

Maori Research Methods and Processes:
An exploration and discussion.

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Introduction

At a time when Maori people are striving to attain an equal footing with others in the wider community, education is being highlighted as a crucial area for Maori to succeed in. Maori teachers are making important contributions in Maori education, and are, therefore, key personnel in this drive.

In recent years some areas of Maori education have been well researched, indeed many Maori commentators believe over researched. One area that has been neglected, however, is the conditions of work that Maori teachers experience. Of particular interest to me is the socialisation process new Maori teachers experience as they become full professionals. However, only three studies have collected material on Maori beginning teachers (Battersby, 1980; Battersby, 1987a; Kerr, 1982); the total number of Maori teachers included in the studies is nineteen; and the studies were undertaken with primary school teachers. No major study has concentrated solely on beginning Maori teachers. No major study has been published about the work experiences of beginning Maori secondary school teachers.

This study has been designed to respond to both these gaps in the research on Maori education. Since December, 1988, I have been engaged in my doctoral research, A Study of the Socialisation Process of First Year Maori Secondary School Teachers into the Teaching Profession. The study aims to record and analyse the main experiences and issues that have emerged from the first three years of teaching for these teachers. Since July of 1990 I have been negotiating with the teachers and their whanau about the research. I have made contact with 39 teachers: 21 women, 18 men; 25 Te Atakura teachers, 14 Div A, B or C graduates; 30 are teaching in the North Island, 9 in the South Island. The teachers are all Maori, as identified by their college of training and confirmed by the teachers through self identification. As a group they: cover a wide range of ages; have

experienced a diverse range of teacher training programmes, including Te Atakura, a secondary teacher training programme which involves a process of attestation whereby Maori language and culture is recognised and validated to the level of degree equivalency as an entry credential to teacher training; teach Maori and or a range of other subjects; and work in a wide range of school types including urban and rural locations, single sex and co- educational schools located throughout the country.

The teachers were all first year secondary teachers in 1990 and will be interviewed about: their backgrounds and upbringing; experiences of formal schooling; careers prior to teacher training; their choice of teacher training programme and subsequent evaluations of this; their choice of first placements and related issues; their description and analysis of their first three years of teaching, the initial stage of their socialisation process that I am interested in.

I chose teachers beginning their careers in 1990 for a very special reason: it was the year Aotearoa observed the 150 year anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Media hype, government celebration mode reigned supreme during this year. It was, therefore, an a typical time of awareness over Maori issues for our country. It was in this climate that these teachers entered their profession. Interviewing these teachers in the first term of 1993 will enable them to reflect on what happened in 1991, 1992, when the hype died down!

By interviewing the teachers I am relying on their accounts alone. This approach is not unproblematic. It seemed to me, however, to be less problematic than entering the arena of cross cultural observation and analysis which would have resulted from interviewing senior teachers in the school about the teachers socialisation experiences. Very few Maori teachers hold senior positions in secondary schools in New Zealand. I would therefore in all probability have been asking Pakeha senior teachers to comment on Maori colleagues. The risk with this was entering the whole arena of people 'talking past each other' that Metge and Kinloch (1978) have so clearly identified as a consequence of people from different cultures not communicating effectively across those cultures. It was a risk

I was not prepared to take. I am working with a large group of teachers, across the country. It is the the patterns of experience and issues that I am interested in, not minutia. Further, given the format that has emerged about the protocol of the interviews, the teachers have asked that family members and Maori colleagues be allowed to attend, that is that the interviews be group interviews in many cases. This will allow for senior Maori colleagues to be part of a process which takes its protocol from a cultural base.

In making first contact I wrote to the teachers outlining the research and its nature, introducing my family and myself, and outlining the next stage of a process of negotiation that was designed specifically for this study. I developed a network of Maori educators in each community where there was a Maori beginning teacher, who made personal contact, and brought us all together under the mantle of tikanga Maori, at a hui organised to discuss the research. At this hui the research was outlined. Responses about the

research were invited from those gathered, I wanted to know if the communities thought the research should be done. Teachers were invited to consider becoming part of the research.

Choosing this topic was a critical career decision for me to make. When the time came, the decision was made in an instant, and guided most strongly by intuition. Late in 1987 a colleague at the time, Dr David Battersby, offered me a paper to read entitled 'Cultural Difference and the Beginning Teacher'. I took it home that night, read it, was enthralled by the central thesis proposed and immediately enthused by it. It was a powerful, affirming process to have my experiences as a first year teacher validated and considered worthy of research. The paper took me back to 1979, when I was a first year Maori primary school teacher, experiencing and learning to cope with the socialisation process that I met. I placed the paper in a large white envelope and wrote on the top: phd topic! In that paper I recognised: my own experiences as a beginning Maori primary school teacher and those of many family members who are also teachers; an important research topic in Maori education, with little existing research to build on; and an exciting empirical base from which to illuminate a theory of Maori education. The combination was intoxicating. Having progressed through a slow and deliberate path of development as an academic to reach the decision to undertake the phd degree, and to the careful consideration of what my research topic might be, the possibilities of the thesis in Battersby's (1987b) paper presented itself. Late in 1987 a colleague, Dr David Battersby, offered me a paper to read that he had just finished writing. It was entitled 'Cultural Difference and the Beginning Teacher'. I took it home that night, read it, was enthralled by the central thesis proposed and immediately enthused by it. It was a powerful, affirming process to have my experiences as a first year teacher validated and considered worthy of research. The paper took me back to 1979, when I was a first year Maori primary school teacher, experiencing and learning to cope with the socialisation process that I met. I placed the paper in a large white envelope and wrote on the top: phd topic! In that paper I recognised: my own experiences as a beginning teacher; an important research topic in Maori education, with little existing research to build on; and an exciting empirical base from which to illuminate a theory of Maori education. The combination was almost intoxicating. I was hooked. Having progressed through a slow and deliberate path of development as an academic to reach the decision to undertake the phd degree, and to the careful consideration of what my research topic might be, the possibilities of the thesis in Battersby's (1987b) paper presented themselves as a logical topic for me which was timely and critical to future developments in Maori education.

The qualifications of finding a topic which was both timely and critical are highly relevant to the choice of my topic, and are in need of further elaboration. Maori phd candidates, proposing to undertake research in Maori education, now enter the field knowing that the Maori community virtually holds the academic and research community in contempt, as a direct result of their experience of the research enterprise. Maori academics occupy a middle ground as members of both communities, simultaneously. When we enter the research field the sins, literally, of previous researchers are visited

on us in very clear terms. The task we face of being credible as Maori

researchers, to both the Maori and research communities, in ways which both validate, is a daunting one. The choice of topic, then, its timeliness and the contribution that it will make to the Maori community, beyond the individual researcher gaining personal accolades, are keenly scrutinised. This point may not be fully grasped by tauwiwi who read this, or some Maori for that matter. Part of the thesis will be a written account of some of the processes that I have encountered during this study as a significant part of the research process necessary to complete it. Usually such detained accounts of the research process are left out of the final text. Remaining untold, the final versions of many phd's are incomplete documents. If this phd is to make a contribution to our understanding of research in the Maori community, then this section will be a critical inclusion. It may not always make for comfortable reading, but that is as it should be. Maori have endured much in the name of research and scholarship little of it comfortable, and the truth is that I will have endured little comfort in its experience!

From the outset, this research has engaged in a research and scholarship enterprise which is Maori. This paper explores what this means in the context of the early stages of this research. Two major aspects of what this means in the context of this study are explored in full: first, a critical discussion of what constitutes 'the education system' in New Zealand that the teachers are being socialised into; second, an analysis of the research process and methods developed from the stage of choosing a phd research topic to negotiating entry into the field.

A significant feature of the design is that kaupapa Maori forms the epistemological base of the research project. The introduction to the study has explored an area of central importance to this research, namely, the question of what counts as Maori education and what relationship this has to Maori schooling. Drawing on the growing body of literature which addresses this debate, and locating this in a historical context, an attempt has been made to represent what is termed 'the Maori education system', 'the formal schooling system' and 'the New Zealand education system'.

The development of all the normal features of research design and the research process, viz, negotiating entry to the field, designing and confirming the research questions, methods of data collection and analysis, designing and confirming the research timetable, developing a writing style which will communicate effectively to the diverse audience for which the final report will be prepared, have been informed by kaupapa Maori.

Throughout the project I have attempted to document the research process developed so that it becomes a legitimate part of the final report, able to be critically analysed by the research and Maori communities.

The Research

In New Zealand although a number of studies on the socialisation of beginning teachers have been undertaken (Ennis, 1972; Doyle, 1975; Battersby, 1980; Kerr, 1982 and Battersby, 1987a) only the two studies by Battersby and Kerr collected data on ethnicity which enabled a study of the

socialisation of beginning Maori teachers, as a distinct ethnic minority group, to be made. Neither Doyle (1975) nor Ennis (1972) identified ethnicity as a factor in their study of teacher socialisation. From an analysis of the experiences of first year Maori teachers (Battersby 1980, 1987a; Kerr, 1982) Battersby identified that their induction into teaching appeared to be significantly different from that of their Pakeha counterparts. He argued that two distinct processes of induction were operating. The first was a process which all new teachers experienced: as year one teachers they were being socialised into the teaching profession. The second was a process experienced only by Maori teachers: as Maori teachers they were being simultaneously subject to a process of acculturation into the dominant cultural group in New Zealand society, Pakeha culture. The limited evidence available for analysis from these studies gave support to the thesis that cultural difference can impact on the socialisation process (Battersby, 1987b: 5). He argued that: existing theories and models about the processes of becoming a teacher and of teacher socialisation are invariably 'acultural' in that they do not explicitly take account of possible influences of cultural differences upon these processes. (1987b: 1)

and he called for theory and research which addressed these issues (1987b:3).

The thesis Battersby was advancing was drawn from data on 19 teachers: 3 in his 1980 study; 4 in his 1987 study; and 12 in Kerr's 1982 study. There is little research on the professional conditions or experiences of Maori teachers. Further, the socialisation process of beginning Maori teachers is one aspect of this area about which so little was known that Battersby could not be decisive in the conclusions to his paper for lack of data. Indeed, in the case of Maori teachers, this work has yet to be undertaken in a major study of this kind. This study was designed to provide a national study of Maori teachers in which Battersby's thesis could be explored.

The sample

The sample comprises secondary school teachers who taught for their first year as full professionals in 1990. At the outset my supervisors advised me that the sample size was critical in a study of this kind. I was advised that I would need to include a group of between thirty and forty teachers in order for the study to have validity. Originally, because of family and work commitments, I intended to include teachers who lived within a two hundred mile radius around my home area, in the belief that there would be enough teachers in this region to constitute the sample size necessary. My initial research, however, revealed that in 1991 there were only 39 first year Maori secondary school teachers in the whole country, as identified by their college of training, and confirmed through self identification. Because of this small national number the study became, of necessity, a national study. This was a staggering initial finding and my supervisors and I spent some time discussing the magnitude of the task facing Maori secondary school teachers if so few were joining when there was so much to be done.

Indeed, further research revealed that the figures that I was given as a response to my initial inquiries were wrong. Forbes et al (1991) reported that there were some 51 first year Maori secondary school teachers in 1990. The only explanation that I can offer for this is that the Colleges of Education responded to two inquiries, mine and that which elicited the data cited by Forbes et al (op cit), differently. By the time Forbes et al had released their research I was well into the negotiation process of my research. I made a decision, supported by my supervisors, not to pursue any more teachers. If I could negotiate consent to participate with the thirty nine Maori teachers originally identified, particularly as this now constituted travelling throughout the country undertaking a national study, this sample would more than suffice.

Undertaking this study with a national sample has presented both positive and negative benefits. On the positive side the study has the potential to be more authoritative given the comprehensive nature of the group involved. The teachers are spread, literally, through `nga hau e wha', the four winds. On the negative side, this highlights one of the major practical difficulties of the study: the logistics of it are highly complex, demanding and expensive. In total, including the initial contact hui and the subsequent trips that I plan to make to interview those who join the study, I will travel the length and breadth of New Zealand at least twice, perhaps three times, in the space of four years.

The teachers in this study move through a diverse educational context which includes their experiences at school as well as their involvement in a complex web of educational programmes and activities located outside of the school. The whanau, hapu, iwi, marae, for example, are four contexts outside the school, in which the teachers could be playing central roles. Further, the roles here could well be in contradictory to their roles at school. This study, therefore, as an a priori task, needed to identify what the nature of this educational diversity was before it sought to analyse the socialisation experiences of the teachers within it.

The education system into which the teachers in this study are being socialised

The teachers in this study move through a diverse educational context which includes their experiences at school as well as their involvement in a complex web of educational programmes located outside of the school. This study, therefore, needed to identify and explore what the nature of this

diversity was before it sought to analyse the socialisation experiences of the Maori teachers within it.

Contemporary analyses of education in Aotearoa commonly take as their starting point the education system that developed after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, in 1840, ignoring, rendering invisible and dismissing out of hand the complex, vibrant Maori education system which served Maori very well prior to the arrival of tauwi, and which exists, in modified form, to this very day. In the Maori tradition education was, to modify a phrase by leading Maori educationist Wally Penitito, `by Maori, for Maori, about being Maori and in Maori' (1988). Maori development was its vision, its educational processes and its measurable outputs. It is in this

education system that the most exciting and successful developments in Maori education today are based. It is also in this education system, perhaps not surprisingly, that 'tino rangatiratanga' for Maori has always been, and still is, guaranteed.

Under Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi Maori were guaranteed tino rangatiratanga over their treasures. The Tainui Education Strategy Second Report 1992 - 1997 (1991) argues that 'those treasures included the education of their children'. When this guarantee is considered alongside that guaranteed in Article III, 'the rights of all citizens of New Zealand, including the right to equitable educational opportunities' Maori rights to education in both the Maori and subsequent New Zealand tradition, were guaranteed by the Treaty. Rather than being able to access two education systems equally well, it seems that too many Maori have experienced education unevenly, with varying degrees of success. Not only did colonisation undermine the ability of the Maori education system to operate in Maori society it also gradually influenced the way some Maori came to perceive their own system as well.

The New Zealand Education System, based on the western tradition, is substantially a post 1840 paradigm, in which education for Maori was an entirely different enterprise than that which preceded the arrival of tauwiwi: very different goals, processes and, understandably, different outcomes, some not even worth measuring! At the heart of the assertion that we have two education systems lies a major philosophical debate over what counts as education. We are in danger of losing sight of what counts as education, broadly defined, and becoming obsessed with schooling. Far too many people reduce 'education' to schooling, without even taking pause. Apart from the impact of this on the education community, such a limited view has far more serious implications for Maori education. Whereas research shows that mainstream schooling serves Maori poorly, research shows that Maori schooling serves Maori very well; whereas education has been unable to successfully validate matauranga Maori, leaving it marginalised and in a precarious state; Maori education, is alive and well, in some sectors of the Maori community!

There is a Maori educational system which predates the New Zealand education system. As a feature of colonisation, the Maori educational tradition has been written out of education in this country. But decolonisation or anti racist education on its own is not enough to bring about the kind of educational change necessary for Maori. As important as any programmes of decolonisation or anti racist education are it is in the reaffirmation and reconstruction of matauranga Maori that many of the answers to long standing concerns in Maori education are to be found. The most successful innovations in Maori education in the last decade, for example the Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori movements, have been based in the Maori educational tradition.

Maori education, broadly defined, is happening mainly outside of schools: as it always has, in whanau, hapu, iwi, waka and marae based community contexts. Here, children attend hui of a wide range including family celebrations such as weddings, birthdays, and family reunions; tangi and unveilings; political meetings such as those related to iwi affairs; cultural and educational programmes such as iwi wananga. Far from the reach

of the state, these activities provide powerful Maori contexts for learning to occur. As well as taking part in these programmes of Maori education, Maori children also take part in formal schooling between the ages of 6 and 16, as the law requires them to. In time, Maori education is bound to have a more substantial impact on Maori in mainstream schooling than it is

already having.

Te kakano i ruia mai i a Rangiatea,
kua kore e ngaro.

The seed planted in Rangiatea will never be lost.

How then would we describe matauranga Maori, the Maori education system. How would we develop a model to represent it. What follows is an introductory attempt to explore some of the critical areas which would be part of such a model. It is tentative in its exploration, and should be read as an emerging model in draft form about which debate and discussion is invited.

[input diagram of 'The Maori Education System']

Source: Irwin, Kathie (1992) 'Is there anyone out there with a bag of cricket balls?'. Paper presented to the NZEI/PPTA Colloquium on Education, Beeby Celebrations, Wellington, June 20th, 1992.

The first characteristic of this system is that te reo Maori me ona tikanga are the first language and culture (Pere, 1982, 1988). Everything that is located in this paradigm stems from the Maori worldview. Maori views of creation (Buck, 1970); the origins of Maori knowledge (Best, 1986; Smith and Smith, 1990), the classification and framing of Maori knowledge (Bernstein, 1987; Best, 1986; Smith and Smith, 1990); Maori epistemologies (Salmond, 1989); the properties Maori knowledge has (Manihera, 1975; Awatere, 1984; Grace, 1988); the forms the expression of knowledge takes; the description of different levels of knowing (Project Able, 1989); Maori learning and teaching styles (Pere, 1982, 1987, 1988, 1991; Metge, 1967, 1976, 1978, 1984, 1988, 1990); issues of who has access to what Maori knowledge (Metge, 1984; Best, 1986;) and in what contexts (Metge, 1984; Best, 1986) support the thesis being established here, that Maori people had a complex, efficient education system prior to the arrival of Pakeha colonisers (Jenkins, 1988).

This education system represents a stark contrast to the figure headed 'The New Zealand Education System', set out below, and recently produced by the Ministry of Education (1992)

[input diagram of 'The New Zealand Education System']

Source: Ministry of Education (1992) New Zealand Education at a Glance. Demographic and Statistical Analysis Section, Research and Statistics Division, Wellington.

The two 'education systems' are almost unrecognisable to each other, and yet Maori teachers move between the two, with varying degrees of exposure, immersion and success. A study of the socialisation of Maori teachers, then, needs to be cognisant of these parallel education systems, their points of contact, similarity, tension, conflict and difference.

Given what we know about the full breadth and depth of 'education' in this country, neither figure 1 nor figure 2 captures the right kind of mix that

is 'the education system of New Zealand', rather than say the Maori education system or the mainstream schooling system, in Aotearoa in 1992. The mix could be visualised in an exploratory using the very powerful Pacific image of a net, capturing the many dimensions and strands that make up the diversity of the education system in this country, inclusive of the schooling system.

[Input diagram 'Te Kupenga o te Matauranga']

Source: Irwin, Kathie (1992) 'Is there anyone out there with a bag of cricket balls?'. Paper presented to the NZEI/PPTA Colloquium on Education, Beeby Celebrations, Wleington, June 20th, 1992.

Research such as that presented here, which aims to study the socialisation of Maori teachers who move between these educational systems, must at some level acknowledge and incorporate the parallel education systems that exist because for Maori they touch in significant places. This is not necessarily the case for non Maori, able to move through one part of the education system unaware of and uninformed about the other.

This is not to suggest that this research could or should only draw from the Maori tradition, ignoring all that is part of its New Zealand counterpart. That would also provide an incomplete analysis given the impact that the New Zealand tradition has had. However, education has been plagued for decades with partial analyses, located in a post 1840 paradigm, which have created a huge mass of people who are unable, or unwilling, or both, to validate the complex educational history of this country, not just

that which followed the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Weaving both educational traditions together into 'Te Kupenga o te Matauranga' is the challenge of Maori and bicultural education in this country, for it is in 'Te Kupenga o te Matauranga' that the teachers in this study are 'socialised'.

The Research Process and Methods - Aims of the research

Given my background, and cognisant of the political climate in which Maori educational research is being undertaken in the post colonial Aotearoa of the nineteen nineties, I had three main aims for this doctoral research.

First: To become a full PHD who is accepted into the international research community as a qualified educational researcher.

In the words of Phillips and Pugh (1987: 18)

"...becoming a full professional means:

First, at the most basic level ...that you have something to say that your peers want to listen to.

Secondly, in order to do this you must have a command of what is hapening in your subject so that you can evaluate the worth of what others are doing.

Thirdly, you must have the astuteness to discover where you can make a useful contribution.

Fourthly, you must have mastery of appropriate techniques that are currently being used, and also be aware of their limitations.

Fifthly, you must be able to communicate your results effectively in the professional arena.

Sixthly, all this must be carried out in an international context; your professional peer group is worldwide. (It always was, of course, but the rate of diffusion is infinitely faster than it used to be.) You must be aware of what is being discovered, argued about, written and published by your academic community across the world."

As a Maori feminist my 'peers' constitute a more inclusive group than that referred to by Phillips and Pugh (1987). My peer group is not confined to those whose knowledge and credentials are validated by the phd research process, namely, other phds and academics, though it obviously includes them. Drawing from theories of Maori and feminist scholarship, this study also validates the knowledge and credentials of a range of educators, from the Maori and feminist communities of Aotearoa, usually not included in such company. The composition of the supervisory whanau of this research is an example in point. This research is guided by a whanau of five supervisors. Two of whom are experienced Maori scholars and educators, recognised as kaumatua by the Maori and wider community. Three are experienced academics with phd's, two specifically in the study of education, who hold (or have held) senior university positions.

Second: To undertake a study which is based in kaupapa Maori

That is, one in which all aspects of the study and the process of the research will be informed by kaupapa Maori, including the supervision. As well as the study itself, the research and supervisory process will be documented and studied, with the aim of contributing to what is known about Maori research. Given the nature of this research, and as a direct result of my experiences as a researcher to date, this study has developed under the guidance of a whanau of five supervisors. Two are experienced Maori scholars, three experienced academics. The supervisors for this study are Mr Wiremu Kaa, Dame Joan Metge, Dr Anne Meade and Mr Monte Ohia and Professor Hugh Lauder.

The use of the whanau concept was aimed at creating a context of supervision which focused on a group, united by the kaupapa of the research, and influenced in process by the values which are commonly associated with the unit of the family. The use of whanau in this way is a transformation of the traditional useage of whanau meaning kin based groups (Metge, 19..) In the context of phd supervision, implimenting the concept of whanau in this way is somewhat removed from the usual approach. And yet it is a very Maori way to operate, to make 'aroha' both a value and a cultural practice (Tauroa, H and P, 1989), and to impliment it on a daily basis, throughout all we do. In this regard the aim of this aspect of the study was to make my phd research process like any other part of my life. To blend it into my life, to normalise it in so far as this was possible, rather than to have it dominate and undermine other parts of my life as so often is the phd experience for women!!

Carrying out research which could be described as Maori research is not new to me. To date I have been involved in a number of research projects which have been of this kind. Only on the Government Review Team of Te Kohanga Reo, however, did I have the chance to work under the mentorship of Maori

kaumatua, koroua and kuia, throughout the research process. This experience had a profound effect on me, hence my desire to replicate that kind of supervision in this study.

Third: To continue the process of my own personal and professional decolonisation.

Deep in my consciousness is the need for me to undertake a study which is culturally relevant and appropriate and which satisfies the rigour of research and scholarship. In short, to undertake this research as a Maori academic, not as an academic who happens to be Maori. That means that I seek to negotiate a journey through this study which satisfies the integrity of the scholarship both of the Maori world and of academia. Critically analysing my perspective in this way is part of the decolonisation process that is an integral part of this phd and my ongoing personal and professional development, the third aim of this study. It would have been easier for me to undertake a PHD with a textbook design, working within established methodological and theoretical paradigms. On many occasions I have asked myself whether I am trying to undertake something which is too ambitious for a study of this nature? Wouldn't it be safer and easier to become a PHD and then to undertake research which sought to research the researcher and the academic world in which such research is undertaken. The answer is yes, the thought very tempting, on regular occasions. But, I had to ask myself whether I could justify undertaking a PHD in a way which contributed to the further colonisation of Maori people through education? The answer to that was that I could not. Undertaking a phd within the current theoretical and methodological paradigms, working within the status quo, would not contribute to the decolonisation of research methodology or educational theory. Though it would undoubtedly have been a safer, apolitical, ahistorical easier option it was not an option which I could explore. The people that I am descended from have never taken the easy options. I am a descendant of pioneering, fearless people, from both my Scots and Maori lineages.

It would have been very easy for me not to do a PHD, rather to develop as an academic with the degree MED as my highest qualification, building my career on this. One academic who gave me this advice was a scholar with an international reputation in his field, who is very well regarded. Perhaps he was right? A number of respected academics in New Zealand do not have PHD degrees, perhaps I didn't have to have one either? The new Dean of Law at Waikato University is not a phd, the Vice Chancellor of Victoria University is not a phd. It was tempting not to do a phd. I had to come to the realisation that for me, the decision had to be to attempt a PHD and to set myself the goal of undertaking a study which was Maori. The answers have become clearer to me since I enrolled at the end of 1988.

Comments such as the following, from Maori students interviewed by Ronald Sultana in *Schooling for Work* (1987), a study of factors affecting the occupation choices of secondary students, impell Maori academics to pursue the highest goals possible.

Rose:

Our teacher was having a talk with us about what we'd like to do when we

grow up, and I was the only Maori in my class, and when the teacher asked me I said I wanted to do Management and Accounting, or perhaps Archeology...And she looked at me as if to say, you know: "You guys don't do that sort of stuff!" And all the class just stared at me and asked: "Hey Rose! Do you really want to do that? Maori's don't do that!" And I just got really wild and I said "Up yours!"

R.S.:

How does that affect you? Do you work less or more?

Rose:

I want to prove to them that I can be what I want to be...But then they just rub it in all the time. I just get so hacked off with it ...just can't be stuffed. (Sultana, 1987: 16 - 17)

E Rose, tenei te mihi ki a koe, tetahi o nga wahine o te ao hurihuri. Kia kaha e hine i to mahi. Kua koe e wareware nga moemoea!

This is how lecturers at Palmerston North Teachers College greeted my request for information about how to apply to do honours in the year after I had completed my first degree. The Dean of the college said to me "Do you realise that you would be entering the highest echelons of education?", as if to put me off. It was more than rare for Teachers College students to apply to do this. Perhaps one or two people a decade did this. It meant a five year period of Teacher Training, whilst most did three, four at most with a first degree. Indeed I only knew of one other who had done this, my brother - in - law. The look in the teachers face that Rose describes was a

look I learned to know well. Not until I met Professor Clem Hill, Dean of the Education Faculty at Massey University at the time, did I meet someone who gave me hope. I asked about the possibility of doing honours. We talked. He studied my academic record, we talked some more. He concluded our conversation by telling me that if I wanted to do honours I should aim for first class, and nothing less. I gave up all my sport that year and reduced my social life so that I could focus on my studies. At the time I was a qualified New Zealand Netball Umpire, heavily involved in netball administration and activity. It was a difficult decision to make, and one that took me from something I had invested years in. The rest is my herstory, with lots of struggle.

It may have appeared easier in the short term to have become a PHD and then try to theorise about the colonisation of Maori people through education and academic research. This option could have served my individual position well. But, in the long term, it would be more significant for education generally, for Maori Education specifically and for my development as a Maori feminist academic, to attempt such theorising from the start. In this study, the theorising starts from te ao Maori and extends outwards to te ao Pakeha, rather than the other way around, which has so often been the case with research undertaken in Maori education in past years. My work must mediate between two worlds, the Maori world and the academic world. This stance has significant implications for this study.

Choosing a topic

Late in 1987 a colleague gave me a copy of a conference paper that he had written. Entitled 'Cultural Difference and the Beginning Teacher'

(Battersby, 1987), he thought that I might like to read it. I took the paper home that night and read it. I took a clean white envelope, placed the paper in it and wrote a note to myself, which I pinned to it, saying 'this is your phd topic'. The paper very definitely was of interest to me and I knew immediately, importantly intuitively, that this topic was the right one for me to undertake for a phd.

The feeling was a very powerful and reassuring one, one that I had not felt with any of the other topics that I had considered as possible phd topics. Some years earlier, Wiremu Kaa, one of my mentors, a supervisor in this research, then the Director of the Maori and Island Division of the Department of Education, had suggested that I consider doing my phd in the area of bilingual education. He counselled me that the educational needs of Maori people in the future would be centrally involved with bilingual education and that there was an urgent need to do research in this area. It was a very difficult decision for me, but nonetheless one that I had to make. Wiremu was right, I agreed with everything that he said about the topic and its importance for Maoridom and for New Zealand society more generally. But, I knew that it was not right for me. I knew that I had to find a topic that grabbed me so powerfully that I could withstand the years of research and writing necessary to undertake, complete and publish the study. In a very individualistic way I had to feel it was right for me, whilst also contributing to the good of Maori people. This is a real contradiction, in cultural terms. Wiremu is a respected kaumatua, then the most senior Maori educator in the Department of Education. What right did I have not to undertake a study which he had identified was important. What right did I have not to take his counsel. I thought long and hard about this: choosing another topic may have offended him, perhaps altering our relationship which I value greatly. I knew that I wanted to undertake a phd which was bicultural in its process as well as its content, and yet at this very first stage, the step of choosing a topic, I was possibly contradicting Maori cultural teachings in which kaumatua in the Maori world are our policy makers, professors and leaders.

I was saying I needed to choose my own topic, from a position of accute conscientisation (Freire, 1970) as a Maori, feminst, academic (Irwin, 1988).

Though an individual 'choice' in some regards, the choice of topic was not undertaken in an individualistic vacuum, ignorant of the educational and political issues facing Maori people or of the historical juncture we were at as a people. It was a 'choice' made in the context of Maori development in Aotearoa. By the time that I was 'choosing' my topic I had been a lecturer in a university for seven years, teaching, researching and

publishing in the area of Maori education. The choice was based on a thorough knowledge of the state of research in Maori education and my ability to contribute to it. Further, I was a trained teacher myself, had taught in the primary and tertiary sector, teachers had been my students for years through the distance education courses that were offered at Massey University where I worked from 1981 - 1988. I had travelled the country extensively speaking to and working with educational groups in the

area of Maori education. My 'choice' of topic included reflection on and analysis of all of these considerations. Mindful of the need to integrate intellectual development into programmes of lifelong learning within Maori educational theory (Pere, 1982), it also included considerations of a personal kind: the joy and success of my honours research, which I chose, worked alone on, loved, and did very well; and, the bitter experiences of researching a masters topic which was not close to my heart, with which I had some difficulty. I did not want to experience that agony again, as I was sure I would not complete a study which I did not relate to passionately.

Further, with regards to the bilingual education topic suggested to me I was not a fluent speaker of Maori and I knew that somewhere in the study, that would negatively impact on my credibility to do the work and my actual ability to do it. Not only would I have to defend this study in the academic world, but also in the Maori world. The politics of bilingual education and Maori language maintenance are highly political issues in this country. Indeed, in my experience te reo Maori has become used as a patu, a weapon of attack in contemporary times, by some speakers of the language, bruising and hurting non speakers through symbolic violence of the cultural intra group kind. Years later, the emergence of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori, based on immersion in the language as a prime pedagogical strategy, and the politics of both these movements, has confirmed the validity of my decision for me. I was not the person to do such a study. I have had many occasions to thank god, most sincerely, for the intuition and wisdom not to work in that area myself, but to support the work of others, better qualified than I to do that work.

The mandate to do the research

Before I would write my phd proposal I asked for a meeting with Joan Metge, Willie Kaa and Monte Ohia, the beginnings of my phd supervisory whanau, to put the kaupapa of this research to them, in an oral context. I knew what I wanted to do, and why, but a self appointed mandate was not enough for me to start. I needed to have their approval before I could write the research proposal so that the research process could proceed in the proper way from the outset.

At the meeting the kaupapa was supported, my undertaking the research was supported, the team agreed to act as a supervisory whanau. Once agreement on this had been reached the research was blessed, literally, and the study commenced. Following this meeting I wrote the proposal relatively quickly. The negotiations undertaken had given me a mandate to start. I cannot articulate why I needed this study blessed before I started, I just knew, deep deep down in my intuition, that I had to do this. My understanding of spirituality and my own responses to this have been undergoing major processes of change since I became a mother. Maori have traditionally sought spiritual blessings before they embarked on journeys into unknown lands. I was definitely embarking on a journey into unknown lands. Indeed, so few Maori women have ever graduated phd that at the time of my enrollment for this degree only three other Maori women, in the history of the world, had ever attained this degree by research (Irwin, 1992). I was not prepared to enter into this major journey without spiritual support or planning.

The support of my supervisors was enough to start me on this journey. Given the nature of the study I was proposing we would have many journeys to make before confirmation of the topic was finally sealed. As well as having the proposal for the research accepted through the university channels, subject to the regulations and requirements of phd research, it also had to be supported in the community, by the teachers and their whanau. The nature of the research I was proposing was such that without such full support, by all parties to this research and scholarship enterprise, it could not proceed.

The mandate given to me by my supervisors needed also to be confirmed by the community. To my delight this mandate emerged from the hui and meetings held with the teachers and their whanau throughout the country. In every community that we visited the response was supportive: this research is timely, you should do it.

Phd supervisors: who, what, where?

From previous research experience I knew that I wanted to initiate an innovative model of phd supervision for this study. Located as it was in both the academic and Maori worlds, I wanted the supervisors to be representative of both worlds of scholarship, to ensure validity, reliability, accountability and cultural safety. I wanted to appropriate the concept of a whanau of supervisors, not just a group, because whanau invokes a range of cultural meanings which, if we were successful, would mean that our relationships would be fundamentally different from those encountered in a 'normal' supervision process. Whanau is characterised by 'aroha, co-operation, collective responsibility' (Irwin et al, 1988). I needed to work in relationships which were characterised in this way during my research. Having read of the poor completion results of phd's in Britain, less than 30% (Phillips and Pugh, 1987), and some of the studies which identify why this is so (Vartuli, 1982) I didn't want to be left alone to get on with my research unsupported or unguided.

My most urgent need was to be engaged in a process which was 'culturally safe' (Ramsden, I, 1988). I have been part of a number of research projects, usually where I was the only Maori researcher, often the only woman as well, which have been culturally unsafe for me. I did not want this to be part of my phd experience. The concept of cultural safety is a significant one in this study. Pioneered by Irihapeti Ramsden, working with Maori nurses throughout the country, this concept is currently most fully developed in the context of nursing education and practice.

Though I never prescribed a particular role for any of my supervisors at an individual level, I had identified areas of knowledge which I felt my supervisors would need to be cognisant of in order for this phd to be a culturally safe learning environment for me and the teachers of the study, as well as academically stimulating and defensible. I wanted supervisors who were kaumatua, fluent in te reo me ona tikanga. This would also embrace te taha wairua, the spiritual dimension. I also knew of sexual harassment, in various forms, being an often experienced part of postgraduate research processes for women. As a young married woman, and mother of two, I had no desire, or need, for any kind of sexual agenda to be part of my supervision

process, possibly threatening my family safety as well as my own. I made this a conscious part of my thinking as I considered possible supervisors. The men I worked with had to be above reproach in my estimation. I wanted some women supervisors, Maori women, at least one a feminist. In the end I did not manage to negotiate a Maori woman as part of this supervisory whanau, though I called on many Maori women from our networks at other levels of the study. Other considerations related to the field I had chosen. I needed people with: experience teaching in secondary schools; and who were successful researchers in Maori and bicultural contexts. I wanted a critical theory expert to test and retest me on the theoretical framework of the study. To satisfy university regulations I needed a supervisor from within my department. In summary I needed a supervisory whanau which would have the following characteristics: impeccable scholarship, in the Maori world as well as in the international academic community; knowledge of te reo me ona tikanga Maori, in a decolonised historical context so that the process would be culturally safe; they would be anti sexist; they would be politically conscientised. I was not paranoid, I just knew that I was taking on the whole world and that I had to be prepared for any contingency!

Lastly, it was crucial that the group would be good fun. I knew that the process would be intense and difficult and that at times it would be a sense of humour which helped us through difficult stages. An anecdote springs to mind. In December of 1990 the first contact hui in Auckland and Christchurch had been planned a number of times. I made travel and other arrangements various times only to have them cancelled at the last minute. On one occasion I had driven from Wellington to Auckland to a conference, a distance of about 1,000 kilometres, specifically to attend one of these

hui at the same time as the conference. Had the hui not been arranged I would have flown to the conference. The hui was cancelled, I drove all the way there and back in the space of a few days. Days after my return I saw Joan Metge outside Victoria University. I was feeling anxious and guilty that I thought I hadn't made much progress and that I was meeting obstacles that I couldn't control. I told her about the cancelled hui, and my disappointment, the long journey, and my disappointment. Her response startled me: she laughed and said 'welcome to the world of Maori research'. We talked about the cancellations and the disappointment. I shed some anxiety, some guilt and regained a sense of balance and perspective on the research process, the many contingencies which surrounded it and my desire to continue with it.

I am extremely fortunate that this study is being supervised by a powerful group. They constitute my formal Wellington based whanau of supervisors who meet with me to monitor my work. Further to this Wellington based whanau, friends and colleagues around the country have agreed to help me invoke the principle of 'he kanohi kitea' (Dewes, 1975; Bishop and Glynn, 1992) by arranging the first contact hui and providing a known link between the research and the teachers: Te Tuhi Robust (North Auckland), Mona and Sonny Riini (Auckland), Ani Motutere (Hamilton), Vervies McClausand (Bay of Plenty), Awhina Waaka (Hawkes Bay), Ian Christianson (Palmerston North),

Mike and Pirihiira Hollings (Wairarapa), Rose Parker (Christchurch) and Alan Tadsbury (Invercargill).

E hara taku toa i te toa taki tahi,
engari he toa takitini.
My strength is not from me alone,
but from the strength of the people.

How and where to start

At our first supervisors meeting, late in 1988, the question of how to make initial contact with teachers who might take part in the study was raised. It became a significant methodological issue. Based on her previous research experience (1976, 1978, 1983, 1986, 1990), and given that all the teachers would be Maori, Joan Metge suggested that an appropriate way to make first contact would be to invite teachers to a hui at which the study could be outlined and discussed in a culturally appropriate way. This approach was contrasted with the idea of contacting people individually, by mail, the approach perhaps considered 'normal' in studies of this kind, certainly the approach used by Battersby (1980) in the study which motivated me to embark on this one. The idea was endorsed by Wiremu Kaa and Monte Ohia. It seemed an excellent one to me.

Gaining entry to the field of study is something which every researcher has to negotiate. But, in this case, the negotiation process required would be more complex than is 'normal', involving a range of issues, educational and cultural. The study was a national one, the exercise a large logistical undertaking even on simple grounds such as taking into account the distances to be covered travelling around the country. It would involve negotiations in many Maori communities, in complex cultural and political situations in order to be successful. Some of the teachers would be kaumatua themselves, native speakers of te reo and experts in tikanga Maori, already leaders of Maori studies in their schools and communities, others were young people, with little or no knowledge of the language or culture, teaching subjects other than Maori. I expected that I would be tested in my Maoriness as part of this process, and would need to operate with cultural authenticity and integrity in order to gain access. Almost by definition the teachers would be hard pressed to find extra time for the study, the negotiation would need to be particularly careful in this regard so that I didn't frighten people off.

The hui is a 'normal' Maori way to meet and discuss a take. The subject of Anne Salmond's (1975) important research, the hui is a Maori social institution which is adapted to suit a range of purposes. Making the hui a central feature of the process of negotiation, the process of first contact in this study, was a significant decision for the group to make. From the start, the kaupapa of this research would be approached in a Maori way, invoking, as it would, the traditions and customs of the Maori world. In this context there would be no question which world would lead, it would be

the Maori world. The world of research, would follow. There can be no two ways about this in the eyes of the Maori community. Where a stance, taken in the name of kaupapa Maori, is not unequivocally Maori, particularly in

the context of research at this time, support cannot be guaranteed. If successful in this first stage, then, in the final outcome, the thesis itself, the protocol and standards of both the Maori and academic worlds would be satisfied, neither compromised. However, unless I developed a successful Maori negotiation process at the start, negotiation into the field was destined to be a long and drawn out process.

The idea provided me with a profound challenge at the first supervisory meeting: throughout the study I would need to critically analyse what appear to be the 'norms' of doing research and to assess their validity in the context of this study. On the one hand I would have to engage in a systematic process of decolonising the research enterprise that has developed in this country, on the other, given that this research is for a phd, I would have to develop a research process with reliability and validity in both the academic and Maori communities. It would, in the final analysis, be doubly accountable! In the heated debates in universities over the promotion of Maori education in this country what seems at the forefront of people's thinking is the notion that Maori research will somehow be half as good, less than up to acceptable standards. The irony is that the debates in universities imply that there are fewer or lesser standards of accountability, whereas the reality is greater or double accountability.

The question of what constituted the 'normal research process' has been subject to meticulous critical analysis. Early on I made a mental note to surround the word 'normal' with inverted commas to remind me that the whole notion of what counts as the 'normal research process' would have to be viewed as problematic in this study and deconstructed.

Equally as clear in the early stages of the research was the notion that decolonisation on its own would not be enough in this thesis. As well as establishing what doesn't work in Maori research and why, decolonising the impact of research on the Maori community, essentially a critical task, this study would also need to simultaneously develop an alternative, a valid Maori research process. In this way, as well as engaging in the critical deconstructionist task the study also had to make a positive contribution by offering a critical alternative.

Accordingly, a major task for this study is the documentation and critical analysis of the research process adopted seeking always to illuminate how and why it is a Maori research process and not a research process which might be undertaken by any researcher, researching any topic, be they Maori or Tauwiwi. When we claim to engage in research which contests the traditional 'norms' of our fields we must substantiate what that claim means so that it is open to the analysis of other researchers. Failure to provide the documentation necessary will not result in successful contestation of what are considered to be the 'norms' in question, opening them up new paradigms.

This holds for a range of developments in the field of research methodology. We could consider this point in relation to debates over qualitative and quantitative research methods; and the challenges of

feminists in research.

Let us take the development of feminist scholarship and methodology as an example. In the bid to validate feminist research as a research process which is significantly different from other kinds of research, yet equally valid, feminist scholars have had to: meticulously set out full critiques of research methods and studies that are patriarchal in nature and disempowering to women; develop alternative research methods; test these out empirically; and publish their findings so that others could critically assess their work before feminist research was able to challenge what counts as 'normal' research methodology.

The development and validation of Maori research methodology faces a similarly complex scholarly process. The colonisation of the collective New Zealand psyche, indeed the global psyche as it relates to colonised indigenous peoples, is so strong that Maori can never take it for granted that our educational views and processes will be validated without major struggles. In our struggle for the validation and legitimation of Maori research processes we will have to dot every i, cross every t and meticulously attend to setting out every detail of our case.

A number of recent masters theses, all claiming to have developed and applied Maori research methodology in their research, are useful cases to consider in this regard. Some offer significant contributions to the process of documenting and validating Maori research methodology (Bishop, 1991; Timutimu - Thorpe, 1990), others do not. Bishop (1991) and Timutimu - Thorpe (1990) provide accounts of the research process which they followed and attempts to critically analyse what it was about that process that was significant as a Maori research process. Whether you agree or disagree with their analysis of their work they have provided documentation and analysis of the kind necessary to be able to make independent critical judgements about the work.

Negotiating entry to the field: 'The Rituals of First Encounter'

Making 'first contact' is a part of the study that had been worrying me. I knew that the approach adopted in the Battersby (1980) study would not necessarily be best for the study or the group that I wanted to work with. In the Battersby study first contact was made by writing a letter to each person, on university letterhead, setting out the academic credentials of the researcher, the aims of the research and asking people to meet with him. I knew that I could not do this. Battersby's group had a small number of Maori people in it; it was not described as a bicultural study; and the researcher was not Maori. This strategy of first contact was culturally inappropriate for me to adopt.

If I had approached 'first contact' in this way I would have conveyed a message that my chosen *turangawaewae* was the world of academia and research. If I had written in this way, Maori people could have identified me with a world which they have been largely excluded from and become hostile towards. Increasingly, literature is appearing which is critical of academics who engage in research in the Maori world which is of dubious relevance to Maoridom, which adopts culturally inappropriate methodology and which is more empowering for the researcher at an individual level than it is for those involved in the study at an individual level, or for Maoridom collectively. Accordingly, I had to develop a process of first

contact which conveyed information which satisfied both Maori and professional concerns.

Studies of Maori society have termed the procedures undertaken when Maori first meet as 'the rituals of encounter' (Salmon, 1975). These rituals are complex and are treated with great regard in the Maori culture (King, 1975; Tauroa and Tauroa, 1986). Salmon (1975: viii) has identified seven discrete types of encounter in this process: 'waerea (protective incantation), wero or taki (ritual challenge), karanga (call), poroporoaki (farewell), powhiri (action chant of welcome), tangi (weeping), whaikorero (oratory) and hongiri (pressing noses)'. Not until a welcome process invoking most of these 'ritual units' (ibid) has been completed do tangata whenua and manuhiri come together as one people for the duration of their hui. The rationale for this lies in Maori epistemology. At a crucial level it recognises the meeting of two groups, tapu to tapu, and requires a ritual process of moving the two tapu states together, and removing this tapu state without violating the tapu state of either of the groups during the process. In this context it is important to determine what the appropriate 'rituals of encounter' are for Maori research. They need to reflect the rituals of encounter adopted as normal practice in Maori culture. The complexity and importance of this process cannot be understated in Maori research. How would we come together during this study, my whanau and those of the teachers, tapu to tapu? The context used to frame the development of the negotiation process of this study was the marae. It is a real cultural context, the most powerful Maori cultural framework to adopt, and one in which the most highly ritualised negotiation process would take place. For a number of reasons this emphasis may be quite different from that experienced in other research contexts. First, according to Maori epistemology when two groups come together they are separated on a range of levels, from the spiritual to the spatial distance kept between two groups, before they meet. This multi level separation needs to be ritually removed before the two groups, any two groups, can come together. The visiting group are considered 'tapu' until the end of the welcoming process, when visitors and hosts share a common breath during the hongiri, the pressing of noses, then food and or drink, thus ritually removing the tapu state from the visitors. People visiting for the first time are known as 'waewae tapu', literally sacred feet, and their first visit regarded with special concern. When the sharing of food is complete the two groups have merged as one. Nothing happens until this multilevel 'distance' between the two groups is ritually removed. This ritual process takes time and Maori culture takes the time to practise its rituals in full. These rituals of encounter have guided the process developed during the negotiation phase. Whether the negotiation process took place on an actual marae or not, it was developed with this in mind. Being Maori by ethnicity and cultural identification, and, a Maori researcher by professional training, does not give a Maori researcher automatic entry into the Maori community to do research which would mean that these rituals of encounter would change. My entry into the field will be negotiated in the same way as any other Maori group. I will need to prove myself at every step of the

journey to be worthy of support in both cultural and professional terms. Second, according to Maori tikanga, when Maori come together as two groups one group is tangata whenua, the local people, the other manuhiri, the visitors. In terms of te kawa o te marae, the ritual of behaviour on marae, it is the tangata whenua who are in control, the tangata whenua who have the power to stipulate how the hui will proceed. In this study, we, myself and those working with me, have chosen to be manuhiri everywhere we go by invoking the tikanga of te ao Maori. We gave to the people we are visiting the power to define how we should conduct ourselves when in their areas. This is not the 'normal' power relationship that is entered into between academic researcher and the people that they are working with. The researcher is usually in control throughout the study. We were attempting to establish a relationship in which the dynamics of the two groups changed so that we all became one group, a whanau, operating in the spirit of co-operation, harmony and trust that characterises whanau relationships, a context of shared power. Just as the manuhiri - tangata whenua relationship is changed through the ritual processes of encounter witnessed on marae, we too sought to change the dynamics of the the relationship between the researcher and the community in which the research was being undertaken, such that we became part of a whanau based on the kaupapa of this research.

This, I would suggest, is an approach which deliberately locates the dynamics of control away from the researcher through the negotiation process.

Third, there exist real cultural differences between the rituals of encounter normally practised in Maori and Pakeha cultures within New Zealand society. The Maori welcoming process is considered to be a time consuming one by Pakeha society, a society in which the use of time is considered in relation to concepts of material productivity, tied closely to economics, not cultural productivity, tied closely to peoples human needs. Welcomes in Maori culture normally take much more time and are more elaborate than their counterparts in Pakeha culture. On some occasions in Pakeha culture, the rituals of encounter approach the complexity of that practised in Maori culture. These occasions are usually reserved for important people, e.g when the Queen of England or heads of state visit, or famous groups, e.g. the return of the KZ 7 yachting team from their attempt to win the America's Cup in Freemantle. For ordinary rank and file New Zealanders, however, Pakeha culture requires little of ritual when they meet. For Maori the rituals of encounter are the same regardless of status or the reason for the visit: from welcomes for royalty, for visiting dignatories, for visiting teams, for neighbouring families to welcomes for visiting friends, the 'rituals of encounter' are the same. Working within a Maori paradigm as we are, this emphasis on the rituals of encounter, particularly the importance of first encounter in this study, stands in stark contrast with the approaches of other such studies.

Fourth, as a direct result of the colonisation of this country, the scholarship and research that is legitimated by the academic world of the universities has marginalised matauranga Maori. The traditional Maori education system, set out in the introductory sections of this paper Maori,

is viewed with scepticism by the academic world. As a result of this academic demeaning of matauranga Maori, researchers and academics generally have a poor reputation in the Maori community and are viewed with suspicion at best, contempt in the main. Maori people who go into the Maori community as members of the community of academic researchers are identified as part of the schooling system that oppresses matauranga Maori to this day. In order to gain access to the community we need to be credible as Maori first, researchers second. Whether we want to debate whether this should or shouldn't be so, as academics are want to do, such are the politics of Maori undertaking research in the Maori community.

Fifth, the Maori community is so interrelated that I knew from the outset that this research would become quickly known about throughout the country. This placed significant pressure on me to move about the Maori community and conduct myself properly in all phases of the research, in ways which satisfy the requirements of the Maori community, as well as the research community. This intense pressure is specifically highlighted during the first contact phase, when, in Maori terms the research and I were 'waewae tapu'.

First contact

I did not contact teachers until 1990, their first year of teaching. I wanted the teachers to have a chance to start to settle into their new jobs, to establish their turangawaewae in their schools before I came along asking them if I could study what their new jobs entailed. This task of establishing their 'turangawaewae' at their school was a process I wanted to precede this research. The teachers were first contacted in July of 1990 at their schools. Becoming involved in this study was a professional request that I was making of people, related to my phd research. All initial correspondence was sent through their school, acting on information provided by the Colleges of Education that they attended.

In order to briefly introduce myself and the study to the teachers a letter was sent from my home address on plain paper and backed so that it was only one piece of paper. It started with part of my whakapapa and a mihi in Maori; was written in part in Maori; and included kowhaiwhai patterns on the front page in an effort to immediately communicate that I was Maori. The letter established the nature of the research, my work and interests and the negotiation process that would be followed.

The first face to face contact was made through a local Maori educator whom the teachers either knew or would be likely to come into contact with

during the course of the year. There is a saying in Maori that expresses why this contact should be made as proposed: 'He kanohi kitea', 'a face seen is appreciated' (Dewes, 1975). Maori have a preference for working with people they know. Bishop and Glynn (1992) comment on the application of this tikanga in the research process in very positive ways. I was unknown to these teachers, the establishment of rapport was a major task. This is a common practice in establishing contact amongst Maori, which draws on tikanga Maori, by asking someone local known and trusted by their networks, to set up the first face to face contacts.

Hui were planned as our first face to face meeting at which the teachers

and their whanau were invited to attend for the purposes of introducing the study and setting it up. These hui were held wherever there were first year Maori teachers. At the hui the study was outlined and discussed. People were invited to consider joining it at this stage. In the majority of cases people responded before we left, and they joined the study. Very few teachers took time after the hui to think about it before consenting. Negotiation Hui were held throughout the North Island from November 6th, 1990 - April 13th, 1991.

1. Manawatu, at the home of Ian and Bud Christenson, September 6th, 1990. Ian Christenson contact.
2. Hawkes Bay, September 21 - 22, Moteo Marae, Hawkes Bay. Awhina and Ted Waaka contacts.
3. North Auckland, November 2nd - 3rd, Motatau Marae, Te Tuhi Robust contact.
4. Wellington, November 6th, 1990, Conference Room, Department of Education.
5. Bay of Plenty, December 1990, Vervies McClausen contact.
6. Auckland, April 30 - May 1st, 1991, Sonny and Mona Riini contacts.
7. Hamilton, May 2nd, 1990, Ani Motutere contact.
8. Central Hawkes Bay, Dannevirke, June 12th.
9. Wairarapa, April 13th, 1991, Mike and Pirihiira Hollings the contacts.

Where possible members of my supervisory whanau travelled with me to the hui. On the journies to North Auckland, Hawkes Bay and at Wellington I was so supported.

At the time of writing this paper the South Island hui had not been completed. Indeed, given many unsuccessful attempts to organise these from the North Island it may be that the sample in the end is a North Island sample.

Conclusion

This then is an account of the initial stages of this research, from the choice to thesis topic and the considerations around this to the first phase of the field work, negotiating entry into the field. Taking from 1990 - 1992 already, it has constituted a significant learning environment for me and for those working with me. Our many journies through this phase, physical, spiritual, intellectual and cultural have confirmed that it has been a discrete phase of the fieldwork in itself. Though it has preceded my entry into the field to interview the teachers, the theorising and negotiations that have taken place during phase one have been intense. Involving the teachers and their communities in the way that we will, we believe, enable me to move through phase two much more quickly than has been possible in phase one. The interviews, then, constitute the second major phase of the fieldwork and data collection.

Though only the beginnings of the research, phase one has provided me with a rich context from which to develop a significant part of the analysis and development of a theory of Maori education and research critical if the experiences of this group of beginning Maori secondary school teachers are to be fully grasped and understood by us all.

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