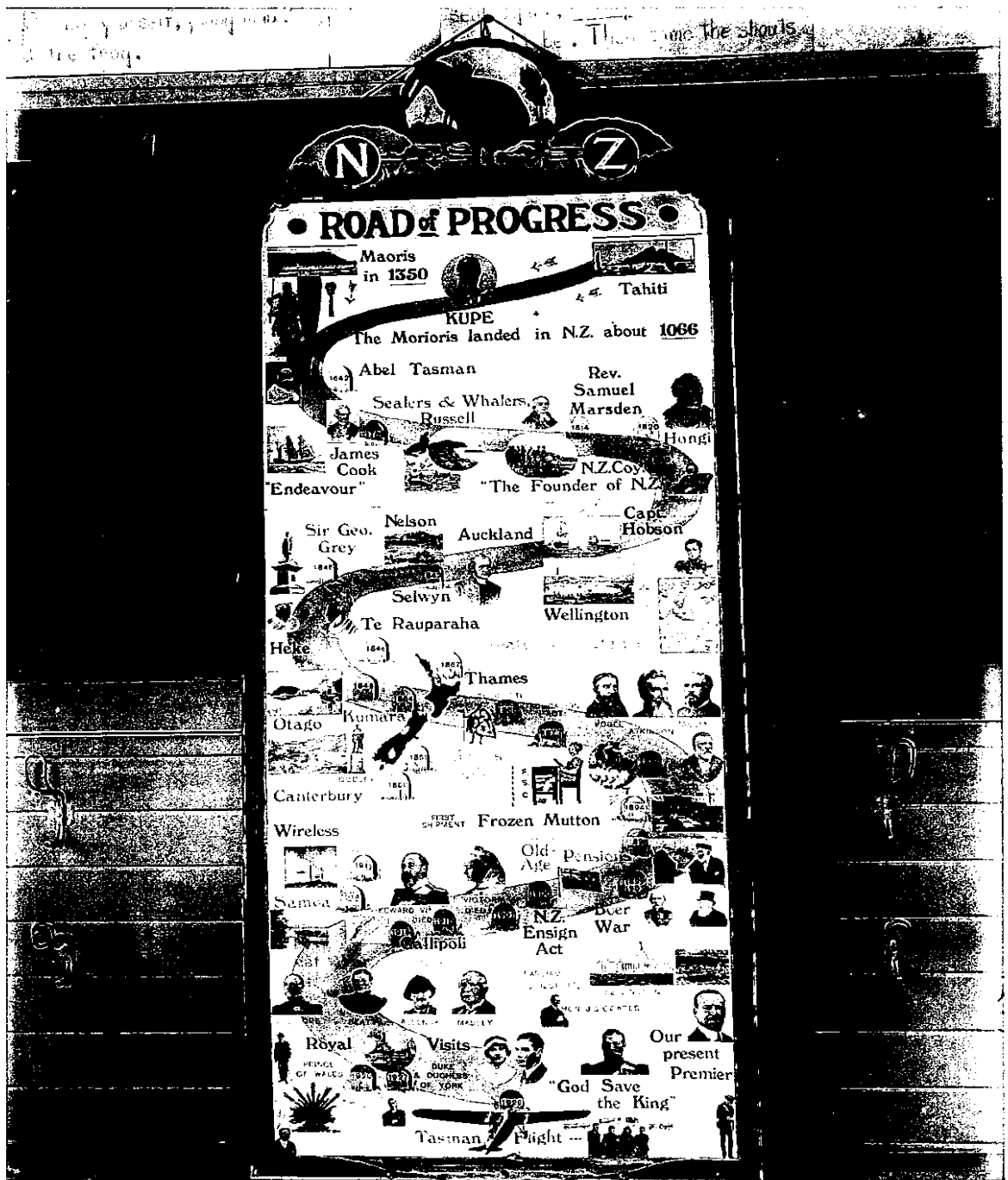


Figure 3.0. Photo of a framed timeline of New Zealand history, hanging on a school wall (ca. 1928). Titled 'NZ Road to Progress' this timeline follows a curving line downwards, from top to bottom, and includes pictures and milestones to mark important dates. Reproduced with the permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL G-11490-1/1).

Appendix Thirty Seven: The view inside a hīnaki.

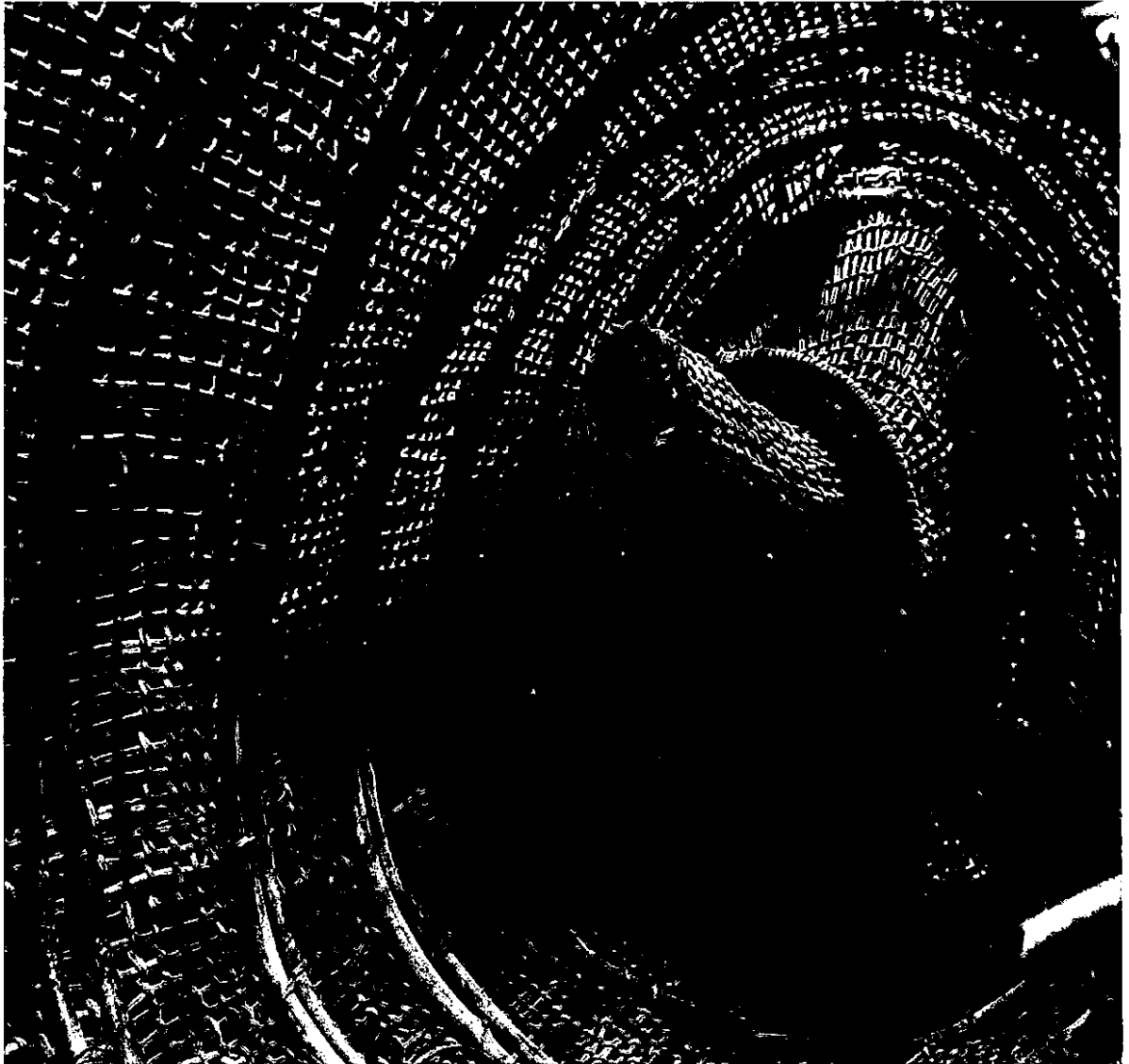


Figure 3.1. Photo depicting the inside of a hīnaki. Viewed from the inside, this photo depicts the internal aka (supplejack vine) hoops/ribs and intricately woven netting that I have metaphorically likened to the institutional (rigid) cultures of many New Zealand secondary schools. Tuna enter the hīnaki via the internal spout, see centre. Reproduced with the permission of the Otago Museum (OM: D67.2883).

Appendix Thirty Eight: Peter Buck/Te Rangihiroa studying Paratene Ngata making a hīnaki (ca 1922).



Fig. 3.2. Photo of Peter Buck/Te Rangihiroa studying Paratene Ngata making a hīnaki (circa 1922). Photographer unidentified. Part of the Ramsden Collection. Reproduced with the permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL: PAColl-0546).

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